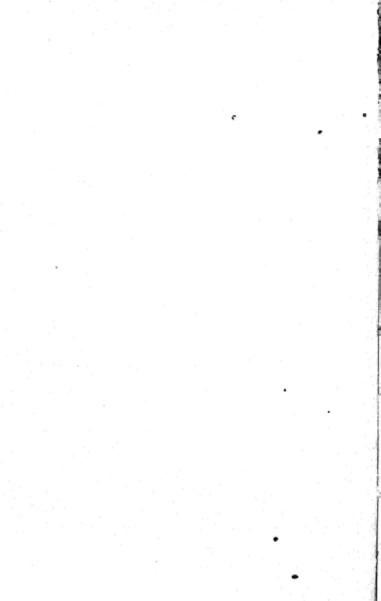
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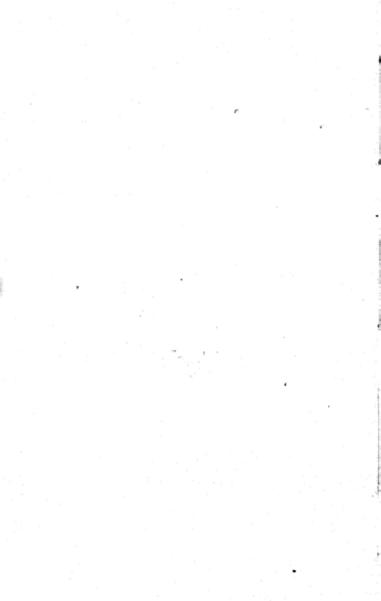
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#### DIODORUS OF SICILY

Х



WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY RUSSEL M. GEER, Ph.D.

IN TWELVE VOLUMES

X BOOKS XIX. 66-110 AND XX



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# THE LIBRARY OF HISTORY OF DIODORUS OF SICILY BOOK XIX

#### Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῆ ἐννεακαιδεκάτη τῶν Διοδώρου βύβλων

Τὰ πραχθέντα τοῖς 'Αντιγόνου καὶ Κασάνδρου στρα. τηγοῖς περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα.

τον ποριαν τοπους

"Αλωσις περί Καρίαν τής ἀπωσταλείσης ὑπὸ Κασάνδρου δυνάμεως.

'Ως οἱ ψυγάδες τῶν Συρακοικτίων 'Ακραγαντίνους πείσαντες πολεμεῖν 'Αγαθοκλεῖ στρατηγὸν ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος 'Ακρότατον μετεπέμψαντο.

'Ως οδτος μέν παραλαβών την ήγεμονίαν τυραννικώς<sup>1</sup> ἄρχων διεγένετο, οἱ δ' 'Ακραγαντίνοι την εἰρήνην ἐποιήσαντο πρὸς τὸν δυνάστην.

Τὰ πραχθέντα 'Ρωμαίοις περὶ τὴν 'Ιαπυγίαν.

Καλλαντιανών άπόστασις άπο Αυσιμάχου καὶ τὰ συμβάντα τοῖς ἐπὶ τὴν βοήθειαν ἀποσταλεῦσιν ὑπ' 'Αντιγόνου.

'Ως Φίλιππος ἀποσταλεὶς ὑπὸ Κασάνδρου στρατηγὸς els τὴν Αlτωλίαν ἐνίκησεν Αlτωλοὺς ἄμα καὶ τοὺς Ἡπειρώτας.

'Ως 'Ρωμαΐοι μάχη νικήσαντες Σαμνίτας μετ' όλίγον Καμπανούς ἀποστάντας προσηγάγοντο.

<sup>1</sup> τυραννικώς Rhodoman: καὶ εἰρηνικώς.

#### CONTENTS OF THE NINETEENTH BOOK OF DIODORUS

The operations of the generals of Antigonus and of Cassander in Greece (chap. 66).

Cassander's campaign in Actolia and the country

about the Adriatic (chaps. 67-68).

The capture in Caria of the army sent out by

Cassander (chap. 68).1

How the Syracusan exiles, after persuading the people of Acragas to fight against Agathocles, sent for a general from Lacedaemon, Acrotatus (chap. 70).

How Acrotatus accepted the generalship and ruled as a tyrant; and how the Acragantines made peace with the dynast (chap. 71).

The Roman operations in Iapygia (chap. 72).

The revolt of the Callantians from Lysimachus, and what befell those who were dispatched to their aid by Antigonus (chap. 73).

How Philip, who had been sent as general into Aetolia by Cassander, defeated at one time the peoples

of Aetolia and Epirus (chap. 74).2

How the Romans defeated the Samnites in battle, and a little later won back the Campanians who had revolted (chap. 76).

<sup>1</sup> The table of contents omits chap. 69: Antigonus' preparations against Ptolemy.

<sup>2</sup> Chap. 75 is omitted: operations of Antigonus in Asia Minor, and of Cassander in Greece.

'Ως 'Αντίγονος Πτολεμαΐον' στρατηγὸν ἐξαπέστειλε μετὰ δυνάμεως ἐλευθερώσοντα τοὺς "Ελληνας καὶ τὰ πραχθέντα περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα.

'Απόστασις Κυρηναίων καὶ ἄλωσις, ἔτι δὲ Πτολεμαίου

στρατεία είς Κύπρον καὶ Συρίαν.

Μάχη Δημητρίου πρὸς Πτολεμαίον καὶ νίκη Πτολεμαίου.

'Απόστασις Τελεσφόρου τοῦ στρατηγοῦ ἀπὸ 'Αντιγόνου.

Τὰ περὶ τὴν "Ηπειρον καὶ τὸν 'Αδρίαν πραχθέντα Κασάνδρω.

'Ως Σέλευκος παρά Πτολεμαίου λαβών δύναμιν όλίγην ἐκράτησε Βαβυλώνος καὶ τὴν προϋπάρχουσαν αὐτῷ σατραπείων ἀνεσώσατο.

'Ως 'Αντίγονος ἀκινδύνως παραλαβών Κοίλην Συρίαν δύναμιν εξέπεμψεν εἰς τὴν 'Αραβίαν.

Περί των νομίμων οίς χρήται τὰ έθνη των 'Αράβων.

Περί της καλουμένης 'Ασφαλτίτιδος λίμνης.

'Ως 'Αντίγονος τὸν νίδν Δημήτριον έξαπέστειλε μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως εἰς τὴν Βαβυλωνίαν.

Περί τῶν πραχθέντων 'Ρωμαίοις καὶ Σαμνίταις.

'Ως 'Αγαθοκλής Μεσσηνίους παρακρουσάμενος τής πόλεως έκυρίευσεν.

'Ως τοὺς ἀντιταξαμένους Μεσσηνίων καὶ Ταυρομενιτῶν, ἔτι δὲ Κεντοριπίνων ἀπέσφαξεν.

'Ως 'Αγαθοκλής Δεινοκράτη καὶ τοὺς φυγάδας περὶ Γαλαρίαν ἐνίκησεν.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Πτολεμαΐον Geer: Πολέμωνα (cp. chap. 77. 2; also chaps. 57. 4, 68. 5 and notes).

#### CONTENTS OF THE NINETEENTH BOOK

How Antigonus sent Ptolemaeus as general with an army to liberate the Greeks, and about his operations in Greece (chaps. 77-78).

The revolt and the capture of Cyrene, also the campaign of Ptolemy into Cyprus and Syria (chap.

79).

The battle of Demetrius against Ptolemy, and the victory of Ptolemy (chaps. 80-86).

The descrition of Antigonus by his general Teles-

phorus (chap. 87).

The operations of Cassander in Epirus and on the

Adriatic (chaps. 88-89).

How Seleucus received a small force from Ptolemy, gained control of Babylon, and recovered the satrapy that he had formerly possessed (chaps. 90-92).

How Antigonus took Coelê Syria without a battle, and how he dispatched an army into Arabia (chaps.

93-100).

About the customs observed by the Arabian tribes (chap. 94).

About what is called the Bituminous Sea (chaps.

98-99).

How Antigonus sent his son Demetrius with the army into Babylonia (chap. 100).

About the operations of the Romans and the Sam-

nites (chap. 101).

How Agathocles deceived the Messenians and

became ruler of their city (chap. 102).

How he slew those of the Messenians, Tauromenians, and Centoripians who opposed him (chaps. 102-103).

How Agathoeles defeated Deinocrates and the

exiles at Galaria (chap. 104).

'Ρωξάνης καὶ 'Αλεξάνδρου τοῦ βασιλέως θάνατος.
Τὰ πραχθέντα 'Ρωμαίοις κατὰ τὴν 'Ιταλίαν.
Περὶ τῆς γενομένης τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις ναυαγίας.
'Ως Καρχηδόνιοι περὶ τὸν 'Ιμέραν 'Αγαθοκλέα παρα-

τάξει νικήσαντες συνέκλεισαν είς τὰς Συρακούσσας.

#### CONTENTS OF THE NINETEENTH BOOK

The death of Roxanê and of King Alexander (chap. 105).

The operations of the Romans in Italy (chap. 105). About the shipwreck that befell the Carthaginians

(chap. 106).

How the Carthaginians defeated Agathoeles in a battle at Himera and shut him up in Syracuse (chaps. 107-110).

#### ΔΙΟΔΩΡΟΥ

#### TOY SIKEAIGTOY

#### ΒΙΒΑΙΟΘΗΚΗΣ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΚΗΣ

#### ΒΙΒΛΟΣ ΕΝΝΕΑΚΑΙΔΕΚΑΤΗ

66. Τοῦ δ' ἔτους τούτου διελθόντος 'Αθήνησι μέν πργε Νικόδωρος, εν 'Ρώμη δ' ήσαν υπατοι Λεύκιος Παπείριος τὸ τέταρτον καὶ Κόιντος Πό-2 πλιος τὸ δεύτερον. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων 'Αριστόδημος μεν ό κατασταθείς ύπ' 'Αντιγόνου στρατηγός ώς έπύθετο την 'Αλεξάνδρου τοῦ Πολυπέρχοντος ἀπόστασιν, έπὶ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Αἰτωλῶν δικαιολογησάμενος προετρέψατο τὰ πλήθη βοηθεῖν τοῖς 'Αντιγόνου πράγμασιν, αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ τῶν μισθοφόρων διαβάς έκ της Λίτωλίας είς Πελοπόννησον κατέλαβεν 'Αλέξανδρόν τε καὶ τοὺς 'Ηλείους πολιορκοῦντας τὴν Κυλλήνην, εὐκαίρως δὲ τοῖς 3 κινδυνεύουσιν επιφανείς έλυσε την πολιορκίαν. καταλιπών δ' ένταῦθα τοὺς παρεξομένους τῷ φρουρίω την ἀσφάλειαν ἀνέζευξεν είς την 'Αχαΐαν καὶ Πάτρας μεν ήλευθέρωσε φρουρουμένας ύπὸ τοῦ

## THE LIBRARY OF HISTORY

#### DIODORUS OF SICILY

#### BOOK XIX

66. After this year had passed, Nicodorus was \$14 B.C. archon at Athens, and at Rome Lucius Papirius was consul for the fourth time and Quintus Publius for the second.1 While these held office, Aristodemus, who had been made general by Antigonus, on learning of the defection of Polyperchon's son Alexander, presented his own side of the matter to the common assembly of the Actolians and persuaded the majority to support the fortunes of Antigonus. He himself, however, with his mercenaries crossed from Aetolia to the Peloponnesus, where he found Alexander and the Eleans laying siege to Cyllene, and, arriving at a moment opportune for the endangered people, raised the siege. Leaving troops there to insure the safety of the stronghold, he advanced into Achaia and freed Patrae, which was subject to a garri-

Nicodorus was archon in 314/13 B.C. The consuls of 315 B.C. are given by the Fasti Capitolini as L. Papirius Cursor and Q. Poblilius Philo, each for the fourth time (CIL, 1, p. 130). The names of the consuls of this year have been lost from Livy, 9. 22.

Κασάνδρου στρατιωτών, Αίγιον δὲ ἐκπολιορκήσας της τε φρουράς έκυρίευσε καὶ τοῖς Αἰγιεῦσι κατά δόγμα την έλευθερίαν βουλόμενος αποκαταστήσαι δια ταύτην την περίστασιν έκωλύθη· τῶν γὰρ στρατιωτών τραπέντων πρός άρπαγὴν πολλοί μέν άπεσφάγησαν των Αιγιέων πλείσται δε των οικιών 4 διεφθάρησαν. μετά δὲ ταῦτα διαπλεύσαντος εἰς Αίτωλίαν αὐτοῦ Δυμαῖοι, φρουράν ἔχοντες παρά Κασάνδρου, διετείχισαν την πόλιν, ώστε κατ' ίδιαν οθσαν από της ακροπόλεως διεζεθχθαι. παρακαλέσαντες δ' άλλήλους άντέχεσθαι τῆς αὐτονομίας περιεστρατοπέδευσαν την ἄκραν καὶ συνεχεῖς προσ-5 βολάς ἐποιοῦντο. ά δή πυθόμενος ὁ ᾿Αλέξανδρος ηκεν μετά δυνάμεως καὶ βιασάμενος ἐντὸς τοῦ τείχους εκυρίευσε της πόλεως, των δε Δυμαίων τούς μέν απέσφαζεν, τούς δ' είς φυλακήν απέθετο, 6 πολλούς δὲ ἐφυγάδευσεν. οἱ δὲ περιλειφθέντες άπαλλαγέντος ἐκ τῆς πόλεως 'Αλεξάνδρου χρόνον μέν τινα την ήσυχίαν ήγον, καταπεπληγμένοι τὸ μέγεθος της συμφορας αμα δὲ καὶ συμμάχων ὄντες έρημοι μετά δέ τινα χρόνον έξ Αλγίου τους 'Αριστοδήμου μισθοφόρους μεταπεμψάμενοι πάλιν έπέθεντο τῆ φρουρά καὶ κυριεύσαντες τῆς ἄκρας τὴν μέν πόλιν ήλευθέρωσαν, τών δε καταλειφθέντων τούς πλείστους ἀποσφάξαντες συνανείλαν καὶ τῶν ίδίων πολιτών όσοι πρὸς 'Αλέξανδρον είχον φιλίαν, 67. "Αμα δὲ τούτοις πρασσομένοις 'Αλέξανδρος μεν ο Πολυπέρχοντος εκ Σικυῶνος ἀναζευγνύων μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως ὑπ' 'Αλεξίωνος τοῦ Σικυ-

<sup>1</sup> So the MSS., but with  $\eta$  added above  $\epsilon_i$  by second hands,

ωνίου καί τινων άλλων προσποιουμένων είναι

son of Cassander's troops. After a successful siege \$14 B.C. of Aegium he became master of its garrison; but, although he wished to establish freedom for the people of Aegium according to the decree.1 he was blocked by the following incident: for while the soldiers were engaged in pillaging, many of the Acgienses were killed and very many of their buildings were destroyed. Thereafter, when Aristodemus had sailed to Actolia, the Dymacans,2 who were subject to a garrison sent by Cassander, cut off their city by a dividing wall in such a way that it was isolated and separated from the citadel. Then, after encouraging each other to assert their freedom, they invested the citadel and made unremitting attacks upon it. But Alexander on learning of this came with his army, forced his way within the wall, and became master of the city, slaying some of the Dymaeans, imprisoning others, and sending many into exile. When Alexander had departed from the city, the survivors remained quiet for some time, stunned by the magnitude of the disaster and also bereft of allies. After a little while, however, they summoned from Aegium the mercenaries of Aristodemus and once more made an attack on the garrison. Taking the citadel, they freed the city; and when they had massacred most of those who had been left there,3 they likewise slew all those of their own citizens who maintained friendship with Alexander.

67. While this was taking place, Polyperchon's son Alexander, as he was setting out from Sicyon with his army, was killed by Alexion of Sicyon and certain others who pretended to be friends. His

Cp. chap. 61. 3.
 Dyme is a town in western Achaia.
 Or, reading καταληφθέντων: "who had been captured."

φίλων άνηρέθη, ή δὲ γυνή Κρατησίπολις διαδεξαμένη τὰ πράγματα συνείχε τὸ στρατόπεδον, άναπωμένη διαφερόντως ύπο των στρατιωτών διά τάς εὐεργεσίας διετέλει γάρ βοηθούσα τοῖς άτυχοῦσι καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν ἀπόρων ὑπολαμβάνουσα. 2 ήν δὲ περὶ αὐτὴν καὶ σύνεσις πραγματική καὶ τόλμα μείζων ή κατά γυναϊκα των γάρ Σικυωνίων καταφρονησάντων αὐτῆς διὰ τὴν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τελευτὴν καὶ συνδραμόντων μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων ἐπὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, παραταξαμένη καὶ νικήσασα πολλούς μέν άνειλε, συλλαβούσα δὲ περὶ τριάκοντα τὸν ἀριθμὸν άνεσταύρωσεν. ἀσφαλισαμένη δὲ τὰ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν έδυνάστευε τῶν Σικυωνίων, ἔχουσα πολλούς στρατιώτας έτοίμους είς πάντα κίνδυνον.

Καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ Πελοπόννησον ἐν τούτοις ἡν.

3 Κάσανδρος δ' όρων τους Αιτωλους συναγωνιζομένους μεν 'Αντιγόνω πόλεμον δ' έχοντας ομορον πρός 'Ακαρνάνας έκρινε συμφέρειν άμα συμμάχους μέν 'Ακαρνάνας ποιήσασθαι ταπεινώσαι δέ τους Αλτωλούς. διόπερ ἀναζεύξας ἐκ Μακεδονίας μετὰ δυνάμεως μεγάλης ήκεν είς Αίτωλίαν και κατεστρατοπέδευσεν περί τὸν καλούμενον Καμπύλον 4 ποταμόν συναγαγών δὲ τοὺς 'Ακαρνᾶνας εἰς κοινὴν εκκλησίαν καὶ διελθών ὅτι πόλεμον ἔχουσιν ὅμορον έκ παλαιών χρόνων, συνεβούλευεν έκ τῶν ἀνοχύρων<sup>ι</sup> καὶ μικρών χωρίων εἰς δλίγας πόλεις μετοικήσαι, όπως μη διεσπαρμένης της οικήσεως άδυνατώσιν

<sup>1</sup> ἀνοχύρων Reiske, ἀνωχύρων Dindorf : ἀχυρῶν.

<sup>1</sup> It is probable that this name (literally, "conqueror of the city," cp. such a poetic word as κρατησίμαχος, Pindar,

wife, Cratesipolis, however, succeeded to his power 34.8 c. and held his army together, since she was most highly esteemed by the soldiers for her acts of kindness; for it was lifer habit to aid those who were in misfortune and to assist many of those who were without resources. She possessed, too, skill in practical matters and more daring than one would expect in a woman. Indeed, when the people of Sicyon scorned her because of her husband's death and assembled under arms in an effort to gain their freedom, she drew up her forces against them and defeated them with great slaughter, but arrested and crucified about thirty. When she had a firm hold on the city, she governed the Sicyonians, maintaining many soldiers, who were ready for any emergency.

Such, then, was the situation in the Peloponnesus. When Cassander saw that the Aetolians were supporting Antigonus and were also engaged in a border war with the Acarnanians, he decided that it was to his advantage at a single stroke to make the Acarnanians his allies and to humble the Aetolians. For this reason, setting out from Macedonia with a large army, he moved into Aetolia and camped beside the river called the Campylus.<sup>2</sup> When he had summoned the Acarnanians to a common assembly and had related to them in detail how they had been engaged in border warfare from ancient days, he advised them to move from their villages, which were small and unfortified, into a few cities so that they would no longer, because their homes

Pythian Odes, 9, 150), which is not found elsewhere, was conferred upon the princess after the episode here related. She held Sicyon for Polyperchon for some years, surrendering it to Ptolemy in 308 p.c., cp. Book 20, 37, 1.

A tributary of the Achelous.

άλλήλοις βοηθεῖν καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἀπροσδοκήτους τῶν πολεμίων επιθέσεις δυσχερώς άθροίζωνται. πεισθέντων δὲ τῶν 'Ακαρνάνων οἱ πλεῖστοι μὲν εἰς Στράτον πόλιν συνώκησαν, όχυρωτάτην οδσαν καί μεγίστην, Οἰνιάδαι δὲ καί τινες ἄλλοι συνῆλθον ἐπὶ 5 Σαυρίαν, Δεριείς δε μεθ' ετέρων είς 'Αγρίνιον. δ δὲ Κάσανδρος ἀπολιπών στρατηγόν Λυκίσκον μετά των ίκανων στρατιωτών τούτω μέν παρήγγειλε βοηθείν 'Ακαρνάσιν, αὐτὸς δὲ μετά δυνάμεως παρελθών έπὶ Λευκάδος την πόλιν διὰ πρεσβείας 6 προσηγάγετο. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τὴν όρμὴν ἐπὶ τὸν 'Αδρίαν ποιησάμενος 'Απολλωνίαν ἐξ ἐφόδου παρέλαβεν. είς δε την 'Ιλλυρίδα προελθών και διαβάς τὸν "Εβρον ποταμὸν παρετάξατο πρὸς Γλαυκίαν 7 τον 'Ιλλυριών βασιλέα. περιγενόμενος δε τη μάχη πρός μέν τοῦτον συνθήκας ἐποιήσατο, καθ' ας οὐκ έξην τῷ Γλαυκία στρατεύειν ἐπὶ τοὺς Κασάνδρου συμμάχους, την δέ των Έπιδαμνίων πόλιν προσαγαγόμενος καὶ φρουράν έγκαταστήσας έπανήλθεν είς Μακεδονίαν.

68. 'Απαλλαγέντος δὲ ἐκ τῆς Λὶτωλίας τοῦ Κασάνδρου συστραφέντες τῶν Λὶτωλῶν εἰς τρισχιλίους καὶ περιχαρακώσαντες 'Αγρίνιον ἐπολιόρκουν, τῶν δὲ κατοικούντων τὸ χωρίον ὁμολογίας ποιησαμένων ὤστε τὴν μὲν πόλιν παραδοῦναι, τῆς δ' ἀσφαλείας τυχόντας αὐτοὺς ἀπαλλαγῆναι, οὖτοι μὲν πιστεύοντες ταῖς σπονδαῖς ἀπήεσαν, οἱ δ' Λὶτωλοὶ παραβάντες τὰς συνθήκας καὶ καταδιώξαντες τοὺς οὐδὲν ἐλπίζοντας πείσεσθαι δεινὸν πλὴν ὀλίγων 2 πάντας ἀπέσφαξαν. ὁ δὲ Κάσανδρος παραγενόμενος εἰς Μακεδονίαν καὶ πυθόμενος πολεμεῖσθαι <sup>1</sup> εὐχερῶς ος μὴ δυσχερῶς Reiske.

were scattered, be powerless to aid each other and 314 B.C. find difficulty in assembling to meet the unexpected raids of their enemies. The Acarnanians were persuaded, and most of them came to live together in Stratus, since this was their strongest and largest city; but the Oeniadae and some others gathered at Sauria, and the Derians and the rest settled at Agrinium. Cassander left Lyciscus in command with adequate troops, ordering him to aid the Acarnanians; but he himself moved upon Leucas with an army and secured the allegiance of the city through an embassy. Thereafter, directing his campaign to the Adriatic, he took Apollonia at the first assault. Advancing into Illyria and crossing the Hebrus River, he drew up his army against Glaucias, the king of the Illyrians.1 Being successful in the battle, he made a treaty with the king according to which Glaucias was not to wage war on Cassander's allies; then he himself, after securing the city of Epidamnus and establishing a garrison therein, returned to Macedonia.2

68. When Cassander had departed from Aetolia, the Aetolians, gathering together to the number of three thousand, invested Agrinium and began a siege. The inhabitants of the place came to terms with them, agreeing to surrender the city and depart under safe conduct; but when, trusting in the treaty, they were leaving, the Aetolians violated the terms, pursued hotly after these men while they were anticipating no danger, and slaughtered all but a few of them. When Cassander had arrived in Macedonia and heard that war was being waged on

Justin, 15. 2. 1-2, gives a different account of this campaign. The Hebrus River in Illyria seems otherwise unknown.
Continued in chap. 78.

τὰς ἐν Καρία πόλεις ὄσαι συνεμάχουν τοῖς περὶ Πτολεμαΐον καὶ Σέλευκον, εξέπεμψε δύναμιν είς την Καρίαν, άμα μεν βουλόμενος βοηθεῖν τοῖς συμμάγοις, αμα δε σπεύδων είς περισπασμούς έμβαλείν 'Αντίγονον ίνα μή σχολήν έχη διαβαίνειν els 3 την Εθρώπην. Εγραψε δε και πρός Δημήτριον τον Φαληρέα και Διονύσιον τον φρουρούντα την Μουνυχίαν, προστάττων είκοσι ναθς είς Λημνον έκπέμψαι. ἀποστειλάντων δ' αὐτῶν εὐθὺς τὰ σκάφη καὶ ναύαρχον ἐπ' αὐτῶν 'Λριστοτέλη οὖτος μέν καταπλεύσας είς Λήμνον καὶ μεταπεμψάμενος Σέλευκον μετά στόλου τοὺς Λημνίους ἔπειθεν ἀποστήναι τών περί 'Αντίγονον' οὐ προσεχόντων δ' αὐτῶν τήν τε χώραν εδήωσε καὶ τὴν πόλιν περι-4 χαρακώσας επολιόρκει. μετά δὲ ταῦτα Σέλευκος μέν ἀπέπλευσεν είς Κῶν, Διοσκουρίδης δὲ κατασταθείς ναύαρχος ύπ' 'Αντιγόνου, πυθόμενος τὸν πλοῦν Σελεύκου, κατήρεν els Λήμνον καὶ τὸν μèν 'Αριστοτέλη έξέβαλεν έκ τῆς νήσου, τῶν δὲ νεῶν τάς πλείους αὐτάνδρους είλε.

Τα "Ασανδρος' δὲ καὶ Πρεπέλαος ἀφηγοῦντο μὲν τῆς ὑπὸ Κασάνδρου πεμφθείσης δυνάμεως εἰς τὴν Καρίαν, πυθόμενοι δὲ Πτολεμαῖον τὸν 'Αντιγόνου στρατηγὸν τὴν δύναμιν εἰς παραχειμασίαν διηρη-

¹ "Λαωδρος Wesseling (ep. Book 18, 3, 1); Κάσωδρος.

A nephew of Antigonus (chap. 62. 9).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cp. the critical note. As ander became governor of Caria in 323 s.c., continued in power in 321 s.c., and was still satrap of Caria (Books 18. 3. 1, 39. 6; 19. 62. 2, 75. 1). In the MSS, his name is often confused with that of Cassander, as here.

all the cities in Caria that were allied to Ptolemy 314 B.C. and Seleucus, he sent an army into Caria, for he both wished to aid his allies and at the same time was eager to force Antigonus into distracting undertakings so that he might not have leisure for crossing over into Europe. He also wrote to Demetrius of Phalerum and to Dionysius, who commanded the garrison on Munychia, bidding them dispatch twenty ships to Lemnos. They at once sent the boats with Aristotle in command of them. After the latter had sailed to Lemnos and had summoned Seleucus and a fleet, he undertook to persuade the Lemnians to revolt from Antigonus; but as they did not assent, he ravaged their land, invested the city, and began a siege. Afterwards, however, Scleucus sailed off to Cos; and Dioscurides,1 who had been made admiral by Antigonus, on learning of Seleucus' departure, swooped down upon Lemnos, drove Aristotle himself from the island, and captured most of his ships together with their crews.

Asander and Prepelais were in command of the expedition sent by Cassander into Caria; and, on being informed that Ptolemaeus, the general of Antigonus, had divided his army for wintering

5 The winter of 314/13.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Prepelaüs had been sent by Cassander to Polyperchon's son, Alexander, in a successful effort to win him away from Antigonus (chap. 64. 3). We hear no more of him after the present campaign until 303 s.c., when he commanded the garrison at Corinth for Cassander (Book 20. 103. 1).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Ptolemaeus (or Polemaeus, cp. IG, 2°. 1. 469), a nephew of Antigonus, had accompanied his uncle at the siege of Nora and had been accepted by Eumenes as a hostage (Plutarch, Eumenes, 10. 3). In 315 s.c. he conducted a successful campaign in Asia Minor against the generals of Cassander (chaps. 57. 4; 60. 2).

κέναι καὶ αὐτὸν ἀσχολεῖσθαι περὶ τὴν ταφὴν τοῦ πατρός, Εὐπόλεμον ἀπέστειλαν ἐνεδρεῦσαι τοῖς πολεμίοις περὶ Κάπριμα τῆς Καρίας συνεξέπεμψαν δ' αὐτῷ πεζοὺς μὲν ὀκτακισχιλίους, ἱππεῖς δὲ διακοσίους. καθ' ὁν δὴ χρόνον Πτολεμαῖος παρά τινων αὐτομόλων ἀκούσας τὴν προαίρεσιν τῶν πολεμίων ἤθροισε μὲν τῶν πλησίον χειμαζόντων στρατιωτῶν πεζοὺς μὲν ὀκτακισχιλίους τριακοσίους, 7 ἱππεῖς δ' ἐξακοσίους. ἀνελπίστως δὲ περὶ μέσας νύκτας ἐπιβαλὼν τῷ χάρακι τῶν ἐναντίων καὶ καταλαβὼν ἀφυλάκτους καὶ κοιμωμένους αὐτόν τε τὸν Εὐπόλεμον ἐζώγρησε καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας συνηνάγκασε παραδοῦναι σφᾶς αὐτούς.

Τὰ μὲν οὖν συμβάντα περὶ τοὺς ἀποσταλέντας ὑπὸ Κασάνδρου στρατηγοὺς εἰς τὴν 'Ασίαν τοιαῦτ'

 $\tilde{\eta}\nu$ .

69. 'Αντίγονος δ' όρων τὸν Κάσανδρον ἀντεχόμενον τῆς 'Ασίας Δημήτριον μὲν τὸν υίὸν ἀπέλιπεν 
ἐν τῆ Συρία, προστάξας ἐνεδρεύειν τοὺς περὶ 
Πτολεμαῖον, οὖς ὑπώπτευεν ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου 
προάξειν μετὰ δυνάμεως ἐπὶ Συρίας, συναπέλιπε δ' 
αὐτῷ πεζοὺς μὲν ξένους μυρίους, Μακεδόνας δὲ 
δισχιλίους, Λυκίους δὲ καὶ Παμφυλίους πεντακοσίους, Πέρσας δὲ τοξότας καὶ σφενδονήτας τετρακοσίους, ἱππεῖς δὲ πεντακισχιλίους, ἐλέφαντας δὲ 
τρεῖς' πλείους τῶν τεσσαράκοντα. παρακατέστησε 
δ' αὐτῷ καὶ συμβούλους τέσσαρας, Νέαρχόν τε τὸν 
Κρῆτα καὶ Πίθωνα τὸν 'Αγήνορος, ὂς καταβεβήκει

Caprima in Caria is otherwise unknown.

<sup>1</sup> τρεῖς omitted by Fischer.

Cp. Plutarch, Demetrius, 5. 2; Appian, Syrian Wars, 54.
 Nearchus was a boyhood friend of Alexander (Arrian,

and was himself engaged in burying his father, they 314 B.C. dispatched Eupolemus to lie in wait for the enemy near Caprima in Caria, sending with him eight thousand foot soldiers and two hundred horse. But at this time Ptolemaeus, who had heard from some deserters of the plan of the enemy, gathered from the troops who were wintering near by eight thousand three hundred foot soldiers and six hundred horse. Falling unexpectedly upon the fortified camp of the enemy about midnight and catching them off guard and asleep, he captured Eupolemus himself alive and forced the soldiers to give themselves up.

This, then, is what befell the generals who were

sent by Cassander into Asia.

69. When Antigonus perceived that Cassander was trying to win Asia for himself, he left his son Demetrius in Syria,<sup>2</sup> ordering him to lie in wait for Ptolemy, whom he suspected of intending to advance from Egypt with an army against Syria; with Demetrius he left an infantry force consisting of ten thousand mercenaries, two thousand Macedonians, five hundred Lycians and Pamphylians, and four hundred Persian archers and slingers, a cavalry force of five thousand, and forty-three elephants. He assigned to him four counsellors: Nearchus of Crete,<sup>3</sup> Pithon, son of Agenor,<sup>4</sup> who had returned

Anabasis, 3. 6. 5; Plutarch, Alexander, 10. 3), who had accompanied him on the march eastward and commanded the fleet on the return. In 323 n.c. he was appointed to command a voyage of exploration around Arabia, but this was abandoned on Alexander's death (Arrian, Anabasis, 7. 25. 4; Plutarch, Alexander, 68). He served under Antigonus in 317 s.c. (chap. 19. 4) and joined Demetrius in urging that Eumenes be spared (Plutarch, Eumenes, 18. 3).

This Pithon had been left by Alexander as satrap of lower India (Arrian, Anahasis, 6. 15, 4) and had remained

πρότερον ολίγαις ήμέραις έκ Βαβυλώνος, πρός δέ τούτοις 'Ανδρόνικόν τε τον 'Ολύνθιον καὶ Φίλιππον, άνδρας πρεσβυτέρους καὶ συνεστρατευκότας 'Αλεξάνδρω πασαν την στρατείαν ήν γαρ Δημήτριος ἔτι νέος τὴν ἡλικίαν, ὡς ἄν γεγονὼς ἔτη δύο προς 2 τοις εἴκοσιν. αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν ἄλλην δύναμιν ἀνέλαβε καὶ τὸ μὲν πρώτον ὑπερβάλλων τὸν Ταῦρον καὶ περιπεσών χιόνι πολλή συχνούς ἀπέβαλε τών στρατιωτών. διὸ καὶ πάλιν ἀναστρέψας εἰς τὴν Κιλικίαν και μεταλαβών έτερον καιρόν διεξήλθε μέν ἀσφαλέστερον τὸ προειρημένον ὅρος, παραγενόμενος δ' είς Κελαινάς της Φρυγίας διείλε τὸ 3 στρατόπεδον εἰς χειμασίαν. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τὸν στόλον εκ Φοινίκης μετεπέμψατο Μηδίου ναυαρχούντος, δε περιτυχών ταις Πυδναίων² ναυσίν, ούσαις τριάκοντα έξ, καὶ καταναυμαχήσας αὐτάνδρων τῶν σκαφῶν ἐκυρίευσεν.

Καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ τὴν 'Ασίαν ἐν

τούτοις ήν.

70. Κατὰ δὲ τὴν Σικελίαν οἱ τῶν Συρακοσίων φυγάδες διατρίβοντες ἐν ᾿Ακράγαντι παρεκάλουν τοὺς προεστηκότας τῆς πόλεως μὴ περιορῶν ᾿Αγα-

¹ ἀνέλαβε Fischer : ἔλαβε.

2 For the meaningless Πυδναίων Fischer suggests Πτολεμαίου οτ Πολυκλείτου, cp. chap. 64. 4.

there (Book 18. 3. 3; 39. 6) until recalled by Antigonus in 316 s.c. to become satrap of Babylonia (chap. 56. 4). He is not to be confused with Pithon of the Bodyguard, who had been put to death by Antigonus in 316 s.c. (chap. 46. 3-4), or with the Pithon who was satrap of Media (Book 18. 3. 1; 39. 6).

Nothing is known of his service under Alexander. He served under Antigonus at the siege of Tyre in 315 s.c. (chap.

59. 2).

a few days before from Babylon, also Andronicus 214 B.C. of Olynthus 1 and Philip,2 men advanced in years who had accompanied Alexander on his whole campaign; for Demetrius was still youthful, being twenty-two years of age. Antigonus himself, taking the rest of the army, first tried to cross the Taurus Range, where he encountered deep snow and lost large numbers of his soldiers. Turning back therefore into Cilicia and seizing another opportunity, he crossed the aforesaid range in greater safety; and, on reaching Celaenae in Phrygia, he divided his army for wintering.3 Thereafter he summoned from Phoenicia his fleet under the command of Medius,4 who fell in with the ships of the Pydnaeans,5 thirty-six in number, defeated them in an engagement, and captured the vessels together with their crews.

This was the situation in Greece and in Asia.6

70. In Sicily those of the Syracusan exiles who were tarrying in Acragas urged the rulers of that city not to watch complacently while Agathocles

3 This is the winter of 314/13 B.C.

<sup>4</sup> Medius served under Alexander, playing a more important part after the death of Hephaestion (Book 17, 117, 1). He was accused of poisoning Alexander (Arrian, Anabasis, 7, 27, 2), and after Alexander's death served Perdiccas (Arrian, Successors, 24, 6) and then joined Antigonus.

\* "Pydnacans" is certainly wrong. Possibly we should read "of Ptolemy," or "of Polyclitus," who was an admiral

of Ptolemy.

<sup>6</sup> Continued in chap. 73.

<sup>7</sup> Continued from chap. 65. 6. The invitation to Acrotatus is probably to be dated in the preceding year.

Nothing is known of his earlier career, but he may be the Philip who received Bactrianê and Sogdianê in 323 a.c. (Book 16. 3. 3). Ten years later he is still faithfully serving Antigonus (Book 20. 107. 5).

θοκλέα συσκευαζόμενον τὰς πόλεις αἰρετώτερον γάρ είναι πρό τοῦ τὸν τύραννον ἰσχυρὸν γενέσθαι διαπολεμείν έκουσίως ή περιμείναντας αύτοῦ την αὔξησιν ἐξ ἀνάγκης πρὸς ἰσχυρότερον διαγωνίζε-2 σθαι. δοξάντων δ' αὐτῶν ἀληθῆ λέγειν ὁ μὲν δῆμος τῶν 'Ακραγαντίνων ἐψηφίσατο τὸν πόλεμον καὶ Γελώους μέν και Μεσσηνίους είς την συμμαχίαν προσελάβοντο, είς δε την Λακεδαιμονίαν τῶν φυγάδων τινάς εξέπεμψαν, εντειλάμενοι πειρασθαι στρατηγόν ἄγειν τὸν δυνάμενον πραγμάτων άφηγή-3 σασθαι· τούς γάρ πολιτικούς ύπώπτευον ώς όντας ολκείους τυραννίδος, τούς δ' έξωθεν υπελάμβανον δικαίως ποιήσεσθαι την των όλων επιμέλειαν, άναμιμνησκόμενοι της Τιμολέοντος τοῦ Κορινθίου 4 στρατηγίας. οἱ δὲ πεμφθέντες ως ποθ' ήκον εἰς την Λακωνικήν, εύρον 'Ακρότατον τον Κλεομένους τοῦ βασιλέως υίὸν προσκεκοφότα πολλοῖς τῶν νέων καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ξενικών πραγμάτων δρεγόμενον. 5 τῶν γὰρ Λακεδαιμονίων μετὰ τὴν πρὸς 'Αντίπατρον μάχην ἀπολυόντων τῆς ἀτιμίας τοὺς ἐκ τῆς ἥττης διασωθέντας μόνος ενέστη τῷ δόγματι. διόπερ αὐτὸν συνέβη καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οὐκ ὀλίγοις προσκόψαι, μάλιστα δ' οξς ήν των νόμων τὰ πρόστιμα. οδτοι γάρ συστραφέντες πληγάς τε ένεφόρησαν1 6 αὐτῶ καὶ διετέλουν ἐπιβουλεύοντες. διὰ ταῦτα δὴ ξενικής ήγεμονίας ἐπιθυμῶν ἀσμένως ὑπήκουσε τοῖς 'Ακραγαντίνοις, τὴν δ' ἀποδημίαν ποιησάμενος ἄνευ της των εφόρων γνώμης άνήχθη ναυσίν

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> πληγάς τε ενεφόρησαν editors: πληγάς τε ενεφορήθησαν RX, πληγάς συνεφόρησαν F.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cp. the action of the Syracusans who, after the death of Timoleon, passed a law that henceforth they would always 22

organized the cities; for it was better, they said, to \$14 B.C. fight it out of their own free will before the tyrant became strong than to await the increase of his power and then be forced to struggle against him when he had grown stronger. Since they seemed to speak the truth, the popular assembly of the Acragantines voted for the war, added the people of Gela and Messenê to the alliance, and sent some of the exiles to Lacedaemon, instructing them to try to bring back a general capable of taking charge of affairs; for they were suspicious of their own statesmen as being inclined toward tyranny, but, remembering the generalship of Timoleon the Corinthian, assumed that leaders from abroad would honestly devote themselves to the common cause. The envoys, when they arrived in Laconia, found that Acrotatus, the son of King Cleomenes, had given offence to many of the younger men and for this reason was eager for activity away from home. This was because, when the Lacedaemonians after the battle against Antipater relieved from ignominy those who had survived the defeat,2 he alone opposed the decree. He thus gave offence to many others and in particular to those who were subject to the penalties of the laws; indeed, these persons gathered together and gave him a beating, and they were constantly plotting against him. Being therefore anxious for a foreign command, he gladly accepted the invitation of the men from Acragas. Taking his departure from the state without the consent of the ephors, he set sail elect a Corinthian to lead them in foreign wars (Plutarch, Timoleon, 38. 2).

<sup>2</sup> The battle at Megalopolis in 331 s.c., in which King Agis III of Sparta was defeated and lost his life (Book 17. 62-63).

7 ολίγαις, ώς διαρῶν' ἐπ' 'Ακράγαντος. ἀπενεχθεὶς δ' ὑπ' ἀνέμων εἰς τὸν 'Αδρίαν κατῆρε μὲν εἰς τὴν τῶν 'Απολλωνιατῶν χώραν, καταλαβὼν δὲ τὴν πόλιν πολιορκουμένην ὑπὸ Γλαυκίου τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν 'Ιλλυριῶν ἔλυσε τὴν πολιορκίαν, πείσας τὸν βασιλέα συνθήκας ποιήσασθαι πρὸς τοὺς 'Απολ-8 λωνιάτας. ἐντεῦθεν δὲ πλεύσας εἰς Τάραντα καὶ παρακαλέσας τὸν δῆμον συνελευθεροῦν Συρακοσίους, ἔπεισε ψηφίσασθαι ναυσὶν είκοσι βοηθεῖνδιὰ γὰρ τὴν συγγένειαν καὶ τὸ τῆς οἰκίας σχῆμα προσένεμον' τοῖς λόγοις αὐτοῦ πίστιν τε μεγάλην καὶ βάρος.

71. Τῶν δὲ Ταραντίνων περὶ τὴν παρασκευὴν ὅντων αὐτὸς αὐτόθεν ἐκπλεύσας³ εἰς τὸν ᾿Ακράγαντα παρέλαβε τὴν στρατηγίαν καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον μετεωρήσας τὰ πλήθη μεγάλαις ἐλπίσι παρεστήσατο πάντας προσδοκᾶν σύντομον κατάλυσιν τοῦ ² τυράννου, τοῦ δὲ χρόνου προϊόντος πρᾶξιν μὲν οὐδεμίαν οὕτε τῆς πατρίδος οὕτε τῆς περὶ τὸ γένος ἐπιφανείας ἀξίαν διεπράξατο, τοὐναντίον δὲ φονικὸς ὢν καὶ τῶν τυράννων ἀμότερος προσέκοπτε τοῖς πλήθεσι. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τὴν πάτριον δίαιταν μετέβαλεν καὶ ταῖς ἡδοναῖς ἐνετρύφησεν οὕτως ἀσελγῶς ὥστε Πέρσην εἶναι δοκεῖν καὶ οὐ Σπαρτιάτην. ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν προσόδων τὸ πλεῖον μέρος ἀνήλωσεν τὰ μὲν πολιτευόμενος, τὰ δὲ διανοσφιζόμενος τέλος Σωσίστρατον, ἐπιφανέστατον τῶν φυ-

διαρῶν Dindorf: διαίρων MSS. followed by Fischer.
 προσένεμον Dindorf: προσενόουν RX, προσέπεσθαι F.
 αὐτόθεν ἐκπλεύσας Capps: συνεκπλεύσας.

Almost certainly identical with the Sostratus of chaps. 3-5. He was leader of the oligarchical party in Syracuse 24

with a few ships as if to cross to Acragas. He was, 314 B.O. however, carried by the winds into the Adriatic and landed in the territory of Apollonia. Finding that city besieged by Glaucias, the king of the Illyrians, he brought the siege to an end, persuading the king to make a treaty with the people of Apollonia. Thence he sailed to Tarentum, where he urged the people to join in freeing the Syracusans; and he persuaded them to vote to assist with twenty ships; for because of ties of kinship and on account of the dignity of his family, they ascribed to his words a high degree of sincerity and great importance.

71. While the Tarentines were engaged in their preparations, Acrotatus immediately sailed to Acragas where he assumed the office of general. At first he buoyed up the common people with great expectations and caused all to anticipate a speedy overthrow of the tyrant; however, as time advanced, he accomplished nothing worthy either of his fatherland or of the distinction of his family, but on the contrary, being bloodthirsty and more cruel than the tyrants, he continually gave offence to the common people. Moreover, he abandoned his native manner of living and devoted himself so unrestrainedly to pleasure that he seemed to be a Persian and not a Spartan. When he had squandered the larger part of the revenue, partly by his public activity, partly by private peculation, he finally invited to dinner Sosistratus,1 who was the most distinguished of the

and one of the Six Hundred at the time when Agathocles became tyrant, escaping death by flight. In chap. 3. 3, Diodorus, following some democratic source, describes him as one who "had spent the greater part of his life in plots, murders, and great impieties," in sharp contrast to the praise given him in this passage, probably based on Timaeus.

γάδων, πολλάκις δυνάμεων άφηγησάμενον, ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον παραλαβών ἐδολοφόνησεν, ἐγκαλέσαι μὲν άπλως οὐδ' ότιοῦν ἔχων, ἐκ ποδων δὲ ποιήσασθαι σπεύδων δραστικόν ἄνδρα καὶ δυνάμενον ἐφεδρεθσαι 5 τοις κακώς προϊσταμένοις της ήγεμονίας. διαβοηθείσης δε της πράξεως εὐθύς οι τε φυγάδες συνέτρεχον έπ' αὐτὸν καὶ πάντες οἱ λοιποὶ διετέθησαν άλλοτρίως και το μέν πρώτον ἀπέστησαν αὐτὸν τῆς στρατηγίας, μετ' όλίγον δὲ καὶ βάλλειν τοῖς λίθοις έπεχείρησαν διόπερ φοβηθείς την του πλήθους δρμήν νυκτός έφυγε και λαθών διήρεν είς την 6 Λακωνικήν. τούτου δ' απαλλαγέντος Ταραντίνοι μέν ἀπεσταλκότες είς Σικελίαν τὸν στόλον μετεπέμψαντο, 'Ακραγαντίνοι δὲ καὶ Γελώοι καὶ Μεσσήνιοι κατέλυσαν τὸν πρὸς 'Αγαθοκλέα πόλεμον, μεσιτεύσαντος τὰς συνθήκας 'Αμίλκου τοῦ Καρχη-7 δονίου. ήσαν δὲ τὰ κεφάλαια τῶν συντεθέντων τοιάδε, τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων τῶν κατὰ Σικελίαν 'Ηράκλειαν μεν καὶ Σελινοῦντα καὶ πρὸς ταύταις Ίμέραν ύπὸ Καρχηδονίοις τετάχθαι, καθὰ καὶ προϋπήρχου, τὰς δ' ἄλλας πάσας αὐτονόμους είναι. την ηγεμονίαν εχόντων Συρακοσίων.

72. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα 'Αγαθοκλῆς δρῶν ἔρημον οὖσαν τὴν Σικελίαν στρατοπέδων πολεμίων ἀδεῶς προσήγετο τὰς πόλεις καὶ τὰ χωρία. ταχὺ δὲ πολλῶν ἐγκρατὴς γενόμενος ἰσχυρὰν κατεσκευάσατο τὴν δυναστείαν καὶ γὰρ συμμάχων πλῆθος καὶ προσόδους άδρὰς καὶ στρατόπεδον ἀξιόλογον περι-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> σπεύδων added by Fischer, cp. chap. 55. 4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> But in chap. 102, 1 we are told that Messenê was excluded from the peace.

exiles and had often commanded armies, and treacher- 314 B.C. ously killed him, not having any charge whatever to bring against him and yet being eager to put out of the way a man who was accustomed to act and who was capable of keeping under surveillance those who misused positions of leadership. When this deed became known, the exiles at once began to join forces against Acrotatus, and all the rest were alienated from him. First they removed him from his generalship, and soon afterwards they attempted to stone him, whereupon, terrified by the popular uprising, he took flight by night and sailed secretly to Laconia. After his departure the Tarentines, who had sent their fleet to Sicily, recalled it; and the peoples of Acragas, Gela, and Messenê 1 brought their war against Agathocles to an end, Hamilcar 2 the Carthaginian acting as mediator in making the treaty. The chief points of the agreement were as follows: of the Greek towns in Sicily, Heraclea, Selinus, and Himera were to be subject to the Carthaginians as they had been before, and all the others were to be autonomous under the hegemony of Syracuse.

72. Afterwards, however, when Agathocles perceived that Sicily was clear of hostile armies, he began unhampered to subject the cities and strongholds to himself. Mastering many of them quickly, he made his power secure; in fact, he built up for himself a host of allies, ample revenues, and a

It is probable that the events narrated in this paragraph belong, at least in part, to the following year, in the account

of which Sicily is not mentioned.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> He had previously shown himself favourable to Agathoeles (Justin, 22. 2. 6). He is possibly to be identified with the Hamilear who had fought against Timoleon (Plutarch, Timoleon, 25).

2 εποιήσατο. χωρὶς γὰρ τῶν συμμάχων καὶ τῶν ἐκ Συρακουσσῶν καταγραφέντων εἰς τὴν στρατείαν μισθοφόρους ἐπιλέκτους εἶχε πεζοὺς μὲν μυρίους, ἰππεῖς δὲ τρισχιλίους πεντήκοντα. ἐποιήσατο δὲ καὶ παρασκευὴν ὅπλων καὶ βελῶν παντοδαπῶν, εἰδὼς τοὺς Καρχηδονίους ἐπιτετιμηκότας τῷ ᾿Αμίλκα περὶ τῶν συνθηκῶν συντόμως δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸν πόλεμον ἐξοίσοντας.

Καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ Σικελίαν ἐν τούτοις τοῖς χρόνοις

τοιαύτην έσχε την κατάστασιν.

Κατά δὲ τὴν Ἱταλίαν Σαμνῖται διαπολεμοῦντες 'Ρωμαίοις έτη πλείονα περί τῆς ἡγεμονίας Πληστικήν μέν φρουράν έχουσαν 'Ρωμαϊκήν έξεπολιόρκησαν, Σωρανούς δ' έπεισαν κατασφάξαι μέν τούς παρ' αὐτοῖς 'Ρωμαίους, συμμαχίαν δὲ πρὸς Σαμνί-4 τας συνθέσθαι. μετά δὲ ταῦτα Ῥωμαίων Σατικόλαν πολιορκούντων ἐπεφάνησαν μετὰ δυνάμεως άδρᾶς, σπεύδοντες λύσαι την πολιορκίαν γενομένης οὖν μάχης ἰσχυρᾶς πολλοὶ μὲν παρ' ἀμφοτέρων άνηρέθησαν, τέλος δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ πρυτερήματος ἐγένοντο 'Ρωμαΐοι. μετὰ δὲ τὴν μάχην ἐκπολιορκήσαντες την πόλιν ἐπήεσαν ἀδεῶς τὰ πλησίον 5 πολίσματα καὶ χωρία προσαγόμενοι. τοῦ δὲ πολέμου περί τὰς ἐν ᾿Απουλία πόλεις συνεστώτος οί μεν Σαμνίται πάντας τους εν ήλικία στρατείας οντας καταγράψαντες ἐστρατοπέδευσαν πλησίον τῶν 6 πολεμίων, ώς περὶ τῶν ὅλων κριθησόμενοι. ä δὴ πυθόμενος ο δήμος των 'Ρωμαίων και διαγωνιάσας 1 ήλικία Hertlein: ήλικίαις.

<sup>2</sup> Continued in chap. 102.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Hamilcar was accused of treason but died before the trial was completed (Justin, 22, 3, 2-7).

considerable army. Indeed, without counting the 814 B.C. allies and those of the Syracusans who had enlisted for military service, he had a picked mercenary force comprising ten thousand foot soldiers and thirty-five hundred horse. Moreover, he prepared a store of weapons and of missiles of all kinds, since he knew that the Carthaginians, who had censured Hamilear for the terms of peace, would shortly wage war against him.

This was the situation of Sicilian affairs at this time.2 In Italy 3 the Samnites, fighting bitterly against the Romans for supremacy in a struggle lasting many years, took by siege Plestice,4 which had a Roman garrison, and persuaded the people of Sora to slay the Romans who were among them and to make an alliance with themselves. Next, as the Romans were besieging Saticula, the Samnites suddenly appeared with a strong army intent on raising the siege. A great battle then took place in which many were slain on both sides, but eventually the Romans gained the upper hand. After the battle the Romans carried the siege of the city to completion and then advanced at will, subjecting the near-by towns and strongholds. Now that the struggle for the cities of Apulia 5 had been joined, the Samnites enrolled all who were of age for military service and encamped near the enemy as if intending to decide the whole issue. When the Roman people learned

Continued from chap. 65. 7; cp. Livy, 9. 21-23.

<sup>4</sup> The location of this town, called Plistica or Postia in

the MSS. of Livy, is not known.

So the MSS., but Sora is in south-eastern Latium, Saticula on the frontier between Campania and Samnium, and Laustolae covers the shore road from Latium to Campania. Perhaps we should read "Campania."

περί του μέλλοντος δύναμιν προέπεμψε πολλήν. είωθότες δ' έν τοις επικινδύνοις καιροίς αύτοκράτορα τοῦ πολέμου καθιστᾶν τινὰ τῶν ἀξιολόγων άνδρῶν προεχειρίσαντο τότε Κόιντον Φάβιον καὶ 7 μετ' αὐτοῦ Κόιντον Αὔλιον¹ ἵππαρχον. οὖτοι δὲ τὰς δυνάμεις παραλαβόντες παρετάξαντο πρὸς τοὺς Σαμνίτας περὶ τὰς καλουμένας Λαυστόλας καὶ πολλούς των στρατιωτών ἀπέβαλον. τροπής δε γενομένης καθ' ἄπαν τὸ στρατόπεδον ὁ μὲν Αὔλιος καταισχυνθείς επί τη φυγή μόνος υπέστη τώ<sup>2</sup> πλήθει τῶν πολεμίων, οὐ κρατήσειν ἐλπίζων, ἀλλ' ἀήττητον τὴν πατρίδα τὸ καθ' αὐτὸν μέρος ἀποούτος μέν ούν ού μετασχών τοίς 8 δεικνύων. πολίταις της κατά την φυγήν αλοχύνης ίδια περιεποιήσατο θάνατον ένδοξον οι δε Τωμαίοι φοβηθέντες μή τὰ κατὰ την 'Απουλίαν πράγματα τελέως ἀποβάλωσιν, ἀποικίαν ἐξέπεμψαν εἰς Λουκερίαν<sup>2</sup> πόλιν ἐπιφανεστάτην τῶν ἐν τοῖς τόποις. ἐκ ταύτης δε όρμωμενοι διεπολέμουν τοῖς Σαμνίταις, 9 οὐ κακῶς τῆς ἀσφαλείας προνοησάμενοι διὰ γὰρ ταύτην την πόλιν ου μόνον έν τούτω τῷ πολέμω προετέρησαν, άλλα και κατά τους μετά ταθτα γενομένους έως των καθ' ήμας χρόνων διετέλεσαν δρμητηρίω χρώμενοι κατά τῶν πλησίον ἐθνῶν.

Αὔλιον Rhodoman, cp. Livy, 9. 22: "Ωλιον RX, Αἴλιον F,
 τε after τῷ omitted by Rhodoman.
 Λουκερίαν Stephanus: Λοκρίαν RX, Λουκρίαν F.
 κατὰ added by Stephanus.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Called Lautulae by Livy (9, 23, 4-5), who says that this was a drawn battle, but admits that some of his sources called it a defeat in which Aulius lost his life. According to Livy, Fabius a few days later won a great victory, but this second battle is unknown to our other historians.

this, they became anxious about what was impending 314 B.c. and sent out a large army. As it was their custom in a dangerous crisis to appoint as military dictator one of their eminent men, they now elected Quintus Fabrus and with him Quintus Aulius as master-ofhorse. These, after assuming command of the army, took the field and fought against the Samnites at Laustolae,1 as it is called, losing many of their soldiers. As panic spread through the whole army, Aulius, in shame at the flight, stood alone against the mass of the enemy, not that he hoped to prevail, but he was maintaining his fatherland undefeated as far as he was concerned. Thus he, by not sharing with his fellow citizens in the disgrace of flight, gained a glorious death for himself alone; but the Romans, fearing that they might completely lose control throughout Apulia, sent a colony to Luceria, which was the most noteworthy of the cities of that region. Using it as a base, they continued the war against the Samnites, having made no mean provision for their future security; for not only were the Romans victorious in this war because of this city, but also in the wars that have subsequently taken place down to our own time they have continued to use Luceria as a base of operations against the neighbouring peoples.2

Livy (9. 26. 1-5) places the establishment of this colony under the next consuls, that is in 314 s.c. by the conventional Roman chronology, 313 s.c. according to Diodorus. Luceria served as a Roman base in the Second Punic War, remaining loyal in the darkest days of the conflict (Livy, 22. 9. 5; 23. 37. 13; 24. 3. 16, etc.); and in the Civil War Pompey used it for a time as his headquarters (Caesar, Civil War, 1. 24). For the possible bearing of this passage on the date of Diodorus' source for Roman history, see the Introduction to Vol. IX, page ix. The account of Italian affairs is continued in chap. 76.

73. Των δε κατά τουτον τον ενιαυτόν πράξεων τέλος έχουσῶν 'Αθήνησι μὲν παρέλαβε τὴν ἀρχὴν Θεόφραστος, ἐν 'Ρώμη δ' ὕπατοι κατεστάθησαν Μάρκος Πόπλιος και Γάιος Σουλπίκιος. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων Καλλαντιανοί κατοικοῦντες ἐν τοῖς ἐν ἀριστερά μέρεσι τοῦ Πόντου καὶ φρουράν έχοντες παρά Λυσιμάχου ταύτην εξέβαλον και της αυτονομίας 2 άντείχοντο. ώσαύτως δέ τήν τε τῶν Ἰστριανῶν πόλιν και τὰς ἄλλας τὰς πλησιοχώρους ἐλευθερώσαντες συνέθεντο συμμαχίαν ώς κοινή πολεμείν τῶ δυνάστη προσελάβοντο δ' είς την φιλίαν τών τε Θρακών και Σκυθών τους δμορούντας, ώστε το παν είναι σύστημα βάρος έχον καὶ δυνάμενον άδραῖς 3 δυνάμεσιν άντιτάσσεσθαι. ὁ δὲ Λυσίμαχος πυθόμενος τὰ πεπραγμένα μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως ώρμησεν έπὶ τοὺς ἀφεστηκότας. ποιούμενος δὲ τὴν πορείαν διά της Θράκης και τον Αξμον υπερβαλών κατεστρατοπέδευσε πλησίον της 'Οδησσού. πολιορκίαν δὲ συστησάμενος ταχὺ τοὺς ἔνδον κατεπλήξατο καὶ 4 δι' όμολογίας παρέλαβε τὴν πόλιν. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τῶ παραπλησίω τρόπω τοὺς Ίστριανοὺς άνακτησάμενος ἀνέζευξεν ἐπὶ Καλλαντιανούς. καθ' ὃν δὴ γρόνον ήκον οι τε Σκύθαι και Θράκες σύν πολλή δυνάμει βοηθήσοντες τοῖς συμμάχοις κατά τὰς 5 συνθήκας. οίς ἀπαντήσας Λυσίμαχος καὶ συμβαλών έξ έφόδου τούς μέν Θράκας καταπληξάμενος ἔπεισε μεταθέσθαι, τούς δὲ Σκύθας ἐκ παρατάξεως νικήσας καὶ πολλοὺς ἀνελών τούτων μὲν τοὺς ὑπολειφθέντας ἐδίωξεν ἐκτὸς τῶν ὅρων, τὴν δὲ τῶν

Theophrastus was archon in 313/12 s.c. In the Fasti Capitolini the consuls for 314 s.c. are M. Poetelius Libo

73. When the activities of this year had come to siz B.C. an end, Theophrastus obtained the archonship in Athens, and Marcus Publius and Gaius Sulpicius became consuls in Rome. While these were in office, the people of Callantia, who lived on the left side of the Pontus 2 and who were subject to a garrison that had been sent by Lysimachus, drove out this garrison and made an effort to gain autonomy. In like manner they freed the city of the Istrians and the other neighbouring cities, and formed an alliance with them binding them to fight together against the prince. They also brought into the alliance those of the Thracians and Scythians whose lands bordered upon their own, so that the whole was a union that had weight and could offer battle with strong forces. As soon, however, as Lysimachus learned what had taken place, he set out with his army against the rebels. After marching through Thrace and crossing the Haemus Mountains, he encamped near Odessus. Beginning a siege, he quickly frightened the inhabitants and took the city by capitulation. Next, after recovering the Istrians in a similar way, he set out against the Callantians. At this very time the Scythians and the Thracians arrived with large forces to aid their allies in accordance with the treaty. Lysimachus, meeting them and engaging them at once, terrified the Thracians and induced them to change sides; but the Scythians he defeated in a pitched battle, slaying many of them and pursuing the survivors beyond the frontiers.

and C. Sulpicius Longus for the third time (CIL, 1, p. 130; cp. Livy, 9, 24, 1).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> i.e. on the left as one enters the Euxine from the Bosporus. The city is called Callatis by Strabo, 7. 5. 12. The narrative is continued from chap. 69.

# DIODORUS OF SICILY Καλλαντιανῶν πόλιν περιστρατοπεδεύσας συνεστή-

σατο πολιορκίαν, φιλοτιμούμενος έκ παντός τρόπου β κολάσαι τους αιτίους της αποστάσεως. περί ταθτα δ' όντος αὐτοθ παρησάν τινες ἀπαγγέλλοντες ότι δύο δυνάμεις απέσταλκεν 'Αντίγονος ἐπὶ βοήθειαν τοις Καλλαντιανοις, την μέν πεζή, την δέ κατά θάλασσαν, καὶ διότι τῷ μὲν στόλῳ Λύκων δ στρατηγός παραπέπλευκεν είς τον Πόντον, Παυσανίας δ' έχων οὐκ ολίγους στρατιώτας περὶ τὸ 7 καλούμενον 'Ιερον κατεστρατοπέδευσεν. εφ' ofs ό Λυσίμαχος διαταραχθείς έπὶ μέν τῆς πολιορκίας άπέλιπεν τοὺς ἱκανοὺς στρατιώτας, τὸ δὲ κράτιστον της δυνάμεως άναλαβών αὐτὸς ηπείγετο, σπεύδων 8 συνάψαι τοις πολεμίοις. παραγενόμενος δε επί την κατά τὸν Αξμον ὑπερβολὴν εὖρε Σεύθην τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Θρακῶν ἀφεστηκότα πρὸς 'Αντίγονον μετὰ πολλών στρατιωτών φυλάσσοντα τὰς παρόδους. 9 συνάψας δ' αὐτῷ μάχην ἐφ' ἰκανὸν χρόνον τῶν τε ίδίων ἀπέβαλεν οὐκ όλίγους καὶ τῶν πολεμίων 10 ἀνελών παμπληθεῖς ἐβιάσατο τοὺς βαρβάρους. ἐπιφανείς δε και τοις περί τον Παυσανίαν και καταλαβών αὐτοὺς εἰς δυσχωρίας συμπεφευγότας ταύτας τ' έξεπολιόρκησε καὶ Παυσανίαν ἀνελών τῶν στρατιωτών οθε μέν ελύτρωσεν, οθε δε είς τάς ίδίας τάξεις διένειμεν. Τὰ μέν οὖν περὶ Λυσίμαχον ἐν τούτοις ἦν.

1α μεν ουν περι Λυσιμαχον εν τουτοις ην. 74. 'Ο δ' 'Αντίγονος ἀποτυχών ταύτης τῆς ἐπιβολῆς ἐξέπεμψε Τελεσφόρον εἰς Πελοπόννησον, δοὺς αὐτῷ πεντήκοντα ναῦς καὶ στρατιώτας τοὺς

<sup>1</sup> i.e. the Temple, or Sacred Place. The exact location is not known.

#### BOOK XIX. 73, 5-74, 1

Then, encamping about the city of the Callantians, 313 B.C. he laid siege to it, since he was very eager to chastise in every way those who were responsible for the revolt. While he was thus engaged, there came certain men bringing word that Antigonus had sent two expeditions to the support of the Callantians, one by land and one by sea, that the general Lycon with the fleet had sailed through into the Pontus, and that Pausanias with a considerable number of soldiers was in camp at a place called Hieron.1 Perturbed at this, Lysimachus left an adequate body of soldiers to carry on the siege 2; but with the strongest part of the army he himself pushed on, intent on making contact with the enemy. When, however, he reached the pass over the Haemus, he found Seuthes, the Thracian king, who had gone over to Antigonus, guarding the crossing with many Engaging him in a battle that lasted a considerable time. Lysimachus lost not a few of his own men; but he destroyed a vast number of the enemy and overpowered the barbarians. He also came suddenly upon the forces of Pausanias, catching them after they had taken refuge in a place difficult This he captured; and, after slaving Pausanias, he dismissed some of the soldiers on receiving ransom and enrolled others in his own army.

This was the situation of Lysimachus.

74. Antigonus, after he had failed in this undertaking, dispatched Telesphorus into the Peloponnesus, giving him fifty ships and a suitable force of

<sup>3</sup> Probably a nephew of Antigonus (Diogenes Laertius, 5. 79; cp. Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*<sup>2</sup>, 4. 1. 122, note 3).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> We do not know the outcome of the siege. In 310 B.C. the Callantians are still resisting Lysimachus although hard pressed (Book 20. 25. 1).

ίκανούς, καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἐλευθεροῦν ἐνετείλατο· τοῦτο γὰρ πράξας ἤλπιζε πίστιν κατασκευάζειν παρὰ τοῖς "Ελλησιν ὅτι πρὸς ἀλήθειαν φροντίζει της αὐτονομίας αὐτῶν καὶ ἄμα γινώσκειν ΰπ-2 έβαλει τὰ Κασάνδρου πρέγματα. δ δὲ Τελεσφόρος έπειδή τάχιστα κατέπλευσεν είς την Πελοπόννησον, έπηλθε τὰς ὑπ' 'Αλεξάνδρου φρουρουμένας πόλεις καὶ πάσας ήλευθέρωσε πλήν Σικυῶνος καὶ Κορίνθου· ἐν ταύταις γὰρ Πολυπέρχων διέτριβεν δυνάμεις άδρὰς έχων καὶ πιστεύων ταύταις τε καὶ ταῖς τῶν 3 τόπων όχυρότησιν. ἄμα δὲ τούτοις πραττομένοις Φίλιππος ύπὸ Κασάνδρου πεμφθείς στρατηγός είς τὸν πρὸς Αἰτωλούς πόλεμον, ώς τάχισθ' ήκεν εἰς την 'Ακαρνανίαν μετά της δυνάμεως, το μέν πρώτον έπεχείρει λεηλατείν την Αιτωλίαν, μετ' όλίγον δέ πυθόμενος Αλακίδην τον 'Ηπειρώτην είς την βασιλείαν κατεληλυθότα<sup>2</sup> καὶ δύναμιν άδρὰν συνηθροικότα ταχέως ὥρμησεν ἐπ' αὐτόν ἔσπευδε γὰρ κατ' ίδίαν διαγωνίσασθαι πρὶν ή συμμίξαι τὴν τῶν 4 Αλτωλών δύναμιν. εύρων δε τους Ήπειρώτας έτοίμους είς μάχην έξ έφόδου συνήψεν είς χειρας καὶ πολλούς μέν ἀνείλεν, οὐκ ὀλίγους δ' ἐζώγρησεν, έν οίς συνέβαινεν είναι καὶ τῶν αἰτίων τῆς τοῦ

<sup>1</sup> ὑπέβαλε Post : ὑπέλαβε.
 <sup>2</sup> κατεληλυθότα Reiske : διεληλυθότα.

Alexander, son of Polyperchon, was dead, but his wife still held certain cities, cp. chap. 67. 1-2.

infantry, and he ordered him to free the cities, for 813 B.C. he hoped by doing this to establish among the Greeks the belief that he truly was concerned for their independence; and at the same time he gave him a hint to note the activities of Cassander. As soon as Telesphorus had reached port in the Peloponnesus, he advanced upon the cities that were occupied by Alexander's garrisons 1 and freed all of them except Sicyon and Corinth; for in these cities Polyperchon had his quarters, maintaining strong forces and trusting in these and in the strength of the positions. While this was being done, Philip,2 who had been sent by Cassander to the war against the Aetolians as commander, immediately on arriving in Acarnania with his army undertook to plunder Aetolia, but soon, hearing that Aeacides 3 the Epirote had returned to his kingdom and had collected a strong army, he set out very quickly against him, for he was eager to bring this struggle to an end separately before the army of the Aetolians joined forces with the king. Although he found the Epirotes ready for battle, he attacked them at once, slaving many and taking captive no small number, among whom there chanced to be about fifty of those responsible

<sup>2</sup> This is probably the younger brother of Cassander, who, as one of Alexander's cupbearers, was charged by Olympias with having given him poison (Justin, 12. 14. 6). After this campaign he returns to obscurity; a son, Antipater, was king of Macedonia for 45 days in 281-280 B.C. (Porphyrius, FGrH, 260. 3. 10).

<sup>3</sup> He was exiled with his father by Philip but returned to power by aid of Olympias. After Alexander's death he supported Olympias and Polyperchon (chap. 11. 2), his zeal finally turning his own people against him and leading to a second exile (chap. 36. 2-4). He appears to have returned to Aetolia with Polyperchon in 316 s.c. (chap. 52. 6).

βασιλέως καθόδου περὶ πεντήκοντα τὸν ἀριθμόν, 5 οὖς δήσας ἀπέστειλε πρὸς Κάσανδρον. τῶν δὲ περὶ τὸν Αἰακίδην ἀθροισθέντων ἐκ τῆς φυγῆς καὶ τοῖς Αἰτωλοῖς συμμιξάντων πάλιν ἐπελθῶν ὁ Φίλιππος μάχη ἐκράτησεν καὶ πολλοὺς ἀνεῖλεν, ἐν οῖς ἦν καὶ 6 Αἰακίδης ὁ βασιλεύς. ἐν ὀλύγαις δ' ἡμέραις τηλικαῦτα ποιήσας προτερήματα κατεπλήξατο πολλοὺς τῶν Αἰτωλῶν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ὤστε τὰς ἀνοχύρους πόλεις ἐκλιπεῖν, εἰς δὲ τὰ δυσβατώτατα τῶν ὀρῶν συμφυγεῖν μετὰ τέκνων καὶ γυναικῶν.

Καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα πραχθέντα τοιοῦτον

ĕσχε τὸ τέλος.

75. Κατὰ δὲ τὴν 'Ασίαν "Ασανδρος' ὁ τῆς Καρίας κυριεύων πιεζούμενος τῷ πολέμῳ διελύσατο πρὸς 'Αντίγονον ἐψ' ῷ τοὺς μὲν στρατιώτας παραδώσει πάντας 'Αντιγόνω, τὰς δ' Ἑλληνίδας πόλεις αὐτονόμους ἀφήσει, τὴν δὲ σατραπείαν ἣν πρότερον εἶχε δωρεὰν καθέξει," βέβαιος ὢν φίλος 'Αντιγόνω.

2 δούς δὲ περὶ τούτων ὅμηρον ᾿Αγάθωνα τὸν ἀδελφὸν καὶ μετ' ὀλίγας ἡμέρας μεταμεληθεὶς ἐπὶ ταῖς συνθήκαις τὸν μὲν ἀδελφὸν ἐξέκλεψεν ἐκ τῆς ὁμηρίας πρὸς δὲ Πτολεμαῖον καὶ Σέλευκον διαπρεσ-

3 βευσάμενος ήξίου βοηθεῖν τὴν ταχίστην. ἐφ' οἶς 'Αντίγονος δεινοπαθήσας δύναμιν ἀπέστειλεν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐλευθέρωσιν τῶν πόλεων καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν, τοῦ μὲν στόλου ναύαρχον ἀποδείξας

 <sup>&</sup>quot;Ασανδρος Wesseling (cp. Book 18. 3. 1): Κάσανδρος
 MSS., Fischer.
 τὴν δὲ σατραπείαν ἢν πρότερον εἶχε δωρεὰν καθέξει F 2d

for the return of the king; these he bound and sent 313 B.C. to Cassander. As Aeacides and his men rallied from the fight and joined the Aetolians, Philip again advanced and overpowered them in battle, slaying many, among whom was King Aeacides himself. By gaining such victories in a few days Philip so terrified many of the Aetolians that they abandoned their unfortified cities and fled to the most inaccessible of their mountains with their children and their women.

Such was the outcome of the campaign in Greece.<sup>3</sup>
75. In Asia, Asander,<sup>4</sup> the ruler of Caria, being hard pressed by the war, came to terms with Antigonus, agreeing to transfer to him all his soldiers, to relinquish the Greek cities and leave them autonomous, and to hold as a grant the satrapy that he had formerly had, remaining a steadfast friend of Antigonus. Having given his brother Agathon as a hostage for the fulfilment of these terms and then after a few days having repented of the agreement, he secretly removed his brother from custody and sent emissaries to Ptolemy and Seleucus, begging them to aid him as soon as possible. Antigonus, enraged at this, dispatched a force both by sea and by land to liberate the cities, appointing Medius

<sup>1</sup> Pausanias (1. 11. 4) tells us that this battle was fought at Oeniadae.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> His son Pyrrhus, the later king of Epirus, was adopted and reared by Glaucias, king of Illyria, who seems to have been related to him in some way (Plutarch, *Pyrrhus*, 3; Justin, 17. 3. 16-19).

<sup>3</sup> Continued in chap. 75. 6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> He had been sent to Caria in the preceding year by Cassander (chap. 68. 4-7).

hand: τὰς δὲ σατραπείας ἃς πρότερον εἶχε δωρεὰν καθέξειν F, τὰς δὲ σατραπείας δωρεὰς ἃς πρότερον εἶχε καθέξει RX.

Μήδιον, τοῦ δὲ στρατοπέδου καταστήσας στρατη-4 γον Δόκιμον. οὖτοι δὲ παραγενόμενοι πρὸς τὴν πόλιν τῶν Μιλησίων τούς τε πολίτας ἐκάλουν ἐπὶ την έλευθερίαν και την φρουρουμένην άκραν έκπολιορκήσαντες είς αὐτονομίαν ἀποκατέστησαν τὸ 5 πολίτευμα. περί ταθτα δ' όντων τούτων 'Αντίγονος Τράλλεις εξεπολιόρκησεν είς δε Καθνον παρελθών και τον στόλον μεταπεμψάμενος είλε και ταύτην τὴν πόλιν πλὴν τῆς ἄκρας ταύτην δὲ περιχαρακώσας, καθ' ὁ μέρος ἡν προσμάχεσθαι, συνεχεις προσβολάς έποιειτο. έπι δε την Ιασόν πόλιν εκπεμφθείς Πτολεμαΐος μετά δυνάμεως ίκανης 6 ἢνάγκασε προσθέσθαι τοῖς περὶ 'Αντίγονον. αὖται μέν οὖν τῆς Καρίας οὖσαι τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ὑπετάγησαν 'Αντιγόνω. μετ' όλίγας δ' ήμέρας έλθόντων πρός αὐτὸν πρεσβευτών παρ' Αἰτωλών καὶ Βοιωτῶν πρὸς μὲν τούτους συμμαχίαν συνέθετο, τῷ δὲ Κασάνδρω συνελθών εἰς λόγους ὑπὲρ εἰρήνης περὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἀπῆλθεν ἄπρακτος, οὐ δυναμένων αὐτών οὐδαμώς συμφωνῆσαι. διόπερ ό Κάσανδρος ἀπογνοὺς τὰς διαλύσεις διέγνω τῶν κατά την Έλλάδα πάλιν πραγμάτων αντέχεσθαι. 7 ἀναζεύξας οὖν μετὰ τριάκοντα νεῶν εἰς Ωρεὸν επολιόρκει την πόλιν. ενεργώς δ' αὐτοῦ ταῖς προσβολαίς χρωμένου καὶ τοῦ πολίσματος ήδη κατά κράτος άλισκομένου παρεγένετο βοηθήσων τοις 'Ωρείταις Τελεσφόρος μεν εκ Πελοποννήσου μετά νεῶν εἴκοσι καὶ στρατιωτῶν χιλίων, Μήδιος 8 δ' ἐκ τῆς 'Ασίας ἔχων ναθς ἐκατόν. οὖτοι δ' όρωντες έφορμούσας τω λιμένι τας του Κασάνδρου admiral of the fleet and making Docimus general 313 B.C. of the army.1 These men, coming to the city of the Milesians, encouraged the citizens to assert their freedom; and, after taking by siege the citadel, which was held by a garrison, they restored the independence of the government. While they were thus engaged, Antigonus besieged and took Tralles; then, proceeding to Caunus and summoning the fleet, he captured that city also except for its citadel. Investing this, he kept making continuous attacks on the side where it was most easily assailed. Ptolemaeus,2 who had been sent to Iasus with an adequate force, compelled that city to support Antigonus. In this way, then, these cities, which were in Caria, were made subject to Antigonus. A few days later, when ambassadors came to the latter from the Aetolians and the Boeotians, he made an alliance with them; but, when he entered into negotiations with Cassander about peace in the Hellespontine region, he accomplished nothing since they could in no way agree. For this reason Cassander gave up hope of settlement and decided to play a part once more in the affairs of Greece. Setting out for Oreus,3 therefore, with thirty ships, he laid siege to the city. While he was vigorously attacking and was already at the point of taking the city by storm, reinforcements appeared for the people of Oreus: Telesphorus from the Peloponnesus with twenty ships and a thousand soldiers, and Medius from Asia with a hundred ships. They saw the ships of Cassander blockading the harbour and threw fire

<sup>2</sup> The nephew of Antigonus, cp. chap. 68. 5.

3 At the northern end of Euboea.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> For Medius cp. chap. 69. 3 and note. Nothing is known of the earlier career of Docimus.

ναῦς πῦρ ἐνῆκαν καὶ τέσσαρας μὲν κατέκαυσαν, παρ' ὀλίγον δὲ καὶ πάσας διέφθειραν τοῖς δ' ἐλαττουμένοις παραγενομένης βορθείας ἐξ 'Αθηνῶν ἐπέπλευσαν οἱ περὶ Κάσανδρον καταφρονοῦσι τοῖς πολεμίοις. συμβαλόντες δ' αὐτοῖς μίαν μὲν κατέδυσαν, τρεῖς δ' αὐτάνδρους ἔλαβον.

Καὶ τὰ μὲν πραχθέντα περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ τὸν

Πόντον τοιαθτ' ήν.

76. Κατά δὲ τὴν Ἰταλίαν Σαμνῖται μὲν μετά πολλής δυνάμεως ἐπήεσαν πορθούντες τῶν κατά Καμπανίαν πόλεων όσαι τοις έναντίοις συνηγωνίζοντο, οί δ' υπατοι των 'Ρωμαίων μετά στρατοπέδου παραγενόμενοι παραβοηθεῖν ἐπειρώντο τοῖς 2 κινδυνεύουσιν των συμμάχων. άντεστρατοπεδεύσαντο δὲ τοῖς πολεμίοις περὶ Ταρακίναν² πόλιν καὶ ταύτην μέν εθθύς έρύσαντο των έπικειμένων φόβων, μετ' όλίνας δ' ήμέρας έκταξάντων άμφοτέρων τὰς δυνάμεις εγένετο μάχη καρτερά και συχνοί παρ' άμφοτέροις έπεσον. τὸ δὲ τέλος οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι βιασάμενοι κατά κράτος περιεγένοντο τῶν πολεμίων, έπὶ πολύν δὲ χρόνον χρησάμενοι τῷ διωγμῷ πλείους 3 των μυρίων άνείλον. και της μάχης άγνοουμένης έτι Καμπανοί μέν καταφρονήσαντες τῶν Ῥωμαίων απέστησαν, ό δε δημος εύθυς δύναμίν τε την Ικανην έξέπεωμεν επ' αὐτούς καὶ στρατηγόν αὐτοκράτορα Γάιον Μάνιον καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὸ πάτριον ἔθος 4 Μάνιον Φούλβιον ἵππαρχον.\* τούτων δὲ πλησίον της Καπύης καταστρατοπεδευσάντων οί Καμπανοί

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Καμπανίαν Binneboessel: 'Ιταλίαν MSS., Fischer (who calls the reading certe mendosum).

#### BOOK XIX. 75, 8-76, 4

into them, burning four and almost destroying them 313 B.C. all; but when reinforcements for the defeated came from Athens, Cassander sailed out against the enemy, who were off their guard. When they met, he sank one ship and seized three with their crews.1

Such were the activities in Greece and the Pontus.<sup>2</sup> 76. In Italy,3 the Samnites were advancing with a large army, destroying whatever cities in Campania4 were supporting their enemies; and the Roman consuls, coming up with an army, were trying to aid those of their allies who were in danger. They took the field against the enemy near Tarracina 5 and at once relieved that city from its immediate fears: then a few days later, when both sides had drawn up their armies, a hard-fought battle took place and very many fell on both sides. Finally the Romans, pressing on with all their strength, got the better of their enemies and, pushing the pursuit for a long time, slew more than ten thousand. While this battle was still unknown to them, the Campanians, scorning the Romans, rose in rebellion; but the people at once sent an adequate force against them with the dictator Gaius Manius as commander and accompanying him, according to the national custom, Manius Fulvius as master-of-horse. When these were in position near Capua, the Campanians at first en-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The fleet from Athens was commanded by Thymochares <sup>2</sup> The narrative is continued in chap. 77.  $(IG^2, 2.1.682).$ 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Continued from chap. 72. 9. Cp. Livy, 9. 26-27.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> But cp. the critical note.

<sup>5</sup> But cp. the critical note. No such battle as the one here described is recorded by Livy among the events of this year (Livy, 9. 26-27).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Ταρακίναν Burger: Κίνναν MSS., Fischer. <sup>3</sup> ἔππαρχον added by editors.

το μεν πρώτον επεχείρουν άγωνίζεσθαι, μετά δε ταθτα πυθόμενοι την των Σαμνιτων ήτταν και νομίσαντες πάσας τὰς δυνάμεις ήξειν επ' αὐτοὺς διελύσαντο πρὸς 'Ρωμαίους τοὺς γὰρ αἰτίους τῆς ταραχης εξέδωκαν, οι προτεθείσης κρίσεως οὐ περιμείναντες την ἀπόφασιν αὐτοὺς ἀνείλαν. αἱ δὲ πόλεις τυχοῦσαι συγγνώμης εἰς την προϋπάρχουσαν

συμμαχίαν ἀποκατέστησαν.

77. Τοῦ δ' ἔτους τούτου διελθόντος 'Αθήνησι μὲν ήρχε Πολέμων, εν 'Ρώμη δ' υπήρχον υπατοι Λεύκιος Παπείριος τὸ πέμπτον καὶ Γάιος Ιούνιος, ήχθη δὲ καὶ 'Ολυμπιὰς κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν έβδόμη πρὸς ταῖς έκατὸν καὶ δέκα, καθ' ην ἐνίκα 2 στάδιον Παρμενίων Μιτυληναΐος. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων τῶν γρόνων 'Αντίγονος ἀπέστειλεν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα στρατηγόν Πτολεμαΐον1 τούς "Ελληνας έλευθερώσοντα, συνέπεμψε δ' αὐτῷ ναῦς μὲν μακρὰς έκατὸν καὶ πεντήκοντα, Μήδιον ἐπιστήσας ναύαρχον, στρατιώτας δὲ πεζούς μὲν πεντακισχιλίους, ίππεῖς δὲ 3 πεντακοσίους. ἐποιήσατο δὲ καὶ πρὸς 'Pοδίους συμμαχίαν καὶ προσελάβετο παρ' αὐτῶν ναῦς έξηρτισμένας πρός τον πόλεμον δέκα πρός την τών 4 Έλλήνων ελευθέρωσιν. ὁ δὲ Πτολεμαΐος μετά παντός τοῦ στόλου καταπλεύσας τῆς Βοιωτίας εἰς τὸν Βαθὺν καλούμενον λιμένα παρά μὲν τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Βοιωτῶν προσελάβετο στρατιώτας πεζούς μέν δισχιλίους διακοσίους, ίππεις δε χιλίους τριακοσίους. μετεπέμψατο δὲ καὶ τὰς ἐξ 'Ωρεοῦ ναῦς καὶ 1 Πτολεμαΐον Palmer: Πολέμωνα.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> For this revolt cp. Livy, 9. 26. 5-7, where, however,

deavoured to fight; but afterwards, hearing of the 313 B.C. defeat of the Samnites and believing that all the forces would come against themselves, they made terms with the Romans. They surrendered those guilty of the uprising, who without awaiting the judgement of the trial that was instituted killed themselves. But the cities gained pardon and were reinstated in their former alliance.

77. When this year had passed, Polemon was archon in Athens, and in Rome the consuls were Lucius Papirius for the fifth time and Gaius Iunius<sup>2</sup>: and in this year the Olympic Games were celebrated for the one hundred and seventeenth time, Parmenion of Mitylenê winning the footrace. In this year<sup>3</sup> Antigonus ordered his general Ptolemaeus into Greece to set the Greeks free and sent with him one hundred and fifty warships, placing Medius in command of them as admiral, and an army of five thousand foot and five hundred horse. Antigonus also made an alliance with the Rhodians and received from them for the liberation of the Greeks ten ships fully equipped for war. Ptolemaeus, putting in with the entire fleet at the harbour of Bocotia known as Bathys,4 received from the Boeotian League two thousand two hundred foot soldiers and one thousand three hundred horse. He also summoned his ships

the dictator and master-of-horse are called respectively C. Macnius and M. Folius. The account of Roman affairs is continued in chap. 101.

<sup>2</sup> Polemon was archon in 312/11 s.c. In the Fasti Capitolini the consuls for 313 s.c. are L. Papirius Cursor for the fifth time and C. Iunius Bubulcus Brutus for the second time (CIL, 1, p. 130; cp. Livy, 9. 28. 2). The events related in chaps. 77-80. 2 still belong to the year 313 s.c.

<sup>3</sup> The narrative is continued from chap. 75. 8. <sup>4</sup> *i.e.* "Deep," on the Euripus near Aulis.

τειχίσας τὸν Σαλγανέα συνήγαγεν ἐνταῦθα πᾶσαν την δύναμιν ήλπιζε γάρ προσδέξασθαι τους Χαλκιδείς, οἴπερ μόνοι τῶν Εὐβοέων ὑπὸ τῶν πολε-5 μίων εφρουρούντο. ό δε Κάσανδρος άγωνιών ύπερ της Χαλκίδος την 'Ωρεού πολιορκίαν έλυσεν, είς δέ τὴν Χαλκίδα παρῆλθεν καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις μετεπέμπετο. 'Αντίνονος δὲ πυθόμενος περὶ τὴν Εύβοιαν εφεδρεύειν άλλήλοις τὰ στρατόπεδα, μετεπέμψατο τὸν Μήδιον εἰς τὴν 'Ασίαν μετὰ τοῦ στόλου, εὐθὺς δὲ καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις ἀναλαβών προηνεν εφ' Έλλησπόντω κατά τάχος, ώς διαβησόμενος είς Μακεδονίαν, ὅπως η μένοντος Κασάνδρου περί την Εύβοιαν αὐτὸς ἔρημον καταλάβη Μακεδονίαν τῶν ἀμυνομένων ἢ τῆ βασιλεία βοηθῶν ἀποβάλη 6 τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα πράγματα. ὁ δὲ Κάσανδρος συνιδών την ἐπίνοιαν αὐτοῦ Πλείσταρχον μὲν ἀπέλιπεν ἐπὶ τῆς ἐν Χαλκίδι φρουρᾶς, αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ πάσης της δυνάμεως ἀναζεύξας 'Ωρωπὸν μὲν κατὰ κράτος είλε, Θηβαίους δ' είς τὴν αύτοῦ συμμαχίαν κατέστησεν πρός δε τους άλλους Βοιωτούς άνοχάς ποιησάμενος καὶ καταλιπών ἐπὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος στρατηγόν Εὐπόλεμον ἀπηλθεν είς Μακεδονίαν, 7 ἀγωνιῶν περὶ τῆς τῶν πολεμίων διαβάσεως. ὁ δ' Αντίνονος επειδή κατήντησεν είς την Προποντίδα, διεπρεσβεύσατο πρὸς Βυζαντίους άξιῶν μετέχειν της συμμαχίας. παραγενομένων δε και παρά Λυσιμάχου πρεσβευτών και παρακαλούντων μηδέν ποιείν μήτε κατ' αὐτοῦ μήτε κατά Κασάνδρου τοῖς μεν Βυζαντίοις έδοξε μένειν εφ' ήσυχίας καὶ τηρεῖν την πρὸς ἀμφοτέρους εἰρήνην ἄμα καὶ φιλίαν. ὁ δ' 'Αντίγονος δυσχρηστούμενος έπὶ τούτοις, αμα

from Oreüs, fortified Salganeus,1 and gathered there 313 B.C. his entire force; for he hoped to be admitted by the Chalcidians, who alone of the Euboeans were garrisoned by the enemy. But Cassander, in his anxiety for Chalcis, gave up the siege of Oreus, moved to Chalcis, and summoned his forces. When Antigonus heard that in Euboea the armed forces were watching each other, he recalled Medius to Asia with the fleet, and at once with his armies set out at top speed for the Hellespont as if intending to cross over into Macedonia, in order that, if Cassander remained in Euboea, he might himself occupy Macedonia while it was stripped of defenders, or that Cassander, going to the defence of his kingdom, might lose his supremacy in Greece. But Cassander, perceiving Antigonus' plan, left Pleistarchus 2 in command of the garrison in Chalcis and setting out himself with all his forces took Oropus by storm and brought the Thebans into his alliance. Then, after making a truce with the other Boeotians and leaving Eupolemus as general for Greece, he went into Macedonia, for he was apprehensive of the enemy's crossing. As for Antigonus, when he came to the Propontis, he sent an embassy to the Byzantines, asking them to enter the alliance. But there had arrived envoys from Lysimachus also who were urging them to do nothing against either Lysimachus or Cassander; and the Byzantines decided to remain neutral and to maintain peace and friendship toward both parties. Antigonus, because he had been foiled in these undertakings and also because the winter season

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> A town on the east coast of Boeotia, commanding the northern entrance of the Euripus (Strabo, 9. 2. 9).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> A son of Antipater and brother of Cassander (Plutarch, Demetrius, 31, 5; cp. Book 20. 112; Pausanias, 1. 15. 1).

δὲ καὶ τῆς χειμερινῆς ὥρας συγκλειούσης διέδωκε τοὺς στρατιώτας κατὰ πόλιν εἰς τὴν χειμασίαν.

78. "Αμα δὲ τούτοις πραττομένοις Κορκυραΐοι μέν βοηθήσαντες 'Απολλωνιάταις καὶ τοῖς 'Επιδαμνίοις τούς μέν στρατιώτας Κασάνδρου ύποσπόνδους ἀφῆκαν, τῶν δὲ πόλεων ᾿Απολλωνίαν μὲν ηλευθέρωσαν, Ἐπίδαμνον δὲ Γλαυκία τῷ τῶν 2 Ἰλλυριών βασιλεί παρέδωκαν. ὁ δ' `Αντιγόνου στρατηγός Πτολεμαΐος χωρισθέντος εἰς Μακεδονίαν Κασάνδρου καταπληξάμενος τους φρουρούντας την Χαλκίδα παρέλαβε την πόλιν καὶ τοὺς Χαλκιδεῖς άφηκεν άφρουρήτους, ώστε γενέσθαι φανερον ώς πρός ἀλήθειαν 'Αντίγονος έλευθεροῦν προήρηται τους "Ελληνας επίκαιρος γάρ ή πόλις έστι τους βουλομένοις έχειν όρμητήριον προς το διαπολεμείν 3 περί των όλων. ὁ δ' οῦν Πτολεμαίος ἐκπολιορκήσας 'Ωρωπὸν παρέδωκε τοῖς Βοιωτοῖς καὶ τοὺς Κασάνδρου στρατιώτας ύποχειρίους έλαβε. μετά δέ ταθτα 'Ερετριείς καὶ Καρυστίους είς τὴν συμμαχίαν προσλαβόμενος εστράτευσεν είς την 'Αττικήν, Δημητρίου τοῦ Φαληρέως ἐπιστατοῦντος τῆς 4 πόλεως. οί δ' 'Αθηναΐοι τὸ μὲν πρῶτον λάθρα διεπέμποντο πρὸς 'Αντίγονον ἀξιοῦντες ἐλευθερώσαι την πόλιν τότε δὲ τοῦ Πτολεμαίου παραγενηθέντος πλησίον τῆς πόλεως θαρρήσαντες ήνάγκασαν τὸν Δημήτριον άνοχὰς ποιήσασθαι καὶ πρεσβείας άπο-5 στέλλειν πρός 'Αντίγονον περί συμμαχίας. ό δὲ Πτολεμαίος ἀναζεύξας ἐκ τῆς ᾿Αττικῆς εἰς τὴν Βοιωτίαν τήν τε Καδμείαν είλε καὶ τὴν φρουράν έκβαλών ήλευθέρωσε τὰς Θήβας. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα

πρός τὸ added by Kallenberg.
 Πτολεμαῖος Palmer: Πολέμων.

# BOOK XIX. 77. 7-78. 5

was closing in upon him, distributed his soldiers 313 B.C.

among the cities for the winter.1

78. While these things were going on, the Corcyraeans,2 who had gone to the aid of the people of Apollonia and Epidamnus, dismissed Cassander's soldiers under a truce; and of these cities they freed Apollonia, but Epidamnus they gave over to Glaucias, the king of the Illyrians. After Cassander had departed for Macedonia, Antigonus' general Ptolemacus, striking fear into the garrison that was holding Chalcis, took the city; and he left the Chalcidians without a garrison in order to make it evident that Antigonus in very truth proposed to free the Greeks, for the city is well placed for any who wish to have a base from which to carry through a war for supremacy.3 However that may be, when Ptolemaeus had taken Oropus by siege, he gave it back to the Boeotians and made captive the troops of Cassander.4 Thereafter, having received the people of Eretria and Carystus into the alliance, he moved into Attica, where Demetrius of Phalerum was governing the city. At first the Athenians kept sending secretly to Antigonus, begging him to free the city; but then, taking courage when Ptolemaeus drew near the city, they forced Demetrius to make a truce and to send envoys to Antigonus about an alliance. Ptolemaeus, moving from Attica into Boeotia, took the Cadmea, drove out the garrison, and freed Thebes. After this he advanced into Phocis

4 i.e. the troops left in Oropus by Cassander as a garrison, cp. chap. 77. 6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The winter of 313/12 B.C.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cp. chaps. 67. 6; 70. 7. <sup>3</sup> Philip V of Macedonia named Chalcis one of the "three fetters of Greece" (Polybius, 18. 11; Livy, 32. 37. 3).

πορευθείς είς την Φωκίδα και τας μεν πλείους τῶν πόλεων προσαγόμενος εξέβαλε πανταχόθεν τὰς Κασάνδρου φρουράς επηλθε δε και την Λοκρίδα και τῶν 'Οπουντίων τὰ Κασάνδρου φρονούντων συνεστήσατο πολιορκίαν και συνεχεῖς προσβολὰς εποιεῖτο.

79. Της δ' αὐτης θερίας οι Κυρηναίοι μέν άποστάντες Πτολεμαίου την άκραν περιεστρατοπέδευσαν, ώς αὐτίκα μάλα τὴν φρουράν ἐκβαλούντες, παραγενομένων δὲ πρεσβευτών ἐκ τῆς 'Αλεξανδρείας καὶ παρακαλούντων παύσασθαι τῆς φιλοτιμίας τούτους μέν απέκτειναν, την δ' ακραν 2 ένεργέστερον επολιόρκουν. εφ' οίς παροξυνθείς ό Πτολεμαίος ἀπέστειλεν "Αγιν στρατηγόν μετά δυνάμεως πεζης, εξέπεμψε δε και στόλον τον συλληψόμενον τοῦ πολέμου, ναύαρχον ἐπιστήσας Ἐπαι-3 νετόν. ὁ δὲ "Αγις ἐνεργῶς διαπολεμήσας τοῦς άφεστηκόσιν έκυρίευσε κατά κράτος τῆς πόλεως καί τους μέν αιτίους της αποστάσεως δήσας απέστειλεν είς την 'Αλεξάνδρειαν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τὰ όπλα παρελόμενος καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν διοικήσας ως ποτ' έδοξεν αὐτώ συμφέρειν ἐπαιτῆλθεν εἰς τὴν Αΐνυπτον.

4 Πτολεμαίος δέ, τῶν περὶ Κυρήνην αὐτῷ κατὰ νοῦν ἀπηντηκότων, διῆρεν ἐκ τῆς Λἰγύπτου μετὰ δυνάμεως εἰς τὴν Κύπρον ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀπειθοῦντας τῶν βασιλέων. Πυγμαλίωνα δὲ εὐρὰν διαπρεσβευόμενον πρὸς ᾿Αντίγονον ἀνείλε, Πράξιππον δὲ τὸν τῆς Λαπιθίας βασιλέα καὶ τὸν τῆς Κερυνίας δυ
¹ οἱ added by Capps.

where he won over most of the cities and from all 313 B.C. of these expelled the garrisons of Cassander. He also marched against Locris; and, since the Opuntians belonged to the party of Cassander, he began a siege and made continuous attacks.

79. In that same summer <sup>2</sup> the people of Cyrenê revolted from Ptolemy, invested the citadel, and seemed on the point of immediately casting out the garrison; and, when envoys came from Alexandria and bade them cease from their sedition, they killed them and continued the attack on the citadel with greater vigour. Enraged at them, Ptolemy dispatched Agis as general with a land army and also sent a fleet to take part in the war, placing Epaenetus in command. Agis attacked the rebels with vigour and took the city by storm. Those who were guilty of the sedition he bound and sent to Alexandria; and then, after depriving the others of their arms and arranging the affairs of the city in whatever way seemed best to himself, he returned to Egypt.

But Ptolemy, now that the matter of Cyrenê had been disposed of according to his wishes, crossed over with an army from Egypt into Cyprus against those of the kings who refused to obey him. Finding that Pygmalion was negotiating with Antigonus, he put him to death; and he arrested Praxippus, king of Lapithia and ruler of Cerynia, whom he suspected of

Opus was probably taken, but no statement to the effect survives in our sources. Diodorus returns to Greek affairs in chap. 87.

The summer of 313 B.C.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> It is quite probable that the name of the ruler of Cerynia has been lost from the MSS. Lapithia and Cerynia are near the middle of the north coast of Cyprus.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Fischer suspects the loss of a proper name after καί.

νάστην ύποπτεύσας άλλοτρίως έχειν συνέλαβε, καὶ Στασίοικον τον τῶν Μαριέων καὶ τὴν μὲν πόλιν κατέσκαψε, τους δ' ενοικοῦντας\* μετήγαγεν els 5 Πάφον. ταθτα δὲ διαπραξάμενος τῆς μὲν Κύπρου κατέστησε στρατηγόν Νικοκρέοντα, παραδούς τάς τε πόλεις και τὰς προσόδους τῶν ἐκπεπτωκότων 6 βασιλέων, αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως ἐκπλεύσας έπὶ Συρίας της ἄνω καλουμένης Ποσείδιον καὶ Ποταμούς Καρών ἐκπολιορκήσας διήρπασεν. ἐτοίμως δὲ πλεύσας ἐπὶ Κιλικίας Μάλον είλε καὶ τοὺς έγκαταληφθέντας έλαφυροπώλησεν. ἐπόρθησε δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐγγὺς χώραν καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ὡφελείας 7 εμπλήσας απέπλευσεν είς την Κύπρον. επολιτεύετο δὲ πρὸς τοὺς στρατιώτας οὕτως, ἐκκαλούμενος αὐτῶν τὰς προθυμίας εἰς τοὺς ἐπιφερομένους κινδύνους.

80. Δημήτριος δὲ ὁ ᾿Αντιγόνου διέτριβεν ἀεὶ περὶ Κοίλην Συρίαν, ἐφεδρεύων ταῖς τῶν Λὶγυπτίων δυνάμεσιν. ὡς δ᾽ ἤκουσε τὰς τῶν πόλεων άλώσεις Πίθωνα μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν τόπων κατέλιπε στρατηγόν, δοὺς αὐτῷ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας καὶ τὰ βαρέα τῶν ταγμάτων, αὐτὸς δ᾽ ἀναλαβὼν τούς τε ἱππεῖς καὶ τὰ ψιλικὰ τάγματα προῆγεν ἐπὶ Κιλικίας συντόμως, βοηθήσων τοῖς κινδυνεύουσιν. ὑστερήσας δὲ τῶν καιρῶν καὶ καταλαβὼν ἀποπεπλευκότας τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπανῆλθε συντόμως ἐπὶ τὸ στρατό-

1 και Στασίοικον τὸν τῶν Μαριέων Rhodoman, cp. chap. 62. 6: Στασιοίκου τοῦ Μαλιέως RN, και Στασίοικον τὸν τοῦ Μαλιέως F. <sup>2</sup> ἐνοικοῦντας Dindorf: οἰκοῦντες.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Stasioecus, king of Marion on the west coast of Cyprus, had first supported Antigonus and then Ptolemy (chap. 62, 6), and now seems to have turned against Ptolemy.

being ill disposed toward himself, and also Stasioecus, 1 318 k.c. ruler of Marion, destroying the city and transporting the inhabitants to Paphos. 2 After accomplishing these things, he appointed Nicocreon 2 as general of Cyprus, giving him both the cities and the revenues of the kings who had been driven out; but he himself with his army, sailing toward Upper Syria, as it is called, captured and sacked Poseidium and Potami Caron. 4 Sailing without delay to Cilicia, he took Malus and sold as booty those who were captured there. He also plundered the neighbouring territory and, after sating his army with spoil, sailed back to Cyprus. His playing up to the soldiers in this way was designed to evoke enthusiasm in face of the encounters that were approaching.

80. Now Antigonus' son Demetrius was staying on in Coelê Syria lying in wait for the Egyptian armies. But when he heard of the capture of the cities, he left Pithon as general in charge of the region, giving him the elephants and the heavy-armed units of the army; and he himself, taking the cavalry and the light-armed units, moved rapidly toward Cilicia to give aid to those who were in danger. Arriving after the opportunity had passed and finding that the enemy had sailed away, he went rapidly

<sup>2</sup> The text of this sentence is unsatisfactory, and a lacuna is suspected. Paphos is on the south-west coast of Cyprus.

<sup>5</sup> Cp. chap. 69.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Nicocreon, king of Salamis on the south coast of Cyprus, had been with Alexander at Tyre in SS2/S1 s.c. (Arrian, Anabasis, 2. 22. 2; Plutarch, Alexander, 29. 2). After Alexander's death he supported Ptolemy (chap. 59. 1). For his treachery and death in S10 s.c. cp. Book 20. 21.

<sup>4</sup> There is a promontory called Poscidium on the coast of Cilicia. No city by the name of Potami Caron (Rivers of the Carians) is known.

πεδον, ἀποβεβληκὼς τῶν ἵππων τοὺς πλείους κατὰ τὴν ὁδοιπορίαν· διέτεινε γὰρ εξ ἡμέραις ἐπὶ Μάλου σταθμοὺς εἴκοσι καὶ τέσσαρας, ὥστε διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς κακοπαθίας μήτε σκευοφόρον ἀκολουθῆσαι μηδένα μήτε τοὺς ἱπποκόμους.

'Ο δὲ Πτολεμαίος, κατὰ νοῦν αὐτῶ τῶν πραγμάτων άπηντηκότων, τότε μέν άπηρεν είς Αίγυπτον, μετ' ὀλίγον δὲ χρόνον παροξυνόμενος ὑπὸ Σελεύκου διὰ τὴν πρὸς 'Αντίγονον ἀλλοτριότητα διέγνω στρατεύειν έπὶ Κοίλην Συρίαν καὶ παρα-4 τάττεσθαι τοῖς περί τὸν Δημήτριον. συναγαγών οὖν πανταχόθεν τὰς δυνάμεις ἀνέζευξεν ἀπὸ 'Αλεξανδρείας είς Πηλούσιον, έχων πεζούς μέν μυρίους δκτακισχιλίους, ίππεις δὲ τετρακισχιλίους, ὧν ήσαν οί μεν Μακεδόνες, οί δε μισθοφόροι, Αίγυπτίων δε πλήθος, τὸ μὲν κομίζον βέλη καὶ τὴν ἄλλην παρασκευήν, τὸ δὲ καθωπλισμένον καὶ πρὸς μάχην 5 χρήσιμον. ἀπὸ δὲ Πηλουσίου διὰ τῆς ἐρήμου διελθών κατεστρατοπέδευσε πλησίον τῶν πολεμίων περί την παλαιάν Γάζαν της Συρίας. όμοίως δὲ καὶ Δημήτριος μεταπεμψάμενος πανταχόθεν τοὺς έκ της χειμασίας στρατιώτας είς την παλαιάν Γάζαν δπέμεινε την των έναντίων έφοδον.

81. Τῶν δὲ φίλων αὐτῷ συμβουλευόντων μὴ παρατάττεσθαι πρὸς ἡγεμόνα τηλικοῦτον καὶ δύναμιν μείζω, τούτοις μὲν οὐ προσεῖχεν, εἰς δὲ τὸν κίνδυνον παρεσκευάζετο τεθαρρηκώς, καίπερ² νέος ῶν παντελῶς καὶ τηλικαύτην μάχην μέλλων ἀγ-

<sup>1</sup> ἐπὶ Geer : ἀπὸ. 2 καίπερ Fischer : καὶ γὰρ.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cp. the critical note. The forced march must have been the one from his base in Coelé Syria toward Malus in Cilicia. The length of the stage or distance between posting stations 54

back to his camp, having lost most of his horses all m.c. during the march; for in six days' march towards Malus! he covered twenty-four stages, with the result that on account of the excessive hardship not one of his sutlers or of his grooms kept up the pace.

Ptolemy, since his undertakings had turned out 319 n.c. as he wished, now sailed away to Egypt; but after a little while, spurred on by Seleucus because of his hostility toward Antigonus, he decided to make a campaign into Coelê Syria and take the field against the army of Demetrius. He therefore gathered together his forces from all sides and marched from Alexandria to Pelusium with eighteen thousand foot and four thousand horse. Of his army some were Macedonians and some were mercenaries, but a great number were Egyptians, of whom some carried the missiles and the other baggage but some were armed and serviceable for battle. Marching through the desert from Pelusium, he camped near the enemy at Old Gaza in Syria.2 Demetrius, who had likewise summoned his soldiers to Old Gaza from their winter quarters 3 on all sides, awaited the approach of his opponents.

81. Although his friends were urging him not to take the field against so great a general and a superior force, Demetrius paid no heed to them but confidently prepared for the conflict even though he was very young and was about to engage in so great a battle

on the Persian roads was not uniform. If we take 17 miles as an average, the army covered some 400 miles in 6 days, but the distance seems actually to have been very much less.

The winter of 313/12 B.C.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> According to Strabo (16. 2. 30), Alexander had destroyed Gaza; but the city clearly retained its importance at least as a fortress (Arrian, Anabasis, 2. 26-27).

2 ωνίζεσθαι χωρίς τοῦ πατρός. συναγαγόντος δ' έν τοις οπλοις έκκλησίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ στάντος ἐπί τινος άναστήματος μετά άγωνίας καὶ διατροπής ὁ μέν όχλος ἀνεβόησε μια φωνή θαρρείν και πρό τοῦ τὸν κήρυκα καταπαθσαι τοὺς θορυβοθντας ἄπαντες σιω-3 πήν παρείχοντο. ούτε γάρ στρατιωτικόν έγκλημα ύπηρχε περί αὐτὸν οὕτε πολιτικόν, ἄτε προσφάτως έφ' ήγεμονίας τεταγμένον ὅπερ εἴωθε γίγνεσθαι τοις παλαιοίς στρατηγοίς όταν έκ πολλών προφάσεων εν εγκλημα πρός ένα καιρών άθροίζηται τὸ γαρ πλήθος άεὶ δυσάρεστον ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτῶν μένον καὶ πῶν τὸ μὴ πλεονάζον κεχαρισμένην ἔχει τὴν μεταβολήν τοῦ τε πατρός ήδη γεγηρακότος αι της βασιλείας έλπίδες είς την τούτου διαδοχήν ήγον 4 αμα την άρχην καὶ την των όχλων εὔνοιαν. ην δὲ καὶ τῷ κάλλει καὶ τῷ μεγέθει διάφορος, ἔτι δὲ κεκοσμημένος ὅπλοις βασιλικοῖς εἶχε πολλήν ὑπεροχήν καὶ κατάπληξιν, δι' ής είς έλπίδας άδρας ήνε τους πολλούς πρός δε τούτοις πραότης τις ήν περί αὐτόν, ἀρμόζουσα νέω βασιλεῖ, δι' ής εἰς προθυμίαν έξεκαλείτο πάντας, ώστε καὶ τοὺς ἐκτὸς τάξεως συνδραμεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀκρόασιν, συναγωνιώντας τη νεότητι καὶ τη μελλούση γίνεσθαι κρίσει 5 διὰ τῆς παρατάξεως. οὐ μόνον γὰρ πρὸς πλείονας ήμελλε διακινδυνεύειν, άλλα και πρός ήγεμόνας σχεδόν μεγίστους, Πτολεμαΐον και Σέλευκον ούτοι γάρ πάντας τοὺς πολέμους 'Αλεξάνδρω συστρατευσάμενοι καὶ πολλάκις καθ' αύτους δυνάμεων

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> In the late summer of 314 s.c., when he was sent to Syria, he was 29 years old (chap. 69. 1). For the following 56

apart from his father.1 When he had called together 312 s.c. an assembly under arms and, anxious and agitated, had taken his position on a raised platform, the crowd shouted with a single voice, bidding him be of good courage; and then, before the herald bade the shouting men cease their tumult, they all became For, because he had just been placed in command, neither soldiers nor civilians had for him any ill will such as usually develops against generals of long standing when at a particular time many minor irritations are combined in a single mass grievance; for the multitude becomes exacting when it remains under the same authority, and every group that is not preferred welcomes change. Since his father was already an old man, the hopes of the kingdom, centring upon his succession, were bringing him the command and at the same time the goodwill of the multitude. Moreover, he was outstanding both in beauty and in stature, and also when clad in royal armour he had great distinction and struck men with awe, whereby he created great expectations in the multitude. Furthermore, there was in him a certain gentleness becoming to a youthful king, which won for him the devotion of all, so that even those outside the ranks ran together to hear him, feeling sympathetic anxiety on account of his youth and the critical struggle that impended. For he was about to fight a decisive battle not only against more numerous forces, but also against generals who were almost the greatest, Ptolemy and Seleucus. Indeed, these generals, who had taken part with Alexander in all his wars and had

battle cp. the brief accounts in Justin, 15. 1. 6-9, and Plutarch, Demetrius, 5.

ήγησάμενοι μέχρι τῶν καιρῶν τούτων ὑπῆρχον 6 ἀνίκητοι. ὁ δ' οὖν Δημήτριος παρακαλέσας τὰ πλήθη τοῖς οἰκείοις λόγοις καὶ δωρεάς τε δώσειν κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν καὶ τὰ λάφυρα συγχωρήσειν ἐπαγγειλάμενος ἐξέταξε τὴν δύναμιν εἰς τὴν μάχην.

82. Έπὶ μὲν οὖν τὸ λαιὸν κέρας ἔταξε, καθ' δ τον κίνδυνον αὐτος ήμελλε ποιείσθαι, πρώτους μέν τούς περί αὐτὸν ίππεῖς ἐπιλέκτους διακοσίους, ἐν οίς ήσαν οι τε άλλοι φίλοι πάντες καὶ Πίθων ό συνεστρατευμένος μεν 'Αλεξάνδρω, συγκαθιστάμενος δὲ ὑπ' 'Αντιγόνου στρατηγός καὶ τῶν ὅλων 2 μέτοχος. πρόταγμα δὲ τρεῖς εἴλας ἱππέων ἔταξεν καὶ πλαγιοφυλάκους τὰς ἴσας καὶ χωρὶς ἔξω τοῦ κέρατος ἀπολελυμένας τρεῖς Ταραντίνων, ώστ' είναι τοὺς περὶ τὸ σῶμα τεταγμένους ἱππεῖς ξυστοφόρους μέν πεντακοσίους Ταραντίνους δε έκατόν. 3 έξης δ' έταξε των ίππέων τούς καλουμένους μέν έταίρους, όντας δέ τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὀκτακοσίους, μετά δὲ τούτους παντοδαπούς ίππεῖς οὐκ ἐλάττους τῶν χιλίων πεντακοσίων. πρὸ παντὸς δὲ τοῦ κέρατος έστησε των έλεφάντων τριάκοντα καὶ τὰ διαστήματα αὐτῶν ἐπλήρωσε τοῖς ψιλικοῖς τάγμασιν, ών ήσαν άκοντισταί μέν καί τοξόται χίλιοι, 4 σφενδονήται δὲ Πέρσαι πεντακόσιοι. τὸ μὲν οὖν εθώνυμον κέρας οθτω κατασκευάσας διενοείτο τούτω κρίνειν την μάχην. έχομένην δ' έστησε την των πεζων φάλαγγα, συνεστώσαν έξ ανδρών μυρίων χιλίων τούτων δὲ ήσαν Μακεδόνες μὲν δισχί-

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> έταξε editors : ἐξέταξε.
 <sup>2</sup> κρίνειν Sintenis : κρινεῖν, κινεῖν.

often led armies independently, were unconquered \$12 m.c. up to this time. At all events, Demetrius, after encouraging the crowd with words suitable to the occasion and promising to give gifts to them as they were deserved and to yield the booty to the soldiers,

drew up his army for the battle.

82. On the left wing, where he himself was going to take part in the battle, he placed first the two hundred selected horsemen of his guard, among whom were all his other friends and, in particular, Pithon, who had campaigned with Alexander and had been made by Antigonus co-general and partner in the whole undertaking.1 As an advanced guard he drew up three troops of cavalry and the same number as guards on the flank, and in addition to these and stationed separately outside the wing, three troops of Tarentines 2; thus those that were drawn up about his person amounted to five hundred horsemen armed with the lance and one hundred Tarentines. Next he posted those of the cavalry who were called the Companions, eight hundred in number, and after them no less than fifteen hundred horsemen of all kinds. In front of the whole wing he stationed thirty of his elephants, and he filled the intervals between them with units of light-armed men, of whom a thousand were javelin-throwers and archers and five hundred were Persian slingers. In this fashion then he formed the left wing, with which he intended to decide the battle. Next to it he drew up the infantry phalanx composed of eleven thousand men, of whom two thousand were Macedonians,

<sup>2</sup> Cp. chap. 69, 1 and note.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Light cavalry armed with javelins. The origin of the name and the connection, if any, with Tarentum, are unknown. Cp. chap. 29. 2.

λιοι, Λύκιοι δὲ καὶ Παμφύλιοι χίλιοι, μισθοφόροι δ' ὀκτακισχίλιοι. ἐπὶ δὲ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας ἔταξε τοὺς λοιποὺς ἱππεῖς χιλίους πεντακοσίους, ὧν 'Αν-δρόνικος ἡγεῖτο. τοὐτω δ' ἦν συντεταγμένον λοξὴν φυλάττειν τὴν στάσιν καὶ φυγομαχεῖν, καραδοκοῦντα τὴν δι' αὐτοῦ γινομένην κρίσιν. τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς τῶν ἐλεφάντων τρεισκαίδεκα ἔστησε πρὸ τῆς τῶν πεζῶν φάλαγγος, μίξας εἰς τὰ διαστήματα τῶν ψιλῶν τοὺς ἱκανούς. Δημήτριος μὲν οὖν διεκόσμησε τὴν ἰδίαν δύναμιν τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον.

83. Οἱ δέ περὶ τὸν Πτολεμαῖον καὶ Σέλευκον τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἔταξαν ἰσχυρὰν τὴν εὐώνυμον τάξιν, ἀγνοοῦντες τῶν ἐναντίων τὴν ἐπιβολήν μαθόντες δὲ παρὰ τῶν κατασκόπων τὸ γεγονὸς ταχέως ἐξέταξαν τὴν δύναμιν ὅπως τὸ δεξιὰν κέρας ἰσχὰν ἔχον καὶ δύναμιν τὴν κρατίστην διαγωνίσηται πρὸς τοὺς μετὰ Δημητρίου τεταγμένους ἐν τοῦς εὐωνύμοις μέρεσιν. ἔταξαν δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ κέρατος τούτου² τῶν ἱππέων τοὺς κρατίστους τρισχιλίους, ἐν οῖς καὶ 2 αὐτοὶ διεγνώκεισαν ἀγωνίσασθαι. προέταξαν δὲ τῆς στάσεως ταύτης τοὺς κομίζοντας χάρακα σεσιδηρωμένον καὶ δεδεμένον ἀλύσεσιν, ὃν παρεσκευάσαντο πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἐλεφάντων ἔφοδον ταθέντος γὰρ τούτου ῥάδιον ἦν εἴργειν τὰ θηρία

εἰς τὰ Dindorf: εῖς τωα.
 τούτου second hand in R: τοῦ.

As a military term χάραξ elsewhere means either a pointed stake to be used in making a palisade or the palisade itself, and this passage is cited in L.S.J. as an example of the latter meaning. However, here it is certainly a device with upright spikes on which the elephants step (chap. 84). In the defence of Megalopolis, knowing that Polyperchon would send his

one thousand were Lycians and Pamphylians, and \$12 a.c. eight thousand were mercenaries. On the right wing he drew up the rest of his cavalry, fifteen hundred men commanded by Andronicus. This officer was ordered to hold his line back at an angle and avoid fighting, awaiting the outcome of the conflict fought by Demetrius. The thirteen other elephants he stationed in front of the phalanx of the infantry with the normal complement of light troops in the intervals. In this manner, then, Demetrius arrayed his army.

83. Ptolemy and Seleueus at first made strong the left part of their line, not knowing the intention of the enemy; but when they learned from scouts the formation he had adopted, they quickly reformed their army in such a way that their right wing should have the greatest strength and power and be matched against those arrayed with Demetrius on his left. They drew up on this wing the three thousand strongest of their cavalry, along with whom they themselves had decided to fight. In front of this position they placed the men who were to handle the spiked devices 1 made of iron and connected by chains that they had prepared against the onset of the elephants; for when this contrivance had been stretched out, it was easy to prevent the beasts

elephants through a breach in the wall, Damis (who had served with Alexander and knew the nature of the elephant) studded many frames with sharp nails and, after placing them with their points upwards in the way the elephants would necessarily follow, covered them with loose earth (Book 18, 71.2-6). In the present battle, since the point of attack would not be known long in advance, a portable device was needed. Perhaps we should think of planks with spikes driven through them, connected by chains. Kromayer, referring to our passages, speaks of "Fusaangeln," i.e. caltrops or crowfeet (Kromayer and Veith, Heerwesen u. Kriegsführung, 141).

3 τῆς εἰς τοὔμπροσθεν πορείας. προέταξαν δὲ τοῦ κέρατος τούτου καὶ τὰ ψιλικὰ τάγματα, παραγγείλαντες τοῦς τε ἀκοντιαταῖς καὶ τοξόταις συνεχῶς κατατιτρώσκειν τὰ θηρία καὶ τοὺς ἐπὰ αὐτοῦς ἀναβεβηκότας. τοῦτον δὲ τὰν τρόπον ὀχυρωσάμενοι τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας καὶ τὴν ἄλλην δύναμιν ἐκτάξαντες ἐνδεχομένως ἐπῆγον τοῦς πολεμίοις

μετά πολλης κραυγης.

'Αντεπαγόντων δε καὶ τῶν εναντίων τὸ μεν πρώτον ἐπ΄ ἄκρων τών κεράτων ἱππομαχία συνέστη των προτεταγμένων ίππέων, εν οίς πολύ προ-4 ετέρουν οί περί τὸν Δημήτριον. μετ' ολίγον δὲ τῶν περί Πτολεμαΐον και Σέλευκον περιιππευσάντων τὸ κέρας καὶ βιαιότερον ἐπενεχθέντων ὀρθίαις¹ ταῖς είλαις συνέστη καρτερά μάχη διά τὰς έκατέρων 5 προθυμίας. κατά μέν οὖν τὴν πρώτην ἔφοδον τοῖς ξυστοῖς ἀγωνισάμενοι τούτων τε τὰ πλεῖστα συνέτρυμαν καὶ τῶν ἀγωνιζομένων οὐκ ὀλίγους κατετραυμάτισαν κατά δὲ τὴν δευτέραν ἀναστροφην είς την άπο του ξίφους μάχην ώρμησαν καὶ συμπλεκόμενοι πολλούς άλλήλων άνήρουν, οι τε ήγεμόνες αύτοι πρό πάντων κινδυνεύοντες προετρέποντο τοὺς ὑποτεταγμένους εὐρώστως ὑπομένειν τὸ δεινόν, οι τ' ἐπὶ τῶν κεράτων ίππεις, ἄπαντες ἐπιλελεγμένοι κατ' ἀρετήν, ἡμιλλῶντο πρός άλλήλους, θεατάς έχοντες της άνδρείας τους συναγωνιζομένους στρατηγούς.

84. Ἐπὶ πολὺν δὲ χρόνον τῆς ἱππομαχίας οὕσης ἐφαμίλλου τὰ θηρία διὰ τῶν Ἰνδῶν εἰς τὰν ἀγῶνα παρορμηθέντα μέχρι μέν τινος προῆγεν καταπληκτικῶς, ὡς οὐδενὸς ὑποστησομένου ὡς δ' ἐπὶ τὸν

<sup>1</sup> δρθίαις Kromayer (ep. Suidas s.v. δρθία): δρθαίς.

from moving forward. In front of this wing they 312 R.C. also stationed their light-armed units, ordering the javelin-men and archers to shoot without ceasing at the elephants and at those who were mounted upon them. When they had made their right wing strong in this manner and had drawn up the rest of their army as circumstances permitted, they advanced upon

the enemy with a great shout.

Their opponents also advanced; and first there was a cavalry action on the extreme wings between the troops of the advance guards in which the men of Demetrius had much the better of it. But after a little, when Ptolemy and Seleucus had ridden around the wing and charged upon them more heavily with cavalry drawn up in depth, there was severe fighting because of the zeal of both sides. In the first charge, indeed, the fighting was with spears, most of which were shattered, and many of the antagonists were wounded; then, rallying again, the men rushed into battle at sword's point, and, as they were locked in close combat, many were slain on each side. The very commanders, endangering themselves in front of all, encouraged those under their command to withstand the danger stoutly; and the horsemen upon the wings, all of whom had been selected for bravery, vied with each other since as witnesses of their valour they had their generals, who were sharing the struggle with them.

84. After the cavalry battle had continued for a long time on equal terms, the elephants, urged on into the combat by their Indian mahouts, advanced for a certain distance in a way to inspire terror, just as if no one were going to withstand them. When,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> ἐπιστροφήν editors except Fischer.

σεσιδηρωμένον χάρακα κατήντησε, το μέν πλήθος των ακοντιστών και τοξοτών συνεχώς βαλλόντων κατετίτρωσκε τὰ σώματα τῶν ἐλεφάντων καὶ τοὺς 2 έπ' αὐτοῖς ἀναβεβηκότας βιαζομένων δὲ τῶν 'Ινδών καὶ κολαζόντων τὰ θηρία τινὰ μὲν αὐτών περιεπείροντο τῶ φιλοτεχνηθέντι χάρακι, καὶ ταῖς πληγαίς και πυκνότησι των τιτρωσκόντων περιώ-3 δυνα γινόμενα ἐποίει θόρυβον. τὸ γὰρ γένος τοῦτο κατά μὲν τοὺς όμαλοὺς καὶ μαλακοὺς τόπους ἀνυπόστατον παρέχεται κατά στόμα την ρώμην, έν δὲ τοῖς τραχέσι καὶ δυσβάτοις τελέως ἄπρακτον ἔχει 4 την άλκην διά την των ποδών μαλακότητα. διό καί τότε, τών περί Πτολεμαΐον συνετώς προεωραμένων τὸ μέλλον ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος τῆς πήξεως, ἄπρακτον εποίει την βίαν αὐτῶν. τέλος δὲ τῶν πλείστων 'Ινδών κατακοντισθέντων ύποχειρίους συνέβη γενέ-5 οθαι πάντας τοὺς ἐλέφαντας. οδ τελεσθέντος οξ πολλοὶ τῶν περὶ τὸν Δημήτριον ἱππέων καταπλαγέντες πρὸς φυγήν ώρμησαν αὐτὸς δὲ μετ' ὀλίγων άπολειφθείς και δεόμενος έκάστου στήναι και μή καταλιπεῖν αὐτόν, ώς οὐδείς προσεῖχε, συναποχω-6 ρεῖν ἢναγκάζετο. μέχρι μὲν οὖν Γάζης οἱ πολλοὶ των ίππέων συνακολουθούντες ύπήκουον και κατέστησαν εἰς τάξεις, ὥστε μηδένα ῥαδίως τολμᾶν προσάγειν των είκη διωκόντων το γάρ πεδίον εὐούγωρον ὂν καὶ μαλακὸν συνήργει τοῖς βουλομένοις 7 εν τάξει ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἀποχώρησιν. συνείποντο δὲ καὶ πεζών οἱ βουληθέντες λιπεῖν τὰς τάξεις καὶ

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> For τη̂s πήξεως Fischer in his apparatus suggests ή πήρωσις.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cp. Book 18. 71. 6, where πληγή is clearly used of the wounds caused by the spikes.

however, they came up to the barrier of spikes, the 312 B.C. host of javelin-throwers and archers, who were sending their missiles unremittingly, began to wound severely the elephants themselves and those who were mounted upon them; and while the mahouts were forcing the beasts forward and were using their goads, some of the elephants were pierced by the cleverly devised spikes and, tormented by their wounds 1 and by the concentrated efforts of the attackers, began to cause disorder. For on smooth and yielding ground these beasts display in direct onset a might that is irresistible, but on terrain that is rough and difficult their strength is completely useless because of the tenderness of their feet. Thus, too, on this occasion, since Ptolemy shrewdly foresaw what would result from the setting up of the spikes, he rendered the power of the elephants unavailing.2 The final outcome was that, after most of the mahouts had been shot down, all the elephants were captured. When this happened, most of Demetrius' horsemen were panic-stricken and rushed into flight; and he himself was left with a few and then. since no one heeded him when he begged them each to stand and not desert him, was forced to leave the field with the rest. Now as far as Gaza most of the cavalry who were following with him listened to orders and remained in formation, so that no one of those who were pursuing at random lightly risked attacking; for the plain was open and yielding, and favourable to men who wished to withdraw in formation. There followed also those of the infantry who preferred to

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Or, reading ή πήρωσις; "Thus on this occasion also, as Ptolemy shrewdly foresaw would happen, the wounds caused by the spikes rendered, etc."

χωρίς τῶν ὅπλων διασώζειν έαυτοὺς ἐλαφρούς. παραλλάσσοντος δὲ αὐτοῦ Γάζαν περὶ ἡλίου δύσιν ἀπολιπόντες τῶν ἰππέων τινèς παρῆλθον εἰς τὴν 8 πόλιν, εκκομίσαι βουλόμενοι τὰς ἀποσκευάς. , ἀνοιχθεισών οὖν τών πυλών καὶ πλήθους ὑποζυγίων άθροισθέντος, έτι δ' έκάστου πρώτου σπεύδοντος έξαγαγείν τὰ σκευοφόρα τοσοῦτον θόρυβον γενέσθαι συνέβη περί τὰς πύλας ώστε τῶν περί Πτολεμαίον ἐπιόντων μηδένα δύνασθαι φθάσαι συγκλείσαντα. διόπερ είσπεσόντων των πολεμίων έντος του τείχους ή πόλις ύποχείριος εγένετο τοῖς περὶ Πτολε-

μαΐον.

85. Τῆς δὲ μάχης τοιοῦτο τὸ τέλος λαβούσης Δημήτριος μεν διέτεινεν είς "Αζωτον περί μέσας νύκτας, διελθών σταδίους έβδομήκοντα και διακοσίους. ἐντεῦθεν δὲ κήρυκα περὶ τῆς τῶν νεκρῶν άναιρέσεως εξέπεμψεν, σπεύδων εκ παντός τρόπου της ἐπιβαλλούσης κηδείας ἀξιώσαι τοὺς τε-2 τελευτηκότας: ἐτύγχανον γὰρ οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν φίλων πεπτωκότες, ών ήσαν επιφανέστατοι Πίθων τε ὁ μετέχων τῆς στρατηγίας ἐπ' ἴσης αὐτῷ καὶ Βοιωτός πολύν χρόνον συνεζηκώς 'Αντινόνω τῶ 3 πατρί και μετεσχηκώς παντός απορρήτου κατά δέ την παράταξιν έπεσον μέν πλείους τῶν πεντακοσίων, ών ήσαν οι πλείους ίππεις των επιφανών άνδρών, εάλωσαν δ' ύπερ όκτακισχιλίους. οί δε περί Πτολεμαΐον και Σέλευκον δόντες την αναίρεσιν τῶν νεκρών τήν τε άλουσαν βασιλικήν άποσκευήν καί τῶν αἰχμαλώτων τοὺς περὶ τὴν αὐλὴν εἰωθότας διατρίβειν χωρίς λύτρων απέστειλαν πρός Δημήτριον. 66

leave their lines and, abandoning their heavy arms, 312 a.c. save themselves by travelling light. But as Demetrius was passing Gaza at about sunset, some of the cavalry dropped out and entered the city since they wished to carry away their baggage. Then, when the gates were opened and a large number of pack animals were gathered together and when each man tried to lead out his own beasts first, there arose such confusion around the gates that when the troops of Ptolemy came up no one was able to close the gates in time. Hence the enemy dashed within the walls, and the city came into the possession of

Ptolemy.

85. After the battle had ended in this fashion, Demetrius reached Azotus about the middle of the night, covering two hundred and seventy stades.1 Thence he sent a herald about the burial of the dead since he was very anxious at any cost to honour those who had perished with the funeral that was their due; for it happened that most of his friends had fallen, the most distinguished of whom were Pithon, who had shared the command on equal terms with himself, and Bocotus, who for a long time had lived with his father Antigonus and had shared in all his state secrets. In the battle there had fallen more than five hundred men,2 the majority of whom were cavalry and men of distinction; and more than eight thousand had been captured. Ptolemy and Seleucus permitted the recovery of the dead, and they returned to Demetrius without ransom the royal baggage, which had been captured, and those of the prisoners who had been accustomed to be in attendance at the

About 31 miles.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Plutarch, Demetrius, 5. 2, says that 5000 men were slain.

οὺ γὰρ περὶ τούτων ἔφασαν διαφέρεσθαι πρὸς 'Αντίγονον, άλλ' ὅτι τοῦ πολέμου γενομένου κοινοῦ πρότερον μὲν πρὸς Περδίκκαν, ὕστερον δὲ πρὸς Εύμενη τὰ μέρη της δορικτήτου χώρας οὐκ ἀποδοίη τοις φίλοις και συνθέμενος φιλίαν πρός αὐτὸν τοὐναντίον ἀφέλοιτο τὴν σατραπείαν τῆς Βαβυλωνίας 4 Σελεύκου παρά πάντα τὰ δίκαια. ὁ δὲ Πτολεμαῖος τοὺς μὲν ἄλόντας στρατιώτας ἀποστείλας εἰς Λίγυπτον προσέταξεν έπὶ τὰς νομαρχίας² διελεῖν, αὐτὸς δὲ θάψας τῶν ἰδίων τοὺς ἐν τῆ μάχη τελευτήσαντας απαντας μεγαλοπρεπώς μετά της δυνάμεως επήει τῶν κατὰ Φοινίκην πόλεων τὰς μὲν πολιορκῶν, τὰς 5 δὲ πειθοῖ προσαγόμενος. Δημήτριος δὲ δύναμιν ούκ έχων άξιόχρεων πρός μέν τόν πατέρα βυβλιαφόρον ἀπέστειλεν, ἀξιῶν βοηθεῖν τὴν ταχίστην. αὐτὸς δὲ παρελθών εἰς Τρίπολιν τῆς Φοινίκης μετεπέμπετό τε τούς ἐκ Κιλικίας στρατιώτας καὶ τῶν άλλων όσοι παρεφύλαττον η πόλεις η φρούρια μακράν άφεστωτα των πολεμίων.

86. Πτολεμαίος δὲ κρατῶν τῶν ὑπαίθρων Σιδῶνα μὲν προσηγάγετο, τῆς δὲ Τύρου πλησίον 
στρατοπεδεύσας παρεκάλεσεν 'Ανδρόνικον τὸν 
φρούραρχον παραδοῦναι τὴν πόλιν καὶ δωρεάς τε 
2 καὶ τιμὰς άδρὰς ἐπηγγείλατο δοῦναι. ὁ δὲ ψήσας 
μηδενὶ τρόπω προδώσειν τὴν δεδομένην ὑπ' 'Αντιγόνου καὶ Δημητρίου πίστιν, ἐλοιδόρησε φορτικῶς 
τὸν Πτολεμαίον. ὕστερον δὲ στασιασάντων τῶν 
στρατιωτῶν ἐκπεσὼν ἐκ Τύρου καὶ γενόμενος ὑποχείριος προσεδόκα μὲν τιμωρίας τεύξεσθαι διά τε

φιλίαν Hertlein : πάλιν.
 νομαρχίας Wesseling : ναυαρχίας.

court; for, they said, it was not about these that sie n.c. they were at variance with Antigonus but because, although he and they had made war in common, first against Perdiccas and later against Eumenes, he had not turned over to his companions their share of the captured territory, and again because, after making a compact of friendship with Seleucus, he had nevertheless taken away from him his satrapy of Babylonia contrary to all right. Ptolemy sent the captured soldiers off into Egypt, ordering them to be distributed among the nomes; but he himself, after giving a magnificent burial to all those of his own men who had died in the battle, went with his forces against the cities of Phoenicia, besieging some of them and winning others by persuasion. But Demetrius, since he did not have a sufficiently strong army, sent a messenger to his father, asking him to aid him as quickly as possible. He himself, moving to Tripolis in Phoenicia, summoned the soldiers from Cilicia and also those of his other men who were guarding cities or strongholds far removed from the enemy.

86. Ptolemy, after he had gained control of the open country, first won Sidon to his side; and then, camping near Tyre, he summoned Andronicus, the commander of the garrison, to surrender the city, and he promised to give him gifts and abundant honours. Andronicus, however, said that he would in no wise betray the trust that had been placed in him by Antigonus and Demetrius, and he vilely insulted Ptolemy. Later, when his soldiers mutinied and he was expelled from the city and fell into the hands of Ptolemy, he expected to receive punishment both

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cp. chap. 69. 1.

τὴν γενομένην λοιδορίαν καὶ διὰ τὸ μὴ βεβουλῆσθαι τὴν Τύρον παραδοῦναι οὐ μὴν ὅ γε Πτολεμαῖος ἐμνησικάκησεν, ἀλλὰ τοὐναντίον δοὺς δωρεὰς εἶχε περὶ αὐτόν, ἔνα τῶν φίλων ποιησάμενος καὶ προ3 άγων ἐντίμως. ἢν γὰρ ὁ δυνάστης οὖτος καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ἐπιεικὴς καὶ συγγνωμονικός, ἔτι δ' εὐεργετικός. ὅπερ καὶ μάλιστ' αὐτὸν ηὕξησε καὶ 4 πολλοὺς ἐποίησεν ἐπιθυμεῖν κοινωνῆσαι τῆς φιλίας. καὶ γὰρ τὸν Σέλευκον ἐκ τῆς Βαβυλωνίας ἐκπεσόντα φιλοτίμως ὑπεδέξατο καὶ κοινὴν παρείχετο τούτω τε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις φίλοις τὴν περὶ αὐτὸν' 5 εὐδαιμονίαν. διὸ καὶ τότε παρακαλοῦντος αὐτὸν Σελεύκου δοῦναι στρατιώτας τοὺς ἀναβησομένους εἰς Βαβυλῶνα προθύμως ώμολόγησε καὶ προσεπηγγείλατο πάντα συμπράξειν μέχρι ἀνακτήσαιτο τὴν προϋπάρχουσαν σατραπείαν.

Καὶ τὰ μέν κατὰ τὴν 'Ασίαν ἐν τούτοις ἦν.

87. Κατά δὲ τὴν Εὐρώπην Τελεσφόρος μὲν ό ᾿Αντιγόνου ναύαρχος διατρίβων περὶ Κόρινθον, ἐπειδὴ Πτολεμαῖον ἐώρα μᾶλλον ἐαυτοῦ προαγόμενον καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα πραγμάτων πιστευόμενον ἀπάντων, ἐγκαλέσας ᾿Αντιγόνω περὶ τούτων τὰς μὲν ναῦς ἃς εἶχεν ἀπέδοτο, τῶν δὲ στρατιωτῶν τοὺς βουλομένους κοινωνεῖν τῆς προ-² αιρέσεως ἀναλαβών ἴδια πράγματα συνίστατο. παρελθὼν γὰρ εἰς Ἦλιν ὡς ἔτι φυλάττων τὴν πρὸς ᾿Αντίγονον φιλίαν, τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἐνετείχισε καὶ τὴν πόλιν κατεδουλώσατο. ἐσύλησεν δὲ καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τὸ κατὰ τὴν ᾿Ολυμπίαν καὶ συναγαγών ἀργυρίου πλείω τῶν πεντήκοντα ταλάντων ξένους ² ἐμισθοῦτο. Τελεσφόρος μὲν οὖν ζηλοτυπήσας τὴν

for the insults and for his unwillingness to surrender 312 s.c. Tyre. But in truth Ptolemy bore no malice; on the contrary, he gave him gifts and kept him in his court, making him one of his friends and advancing him in honour. For indeed, that prince was exceptionally gentle and forgiving and inclined toward deeds of kindness. It was this very thing that most increased his power and made many men desire to share his friendship.1 For example, when Seleucus had been driven from Babylonia, he received him with friendship 2; and he used to share his own prosperity with him and with his other friends. Therefore on this occasion also, when Seleucus asked him to give him soldiers for an expedition into Babylonia, he readily consented; and in addition, he promised to aid him in every way until he should regain the satrapy that had formerly been his.

Such was the situation of affairs in Asia.3

87. In Europe, Antigonus' admiral Telesphorus, who was tarrying near Corinth, when he saw Ptolemaeus preferred to himself and entrusted with all affairs throughout Greece, charged Antigonus with this, sold what ships he had, enlisted such of the soldiers as volunteered to join his cause, and organized an enterprise of his own. Entering Elis as if still preserving his friendship for Antigonus, he fortified the citadel and enslaved the city. He even plundered the sacred precinct at Olympia and, after collecting more than five hundred talents of silver, began hiring mercenaries. In this manner then, Telesphorus,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cp. Book 18, 28, 5-6. <sup>2</sup> Cp. chap. 55, 5.

Continued in chap. 90. 1.
 Continued from chap. 78. Telesphorus was probably a nephew of Antigonus (chap. 74. 1), and Ptolemaeus certainly was (chap. 68. 5).

προαγωγήν Πτολεμαίου τοῦτον τον τρόπον εγένετο προδότης τῆς πρὸς 'Αντίγονον φιλίας. Πτολεμαῖος δ' ό 'Αντιγόνου στρατηγὸς ῆν μεν τεταγμένος ἐπὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν 'Ελλάδα πραγμάτων, πυθόμενος δὲ τὴν ἀπόστασιν τὴν Τελεσφόρου καὶ τὴν κατάληψιν τῆς 'Ηλείων πόλεως, ἔτι δὲ τὴν σύλησιν τῶν κατὰ τὴν 'Ολυμπίαν χρημάτων παρῆλθεν εἰς Πελοπόννησον μετὰ δυνάμεως. καταντήσας δ' εἰς 'Ήλιν καὶ τὴν ἐντετειχισμένην ἀκρόπολιν κατασκάψας τήν τε ἐλευθερίαν ἀπέδωκε τοῖς 'Ηλείοις καὶ τὰ χρήματα ἀποκατέστησεν τῷ θεῷ. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τὸν Τελεσφόρον πείσας παρέλαβεν τὴν Κυλλήνην, φρουρουμένην ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ τοῖς 'Ηλείοις ἀποκατέστησεν.

88. "Αμα δὲ τούτοις πρασσομένοις 'Ηπειρῶται τελευτήσαντος Αλακίδου τοῦ βασιλέως αὐτῶν 'Αλκέτα την βασιλείαν παρέδωκαν, δε ην πεφυγαδευμένος μὲν ὑπὸ ᾿Αρύμβου᾽ τοῦ πατρός, ἀλλοτρίως δὲ 2 διακείμενος πρός Κάσανδρον. διὸ καὶ Λυκίσκος ό τεταγμένος ἐπὶ τῆς 'Ακαρνανίας στρατηγός ὑπὸ Κασάνδρου παρήλθε μετὰ δυνάμεως εἰς τὴν "Ηπειρον, ἐλπίδας ἔχων ραδίως τὸν ᾿Αλκέταν ἀποστήσειν τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀσυντάκτων ἔτι τῶν κατὰ τὴν βασιλείαν 3 όντων. καταστρατοπεδεύσαντος δ' αὐτοῦ περὶ Κασσωπίαν πόλιν 'Αλκέτας τοὺς μὲν υίοὺς 'Αλέξανδρον καὶ Τεῦκρον ἀπέστειλεν ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις. διακελευσάμενος στρατολογείν ώς πλείστους, αὐτὸς δὲ μεθ' ἦs εἶχε δυνάμεως ἀναζεύξας, ἐπειδὴ πλησίον έγένετο των πολεμίων, ανέμενε την των υίων 72

because he was jealous of the advancement of Pto-size.c. lemaeus, betrayed the friendship of Antigonus. Ptolemaeus, the general of Antigonus, had been placed in charge of affairs throughout Greece; and he, on hearing of the revolt of Telesphorus, the capture of the city of the Eleans, and the plundering of the wealth of Olympia, moved into the Peloponnesus with an army. When he had come into Elis and levelled the citadel that had been fortified, he gave the Eleans back their freedom and restored the treasure to the god. Then by winning Telesphorus' consent he recovered Cyllenê, which the latter had garrisoned, and restored it to the Eleans.

88. While this was happening, the Epirotes, their king Aeacides being dead, gave the kingship to Alcetas, who had been banished by his father Arymbus and who was hostile to Cassander. For this reason, Lyciscus, had been placed as general over Acarnania by Cassander, entered Epirus with an army, hoping to remove Alcetas easily from his throne while the affairs of the kingdom were still in disorder. While Lyciscus was in camp before Cassopia, Alcetas sent his sons Alexander and Teucer to the cities, ordering them to levy as many soldiers as possible; and he himself, taking the field with what force he had, came near the enemy and awaited the return of his sons. However, since

Alcetas, an older brother of Acacides, had been banished because of his unbridled passions (Pausanias, 1, 11, 5).

<sup>2</sup> Lyciscus was placed in command of Epirus by Cassander in 316 s.c. (chap. 36. 5), and of Acarnania in 314 s.c. (chap. 67. 5); but in 313 s.c. he seems to have been replaced for a time by Philip (chap. 74. 3).

<sup>1 &#</sup>x27;Αρύμβου Palmer : 'Αρρυβίλου RX, 'Αριβήλου F.

4 παρουσίαν. τῶν δὲ περὶ Λυκίσκον ἐπικειμένων καὶ πολὺ τοῖς πλήθεσιν ὑπερεχόντων οἱ μὲν Ἡπειρῶται καταπλαγέντες προσεχώρησαν τοῖς πολεμίοις, ὁ δ' Αλκέτας καταλειφθεὶς κατέψυγεν εἰς Εὐρυμενὰς πόλιν Ἡπειρωτικήν. ἐνταῦθα δ' αὐτοῦ πολιορκουμένου παρεγενήθησαν οἱ περὶ τὸν ᾿Αλέξανδρον βοήθειαν φέροντες τῷ πατρί. γενομένης οὖν μάχης ἰσχυρᾶς ἀνηρέθησαν πολλοὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν, ἐν οῖς ἦσαν ἄλλοι τέ τινες τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ Μίκυθος ὁ στρατηγὸς καὶ Λύσανδρος ᾿Αθηναῖος ὁ κατασταθεὶς ἐπὶ τῆς Λευκάδος ὑπὸ Κασάνδρου. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Δεινίου βοηθήσαντος τοῖς ἐλαττουμένοις ἐγένετο δευτέρα μάχη, καθ' ἢν οἱ μὲν περὶ ᾿Αλέξανδρον καὶ Τεῦκρον ἡττηθέντες ἔφυγον εῖς τι χωρίον ἐρυμνὸν μετὰ τοῦ πατρός, ὁ δὲ Λυκίσκος Εὐρυμενὰς ἐκ-

πολιορκήσας καὶ διαρπάσας κατέσκαψε.

89. Καθ' ὅν δὴ χρόνον Κάσανδρος ἀκηκοὼς μὲν τὴν τῶν ἰδίων ἦτταν, ἀγνοῶν δὲ τὸ μετὰ ταῦτα γεγονὸς εὐτύχημα κατὰ σπουδὴν ἦκεν εἰς τὴν Ἡπειρον βοηθήσων τοῖς περὶ Λυκίσκον. καταλαβὼν δ' αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ προτερήματος γεγονότας πρὸς μὲν ᾿Αλκέταν διαλυσάμενος φιλίαν συνέθετο, τῆς δὲ δυνάμεως μέρος ἀναλαβὼν ἀνέζευξεν εἰς τὸν ᾿Αδρίαν πολιορκήσων ᾿Απολλωνιάτας, ὅτι τὴν φρουρὰν ἐκβαλόντες τὴν αὐτοῦ προσέθεντο τοῖς Ἰλ-2 λυριοῖς. οὐ μὴν οἴ γε ἐν τῆ πόλει κατεπλάγησαν, ἀλλὰ βοήθειαν μεταπεμψάμενοι παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων πρὸ τῶν τειχῶν παρετάξαντο. γενομένης δὲ καρτερᾶς μάχης ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον οἱ μὲν ᾿Απολλωνιᾶται τοῖς πλήθεσιν ὑπερέχοντες τοὺς

<sup>1</sup> Fischer adds ἀξιολόγων after τῶν, cp. chap. 47. 4.

the forces of Lyciscus were at hand and were far 312 B.C. superior in number, the Epirotes were frightened and went over to the enemy 1; and Alcetas, deserted, fled for refuge to Eurymenae, a city of Epirus. While he was being besieged there, Alexander came up bringing reinforcements to his father. A violent battle took place in which many of the soldiers were slain, among whom were certain others of the followers of Lyciscus and in particular the general Micythus and Lysander, an Athenian who had been put in charge of Leucas by Cassander. But afterwards, when Deinias brought reinforcements to the defeated army, there was another battle, in which Alexander and Teucer were defeated and fled with their father to a certain stronghold, while Lyciscus took Eurymenae, plundered it, and destroyed it.

89. At this time Cassander, who had heard of the defeat of his forces but did not know of the victory that had followed, moved into Epirus in haste to assist Lyciscus. On finding that the latter had gained the upper hand, he made terms and established friendship with Alcetas; and then, taking a part of his army, he moved to the Adriatic to lay siege to Apollonia because the people of that city had driven out his garrison and gone over to the Illyrians. Those in the city, however, were not frightened, but summoned aid from their other allies and drew up their army before the walls. In a battle, which was hard fought and long, the people of Apollonia, who were superior in number, forced their opponents

2 Deinias, a general of Cassander, had taken Tempê in

317 s.c. (chap. 35. 3).

According to Pausanias (1. 11. 5), Alcetas so angered the Epirotes by his cruelty that, immediately after his return, they rose against him and slew him.

άντιτεταγμένους φυγείν ηνάγκασαν, δ δὲ Κάσανδρος πολλούς στρατιώτας ἀποβαλών καὶ δύναμιν μὲν οὐκ έχων περί αύτον άξιόχρεω την δε χειμερινήν ώραν 3 θεωρών επανήλθεν είς Μακεδονίαν. τούτου δε γωρισθέντος Λευκάδιοι προσλαβόμενοι βοήθειαν παρὰ Κορκυραίων ἐξέβαλον τὴν φρουρὰν τοῦ Κασάνδρου. οἱ δ' Ἡπειρῶται χρόνον μέν τινα διέμενον ύπ' 'Αλκέτου βασιλευόμενοι, χρωμένου δ' αὐτοῦ χαλεπώτερον τοῖς πλήθεσιν αὐτόν τε κατέσφαξαν καὶ δύο τῶν υίῶν παῖδας ὄντας τὴν

ήλικίαν 'Ησιονέα καὶ Νίσον.

90. Κατά δὲ τὴν 'Ασίαν Σέλευκος μετά τὴν γενομένην ήτταν Δημητρίω περί Γάζαν της Συρίας άναλαβών παρά Πτολεμαίου πεζούς μέν οὐ πλείους τῶν ὀκτακοσίων ἱππεῖς δὲ περὶ διακοσίους ἀνέζευξεν ἐπὶ Βαβυλώνος, ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον μεμετεωρισμένος ταῖς ἐλπίσιν ὤστ' εἰ καὶ μηδεμίαν εἶχε δύναμιν τὸ παράπαν, μετὰ τῶν φίλων καὶ τῶν ἶδίων παίδων την είς τους άνω τόπους ανάβασιν ποιείσθαι υπελάμβανε γὰρ τοὺς μὲν Βαβυλωνίους διὰ τὴν προϋπάρχουσαν εύνοιαν έτοίμως αὐτῷ προσθήσεσθαι, τοὺς δὲ περὶ 'Αντίγονον μετά τῆς δυνάμεως μακράν άπεσπασμένους παραδεδωκέναι καιρόν οἰκεῖον ταῖς 2 ίδίαις ἐπιβολαῖς. τοιαύτης δ' οὔσης τῆς περὶ αὐτὸν όρμης οί συνόντες φίλοι θεωρούντες ὅτι μετ' αὐτῶν μέν είσι παντελώς ολίγοι συστρατεύοντες, τοις δè πολεμίοις έφ' οθς προάγουσι καὶ δυνάμεις υπάρχουσιν έτοιμοι μεγάλαι καὶ χορηγίαι λαμπραὶ καὶ 3 συμμάχων πληθος, οὐ μετρίως ήθύμουν. οὖς ὁρῶν καταπεπληγμένους δ Σέλευκος παρεκάλει, διδάσ-

#### BOOK XIX. 89. 2-90. 3

to flee; and Cassander, who had lost many soldiers, 212 n.c. since he did not have an adequate army with him and saw that the winter was at hand, returned into Macedonia. After his departure, the Leucadians, receiving help from the Coreyraeans, drove out Cassander's garrison. For some time the Epirotes continued to be ruled by Alcetas; but then, since he was treating the common people too harshly, they murdered him and two of his sons, Esioneus and

Nisus, who were children.2

 In Asia,<sup>2</sup> after the defeat of Demetrius at Gaza in Syria, Scleucus, receiving from Ptolemy no more than eight hundred foot soldiers and about two hundred horse,4 set out for Babylon. He was so puffed up with great expectations that, even if he had had no army whatever, he would have made the expedition into the interior with his friends and his own slaves; for he assumed that the Babylonians, on account of the goodwill that had previously existed, would promptly join him, and that Antigonus, by withdrawing to a great distance with his army, had given him a suitable opportunity for his own enterprises. While such was his own enthusiasm, those of his friends who accompanied him were no little disheartened when they saw that the men who were making the campaign with them were very few and that the enemy against whom they were going possessed large armies ready for service, magnificent resources, and a host of allies. When Seleucus saw that they were terror-stricken, he encouraged

The winter of 312/11 B.C.

8 Continued from chap. 86. 5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> But compare the note on chap. 88. 4. The narrative is continued in chap. 105.

<sup>4</sup> Appian, Syrian Wars, 9, 54, says 1000 foot and 300 horse.

κων ὅτι τοὺς ᾿Αλεξάνδρω συνεστρατευκότας καὶ δι᾽ άρετὴν ὑπ' ἐκείνου προηγμένους προσήκει μὴ πάντως δυνάμει καὶ χρήμασι πεπριθότας ἀντέχεσθαι πραγμάτων, ἀλλ' ἐμπειρία καὶ συνέσει, δι' ὧν κἀκεῖνος τὰ μεγάλα καὶ παρὰ πᾶσι θαυμαζόμενα κατειργάσατο, πιστεύειν δε δείν καὶ ταῖς τῶν θεών προρρήσεσι τὸ τέλος ἔσεσθαι τῆς στρατείας 4 ἄξιον τῆς ἐπιβολῆς ἐν μὲν γὰρ Βραγχίδαις αὐτοῦ χρηστηριαζομένου τον θεόν προσαγορεθσαι Σέλευκον βασιλέα, τὸν δὲ ᾿Αλέξανδρον καθ᾽ ὕπνον ἐπιστάντα φανερώς διασημάναι περί τῆς ἐσομένης ήγεμονίας, ής δεί τυχείν αὐτὸν προϊόντος τοῦ χράπρός δὲ τούτοις ἀπεφαίνετο διότι πάντα γίνεται τὰ καλὰ καὶ παρ' ἀνθρώποις θαυμαζόμενα διὰ πόνων καὶ κινδύνων. ἐπολιτεύετο δὲ καὶ πρὸς τούς συστρατεύοντας καὶ κατεσκεύαζεν αύτὸν ἵσον απασιν, ωσθ' εκαστον αίδεῖσθαι καὶ τὸ παράβολον της τόλμης έκουσίως ύπομένειν.

91. Έπει δε προάγων κατήντησεν είς Μεσοποταμίαν, τῶν ἐν Κάραις κατωκισμένων Μακεδόνων οῦς μὲν ἔπεισεν, οῦς δ' ἐβιάσατο συστρατεύειν αὐτῷ. ὡς δ' εἰς τὴν Βαβυλωνίαν ἐνέβαλεν, οἱ πλείους τῶν ἐγχωρίων ἀπήντων καὶ προστιθέμενοι 2 πῶν ἔφασαν αὐτῷ τὸ δοκοῦν συμπράξειν τετραετῆ γὰρ χρόνον γεγονώς σατράπης τῆς χώρας ταύτης πᾶσι προσενήνεκτο καλῶς, ἐκκαλούμενος τὴν εὖνοιαν τοῦ πλήθους καὶ πόρρωθεν προπαρασκευαζόμενος τοὺς συμπράξοντας, ἐὰν αὐτῷ δοθῆ καιρὸς

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cp. also chap. 55. 7, where we are told that the astrologers warned Antigonus to expect danger from Seleucus. Other signs and omens of Seleucus' future greatness are given by Appian, Syrian Wars, 9. 56.

them, saying that men who had campaigned with 312 B.C. Alexander and had been advanced by him because of their prowess ought not to rely solely on armed force and wealth when confronting difficult situations, but upon experience and skill, the means whereby Alexander himself had accomplished his great and universally admired deeds. He added that they ought also to believe the oracles of the gods which had foretold that the end of his campaign would be worthy of his purpose; for, when he had consulted the oracle in Branchidae, the god had greeted him as King Seleucus, and Alexander standing beside him in a dream had given him a clear sign of the future leadership that was destined to fall to him in the course of time.1 Moreover, he pointed out that everything that is good and admired among men is gained through toil and danger. But he also sought the favour of his fellow soldiers and put himself on an equality with them all in such a way that each man respected him and willingly accepted the risk of the daring venture.

91. When in his advance he entered Mesopotamia, he persuaded some of the Macedonians who were settled at Carae <sup>2</sup> to join his forces, and compelled the rest. When he pushed into Babylonia, most of the inhabitants came to meet him, and, declaring themselves on his side, promised to aid him as he saw fit; for, when he had been for four years satrap of that country, he had shown himself generous to all, winning the goodwill of the common people and long in advance securing men who would assist him if an opportunity should ever be given him to make

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Probably the same as Carrhae, and not to be identified with the Carae of Book 17, 110, 3; 19, 12, 1,

8 ἀμφισβητεῖν ήγεμονίας. προσεχώρησε δ' αὐτῷ και Πολύαρχος, τεταγμένος ἐπί τινος διοικήσεως, μετά στρατιωτών πλειόνων η χιλίων. οι δε δια-φυλάττοντες την πρός 'Αντίγονον φιλίαν, όρων-τες ἀκατάσχετον ούσαν την τοῦ πλήθους όρμην, συνέφευγον είς την άκραν, ης φύλαξ άπεδέδεικτο 4 Δίφιλος. ό δὲ Σέλευκος συστησάμενος πολιορκίαν καί κατά κράτος έλων την άκραν έκομίσατο τὰ φυλαττόμενα σώματα τῶν φίλων καὶ τῶν παίδων, όσοι παρεδόθησαν είς φυλακήν παρ' 'Αντιγόνου μετά την έκ Βαβυλώνος είς Λίγυπτον ἀποχώρησιι. 5 άπο δε τούτων γενόμενος στρατιώτας συνήγαγεν καὶ συναγοράσας ιππους ανεδίδου τοις δυναμένοις χρασθαι. πασι δε φιλανθρώπως όμιλων και καθιστάς είς άγαθάς έλπίδας έτοίμους είχε και προθύμους εν πάση περιστάσει τούς συγκινδυνεύοντας. Σέλευκος μέν οὖν τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἀνεκτήσατο την Βαβυλωνίαν.

92. Νικάνορος δὲ τοῦ περὶ Μηδίαν στρατηγοῦ συναγαγόντος ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἔκ τε Μηδίας καὶ Περσίδος καὶ τῶν σύνεγγυς τόπων στρατιώτας πεζοὺς μὲν πλείους τῶν μυρίων ἱππεῖς δὲ περὶ ἐπτακισχιλίους ὥρμησεν κατὰ σπουδὴν ἀπαντήσων τοῖς πολεμίοις. 2 εἶχε δὲ τοὺς σύμπαντας πεζοὺς μὲν πλείους τῶν τρισχιλίων, ἱππεῖς δὲ τετρακοσίους. διαβὰς δὲ

τρισχιλίων, ίππεις δε τετρακοσίους. διαβάς δε τον Τίγριν ποταμόν καὶ πυνθανόμενος δλίγων ήμερών δδόν ἀπέχειν τοὺς πολεμίους, ἔκρυψε τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐν τοῖς πλησίον ἔλεσι, διανοούμενος 3 ἀπροσδόκητον ποιήσασθαι τὴν ἐπίθεσιν. ὁ δὲ

3 άπροσδόκητον ποιήσασθαι την επισεσίν. ο σε Νικάνωρ ἐπειδή παραγενηθεὶς ἐπὶ τὸν Τίγριν ποταμὸν οὐχ ηὕρισκε τοὺς πολεμίους, κατεστρατοπέδευσε πρός τινι βασιλικῷ σταθμῷ, νομίζων αὐτοὺς a bid for supreme power. He was joined also by \$12 n.c. Polyarchus, who had been placed in command of a certain district, with more than a thousand soldiers. When those who remained loyal to Antigonus saw that the impulse of the people could not be checked, they took refuge together in the citadel, of which Diphilus had been appointed commander. Seleucus, by laying siege to the citadel and taking it by storm, recovered the persons of all those of his friends and slaves who had been placed there under guard by the order of Antigonus after Seleucus' own departure from Babylon into Egypt. When he had finished this, he enlisted soldiers, and, having bought up horses, he distributed them to those who were able to handle them. Associating with all on friendly terms and raising high hopes in all, he kept his fellow adventurers ready and eager under every condition. In this way, then, Seleucus regained Babylonia.

92. But when Nicanor, the general in Media, gathered against him from Media and Persia and the neighbouring lands more than ten thousand foot soldiers and about seven thousand horse, Seleucus set out at full speed to oppose the enemy. He himself had in all more than three thousand foot and four hundred horse. He crossed the Tigris River; and, on hearing that the enemy were a few days' march distant, he hid his soldiers in the adjacent marshes, intending to make his attack a surprise. When Nicanor arrived at the Tigris River and did not find the enemy, he camped at one of the royal stations,

πεφευγέναι μακρότερον. ἐπιγενομένης δὲ νυκτὸς καὶ τῶν περὶ Νικάνορα καταπεφρονηκότως καὶ ραθύμως ἐχόντων τὰ περὶ τὰς φυλακὰς ἐπιπεσῶν ὁ Σέλευκος ἄφνω πολλὴν ταραχὴν καὶ κατάπληξιν κατεσκεύασε συναψάντων γὰρ μάχην τῶν Περσῶν συνέβη τόν τε σατράπην αὐτῶν Εὔαγρον πεσεῖν καί τινας τῶν ἄλλων ἡγεμόνων. οῦ συμβάντος οἱ πλείους τῶν στρατιωτῶν τὰ μὲν τὸν κίνδυνον καταπεπληγμένοι, τὰ δὲ προσκόπτοντες τοῖς ὑπ' ᾿Αντιγόνου πραττομένοις μετεβάλοντο πρὸς Σέλευκον.

5 ό δὲ Νικάνωρ μετ' όλίγων ἀπολειφθείς καὶ δεδιώς μὴ παραδοθῆ τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἔφυγε μετὰ τῶν φίλων διὰ τῆς ἐρήμου. Σέλευκος δὲ δυνάμεως άδρᾶς κυριεύσας καὶ φιλανθρώπως πᾶσι προσφερόμενος ρ΄αδίως προσηγάγετο τήν τε Σουσιανὴν καὶ Μηδίαν καὶ τινας τῶν σύνεγγυς τόπων περὶ τε τῶν διωκημένων ἔγραψε πρὸς Πτολεμαῖον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους φίλους, ἔχων ἥδη βασιλικὸν ἀνάστημα καὶ δόξαν ἀξίαν ἡγεμονίας.

93. "Αμα δὲ τούτοις πραττομένοις Πτολεμαΐος

μεν διέτριβε περί Κοίλην Συρίαν, νενικηκώς Δημήτριον τον 'Αντιγόνου παρατάξει μεγάλη. δυ πυνθανόμενος εκ Κιλικίας ανεστραφέναι και στρατοπεδεύειν περί την άνω Συρίαν, προεχειρίσατο 2 των περί αὐτον φίλων Κίλλην τον Μακεδόνα τούτω

δε δούς δύναμιν ίκαν ην προσέταξεν εκδιωξαι τον Δημήτριον το παράπαν εκ της Συρίας η περικαταλαβόντα συντρίψαι. τούτου δ' όντος κατά πορείαν Δημήτριος διά των σκοπων άκούσας τον Κίλλην

believing that they had fled to a greater distance 312 a.c. than was the case. When night was come and the army of Nicanor was keeping a perfunctory and negligent guard, Seleucus fell on them suddenly, causing great confusion and panic; for it happened that when the Persians had joined battle, their satrap Evager 1 fell together with some of the other leaders. When this occurred, most of the soldiers went over to Seleucus, in part because they were frightened at the danger but in part because they were offended by the conduct of Antigonus. Nicanor. who was left with only a few men and feared lest he be delivered over to the enemy, took flight with his friends through the desert. But Seleucus, now that he had gained control of a large army and was comporting himself in a way gracious to all, easily won over Susiane, Media, and some of the adjacent lands; and he wrote to Ptolemy and his other friends about his achievements, already possessing a king's stature and a reputation worthy of royal power.

93. Meanwhile Ptolemy remained in Coelê Syria after having conquered Antigonus' son Demetrius in a great battle.<sup>2</sup> On hearing that Demetrius had returned from Cilicia and was encamped in Upper Syria, he chose from the friends who were with him Cilles the Macedonian; and, giving him an adequate army, he ordered him to drive Demetrius completely out of Syria or to entrap and crush him.<sup>2</sup> While Cilles was on the way, Demetrius, hearing from spies that he

Possibly to be identified with the Evagoras who is mentioned in chap. 48. 2 as satrap of Aria.

For the victory of Ptolemy at Gaza cp. chaps. 83 ff.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Cp. Plutarch, Demetrius, 6. 1-2.

<sup>1</sup> καταπεφρονηκότως Stephanus : καταπεφρονηκότων.

στρατοπεδεύειν καταπεφρονηκότως περί Μυοῦντα, την μέν αποσκευήν απέλιπε, τούς δε στρατιώτας εύζώνους παραλαβών νυκτός πορείαν σύντομον έποιήσατο, προσπεσών δὲ τοῖς πολεμίοις έωθινῆς φυλακής ἄφνω τής τε δυνάμεως ἄνευ μάχης έκυρίευσεν και αυτόν τον στρατηγον εζώγρησε. τηλικούτου δ' εὐτυχήματος γεγενημένου την ήτταν 3 ἀναμαχήσασθαι διειλήφει. οὐ μήν ἀλλὰ τὸν Πτο-λεμαῖον ὑπολαμβάνων ἤξειν ἐπ' αὐτὸν μετὰ πάσης της δυνάμεως, εστρατοπέδευσε προβλήματα της παρεμβολής ποιησάμενος έλη και λίμνας. έγραψε δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸν πατέρα περὶ τοῦ γενομένου κατορθώματος, παρακαλῶν¹ αὐτὸν ἢ δύναμιν ἀποστεῖλαι την ταχίστην η και αυτόν παραβαλείν είς την 4 Συρίαν. ό δ' 'Αντίγονος ετύγχανε μεν ών εν Κελαιναίς της Φρυγίας, κομισάμενος δὲ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν έχάρη διαφερόντως ἐπὶ τῷ δοκεῖν τὸν υίὰν νέον όντα κατωρθωκέναι δι' αύτοῦ καὶ φαίνεσθαι βασιλείας ἄξιον. αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν δύναμιν ἀναλαβών ανέζευξεν έκ της Φρυγίας και τον Ταθρον ύπερβαλών ολίγαις ήμέραις συνέμιξε τοῖς περὶ τὸν 5 Δημήτριον. Πτολεμαΐος δὲ πυθόμενος τὴν 'Αντιγόνου παρουσίαν καὶ συναγαγών τοὺς ἡγεμόνας καὶ φίλους έβουλεύετο πότερον συμφέρει μένειν καὶ άγωνίζεσθαι περί των όλων κατά Συρίαν ή προάγειν είς Αίγυπτον και πολεμείν εκείθεν, καθάπερ 6 καὶ πρότερον Περδίκκα. πάντες οὖν συνεβούλευον μή διακινδυνεύειν πρός δύναμιν πολλαπλασίονα καὶ θηρίων πλήθος, ἔτι δὲ στρατηγόν ἀήττητον

<sup>1</sup> και before παρακαλών omitted by Dindorf.

Myus in Syria is otherwise unknown.

## BOOK XIX. 93. 2-6

was carelessly encamped at Myus,1 left his baggage \$12 B.C. behind and with his soldiers in light equipment made a forced march; then, falling suddenly upon the enemy during the early morning watch,2 he captured the army without a battle and took the general himself prisoner." By achieving such a success he believed that he had wiped out the defeat. Nevertheless, assuming that Ptolemy would march against him with all his army, he went into camp, using as the outworks of his defence swamps and marshes. He also wrote to his father about the success that had been gained, urging him either to send an army as soon as possible or to cross over into Syria himself. Antigonus chanced to be in Celaenae in Phrygia; and, on receiving the letter, he rejoiced greatly that his son, young as he was, seemed to have got out of his difficulties by himself and to have shown himself worthy to be a king. He himself with his army set out from Phrygia, crossed the Taurus, and within a few days joined Demetrius. Ptolemy, however, on hearing of the arrival of Antigonus, called together his leaders and friends and took counsel with them whether it was better to remain and reach a final decision in Syria or to withdraw to Egypt and carry on the war from there as he had formerly done against Perdiceas.4 Now all advised him not to risk a battle against an army that was many times stronger and had a larger number of elephants as well as against an unconquered general; for, they said, it would

2 i.e. the last watch of the night.

4 Cp. Book 18, 33-35.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> This victory is minimized by Pausanias, 1. 6. 5. According to Plutarch (*Demetrius*, 6. 3), Demetrius restored Cilles and his staff to Ptolemy alive, thus repaying Ptolemy for his generosity after Gaza (chap. 85. 3).

εὐχερέστερον γὰρ πολλῷ διαγωνιεῖσθαι κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον, ταῖς τε χορηγίαις ὑπερέχοντα καὶ τόπων 7 ὀχυρότητι πιστεύοντα. διὸ καὶ, κρίνας ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν Συρίαν κατέσκαψε τὰς ἀξιολογωτάτας τῶν, κεκρατημένων πόλεων, "Ακην μὲν τῆς Φοινίκης Συρίας, 'Ιόππην δὲ καὶ Σαμάρειαν καὶ Γάζαν τῆς Συρίας, αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν δύναμιν ἀναλαβὼν καὶ τῶν χρημάτων ὅσα δυνατὸν ἦν ἄγειν ἢ φέρειν ἐπανῆλθεν εἰς Αἴγυπτον.

94. 'Αντίγονος δ' ἀκινδύνως ἀνακτησάμενος τήν τε Συρίαν πᾶσαν καὶ Φοινίκην ἐπεβάλετο στρατεύειν ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν τῶν 'Αράβων τῶν καλουμένων Ναβαταίων. κρίνας γὰρ τὸ ἔθνος τοῦτο τῶν ἐαυτοῦ πραγμάτων ἀλλότριον εἶναι, προεχειρίσατο τῶν αὐτοῦ φιλων 'Αθήναιον, δοὺς δ' αὐτῷ πεζοὺς μὲν εὐζώνους τετρακισχιλίους, ἱππεῖς δὲ τοὺς ἐπιτηδείους εἰς δρόμον ἐξακοσίους συνέταξεν ἐπιθέσθαι τοῦς βαρβάροις ἄφνω καὶ τὴν λείαν πᾶσαν ἀπο-

τεμέσθαι.

2 Χρήσιμον δ' ἐστὶ τῶν ἀγνοούντων ἔνεκα διελθεῖν τὰ νόμιμα τῶν 'Αράβων τούτων, οἷς χρώμενοι δοκοῦσι τὴν ἐλευθερίαν διαφυλάττειν. ἔχουσι τοίνυν τὸν βίον ὑπαίθριον, πατρίδα καλοῦντες τὴν ἀοίκητον τὴν μήτε ποταμοὺς ἔχουσαν μήτε κρήνας δαψιλεῖς ἐξ ὧν δυνατὸν στρατόπεδον πολέμιον 3 ὑδρεύσασθαι. νόμος δ' ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς μήτε σῖτον σπείρειν μήτε φυτεύειν μηδὲν φυτὸν καρποφόρον μήτε οἵνω χρῆσθαι μήτε οἰκίαν κατασκευάζειν ΰς δ' ἄν παρὰ ταῦτα ποιῶν εὐρίσκηται, θάνατον αὐτῷ

be much easier for him to settle the war in Egypt 312 B.C. where he had plenty of supplies and could trust to the difficulty of the terrain. Deciding, therefore, to leave Syria, he razed the most noteworthy of the cities that he had captured: Ake in Phoenician Syria, and Ioppê, Samaria, and Gaza in Syria; then he himself, taking the army and what of the booty it was possible to drive or carry, returned into Egypt.1

94. Now that Antigonus without a fight had gained possession of all Syria and Phoenicia, he desired to make a campaign against the land of the Arabs who are called Nabataeans.2 Deciding that this people was hostile to his interests, he selected one of his friends, Athenacus, gave him four thousand light foot-soldiers and six hundred horsemen fitted for speed, and ordered him to set upon the barbarians suddenly and cut off all their cattle as booty.

For the sake of those who do not know, it will be useful to state in some detail the customs of these Arabs, by following which, it is believed, they preserve their liberty. They live in the open air, claiming as native land a wilderness that has neither rivers nor abundant springs from which it is possible for a hostile army to obtain water. It is their custom neither to plant grain, set out any fruit-bearing tree, use wine, nor construct any house; and if anyone is found acting contrary to this, death is his penalty.3

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Pausanias, I. 6. 5.

3 Cp. the description of the Rechabites in Jeremiah,

35. 6-10.

<sup>2</sup> This was clearly a preliminary step to the invasion of Egypt itself which he already had in mind. Cambyses before invading Egypt made terms with the Arabs (Herodotus, 3. 4-9). For these Arabs cp. Strabo, 16. 4 passim (particularly § 26); and also Diodorus' own earlier description of them (Book 2. 48).

4 πρόστιμον είναι. χρώνται δὲ τῷ νόμῳ τούτῳ διαλαμβάνοντες τοὺς ταῦτα κτωμένους ἀναγκασθήσεσθαι δαδίως ύπὸ τῶν δυνατῶν ἔνεκα τῆς τούτων χρείας ποιείν το προστασσόμενον. τρέφουσι δ' αὐτών οἱ μὲν καμήλους, οἱ δὲ πρόβατα, τὴν ἔρημον έπινέμοντες. οὐκ ὀλίγων δ' ὅντων ᾿Αραβικῶν ἐθνῶν τῶν τὴν ἔρημον ἐπινεμόντων οῦτοι πολὺ τῶν άλλων προέχουσι ταις εὐπορίαις, τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὅντες 5 οὐ πολὺ πλείους τῶν μυρίων εἰώθασι γὰρ αὐτῶν οὐκ ολίγοι κατάγειν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν λιβανωτόν τε καὶ σμύρναν καὶ τὰ πολυτελέστατα τῶν ἀρωμάτων, διαδεχόμενοι παρά τῶν κομιζόντων ἐκ τῆς Εὐδαί-6 μονος καλουμένης 'Αραβίας. φιλελεύθεροι δέ εἰσι διαφερόντως καὶ ὅταν πολεμίων δύναμις άδρὰ προσίη, φεύγουσιν είς την έρημον, ταύτη χρώμενοι οχυρώματι άνυδρος γάρ οὖσα τοῖς μέν άλλοις άνεπίβατός έστι, τούτοις δὲ κατεσκευακόσιν άγγεῖα κατά γης δρυκτά κεκονιαμένα μόνοις παρέχεται την 7 ἀσφάλειαν. της γὰρ γης ούσης της μὲν ἀργιλλώδους, τῆς δὲ πέτραν ἐχούσης μαλακὴν ὀρύγματα μεγάλα ποιοῦσιν ἐν αὐτῆ, ὧν τὰ μὲν στόμια μικρὰ παντελώς κατασκευάζουσι, κατά βάθους δ' άεὶ μαλλον εύρυχωρή ποιούντες το τελευταίον τηλικούτ' άποτελοῦσι τὸ μέγεθος ώστε γίνεσθαι πλευράν έκά-8 στην πλέθρου. ταῦτα δὲ τὰ ἀγγεῖα πληροῦντες ύδατος όμβρίου τὰ στόματ' ἐμφράττουσι καὶ ποιοῦντες ισόπεδον τῆ λοιπῆ χώρα σημεῖα καταλείπουσιν έαυτοις μέν γιγνωσκόμενα, τοις δ' άλλοις άνεπι-9 νόητα. ποτίζουσι δὲ καὶ τὴν λείαν δι' ἡμερῶν τριών, όπως έν ταις ανυδρίαις και φυγαις μή προσ-

i.e. Arabia the Fortunate (Arabia Fclix), the southwestern part of the peninsula (cp. Book 2. 49).

#### BOOK XIX. 94. 3-9

They follow this custom because they believe that \$12 B.C. those who possess these things are, in order to retain the use of them, easily compelled by the powerful to do their bidding. Some of them raise camels, others sheep, pasturing them in the desert. While there are many Arabian tribes who use the desert as pasture, the Nabataeans far surpass the others in wealth although they are not much more than ten thousand in number; for not a few of them are accustomed to bring down to the sea frankincense and myrrh and the most valuable kinds of spices, which they procure from those who convey them from what is called Arabia Eudaemon.1 They are exceptionally fond of freedom; and, whenever a strong force of enemies comes near, they take refuge in the desert, using this as a fortress 2; for it lacks water and cannot be crossed by others, but to them alone, since they have prepared subterranean reservoirs lined with stucco, it furnishes safety. As the earth in some places is clayey and in others is of soft stone, they make great excavations in it, the mouths of which they make very small, but by constantly increasing the width as they dig deeper. they finally make them of such size that each side has a length of one plethrum.3 After filling these reservoirs with rain water, they close the openings, making them even with the rest of the ground, and they leave signs that are known to themselves but are unrecognizable by others. They water their cattle every other day, so that, if they flee through waterless places, they may not need a continuous

3 About 100 feet.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> In Book 2. 48. 5 Diodorus states that the kings of the Assyrians and of the Medes and Persians vainly sent large forces against these Arabs.

δέωνται συνεχών ύδάτων. αὐτοὶ δὲ χρώνται τροφή κρέασι καὶ γάλακτι καὶ τῶν ἐκ τής γής 10 φυομένων τοις ἐπιτηδείοις φύεται γὰρ παρ' αὐτοις τὸ πέπερι καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν δένδρων¹ μέλι πολὺ τὸ καλούμενον ἄγριον, ῷ χρῶνται ποτῷ μεθ' ὕδατος. έστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλα γένη τῶν ᾿Αράβων, ὧν ἔνια καὶ γεωργεί μιγνύμενα τοίς φορολογουμένοις καί μετέχει τῶν αὐτῶν τοῖς Σύροις πλην τοῦ κατασκηνοῦν èv olklais.

95. Τὰ μὲν οὖν νόμιμα τῶν ᾿Αράβων τοιαῦτ᾽ είναι συμβέβηκεν. ύπογύου δ' αὐτοῖς οὔσης πανηγύρεως, είς ην εἰώθασιν οί περίοικοι καταντάν οί μέν ἀποδωσόμενοι τῶν φορτίων, οἱ δ' ἀγοράσοντές τι των αὐτοῖς χρησίμων, εἰς ταύτην ἐπορεύθησαν, άπολιπόντες ἐπί τινος πέτρας τὰς κτήσεις καὶ τοὺς 2 πρεσβυτάτους, ἔτι δὲ τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκας. τὸ δὲ χωρίον ὑπῆρχεν ὀχυρόν μὲν καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ἀτείχιστον δέ, καὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀπέχον δυεῖν ήμερων όδόν.

Οί δὲ περὶ τὸν 'Αθήναιον παρατηρήσαντες τοῦτον τον καιρον ώρμησαν έπὶ τὴν πέτραν εύζωνον έχοντες την δύναμιν διανύσαντες δ' ἀπό της Ίδουμαίας ἐπαρχίας ἐν ἡμέραις τρισὶ καὶ νυξὶ ταῖς ἴσαις σταδίους δισχιλίους καὶ διακοσίους έλαθον τούς "Αραβας περί μέσας νύκτας καταλαβόμενοι τὴν 3 πέτραν. εὐθὺς δὲ τῶν ἐγκατειλημμένων οθς μὲν άνήρουν, ούς δ' εζώγρουν, ενίους δε τραυματίας

<sup>1</sup> καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν δένδρων Wesseling : ἀπὸ τῶν δένδρων καὶ.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Perhaps the so-called tamarisk-manna, a sweet gum which exudes from the slender branches of Tamarix gallica when these have been punctured by a certain insect. This

supply of water. They themselves use as food flesh 312 a.c. and milk and those of the plants that grow from the ground which are suitable for this purpose; for among them there grow the pepper and plenty of the 'so-called wild honey from trees,' which they drink mixed with water. There are also other tribes of Arabs, some of whom even till the soil, mingling with the tribute-paying peoples, and have the same customs as the Syrians, except that they do not dwell in houses.

95. It appears that such are the customs of the Arabs. But when the time draws near for the national gathering at which those who dwell round about are accustomed to meet, some to sell goods and others to purchase things that are needful to them, they travel to this meeting, leaving on a certain rock <sup>2</sup> their possessions and their old men, also their women and their children. This place is exceedingly strong but unwalled, and it is distant two days' journey from the settled country.

After waiting for this season, Athenaeus set out for the rock with his army in light marching order. Covering the twenty-two hundred stades <sup>3</sup> from the district of Idumaea in three days and the same number of nights, he escaped the attention of the Arabs and seized the rock at about midnight. Of those that were caught there, some he slew at once, some he took as prisoners, and others who were

is thought by some to be the manna of Exodus 16. Cp. Herodotus, 7. S1.

2 This natural stronghold may be the later Petra.

About 250 miles; but the number must be corrupt. In chap. 98. 1 the distance from the rock to the Dead Sea, "which lies along the middle of Idumaea," is given as 300 stades, about 34 miles.

ἀπέλιπον καὶ τοῦ μὲν λιβανωτοῦ καὶ τῆς σμύρνης συνεσκευάσαντο τὸ πλείον μέρος, άργυρίου δὲ περὶ πεντακόσια τάλαντα. ενδιατρύμαντες δ' οὐ πλείω χρόνον φυλακής έωθινής εύθυς ανέστρεψαν κατά σπουδήν, διαλαμβάνοντες ύπο των βαρβάρων διωχθήσεσθαι. διατείναντες δε σταδίους διακοσίους κατεστρατοπέδευσαν, όντες κατάκοποι καὶ ραβύμως έχοντες τὰ περί τὰς φυλακάς, ώς ἂν νομίζοντες μή πρότερον δύνασθαι τοὺς πολεμίους έλθεῖν δυεῖν η 4 τριῶν ἡμερῶν. οἱ δ' "Αραβες πυθόμενοι παρὰ τῶν έωρακότων τὸ στρατόπεδον παραχρημα ήθροίαθησαν καὶ τὴν πανήγυριν ἀπολιπόντες ἡκον ἐπὶ τὴν πέτραν παρά δὲ τῶν τραυματιῶν μαθόντες τὰ γε-5 νονότα κατά σπουδήν έδίωκον τοὺς "Ελληνας. τῶν δέ περὶ τὸν 'Αθήναιον στρατοπεδευσάντων καταπεφρονηκότως καὶ διὰ τὸν κόπον ἐν ὕπνῳ καθεστώτων έλαθόν τινες των αιχμαλώτων διαδράντες, παρ' ών οι Ναβαταίοι μαθόντες τὰ κατὰ τους πολεμίους ἐπέθεντο τῆ στρατοπεδεία περὶ τρίτην φυλακήν, όντες οὐκ ἐλάσσω ὀκτακισχιλίων. καὶ τοὺς πλείους μέν έν ταις κοίταις όντας έτι κατέσφαξαν, τοὺς δὲ διεγειρομένους καὶ χωροῦντας εἰς ὅπλα κατηκόντιζον καὶ πέρας οἱ μὲν πεζοὶ πάντες ἀνηρέθησαν, τῶν δὲ ἱππέων διεσώθησαν εἰς πεντήκοντα καὶ τούτων οἱ πλείους τραυματίαι.

6 Οἱ μὲν οὖν περὶ τὸν ᾿Αθήναιον ἐν ἀρχῆ κατορθώσαντες ἐξ ὑστέρου διὰ τὴν ἐαυτῶν ἀβουλίαν τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἐσφάλησαν ταῖς γὰρ εὐτυχίαις εἴωθεν ὡς ἐπίπαν ἀκολουθεῖν ραθυμία καὶ καταφρόνησις.

wounded he left behind; and of the frankincense and 312 B.C. myrrh he gathered together the larger part, and about five hundred talents of silver. Delaying no longer than the early morning watch, he at once departed at top speed, expecting to be pursued by the barbarians. When he and his men had marched without pause for two hundred stades,2 they made camp, being tired and keeping a careless watch as if they believed that the enemy could not come before two or three days. But when the Arabs heard from those who had seen the expedition, they at once gathered together and, leaving the place of assembly, came to the rock; then, being informed by the wounded of what had taken place, they pursued the Greeks at top speed. While the men of Athenaeus were encamped with little thought of the enemy and because of their weariness were deep in sleep, some of their prisoners escaped secretly; and the Nabataeans, learning from them the condition of the enemy, attacked the camp at about the third watch, being no less than eight thousand in number. Most of the hostile troops they slaughtered where they lay; the rest they slew with their javelins as they awoke and sprang to arms. In the end all the foot-soldiers were slain, but of the horsemen about fifty escaped, and of these the larger part were wounded.

And so Athenaeus, after being successful at first, later because of his own folly failed in this manner; for carelessness and indifference are, in general,

2 About 221 miles.

i.e. the last watch of the night. If we follow the MSS. and omit ἐωθυῆς, we may translate: "Delaying no longer than a single watch, he departed at top speed..."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> ἐωθινῆς added by Kallenberg.

7 διόπερ ἔνιοι προσηκόντως ὑπολαμβάνουσιν εὐχερέστερον ὑπάρχειν συμφορὰς ἐνεγκεῖν ἐπιδεξίως ἢ τὰς εὐμεγέθεις εὐημερίας ἐμφρόνως αἱ μὲν γὰρ διὰ τὸν περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος φόβον ἐπαναγκάζουσιν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, αἱ δὲ διὰ τὸ προγεγονὸς εὐτύχημα

προτρέπονται καταφρονεῖν πάντων.

96. Οἱ δὲ Ναβαταῖοι τοὺς πολεμίους κολάσαντες άνδρωδώς αὐτοί μέν ἐπανῆλθον εἰς τὴν πέτραν τὰ σφέτερα κεκομισμένοι, πρὸς δ' 'Αντίγονον επι-στολήν γράψαντες Συρίοις γράμμασι τῶν μεν περὶ 'Αθήναιον κατηγόρουν ύπερ έαυτών δε άπελο-2 γούντο. όδ' 'Αντίγονος αντέγραψεν αὐτοῖς, προσμαρτυρών ώς δικαίως μέν ημύναντο, τών δέ περί Αθήναιον κατήγορει, φάσκων παρά τὰς δεδομένας έντολας ύπ' αὐτοῦ πεποιήσθαι τὴν ἐπίθεσιν. τοῦτο δ' ξπραττε κρύπτων την ξαυτοῦ προαίρεσιν καὶ βουλόμενος ύπαγαγέσθαι τους βαρβάρους είς ραθυμίαν, ὅπως ἀνελπίστως ἐπιθέμενος κρατήση τῆς έπιβολής ου γάρ βάδιον ήν άνευ δόλου τινός άνδρών περιγενέσθαι νομάδα βίον εζηλωκότων καὶ 3 καταφυγήν άπρόσιτον έχόντων την έρημον. οί δ' "Αραβες περιχαρείς μεν ήσαν επί τῷ δοκείν ἀπολελύσθαι μεγάλων φόβων, οὐ μὴν παντελώς ἐπίστευόν γε τοις 'Αντιγόνου λόγοις, άλλὰ τὰς έλπίδας έχοντες αμφιδοξουμένας σκοπούς μέν κατέστησαν έπὶ τῶν λόφων, ἀφ' ὧν ἦν ῥάδιον συνορᾶν πόρρωθεν τὰς εἰς τὴν 'Αραβίαν ἐμβολάς, αὐτοὶ δὲ συνταξάμενοι τὰ περὶ έαυτοὺς προσηκόντως ἐκαραδόκουν 4 τὸ ἀποβησόμενον. ὁ δ' ᾿Αντίγονος φιλοποιησά-μενος χρόνον τινὰ τοὺς βαρβάρους καὶ νομίσας αὐτοὺς ἐξηπατημένους παραδεδωκέναι τὸν καθ'

wont to follow success. For this reason some rightly \$12 a.c. believe that it is easier to meet disaster with skill than very great success with discretion; for disaster, because of the fear of what is to follow, forces men to be careful, but success, because of the previous good fortune, tempts men to be careless about

everything.

96. When the Nabataeans had manfully punished the enemy they themselves returned to the rock with the property that they had recovered; but to Antigonus they wrote a letter in Syrian characters in which they accused Athenaeus and vindicated themselves. Antigonus replied to them, agreeing that they had been justified in defending themselves; but he found fault with Athenaeus, saying that he had made the attack contrary to the instructions that had been given. He did this, hiding his own intentions and desiring to delude the barbarians into a sense of security so that, by making an unexpected attack, he might accomplish his desire; for it was not easy without some deception to get the better of men who zealously pursued a nomadic life and possessed the desert as an inaccessible refuge. The Arabs were highly pleased because they seemed to have been relieved of great fears; yet they did not altogether trust the words of Antigonus, but, regarding their prospects as uncertain, they placed watchmen upon the hills from which it was easy to see from a distance the passes into Arabia, and they themselves, after having arranged their affairs in proper fashion, anxiously awaited the issue. But Antigonus, when he had treated the barbarians as friends for some time and believed that they had been thoroughly deceived and thus had given him

αύτων καιρόν, εξέλεξεν εξ άπάσης της δυνάμεως πεζούς μεν ψιλούς και πρός δρόμον εὖ πεφυκότας τετρακισχιλίους, ίππεις δε πλείους των τετρακισχιλίων και τούτοις μεν παρήγγειλε φέρειν ἄπυρα σιτα πλειόνων ήμερων, Δημήτριον δε τὸν υίὸν καταστήσας ήγεμόνα πρώτης φυλακής εξέπεμψε, προστάξας κολάσαι τοὺς "Αραβας καθ' ον αν δύ-

νηται τρόπον.

97. Οδτος μέν οὖν ἐφ' ἡμέρας τρεῖς ἀνοδία πορευόμενος έσπευδε λαθείν τους βαρβάρους, οί δὲ σκοποί κατανοήσαντες πολεμίαν δύναμιν εἰσβεβληκυΐαν¹ ἐσήμηναν τοῖς Ναβαταίοις διὰ τῶν συγκειμένων πυρσών. διόπερ οἱ βάρβαροι νομίσαντες συντόμως ήκειν τους "Ελληνας, είς μεν την πέτραν απέθεντο τας αποσκευάς και φυλακήν την ίκανην ἐπέστησαν, ούσης μιᾶς ἀναβάσεως χειροποιήτου, αύτοι δε διελόμενοι την λείαν άλλοι κατ' άλλους 2 τόπους απήλαυνον είς την έρημον. Δημήτριος δὲ παραγενόμενος είς την πέτραν καὶ την λείαν καταλαβών ἀπηλλαγμένην προσβολάς συνεχείς έποιείτο τῷ χωρίω. ἀμυνομένων δὲ τῶν ἔνδον εὐρώστως καὶ περιγιγνομένων ραδίως διὰ τὴν ύπεροχὴν τῶν τόπων τότε μὲν μέχρι δείλης ἀγωνισάμενος άνεκαλέσατο τη σάλπιγγι τοὺς στρατιώτας.

3 Τῆ δ' ὑστεραία προσαγαγόντος αὐτοῦ τῆ πέτρα τῶν βαρβάρων τις ἀνεβόησεν '' Βασιλεῦ Δημήτριε, τί βουλόμενος ἢ τίνος ἀναγκάζοντος πολεμεῖς ἡμῶς, οἰκοῦντας ἐν ἐρημία καὶ τόποις οὕθ' ὕδωρ ἔχουσιν οὕτε σῖτον οὕτε οἶνον οὕτ' ἄλλο τι ἀπλῶς οὐδὲν his opportunity against themselves, selected from \$12 B.C. his whole force four thousand foot-soldiers, who were lightly armed and well fitted by nature for rapid marching, and more than four thousand mounted men. He ordered them to carry several days' supply of food that would not require cooking, and, after placing his son Demetrius in command, he sent them off during the first watch, ordering him to punish the

Arabs in whatever way he could.

97. Demetrius, therefore, advanced for three days through regions with no roads, striving not to be observed by the barbarians; but the lookouts, having seen that a hostile force had entered, informed the Nabataeans by means of prearranged fire signals. The barbarians, having thus learned at once that the Greeks had come, sent their property to the rock and posted there a garrison that was strong enough since there was a single artificial approach; and they themselves divided their flocks and drove them into the desert, some into one place and some into another. Demetrius, on arriving at the rock and finding that the flocks had been removed, made repeated assaults upon the stronghold. Those within resisted stoutly, and easily had the upper hand because of the height of the place; and so on this day, after he had continued the struggle until evening, he recalled his soldiers by a trumpet call.

On the next day, however, when he had advanced upon the rock, one of the barbarians called to him, saying: "King Demetrius, with what desire or under what compulsion do you war against us who live in the desert and in a land that has neither water nor grain nor wine nor any other thing whatever of those

<sup>1</sup> εἰσβεβληκυῖαν Dindorf : εἰσβεβηκυῖαν.

4 τῶν παρ' ὑμῖν εἰς τὴν χρείαν ἀνηκόντων; ἡμεῖς γάρ οὐδενὶ τρόπω προσιέμενοι δουλεύειν συμπεφεύγαμεν είς χώραν σπανίζουσαν πάντων τῶν ἐν τοις άλλοις χρησίμων και βίον είλόμεθα ζην έρημον καὶ θηριώδη παντελώς, οὐδεν ύμας βλάπτοντες. άξιοθμεν οδν καὶ σὲ καὶ τὸν πατέρα μὴ άδικεῖν ήμας, αλλα λαβόντας δωρεάς παρ' ήμων απαγαγείν τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ φίλους νομίζειν Ναβαταίους εἰς 5 τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον. οὕτε γὰρ βουλόμενος δύνασαι μένειν ένταθθα πλείους ήμέρας, απορούμενος ύδατος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιτηδείων ἁπάντων, οὔθ' ήμας δύνασαι συναναγκάσαι βίον ζην έτερον, άλλά τινας αίχμαλώτους έξεις δούλους άθύμους καὶ ζην 6 οὐκ ἄν ὑπομείναντας ἐν ἄλλοις νομίμοις." δηθέντων δὲ τοιούτων λόγων Δημήτριος μὲν ἀπαγαγών την στρατιάν εκέλευσεν αὐτούς πρέσβεις αποστέλλειν περί τούτων· οί δὲ "Αραβες έξέπεμψαν τούς πρεσβυτάτους, οι παραπλήσια τοις προειρημένοις διελθόντες έπεισαν δεξάμενον δώρα τὰ πολυτελέστατα τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς διαλύσασθαι.

98. 'Ο μεν οὖν Δημήτριος λαβών όμήρους καὶ τὰς όμολογηθείσας δωρεὰς ἀνέζευξεν ἀπὸ τῆς πέτρας διατείνας δὲ σταδίους τριακοσίους κατεστρατοπέδευσε πλησίον τῆς 'Ασφαλτίτιδος λίμνης, ῆς τὴν φύσιν οὐκ ἄξιον παραδραμεῖν ἀνεπισήμαντον. κεῖται γὰρ κατὰ μέσην τὴν σατραπείαν τῆς 'Ιδουμαίας, τῷ μὲν μήκει παρεκτείνουσα σταδίους μάλιστά που πεντακοσίους, τῷ δὲ πλάτει περὶ ἐξήκοντα. τὸ δ' ὕδωρ ἔχει διάπικρον καὶ

<sup>1 7</sup>à added by Hertlein.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cp. Plutarch, Demetrius, 7. 1.

that pertain to the necessities of life among you. 312 n.c. For we, since we are in no way willing to be slaves, have all taken refuge in a land that lacks all the things that are valued among other peoples and have chosen to live a life in the desert and one altogether like that of wild beasts, harming you not at all. We therefore beg both you and your father to do us no injury but, after receiving gifts from us, to withdraw your army and henceforth regard the Nabataeans as your friends. For neither can you, if you wish, remain here many days since you lack water and all the other necessary supplies, nor can you force us to live a different life; but you will have a few captives, disheartened slaves who would not consent to live among strange ways," When words such as these had been spoken, Demetrius withdrew his army and ordered the Arabs to send an embassy about these matters. They sent their oldest men, who, repeating arguments similar to those previously uttered, persuaded him to receive as gifts the most precious of their products and to make terms with them.1

98. Demetrius received hostages and the gifts that had been agreed upon and departed from the rock. After marching for three hundred stades, he camped near the Dead Sea,3 the nature of which ought not to be passed over without remark. It lies along the middle of the satrapy of Idumaea, extending in length about five hundred stades and in width about sixty.4 Its water is very bitter and of exceedingly

 About 34 miles, but cp. chap. 95. 2, and note.
 Literally, the Asphaltic Lake. The rest of this chapter repeats Book 2. 48. 6-9, almost verbally.

About 571 and 7 miles respectively. The actual length to-day is about 47 miles.

καθ' ὑπερβολὴν δυσῶδες, ὥστε μήτ' ἰχθὺν δύνασθαι τρέφειν μήτ' άλλο των καθ' ὕδατος εἰωθότων ζώων είναι.1 έμβαλλόντων δ' είς αὐτὴν ποταμῶν μεγάλων τῆ γλυκύτητι διαφόρῶν τούτων μὲν περι-γίνεται κατὰ τὴν δυσωδίαν, ἐξ αύτῆς δὲ μέσης έκφυσα κατ' ένιαυτὸν ἀσφάλτου στερεας μέγεθος ποτέ μέν μείζον η τρίπλεθρον, έστι δ' ὅτ' οὐ πολύ λειπόμενον πλέθρου εφ' & δή συνήθως οι περι-οικοῦντες βάρβαροι τὸ μὲν μεῖζον καλοῦσι ταῦρον, τὸ δὲ ἔλασσον μόσχον. ἐπιπλεούσης δὲ τῆς ἀσφάλτου πελαγίας ο τόπος φαίνεται τοῖς έξ ἀποστήματος θεωροθσιν οίονεί τις νήσος. την δ' έκπτωσιν φανεράν συμβαίνει γίνεσθαι πρό ήμερῶν εἴκοσι. κύκλω γάρ της λίμνης ἐπὶ πολλούς σταδίους ὀσμή της ἀσφάλτου προσπίπτει μετὰ\* πνεύματος μοχθηροῦ καί πᾶς ὁ περὶ τὸν τόπον ἄργυρος καὶ χρυσὸς καὶ γαλκὸς ἀποβάλλει τὴν ἰδιότητα τοῦ χρώματος. άλλ' αύτη μέν ἀποκαθίσταται πάλιν ἐπειδὰν ἀναφυσηθήναι συμβή πασαν την άσφαλτον δ πλησίον τόπος έμπυρος ὢν καὶ δυσώδης ποιεῖ τὰ σώματα τῶν περιοικούντων ἐπίνοσα καὶ παντελῶς όλιγοχρόνια. άγαθη δ' ἐστὶ φοινικόφυτος ὅσην αὐτῆς συμβαίνει διειλῆφθαι ποταμοῖς χρησίμοις ή πηγαίς δυναμέναις άρδεύειν. γίνεται δὲ περὶ τοὺς τόπους τούτους εν αὐλῶνί τινι καὶ τὸ καλούμενον βάλσαμον, έξ οῦ πρόσοδον άδρὰν είναι συμβαίνει. οὐδαμοῦ μὲν τῆς ἄλλης οἰκουμένης εύρισκομένου

είναι added by Stephanus from Book 2. 48. 7.
 μετὰ added by Wesseling from Book 2. 48. 8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Here the plethrum is a surface measure of about 10,000 square feet. For such asphalt from lakes cp. Vitruvius, 8.3.8.

foul odour, so that it can support neither fish nor any 812 B.C. of the other creatures usually found in water. Although great rivers whose waters are of exceptional sweetness flow into it, it prevails over these by reason of its foulness; and from its centre each year it sends forth a mass of solid asphalt, sometimes more than three plethra in area, sometimes a little less than one plethrum.1 When this happens the barbarians who live near habitually call the larger mass a bull and the smaller one a calf. When the asphalt is floating on the sea, its surface seems to those who see it from a distance just like an island. It appears that the ejection of the asphalt is indicated twenty days in advance,2 for on every side about the sea for a distance of many stades the odour of the asphalt spreads with a noisome exhalation, and all the silver, gold, and bronze in the region lose their proper colours. These, however, are restored as soon as all the asphalt has been ejected; but the neighbouring region is very torrid and ill smelling, which makes the inhabitants sickly in body and exceedingly shortlived. Yet the land is good for raising palm trees in whatever part it is crossed by serviceable rivers 3 or is supplied with springs that can irrigate it. In a certain valley in this region there grows what is called balsam,4 from which there is a great income since nowhere else in the inhabited world is this plant

<sup>2</sup> Twenty-two days in Book 2. 48. 8.

<sup>3</sup> i.e. rivers that flow during the dry scason. To-day the Jordan is the only perennial stream of any size entering the sea. There are, however, a number of oases about springs near the sea.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> For the balsam cp. Theophrastus, Enquiry into Plants, 9. 6. 1-4; Pliny, Natural History, 12. 111-123; Strabo, 16. 2. 41.

τοῦ φυτοῦ, τῆς δ' ἐξ αὐτοῦ χρείας εἰς φάρμακα

τοις ιατροις καθ' ύπερβολήν εὐθετούσης.

99. Την δ' εκπίπτουσαν ἄσφαλτον οἱ περιοικοῦντες έξ άμφοτέρων των μερών την λίμνην διαρπάζουσι πολεμικώς διακείμενοι πρός άλλήλους, άνευ πλοίων ίδιαζόντως την κομιδην ποιούμενοι. παρασκευασάμενοι γάρ δέσμας καλάμων εὐμεγέθεις. έμβάλλουσιν είς την λίμνην έπὶ δὲ τούτων έπικάθηνται οὐ πλείω τριῶν, ὧν¹ δύο μὲν ἔχοντες προσδεδεμένας πλάτας κωπηλατοῦσιν, εἶς δὲ φορών τόξα τοὺς προσπλέοντας ἐκ τοῦ πέραν ἢ βιάζεσθαι 2 τολμώντας αμύνεται. ὅταν δὲ πλησίον γένωνται της ἀσφάλτου, πελέκεις ἔχοντες ἐπιπηδῶσι καὶ καθάπερ μαλακής πέτρας ἀποκόπτοντες γεμίζουσι την δέσμην, είτα ἀποπλέουσιν είς τουπίσω. αν δέ τις αὐτῶν ἀποπέση τῆς δέσμης διαλυθείσης μή δυνάμενος νείν, οὐ καταδύεται καθάπερ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ΰδασιν, άλλὰ ἐπινήχεται τοῖς ἐπισταμένοις 3 όμοίως. φύσει γὰρ τοῦτο τὸ ύγρὸν παραδέχεται βάρος ο συμβαίνει μετέχειν αυξήσεως ή πνεύματος, έξω των στερεών, α την πυκνότητα δοκεί παραπλησίαν έχειν άργύρω καὶ χρυσώ καὶ μολύβδω καὶ τοῖς ὁμοίοις καὶ ταῦτα μὲν πολὺ βραδύτερον καταφέρεται τῶν αὐτῶν ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις λίμναις ρίπτουμένων. ταύτην δ' ἔχοντες οἱ βάρβαροι πρόσοδον ἀπάγουσι τὴν ἄσφαλτον εἰς τὴν Λἵγυπτον καὶ πωλοθσιν εἰς τὰς ταριχείας τῶν νεκρῶν· μὴ μιγνυμένης γὰρ ταύτης τοῦς λοιποῖς ἀρώμασιν οὐ δυνατόν γενέσθαι την των σωμάτων φυλακην πολυχρόνιον.

100. 'Ο δ' 'Αντίγονος, ἐπανελθόντος τοῦ Δημητρίου καὶ τὰ κατὰ μέρος τῶν πεπραγμένων

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found, and its use as a drug is very important to 312 B.C.

physicians.

99. When the asphalt has been ejected, the people who live about the sea on both sides carry it off like plunder of war since they are hostile to each other, making the collection without boats in a peculiar fashion. They make ready large bundles of reeds and east them into the sea. On these not more than three men take their places, two of whom row with oars, which are lashed on, but one carries a bow and repels any who sail against them from the other shore or who venture to interfere with them. When they have come near the asphalt they jump upon it with axes and, just as if it were soft stone, they cut out pieces and load them on the raft, after which they sail back. If the raft comes to pieces and one of them who does not know how to swim falls off, he does not sink as he would in other waters, but stays afloat as well as do those who do know. For this liquid by its nature supports heavy bodies that have the power of growth or of breathing, except for solid ones that seem to have a density like that of silver, gold, lead, and the like; and even these sink much more slowly than do these same bodies if they are cast into other lakes. The barbarians who enjoy this source of income take the asphalt to Egypt and sell it for the embalming of the dead; for unless this is mixed with the other aromatic ingredients, the preservation of the bodies cannot be permanent.

100. Antigonus, when Demetrius returned and made a detailed report of what he had done, rebuked

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> ὧν added by Schaefer. <sup>2</sup> αὐτῶν added by Capps.

απαγγείλαντος, έπὶ μέν τῆ συνθέσει τῆ πρὸς τοὺς Ναβαταίους ἐπετίμησεν αὐτῶ, λέγων ὅτι πολλώ θρασυτέρους πεποίηκε τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐάσας άτιμωρήτους. δόξειν γὰρ αὐτοὺς τετευχέναι συγ-γνώμης οὐ δι' ἐπιείκειαν ἀλλὰ δι' ἀδυναμίαν τοῦ κρατῆσαι· ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ κατασκέψασθαι τὴν λίμνην καὶ δοκείν εύρηκέναι τινά τῆ βασιλεία πρόσοδον έπαινέσας ἐπὶ μὲν ταύτης ἐπιμελητὴν ἔταξεν Ἱερώνυμον 2 τον τὰς ἱστορίας συγγράψαντα, τούτω δὲ συνετέτακτο πλοΐα παρασκευάσασθαι καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν ἄσφαλτον ἀναλαβόντα συνάγειν είς τινα τόπον. οὐ μὴν ἀπέβη γε καὶ τὸ τέλος κατὰ τὴν ἐλπίδα τοῖς περὶ τὸν 'Αντίγονον οἱ γὰρ "Αραβες συστραφέντες εἰς έξακισχιλίους, ἐπιπλεύσαντες ἐν ταῖς δέσμαις έπὶ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς πλοίοις, σχεδὸν ἄπαντας κατ-3 ετόξευσαν. έξ οῦ δὴ συνέβη τὸν ᾿Αντίγονον ἀπογνῶναι τὰς προσόδους ταύτας διὰ τὸ γεγονὸς παράπτωμα καὶ διὰ τὸ τὸν νοῦν ἔχειν πρὸς ἐτέροις μείζοσι. παρεγένετο γάρ κατά τούτους τούς καιρούς βυβλιαφόρος έχων ἐπιστολὴν παρὰ Νικάνορος τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τῆς τε Μηδίας και τῶν ἄνωι σατραπειών· ἐν ταύτη δ' ἦν γεγραμμένον περί τε τῆς ἀναβάσεως τῆς Σελεύκου καὶ τῶν γεγονότων περὶ 4 αὐτὸν ἀτυχημάτων. διόπερ ἀγωνιῶν ὁ ᾿Αντίγονος περί² τῶν ἄνω σατραπειῶν ἐξέπεμψε Δημήτριον τὸν υίὸν ἔχοντα πεζούς Μακεδόνας μὲν πεντακισχιλίους, μισθοφόρους δὲ μυρίους, ἱππεῖς δὲ τετρακισχιλίους συνετέτακτο δ' αὐτῷ μέχρι Βαβυλῶνος

<sup>1</sup> ἄνω Dindorf : ἄλλων.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> καὶ before περὶ in all MSS., deleted by first hand in R and by editors. Perhaps we should read καὶ ⟨περὶ τῆς Μηδίας καὶ⟩ περὶ τῶν etc.

him for the treaty with the Nabataeans, saying that 312 s.c. he had made the barbarians much bolder by leaving them unpunished, since it would seem to them that they had gained pardon not through his kindness but through his inability to overcome them; but he praised him for examining the lake and apparently having found a source of revenue for the kingdom. In charge of this he placed Hieronymus, the writer of the history, and instructed him to prepare boats, collect all the asphalt, and bring it together in a certain place. But the result was not in accord with the expectations of Antigonus; for the Arabs, collecting to the number of six thousand and sailing up on their rafts of reeds against those on the boats, killed almost all of them with their arrows. As a result, Antigonus gave up this source of revenue because of the defeat he had suffered and because his mind was engaged with other and weightier matters. For there came to him at this time a dispatch-bearer with a letter from Nicanor, the general of Media and the upper satrapies. In this letter was written an account of Seleucus' march inland and of the disasters that had been suffered in connection with him.2 Therefore Antigonus, worried about the upper satrapics,3 sent his son Demetrius with five thousand Macedonian and ten thousand mercenary foot-soldiers and four thousand horse; and he ordered him to go up as far as Babylon and then, after

For Hieronymus cp. the Introduction to Vol. IX.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cp. chaps. 90-92. For the campaign that follows cp. Plutarch, *Demetrius*, 7. 2-3. It should, perhaps, be placed in 311 s.c.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Or, reading καὶ περὶ τῆς Μηδίας καὶ περὶ τῶν . . .: "worried both about Media and about the upper satrapies."

άναβήναι καὶ τὴν σατραπείαν ἀνακτησάμενον κατα-

βαίνειν συντόμως ἐπὶ θάλασσαν.

5 'Ο μèν οὖν Δημήτριος ὁρμήσας ἐκ Δαμασκοῦ τῆς Συρίας τὸ συνταχθέν ύπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπετέλει μετά σπουδής· ο δε καθεσταμένος ύπο Σελεύκου τής Βαβυλωνίας στρατηγός Πατροκλής πυθόμενος περί Μεσοποταμίαν είναι τοὺς πολεμίους, ὑπομεῖναι μὲν την έφοδον αὐτῶν οὐκ ἐτόλμησεν, ὀλίγους ἔχων περί αύτόν, άλλὰ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις προσέταξεν ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν πόλιν καὶ τοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν διαβάντας<sup>1</sup> τὸν Εὐφράτην φυγεῖν εἰς τὴν ἔρημον, τοὺς δὲ περάσαντας τον Τίγριν ἀπελθεῖν εἰς τὴν Σουσιανὴν πρός 6 Εὐτελῆ² καὶ τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν θάλατταν, αὐτὸς δὲ μεθ' ων είχε στρατιωτών προβολαῖς χρώμενος ρεύμασι<sup>3</sup> ποταμών καὶ διώρυξιν ἀνεστρέφετο περὶ τὴν σατραπείαν, ἄμα μὲν ἐφεδρεύων τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἄμα δὲ πέμπων πρός Σέλευκον είς Μηδίαν περί τῶν ἀεὶ συντελουμένων καὶ παρακαλών βοηθεῖν τὴν ταχί-7 στην. ὁ δὲ Δημήτριος ἐπειδὴ παραγενόμενος εἰς Βαβυλώνα την πόλιν ἐκλελειμμένην εθρεν, πολιορκείν ἐπεχείρει τὰς ἀκροπόλεις. ὧν τὴν ἐτέραν έλων έδωκε τοις ίδίοις στρατιώταις είς διαρπαγήν την δ' έτέραν πολιορκήσας ήμέρας τινάς, έπειδή χρόνου προσεδεῖτο, 'Αρχέλαον μεν ένα τῶν φίλων ἀπέλιπε στρατηγόν ἐπὶ τῆς πολιορκίας, δοὺς αὐτῷ πεζοὺς μὲν πεντακισχιλίους, ἱππεῖς δὲ χιλίους, αὐτὸς δέ, τοῦ χρόνου συντρέχοντος ἐν ῷ συντεταγμένον ήν την ἄφοδον αὐτῷ ποιήσασθαι,

#### BOOK XIX. 100. 5-7

recovering the satrapy, to come down to the sea at 312 B.C.

full speed.

So Demetrius, having set out from Damascus in Syria, carried out his father's orders with zeal. Patrocles, who had been established as general of Babylonia by Seleucus, hearing that the enemy was on the frontiers of Mesopotamia, did not dare await their arrival since he had few men at hand; but he gave orders to the civilians to leave the city, bidding some of them cross the Euphrates and take refuge in the desert and some of them pass over the Tigris and go into Susianê to Euteles 1 and to the Red Sea 2; and he himself with what soldiers he had, using river courses and canals as defences, kept moving about in the satrapy, watching the enemy and at the same time sending word into Media to Seleucus about what was taking place from time to time and urging him to send aid as soon as possible. When Demetrius on his arrival at Babylon found the city abandoned, he began to besiege the citadels. He took one of these and delivered it to his own soldiers for plundering; the other he besieged for a few days and then, since the capture required time, left Archelaus, one of his friends, as general for the siege, giving him five thousand infantry and one thousand cavalry, while he himself, the time being close at hand at which he had been ordered to return,

2 i.e. the Persian Gulf.

<sup>2</sup> ρεύμασι added by Fischer, cp. Book 17. 55. 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> If the proper name is retained (cp. the critical note) we must suppose Euteles to be the commander established in Susianê by Seleucus (chap. 92, 5).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> πρὸς Εὐτελή deleted by earlier editors, restored by Fischer.

μετά της λοιπης δυνάμεως την έπὶ θάλασσαν κατάβασιν ἐποιεῖτο.

101. "Αμα δὲ τούτοις πραττομένοις κατὰ μὲν τὴν 'Ιταλίαν 'Ρωμαίων διαπολεμούντων τὸν πρὸς Σαμνίτας πόλεμον συνεχείς εγίνοντο προνομαί της χώρας καὶ πολιορκίαι πόλεων καὶ δυνάμεων ἐν ύπαίθρω στρατοπεδεΐαι τὰ γὰρ μαχιμώτατα τῶν κατά τὴν Ἰταλίαν έθνων περί ἡγεμονίας φιλοτιμού-2 μενα παντοίους συνίσταντο κινδύνους. οί μέν οὖν τῶν 'Ρωμαίων ὕπατοι μέρος τῆς δυνάμεως ἀναλαβόντες ἀντεστρατοπέδευσαν ταῖς τῶν πολεμίων² παρεμβολαΐς και πρός μεν μάχην καιρόν επετήρουν οἰκεῖον, ταῖς δὲ συμμαχίσι πόλεσι παρείχοντο τὴν 3 ἀσφάλειαν. τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν στρατόπεδον ἀναλαβών Κόιντος Φάβιος, δε ήν αὐτοκράτωρ ήρημένος, τήν τε Φρεγελλανών πόλιν είλε και των άλλοτρίως διακειμένων πρός την 'Ρώμην τους ἐπιφανεστάτους εζώγρησεν. τούτους δε τον αριθμον όντας πλείους τῶν διακοσίων ἀπήγαγεν εἰς Ῥώμην καὶ προαγαγών είς την άγοραν βαβδίσας έπελέκησε κατά τὸ πάτριον έθος. μετ' ολίγον δὲ ἐμβαλών εἰς την των πολεμίων χώραν Καλατίαν και την Νωλάνων ἀκρόπολιν έξεπολιόρκησεν καὶ λαφύρων μέν πλήθος ἀπέδοτο, τοῖς δὲ στρατιώταις πολλήν της χώρας κατεκληρούχησεν. ὁ δὲ δημος, κατὰ νοῦν

2 τῶν πολεμίων Rhodoman : τῶν 'Ρωμαίων.

<sup>1</sup> αντεστρατοπέδευσαν Dindorf: κατεστρατοπέδευσαν RX. κατεστρατοπέδευον Ε.

<sup>3</sup> Φρεγελλανών Scaliger, Φρέγελλαν ζάνεκτήσατο καὶ τὴν Σωρ>ανών Burger: Φρετομανών RX, Φρετεμανών F.

### BOOK XIX. 100, 7-101, 3

made the march down to the sea with the rest of his 312 n.c.

army.1

101. While this was taking place, in Italy 2 the Romans were carrying on their war with the Samnites, and there were repeated raids through the country, sieges of cities, and encampments of armies in the field, for the two most war-like of the peoples of Italy were struggling as rivals for the supremacy and meeting in conflicts of every sort. Now the Roman consuls with part of the army had taken a position in the face of the encampments of the enemy and were awaiting an opportune time for battle while at the same time furnishing protection to the allied cities. With the rest of the army Quintus Fabius, who had been chosen dictator, captured the city of the Fregellani and made prisoners the chief men among those who were hostile to the Romans. These to the number of more than two hundred he took to Rome; and, bringing them into the Forum, he beat them with rods and beheaded them according to the ancestral custom.4 Soon afterwards, entering the hostile territory, he took by siege Calatia and the citadel of Nola; and he sold a large amount of spoil but allotted much of the land to his soldiers. The

Continued in chap. 105.

<sup>2</sup> Continued from chap. 76. 5. Cp. Livy, 9. 28.

<sup>3</sup> In Livy (9. 28. 1-6) it is a dictator named C. Poetilius who captured Fregellae, and either the same dictator or C. Junius Bubulcus, one of the consuls, who took Nola. For the dictatorship of Fabius two years earlier cp. chap. 72. 6-7, and Livy, 9. 24. 1.

4 For punishment more maiorum cp. Suetonius, Nero,

49. 2.

<sup>4</sup> Καλατίαν Cluverius (cp. Livy, 9. 28. 6): καὶ λείαν RX, κελίαν F.

τῶν πραγμάτων αὐτῷ προχωρούντων, ἀποικίαν απέστειλεν είς την νησον την Ποντίαν καλουμένην. Έν δὲ τῆ Σικελία τῆς εἰρήνης ἄρτι γεγενη-'Αγαθοκλεῖ πρὸς τοὺς Σικελιώτας πλην Μεσσηνίων οι μεν φυγάδες των Συρακοσίων ήθροίσθησαν είς την Μεσσήνην, ταύτην δρώντες λοιπήν ούσαν των αλλοτρίως έχουσων πρός τον δυνάστην, 2 δ δ' 'Αγαθοκλής σπεύδων αὐτῶν καταλῦσαι τὸ σύστημα Πασίφιλον στρατηγόν έξαπέστειλε μετά δυνάμεως είς την Μεσσήνην, έντειλάμενος έν άπορ-3 ρήτοις α χρη πράττειν. οῦτος δὲ ἀπροσδοκήτως έμβαλών είς την χώραν και πολλών αιχμαλώτων καὶ τῆς ἄλλης λείας έγκρατης γενόμενος ήξίου τοὺς Μεσσηνίους βούλεσθαι την φιλίαν καὶ μη συναν-4 αγκάζεσθαι τοῖς πολεμιωτάτοις αὐτοῦ διαλύεσθαι. οί δὲ Μεσσήνιοι λαβόντες ἐλπίδας τοῦ χωρίς κινδύνων ἀπολυθήσεσθαι τοῦ πολέμου τούς τε φυγάδας τοὺς ἐκ Συρακουσσῶν ἐξέβαλον καὶ τὸν ᾿Αγαθοκλέα 5 παραγενόμενον μετὰ δυνάμεως προσεδέξαντο. δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον φιλανθρώπως αὐτοῖς προσεφέρετο καὶ τοὺς φυγάδας ἔπεισεν καταδέξασθαι τοὺς συστρατευομένους μεν αὐτῷ, πεφυγαδευμένους δὲ 6 νόμω ύπὸ τῶν Μεσσηνίων. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τοὺς έναντιουμένους έν τοις έμπροσθεν χρόνοις τη δυναστεία μεταπεμψάμενος έκ τε Ταυρομενίου καὶ της Μεσσήνης απαντας απέσφαξεν, ούκ ελάττους 7 όντας έξακοσίων διανοούμενος γάρ πόλεμον έκφέ-

<sup>1</sup> βούλεσθαι . . . διαλύεσθαι. Madvig suggests διαλύεσθαι την φιλίαν και μη συνεξετάζεσθαι τοις πολεμιωτάτοις αὐτοῦ. συστρατευομένους Dindorf: στρατευομένους.

The modern Ponza, one of the group of small islands. off the west coast of Italy opposite the Circeian promontory. 110

people, since matters were progressing according 312 B.C. to their will, sent a colony to the island that is called Pontia.1

102. In Sicily,2 where peace had just been established between Agathocles and the Sicilians except the Messenians,3 the exiles of Syracuse gathered in Messenê since they saw that this was the only city remaining of those that were hostile to the dynast; but Agathocles, who was eager to break up their group, sent Pasiphilus with an army to Messenê as general, telling him in secret instructions what he should do. Pasiphilus, entering the region unexpectedly and gaining possession of many prisoners and much other booty, urged the Messenians to choose friendship with him and not be forced to seek terms in common with his bitterest foes.4 The Messenians, gaining hope of a bloodless termination of the war, expelled the Syracusan exiles and welcomed Agathocles when he came near with his army. At first he treated them in a friendly manner and persuaded them to receive back the exiles who were in his army, men who had been legally banished by the Messenians. But then he brought together from Tauromenium and Messene those who had previously been opposed to his rule and put them all to death, being no less than six hundred in number ; for his intention was to wage war on the Carthaginians,

<sup>2</sup> Continued from chap. 72. 2.

3 In chap. 71. 6 Messenê is included among the cities that

made peace with Agathocles.

Cp. Livy, 9. 28. 7-8. Italian affairs are continued in chap. 105. 5.

<sup>4</sup> Or, following Madvig's reading: "urged the Messenians to dissolve their friendship and not not be counted among his bitterest foes."

ρειν τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις πᾶν τὸ διακείμενον ἀλλοτρίως κατά την Σικελίαν έκ ποδών έποιείτο. οί δέ Μεσσήνιοι τῶν ξένων τοὺς εὐνουστάτους αὐτοῖς καὶ δυναμένους αμύνασθαι τὸν τύραννον ἐκβεβληκότες ἐκ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν τοὺς άλλοτρίως έχοντας πρός τον δυνάστην όρωντες άνηρημένους, έτι δὲ τοὺς ἐπὶ κακουργία καταδεδικασμένους ήναγκασμένοι καταδέξασθαι μετεμέλοντο μεν επί τοις πεπραγμένοις, ήναγκάζοντο δὲ καρτερείν, καταπεπληγμένοι τὴν ὑπεροχὴν τῶν 8 κρατούντων. ό δ' 'Αγαθοκλής τὸ μὲν πρώτον ανέζευξεν επ' 'Ακράγαντος, διανοούμενος καὶ ταύτην την πόλιν συσκευάσασθαι τῶν δὲ Καρχηδονίων καταπλευσάντων ναυσίν έξήκοντα ταύτης μέν της προθέσεως απέστη, την δε χώραν την ύπο Καρχηδονίους ἐπιών ἐλεηλάτει καὶ τῶν φρουρίων ά μεν ήρει κατά κράτος, ά δε δι' όμολογίας προσήγετο.

103. "Αμα δὲ τούτοις πρασσομένοις Δεινοκράτης δ τῶν Συρακοσίων φυγάδων ἡγούμενος πρὸς μὲν τοὺς Καρχηδονίους διεπέμπετο, βοηθεῖν ἀξιῶν πρὶν ἢ τὸν 'Αγαθοκλέα πᾶσαν ὑφ' ἐαυτὸν ποιήσασθαι 2 Σικελίαν, αὐτὸς δὲ προσδεξάμενος τοὺς ἐκ Μεσσήνης ἐκβεβλημένους φυγάδας, ἔχων άδρὰν δύναμιν, ἀπέστειλέν τινα τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν Νυμφόδωρον, δοὺς μέρος τῶν στρατιωτῶν, ἐπὶ τὴν Κεντοριπίνων 3 πόλιν ταύτην γὰρ φρουρουμένην ὑπ' 'Αγαθοκλέους τῶν πολιτικῶν τινες ἐπηγγείλαντο παραδώσειν, ἐφ' ὅτφ τὴν αὐτονομίαν δοθῆναι τῷ δήμφ. παρεισπε-112

and he was getting rid of all opposition throughout 312 B.C. Sicily. When the Messenians had driven out of the city those non-citizens who were most favourably disposed to them and best able to protect them from the tyrant, and saw that those of their own citizens who were opposed to the dynast had been put to death, and when, moreover, they had been forced to receive back men who had been convicted of crime, they regretted what they had done; but they were forced to submit, since they were completely cowed by the superior power of those who had become their masters. Agathoeles first set out for Aeragas, intending to organize that city also in his own interest; when, however, the Carthaginians sailed in with sixty ships, he abandoned that purpose; but he entered the territory subject to the Carthaginians and plundered it, taking some of the fortified places by force and winning others by negotiation.

103. While this was taking place, Deinocrates, the leader of the Syraeusan exiles, sent a message to the Carthaginians, asking them to send aid before Agathocles should bring all Sicily under his sway; and he himself, since he had a strong army after receiving those exiles who had been driven out of Messene, dispatched one of his friends, Nymphodorus, with part of the soldiers to the city of the Centoripini.<sup>2</sup> Although this city was garrisoned by Agathocles, some of its chief men had promised to betray it on condition that the people be given autonomy. But when Nymphodorus broke into the

<sup>2</sup> Centoripa is a city in the interior of Sicily, south-west

of Aetna and north-west of Catana.

An old friend of Agathocles, he had been spared when the tyrant first established himself in power (chap. 8. 6); we do not hear of the occasion of his exile.

σόντος δ' είς τὴν πόλιν αὐτοῦ νυκτὸς οἱ προεστῶτες της φρουράς αισθόμενοι το γεγονός αὐτόν τε τον Νυμφόδωρον ἀνείλον καὶ τοὺς βιαζομένους ἐντὸς 4 τοῦ τείχους. ταύτης δὲ τῆς ᾶφορμῆς λαβόμενος 'Αγαθοκλῆς ἐνεκάλεσέ τε τοῖς Κεντοριπίνοις καὶ τούς δόξαντας αιτίους γεγονέναι τοῦ νεωτερισμοῦ πάντας ἀπέσφαξε. περί ταθτα δ' ὄντος τοῦ δυνάστου Καρχηδόνιοι καταπλεύσαντες είς τὸν μέγαν λιμένα τῶν Συρακοσίων πεντήκοντα σκάφεσιν ἄλλο μέν οὐδέν ήδυνήθησαν πράξαι, δυσί δέ περιπεσόντες φορτηγοῖς πλοίοις έξ 'Λθηνῶν, τὰ μὲν<sup>ι</sup> κατέδυσαν, τῶν δ' ἐπιπλεόντων τὰς χεῖρας ἀπέ-5 κοψαν. δοξάντων δ' αὐτῶν ώμῶς κεχρῆσθαι μηδ' ότιοῦν άδικοῦσι ταχὺ τὸ δαιμόνιον αὐτοῖς ἐπεσήμαινέν εὐθύ γὰρ τοῦ στόλου τινές νῆςς ἀποσχισθείσαι περί την Βρεττίαν έάλωσαν ύπο των Αγαθοκλέους στρατηγών καὶ τὸ παραπλήσιον οί ζωγρηθέντες των Φοινίκων έπαθον οίς επραξαν els τούς άλόντας.

104. Οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Δεινοκράτην φυγάδες, ἔχοντες πεζοὺς μὲν ὑπὲρ τοὺς τρισχιλίους, ἱππεῖς δὲ οὐκ ἐλάττους δισχιλίων, τὴν καλουμένην Γαλερίαν κατελάβοντο, τῶν πολιτῶν ἑκουσίως ἐπικαλεσαμένων, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ᾿Αγαθοκλέους ἐξέβαλον, 2 αὐτοὶ δὲ πρὸ τῆς πόλεως ἐστρατοπέδευσαν. ᾿Αγαθοκλέους δὲ ταχέως ἀποστείλαντος ἐπ' αὐτοὺς Πασίφιλον καὶ Δημόφιλον μετὰ στρατιωτῶν πεντακισχιλίων ἐγένετο μάχη πρὸς τοὺς φυγάδας, ὧν ἡγεῖτο Δεινοκράτης καὶ Φιλωνίδης, τὰ κέρατα

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> ἐξ 'Αθηνῶν, τὰ μὲν Gcer, τὴν μὲν ⟨ἀγορὰν κομίζουσιν⟩ ἐξ 'Λθηνῶν Fischer in apparatus : τὴν μὲν ἐξ 'Λθηνῶν.
<sup>2</sup> οἶς Hertlein : οἶα.

city by night, the commanders of the garrison, per-signal ceiving what had taken place, slew both the man himself and those who pressed fiercely on within the walls. Seizing upon this opportunity, Agathocles brought accusations against the Centoripini and slaughtered all who were thought to have been guilty of the sedition. While the dynast was thus engaged, the Carthaginians sailed into the great harbour of Syracuse with fifty light boats. They were able to do nothing more, but falling upon two merchant ships from Athens, they sank the ships themselves and cut off the hands of the crews. They had clearly treated with cruelty men who had done them no harm at all, and the gods quickly gave them a sign of this; for immediately, when some of the ships were separated from the fleet in the vicinity of Brettia, they were captured by the generals of Agathocles, and those of the Phoenicians who were taken alive suffered a fate similar to that which they had inflicted upon their captives.

104. The exiles who were with Deinocrates, having more than three thousand foot-soldiers and not less than two thousand mounted men, occupied the place called Galeria, the citizens of their own free will inviting them; and they exiled the followers of Agathocles, but they themselves encamped before the city. When, however, Agathocles quickly dispatched against them Pasiphilus and Demophilus with five thousand soldiers, a battle was fought with the exiles, who were led by Deinocrates and Philo-

The exact location is not known.
 For his later treachery and death ep. Book 20, 77,2; 90, 9.

διειληφότες. ἐφ' ἱκανὸν μὲν οὖν χρόνον ἰσόρροπος ην ο κίνδυνος, φιλοτίμως αμφοτέρων των στρατο-πέδων αγωνιζομένων τοῦ δ' έτέρου των στρατηγών Φιλωνίδου πεσόντος καὶ τοῦ κατὰ τοῦτον μέρους τραπέντος ήναγκάσθη καὶ Δεινοκράτης άποχωρήσαι. οι δέ περί τον Πασίφιλον τούτων τε πολλούς κατά την φυγήν άνείλον και την Γαλερίαν άνακτησάμενοι τούς αίτίους της αποστάσεως έκό-3 λασαν. 'Αγαθοκλής δὲ πυνθανόμενος τοὺς Καρχηδονίους τὸν "Εκνομον καλούμενον λόφον ἐν τῆ Γελώα κατειληφέναι, διέγνω πάση τῆ δυνάμει δια-γωνίσασθαι. δρμήσας δ' ἐπ' αὐτοὺς καὶ πλησίον γενόμενος προεκαλείτο είς μάχην, ἐπηρμένος τῆ 4 προγεγενημένη νίκη. οὐ τολμώντων δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων παρατάξασθαι νομίσας ακονιτί κρατείν τῶν ύπαίθρων επανηλθεν είς τὰς Συρακούσσας καὶ των ναων τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους τοῖς σκύλοις ἐκόσμησεν.

Ταθτα μέν οθν ἐπράχθη κατὰ τοθτον τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν

ων ήμεις έδυνήθημεν έφικέσθαι.

105. Έπ' ἄρχοντος δ' 'Αθήνησι Σιμωνίδου 'Ρωμαῖοι μὲν ὑπάτους κατέστησαν Μάρκον Οὐαλλέριον καὶ Πόπλιον Δέκιον. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων οἱ περὶ
Κάσανδρον καὶ Πτολεμαῖον καὶ Λυσίμαχον διαλύσεις ἐποιήσαντο πρὸς 'Αντίγονον καὶ συνθήκας
ἔγραψαν. ἐν δὲ ταύταις ἢν Κάσανδρον μὲν εἶναι
στρατηγὸν τῆς Εὐρώπης μέχρι ἂν 'Λλέξανδρος ὁ
ἐκ 'Ρωξάνης εἰς ἡλικίαν ἔλθη, καὶ Λυσίμαχον μὲν
τῆς Θράκης κυριεύειν, Πτολεμαῖον δὲ τῆς Λἰγύπτου
καὶ τῶν συνοριζουσῶν ταύτη πόλεων κατά τε τὴν
Λιβύην καὶ τὴν 'Αραβίαν, 'Αντίγονον δὲ ἀφηγεῖ-

nides, each in command of a wing. For some time 312 B.C. the conflict was evenly balanced, both of the armies fighting with zest; but when one of the generals, Philonides, fell and his part of the army was put to flight, Deinocrates also was forced to withdraw. Pasiphilus killed many of his opponents during the flight and, after gaining possession of Galeria, punished those guilty of the uprising. Agathocles, on hearing that the Carthaginians had seized the hill called Ecnomus in the territory of Gela, decided to fight them to a finish with his whole army. When he had set out against them and had drawn near, he challenged them to battle since he was elated by his previous victory. But the barbarians not venturing to meet him in battle, he assumed that he now completely dominated the open country without a fight and went off to Syracuse, where he decorated the chief temples with the spoils.1

These are the events of this year that we have

been able to discover.

105. When Simonides was archon in Athens, the 3H Rc. Romans elected to the consulship Marcus Valerius and Publius Decius.<sup>2</sup> While these held office, Cassander, Ptolemy, and Lysimachus came to terms with Antigonus and made a treaty. In this it was provided that Cassander be general of Europe until Alexander, the son of Roxanê, should come of age; that Lysimachus rule Thrace, and that Ptolemy rule Egypt and the cities adjacent thereto in Libya and Arabia; that Antigonus have first place in all Asia;

Continued in chap. 106.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Simonides was archon in 311/10 B.c. In the Fasti the consuls of 312 B.c. are M. Valerius Maximus and P. Decius Mus (CIL, 1, p. 130; cp. Livy, 9. 28. 8). The narrative is continued from chap. 100. 7.

σθαι τῆς 'Ασίας πάσης, τοὺς δὲ "Ελληνας αὐτονόμους είναι. οὐ μὴν ἐνέμεινάν γε ταις δμολογίαις ταύταις, άλλ' έκαστος αὐτῶν προφάσεις εὐλόγους 2 ποριζόμενος πλεονεκτεῖν ἐπειρᾶτο. Κάσανδρος δὲ όρων 'Αλέξανδρον τον έκ 'Ρωξάνης αθξόμενον καί κατά την Μακεδονίαν λόγους υπό τινων διαδιδομένους ότι καθήκει προάγειν έκ της φυλακής τον παίδα καὶ τὴν πατρώαν βασιλείαν παραδούναι. φοβηθείς ύπερ έαυτοῦ προσέταξε Γλαυκία τῶ προεστηκότι της του παιδός φυλακής την μέν 'Ρωξάνην καὶ τὸν βασιλέα κατασφάξαι καὶ κρύψαι τὰ σώματα, τὸ δὲ γεγονός μηδενὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπαγγείλαι. 3 ποιήσαντος δ' αὐτοῦ τὸ προσταχθέν οι περὶ Κάσανδρον καὶ Λυσίμαχον καὶ Πτολεμαΐον, ἔτι δ' 'Αντίγονον ἀπηλλάγησαν τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως 4 προσδοκωμένων φόβων· οὐκέτι γὰρ ὄντος οὐδενὸς τοῦ διαδεξομένου τὴν ἀρχὴν τὸ λοιπὸν ἔκαστος των κρατούντων έθνων η πόλεων βασιλικάς είχεν έλπίδας καὶ τὴν ὑφ' έαυτὸν τεταγμένην χώραν είχεν ώσανεί τινα βασιλείαν δορίκτητον.

Τὰ μέν οὖν κατὰ τὴν 'Ασίαν' καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν

Έλλάδα καὶ Μακεδονίαν ἐν τούτοις ἦν.

5 Κατά δὲ τὴν Ἰταλίαν Ῥωμαῖοι δυνάμεσιν άδραῖς πεζῶν τε καὶ ἱππέων ἐστράτευσαν ἐπὶ Πολλίτιον, Μαρρουκίνων οὖσαν πόλιν. ἀπέστειλαν δὲ καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν εἰς ἀποικίαν καὶ κατώκισαν τὴν προσαγορευομένην Ἰντέραμναν.

<sup>1</sup> καὶ τὴν Εὐρώπην after 'Ασίαν omitted by Geer.

and that the Greeks be autonomous. However, they \$11 B.C. did not abide by these agreements but each of them. putting forward plausible excuses, kept seeking to increase his own power. Now Cassander perceived that Alexander, the son of Roxanê, was growing up and that word was being spread throughout Macedonia by certain men that it was fitting to release the boy from custody and give him his father's kingdom; and, fearing for himself, he instructed Glaucias,1 who was in command of the guard over the child, to murder Roxane and the king and conceal their bodies, but to disclose to no one else what had been done. When Glaucias had carried out the instructions, Cassander, Lysimachus, and Ptolemy, and Antigonus as well, were relieved of their anticipated danger from the king; for henceforth, there being no longer anyone to inherit the realm, each of those who had rule over nations or cities entertained hopes of royal power and held the territory that had been placed under his authority as if it were a kingdom won by the spear.

This was the situation in Asia and in Greece and

Macedonia.2

In Italy a the Romans with strong forces of foot and horse took the field against Pollitium, a city of the Marrueini. They also sent some of their citizens as a colony and settled the place called Interamna.

<sup>2</sup> Continued in Book 20, 19.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> This Glaucias, who is not to be identified with the Glaucias of chaps. 67. 6 and 70. 7, had been placed in charge of the guard by Cassander (chap. 52. 4). For the murder of Alexander and Roxanê ep. Justin, 15. 2. 5; Pausanias, 9. 7. 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Continued from chap. 101. 3. Cp. Livy, 9. 28. 8. Diodorus returns to Roman affairs in Book 20, 26, 3,

106. Κατά δὲ τὴν Σικελίαν ἀεὶ μᾶλλον αὐξομένου 'Αγαθοκλέους καὶ δυνάμεις άδροτέρας άθροίζοντος Καρχηδόνιοι πυνθανόμενοι τον δυνάστην συσκευαζόμενον τὰς ἐν τῆ νήσω πόλεις ταις δὲ δυνάμεσιν ύπερέχοντα τῶν σφετέρων στρατιωτῶν 2 έδοξαν ενεργέστερον αψασθαι τοῦ πολέμου. εὐθὺς οὖν τριήρεις μὲν κατήρτησαν τριάκοντα πρὸς ταῖς έκατόν, στρατηγόν δέ προχειρισάμενοι τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐπιφανεστάτων 'Αμίλκαν ἔδωκαν αὐτῷ τῶν μέν πολιτικών στρατιωτών δισχιλίους, έν οίς ήσαν πολλοί και των επιφανών, των δ' από της Λιβύης μυρίους, έκ δὲ τῆς Τυρρηνίας μισθοφόρους χιλίους καὶ ζευγίππας διακοσίους, έτι δε Βαλιάρας σφενδονήτας χιλίους, όμοίως δε χρημάτων πλήθος καὶ βελών καὶ σίτου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν εἰς πόλεμον 3 χρησίμων τὴν καθήκουσαν παρασκευήν. ἀναχθέντος δ' ἐκ τῆς Καρχηδόνος τοῦ στόλου παντὸς καὶ γενομένου πελαγίου χειμών εξαίφνης επιπεσών έξήκοντα μεν τριήρεις ήφάνισε, διακόσια δε τῶν σιτηγών πλοίων διέφθειρεν ό δε λοιπός στόλος μεγάλοις περιπεσών χειμώσι μόλις διεσώθη πρός 4 την Σικελίαν, ἀπώλοντο δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν Καρχηδονίων οὐκ ὀλίγοι, δι' οΰς συνέβη τὴν πόλιν δημόσιον ἄρασθαι πένθος εἰώθασι γάρ, ἐπειδὰν μείζων τις άτυχία γένηται περί την πόλιν, μέλασι 5 σακκίοις κατακαλύπτειν τὰ τείχη. 'Αμίλκας δ' ό στρατηγός άναλαβών τούς διασωθέντας έκ τοῦ χειμώνος μισθοφόρους συνηγε καὶ τῶν κατὰ Σικελίαν συμμάχων έστρατολόγει τοὺς εὐθέτους.

<sup>1</sup> ζευγίτας Reiske.

¹ Continued from chap. 104. 4. Cp. Justin, 22. 3. 9. 120

 In Sicily, where Agathocles was constantly 311 B.C. increasing in power and collecting stronger forces, the Carthaginians, since they heard that the dynast was organizing the cities of the island for his own ends and that with his armed forces he surpassed their own soldiers, decided to wage the war with more energy. Accordingly they at once made ready one hundred and thirty triremes, chose as general Hamilcar,2 one of their most distinguished men, gave him two thousand citizen soldiers among whom were many of the nobles, ten thousand men from Libya, a thousand mercenaries and two hundred zeugippae a from Etruria, a thousand Baliaric slingers, and also a large sum of money and the proper provision of missiles, food, and the other things necessary for war. After the whole fleet had sailed from Carthage and was at sea, a storm fell suddenly upon it, sank sixty triremes, and completely destroyed two hundred of the ships that were carrying supplies. The rest of the fleet, after encountering severe storms, with difficulty reached Sicily in safety. Not a few of the Carthaginian nobles were lost, for whom the city instituted public mourning; for it is their custom whenever any major disaster has befallen the city, to cover the walls with black sackcloth. Hamilear, the general, gathered together the men who had survived the storm, enrolled mercenaries, and enlisted those troops of the Sicilian allies

Beloch, Griechische Geschichte, 42. 1. 189, places this campaign in the early summer of 310 B.C.

2 The son of Gisco, not to be confused with the Hamilear

of chaps. 71. 6, 72. 2, who was now dead.

<sup>3</sup> If the text is sound, we must suppose the otherwise unknown zeugippae to be horsemen who had each an extra horse, like the άμφιπποι of chap. 29. 2; but perhaps we should read ζευγίτας, heavy armed infantry.

παρέλαβε δὲ καὶ τὰς προϋπαρχούσας δυνάμεις καὶ πάντων τῶν εἰς πόλεμον εὐθέτων ἐπιμέλειαν ποιησάμενος ἐν ὑπαίθρω συνεῖχε τὰ στρατόπεδα, πεζοὺς μὲν ἔχων περὶ τοὺς τετρακίσμυρίους ἱππεῖς δὲ σχεδὸν πεντακισχιλίους. ταχὺ δὲ τὴν γεγενημένην ἀτυχίαν διορθωσάμενος καὶ δόξας ἀγαθὸς στρατηγὸςὶ εἶναι τῶν μὲν συμμάχων τὰς ψυχὰς προκαταπεπληγμένας ἀνεκτήσατο, τοῖς δὲ πολεμίοις οὐ τὴν τυχοῦσαν ἀγωνίαν ἐπέστησεν.

107. 'Αγαθοκλής δὲ τὰς τῶν Καρχηδονίων δυνάμεις όρῶν ὑπερεχούσας τῶν ἐαυτοῦ διέλαβε τῶν τε φρουρίων οὐκ ὀλίγα μεταθήσεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς

- Φοίνικας καὶ τῶν πόλεων ὅσαι προσέκοπτον αὐτῷ. 2 μάλιστα δ' εὐλαβεῖτο περὶ τῆς τῶν Γελώων, πυνθανόμενος ἐν τῆ τούτων χώρα πάσας εἶναι τὰς τῶν πολεμίων δυνάμεις. ἐγένετο δ' αὐτῷ περὶ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον καὶ περὶ τὸν στόλον οὐ μικρὸν ἐλάσσωμα: τῶν γὰρ νεῶν εἴκοσιν ἐπὶ τὸν πορθμὸν ὑποχείριοι τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις κατέστησαν σὺν αὐ-3 τοῖς ἀνδράσιν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ κρίνας τὴν τῶν Γελώων πόλιν ἀσφαλίσασθαι φρουρᾶ, φανερῶς οὐκ ἐτόλμα δύναμιν εἰσαγαγεῖν, ἵνα μὴ φθάσαι συμβῆ τοὺς Γελώους προφάσεως δεομένους καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀποβάλη μεγάλας ἀφορμὰς αὐτῷ παρεχομένην. 4 ἀπέστειλεν οὖν κατ' ὀλίγους τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὡς ἐπί τινας χρείας, ἕως ὅτου συνέβη τῷ πλήθει πολὺ προτερῆσαι τῶν πολιτικῶν. μετ' ὀλίγον δὲ καὶ
  - ἐπί τινας χρείας, ἔως ὅτου συνέβη τῷ πλήθει πολὺ προτερῆσαι τῶν πολιτικῶν. μετ' ὀλίγον δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς παραγενόμενος προδοσίαν ἐνεκάλεσε καὶ μετάθεσιν τοῖς Γελώοις, εἴτε καὶ κατ' ἀλήθειαν αὐτῶν διανοηθέντων τι πρᾶξαι τοιοῦτον, εἴτε καὶ 122

who were fit for service. He also took over the forces sin R.C. that were already in Sicily and, having attended to all things expedient for war, mustered his armies in the open country, about forty thousand foot-soldiers and nearly five thousand mounted men. Since he had quickly rectified the misfortune that he had suffered and won the reputation of being a good general, he revived the shattered spirits of his allies and presented

no ordinary problem to his enemies.

107. As Agathocles saw that the forces of the Carthaginians were superior to his own, he surmised that not a few of the strongholds would go over to the Phoenicians, and also those of the cities that were offended with him. He was particularly concerned for the city of the Geloans since he learned that all the forces of the enemy were in their land. At about this time he also suffered a considerable naval loss, for at the straits twenty of his ships with their crews fell into the hands of the Carthaginians. Deciding nevertheless to make the city of Gela secure with a garrison, he did not venture to lead an army in openly lest the result be that the Geloans, who were looking for an excuse, forestall him and he lose the city, which provided him with great resources.1 He therefore sent in his soldiers a few at a time as if for particular needs until his troops far surpassed those of the city in number. Soon he himself also arrived and charged the Geloans with treason and descrition, either because they were actually planning to do something of this sort, or because he was

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cp. chap. 71. 6 for the treaty between Agathocles and Gela.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> στρατηγός added by Reiske,

ψευδέσι διαβολαῖς φυγάδων πεισθείς ή καὶ χρημάτων βουλόμενος εὐπορῆσαι, καὶ ἀπέσφαξε τῶν Γελώων πλείους των τετρακισχιλίων και τάς οὐσίας αὐτῶν ἀνέλαβε. προσέταξε δὲ καὶ τοῖς άλλοις Γελώοις πᾶσι τά τε νομίσματα καὶ τὸν άσημον άργυρόν τε καὶ χρυσὸν ἀνενεγκεῖν, διαπειλη-5 σάμενος τιμωρήσασθαι τοὺς ἀπειθήσαντας. ταχὺ δὲ πάντων πραξάντων τὸ προσταχθὲν διὰ τὸν φόβον χρημάτων τε πλήθος ήθροισε και πασι τοις ταττομένοις ύφ' έαυτον δεινήν ενεποίησε κατάπληξιν. δόξας δ' ωμότερον κεχρησθαι τοῦ καθήκοντος τοῖς Γελώοις τούς μεν αποσφαγέντας είς τὰς έκτὸς τῶν τειχών τάφρους συνέχωσεν, εν δε τῆ πόλει τὴν ίκανην φρουράν ἀπολιπών ἀντεστρατοπέδευσε τοις πολεμίοις.

108. Κατείχον δε Καρχηδόνιοι μεν τον "Εκνομον λόφον, ον φασι φρούριον γεγενήσθαι Φαλάριδος. ἐν τούτω δὲ λέγεται κατεσκευακέναι τὸν τύραννον ταθρον χαλκοθν τὸν διαβεβοημένον, πρὸς τὰς τῶν βεβασανισμένων τιμωρίας ὑποκαιομένου τοῦ κατασκευάσματος διὸ καὶ τὸν τόπον "Εκνομον άπὸ τῆς εἰς τοὺς ἀτυχοῦντας ἀσεβείας προσηγορεῦ-2 σθαι. ἐκ δὲ θατέρου μέρους 'Αγαθοκλής ἔτερον τῶν Φαλάριδος γεγενημένων φρουρίων κατείχε, τὸ προσαγορευθέν απ' έκείνου Φαλάριον. και διά μέσων μέν των παρεμβολών διν ποταμός, ον άμφότεροι πρόβλημα τῶν πολεμίων ἐπεποίηντο, φῆμαι δε κατείχον από των προτέρων χρόνων ὅτι δεῖ περί τὸν τόπον τοῦτον πληθος ἀνθρώπων ἐν μάχη

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> καὶ added by Bekker.
<sup>2</sup> ἀπὸ Hertlein : ἐπὶ.

Literally, "Lawless." In Book 13. 90. 4-7, Diodorus 124

persuaded by false charges made by exiles, or again all n.c. because he wished to gain possession of wealth; and he slew more than four thousand of the Geloans and confiscated their property. He also ordered all the other Geloans to turn over to him their money and their uncoined silver and gold, threatening to punish those who disobeyed. Since all quickly earried out the command because of fear, he gathered together a large amount of money and caused a dreadful panic among all who were subject to him. Being thought to have treated the Geloans more cruelly than was proper, he heaped together in the ditches outside the walls those who had been slain; and, leaving behind in the city an adequate garrison, he took the field against the enemy.

108. The Carthaginians held the hill Ecnomus, which men say had been a stronghold of Phalaris. Here it is reported that the tyrant had constructed the bronze bull that has become famous, the device being heated by a fire beneath for the torment of those subjected to the ordeal; and so the place has been called Ecnomus because of the impiety practised upon his victims. On the other side Agathocles held another of the strongholds that had belonged to Phalaris, the one which was called Phalarium after him. In the space between the encamped armies was a river, which each of them used as a defence against the enemy; and sayings from earlier times were current that near this place a great number of men were destined to perish in

claims that he himself had seen the brazen bull, which Hamilear had taken to Carthage (about 480 s.c.) and Scipio Acmilianus had brought back to Acragas after the sack of Carthage. Cp. also Book 20, 71, 3.

2 The Himeras.

διαφθαρήναι. οὐκ ὄντος δὲ φανεροῦ παρ' ὁποτέροις γενήσεται τὸ ἀτύχημα, συνέβαινε δεισιδαιμονεῖν τὰ στρατόπεδα καὶ πρὸς μάχην ὀκνηρῶς έχειν. 3 διόπερ επί πολύν χρόνον ουδέτεροι του ποταμόν έτόλμων διαβαίνειν άθρόοις στρατιώταις έως ότου παράλογός τις αιτία προεκαλέσατο αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸν όλοσχερη κίνδυνον. των γάρ Λιβύων κατατρεχόντων την πολεμίαν 'Αγαθοκλής παρωξύνθη το παραπλήσιον ποιήσαι. ἀγόντων δὲ λείαν τῶν Ἑλλήνων καί τινα των ἀπὸ τῆς παρεμβολῆς ὑποζυγίων ἀπαγαγόντων ἐπεξηλθον ἐκ τοῦ Καρχηδονίων χάρακος 4 οί τούτους διώξοντες. ό δ' 'Αγαθοκλής προϊδόμενος τὸ μέλλον ἔσεσθαι παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν ἔθηκεν ένέδραν άνδρων επιλέκτων ταις άρεταις. ούτοι δέ, των Καρχηδονίων τους την λείαν άγοντας επιδιωκόντων καὶ διαβάντων τὸν ποταμόν, ἐξανέστησαν έκ της ενέδρας άφνω καὶ προσπεσόντες ἀτάκτοις 5 ραδίως ετρέψαντο. φονευομένων δε τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἰδίαν παρεμβολὴν φευγόντων 'Αγαθοκλής, νομίσας ήκειν τὸν καιρὸν τοῦ διαγωνίσασθαι, πάσαν ήγαγε την δύναμιν ἐπὶ την των πολεμίων στρατοπεδείαν. προσπεσών δ' αὐτοῖς ἀπροσδοκήτως καὶ ταχὰ μέρος τῆς τάφρου χώσας άνέσπασε τὸν χάρακα καὶ βιαζόμενος εἰς τὴν παρο εμβολήν παρεισέπεσεν. οί δε Καρχηδόνιοι διά το τὸ παράδοξον καταπεπληγμένοι καὶ πρὸς ἔκταξιν ου δυνάμενοι λαβείν αναστροφήν, ώς έτυχε τοίς πολεμίοις ἀπήντων καὶ ἡγωνίζοντο. περὶ δὲ τὴν τάφρον αμφοτέρων ερρωμένως κινδυνευόντων ταχύ πας ο πλησίον τόπος νεκρών κατεστρώθη οι τε γάρ των Καρχηδονίων επιφανέστατοι την παρεμβολήν δρώντες άλισκομένην έβοήθουν, οί τε περί 126

battle. Since, however, it was not clear to which \$11 B.C. of the two sides the misfortune would happen, the armies were filled with superstitious fear and shrank from battle. Therefore for a long time neither dared to cross the river in force, until an unexpected cause brought them into general battle. The raids made by the Libyans through the enemy's country aroused Agathocles into doing the same; and while the Greeks were engaged in plundering and were driving away some beasts of burden taken from the Carthaginian camp, soldiers issued from that encampment to pursue them. Agathocles, foreseeing what was about to happen, placed beside the river an ambush of men selected for courage. These, as the Carthaginians crossed the river in their pursuit of those who were driving the beasts, sprang suddenly from the ambush, fell upon the disordered soldiers, and easily drove them back. While the barbarians were being slaughtered and were fleeing to their own camp, Agathocles, thinking that the time had come to fight to a finish, led his whole army against the camp of the enemy. Falling on them unexpectedly and quickly filling up a part of the moat, he overthrew the palisade and forced an entrance into the camp. The Carthaginians, who had been thrown into a panie by the unexpected attack and could find no opportunity for forming their lines, faced the enemy and fought against them at random. Both sides fought fiercely for the moat, and the whole place round about was quickly covered with dead; for the most notable of the Carthaginians rushed up to give aid when they saw the camp being taken,

τὸν 'Αγαθοκλέα τῷ προτερήματι τεθαρρηκότες καὶ νομίζοντες ένὶ κινδύνω καταλύσειν πάντα τὸν

πόλεμον ενέκειντο τοῖς βαρβάροις.

109. 'Ο δ' 'Αμίλκας όρων κατισχυομένους τούς έαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀεὶ πλείους παρεισπίπτοντας είς τὴν παρεμβολὴν ἐπέστησε τοὺς σφενδονήτας τους έκ των Βαλιαρίδων νήσων, όντας ουκ 2 ελάττους τῶν χιλίων. οὖτοι δὲ συνεγεῖς καὶ μεγάλους λίθους άφιέντες πολλούς μέν ετραυμάτιζον ούκ ολίγους δὲ καὶ τῶν βιαζομένων ἀπέκτεινον, τῶν δὲ πλείστων τὰ σκεπάζοντα τῶν ὅπλων συνέτριβον οἱ γάρ ἄνδρες οῦτοι μναιαίους λίθους βάλλειν είωθότες μεγάλα συμβάλλονται πρὸς νίκην ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις, ώς αν έκ παίδων παρ' αὐτοῖς της έν ταῖς 3 σφενδόναις γυμνασίας διαπονουμένης. τούτω δὲ τῷ τρόπω τους "Ελληνας έκ της παρεμβολης έκβαλόντες έκράτησαν. πάλιν δε οί περί τον 'Αγαθοκλέα κατ' ἄλλους τόπους προσβολάς ἐποιοῦντο καί δή της παρεμβολής ήδη κατά κράτος άλισκομένης κατέπλευσε τοις Καρχηδονίοις δύναμις έκ 4 Λιβύης ἀνέλπιστος. διὸ καὶ ταῖς ψυχαῖς πάλιν θαρρήσαντες οἱ μὲν ἐκ τῆς παρεμβολῆς κατὰ στόμα έκινδύνευον, οί δὲ παρόντες ἐπὶ τὴν βοήθειαν κύκλω περιίσταντο τοὺς "Ελληνας. ὧν τιτρωσκομένων παραδόξως ή μέν μάχη ταχύ παλίντροπος έγένετο, εφευγον δ' οἱ μὲν εἰς τὸν Ἱμέραν ποταμόν, οἱ δ' εἰς την παρεμβολήν. τεσσαράκοντα σταδίους δ'1 έγούσης της αποχωρήσεως και ταθτα σχεδον πάσης πεδινής ούσης επεδίωκον οί των βαρβάρων ίππεις, ούκ έλασσον όντες πεντακισχιλίων. διό καὶ συνέβη

and the forces of Agathocles, encouraged by the 311 n.c. advantage gained and believing that they would end the whole war by a single battle, pressed hard upon the barbarians.

109. But when Hamilcar saw that his men were being overpowered and that the Greeks in constantly increasing numbers were making their way into the camp, he brought up his slingers, who came from the Baliaric Islands and numbered at least a thousand. By hurling a shower of great stones, they wounded many and even killed not a few of those who were attacking, and they shattered the defensive armour of most of them. For these men, who are accustomed to sling stones weighing a mina,1 contribute a great deal toward victory in battle, since from childhood they practise constantly with the sling. In this way they drove the Greeks from the camp and defeated them. But Agathocles continued to attack at other points, and indeed the camp was already being taken by storm when unexpected reinforcements from Libya arrived by water for the Carthaginians. Thus again gaining heart, those from the camp fought against the Greeks in front, and the reinforcements surrounded them on all sides. Greeks were now receiving wounds from an unexpected quarter, the battle quickly reversed itself; and some of them fled into the Himeras River, others into the camp. The withdrawal was for a distance of forty stades 2; and since it was almost entirely over level country, they were hotly pursued by the barbarian cavalry, numbering not less than five thousand.

<sup>1</sup> Not quite a pound.

<sup>2</sup> About 4½ miles.

<sup>1 8&#</sup>x27; added by Dindorf.

τον μεταξύ τόπον νεκρών πληρωθήναι, πολλά συμβαλλομένου και τοῦ ποταμοῦ προς τὴν τῶν 5 Ἑλλήνων ἀπώλειαν ὑπὸ κύνα γὰρ οὕσης τῆς ὥρας και τοῦ διωγμοῦ περὶ μέσον ἡμέρας γινομένου οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν φευγόντων διά τε τὸ καῦμα καὶ τὴν ἐκ τῆς φυγῆς κακοπάθειαν ἔκδιψοι γιγνόμενοι λάβρως ἔπινον, καὶ ταῦθ' ἀλυκοῦ τοῦ ρεύματος ὅντος. διόπερ οὐκ ἐλάττους τῶν ἐν τῷ διωγμῷ σφαγέντων εὐρέθησαν παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν τετελευτηκότες ἄτρωτοι. ἔπεσον δ' ἐν τῆ μάχη ταύτη τῶν μὲν βαρβάρων περὶ πεντακοσίους, τῶν δ' Ἑλλήνων οὐκ

έλάττους έπτακισχιλίων.

110. 'Αγαθοκλής δὲ τηλικαύτη συμφορά περιπεσών τοὺς ἐκ τῆς τροπῆς διασωθέντας ἀνέλαβεν καὶ την παρεμβολήν εμπρήσας είς Γέλαν απεχώρησε. διαδόντος δ' αὐτοῦ λόγον ώς κατὰ σπουδήν εἰς Συρακούσσας άναζευγνύειν διέγνωκε, τριακόσιοι τῶν ἐκ Λιβύης ἱππέων κατὰ τὴν χώραν περιέπεσόν τισι των 'Αγαθοκλέους στρατιωτών. ων εἰπόντων ώς 'Αγαθοκλής είς Συρακούσσας αποκεχώρηκεν, είσηλθον είς Γέλαν ώς φίλοι και διαψευσθέντες της 2 ελπίδος κατηκοντίσθησαν. ό δ' 'Αγαθοκλής συνέκλεισεν αύτον είς την Γέλαν, ούκ άδυνατών είς Συρακούσσας διασωθήναι, βουλόμενος δε περισπάσαι τοὺς Καρχηδονίους πρὸς τὴν πολιορκίαν τῆς Γέλας, ἵν' οἱ Συρακόσιοι πολλὴν ἄδειαν σχῶσι συγκομίσαι τοὺς καρπούς, ἀναγκάζουτος τοῦ και-3 ροῦ. ὁ δ' 'Αμίλκας τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐπεχείρει πολιορκεῖν τὴν Γέλαν, πυνθανόμενος δὲ ἐν ταύτη καὶ δύναμιν είναι την άμυνομένην και πάντων εὐπορεῖν τὸν Αγαθοκλέα ταύτης μὲν ἀπέστη τῆς ἐπιβολῆς, τὰ δὲ φρούρια καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἐπιπορευόμενος 130

As a result the space between was filled with dead; 311 a.c. and the river itself contributed greatly to the destruction of the Greeks. Since it was the season of the Dog Star and since the pursuit took place in the middle of the day, most of the fugitives became very thirsty because of the heat and the distress caused by the flight and drank greedily, and that too although the stream was salt. Therefore no fewer men than those killed in the pursuit itself were found dead beside the river without a wound. In this battle about five hundred of the barbarians fell, but of the Greeks no less than seven thousand.

110. Agathoeles, having met with such a disaster, collected those who had survived the rout and after burning his camp withdrew into Gela. After he had given it out that he had decided to set out quickly for Syracuse, three hundred of the Libyan cavalry fell in with some of the soldiers of Agathoeles in the open country. Since these said that Agathocles had departed for Syracuse, the Libyans entered Gela as friends, but they were cheated of their expectations and shot down. Agathocles, however, shut himself up in Gela, not because he was unable to go safely to Syracuse, but because he wished to divert the Carthaginians to the siege of Gela in order that the Syracusans might quite fearlessly gather in their crops as the season demanded. Hamilcar at first attempted to besiege Gela, but discovering that there were troops in the city defending it and that Agathocles had ample supplies of all kinds, he gave up the attempt; instead, by visiting the fortresses and cities, he won them over and treated all

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cp. Vitruvius, 8, 3, 7. From its natural saltiness, the river gets its modern name, "Salso."

προσήγετο καὶ πᾶσιν έχρῆτο φιλανθρώπως, έκκαλούμενος τους Σικελιώτας πρός εύνοιαν. καὶ Καμαριναΐοι μέν καὶ Λεοντίνοι, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις Καταναΐοι καὶ Ταυρομενίται παραχρήμα πρέσβεις 4 ἐκπέμψαντες προσέθεντο Καρχηδονίοις μετ' ολίγας δ' ήμέρας οι τε Μεσσήνιοι και 'Αβακαινίνοι' και συχναὶ τῶν πόλεων ἀλλήλας φθάνουσαι πρὸς 'Αμίλκαν ἀφίσταντο· τοσαύτη τοῖς ὅχλοις ἐνέπεσεν ὁρμὴ

μετά την ήτταν διά το πρός τον τύραννον μίσος. 5 ὁ δ' 'Αγαθοκλῆς ἀπαγαγὼν' τὴν ὑπολελειμμένην δύναμιν είς Συρακούσσας τὰ πεπονηκότα τῶν τειχῶν ἐπεσκεύαζε καὶ τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας σῖτον ἀπεκόμιζε, διανοούμενος τῆς μὲν πόλεως τὴν ἱκανὴν ἀπολιπεῖν φυλακήν, τῆς δὲ δυνάμεως τὴν κρατίστην μετάγειν είς Λιβύην καὶ μετατιθέναι τὸν πόλεμον

είς την ήπειρον έκ της νήσου.

'Ημεις δε κατά τὴν εν άρχη πρόθεσιν τὴν είς Λιβύην 'Αγαθοκλέους διάβασιν άρχὴν ποιησόμεθα της έπομένης βίβλου.

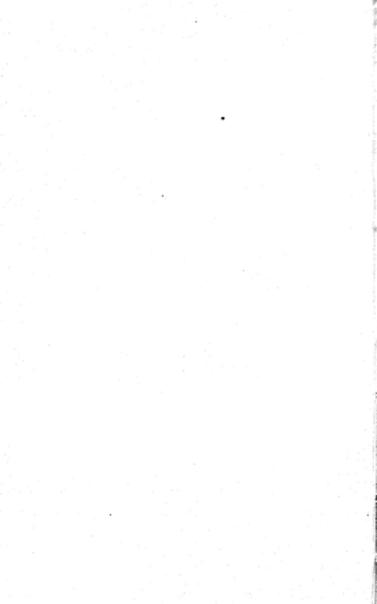
¹ 'Αβακαινίνοι Cluver : 'Αβακηνίνοι RX, Βακίνειοι F. <sup>2</sup> ἀπαγαγών Rhodoman: ἀπολιπῶν.

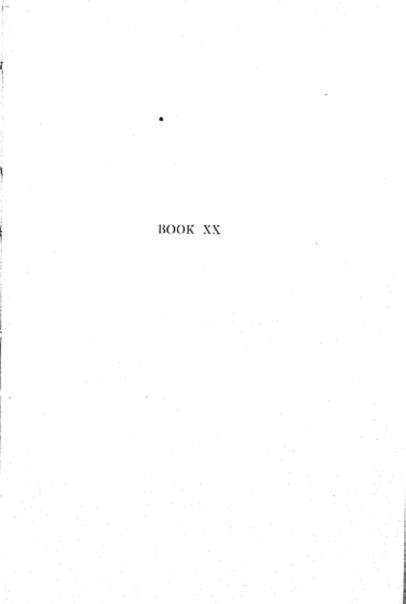
#### BOOK XIX. 110. 3-5

the people with kindness, seeking to win the goodwill 311 B.C. of the Sicilians. And the people of Camarina and Leontini, also those of Catana and Tauromenium, at once sent embassies and went over to the Carthaginian; and within a few days Messene and Abacaenum and very many of the other cities vied with each other in deserting to Hamiltar, for such was the desire that came upon the common people after the defeat because of their hatred of the tyrant. But Agathoeles conducted what survived of his army to Syracuse, repaired the ruined parts of the walls, and carried off the grain from the countryside, intending to leave an adequate garrison for the city, but with the strongest part of his army to cross to Libya and transfer the war from the island to the continent.

But we, following the plan laid down at the beginning, will make Agathocles' expedition into Libya the beginning of the following book.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cp. chap. 1. 10.





# Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῆ εἰκοστῆ τῶν Διοδώρου βίβλων

'Ωs'Αγαθοκλής διαβὰς εἰς Λιβύην ἐνίκησεν παρατάξει

Καρχηδονίους καὶ πολλών πόλεων έκυρίευσεν.

'Ως Κάσανδρος Αθδολέοντι μεν εβοήθησε, προς δε Πτολεμαΐον τον 'Αντιγόνον στρατηγών αποστάτην γενώμενον συμμαχίαν επούρσατο.

'Ως Πτολεμαίος μεν των περί Κιλικίαν πόλεων τινας

είλε, Δημήτριος δ' ό 'Αντιγόνου ταύτας άνεκτήσατο.

'Ως Πολυπέρχων μὲν 'Ηρακλέα τὸν ἐκ Βαρσίνης ἐπεχείρησε κατάγειν ἐπὶ τὴν πατρφαν βασιλείαν, Πτολεμαίος δὲ Νικοκρέοντα τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Παφίων ἐπανείλατο.

Περί τῶν πραχθέντων ἐν μὲν τῷ Βοσπόρῷ τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν, κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἰταλίαν Ῥωμαίοις καὶ Σαμνίταις.

Πτολεμαίου στρατεία έπὶ Κιλικίαν καὶ τὴν έξῆς παραθαλάττιου.

'Ηρακλέους ἀναίρεσις ύπὸ Πολυπέρχοντος.

'Αμίλκου τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἄλωσις ὑπὸ Συρακοσίων.

'Ως 'Ακραγαντίνοι τοὺς Σικελιώτας έλευθεροῦν ἐπεχείρησαν.

'Ως τῶν Συρακοσίων εἴκοσι ναῦς ἥλωσαν.

2 In chap. 32. 5 only ten ships are captured.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> In chap. 21 this king is called Nicocles, probably incorrectly.

## CONTENTS OF THE TWENTIETH BOOK OF DIODORUS

How Agathoeles crossed into Libya, defeated the Carthaginians in a battle, and became master of many cities (chaps. 3-18).

How Cassander went to the aid of Audoleon; and how he made an alliance with Ptolemaeus, Antigonus'

general, who had become a rebel (chap. 19).

How Ptolemy took some of the cities of Cilicia, and how Antigonus' son Demetrius recovered them

(chap. 19).

How Polyperchon attempted to bring Heracles, the son of Barsine, back to his ancestral kingdom; and how Ptolemy made away with Nicocreon, the king of Paphos (chaps. 20-21).

Concerning the actions of the kings in the Bosporus, and of the Romans and Samnites in Italy (chaps. 22-

26).

The campaign of Ptolemy against Cilicia and the adjacent coast (chap. 27).

Assassination of Heracles by Polyperchon (chap. 28).

Capture of Hamilear, the general of the Carthaginians, by the Syracusans (chaps. 29-30).

How the people of Acragas attempted to liberate the Sicilians (chap. 31).

How they captured twenty 2 ships of the Syracusans (chap. 32).

Περὶ τῆς ἐν Λιβύη γενομένης στάσεως καὶ τοῦ κινδύνου τοῦ περὶ τὸν Άγαθοκλέα.

Περὶ τῶν πραχθέντων 'Αππίω Κλανδίω κατὰ τὴν τιμητικὴν ἀρχήν.

Παράδοσις Κορίνθου καὶ Σικυώνος Πτολεμαίο.

Κλεοπάτρας έν Σάρδεσιν άναίρεσις.

'Ως' Αγαθοκλής Καρχηδονίους μὲν ἐνίκησεν μάχη, τὸν δὲ δυνάστην τής Κυρήνης 'Οφέλλαν μεταπεμψάμενος ἐπὶ κοινοπραγίαν κατέσφαξεν, καὶ τὴν μετὰ τούτου δύναμιν παρέλαβεν.

<sup>4</sup>Ως Καρχηδόνιοι Βορμίλκαν ἐπιθέμενον τυραννίδι κατ-

έλυσαν.

'Ως 'Αγαθοκλέους ἀποπέμψαντος εἰς Σικελίαν τὰ

λάφυρα τινὰ τῶν πλοίων ἐναυάγησεν.

'Ως 'Ρωμαΐοι Μαρσοΐς μὲν πολεμουμένοις ὑπὸ Σαμνιτῶν ἐβοήθησαν, ἐν δὲ τῆ Τυρρηνία Κάπριον ἐξεπολιώρκησαν.

Δημητρίου τοῦ πολιορκητοῦ κατάπλους εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ

καὶ τῆς Μουνυχίας ἄλωσις.

'Ελευθέρωσις 'Αθηναίων καὶ Μεγαρέων.

Πλοῦς ἐπὶ Κύπρον Δημητρίου καὶ μάχη πρὸς Μενέλαον τὸν στρατηγὸν καὶ Σαλαμίνος πολιορκία.

Ναυμαχία Δημητρίου πρός Πτολεμαΐον καὶ νίκη

Δημητρίου,

Παράληψις Κύπρου τε πάσης καὶ τῆς Πτολεμαίου δυνάμεως.

'Ως μετά την νίκην ταύτην 'Αντιγόνου και Δημητρίου περιθεμένων διάδημα ζηλοτυπήσαντες οι λοιποι δυνάσται βασιλείς έαυτους άνηγόρευσαν.

<sup>2</sup> Called Cacrium in chap. 44. 9.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Chap. 35 is omitted: campaigns of the Romans in Etruria and Samnium.

#### CONTENTS OF THE TWENTIETH BOOK

About the revolt that took place in Libya, and the peril of Agathocles (chaps. 33-34).<sup>1</sup>

About the acts of Appius Claudius during his

censorship (chap. 36).

Delivery of Corinth and Sicyon to Ptolemy (chap. 37).

Assassination of Cleopatra in Sardis (chap. 37).

How Agathoeles defeated the Carthaginians in battle; and how, after summoning Ophellas, the tyrant of Cyrene, to co-operate with him, he assassinated him and took over the army that was with him (chaps. 38-42).

How the Carthaginians put down Bormilear, who

had attempted to become tyrant (chaps. 43-44).

How, when Agathoeles sent the booty to Sicily,

some of the ships were wrecked (chap. 44).

How the Romans went to the aid of the Marsi, who were being attacked by the Samnites; and how they took Caprium 2 in Etruria after a siege (chap. 44).

The naval expedition of Demetrius Poliorcetes into the Peiraeus, and his capture of Munychia (chap. 45).

Liberation of the Athenians and the Megarians

(chap. 46).

Voyage of Demetrius to Cyprus, his battle against the general Menelaüs, and the siege of Salamis (chaps. 47-48).

Demetrius' naval battle against Ptolemy and

victory of Demetrius (chaps. 49-52).

Capture of all Cyprus and of the army of Ptolemy

(chap. 53).

How, because Antigonus and Demetrius assumed the diadem after this victory, the other dynasts, jealous of them, proclaimed themselves kings (chap. 53).

'Ως' Αγαθοκλῆς 'Ιτύκην ἐκπολιορκήσας διεβίβασε μέρος τῆς δυνάμεως els τὴν Σικελίαν.

'Ως 'Ακραγαντίνοι παραταξάμενοι πρὸς τοὺς 'Αγαθο-

κλέους στρατηγούς ήττήθησαν.

'Ως 'Αγαθόκλης 'Ηράκλειαν μεν καὶ Θέρμα καὶ Κεφαλοίδιον προσηγάγετο, τὴν δε τῶν 'Απολλωνιατῶν χώραν καὶ πόλιν εξηνδραποδίσατο.

'Ως 'Αγαθοκλής εν Σικελία ναυμαχία μεν ενίκησε

Καρχηδονίους, μάχη δ' 'Ακραγαντίνους.

Δυίβασις εἰς Λιβύην 'Αγαθοκλέους τὸ δεύτερον καὶ ήττα.

Αί γενόμεναι ταραχαί κατά τὰ έκατέρων στρατόπεδα.

'Αγαθοκλέους δρασμός είς Σικελίαν.

Αί γενόμεναι σφαγαὶ τών Σικελιωτών όπὸ 'Αγαθοκλέονς.

Στρατεία 'Αντιγόνου βασιλέως μεγάλαις δυνάμεσιν έπ' Αίγυπτου.

'Απόστασις Πασιφίλου στρατηγοῦ ἀπὸ 'Αγαθοκλέους.

'Ως Καρχηδόνιοι συνέθευτο την εἰρήνην προς 'Αγαθοκλέα

'Ως 'Ρόδον πολιορκήσας Δημήτριος διελίντατο την πολιορκίαν.

'Ως 'Ρωμαΐοι Σαμνίτας δυσὶ μάχαις ἐνίκησαν.

'Ως Δημήτριος άπὸ τῆς 'Ρόδου πλεύσας εἰς τὴν 'Ελλάδα τὰς πλείστας πόλεις ήλευθέρωσεν.

'Ως' Αγαθοκλής Λιπαραίους χρήματα άδίκως εἰσπραξάμενος ἀπέβαλε τὰς ναῦς ἐν αἶς ἦν τὰ χρήματα.

¹ Chap. 78 omitted: comparison of Agathoeles with Dionysius.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The Greek Table of Contents makes no mention of the events related in chap. 80, the Roman raids on Samnium, and in chap. 89, Agathocles' defeat of Deinocrates in Sicily. 140

#### CONTENTS OF THE TWENTIETH BOOK

How Agathocles, having besieged and taken Utica, transported part of his troops across into Sicily (chaps. 54-55).

How the people of Acragas took the field against Agathocles' generals and were defeated (chap. 56).

How Agathocles won over to himself Heraclea, Therma, and Cephaloedium, but reduced the country and city of the Apolloniates to utter slavery (chap. 56).

How in Sicily Agathocles defeated the Carthaginians in a naval battle and the people of Acragas

in a battle on land (chaps. 57-63).

Agathocles' crossing to Libya for the second time

and his defeat (chap. 64).

The confusion that arose in the camps of both armies (chaps. 65-70).

Agathocles' flight to Sicily (chap. 71).

The slaughter of the Sicilians by Agathocles (chaps. 71-72).

Expedition of King Antigonus against Egypt with

great forces (chaps. 73-76).

Desertion of Pasiphilus, a general, from Agathocles (chap. 77).

How the Carthaginians made peace with Aga-

thocles (chap. 79).

How Demetrius, after laying siege to Rhodes, abandoned the siege (chaps. 81-88, 91-99).<sup>2</sup>

How the Romans defeated the Samnites in two

battles (chap. 90).

How Demetrius sailed from Rhodes to Greece and

freed most of the cities (chaps. 100, 102-103).

How Agathocles unjustly exacted money from the Liparaeans and lost the ships in which the money was (chap. 101).

\*Ως \*Ρωμαῖοι τὸ μὲν ἔθνος τῶν Αἴκλων¹ κατεπολέμησαν, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς Σαμνίτας συνέθεντο τὴν εἰρήνην.

Τὰ πραχθέντα Κλεωνύμο περί την Ίταλίαν.

Δι' äs αἰτίας οἱ περὶ Κάσανδρον καὶ Αυσίμαχον, ἔτε δὲ Σέλευκον καὶ Πτολεμαΐον συνδραμώντες ἐνεστήσαντο τὸν πόλεμον πρὸς 'Αντίγονον.

Στρατεία Κασάνδρου μεν επὶ Δημήτριου εἰς Θεσσαλίαν, Αυσιμάχου δ' εἰς τὴν 'Ασίαν.

'Απόστωτις Δοκίμου καὶ Φοίνικος τῶν στρατηγῶν ἀπ' 'Αντιγόνου.

'Ως 'Αντίγονος ἀνταττρατοπεδεύτας Αυτιμάχω πολύ προείχε ταις δυνάμεσιν.

'Ως Δημήτριον τὸν νίὸν ἐκ τῆς 'Ελλάδος μετεπέμψατο.

'Ως Πτολεμαίος μὲν ἐχειρώσατο τὰς πόλεις τὰς ἐν τῆ Κοίλη Συρία, Σέλευκος δ' ἐκ τῶν ἄνω σατραπειῶν τὴν κατάβασιν ἐποιήσατο μέχρι Καππαδοκίας,

Διάλνοτις άπασων των δυνάμεων είς χειμασίαν.

<sup>1</sup> Αἴκλων Rhodoman: "Ασκλων RX, 'Λσκλῶν F, cp. chap. 101. 5.

## CONTENTS OF THE TWENTIETH BOOK

How the Romans reduced the tribe of the Aecli and made peace with the Samnites (chap. 101).

What Cleonymus did in Italy (chaps. 104-105).

For what reasons Cassander and Lysimachus, and likewise Seleucus and Ptolemy, combined and made war on Antigonus (chap. 106).

Campaign of Cassander into Thessaly against Demetrius, and of Lysimachus into Asia (chap. 107).

Revolt of the generals Docimus and Phoenix from

Antigonus (chap. 107).

How Antigonus, taking the field against Lysimachus, was far superior to him in military might (chaps. 108-109).

How he summoned his son Demetrius from Greece

(chaps. 109, 111).2

How Ptolemy subdued the cities of Coele Syria; and how Seleucus made an expedition from the upper satrapies as far as Cappadocia (chap. 113).

Dispersion of all the armies for wintering (chap.

113).

¹ Chap. 110 is omitted: the initiation of Demetrius and his campaign against Cassander.

<sup>2</sup> Chap. 112 is omitted: the adventures of Pleistarchus.

#### ΒΙΒΛΟΣ ΕΙΚΟΣΤΗ

 Τοῖς εἰς τὰς ἱστορίας ὑπερμήκεις δημηγορίας παρεμβάλλουσιν ἢ πυκναῖς χρωμένοις ῥητορείαις δικαίως ἄν τις ἐπιτιμήσειεν οὐ μόνον γὰρ τὸ συνεχές της διηγήσεως διά την ακαιρίαν των έπεισαγομένων λόγων διασπώσιν, άλλά και τών φιλοτίμως έχόντων πρός την των πράξεων επίγνωσιν μεσο-2 λαβούσι την έπιθυμίαν. καίτοι γε τούς έπιδείκνυσθαι βουλομένους λόγου δύναμιν έξεστι κατ' ίδίαν δημηγορίας και πρεσβευτικούς λόγους, έτι δὲ έγκώμια καὶ ψόγους καὶ τάλλα τὰ τοιαθτα συντάττεσθαι τῆ γὰρ οἰκονομία τῶν λόγων χρησάμενοι καὶ τὰς ὑποθέσεις χωρὶς έκατέρας έξεργασάμενοι κατά λόγον αν έν αμφοτέραις ταις πραγματείαις 3 εὐδοκιμοῖεν. νῦν δ' ἔνιοι πλεονάσαντες ἐν τοῖς όητορικοῖς λόγοις προσθήκην ἐποιήσαντο τὴν ὅλην ίστορίαν της δημηγορίας. λυπεί δ' οὐ μόνον τὸ κακώς γραφέν, αλλά και το δοκούν έν τοις άλλοις έπιτετεθχθαι, τόπων καὶ καιρών τῆs οἰκείαs τάξεωs 4 διημαρτηκός. διό καὶ των αναγινωσκόντων τάς τοιαύτας πραγματείας οἱ μὲν ὑπερβαίνουσι τὰς ρητορείας, καν όλως επιτετεθχθαι δόξωσιν, οί δε διά το μήκος και την ακαιρίαν του συγγραφέως έκλυθέντες τὰς ψυχὰς τὸ παράπαν ἀφίστανται τῆς

## BOOK XX

 One might justly censure those who in their histories insert over-long orations or employ frequent speeches; for not only do they rend asunder the continuity of the narrative by the ill-timed insertion of speeches, but also they interrupt the interest of those who are eagerly pressing on toward a full knowledge of the events. Yet surely there is opportunity for those who wish to display rhetorical prowess to compose by themselves public discourses and speeches for ambassadors, likewise orations of praise and blame and the like; for by recognizing the classification of literary types and by elaborating each of the two by itself, they might reasonably expect to gain a reputation in both fields of activity. But as it is, some writers by excessive use of rhetorical passages have made the whole art of history into an appendage of oratory. Not only does that which is poorly composed give offence, but also that which seems to have hit the mark in other respects yet has gone far astray from the themes and occasions that belong to its peculiar type. Therefore, even of those who read such works, some skip over the orations although they appear to be entirely successful, and others, wearied in spirit by the historian's wordiness and lack of taste, abandon

<sup>1</sup> μεσολαβοῦσι τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν added by Wesseling.
\* γραφέν Dindorf: γράφειν.

δ ἀναγνώσεως, οὐκ ἀλόγως τοῦτο πάσχοντες· τὸ γὰρ τῆς ἱστορίας γένος ἁπλοῦν ἐστι καὶ συμφυὲς αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ σύνολον ἐμψύχῳ σώματι παραπλήσιον, οὖ τὸ μὲν ἐσπαραγμένον ἐστέρηται τῆς ψυχικῆς χάριτος, τὸ δὲ τὴν ἀναγκαίαν σύνθεσιν ἔχον εὐκαίρως τετήρηται καὶ τῷ συμφυεῖ τῆς ὅλης περιγραφῆς ἐπι-

τερπή καὶ σαφή παρίστησι τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν.

2. Οὐ μὴν παντελώς γε τοὺς ρητορικοὺς λόγους ἀποδοκιμάζοντες ἐκβάλλομεν ἐκ τῆς ἱστορικῆς πραγματείας τὸ παράπαν οφειλούσης γὰρ τῆς ίστορίας τῆ ποικιλία κεκοσμησθαι κατ' ένίους τόπους άνάγκη προσλαμβάνεσθαι καὶ τοὺς τοιούτους λόγους καὶ ταύτης τῆς εὐκαιρίας οὐδ' ἄν ἐμαυτὸν ἀποστερήσαι βουληθείην-ωσθ' όταν τὰ τῆς περιστάσεως απαιτή πρεσβευτού ή συμβούλου δημηγορίαν η των άλλων τι τοιούτον, δ μη τεθαρρηκότως συγκαταβαίνων πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ἀγῶνας 2 καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπαίτιος ἂν εἴη. οὐκ ὀλίγας γὰρ ἄν τις αίτίας εύροι, καθ' ας κατά πολλά άναγκαίως παραληφθήσεται τὰ τῆς ρητορείας ἢ γὰρ πολλῶν εἰρημένων εὐστόχως καὶ καλῶς οὐ παραλειπτέον δι' ολιγωρίαν τα μνήμης άξια καὶ τῆ ἱστορία κεκραμένην έχοντα τὴν ωφέλειαν, ἢ μεγάλων καὶ λαμπρῶν τῶν ὑποθέσεων οὐσῶν οὐ περιορατέον ἐλάττονα τῶν ἔργων φανῆναι τὸν λόγον ἔστι δ' ὅτε παρά προσδοκίαν τοῦ τέλους ἐκβάντος ἀναγκασθησόμεθα τοις οικείοις της υποθέσεως λόγοις χρήσασθαι χάριν τοῦ λῦσαι τὴν ἀλογίαν.

Αλλά περὶ μὲν τούτων ἄλις ἡμῖν ἐχέτω, περὶ δὲ τῶν ὑποκειμένων πράξεων ἡητέον, παραθέντας πρότερον τοὺς οἰκείους τῆ γραφῆ χρόνους. ἐν μὲν οὖν ταῖς προηγουμέναις βύβλοις ἀναγεγράφαμεν

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the reading entirely; and this attitude is not without reason, for the genius of history is simple and self-consistent and as a whole is like a living organism. If it is mangled, it is stripped of its living charm; but if it retains its necessary unity, it is duly preserved and, by the harmony of the whole composition,

renders the reading pleasant and clear.

2. Nevertheless, in disapproving rhetorical speeches, we do not ban them wholly from historical works; for, since history needs to be adorned with variety, in certain places it is necessary to call to our aid even such passages-and of this opportunity I should not wish to deprive myself—so that, whenever the situation requires either a public address from an ambassador or a statesman, or some such thing from the other characters, whoever does not boldly enter the contest of words would himself be blameworthy. For one would find no small number of reasons for which on many occasions the aid of rhetoric will necessarily be enlisted; for when many things have been said well and to the point, one should not in contempt pass over what is worthy of memory and possesses a utility not alien to history, nor when the subject matter is great and glorious should one allow the language to appear inferior to the deeds; and there are times when, an event turning out contrary to expectation, we shall be forced to use words suitable to the subject in order to explain the seeming paradox.

But let this suffice on this subject; we must now write about the events that belong to my theme, first setting forth the chronological scheme of our narrative. In the preceding Books we have written of the

<sup>1</sup> olkelois added by Fischer, cp. Book 19. 34. 3.

ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχαιοτάτων χρόνων τὰς πράξεις τάς τε τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ βαρβάρων ἔως ἐπὶ τὸν προηγούμενον ἐνιαυτὸν τῆς 'Αγαθοκλέους στρατείας εἰς τὴν Λιβύην, εἰς ῆν ἀπὸ Τροίας ἀλώσεως ἔτη συνάγεται τρισὶ πλείω τῶν ὀκτακοσίων ὀγδοήκοντα ἐν ταύτη δὲ τὸ συνεχὲς προστιθέντες τῆς ἱστορίας ἀρξόμεθα μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς εἰς Λιβύην διαβάσεως 'Αγαθοκλέους, καταλήξομεν δ' εἰς τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν καθ' ὂν οἱ βασιλεῖς συμφρονήσαντες κοινῆ διαπολεμεῖν ἤρξαντο πρὸς 'Αντίγονον τὸν Φιλίππου, περιλα-

βόντες έτη έννέα.

3. 'Επ' ἄρχοντος γὰρ 'Αθήνησιν 'Ιερομνήμονος 'Ρωμαΐοι μέν ύπάτους κατέστησαν Γάιον Ιούλιον καὶ Κόιντον Αἰμίλιον, κατὰ δὲ τὴν Σικελίαν 'Αγαθοκλής ήττημένος ύπο Καρχηδονίων τῆ περὶ τὸν Ἱμέραν μάχη καὶ τὸ πλεῖστον καὶ κράτιστον της δυνάμεως ἀποβεβληκώς συνέφυγεν εἰς τὰς 2 Συρακούσσας. όρων δὲ τούς τε συμμάχους ἄπαντας μεταβεβλημένους καὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους πλήν Συρακουσσών απάσης σχεδόν Σικελίας κυριεύοντας καὶ πολύ προέχοντας ταις τε πεζικαις και ναυτικαις δυνάμεσιν επετελέσατο πράξιν ἀνέλπιστον καὶ παρα-3 βολωτάτην. πάντων γὰρ διειληφότων μηδ' έγχειρήσειν αὐτὸν τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις ἀντιταχθῆναι, διενοήσατο της μεν πόλεως απολιπείν την ίκανην φυλακήν, των δε στρατιωτών τους ευθέτους επιλέξαι καὶ μετὰ τούτων εἰς τὴν Λιβύην διακομισθηναι· τοῦτο γὰρ πράξας ήλπιζε τοὺς μὲν ἐν τῆ Καρχηδόνι τετρυφηκότας έν εἰρήνη πολυχρονίω καὶ δια τουτ' απείρους όντας των έν ταις μάχαις

An error for 873. Cp. Book 19. 1. 10.

deeds of both the Greeks and the barbarians from the earliest times down to the year before Agathocles' Libyan campaign; the years from the sack of Troy to that event total eight hundred and eighty-three.1 In this Book, adding what comes next in the account, we shall begin with Agathocles' crossing into Libya, and end with the year in which the kings, after reaching an agreement with each other, began joint operations against Antigonus, son of Philip, embracing

a period of nine years.

3. When Hieromnemon was archon in Athens, the 310 B.C. Romans elected to the consulship Gaius Julius and Quintus Aemilius 2; and in Sicily Agathocles, who had been defeated by the Carthaginians in the battle at the Himeras River and had lost the largest and strongest part of his army, took refuge in Syracuse. When he saw that all his allies had changed sides and that the barbarians were masters of almost all Sicily except Syracuse and were far superior in both land and sea forces, he carried out an undertaking that was unexpected and most reckless. For when all had concluded that he would not even try to take the field against the Carthaginians, he determined to leave an adequate garrison for the city, to select those of the soldiers who were fit, and with these to cross over into Libya. For he hoped that, if he did this, those in Carthage, who had been living luxuriously in long-continued peace and were therefore without experience in the dangers of battle, would

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Hieromnemon was archon in 310/09 B.c. In the Fasti the consuls of 311 B.C. are C. Iunius Bubulcus Brutus for the third time and Q. Aemilius Barbula for the second (CIL, 1, p. 130; cp. Livy, 9. 30. 1). The narrative is continued from Book 19. 110. 5. For the first part of the African campaign, cp. Justin, 22, 4-6; Orosius, 4, 6, 23-29.

κινδύνων ύπὸ τῶν ἐνηθληκότων τοῖς δεινοῖς ῥαδίως ἡττηθήσεσθαι, τοὺς δὲ κατὰ Λιβύην συμμάχους, βαρυνομένους τοῖς προστάγμασιν ἐκ πολλῶν χρόνων, λήψεσθαι καιρὸν τῆς ἀποστάσεως, τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, διαρπάσειν ἀπροσδοκήτως ἐπιφανεῖς χώραν ἀπόρθητον καὶ διὰ τὴν τῶν Καρχηδονίων εὐδαιμονίαν πεπληρωμένην παντοίων ἀγαθῶν, τὸ δὸ ὅλον ἀπὸ τῆς πατρίδος καὶ πάσης Σικελίας περισπάσειν τοὺς βαρβάρους καὶ πάντα τὸν πόλεμον μετάξειν εἰς τὴν Λιβύην ὅπερ καὶ συνετελέσθη.

4. Την γάρ ἐπίνοιαν ταύτην οὐδενὶ τῶν φίλων δηλώσας της μεν πόλεως επιμελητήν "Αντανδρον τον άδελφον κατέστησε μετά της ίκανης φυλακης, αὐτὸς δὲ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐπιλέγων τοὺς εὐθέτους κατέγραφε, τοῖς μὲν πεζοῖς παραγγέλλων έτοίμους είναι μετά των οπλων, τοις δ' ίππεθσι διακελευόμενος έχειν μεθ' έαυτών χωρίς της πανοπλίας ύπηρέσιον καὶ χαλινόν, ὅπως, ὅταν ἴππων κυριεύση, τούς ἀναβησομένους έτοίμους έχειν, τὰ πρός την 2 χρείαν έξηρτυμένους κατά γάρ την προγεγενημένην ήτταν των μέν πεζών απωλώλεισαν οί πλείους, οί δ' ίππεις ύπηρχον διασεσωσμένοι σχεδον απαντες, ών τους ιππους ουκ ηδύνατο διακομίζειν els την 3 Λιβύην. ἵνα δὲ χωρισθέντος αὐτοῦ μὴ νεωτερίζωσιν οί Συρακόσιοι, διεζεύγνυε τὰς συγγενείας ἀπ' ἀλλήλων καὶ μάλιστα ἀδελφούς ἀπ' ἀδελφών καὶ πατέρας ἀπὸ παίδων, τοὺς μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> He was probably an older brother; in 317 s.c. he was 150

easily be defeated by men who had been trained in 210 p.c. the school of danger; that the Libyan allies of the Carthaginians, who had for a long time resented their exactions, would grasp an opportunity for revolt; most important of all, that by appearing unexpectedly, he would plunder a land which had not been ravaged and which, because of the prosperity of the Carthaginians, abounded in wealth of every kind; and in general, that he would divert the barbarians from his native city and from all Sicily and transfer the whole war to Libya. And this last, indeed, was

accomplished.

4. Disclosing this intention to none of his friends, he set up his brother Antander 1 as curator of the city with an adequate garrison; and he himself selected and enrolled those of the soldiers who were fit for service, bidding the infantry be ready with their arms, and giving special orders to the cavalry that, in addition to their full armour, they should have with them saddle-pads and bridles, in order that, when he got possession of horses, he might have men ready to mount them, equipped with what was needed for the service; for in the earlier defeat the greater part of the foot-soldiers had been killed, but almost all the horsemen had survived uninjured,2 whose horses he was not able to transport to Libva. order that the Syracusans might not attempt a revolution after he had left them, he separated relatives from each other, particularly brothers from brothers and fathers from sons, leaving the one group

one of the Syracusan generals in the war with the Bruttii, and Agathocles was only a chiliarch (Book 19. 3. 3). He later wrote a biography of Agathocles (Book 21. 16. 5).

<sup>2</sup> Agathocles' losses in the battle at the Himeras River are

given in Book 19. 109. 5 as not less than 7000 men.

4 ἀπολείπων, τοὺς δὲ μεθ' ἐαυτοῦ διακομίζων· πρόδηλον γάρ ήν ώς οἱ μένοντες ἐν ταῖς Συρακούσσαις, καν άλλοτριώτατα τυγχάνωσι πρός τον δυνάστην διακείμενοι, δια την πρός τους απογόνους εύνοιαν οὐδὲν ἄν πράξειαν ἄτοπον κατὰ 'Αγαθοκλέους. 5 ἀπορούμενος δὲ χρημάτων τά τε τῶν ὀρφανῶν παρὰ των ἐπιτροπευόντων εἰσεπράξατο, φάσκων πολύ βέλτιον ἐκείνων ἐπιτροπεύσειν καὶ τοῖς παισὶν εἰς ήλικίαν έλθοθσι πιστότερον ἀποδώσειν, έδανείσατο δέ και παρά των έμπόρων και τινα των έν τοις ίεροῖς ἀναθημάτων ἔλαβεν καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν τὸν 6 κόσμον περιείλετο. επειθ' όρων των εύπορωτάτων τούς πλείστους δυσχεραίνοντας τοῖς πραττομένοις καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀλλοτριώτατα διακειμένους συνήγαγεν εκκλησίαν, εν ή περί τε της προγεγενημένης συμφοράς καὶ τῶν προσδοκωμένων δεινῶν κατοδυρόμενος αὐτὸς μὲν ραδίως ὑπομενεῖν ἔφησε τὴν πολιορκίαν συνήθης ών πάση κακοπαθεία, έλεεῖν δὲ τούς πολίτας, εὶ συγκλεισθέντες ἀναγκασθήσονται 7 πολιορκίαν ύπομένειν. διεκελεύετο οὖν σώζειν έαυτούς μετά των ίδίων κτήσεων τούς μή βουλομένους ύπομένειν ὅ τι ποτ' ἄν δοκῆ τῆ τύχη πάσχειν. έξορμησάντων δ' ἐκ τῆς πόλεως τῶν μάλιστ' εὐπόρων καὶ μισούντων τὸν δυνάστην τούτους μέν έπαποστείλας τινάς των μισθοφόρων άνειλε και τάς 8 οὐσίας εἰς αὐτὸν ἀνέλαβε, διὰ δὲ μιᾶς ἀνοσίου πράξεως χρημάτων εὐπορήσας καὶ τῶν ἀλλοτρίως διακειμένων πρός αὐτὸν καθαρὰν ποιήσας τὴν πόλιν ήλευθέρωσε των οίκετων τους εύθέτους είς στρατείαν.

in the city and taking the others across with him; 310 B.C. for it was clear that those who remained in Syracuse, even if they were most ill disposed toward the tyrant, because of their affection for their relatives would do nothing unbecoming against Agathocles. he was in need of money he exacted the property of the orphans from those who were their guardians, saying that he would guard it much better than they and return it more faithfully to the children when they became of age; and he also borrowed from the merchants, took some of the dedications in the temples, and stripped the women of their jewels. Then, seeing that the majority of the very wealthy were vexed by his measures and were very hostile to him, he summoned an assembly in which, deploring both the past disaster and the expected hardships, he said that he himself would endure the siege easily because he was accustomed to every manner of hardship, but that he pitied the citizens if they should be shut in and forced to endure a siege. He therefore ordered those to save themselves and their own possessions who were unwilling to endure whatever fortune might see fit that they should suffer. But when those who were wealthiest and most bitter against the tyrant had set out from the city, sending after them some of his mercenaries, he killed the men themselves and confiscated their property. When, through a single unholy act, he had gained an abundance of wealth and had cleared the city of those who were opposed to him, he freed those of their slaves who were fit for military service.

διακείμενοι added by Dindorf, cp. § 6.
καὶ after ὁρῶν omitted by Fischer.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> ὑπομενεῖν Dindorf: ὑπομένειν MSS. followed by Fischer.

 'Ως δ' εὐτρεπῆ πάντ' ἦν, πληρώσας ἐξήκουτα ναθς ἐπετήρει καιρὸν οἰκεῖον πρός τὸν ἔκπλουν. άγνοουμένης δὲ τῆς ἐπινοίας αὐτοῦ τινὲς μὲν εἰς την 'Ιταλίαν υπελάμβανον αυτόν στρατεύειν, τινès δέ πορθήσειν τῆς Σικελίας τὴν ὑπὸ Καρχηδονίους, πάντες δὲ ἀπεγίνωσκον τῶν ἐκπλεῖν μελλόντων τὴν σωτηρίαν καὶ τοῦ δυνάστου τὴν μανίαν κατεγί-2 νωσκον. ἐφορμούντων δὲ τῶν πολεμίων πολλαπλασίαις τριήρεσι το μέν πρῶτον ἐφ' ἡμέρας τινὰς ηναγκάζετο συνέχειν<sup>ι</sup> έν ταις ναυσί τους στρατιώτας, οὐ δυναμένους ἐκπλεῦσαι ἔπειτα δὲ σιτηγών πλοίων τῆ πόλει προσθεόντων οἱ μὲν Καρχηδόνιοι παντί τῷ στόλω πρὸς τὰς ναῦς ἀνήχθησαν, ὁ δ' 'Αγαθοκλής ἀπελπίζων ήδη την ἐπιβολήν, ώς ἴδεν τὸ στόμα τοῦ λιμένος έρημον τῶν ἐφορμούντων, 3 ἐξέπλευσεν ὁξείαις ταις εἰρεσίαις χρώμενος. είθ' οί μέν Καρχηδόνιοι πλησίον ήδη των φορτηγών όντες, ώς ίδον τοὺς πολεμίους άθρόαις ταῖς ναυσί πλέοντας, τὸ μὲν πρώτον ὑπολαβόντες αὐτὸν ώρμηκέναι πρός την των σιτηγών βοήθειαν, ανέστρεφον καὶ τὸν στόλον εξήρτυον εἰς ναυμαχίαν ώς δ' ἐπ' εὐθείας έώρων παραθέοντας καὶ πολύ τοῦ πλοῦ 4 προλαμβάνοντας, ἐποιοῦντο τὸν διωγμόν. ἔνθα δὴ τούτων πρὸς ἀλλήλους φιλοτιμουμένων τὰ μὲν τὴν άγορὰν κομίζοντα πλοΐα παραδόξως ἐκφυγόντα τὸν κίνδυνον πολλήν εύπορίαν ἐποίησεν ἐν ταῖς Συρακούσσαις τῶν ἐπιτηδείων, σιτοδείας ἤδη τὴν πόλιν έχούσης, ὁ δ' ᾿Αγαθοκλῆς περικατάληπτος ήδη γινόμενος επιλαβούσης της νυκτός άνελπίστου σω-5 τηρίας έτυχεν. τῆ δ' ύστεραία τηλικαύτην ἔκλειψιν

¹ ἡναγκάζετο συνέχειν Wesseling, ἡνάγκάζε σ. ἐαυτοὺs Fischer : ἡνάγκαζε συνέχειν.

5. When everything was ready, Agathocles manned 310 B.C. sixty ships and awaited a suitable time for the voyage. Since his purpose was unknown, some supposed that he was making an expedition into Italy, and others that he was going to plunder the part of Sicily that was under Carthaginian control; but all despaired of the safety of those who were about to sail away and condemned the prince for his mad folly. But since the enemy was blockading the port with triremes many times more numerous than his own, Agathocles at first for some days was compelled to detain his soldiers in the ships since they could not sail out; but later, when some grain ships were putting in to the city, the Carthaginians with their whole fleet made for these ships, and Agathocles, who already despaired of his enterprise, as he saw the mouth of the harbour freed of the blockading ships, sailed out, his men rowing at top speed. Then when the Carthaginians, who were already close to the cargo vessels, saw the enemy sailing with their ships in close order, assuming at first that Agathocles was hastening to the rescue of the grain ships, they turned and made their fleet ready for battle; but when they saw the ships sailing straight past and getting a long start of them, they began to pursue. Thereupon, while these were contending with each other, the ships that were bringing grain, unexpectedly escaping the danger, brought about a great abundance of provisions in Syracuse, when a scarcity of food was already gripping the city; and Agathocles, who was already at the point of being overtaken and surrounded, gained unhoped-for safety as night closed in. the next day there occurred such an eclipse of the

ήλίου συνέβη γενέσθαι ώστε όλοσχερώς φανῆναι νύκτα, θεωρουμένων τῶν ἀστέρων πανταχοῦ· διόπερ οί περὶ τὸν 'Αγαθοκλέα, νομίσαντες καὶ τὸ θεῖον αὐτοῖς προσημαίνειν τὸ δυσχερές, ἔτι μᾶλλον ὑπὲρ

τοῦ μέλλοντος ἐν ἀγωνία καθειστήκεισαν.

6. Έξ δ' ήμέρας καὶ τὰς ἴσας νύκτας αὐτών πλευσάντων ύποφαινούσης της έω παραδόξως δ στόλος των Καρχηδονίων οὐκ ἄπωθεν ων έωράθη. διόπερ1 αμφοτέροις έμπεσούσης σπουδής ήμιλλώντο πρός άλλήλους ταις είρεσίαις, οί μεν Φοίνικες νομίζοντες αμα τη των νεων άλώσει Συρακούσσας μέν ύποχειρίους έξειν, την δέ πατρίδα μεγάλων έλευθερώσειν κινδύνων οί δ' "Ελληνες, εί μη φθάσειαν 2 της χώρας άψάμενοι, προκειμένην έώρων αύτοῖς μέν τιμωρίαν, τοις δέ καταλειφθείσιν έν οικω τά της δουλείας δεινά. καθορωμένης δε της Λιβύης παρακελευσμός έγίνετο τοις πληρώμασι καὶ φιλοτιμίας ύπερβολή· καὶ τάχιον μεν επλεον αἱ τῶν βαρβάρων, έν πολυχρονίω μελέτη τῶν ἐρετῶν διαπεπονημένων, ίκανὸν δὲ διάστημα προείχον αί τῶν Έλλήνων. ὀξύτατα δὲ τοῦ πλοῦ διανυσθέντος. έπειδή πλησίον έγενήθησαν της γης, συνεξέπιπτον άλλήλοις είς τὸν αἰγιαλὸν ώσπερεί τινες ἀγωνισταί. 3 ταις γάρ έσχάταις των 'Αγαθοκλέους αι πρώται τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἐνέβαλλον ἐντὸς βέλους σὖσαι. διόπερ ἐπ' ὀλίγον χρόνον τοῖς τε τόξοις καὶ σφενδόναις διαγωνισαμένων αὐτῶν καὶ ναυσὶν ὀλίγαις τῶν

<sup>1</sup> διόπερ Dindorf : διό παρ'.

August 15, 310 B.C., ep. Beloch, Gricohische Geschichte<sup>3</sup>
 I. 190. Calculations of the course of this eclipse indicate 156

sun that utter darkness set in and the stars were seen s10 B.C. everywhere '; wherefore Agathocles' men, believing that the prodigy portended misfortune for them, fell

into even greater anxiety about the future.2

6. After they had sailed for six days and the same number of nights, just as day was breaking, the fleet of the Carthaginians was unexpectedly seen not far away. At this both fleets were filled with zeal and vied with each other in rowing, the Carthaginians believing that as soon as they destroyed the Greek ships they would have Syracuse in their hands and at the same time free their fatherland from great dangers; and the Greeks foreseeing that, if they did not get to land first, punishment was in store for themselves and the perils of slavery for those who had been left at home. When Libya came into sight, the men on board began to cheer and the rivalry became very keen; the ships of the barbarians sailed faster since their crews had undergone very long training, but those of the Greeks had sufficient lead. The distance was covered very quickly, and when the ships drew near the land they rushed side by side for the beach like men in a race; indeed, since they were within range, the first of the Carthaginian ships were sending missiles at the last of those of Aga-Consequently, when they had fought for a short time with bows and slings and the barbarians had come to close quarters with a few of the Greek

that Agathocles must have sailed north around Sicily (Cary

in Cambridge Ancient History, 7. 625). \*

<sup>2</sup> According to Justin, 22. 6.2, he explained away the omen to his men, saying that if it had happened before the expedition started it would have portended evil to them, but since it took place after the sailing it foretold misfortune for their enemies.

βαρβάρων συμπλακέντων οἱ περὶ τὸν ᾿Αγαθοκλέα προετέρουν, τὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἔχοντες πλῆθος. εἶθ᾽ οἱ μὲν Καρχηδόνιοι πρύμναν ἀνακρουσάμενοι μικρὸν ἔξω βέλους ἐφώρμουν, ὁ δ᾽ ᾿Αγαθοκλῆς ἀποβιβάσας τὴν δύναμιν πρὸς τὰς καλουμένας Λατομίας καὶ χάρακα βαλόμενος ἐκ θαλάττης εἰς

θάλατταν ένεώλκησε τὰς ναθς.

 Οὕτω δὲ παράβολον ἐπιτελεσάμενος πρᾶξιν, άλλην ἐτόλμησε ταύτης μάλλον κεκινδυνευμένην, παραστησάμενος γὰρ τοὺς ἐν ἡγεμονίαις ὄντας εύπειθεις πρός την ίδίαν επιβολήν και θυσίαν ποιησάμενος Δήμητρι καὶ Κόρη συνήγαγεν ἐκκλησίαν 2 κάπειτα προελθών επί την δημηγορίαν εστεφανωμένος εν ίματίω λαμπρώ και προδιαλεχθείς οἰκείως τοις εγχειρουμένοις έφησε ταις κατεχούσαις Σικελίαν θεαῖς Δήμητρι καὶ Κόρη πεποιῆσθαι, καθ' δν καιρον εδιώχθησαν ύπο Καρχηδονίων, εύχας λαμπα-3 δεύσειν άπάσας τὰς ναθς. καλώς οὖν ἔχειν τετευχότας της σωτηρίας ἀποδιδόναι τὰς εὐχάς. άντι δε τούτων επηγγελλετο πολλαπλασίους άποδώσειν προθύμως αὐτῶν ἀγωνισαμένων καὶ γὰρ τὰς θεὰς διὰ τῶν ἱερῶν προσημαίνειν νίκην τοῦ 4 σύμπαντος πολέμου. ἄμα δὲ ταῦτα λέγοντος αὐτοῦ τῶν ὑπηρετῶν τις προσήνεγκεν ἡμμένην δάδα. ἡν δεξάμενος καὶ τοῖς τριηράρχοις όμοίως ἄπασι προστάξας άναδοῦναι τάς τε θεὰς ἐπεκαλέσατο καὶ πρώτος ώρμησεν έπὶ τὴν ναυαρχίδα τριήρη στὰς δ' επί την πρύμμαν και τοις άλλοις το παραπλήσιον ποιείν παρεκελεύετο. ένθα δή τών τριηράρχων

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> i.e. the Quarries; probably near Cape Bon, the ancient Promuntorium Mercurii, cp. Strabo, 17, 3, 16.

ships, Agathocles got the upper hand since he had \$10 k.c. his complement of soldiers. At this the Carthaginians withdrew and lay offshore a little beyond bowshot; but Agathocles, having disembarked his soldiers at the place called Latomiae <sup>1</sup> and constructed

a palisade from sea to sea, beached his ships.

7. When he had thus carried through a perilous enterprise, Agathocles ventured upon another even more hazardous. For after surrounding himself with those among the leaders who were ready to follow his proposal and after making sacrifice to Demeter and Corê, he summoned an assembly; next he came forward to speak, crowned and clad in a splendid himation, and when he had made prefatory remarks of a nature appropriate to the undertaking,2 he declared that to Demeter and Corê, the goddesses who protected Sicily, he had at the very moment when they were pursued by the Carthaginians vowed to offer all the ships as a burnt offering. Therefore it was well, since they had succeeded in gaining safety, that they should pay the vow. In place of these ships he promised to restore many times the number if they would but fight boldly; and in truth, he added, the goddesses by omens from the victims had foretold victory in the entire war. While he was saying this, one of his attendants brought forward a lighted torch. When he had taken this and had given orders to distribute torches likewise to all the ship captains, he invoked the goddesses and himself first set out to the trireme of the commander. Standing by the stern, he bade the others also to follow his example. Then as all the captains threw in the fire

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Justin, 22. 5-6, gives the substance of a long oration, which he ascribes to Agathocles on this occasion.

άπάντων ἐνέντων τὸ πῦρ καὶ ταχὰ τῆς φλογὸς εἰς τομος ἀρθείσης οἱ μὲν σαλπιγκταὶ τὸ πολεμικὸν ἐσήμαινον, τὸ δὲ στρατόπεδον ἐπηλάλαξε, συνευχομένων ἀπάντων ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰς οἶκον σωτηρίας. τοῦτο δὰ ἔπραξεν ᾿Αγαθοκλῆς μάλιστα μὲν ἔνεκα τοῦ συναναγκάσαι τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις ἐπιλαθέσθαι τὸ παράπαν τῆς φυγῆς δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι τῆς ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς καταφυγῆς ἀποκοπείσης ἐν μόνω τῷ νικῶν ἔξουσι τὰς ἐλπίδας τῆς σωτηρίας ἔπειτα καὶ δύναμιν ὀλίγην ἔχων ἐθεώρει διότι ψυλάσσων μὲν τὰς ναῦς ἀναγκασθήσεται μερίζειν τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ μηδαμῶς ἀξιόμαχος εἶναι, καταλιτών δὰ ἐρήμους ὑποχειρίους ποιήσει γενέσθαι

Καρχηδονίοις.

8. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τῶν νεῶν ἁπασῶν φλεγομένων καὶ τοῦ πυρός πολύν ἐπέχοντος τόπον ἔκπληξις κατείχε τοὺς Σικελιώτας. ἐν ἀρχῆ μὲν γὰρ ὑπὸ τῆς ᾿Αγαθοκλέους γοητείας παραλογισθέντες καὶ τής των εγχειρουμένων δξύτητος αναθεώρησιν οὐ διδούσης πάντες συγκατετίθεντο τοῖς πραττομένοις: τοῦ δὲ χρόνου τὸν περὶ ἐκάστων ἀναλογισμὸν παριστάντος είς μεταμέλειαν ενέπιπτον καί το μέγεθος τοῦ διείργοντος πελάγους ἀναλογιζόμενοι τὴν 2 σωτηρίαν ἀπεγίνωσκον. ὁ δ' 'Αγαθοκλῆς σπεύδων άπαλλάξαι της άθυμίας τους στρατιώτας ήγε την δύναμιν έπὶ τὴν ὀνομαζομένην Μεγάλην πόλιν, 3 οδσαν Καρχηδονίων. ή δ' άνὰ μέσον χώρα, δι' ης ην άναγκαΐον πορευθηναι, διείληπτο κηπείαις καὶ παντοίαις φυτουργίαις, πολλών ύδάτων διωχετευμένων καὶ πάντα τόπον ἀρδευόντων, ἀγροικίαι τε συνεχείς ύπηρχον, οἰκοδομαῖς πολυτελέσι καὶ κονιάμασι διαπεπονημέναι καὶ τὸν τῶν κεκτημένων 160

and the flames quickly blazed high, the trumpeters \$10 n.c. sounded the signal for battle and the army raised the war-cry, while all together prayed for a safe return home. This Agathoeles did primarily to compel his soldiers in the midst of dangers to have no thought at all of flight; for it was clear that, if the retreat to the ships was cut off, in victory alone would they have hope of safety. Moreover, since he had a small army, he reasoned that if he guarded the ships he would be compelled to divide his forces and so be by no means strong enough to meet the enemy in battle, and if he left the ships without defenders, he would put them into the hands of the Carthaginians.

8. Nevertheless, when all the ships were aflame and the fire was spreading widely, terror laid hold upon the Sicilians. Carried away at first by the wiles of Agathoeles and by the rapidity of his undertakings, which gave no time for reflection, all acquiesced in what was being done; but when time made possible detailed consideration, they were plunged into regret, and as they considered the vastness of the sea that separated them from home, they abandoned hope of safety. Agathocles, however, in an effort to rid his soldiers of their despondency, led his army against the place called Megalepolis, a city of the Carthaginians.1 The intervening country through which it was necessary for them to march was divided into gardens and plantations of every kind, since many streams of water were led in small channels and irrigated every part. There were also country houses one after another, constructed in luxurious fashion and covered with stucco, which gave evidence of the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The exact situation of this city is not known.

4 αὐτὰς διασημαίνουσαι πλοῦτον. ἔγεμον δ' αἱ μὲν ἐπαύλεις πάντων τῶν πρὸς ἀπόλαυσιν, ὡς ἂν τῶν έγχωρίων ἐν εἰρήνη πολυχρονίω τεθησαυρικότων γεννημάτων άφθονίαν ή δε χώρα ή μεν ήν άμπελόφυτος, ή δὲ ἐλαιοφόρος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν καρπίμων δένδρων ανάπλεως. ἐπὶ θάτερα δὲ μέρη τό πεδίον ἐνέμοντο βοῶν ἀγέλαι καὶ ποῖμναι καὶ τὰ πλησίον έλη φορβάδων ἵππων έγεμε. καθόλου δὲ παντοία τις ήν ἐν τοῖς τόποις εὐδαιμονία, τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων Καρχηδονίων διειληφότων τὰς κτήσεις καὶ τοῖς πλούτοις πεφιλοκαληκότων πρὸς 5 ἀπόλαυσιν. διόπερ οἱ Σικελιῶται τό τε τῆς χώρας κάλλος και την εύδαιμονίαν την έν αὐτῆ θαυμάζοντες μετέωροι ταῖς ἐλπίσιν ἐγένοντο, θεωροῦντες άξια τῶν κινδύνων ἔπαθλα τοῖς νικῶσι προκείμενα. 6 δ δ' 'Αναθοκλής δρών τους στρατιώτας άναλαμβάνοντας αύτοὺς ἐκ τῆς ἀθυμίας καὶ προθύμους ὄντας είς τούς κινδύνους έξ έφόδου προσέβαλλε τοῖς τείγεσιν. απροσδοκήτου δε της επιθέσεως γενομένης καὶ τῶν ἔνδον διὰ τὴν ἄγνοιαν καὶ τὴν τῶν πολέμων<sup>1</sup> ἀπειρίαν όλίγον ὑποστάντων χρόνον είλε την πόλιν κατά κράτος. δούς δὲ τοῖς στρατιώταις είς άρπαγὴν ἐνέπλησε τὴν δύναμιν ώφελείας ἄμα 7 καὶ θάρσους. εὐθὺ δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸν Λευκὸν Τύνητα καλούμενον αναζεύξας έχειρώσατο την πόλιν, απέχουσαν Καρχηδόνος δισχιλίους σταδίους. άμφο-

1 πολεμικών Fischer.

Of Megalepolis.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The city cannot be certainly identified. If it is Tunis, as

wealth of the people who possessed them. The farm \$10 B.C. buildings were filled with everything that was needful for enjoyment, seeing that the inhabitants in a long period of peace had stored up an abundant variety of products. Part of the land was planted with vines, and part yielded olives and was also planted thickly with other varieties of fruit-bearing trees. On each side herds of cattle and flocks of sheep pastured on the plain, and the neighbouring meadows were filled with grazing horses. In general there was a manifold prosperity in the region, since the leading Carthaginians had laid out there their private estates and with their wealth had beautified them for their enjoyment. Therefore the Sicilians, amazed at the beauty of the land and at its prosperity, were buoyed up by expectation, for they beheld prizes commensurate with their dangers ready at hand for the victors; and Agathocles, seeing that the soldiers were recovering from their discouragement and had become eager for battle, attacked the city walls 1 by direct assault. Since the onset was unforeseen and the inhabitants. because they did not know what was happening and because they had had no experience in the wars, resisted only a short time, he took the city by storm; and giving it over to his soldiers for pillage, he at a single stroke loaded his army with booty and filled it with confidence. Then, setting out immediately for White Tunis,2 as it is called, he subdued this city, which lies about two thousand stades from Carthage.

seems probable, it is distant from Carthage only about 12 miles. In any case, since the city in question must lie between Cape Bon and Carthage, the 2000 stades (about 240 miles) is certainly wrong (cp. Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*<sup>2</sup>, 3. 2. 206).

τέρας δὲ τὰς άλούσας πόλεις οἱ μὲν στρατιῶται διαφυλάττειν ἢβούλοντο καὶ τὰς ώφελείας εἰς αὐτὰς ἀπετίθεντο· ὁ δ' 'Αγαθοκλῆς ἀκόλουθα τοῖς προπεπραγμένοις διανοηθείς καὶ διδάξας τὸ πλῆθος ὡς οὐδεμίαν συμφέρει καταφυγὴν ἀπολιπεῖν ἕως ἄν παρατάξει νικήσωσι, κατέστρεψέ τε τὰς πόλεις

καὶ κατεστρατοπέδευσεν ἐν ὑπαίθρω.

9. Οἱ δ' ἐφορμοῦντες¹ Καρχηδόνιοι τῷ ναυστάθμω των Σικελιωτών το μέν πρώτον δρώντες καομένας τὰς ναθς περιχαρείς ήσαν, ώς διὰ τὸν άπ' αὐτῶν φόβον ηναγκασμένων τῶν πολεμίων διαφθείραι τὰ σκάφη: ώς δ' ίδον εἰς τὴν χώραν προάγουσαν την των έναντίων δύναμιν, συλλογιζόμενοι περί τῶν ἀποβησομένων συμφορὰν ιδίαν ήγοθντο τήν των νεών ἀπώλειαν. διὸ καὶ ταῖς πρώραις δέρρεις κατεπέτασαν, όπερ άεὶ ποιεῖν εἰώθασιν ὅταν τι κακὸν δημοσία συμβεβηκέναι δόξη 2 τῆ Καρχηδονίων πόλει," ἔλαβόν τε καὶ τὰ χαλκώματα τῶν 'Αγαθοκλέους νεῶν εἰς τὰς ίδίας τριήρεις και τους απαγγελούντας υπέρ των συμβεβηκότων τάκριβες εξαπέστειλαν είς την Καρχηδόνα. πρίν δε τούτους δηλώσαι το γεγονός, άπο της χώρας τινές αλοθόμενοι τὸν κατάπλουν τὸν 'Αγαθοκλέους 3 ἀπήγγειλαν κατά σπουδήν τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις. οί δ' ἐκπλαγέντες διὰ τὸ παράδοξον ὑπέλαβον ἀπολωλέναι τὰς ίδίας δυνάμεις ἐν Σικελία καὶ τὰς πεζικάς καὶ τὰς ναυτικάς οὐ γὰρ ἄν ποτε τὸν 'Αγαθοκλέα μή νενικηκότα τολμήσαι καταλιπεῖν έρήμους βοηθείας τὰς Συρακούσσας οὐδ' ἄν ἐπιβαλέσθαι περαιούν δύναμιν θαλαττοκρατούντων

ἐφορμοθντες editors: ἐφορμῶντες.
 προάγουσαν Rhodoman: προσάγουσαν.

The soldiers wished to garrison both of the captured 510 B.C. cities and deposit the booty in them; but Agathocles, meditating actions conforming to those that had already been accomplished and telling the crowd that it was advantageous to leave behind them no places of refuge until they should have been victorious in battle, destroyed the cities and camped

in the open.

9. When the Carthaginians who lay at anchor off the station where the Sicilian fleet was beached saw the ships burning, they were delighted, thinking that it was through fear of themselves that the enemy had been forced to destroy his ships; but when they saw that the army of their opponents was moving into the country, as they reckoned up the consequences, they concluded that the destruction of the fleet was their own misfortune. Therefore they spread hides over the prows of their ships as they were in the habit of doing whenever it seemed that any public misfortune had befallen the city of Carthage; and, after taking the bronze beaks of the ships of Agathocles on board their own triremes, they sent to Carthage messengers to report exactly what had happened. But before these had explained the situation, the country folk who had seen the landing of Agathocles, reported it quickly to the Carthaginians. Panic-stricken at the unexpected event, they supposed that their own forces in Sicily, both army and navy, had been destroyed; for Agathocles, they believed, would never have ventured to leave Syracuse stripped of defenders unless he had been victorious, nor to transport an army across the straits

<sup>3</sup> πόλει added by editors.

<sup>4</sup> θαλασσοκρατούντων MSS.

4 τῶν πολεμίων. διόπερ θόρυβος καὶ πολλή ταραχή κατεῖχε τὴν πόλιν καὶ συνδρομή τῶν ὅχλων εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐγίνετο καὶ βουλή τῆς γερουσίας ὅ τι δέοι πράττειν. στρατόπεδον μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἦν ἔτοιμον τὸ δυνάμενον ἀντιτάξασθαι, τὸ δὲ πολιτικὸν πλήθος ἄπειρον ὄν πολέμου προκαταπεπτώκει ταῖς ψυχαῖς, οἱ πολέμιοι δὲ πλησίον εἶναι τῶν τειχῶν προσεδο-5 κῶντο. ἔνιοι μὲν οὖν ἔφασαν πρεσβευτὰς ὑπὲρ εἰρήνης ἀποστέλλειν πρὸς Αγαθοκλέα, τοὺς αὐτούς ἄμα καὶ κατασκόπους ἐσομένους τῶν παρὰ τοῖς πολεμίοις, τινὲς δὲ ἀναμεῖναι μέχρι ἄν γνῶσιν ἀκριβῶς ἕκαστον τῶν πεπραγμένων. τοιαύτης δὲ συγχύσεως τὴν πόλιν ἐχούσης κατέπλευσαν οἱ πεμφθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ ναυάρχου καὶ τὰς αἰτίας τῶν πεπραγμένων ἐδήλωσαν.

10. Αναθαρσησάντων οὖν πάντων πάλιν ταῖς ψυχαῖς ή γερουσία τοὺς μὲν ναυάρχους ἄπαντας κατεμέμψατο ὅτι θαλαττοκρατοῦντες εἴασαν πολεμίαν δύναμιν ἐπιβῆναι τῆς Λιβύης, στρατηγοὺς δὲ ἀπέδειξαν τῶν δυνάμεων "Αννωνα καὶ Βορ-2 μίλκαν, πατρώαν ἔχθραν ἔχοντας: ἡγοῦντο γὰρ διὰ τὴν ἰδίαν τούτοις ἀπιστίαν καὶ διαφορὰν κοινὴν ἔσεσθαι τῆς πόλεως ἀσφάλειαν. πολὺ δὲ διεσφάλησαν τῆς ἀληθείας. ὁ γὰρ Βορμίλκας πάλαι μὲν ἦν ἐπιθυμητὴς τυραννίδος, οὐκ ἔχων δ' ἐξουσίαν οὐδὲ καιρὸν οἰκεῖον ταῖς ἐπιβολαῖς τότε ἔλαβεν ἀφορμὰς ἀξιολόγους, τυχῶν τῆς στρατηγίας. αἰτία δὲ μάλιστα τούτων ἡ πρὸς τὰς τιμωρίας πικρία τῶν

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> This Hanno is otherwise unknown. Bormilcar (or Bornilcar according to the more usual spelling) was the son of a brother of the Hamilcar who had negotiated a treaty between Agathocles and certain Sicilian cities (Book 19.71.6) 166

while the enemy controlled the sea. Therefore panic 310 B.C. and great confusion seized upon the city; the crowds rushed to the market place, and the council of elders consulted what should be done. In fact there was no army at hand that could take the field against the enemy; the mass of the citizens, who had had no experience in warfare, were already in despair; and the enemy was thought to be near the walls. Accordingly, some proposed to send envoys to Agathocles to sue for peace, these same men serving also as spies to observe the situation of the enemy; but some urged that they should delay until they had learned precisely what had taken place. However, while such confusion prevailed in the city, the messengers sent by the commander of the fleet sailed in and made clear the true explanation of what had happened.

10. Now that all had regained their courage, the council reprimanded all the commanders of the fleet because, although controlling the sea, they had allowed a hostile army to set foot on Libya; and it appointed as generals of the armies Hanno and Bormilcar, men who had an inherited feud. The councillors thought, indeed, that because of the private mistrust and enmity of the generals the safety of the city as a whole would be secured; but they completely missed the truth. For Bormilcar, who had long had his heart set on tyranny but had lacked authority and a proper occasion for his attempt, now gained an excellent starting point by getting the command as general. The basic cause in this matter was the Carthaginians' severity in inflicting punish-

and was recalled because of his supposed friendship with Agathocles (Justin, 22. 2. 6, 7. 10); cp. p. 28, note 1.

Καρχηδονίων τοὺς γὰρ ἐπιφανεστάτους τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐν μὲν τοῖς πολέμοις προάγουσιν ἐπὶ τὰς ἡγεμονίας, νομίζοντες δεῖν αὐτοὺς τῶν ὅλων προκινδυνεύειν ὅταν δὲ τύχωσι τῆς εἰρήνης, τοὺς αὐτοὺς τούτους συκοφαντοῦσι καὶ κρίσεις ἀδίκους ἐπιφέροντες διὰ τὸν φθόνον τιμωρίαις περιβάλλουσι. διὸ καὶ τῶν

απουράνουν τιμωρίαις περιβάλλουσι. διό καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ τὰς ἡγεμονίας ταττομένων τινὲς μὲν φοβούμενοι τὰς ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίω κρίσεις ἀποστάται γίνονται τῆς ἡγεμονίας, τινὲς δ' ἐπιτίθενται τυραννίσιν. ὅπερ καὶ τότε Βορμίλκας ὁ ἔτερος τῶν στρατηγῶν ἐποίησε· περὶ οὖ μικρὸν ὕστερον ἐροῦ-

μεν. Οί 8'2 οὖν στρατηγοὶ τῶν Καρχηδονίων ὁρῶντες

τον καιρον οὐδαμῶς ἀναβολῆς οἰκεῖον τοὺς μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας καὶ τῶν συμμαχίδων πόλεων στρατιώτας οὐκ ἀνέμειναν, αὐτοὺς δὲ τοὺς πολιτικοὺς ἐξήγαγον εἰς ὕπαιθρον, ὅντας πεζοὺς μὲν οὐκ ἐλάττους τετρακισμυρίων, ἱππεῖς δὲ χιλίους, ἄρματα β δὲ δισχίλια. καταλαβόμενοι δέ τινα γεώλοφον οὐ μακρὰν τῶν πολεμίων ἐξέταττον τὴν δύναμιν εἰς μάχην καὶ τοῦ μὲν δεξιοῦ κέρατος "Αννων εἶχε τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, συναγωνιζομένων αὐτῶ τῶν εἰς τὸν ἱερὸν λόχον συντεταγμένων, τοῦ δ' εὐωνύμου Βορμίλκας ἡγούμενος βαθεῖαν ἐποίει τὴν φάλαγγα, κωλύοντος τοῦ τόπου παρεκτείνειν ἐπὶ πλεῖον τὰ δ' ἄρματα καὶ τοὺς ἱππεῖς πρὸ τῆς φάλαγγος ἔστησαν, διεγνωκότες τούτοις πρῶτον ἐμβαλεῖν καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀποπειραθῆναι.

 11. 'Ο δ' 'Αγαθοκλής κατασκεψάμενος τὰς τῶν βαρβάρων τάξεις τὸ μὲν δεξιὸν κέρας ἔδωκεν 'Αρχα-

τῆς ἡγεμονίας omitted by Madvig.
 δ' F, Dindorf: γ' RX, Fischer.

ments. In their wars they advance their leading men 310 B.C. to commands, taking it for granted that these should be first to brave danger for the whole state; but when they gain peace, they plague these same men with suits, bring false charges against them through envy, and load them down with penalties. Therefore some of those who are placed in positions of command, fearing the trials in the courts, desert their posts, but others attempt to become tyrants; and this is what Bormilcar, one of the two generals, did on this occasion; about him we shall speak a little later.

But to resume, the generals of the Carthaginians, seeing that the situation was not at all consistent with delay, did not await soldiers from the country and from the allied cities; but they led the citizen soldiers themselves into the field, in number not less than forty thousand foot-soldiers, one thousand horsemen, and two thousand chariots.2 Occupying a slight elevation not far from the enemy, they drew up their army for battle. Hanno had command of the right wing, those enrolled in the Sacred Band 3 fighting beside him; and Bormilcar, commanding the left, made his phalanx deep since the terrain prevented him from extending it on a broader front. The chariots and the cavalry they stationed in front of the phalanx, having determined to strike with these first and test the temper of the Greeks.

11. After Agathocles had viewed the array of the barbarians, he entrusted the right wing to his son

Cp. chaps. 12. 5; 43-44.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> According to Justin, 22. 6. 5, the army consisted of 30,000 men from the country districts (*pagani*) under the leadership of Hanno alone, cp. Orosius, 4. 6. 25.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> In Book 16, 80, 4 we are told that the Sacred Band consisted of 2500 men, outstanding for valour and wealth.

γάθω τῷ υἱῷ, παραδούς αὐτῷ πεζούς δισχιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους, έξης δ' έταξε τους Συρακοσίους, όντας τρισχιλίους πεντακοσίους, είτα μισθοφόρους "Ελληνας τρισχιλίους, τελευταίους δε Σαμνίτας καὶ Τυρρηνούς και Κελτούς τρισχιλίους. μετά δὲ τῆς θεραπείας αὐτὸς τοῦ λαιοῦ¹ κέρατος προηγωνίζετο, χιλίοις δπλίταις πρός του ίερου λόχου των Καρχηδονίων άντιτεταγμένος τους δε τοξότας και σφενδονήτας πεντακοσίους όντας ἐπὶ τὰ κέρατα διείλεν. 2 ὅπλα μὲν οὖν οἱ στρατιῶται μόγις εἶχον ἰκανά. τους δ' έκ τῶν ἀφράκτων ὁρῶν ἀνόπλους ὅντας τὰ τῶν ἀσπίδων ἔλυτρα ράβδοις διέτεινε καὶ τῆ φαντασία τὸν τῆς ἀσπίδος κύκλον μιμησάμενος ανέδωκεν αὐτοῖς πρὸς μὲν τὴν χρείαν οὐδαμῶς ἐπιτήδεια, πρὸς δὲ τὴν πόρρωθεν όρωμένην ὄψιν δυνάμενα δόξαν ὅπλων ἐμποιῆσαι τοῖς ἀγνοοῦσι 3 τάληθές. δρών δὲ τοὺς στρατιώτας καταπεπληγμένους τὸ πληθος της βαρβαρικης ιππου καὶ πεζης" δυνάμεως ἀφῆκεν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον κατὰ πλείονας τόπους γλαῦκας, ας ἐκ χρόνου παρεσκεύαστο πρὸς 4 τὰς ἀθυμίας τῶν πολλῶν αὖται δὲ διὰ τῆς φάλαγγος πετόμεναι καὶ προσκαθίζουσαι ταῖς ἀσπίσι καὶ τοῖς κράνεσιν εὐθαρσεῖς ἐποίουν τοὺς στρατιώτας, ἐκάστων οἰωνιζομένων διὰ τὸ δοκεῖν ἱερὸν εἶναι τὸ 5 ζωον της 'Αθηνάς. τοιαθτα' δέ, καίπερ ἄν τισι δόξαντα κενήν έχειν επίνοιαν, πολλάκις αἴτια γίνεται

<sup>1</sup> λαιοῦ Dindorf : ημίσους.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> ἀτάκτων Madvig, cp. Book 17. 80. 7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> πεζης added by Dindorf and doubtfully approved by Fischer in apparatus.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> τοιαῦτα Hertlein : ταῦτα MSS., Fischer,

Archagathus,1 giving him twenty-five hundred foot- 310 s.c. soldiers; next he drew up the Syracusans, who were thirty-five hundred in number, then three thousand Greek mercenaries, and finally three thousand Samnites, Etruscans, and Celts. He himself with his bodyguard fought in front of the left wing, opposing with one thousand hoplites the Sacred Band of the Carthaginians. The five hundred archers and slingers he divided between the wings. There was hardly enough equipment for the soldiers; and when he saw the men of the crews 2 unarmed he had the shield covers stretched with sticks, thus making them similar in appearance to the round shields, and distributed them to these men, of no use at all for real service but when seen from a distance capable of creating the impression of arms in the minds of men who did not know the truth. Seeing that his soldiers were frightened by the great numbers of barbarian cavalry and infantry, he let loose into the army in many places owls, which he had long since prepared as a means of relieving the discouragement of the The owls, flying through the common soldiers. phalanx and settling on the shields and helmets, encouraged the soldiers, each man regarding this as an omen because the bird is held sacred to Athena,3 Such things as this, although they might seem to some an inane device, have often been responsible

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> He is called Agatharchus in chap. 55. 5 and in Book 21. 3. 2; also by Polybius, 7. 2. 4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Or, reading ἀτάκτων, " the camp followers."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> For the owls that gave an omen of victory before the battle of Salamis cp. Plutarch, *Themistoeles*, 12. 1, and Aristophanes, *Wasps*, 1086, together with scholia on the passage.

μεγάλων προτερημάτων. ὁ καὶ τότε συνέβη γενέσθαι ἐμπεσόντος γὰρ εἰς τὰ πλήθη θάρσους καὶ διαδοθέντων λόγων ώς τὸ θεῖον αὐτοῖς φανερῶς προσημαίνει νίκην, παραστατικώτερον τὸν κίνδυνον

ύπέμειναν.

12. Προεμβαλόντων γὰρ εἰς αὐτοὺς τῶν άρμάτων ά μεν κατηκόντισαν, ά δ' είασαν διεκπεσείν, τὰ δε πλείστα συνηνάγκασαν στρέψαι πρός τὴν τῶν πεζῶν 2 τάξιν. παραπλησίως δὲ καὶ τὴν τῶν ἱππέωνι επιφοράν ύποστάντες καὶ πολλούς αὐτῶν κατατιτρώσκοντες ἐποίησαν φυγεῖν εἰς τοὐπίσω. προανωνιζομένων δ' αὐτῶν ἐν τούτοις λαμπρῶς ἡ πεζή δύναμις των βαρβάρων απασα συνήψεν είς 3 χείρας. γενναίας δὲ μάχης γιγνομένης "Αννων μὲν έχων συναγωνιζόμενον τὸν ἱερὸν λόχον ἐπιλέκτων άνδρων καὶ σπεύδων ποιήσαι δι' αύτοῦ τὴν νίκην ένέκειτο βαρύς τοῖς "Ελλησι καὶ συχνούς ἀνήρει. φερομένων δ' ἐπ' αὐτὸν παντοδαπῶν βελῶν οὐκ εἶκεν, ἀλλὰ καίπερ πολλοῖς τραύμασι περιπίπτων έβιάζετο, μέχρις ότου καταπονηθείς ετελεύτησε. 4 τούτου δὲ πεσόντος οἱ μὲν ταύτη τεταγμένοι τῶν Καρχηδονίων άνετράπησαν ταῖς ψυχαῖς, οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν 'Αγαθοκλέα μετεωρισθέντες πολύ μᾶλλον ἐπερ-5 ρώσθησαν. α δη πυθόμενός τινων Βορμίλκας, δ έτερος στρατηγός, καὶ νομίσας παρὰ θεῶν αὐτῷ δεδόσθαι τὸν καιρὸν τοῦ λαβεῖν ἀφορμὰς πρὸς τὴν έπίθεσιν της τυραννίδος, διελογίζετο πρός αυτόν, εί μεν ή μετά 'Αγαθοκλέους διαφθαρείη δύναμις, μή δυνήσεσθαι την επίθεσιν ποιήσασθαι τη δυναστεία, τῶν πολιτῶν ἰσχυόντων, εἰ δὲ ἐκεῖνος νικήσας

for great successes. And so it happened on this 310 B.C. occasion also; for when courage inspired the common soldiers and word was passed along that the deity was clearly foretelling victory for them, they awaited the

battle with greater steadfastness.

12. Indeed, when the chariots charged against them, they shot down some, and allowed others to pass through, but most of them they forced to turn back against the line of their own infantry. In the same way they withstood also the charge of the cavalry; and by bringing down many of them, they made them flee to the rear. While they were distinguishing themselves in these preliminary contests, the infantry force of the barbarians had all come to close quarters. A gallant battle developed, and Hanno, who had fighting under him the Sacred Band of selected men and was intent upon gaining the victory by himself, pressed heavily upon the Greeks and slew many of them. Even when all kinds of missiles were hurled against him, he would not yield but pushed on though suffering many wounds until he died from exhaustion. When he had fallen, the Carthaginians who were drawn up in that part of the line were disheartened, but Agathocles and his men were elated and became much bolder than before. When Bormilear, the other general, heard of this from certain persons, thinking the gods had given him the opportunity for gaining a position from which to make a bid for the tyranny, he reasoned thus with himself: If the army of Agathocles should be destroved, he himself would not be able to make his attempt at supremacy since the citizens would be strong; but if the former should win the victory and

<sup>1</sup> ἱππέων Dindorf : ἵππων.

τὰ φρονήματα παρέλοιτο τῶν Καρχηδονίων, εὐχειρώτους μεν έαυτῶ τοὺς προηττημένους ἔσεσθαι, τὸν δ' 'Αγαθοκλέα ραδίως καταπολεμήσειν, όταν 6 αὐτῶ δόξη. ταῦτα δὲ διανοηθεὶς ἀνεχώρησε μετὰ τῶν πρωτοστατῶν, δοὺς τοῖς μὲν πολεμίοις ἄσημον εκκλιμα, τοις δ' ιδίοις δηλώσας τον "Αννωνος θάνατον καὶ παρακελευόμενος ἀναχωρεῖν ἐν τάξει 7 πρὸς τὸν γεώλοφον· τοῦτο γὰρ συμφέρειν. ἐπικειμένων δὲ τῶν πολεμίων καὶ τῆς ὅλης ὑποχωρήσεως φυγή παραπλησίας γινομένης οί μέν συνεχείς Λίβυες άπὸ κράτους ήττησθαι τοὺς πρωτοστάτας νομίσαντες πρός φυγήν ὥρμησαν, οί δὲ τὸν ίερὸν λόχον έχοντες μετά τὸν "Αννωνος τοῦ στρατηγοῦ θάνατον τὸ μὲν πρώτον ἀντεῖχον εὐρώστως καὶ τοὺς ἐξ αύτῶν πίπτοντας ὑπερβαίνοντες ὑπέμενον πάντα κίνδυνον, ἐπεὶ δὲ κατενόησαν τὸ πλεῖον μέρος τῆς δυνάμεως πρός φυγήν ώρμημένον και τούς πολεμίους περιισταμένους κατά νώτου, συνηναγκάσθη-8 σαν έκκλιναι. διό και τροπής γενομένης κατά παν τὸ τῶν Καρχηδονίων στρατόπεδον οἱ μὲν βάρβαροι την φυνήν ἐποιοῦντο πρὸς την Καρχηδόνα, 'Αγαθοκλής δε μέχρι τινός επιδιώξας επανήλθε και την στρατοπεδείαν των Καρχηδονίων διήρπασεν.

13. "Επεσον δ' ἐν τῆ μάχη τῶν μὲν Ἑλλήνων els διακοσίους, τῶν δὲ Καρχηδονίων οὐ πλείους χιλίων, ώς δ' ἔνιοι γεγράφασιν, ὑπὲρ τοὺς έξακισχιλίους. ἐν δὲ τῆ τῶν Καρχηδονίων παρεμβολῆ σὺν ταῖς ἄλλαις ὡφελείαις εὐρέθησαν ἄμαξαι πλείους, ἐν αῖς ἐκομίζετο ζεύγη χειροπεδῶν πλείω τῶν δισμυρίων.

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quench the pride of the Carthaginians, the already \$10 B.C. defeated people would be easy for him to manage, and he could defeat Agathocles readily whenever he wished. When he had reached this conclusion, he withdrew with the men of the front rank, presenting to the enemy an inexplicable retirement but making known to his own men the death of Hanno and ordering them to withdraw in formation to the high ground; for this, he said, was to their advantage. But as the enemy pressed on and the whole retreat was becoming like a rout, the Libyans of the next ranks, believing that the front rank was being defeated by sheer force, broke into flight; those, however, who were leading the Sacred Band after the death of its general Hanno, at first resisted stoutly and, stepping over the bodies of their own men as they fell, withstood every danger, but when they perceived that the greater part of the army had turned to flight and that the enemy was surrounding them in the rear, they were forced to withdraw. And so, when rout spread throughout the entire army of the Carthaginians, the barbarians kept fleeing toward Carthage; but Agathocles, after pursuing them to a certain point, turned back and plundered the camp of the enemy.

13. There fell in this battle Greeks to the number of two hundred, and of Carthaginians not more than a thousand, but as some have written, upwards of six thousand. In the camp of the Carthaginians were found, along with other goods, many waggons, in which were being transported more than twenty

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Justin, 22. 6. 6, places the Greek losses at 2000 men, the Carthaginian at 3000. Orosius, 4. 6. 25, says that the Carthaginians lost 2000 and the Sicilians only 2.

<sup>1</sup> αύτῶν editors: αὐτῶν.

2 έξ έτοίμου γάρ οί βάρβαροι κρατήσειν ύπειληφότες τῶν Ἑλλήνων παρηγγέλκεισαν ἀλλήλοις ζωγρείν ώς πλείστους καὶ δήσαντες εἰς συνεργασίαν 3 έμβαλείν. άλλ', οίμαι, το δαιμόνιον ώσπερ ἐπίτηδες τοις ύπερηφάνως διαλογιζομένοις το τέλος των κατελπισθέντων είς τοὐναντίον μετατίθησιν. 'Αγαθοκλής μεν οδν Καρχηδονίους παραλόγως νικήσας τειχήρεις συνείχεν, ή τύχη δὲ ἐναλλάξ τὰ προτερήματα τοις έλαττώμασιν έπεισαγαγούσα τους ύπερ-4 έχοντας ίσον εταπείνωσε τοις ήττωμένοις εν Σικελία μὲν γὰρ Καρχηδόνιοι μεγάλη νενικηκότες παρατάξει Αναθοκλέα τὰς Συρακούσσας ἐπολιόρκουν, ἐν Λιβύη δὲ 'Αναθοκλῆς τηλικαύτη μάχη προτερήσας els πολιορκίαν ενέκλεισε Καρχηδονίους, καὶ τὸ θαυμασιώτατον, ο δυνάστης κατά μέν την νησον άκεραίους έχων τὰς δυνάμεις έλείπετο τῶν βαρβάρων, ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς ἡπείρου τῶ μέρει τῆς προηττημένης στρατιάς περιεγένετο τῶν νενικηκότων.

14. Διόπερ οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι, νομίσαντες ἐκ θεῶν αὐτοῖς γεγονέναι τὴν συμφοράν, ἐτράπησαν πρὸς παντοίαν ἱκεσίαν τοῦ δαιμονίου καὶ νομίσαντες μάλιστα μηνίειν αὐτοῖς τὸν Ἡρακλέα τὸν παρὰ τοῖς ἀποικισταῖς¹ χρημάτων πλῆθος καὶ τῶν πολυτελεστάτων ἀναθημάτων ἔπεμψαν εἰς τὴν Τύρον 2 οὐκ ὀλίγα. ἀποικισθέντες γὰρ ἐκ ταύτης εἰώθεισαν

¹ ἀποικισταῖs Wesseling : ἀποίκοις MSS., Fischer. Perhaps one might read παρόντα τοῖς ἀποίκοις.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> So, too, the Spartans in a campaign against Tegea carried fetters, and with the same result (Herodotus, 1, 66).

thousand pairs of manacles 1; for the Carthaginians, 310 B.C having expected to master the Greeks easily, had passed the word along among themselves to take alive as many as possible and, after shackling them, to throw them into slave pens. But, I think, the divinity of set purpose in the case of men who are arrogant in their calculations, changes the outcome of their confident expectations into its contrary. Now Agathoeles, having surprisingly defeated the Carthaginians, was holding them shut up within their walls; but fortune, alternating victories with defeats, humbled the victors equally with the vanquished. For in Sicily the Carthaginians, who had defeated Agathocles in a great battle, were besieging Syracuse, but in Libya Agathocles, having gained the upper hand in a battle of such importance, had brought the Carthaginians under siege; and what was most amazing, on the island the tyrant, though his armaments were unscathed, had proved inferior to the barbarians, but on the continent with a portion of his once defeated army he got the better of those who had been victorious.

14. Therefore the Carthaginians, believing that the misfortune had come to them from the gods, betook themselves to every manner of supplication of the divine powers; and, because they believed that Heracles, who was worshipped in their mother city,² was exceedingly angry with them, they sent a large sum of money and many of the most expensive offerings to Tyre. Since they had come as colonists from that city, it had been their custom in the earlier

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Or, reading τον παρόντα τοις ἀποίκοις, "who aids colonists." The Greeks regularly identified the Tyrian god Melkart with their Heracles.

èν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν χρόνοις δεκάτην ἀποστέλλειν τῷ θεῷ πάντων τῶν εἰς πρόσοδον πιπτόντων ύστερον δὲ μεγάλους κτησάμενοι πλούτους καὶ προσόδους ἀξιολογωτέρας λαμβάνοντες μικρὰ παν-τελῶς ἀπέστελλον, ὀλιγωροῦντες τοῦ δαιμονίου. διὰ δὲ τὴν συμφορὰν ταύτην εἰς μεταμέλειαν ἐλθόντες πάντων τῶν ἐν τῆ Τύρω θεῶν ἐμνημό-3 νευον. ἔπεμψαν δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν ἰερῶν χρυσοῦς ναούς τοῖς¹ ἀφιδρύμασι πρὸς τὴν ἱκεσίαν, ἡγούμενοι μαλλον έξιλάσεσθαι την τοῦ θεοῦ μηνιν τῶν ἀναθη-4 μάτων πεμφθέντων επί την παραίτησιν. ητιώντο δὲ καὶ τὸν Κρόνον αύτοῖς ἐναντιοῦσθαι, καθ' ὅσον έν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν χρόνοις θύοντες τούτω τῷ θεῷ τῶν υίῶν τοὺς κρατίστους ὕστερον ἀνούμενοι λάθρα παΐδας καὶ θρέψαντες ἔπεμπον ἐπὶ τὴν θυσίαν και ζητήσεως γενομένης ευρέθησαν τινές τῶν καθιερουργημένων ύποβολιμαΐοι γεγονότες. 5 τούτων δὲ λαβόντες ἔννοιαν καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους πρός τοῖς τείχεσιν όρωντες στρατοπεδεύοντας έδεισιδαιμόνουν ώς καταλελυκότες τὰς πατρίους των θεών τιμάς. διορθώσασθαι δὲ τὰς ἀγνοίας σπεύδοντες διακοσίους μέν των ἐπιφανεστάτων παίδων προκρίναντες έθυσαν δημοσία άλλοι δ' έν διαβολαΐς όντες έκουσίως έαυτούς έδοσαν, ούκ έλάττους όντες 6 τριακοσίων. ήν δέ παρ' αὐτοῖς ἀνδριὰς Κρόνου χαλκοῦς, ἐκτετακὼς τὰς χεῖρας ὑπτίας ἐγκεκλιμένας έπὶ τὴν γῆν, ώστε τὸν ἐπιτεθέντα τῶν παίδων

<sup>1 (</sup>αὐτοῖς) τοῖς ἀφ. Fischer, (αὐτοῖς) ἀφ. Wesseling, (σύν) τοῖς ἀφ. Madvig.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> These golden shrines containing images of the gods, which are called offerings just below, seem to have been dedications in the temples in Carthage. One may compare 178

period to send to the god a tenth of all that was paid \$10 B.C. into the public revenue; but later, when they had acquired great wealth and were receiving more considerable revenues, they sent very little indeed, holding the divinity of little account. But turning to repentance because of this misfortune, they bethought them of all the gods of Tyre. They even sent from their temples in supplication the golden shrines with their images,1 believing that they would better appease the wrath of the god if the offerings were sent for the sake of winning forgiveness. They also alleged that Cronus 2 had turned against them inasmuch as in former times they had been accustomed to sacrifice to this god the noblest of their sons, but more recently, secretly buying and nurturing children, they had sent these to the sacrifice; and when an investigation was made, some of those who had been sacrificed were discovered to have been supposititious. When they had given thought to these things and saw their enemy encamped before their walls, they were filled with superstitious dread, for they believed that they had neglected the honours of the gods that had been established by their fathers. In their zeal to make amends for their omission, they selected two hundred of the noblest children and sacrificed them publicly; and others who were under suspicion sacrificed themselves voluntarily, in number not less than three hundred. There was in their city a bronze image of Cronus, extending its hands, palms up and sloping toward the ground, so that each of the children when placed

the silver shrines of Diana of Ephesus made and sold in large numbers in that city in the first century after Christ, Luke, Acts of the Apostles, 19. 24-27.

2 i.e. Baal, or Moloch.

ἀποκυλίεσθαι καὶ πίπτειν είς τι χάσμα πλήρες πυρός. εἰκὸς δὲ καὶ τὸν Εὐριπίδην ἐντεῦθεν εἰληφέναι τὰ μυθολογούμενα παρ' αὐτῶ¹ περὶ τὴν ἐν Ταύροις θυσίαν, ἐν οις εἰσάγει τὴν Ἰφιγένειαν ὑπὸ ᾿Ορέστου διερωτωμένην

τάφος δὲ ποῖος δέξεταί μ², ὅταν θάνω; πῦρ ἱερὸν ἔνδον χάσμα τ² εὐρωπὸν χθονός.²

7 καὶ ὁ παρὰ τοῖς "Ελλησι δὲ μῦθος ἐκ παλαιᾶς φήμης παραδεδομένος ὅτι Κρόνος ἡφάνιζε τοὺς ἰδίους παῖδας παρὰ Καρχηδονίοις φαίνεται διὰ τούτου τοῦ

νομίμου τετηρημένος.

15. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τοιαύτης ἐν τῆ Λιβύη γεγενημένης μεταβολής οἱ μὲν Καρχηδόνιοι διεπέμποντο πρὸς 'Αμίλκαν εἰς τὴν Σικελίαν, ἀξιοῦντες κατὰ τάχος πέμψαι βοήθειαν, καὶ τὰ ληφθέντα χαλκώματα τῶν ᾿Αγαθοκλέους νεῶν ἀπέστειλαν αὐτῷ. ό δε τοῦς καταπλεύσασι παρεκελεύσατο σιωπᾶν μέν την γεγενημένην ήτταν, διαδιδόναι δὲ λόγον εἰς τοὺς στρατιώτας ώς 'Αγαθοκλῆς ἄρδην ἀπώλεσε 2 καὶ τὰς ναῦς καὶ τὴν δύναμιν ἄπασαν. αὐτὸς δὲ πέμψας τινάς τῶν παρόντων ἐκ Καρχηδόνος εἰς τὰς Συρακούσσας πρεσβευτὰς καὶ τὰ χαλκώματα συναποστείλας ήξίου παραδιδόναι την πόλιν την μεν γάρ δύναμιν τῶν Συρακοσίων ὑπό Καρχηδονίων κατακεκόφθαι, τὰς δὲ ναῦς ἐμπεπυρίσθαι τοῖς δ' <u>ἀπιστοῦσιν ἀπόδειξιν παρέχεσθαι τὴν τῶν ἐμβόλων</u> 3 κομιδήν. τῶν δ' ἐν τῆ πόλει πυθομένων τὴν περὶ τον 'Αγαθοκλέα προσηγγελμένην συμφοράν οι πολλοί μεν επίστευσαν, οί προεστηκότες δε διστάζοντες

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> αὐτῷ Rhodoman : αὐτοῖς.
<sup>2</sup> For χθονός the MSS, of Euripides give πέτρας.

thereon rolled down and fell into a sort of gaping pit \$10 B.C. filled with fire. It is probable that it was from this that Euripides has drawn the mythical story found in his works about the sacrifice in Tauris, in which he presents Iphigeneia being asked by Orestes:

But what tomb shall receive me when I die? A sacred fire within, and earth's broad rift.<sup>1</sup>

Also the story passed down among the Greeks from ancient myth that Cronus did away with his own children appears to have been kept in mind among

the Carthaginians through this observance.

15. However this may be, after such a reversal in Libya, the Carthaginians sent messengers into Sicily to Hamiltar, begging him to send aid as soon as possible; and they dispatched to him the captured bronze beaks of Agathocles' ships. Hamilcar ordered those who had sailed across to keep silent about the defeat that had been sustained, but to spread abroad to the soldiers word that Agathocles had utterly lost his fleet and his whole army. Hamilcar himself, dispatching into Syracuse as envoys some of those who had come from Carthage and sending with them the beaks, demanded the surrender of the city; for, he said, the army of the Syracusans had been cut to pieces by the Carthaginians and their ships had been burned, and the production of the beaks offered proof to those who disbelieved. When the inhabitants of the city heard the reported misfortune of Agathocles, the common people believed; the magistrates,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Euripides, *Iphigeneia among the Taurians*, 625-626. The second line is Iphigeneia's answer to Orestes; and the sense seems to demand the insertion between the lines of some such phrase as " and answering."

διετήρησαν μέν χάριν τοῦ μὴ γενέσθαι ταραχήν, τούς πρεσβευτάς δὲ ταχέως ἐξέπεμψαν, τούς δὲ τῶν φυγάδων συγγενεῖς καὶ φίλους καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τούς δυσχεραίνοντας τοις ύπ' αὐτῶν πραττομένοις έξέβαλον έκ της πόλεως, όντας οὐκ ἐλάττους 4 όκτακισχιλίων. κάπειτα τοσούτου πλήθους άφνω συναναγκαζομένου την πατρίδα φεύγειν έγεμεν ή πόλις διαδρομής καὶ θορύβου καὶ γυναικείων κλαυθμών οὐδεμία γὰρ ἦν οἰκία πένθους ἀκοινώνητος 5 κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν καιρόν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ περὶ τὴν τυραννίδα τοῦ 'Αγαθοκλέους καὶ τῶν τέκνων αὐτοῦ<sup>1</sup> την συμφοράν ώδύροντο, των δ' ίδιωτων οί μέν τους ἀπολωλέναι δοκοῦντας κατὰ Λιβύην ἔκλαιον, οί δὲ τοὺς ἐκπίπτοντας ἀφ' ἐστίας καὶ πατρώων θεών, οίς ούτε μένειν έξην ούτ' έκτος τών τειχών προάγειν, πολιορκούντων των βαρβάρων, προς δέ τοις είρημένοις κακοις τηλικούτοις οδσιν ήναγκάζοντο νηπίους παΐδας καὶ γυναΐκας συνεφέλκεσθαι ετή φυγή. ὁ δ' 'Αμίλκας, καταφυγόντων πρός αὐτὸν τῶν φυγάδων, τούτοις μὲν τὴν ἀσφάλειαν παρέσχετο, τὴν δὲ δύναμιν παρασκευάσας προῆγεν έπὶ τὰς Συρακούσσας, ώς αίρήσων τὴν πόλιν διά τε την έρημίαν καὶ διά την προσηγγελμένην τοίς ύπολελειμμένοις συμφοράν.

16. Προαποστείλαντος δ' αὐτοῦ πρεσβείαν καὶ διδόντος 'Αντάνδρω καὶ τοῖς μετ' αὐτοῦ, εἰ παραδιδόασι τὴν πόλιν, ἀσφάλειαν, συνήδρευσαν τῶν ἡγεμόνων οἱ μάλιστα ἀξίωμα δοκοῦντες ἔχειν. ἡηθέντων οὖν πολλῶν λόγων "Αντανδρος μὲν ὤετο

however, being in doubt, watched closely that there 310 B.C. might be no disorder, but they sent the envoys away at once; and the relatives and friends of the exiles and any others who were displeased with the actions of the magistrates they cast out of the city, in number not less than eight thousand. Thereupon, when so great a multitude was suddenly forced to leave its native place, the city was filled with running to and fro and with uproar and the lamentation of women; for there was no household that did not have its share of mourning at that time. Those who were of the party of the tyrant lamented at the misfortune of Agathoeles and his sons; and some of the private citizens wept for the men believed to have been lost in Libya, and others for those who were being driven from hearth and ancestral gods, who could neither remain nor yet go outside the walls since the barbarians were besieging the city, and who, in addition to the aforesaid evils, which were great enough, were being compelled to drag along with them in their flight infant children and women. But when the exiles took refuge with Hamilcar, he offered them safety; and, making ready his army, he led it against Syracuse, expecting to take the city both because it was bereft of defenders and because of the disaster that had been reported to those who had been left there.

16. After Hamilcar had sent an embassy in advance and had offered safety to Antander and those with him if they surrendered the city, those of the leaders who were held in highest esteem came together in council. After prolonged discussion Antander thought

<sup>1</sup> αὐτοῦ Dindorf: αὐτῶν.
2 συνήδρευσαν Stephanus: συνεδρευσάντων,

δείν παραδιδόναι την πόλιν, ών ἄνανδρος φύσει καὶ της τάδελφου τόλμης και πράξεως έναντίαν έχων διάθεσιν 'Ερύμνων δ' ὁ Λίτωλός, παρακαθεσταμένος ύπ' 'Αγαθοκλέους τάδελφώ σύνεδρος, την έναντίαν δούς γνώμην ἔπεισεν ἄπαντας διακαρτερεῖν 2 μέχρι αν πύθωνται τάληθές. 'Αμίλκας δὲ μαθών τὰ δόξαντα τοῖς ἐν τῆ πόλει συνεπήγευε μηχανάς 3 παντοίας, διεγνωκώς προσβάλλειν. 'Αγαθοκλής δέ δύο τριακοντόρους μετά την μάχην νεναυπηγημένος την έτέραν απέστειλεν είς Συρακούσσας, έρέτας έμβιβάσας τούς κρατίστους καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν πιστευομένων φίλων ένα Νέαρχον, απαγγελούντα 4 τοις ίδίοις την νίκην. ἔπειτ' εὐπλοίας γενομένης πεμπταΐοι ταις Συρακούσσαις νύκτωρ προσεπέλασαν καὶ στεφανωσάμενοι καὶ παιανίσαντες κατά τον πλοῦν ἄμ' ἡμέρα κατέπλεον ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν. 5 αί δὲ φυλακίδες τῶν Καρχηδονίων αἰσθόμεναι κατά σπουδήν ἐπεδίωκον καὶ οὐ πολύ προειληφότων τῶν ύποφευγόντων άγων τῆς εἰρεσίας ἐγίνετο. ἄμα δὲ τῆ τούτων φιλοτιμία συνέβη τούς τε ἐκ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τοὺς πολιορκοῦντας αἰσθομένους συνδραμεῖν ἐπὶ τὸν λιμένα καὶ τοῖς ἰδίοις έκατέρους συναγωνιώντας 6 ἀναβοᾶν θαρρεῖν. ήδη δὲ τῆς τριακοντόρου καταλαμβανομένης οἱ βάρβαροι μὲν ἐπηλάλαξαν, οἱ δ' έκ της πόλεως άδυνατοῦντες βοηθεῖν τοῖς θεοῖς ηθχοντο περί της σωτηρίας των καταπλεόντων. της πρώρας δε των διωκόντων είς εμβολήν ήδη φερομένης οὐκ ἄπωθεν τῆς γῆς ἔφθασε τὸ διωκό-

it necessary to surrender the city, since he was un- 310 B.C. manly 1 by nature and of a disposition the direct opposite of the boldness and energy of his brother; but Erymnon the Actolian, who had been set up by Agathocles as co-ruler with his brother, expressing the contrary opinion persuaded all of them to hold out until they should hear the truth. When Hamilear learned the decision of those in the city, he constructed engines of all kinds, having determined to attack. But Agathoeles, who had built two thirtyoared ships after the battle, sent one of them to Syracuse, placing on board his strongest oarsmen and Nearchus, one of his trusted friends, who was to report the victory to his own people. Having had a fair voyage, they approached Syracuse during the night of the fifth day, and wearing wreaths and singing paeans as they sailed they reached the city at daybreak. But the picket ships of the Carthaginians caught sight of them and pursued them vigorously, and since the pursued had no great start, there arose a contest in rowing. While they were vying with each other, the folk of the city and the besiegers, seeing what was happening, both ran to the port, and each group, sharing in the anxiety of its own men, encouraged them with shouts. When the dispatch boat was already at the point of being taken, the barbarians raised a shout of triumph, and the inhabitants of the city, since they could give no aid, prayed the gods for the safety of those who were sailing in. But when, not far from the shore, the ram of one of the pursuers was already bearing down to deliver its blow, the pursued ship succeeded in getting

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The play on words ("Αντανδρος, ανανδρος) is probably intentional.

μενον σκάφος έντὸς βέλους γενόμενον καὶ τῶν Συρακοσίων προσβοηθησάντων έξέφυγε τὸν κίνδυνον. 7 'Αμίλκας δ' δρών τους ἐκ τῆς πόλεως διὰ τὴν άγωνίαν καὶ τὸ παράδοξον τῆς προσδοκωμένης άγγελίας ἐπὶ τὸν λιμένα συνδεδραμηκότας, ὑπολαβών είναι μέρος τι τοῦ τείχους ἀφύλακτον, ἔπεμψε τῶν στρατιωτῶν τοὺς κρατίστους μετὰ κλιμάκων. οὖτοι δ' εὖρόντες ἐκλελειμμένας τὰς φυλακὰς ἔλαθον προσαναβάντες καὶ σχεδόν αὐτῶν μεσοπύργιον ήδη κατειληφότων ή κατά τὸ σύνηθες ἐφοδία παρα-8 γενομένη κατενόησε. γενομένης δὲ μάχης οἱ μὲν έκ της πόλεως συνέδραμον καὶ φθάσαντες τοὺς μέλλοντας τοῖς ἀναβεβηκόσι προσβοηθεῖν οΰς μὲν άπέκτειναν, οθς δ' άπο των επάλξεων κατεκρήμνι-9 σαν. έφ' οίς 'Αμίλκας περιαλγής γενόμενος άπήγαγε την δύναμιν από της πόλεως και τοις είς Καρχηδόνα βοήθειαν έξέπεμψε¹ μετά στρατιωτών πεντακισχιλίων.

17. "Αμα δὲ τούτοις πραττομένοις ὁ μὲν 'Αγαθοκλῆς κρατῶν τῶν ὑπαίθρων τὰ περὶ τὴν Καρχηδόνα χωρία κατὰ κράτος ῆρει καὶ τῶν πόλεων ἃς μὲν διὰ φόβον, ἃς δὲ διὰ τὸ πρὸς Καρχηδονίους μῖσος προσηγάγετο. παρεμβολὴν δὲ πλησίον τοῦ Τύνητος ὀχυρωσάμενος καὶ τὴν ἱκανὴν ἀπολυπὼν φυλακὴν ἀνέζευξε πρὸς τὰς ἐπὶ θαλάττη κειμένας πόλεις. καὶ πρώτην μὲν ἐλὼν Νέαν πόλιν κατὰ κράτος φιλανθρώπως ἐχρήσατο τοῖς χειρωθεῖσινεῖτα παρελθὼν ἐπ' 'Αδρύμητα πρὸς μὲν ταύτην πολιορκίαν συνεστήσατο, Αἰλύμαν δὲ τὸν βασιλέα

inside of the range of missiles and, the Syracusans 310 B.C. having come to its aid, escaped from the danger. But when Hamiltar saw that the inhabitants of the city, because of their anxiety and because of the surprising nature of the message they now anticipated, had run together to the port, surmising that some portion of the wall was unguarded, he advanced his strongest soldiers with scaling ladders. These, finding that the guard-posts had been abandoned, ascended without being discovered; but, when they had almost taken the wall between two towers, the guard, making its rounds according to custom, discovered them. In the fighting that ensued the men of the city ran together and arrived in advance of those who were coming to reinforce the men who had scaled the wall, of whom they killed some and hurled others down from the battlements. Hamilear, greatly distressed at this, withdrew his army from the city and sent to those in Carthage a relief expedition of five thousand men.

17. Meanwhile Agathocles, who had control of the open country, was taking the strongholds about Carthage by storm; and he prevailed on some of the cities to come over to him because of fear, others because of their hatred for the Carthaginians. After fortifying a camp near Tunis 1 and leaving there an adequate garrison, he moved against the cities situated along the sea. Taking by storm the first, Neapolis, he treated the captured people humanely; then, marching against Hadrumetum, he began a siege of that city, but received Aelymas, the king

<sup>1</sup> Cp. chap. 8. 7, and note.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Fischer believes that either the number of ships or the name of the leader has been lost.

2 τῶν Λιβύων εἰς συμμαχίαν προσελάβετο. ἃ δὴ πυθόμενοι οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι πᾶσαν τὴν δύναμιν προήγαγον ἐπὶ τὸν Τύνητα καὶ τῆς μὲν 'Αγαθοκλέους στρατοπεδείας εκυρίευσαν, τή πόλει δε μηχανάς 3 προσαγαγόντες συνεχείς προσβολάς εποιούντο. ό δ' 'Αγαθοκλής, ἀπαγγειλάντων τινῶν αὐτῷ τὰ περὶ τους ίδίους έλαττώματα, το μέν πολύ της δυνάμεως κατέλιπεν έπὶ τῆς πολιορκίας, τὴν δὲ θεραπείαν καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὀλίγους ἀναλαβών λάθρα προσηλθεν επί τινα τόπον όρεινόν, ὅθεν όρασθαι δυνατον ήν αὐτον ύπό τει των 'Αδρυμητινων καὶ τῶν Καρχηδονίων τῶν τὸν Τύνητα πολιορκούντων. 4 νυκτὸς δὲ συντάξας τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐπὶ πολὺν τόπον πυρὰ κάειν, δόξαν ἐνεποίησε² τοῖς μὲν Καρχηδονίοις ώς μετὰ μεγάλης δυνάμεως ἐπ' αὐτοὺς πορευόμενος, τοῖς δὲ πολιορκουμένοις ώς άλλης δυνάμεως άδρας τοις πολεμίοις είς συμμα-5 χίαν παραγεγενημένης. άμφότεροι δὲ τῷ ψεύδει τοῦ στρατηγήματος παραλογισθέντες παραλόγως ηλαττώθησαν, οί μεν τον Τύνητα πολιορκοθντες φυγόντες εἰς Καρχηδόνα καὶ τὰς μηχανὰς ἀπο-λιπόντες, οἱ δ' ᾿Αδρυμητινοὶ διὰ τὸν φόβον παρα-6 δόντες την πατρίδα. 'Αγαθοκλής δε ταύτην δι' όμολογίας παραλαβών Θάψον είλε κατά κράτος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ταύτη πόλεων ἃς μὲν ἔξεπο-λιόρκησεν, ἃς δὲ προσηγάγετο τὰς ἀπάσας δὲ πόλεις πλείους των διακοσίων κεχειρωμένος els τοὺς ἄνω τόπους τῆς Λιβύης διενοεῖτο στρατεύειν. 18. 'Αναζεύξαντος οὖν αὐτοῦ καὶ πλείους ἡμέρας

18. 'Αναζεύξαντος οὖν αὖτοῦ καὶ πλείους ἡμέρας όδοιποροῦντος Καρχηδόνιοι τὴν ἐκ Σικελίας διακομισθεῖσαν δύναμιν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην στρατιὰν προαγαγόντες πάλιν τὸν Τύνητα πολιορκεῖν ἐπεχείρησαν

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of the Libyans, into alliance. On hearing of these 310 B.C. moves the Carthaginians brought their entire army against Tunis and captured the encampment of Agathocles; then, after bringing siege engines up to the city, they made unremitting attacks. But Agathocles, when some had reported to him the reverses suffered by his men, left the larger part of his army for the siege, but with his retinue and a few of the soldiers went secretly to a place in the mountains whence he could be seen both by the people of Hadrumetum and by the Carthaginians who were besieging Tunis. By instructing his soldiers to light fires at night over a great area, he caused the Carthaginians to believe that he was coming against them with a large army, while the besieged thought that another strong force was at hand as an ally for their Both of them, deceived by the deceptive stratagem, suffered an unexpected defeat: those who were besieging Tunis fled to Carthage abandoning their siege engines, and the people of Hadrumetum surrendered their home-land because of their fright. After receiving this city on terms, Agathocles took Thapsus by force; and of the other cities of the region some he took by storm and some he won by persuasion. When he had gained control of all the cities, which were more than two hundred in number, he had in mind to lead his army into the inland regions of Libya.

18. After Agathoeles had set out and had marched for a good many days, the Carthaginians, advancing with the force that had been brought across from Sicily and their other army, again undertook the siege

<sup>1</sup> τε Dindorf : τη̂s. 2 ἐνεποίησε Hertlein : ἐποίησε.

καὶ τῶν χωρίων οὐκ ὀλίγα τῶν ὑπὸ τοὺς πολεμίους όντων ἀνεκτήσαντο. 'Αγαθοκλής δέ, βιβλιαφόρων αὐτῷ παραγεγενημένων ἀπὸ τοῦ Τύνητος καὶ τὰ πεπραγμένα τοῖς Φοίνιξι διασαφούντων, εὐθὺς ἀν-2 έστρεψεν. ώς δ' ἀπέσχε τῶν πολεμίων σταδίους διακοσίους, κατεστρατοπέδευσε καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις πυρά κάειν ἀπηγόρευσεν. χρησάμενος δὲ νυκτοπορία προσέπεσεν αμ' ήμέρα τοῖς τε προνομεύουσι την χώραν καὶ τοῖς ἐκτὸς τῆς παρεμβολῆς άνευ τάξεως πλανωμένοις καὶ φονεύσας μεν ύπερ δισχιλίους, ζωγρήσας δ' οὐκ ὀλίγους πολλά πρός 3 το μέλλον επλεονέκτησεν. οι γάρ Καρχηδόνιοι της έκ Σικελίας προσγενομένης βοηθείας και τών κατά Λιβύην συμμάχων συναγωνιζομένων έδόκουν ύπερέχειν των περί τὸν 'Αγαθοκλέα τούτου δὲ τοῦ' προτερήματος γενομένου πάλιν συνεστάλη τὰ φρονήματα τῶν βαρβάρων. καὶ γὰρ Αἰλύμαν τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Λιβύων ἀποστάτην γενόμενον ἐνίκησεν μάχη καὶ τόν τε δυνάστην καὶ πολλούς τῶν βαρβάρων ἀνείλεν.

Καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ Σικελίαν καὶ Λιβύην ἐν τούτοις

ήν.

19. Κατὰ δὲ τὴν Μακεδονίαν Κάσανδρος μὲν βοηθήσας Αὐδολέοντι τῷ Παιόνων βασιλεῖ διαπολεμοῦντι πρὸς Αὐταριάτας, τοῦτον μὲν ἐκ τῶν κινδύνων ἐρρύσατο, τοὺς δὲ Αὐταριάτας σὺν τοῖς ἀκολουθοῦσι παισὶ καὶ γυναιξὶν ὅντας εἰς δισμυρίους κατψκισεν παρὰ τὸ καλούμενον 'Ορβηλὸν'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Fischer adds ἐπὶ before τοῦ προτερήματος, ep. Books 15. 35. 1; 16. 5. 2.

èviκησεν editors : èviκησαν.
 ἀνείλεν editors : ἀνείλον.

<sup>4 &#</sup>x27;Ορβηλόν Wesseling: 'Ορβηδόν RX, 'Ορβίταον F.

of Tunis; and they recaptured many of the positions 310 B.C. that were in the hands of the enemy. But Agathocles, since dispatch bearers had come to him from Tunis and disclosed what the Phoenicians had done, at once turned back. When he was at a distance of about two hundred stades 1 from the enemy, he pitched camp and forbade his soldiers to light fires. Then, making a night march, he fell at dawn upon those who were foraging in the country and those who were wandering outside their camp in disorder, and by killing over two thousand and taking captive no small number he greatly strengthened himself for the future. For the Carthaginians, now that their reinforcements from Sicily had arrived and that their Libyan allies were fighting along with them, seemed to be superior to Agathocles; but as soon as he gained this success, the confidence of the barbarians again waned. In fact, he defeated in battle Aelymas, the king of the Libyans, who had deserted him, and slew the king and many of the barbarians.

This was the situation of affairs in Sicily and Libya.<sup>2</sup> 19. In Macedonia,<sup>3</sup> Cassander, going to the aid of Audoleon,<sup>4</sup> king of the Paeonians, who was fighting against the Autariatae,<sup>5</sup> freed the king from danger, but the Autariatae with the children and women who were following them, numbering in all twenty thousand, he settled beside the mountain called Orbelus.<sup>6</sup>

About 23 miles.

<sup>2</sup> Continued in chap. 29. 2.

Continued from Book 19. 105. 4.

<sup>4</sup> Cp. Justin, 15. 2. 1. One of Audoleon's daughters married Pyrrhus of Epirus (Plutarch, Pyrrhus, 9).

<sup>5</sup> A strong Illyrian people living in the Dalmatian mountains.

<sup>6</sup> On the border between Thrace and Macedonia.

2 ὅρος. τούτου δὲ περὶ ταῦτ' ὅντος κατὰ μὲν τὴν Πελοπόννησον Πτολεμαῖος ὁ στρατηγὸς 'Αντιγόνου δυνάμεις πεπιστευμένος καὶ τῷ δυνάστη προσκόψας ὡς οὰ κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν τιμώμενος 'Αντιγόνου μὲν ἀπέστη, πρὸς δὲ Κάσανδρον συμμαχίαν ἐποιήσατο. καταλελοιπὼς δὲ τῆς ἐφ' Ἑλλησπόντῳ σατραπείας ἐπιστάτην Φοίνικα, ἔνα¹ τῶν πιστοτάτων φίλων, ἀπέστειλεν αὐτῷ στρατιώτας, ἀξιῶν διαφυλάττειν τὰ φρούρια καὶ τὰς πόλεις καὶ μὴ προσέχειν 'Αντιγόνω.

3 Τῶν δὲ κοινῶν συνθηκῶν τοῖς ἡγεμόσι περιεχουσῶν ἐλευθέρας ἀφεῖσθαι τὰς Ἑλληνίδας πόλεις, οἱ περὶ Πτολομαῖον τὸν Λἰγύπτου δυνάστην, ἐγκαλέσαντες ᾿Αντιγόνω διότι φρουραῖς τινας διείληφε

- 4 τῶν πόλεων, πολεμεῖν παρεσκευάζοντο. καὶ τὴν μὲν δύναμιν ἐξαποστείλας Πτολεμαῖος καὶ στρατηγὸν Λεωνίδην τὰς ἐν τῇ τραχεία Κιλικία πόλεις οὕσας ὑπ' 'Αντίγονον ἐχειρώσατο, διεπέμπετο δὲ καὶ εἰς² τὰς ὑπὸ Κάσανδρον καὶ Λυσίμαχον πόλεις, ἀξιῶν συμφρονεῖν ἑαυτῷ καὶ κωλύειν 'Αντίγονον
- 5 Ισχυρον γίνεσθαι. ο δ' Αντίγονος τῶν υίῶν Φίλιππον μὲν τὸν νεώτερον ἐξέπεμψεν ἐφ' Ἑλλήσποντον,
  διαπολεμήσοντα Φοίνικι καὶ τοῖς ἀφεστηκόσι, Δημήτριον δ' ἐπὶ Κιλικίαν, δς ἐνεργὸν ποιησάμενος
  τὴν στρατείαν ἐνίκησε τοὺς τοῦ Πτολεμαίου στρατηγοὺς καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἀνεκτήσατο.

20. "Αμα δε τούτοις πραττομένοις Πολυπέρχων

i'va added by Fischer.
 eis added by Fischer. πρός Rhodoman, κατὰ Dindorf.

A nephew of Antigonus, cp. Book 19. 57. 4.
But we find that two years earlier another nephew,
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While he was thus engaged, in the Peloponnesus 210 B.C. Ptolemaeus, the general of Antigonus, who had been entrusted with an army but had taken offence at the prince because, as he said, he was not being honoured according to his deserts, revolted from Antigonus and made an alliance with Cassander. And having left as governor of the satrapy along the Hellespont one of his most faithful friends, Phoenix, Ptolemaeus sent soldiers to him, bidding him garrison the strongholds and the cities and not to obey Antigonus.

Since the agreements common to the leaders provided for the liberation of the Greek cities,4 Ptolemy, the ruler of Egypt, charged Antigonus with having occupied some of the cities with garrisons, and prepared to go to war. Sending his army and Leonides as its commander, Ptolemy subdued the cities in Cilicia Trachea which were subject to Antigonus; and he sent also to the cities that were controlled by Cassander and Lysimachus, asking them to cooperate with him and prevent Antigonus from becoming too powerful. But Antigonus sent Philip, the younger of his sons, to the Hellespont to fight it out with Phoenix and the rebels; and to Cilicia he sent Demetrius, who, carrying on the campaign with vigour, defeated the generals of Ptolemy and recovered the cities.

20. Meanwhile Polyperchon,5 who was biding his

Telesphorus, had revolted because he thought that Ptolemaeus was being too highly honoured, Book 19, 87, 1.

<sup>3</sup> Probably the former follower and friend of Eumenes, Book 18, 40, 2, <sup>4</sup> Cp. Book 19, 105, 1.

Book 18. 40. 2. <sup>4</sup> Cp. Book 19. 105. 1. <sup>5</sup> Polyperchon seems to have remained inactive in the Peloponnesus from 315 s.c. (Book 19. 64. 1; 74. 2) down to this time.

περί Πελοπόννησον διατρίβων και Κασάνδρω μέν έγκαλών, της δε Μακεδόνων ήγεμονίας πάλαι όρεγόμενος ἐκ Περγάμου μετεπέμψατο τὸν ἐκ Βαρσίνης Ηρακλέα, ος ήν 'Αλεξάνδρου μεν υίος, τρεφόμενος δε εν Περγάμω, την δ' ήλικίαν περί επτακαίδεκα 2 έτη γεγονώς. ὁ δ' οὖν Πολυπέρχων διαπέμπων πολλαχοῦ πρὸς τοὺς ἰδιοξένους καὶ τοὺς ἀλλοτρίως διακειμένους πρός Κάσανδρον ήξίου κατάγειν τὸ 3 μειράκιον έπὶ τὴν πατρώαν βασιλείαν. ἔγραψε δὲ καί πρός τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Αἰτωλῶν, ἀξιῶν δίοδόν τε δούναι καὶ συστρατεύειν, ἐπαγγελλόμενος πολλαπλασίους χάριτας ἀποδώσειν, ἐὰν συγκατάγωσι τὸ μειράκιον έπὶ τὴν πατρώαν βασιλείαν. τῶν δὲ πραγμάτων αὐτῶ κατὰ νοῦν γενομένων προθύμως θ' ύπακουόντων των Λίτωλων και πολλών ἄλλων συντρεχόντων έπὶ τὴν κάθοδον τοῦ βασιλέως, οί σύμπαντες ήθροίσθησαν πεζοί μεν ύπερ τους δισμυ-4 ρίους, ίππεις δ' οὐκ ἐλάττους χιλίων. καὶ Πολυπέρχων μέν περί τὰς είς τὸν πόλεμον παρασκευὰς γινόμενος χρήματά τε συνήγε καὶ πρὸς τοὺς οἰκείως έγοντας τών Μακεδόνων διαπεμπόμενος ήξίου συνεργείν.

21. Πτολεμαΐος δε τῶν ἐν Κύπρω πόλεων κυριεύων, ἐπειδή τινων ἐπύθετο Νικοκλέα τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Παφίων ἐν ἀπορρήτοις ἰδία πρὸς 'Αντίγονον

2 It is probable that he was not a son of Alexander but a

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> This Barsine was the daughter of Artabazus, a Persian follower of Darius (Plutarch, Alexander, 21. 4; Justin, 11. 10. 2; 13. 2. 7), and must be distinguished from the daughter of Darius whom Alexander married at Susa in 324 s.c., who is called Barsine by Arrian (7. 4. 4) but Stateira by our other sources (Book 17. 107. 6; Plutarch, Alexander, 70. 2; Justin, 12. 10. 9).

time in the Peloponnesus, and who was nursing 310 B.C. grievances against Cassander and had long craved the leadership of the Macedonians, summoned from Pergamon Barsinê's son Heracles, who was the son of Alexander but was being reared in Pergamon, being about seventeen years of age.3 Moreover, Polvperchon, sending to his own friends in many places and to those who were at odds with Cassander, kept urging them to restore the youth to his ancestral throne. He also wrote to the governing body of the Aetolians, begging them to grant a safe conduct and to join forces with him and promising to repay the favour many times over if they would aid in placing the youth on his ancestral throne. Since the affair proceeded as he wished, the Aetolians being in hearty agreement and many others hurrying to aid in the restoration of the king, in all there were assembled more than twenty thousand infantry and at least one thousand horsemen. Meanwhile Polyperchon, intent on the preparations for the war, was gathering money; and sending to those of the Macedonians who were friendly, he kept urging them to join in the undertaking.4

21. Ptolemy, however, who was master of the cities of Cyprus, on learning from certain persons that Nicocles,<sup>5</sup> the king of Paphos, had secretly and

pretender sponsored by Antigonus, cp. Tarn, Journal of Hellenic Studies, 14 (1921), 18 ff.

3 Justin, 15. 2. 3, gives the age as fifteen years.

4 Continued in chap. 28. 1.

<sup>6</sup> Nicocreon of Salamis (Book 19. 59. 1; 62. 5; 79. 5) is not identical with Nicocles of Paphos since Arrian (FGrH, 156. F 10. 6) clearly distinguishes them; but it seems certain that in this passage Diodorus has confused them, and that the fate described is that of the former (Parian Marble for 311/10 в.с., FGrH, 239. В 17).

συντεθείσθαι φιλίαν, έπεμψε τών φίλων 'Αργαίον καὶ Καλλικράτην, προστάξας αὐτοῖς ἀνελεῖν τὸν Νικοκλέα πάνυ γὰρ εὐλαβεῖτο μὴ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τινές δρμήσωσι πρός μεταβολήν, δρώντες άθώους γεγονότας τοὺς πρότερον ἀφεστηκότας. οδτοί μέν οὖν πλεύσαντες εἰς τὴν νῆσον καὶ παρὰ Μενελάου τοῦ στρατηγοῦ στρατιώτας λαβόντες περιέστησαν τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ Νικοκλέους καὶ τὰ δόξαντα τῶ βασιλεῖ δηλώσαντες προσέταξαν ξαυτόν ἀπαλλάξαι 2 τοῦ ζῆν. ὁ δὲ τὸ μὲν πρώτον πρὸς τὴν ἀπολογίαν έτρέπετο τῶν ἐγκαλουμένων ώς δ' οὐδεὶς προσείχεν, έαυτον ἀπέκτεινεν. 'Αξιοθέα δὲ ή γυνή τοῦ Νικοκλέους ακούσασα την ανδρός τελευτήν τας μέν θυγατέρας τὰς ἐαυτῆς παρθένους οὕσας ἀπέσφαξεν, όπως μηδείς αὐτῶν πολέμιος κυριεύση, τὰς δὲ τῶν άδελφων των Νικοκλέους γυναϊκας προετρέψατο μεθ' αύτης έλέσθαι τον θάνατον, οὐδέν συντεταχότος Πτολεμαίου περί των γυναικών, άλλά 3 συγκεχωρηκότος αὐταῖς τὴν ἀσφάλειαν. τῶν δὲ βασιλείων πεπληρωμένων φόνων καὶ συμπτωμάτων απροσδοκήτων οί τοῦ Νικοκλέους άδελφοὶ συγκλείσαντες τὰς θύρας τὴν μὲν οἰκίαν ἐνέπρησαν ἐαυτοὺς δ' ἀπέσφαξαν. ή μεν οὖν τῶν ἐν Πάφω βασιλέων οικία τραγικοῖς συγκυρήσασα πάθεσι τὸν εἰρημένον τρόπον κατελύθη.

'Ημεῖς δὲ τὴν ἀπαγγελίαν τῶν κατὰ τὴν Κύπρον'
γεγονότων διελθόντες ἐπὶ τὰς συνεχεῖς πράξεις

μεταβιβάσομεν τὸν λόγον.

22. Περί γὰρ τοὺς αὐτοὺς καιροὺς ἐν τῷ Πόντῳ μετὰ τὴν Παρυσάδου τελευτήν, ὃς ἦν βασιλεὺς τοῦ Κιμμερικοῦ Βοσπόρου, διετέλουν οἱ παῖδες αὐτοῦ

<sup>1</sup> κατὰ τὴν Κύπρον added by Reiske.

privately formed an alliance with Antigonus, dis-310 B.C. patched two of his friends, Argaeus and Callicrates, ordering them to slay Nicocles; for he was taking all precautions lest any others also should hasten to shift allegiance when they saw that those were left unpunished who had previously rebelled. These two men, accordingly, after sailing to the island and obtaining soldiers from Menelaüs the general,1 surrounded the house of Nicocles, informed him of the king's wishes and ordered him to take his own life. At first he tried to defend himself against the charges, but then, since no one heeded him, he slew himself. Axiothea, the wife of Nicocles, on learning of her husband's death, slew her daughters, who were unwed, in order that no enemy might possess them; and she urged the wives of Nicocles' brothers to choose death along with her, although Ptolemy had given no instructions in regard to the women but had agreed to their safety. When the palace had thus been filled full of death and unforeseen disaster, the brothers of Nicocles, after fastening the doors, set fire to the building and slew themselves. Thus the house of the kings of Paphos, after meeting such tragic suffering, was brought to its end in the way described

Now that we have followed to its end the tale of what took place in Cyprus, we shall turn the course of our narrative toward the events which follow.

22. At about this same time in the region of the Pontus, after the death of Parysades, who was king of the Cimmerian Bosporus, his sons Eumelus, Satyrus,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> A brother of Ptolemy, cp. Book 19. 62. 4.

διαπολεμούντες πρός άλλήλους ύπερ της ήγεμονίας, 2 Εύμηλός τε καὶ Σάτυρος καὶ Πρύτανις. τούτων δὲ ὁ μὲν Σάτυρος ὢν πρεσβύτατος παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς παρειλήφει την άρχην, βεβασιλευκότος έτη τριάκοντα όκτώ· ὁ δ' Εύμηλος φιλίαν συντεθειμένος πρός τινας των πλησιοχώρων βαρβάρων καὶ δύναμιν άδραν ήθροικώς ημφισβήτει της βασιλείας. 3 α δή πυθόμενος ό Σάτυρος ανέζευξεν επ' αὐτον μετά δυνάμεως άδρας και διαβάς του Θάτην ποταμόν, ἐπειδὴ πλησίον ἐγένετο τῶν πολεμίων, τὴν μὲν παρεμβολήν ταις άμάξαις περιλαβών αις ήν κεκομικώς τὰς ἀγορὰς οὕσας παμπληθεῖς, τὴν δὲ δύναμιν έκτάξας αὐτὸς κατὰ μέσην ύπῆρχε τὴν φάλαγγα, 4 καθάπερ ἐστὶ Σκύθαις νόμιμον. συνεστρατεύοντο δ' αὐτῶ μισθοφόροι μὲν "Ελληνες οὐ πλείους διαχιλίων καὶ Θράκες ἴσοι τούτοις, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ πάντες ύπηρχον σύμμαχοι Σκύθαι, πλείους τῶν δισμυρίων, ίππεῖς δὲ οὐκ ἐλάττους μυρίων. τῷ δ' Εὐμήλω συνεμάχει\* 'Αριφάρνης ὁ τῶν Σιρακῶν' βασιλεύς, ίππεις μεν έχων δισμυρίους, πεζούς δε δισχιλίους 5 πρός τοις δισμυρίοις. γενομένης δε μάχης Ισχυράς Σάτυρος μέν έχων περί έαυτον επιλέκτους ανδρας ίππομαχίαν συνεστήσατο πρός τούς περὶ ᾿Αριφάρνην άνθεστηκότας κατά μέσην την τάξιν και πολλών παρ' άμφοτέροις πεσόντων τέλος εκβιασάμενος 6 ἐτρέψατο τὸν βασιλέα τῶν βαρβάρων. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρώτον ἐπέκειτο φονεύων τους ἀεὶ καταλαμβανομένους μετ' όλίγον δὲ πυθόμενος τὸν ἀδελφὸν

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> πρεσβύτατος Dindorf: πρεσβύτερος.
<sup>2</sup> μèν after συνεμάχει omitted by Fischer.

and Prytanis were engaged in a struggle against each 310 B.C. other for the primacy. Of these, Satyrus, since he was the eldest, had received the government from his father, who had been king for thirty-eight years; but Eumelus, after concluding a treaty of friendship with some of the barbarians who lived near by and collecting a strong army, set up a rival claim to the throne. On learning this, Satyrus set out against him with a strong army; and, after he had crossed the river Thates 1 and drawn near the enemy, he surrounded his camp with the waggons in which he carried his abundant supplies, and drew up his army for battle, taking his own place in the centre of the phalanx as is the Scythian custom. Enrolled in his army were not more than two thousand Greek mercenaries and an equal number of Thracians, but all the rest were Seythian allies, more than twenty thousand foot-soldiers and not less than ten thousand horse. Eumelus, however, had as ally Aripharnes, the king of the Siraces,2 with twenty thousand horse and twenty-two thousand foot. In a stubborn battle that took place, Satyrus with picked cavalry about him charged against Aripharnes, who had stationed himself in the middle of the line; and after many had fallen on both sides, he finally forced back and routed the king of the barbarians. At first he pushed on, slaving the enemy as he overtook them; but after a little, hearing that his brother Eumelus was gaining

One of the streams flowing into the Macotic Lake (the Sea of Azov). The name is also given as Thapsis and Psathis.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> A strong Sarmatian people living between Lake Macotis and the Caucasus Mountains (but cp. the critical note).

<sup>3</sup> Σιρακών Mueller: Θρακών,

Εύμηλον προτερείν περί τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας καὶ τοὺς παρ' αὐτῷ μισθοφόρους τετράφθαι τοῦ μὲν διώκειν ἀπέστη, παραβοηθήσας δὲ τοῖς ἡττημένοις καὶ τὸ δεύτερον αἴτιος γενόμενος τῆς νίκης ἄπαν ἐτρέψατο τῶν πολεμίων τὸ στρατόπεδον, ὥστε πᾶσι γενέσθαι φανερὸν ὅτι καὶ κατὰ γένος καὶ κατ' ἀρετὴν προσ-ῆκον ἤν αὐτῷ διαδέχεσθαι τὴν πατρώαν βασιλείαν.

23. Οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν ᾿Αριφάρνην καὶ τὸν Εὔμηλον λειφθέντες εν τῆ μάχη συνέφυγον els τὰ βασίλεια. ταθτα δ' έκειτο μέν παρά τον Θάτην ποταμόν, ος περιρρέων αὐτὰ καὶ βάθος έχων ίκανὸν ἐποίει δυσπρόσιτα, περιείχετο δὲ κρημνοῖς μεγάλοις, ἔτι δ' ὔλης πλήθει, τὰς πάσας εἰσβολὰς δύο ἔχονταί χειροποιήτους, ὧν ἡ μὲν ἦν ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς βασιλείοις, ώχυρωμένη πύργοις ύψηλοῖς καὶ προτειχίσμασιν, ή δ' έκ θατέρου μέρους έν έλεσιν υπηρχε, φρουρουμένη ξυλίνοις ερύμασι, διεστύλωτο δε δοκοις, τάς οικήσεις. τοιαύτης δ' ούσης της περί τον τόπον όχυρότητος τὸ μὲν πρώτον ὁ Σάτυρος τήν τε χώραν τῶν πολεμίων έδήωσε καὶ τὰς κώμας ἐνεπύρισεν, ἐξ ών αίχμάλωτα σώματα καὶ λείας πλήθος ήθροισε. 2 μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐγχειρήσας διὰ τῶν παρόδων βιάζεσθαι, κατά μὲν τὸ προτείχισμα καὶ τοὺς πύργους πολλούς ἀποβαλών τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀπεχώρησε, κατά δὲ τὰ ἔλη βιασάμενος ἐκράτησε τῶν ξυλίνων

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> ἔχοντα Dindorf: ἔχοντι.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> ή δ' ἐκ θατέρου Dindorf: ή δὲ καθ' ἐτέρου.
<sup>3</sup> δὲ δοκοῖς Reiske, Madvig, δ' ν' δοκοῖς Bekker: δ' οἴκοις RX, δ' εὖ κίσουν 2nd hand in R. In F the passage reads as follows: . . . ὑπῆρχε φρουρουμένη· ξυλίνοις δὲ πείσμασι διεστύλιστο· ὑπεράνω . . .

the upper hand on the right wing and that his own \$10 B.C mercenaries had been turned to flight, he gave up the pursuit. Going to the aid of those who had been worsted and for the second time becoming the author of victory, he routed the entire army of the enemy, so that it became clear to all that, by reason both of his birth and of his valour, it was proper that he should succeed to the throne of his fathers.

23. Aripharnes and Eumelus, however, after having been defeated in the battle, escaped to the capital city.1 This was situated on the Thates River, which made the city rather difficult of access since the river encircled it and was of considerable depth. The city was surrounded also by great cliffs and thick woods, and had only two entrances, both artificial, of which one was within the royal castle itself and was strengthened with high towers and outworks, and the other was on the opposite side in swampy land, fortified by wooden palisades, and it rested upon piles at intervals and supported houses above the water. Since the strength of the position was so great, Satyrus at first plundered the country of the enemy and fired the villages, from which he collected prisoners and much booty. Afterwards, however, he attempted to make his way by force through the approaches. At the outworks and towers he lost many of his soldiers and withdrew, but he forced a passage through the swamp and captured the wooden

i.e. the capital city of King Aripharnes.

3 φρουρίων. ταθτα δὲ διαρπάσας καὶ διαβάς τὸν ποταμον ήρξατο κόπτειν την ύλην, δι' ής αναγκαίον ην ελθείν επὶ τὰ βασίλεια. τούτων δε ενεργώς συντελουμένων 'Αριφάρνης ὁ βασιλεύς άγωνιάσας μή κατά κράτος άλωναι συμβή την ακρόπολιν, διηγωνίζετο τολμηρότερον, ώς έν μόνω τῶ νικᾶν 4 κειμένης τῆς σωτηρίας. διείλετο δὲ καὶ τοὺς τοξότας ἐπ' ἀμφότερα τὰ μέρη τῆς παρόδου, δι' ὧν ραδίως κατετίτρωσκε τους την ύλην κόπτοντας, μη δυναμένους μήτε προοράσθαι τὰ βέλη μήτ' ἀμύνεσθαι τοὺς βάλλοντας διὰ τὴν πυκνότητα τῶν 5 δένδρων. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Σάτυρον ἐπὶ τρεῖς μὲν ήμέρας έτεμνον την ύλην, όδοποιούμενοι καὶ διακαρτεροθύτες ἐπιπόνως τῆ δὲ τετάρτη συνήγγισαν μέν τῷ τείχει, νικώμενοι δὲ τῷ πλήθει τῶν βελῶν καὶ τῆ τῶν τόπων στενοχωρία μεγάλοις ἐλαττώμασι 6 περιέπιπτον. Μενίσκος μέν γὰρ ὁ τῶν μισθοφόρων ήγεμών, άνηρ και συνέσει και τόλμη διαφέρων, προσπεσών διά της διόδου πρός το τείχος καὶ μετά τῶν περὶ ἐαυτὸν λαμπρῶς ἀγωνισάμενος ἐξεβιάσθη, η πολλαπλασίων ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐπεξελθόντων. ὅν ἰδών δ Σάτυρος κινδυνεύοντα ταχέως παρεβοήθει καὶ τὴν ἐπιφορὰν τῶν πολεμίων ὑποστὰς ἐτρώθη λόγχη διὰ τοῦ βραχίονος καὶ κακώς ἀπαλλάττων ὑπὸ τοῦ τραύματος έπανηλθεν els την παρεμβολήν καὶ νυκτὸς ἐπιγενομένης ἐξέλιπε τὸν βίον, ἐννέα μόνον μήνας βασιλεύσας μετά την τοῦ πατρός τελευτήν 8 Παρυσάδου. Μενίσκος δ' ό τῶν μισθοφόρων ήγεμών λύσας την πολιορκίαν απήγαγε την δύναμιν els Γάργαζαν πόλιν κάκειθεν το του βασιλέως 202

barricades. After destroying these and crossing the 310 B.C. river, he began to cut down the woods through which it was necessary to advance to reach the palace. While this was being energetically carried on, King Aripharnes, alarmed lest his citadel should be taken by storm, fought against him with great boldness since he believed that in victory alone lay hope of safety. He stationed archers on both sides of the passage, by whose aid he easily inflicted mortal wounds on the men who were cutting down the woods, for because of the density of the trees they could neither see the missiles in time nor strike back at the archers. The men of Satyrus for three days went on cutting down the woods and making a roadway, bearing up amid hardship; on the fourth day they drew near to the wall but they were overcome by the great number of missiles and by the confined space, and sustained great losses. Indeed, Meniscus, the leader of the mercenaries, a man excelling in sagacity and boldness, after pushing forward through the passage to the wall and fighting brilliantly together with his men, was forced to withdraw when a much stronger force came out against him. Seeing him in danger, Satyrus quickly came to his aid; but, while withstanding the onrush of the enemy, he was wounded with a spear through the upper arm. Grievously disabled because of the wound, he returned to the camp and when night came on he died, having reigned only nine months after the death of his father Parysades. But Meniscus, the leader of the mercenaries, giving up the siege, led the army back to the city Gargaza,1 whence he conveyed the king's body by

Probably the same as the city called Gerousa by Ptolemy, Geography, 5. 8. 2.

σωμα διὰ τοῦ ποταμοῦ¹ διεκόμισεν εἰς Παντικάπαιον

πρός τὸν ἀδελφὸν Πρύτανιν.

24. °Os ταφήν συντελέσας μεγαλοπρεπή καὶ καταθέμενος είς τὰς βασιλικὰς θήκας τὸ σῶμα ταχέως ήκεν είς Γάργαζαν καὶ τὴν δύναμιν ἄμα καὶ τὴν δυναστείαν παρέλαβεν. Εὐμήλου δὲ διαπρεσβευομένου περὶ μέρους τῆς βασιλείας τούτω μὲν οὐ προσείχεν, εν δε Γαργάζη φρουράν ἀπολιπών επανήλθεν είς Παντικάπαιον, ἀσφαλισόμενος τὰ κατὰ την βασιλείαν. καθ' ον δη χρόνον Εύμηλος, συναγωνισαμένων αὐτῶ τῶν βαρβάρων, τήν τε Γάργαζαν κατελάβετο καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολισμάτων καὶ 2 χωρίων οὐκ ὀλίγα. ἐπιστρατεύσαντος δὲ τοῦ Πρυτάνιδος μάχῃ τε ἐνίκησε τὸν ἀδελφὸν καὶ συγκλείσας είς τὸν Ισθμὸν τὸν πλησίον τῆς Μαιώτιδος λίμνης συνηνάγκασεν όμολογίας θέσθαι, καθ' ας τούς τε στρατιώτας παρέδωκε καὶ τῆς βασιλείας εκχωρείν ώμολόγησεν. ώς δὲ παρεγένετο εἰς Παντικάπαιον, εν ω το βασίλειον ήν αεί των εν Βοσπόρω βασιλευσάντων, ἐπεχείρησε μεν πάλιν ἀνακτασθαι την βασιλείαν, κατισχυθείς δε και φυγών είς τους 3 καλουμένους Κήπους άνηρέθη. Ευμηλος δε μετά τον των άδελφων θάνατον βουλόμενος άσφαλως θέσθαι τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀνείλε τούς τε φίλους των περί τὸν Σάτυρον καὶ Πρύτανιν, ἔτι δὲ τὰς νυναίκας και τὰ τέκνα. μόνος δὲ διέφυγεν αὐτὸν ό παις ό Σατύρου Παρυσάδης, νέος ων παντελώς την ηλικίαν έξιππεύσας γάρ έκ της πόλεως κατέφυνε πρὸς "Αγαρον τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Σκυθῶν.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> For ποταμοῦ Fischer in apparatus suggests πορθμοῦ; ep. Strabo, 9. 2. 6.

way of the river 1 to Panticapaeum to his brother, 310 B.C.

Prytanis.

24. Prytanis, after celebrating a magnificent funeral and placing the body in the royal tombs, came quickly to Gargaza and took over both the army and the royal power. When Eumelus sent envoys to discuss a partition of the kingdom, he did not heed him but he left a garrison in Gargaza and returned to Panticapaeum in order to secure the royal prerogatives for himself. During this time Eumelus with the co-operation of the barbarians captured Gargaza and several of the other cities and villages. When Prytanis took the field against him, Eumelus defeated his brother in battle; and, after shutting him up in the isthmus 2 near the Maeotic Lake, he forced him to accept terms according to which he gave over his army and agreed to vacate his place as king. However, when Prytanis entered Panticapaeum, which had always been the capital of those who had ruled in Bosporus, he tried to recover his kingdom; but he was overpowered and fled to the so-called Gardens,3 where he was slain. After his brothers' death Eumelus, wishing to establish his power securely, slew the friends of Satyrus and Prytanis, and likewise their wives and children. The only one to escape him was Parysades, the son of Satyrus, who was very young; he, riding out of the city on horseback, took refuge with Agarus,4 the king of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Or, reading πορθμοῦ: "through the straits."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Probably the isthmus to the east of the Cimmerian Bosporus, separating the Macotic Lake from the Euxine.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Probably the modern Taman on the isthmus just referred

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> King Agarus is otherwise unknown, but Appian, *Mithridatic War*, 88, mentions a Scythian people called the Agari.

4 ἀγανακτούντων δὲ τῶν πολιτῶν ἐπὶ τῷ φόνῳ τῶν οἰκείων συναγαγών εἰς ἐκκλησίαν τὰ πλήθη περί τε τούτων ἀπελογήσατο καὶ τὴν πάτριον πολιτείαν ἀποκατέστησεν. συνεχώρησε δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀτέλειαν ἔχειν τὴν ἐπὶ τῶν προγόνων οὖσαν τοῖς Παντικάπαιον οἰκοῦσι. προσεπηγγείλατο δὲ καὶ τῶν εἰσφορῶν ἄπαντας ἀφήσειν καὶ πολλὰ διελέχθη 5 δημαγωγῶν τὰ πλήθη. ταχὺ δὲ πάντων εἰς τὴν προϋπάρχουσαν εὔνοιαν ἀποκαταστάντων διὰ τὰς εὐεργεσίας τὸ λοιπὸν ἐβασίλευεν ἄρχων νομίμως τῶν ὑποτεταγμένων καὶ διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν οὐ μετρίως

θαυμαζόμενος.

25. Βυζαντίους μὲν γὰρ καὶ Σινωπεῖς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων τῶν τὸν Πόντον περιοικούντων τοὺς πλείστους διετέλεσεν εὐεργετῶν Καλλαντιανῶν δὲ πολιορκουμένων ὑπὸ Λυσιμάχου καὶ πιεζουμένων τῆ σπάνει τῶν ἀναγκαίων χιλίους ὑπεδέξατο τοὺς διὰ τὴν οιτοδείαν ἐκχωρήσαντας. οἶς οὐ μόνον τῆς καταψυγῆς παρέσχετο τὴν ἀσφάλειαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πόλιν ἔδωκε κατοικεῖν, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις τὴν ὀνομαζομένην 2 Ψοανκαητικὴν² χώραν κατεκληρούχησεν. ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν πλεόντων τὸν Πόντον πόλεμον ἐξενέγκας πρὸς τοὺς ληστεύειν εἰωθότας βαρβάρους Ἡνιόχους καὶ Ταύρους, ἔτι δ' Αχαιοὺς καθαρὰν ληστῶν ἀπέδειξε τὴν θάλασσαν, ὥστε μὴ μόνον κατὰ τὴν βασιλείαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ πᾶσαν σχεδὸν τὴν οἰκουμένην, διαγγελλόντων τῶν ἐμπόρων τὴν μεγα-

<sup>1</sup> περιοικούντων Fischer in apparatus : οἰκούντων.

<sup>2</sup> Ψοωνκαητικήν Madvig, approved by Fischer in apparatus: Υόων καὶ τήν.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> In 313 s.c. Lysimachus had begun a siege of Callantia 206

#### BOOK XX. 24. 4-25. 2

the Scythians. Since the citizens were angry at the slo b.c. slaughter of their kinsmen, Eumelus summoned the people to an assembly in which he defended himself in this matter and restored the constitution of their fathers. He even granted to them the immunity from taxation that those who lived in Panticapaeum had enjoyed under his ancestors. He promised also to free all of them from special levies, and he discussed many other measures as he sought the favour of the people. When all had been promptly restored to their former goodwill by his benevolence, from that time on he continued to be king, ruling in a constitutional way over his subjects and by his excellence winning no little admiration.

25. For Eumelus continued to show kindness to the people of Byzantium and to those of Sinopê and to most of the other Greeks who lived on the Pontus; and when the people of Callantia were besieged by Lysimachus and were hard pressed by lack of food,1 he took under his care a thousand who had left their homes because of the famine. Not only did he grant them a safe place of refuge, but he gave them a city in which to live and allotted to them the region called Psoancaëticê.2 In the interests of those who sailed on the Pontus he waged war against the barbarians who were accustomed to engage in piracy, the Heniochians, the Taurians, and the Achaeans; and he cleared the sea of pirates, with the result that, not only throughout his own kingdom but even throughout almost all the inhabited world, since the merchants carried abroad the news of his nobility, he

concerning the outcome of which we have no information. Cp. Book 19. 73.

<sup>2</sup> The name is very doubtful. Cp. the critical note.

λοψυχίαν, ἀπολαμβάνειν τῆς εὐεργεσίας καρπὸν 3 κάλλιστον τὸν ἔπαινον. προσεκτήσατο δὲ καὶ τῆς συνοριζούσης βαρβάρου πολλήν καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν επιφανεστέραν επὶ πολύ κατεσκεύασε. καθόλου δ' ἐπεχείρησε πάντα τὰ περὶ τὸν Πόντον ἔθνη καταστρέφεσθαι καὶ τάχα ἂν ἐκράτησε τῆς ἐπιβολής εί μη σύντομον έσχε την τοῦ βίου τελευτήν. πέντε γὰρ ἔτη καὶ τοὺς ἴσους μῆνας βασιλεύσας κατέστρεψε τον βίον, παραδόξω συμπτώματι χρη-4 σάμενος. ἐκ γὰρ τῆς Σινδικῆς¹ ἐπανιών εἰς τῆν οἰκείαν καὶ σπεύδων πρός τινα θυσίαν ήλαυνε μέν ἐπί τινος τεθρίππου πρὸς τὰ βασίλεια, τοῦ δ' αρματος όντος τετρακύκλου και σκηνήν έχουτος συνέβη τοὺς ἵππους διαταραχθέντας εξενεγκεῖν αὐτόν. τοῦ γὰρ ἡνιόχου μὴ δυναμένου κρατήσαι τῶν ήνιων, φοβηθείς μή κατενεχθή πρὸς τὰς φάραγγας, επεχείρησεν ἀφάλλεσθαι· ἐμπλακέντος δὲ τοῦ ξίφους είς τὸν τροχὸν συνεφειλκύσθη τῆ φορᾶ καὶ παραχρημα έτελεύτησεν.

26. Περί δὲ τῆς τῶν ἀδελφῶν τελευτῆς Εὐμήλου τε καὶ Σατύρου παραδέδονται χρησμοί, μικρὸν μὲν ἡλιθιώτεροι πιστευόμενοι δὲ παρὰ τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις. τῷ μὲν γὰρ Σατύρῳ λέγουσι χρῆσαι τὸν θεὸν φυλάξασθαι τὸν μῦν μήποτ' αὐτὸν ἀνέλῃ. διόπερ οὕτε δοῦλον οὕτ' ἐλεύθερον τῶν τεταγμένων ὑφ' ἐαυτὸν εἴα τοῦτ' ἔχειν τοὕνομα: ἔπειτα δὲ τοὺς ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις καὶ ταῖς ἀρούραις ἐφοβεῖτο μῦς καὶ τοῖς παισὶν ἀεὶ συνέταττε τούτους ἀποκτείνειν καὶ τὰς κοίτας ἐμπλάττειν. πάντα δ' ἐνδεχομένως αὐτοῦ ποιοῦντος οῖς ῷετο κατισχύσειν τὸ πεπρωμένον, κατέστρεψε τὸν βίον πληγεὶς τοῦ βραχίονος

received that highest reward of well-doing-praise. 310 B.C. He also gained possession of much of the adjacent region inhabited by the barbarians and made his kingdom far more famous. In sum, he undertook to subdue all the nations around the Pontus, and possibly he would have accomplished his purpose if his life had not been suddenly cut off. For, after he had been king for five years and an equal number of months, he died, suffering a very strange mishap. As he was returning home from Sindice and was hurrying for a sacrifice, riding to his palace in a four-horse carriage which had four wheels and a canopy, it happened that the horses were frightened and ran away with him. Since the driver was unable to manage the reins, the king, fearing lest he be carried to the ravines, tried to jump out; but his sword caught in the wheel,1 and he was dragged along by the motion of the carriage and died on the spot.

26. About the death of the brothers, Eumelus and Satyrus, prophecies have been handed down, rather silly yet accepted among the people of the land. They say that the god had told Satyrus to be on his guard against the mouse lest it sometime cause his death. For this reason he permitted neither slave nor freeman of those assigned to his service to have this name; and he also feared domestic and field mice and was always ordering his slaves to kill them and block up their holes. But, although he did everything possible by which he thought to ward off his doom, he died, struck in the upper arm through the

Or possibly, "in the hoop that supported the canopy," cp. chap. 26. 2.

2 εἰς τὸν μῦν. τῷ δ' Εὐμήλῳ χρησμὸς ἦν τὴν φερομένην οἰκίαν φυλάξασθαι. ὅθεν πάλιν οῦτος εἰς οἰκίαν οὐκ εἰσήει προχείρως μὴ προδιερευνησάντων τῶν παίδων τὴν ὀροφὴν καὶ τὰ θεμέλια. τελευτήσαντος δὲ αὐτοῦ διὰ τὴν ὀχουμένην ἐπὶ τοῦ τεθρίππου σκηνὴν ἔκαστος ὑπελάμβανε τετελέσθαι τὸν χρησμόν.

3 Καὶ περὶ μὲν τῶν ἐν τῷ Βοσπόρῳ πραχθέντων

άλις ήμιν έχέτω.

Κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἰταλίαν οἱ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὕπατοι μετὰ δυνάμεως ἐμβαλόντες εἰς τὴν πολεμίαν¹ ἐνίκησαν μάχη Σαμνίτας περὶ τὸ καλούμενον Τάλιον. τῶν δ' ἡττηθέντων καταλαμβανομένων τὸν Ἱερὸν λόφον ὀνομαζόμενον τότε μὲν τῆς νυκτὸς ἐπιλαβούσης οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι πρὸς τὴν ἰδίαν στρατοπεδείαν ἀπεχώρησαν, τῆ δ' ὑστεραία πάλιν μάχης γενομένης πολλοὶ μὲν ἀνηρέθησαν τῶν Σαμνιτῶν, αἰχμάλωτοι δ' ἐλήφθησαν ὑπὲρ τοὺς δισχιλίους καὶ διακοσίους. τοιούτων δὲ προτερημάτων γενομένων τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἀδεῶς ἤδη τῶν ὑπαίθρων συνέβαινε κυριεύειν τοὺς ὑπάτους καὶ τὰς ἀπειθούσας τῶν πόλεων χειροῦσθαι. Καταράκταν μὲν οῦν καὶ Κεραυνιλίαν ἐκπολιορκήσαντες φρουροὺς ἐπέθηκαν, τῶν δ' ἄλλων τινὰς πείσαντες προσηγάγοντο. 27. Ἐπ' ἄρχοντος δ' ᾿Αθήνησι Δημητρίου τοῦ

27. Έπ' ἄρχοντος δ' 'Αθήνησι Δημητρίου τοῦ Φαληρέως τὴν ὕπατον ἀρχὴν ἐν 'Ρώμη παρέλαβον Κόιντος Φάβιος τὸ δεύτερον καὶ Γάιος Μάρκιος.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> πολεμίαν Burger, 'Απουλίαν Kaerst, Καμπανίαν Binneboessel: 'Υταλίαν.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The word  $\mu \bar{\nu} s$  is found in medical writers with the mean-210

"mouse." In the case of Eumelus the warning was 310 s.c. that he should be on guard against the house that is on the move. Therefore he never afterward entered a house freely unless his servants had previously examined the roof and the foundations. But when he died because of the canopy that was carried on the four-horse chariot, all agreed that the prophecy had been fulfilled.

Concerning the events that took place in the Bos-

porus, let this suffice us.

In Italy the Roman consuls with an army invaded the hostile territory and defeated the Samnites in battle at the place called Talium. When the defeated had occupied the place named the Holy Mount, the Romans for the moment withdrew to their own camp since night was coming on; but on the next day a second battle was waged in which many of the Samnites were killed and more than twenty-two hundred were taken prisoners. After such successes had been won by the Romans, it came to pass that their consuls from then on dominated the open country with impunity and overcame the cities which did not submit. Taking Cataracta and Ceraunilia by siege, they imposed garrisons upon them, but some of the other cities they won over by persuasion.<sup>4</sup>

27. When Demetrius of Phalerum was archon in 809 B.C. Athens, in Rome Quintus Fabius received the consulship for the second time and Gaius Marcius for the ing "muscle." Cp. the Latin musculus, literally "little

monse.

<sup>2</sup> Literally, "the house that moves itself," or "the house

that is moved."

<sup>3</sup> The campaign that follows is not mentioned in other sources and the places named are all unknown. The narrative is continued from Book 19, 105, 5.

<sup>4</sup> Continued in chap. 35. 1.

ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων Πτολεμαῖος ὁ τῆς Αἰγύπτου βασιλεύων πυθόμενος τους ίδίους στρατηγούς άποβεβληκέναι τὰς ἐν Κιλικία πόλεις, πλεύσας μετὰ δυνάμεως ἐπὶ Φασήλιδα ταύτην μὲν ἐξεπολιόρκησεν, είς δὲ τὴν Λυκίαν παρακομισθείς Ξάνθον φρουρου-2 μένην ὑπ' 'Αντιγόνου κατὰ κράτος είλεν. είτα τῆ Καύνω προσπλεύσας την μέν πόλιν παρέλαβε, τὰς δε άκροπόλεις φρουρουμένας τῆ βία κατισχύσας τὸ μὲν Ἡράκλειον έξειλε, τὸ δὲ Περσικὸν παραδόντων τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὑποχείριον ἐποιήσατο. 3 μετά δὲ ταῦτα εἰς τὴν Κῶν πλεύσας μετεπέμψατο Πτολεμαΐον, ος ων άδελφιδους 'Αντιγόνου και δύναμιν πεπιστευμένος τοθτον μέν κατέλιπε πρός δέ Πτολεμαΐον κοινοπραγίαν ἐτίθετο. πλεύσαντος δ' έκ της Χαλκίδος αὐτοῦ καὶ κομισθέντος els Κών τὸ μέν πρώτον ὁ Πτολεμαῖος φιλανθρώπως αὐτὸν προσεδέξατο είτα όρων πεφρονηματισμένον καὶ

τούς ήγεμόνας όμιλίαις και δωρεαῖς ἐξιδιοποιούμενον, φοβηθείς μή τινα ἐπιβουλὴν μηχανήσηται, φθάσας αὐτὸν συνέλαβε καὶ πιεῖν κώνιον συνηνάγκασε. τους δε συνηκολουθηκότας στρατιώτας έπαγγελίαις δημαγωγήσας κατέμιξε τοῖς μεθ' έαυτοῦ στρατευομένοις. 28. "Αμα δὲ τούτοις πραττομένοις Πολυπέρχων μέν ήθροικώς άδραν δύναμιν κατήγαγεν έπὶ τὴν

πατρώαν βασιλείαν 'Ηρακλέα τὸν 'Αλεξάνδρου καὶ Βαρσίνης, Κάσανδρος δὲ καταστρατοπεδεύσαντος αὐτοῦ περὶ τὴν καλουμένην Στυμφαίαν ἦκεν μετὰ

Στυμφαίαν Palmer: Στυμφαλίαν.

Demetrius was archon in 309/8 B.C. In the Fasti the consuls for 310 s.c. are Q. Fabius Maximus Rullianus for 212

first.1 While these were in office, Ptolemy, the king 300 B.C. of Egypt, hearing that his own generals had lost the cities of Cilicia, sailed with an army to Phaselis and took this city. Then, crossing into Lycia, he took by storm Xanthus, which was garrisoned by Antigonus. Next he sailed to Caunus 2 and won the city; and violently attacking the citadels, which were held by garrisons, he stormed the Heracleum, but he gained possession of the Persicum when its soldiers delivered it to him. Thereafter he sailed to Cos and sent for Ptolemaeus, who, although he was the nephew of Antigonus and had been entrusted by him with an army, had deserted his uncle and was offering cooperation to Ptolemy.3 When Ptolemaeus had sailed from Chalcis and had come to Cos, Ptolemy at first received him graciously; then, on discovering that he had become presumptuous and was trying to win over the leaders to himself by conversing with them and giving them gifts, fearing lest he should devise some plot, he forestalled this by arresting him and compelled him to drink hemlock. As for the soldiers who had followed Ptolemaeus, after Ptolemy had won their favour through promises, he distributed them among the men of his own army.

28. Meanwhile Polyperchon, who had collected a strong army, brought back to his father's kingdom Heracles, the son of Alexander and Barsinê 4; but when he was in camp at the place called Stymphaeum,<sup>5</sup>

the second time and C. Marcius Rutilus, who was later called Censorinus. Cp. Livy, 9. 33. The narrative is continued from chap. 21.

<sup>2</sup> Both Phaselis and Xanthus are in Lycia, the former on the east, the latter on the west coast of the promontory. Caunus is in Caria. <sup>3</sup> Cp. chap. 19. 2. <sup>4</sup> Cp. chap. 20, and note.

A region of Epirus, also called Tymphaeum.

της δυνάμεως. οὐ μακράν δὲ τῶν παρεμβολών άπεχουσῶν ἀλλήλων καὶ τῶν Μακεδόνων οὐκ ἀηδῶς όρωντων την κάθοδον τοῦ βασιλέως, δείσας ό Κάσανδρος μήποτε φύσει πρὸς μεταβολήν ὅντες όξεις οἱ Μακεδόνες αὐτομολήσωσι πρὸς τὸν Ἡρα-2 κλέα, διεπρεσβεύσατο πρὸς Πολυπέρχοντα. καὶ περί μέν τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπειρᾶτο διδάσκειν αὐτὸν ότι γινομένης της καθόδου ποιήσει το προσταττόμενον ύφ' έτέρων, συναγωνισάμενος δε αὐτώ καί τον νεανίσκον ανελών παραχρήμα μεν απολήψεται τὰς προγεγενημένας κατὰ Μακεδονίαν δωρεάς, εἶτα καὶ δύναμιν ἀναλαβών στρατηγός ἀποδειχθήσεται περί Πελοπόννησον και πάντων τῶν ἐν τῆ δυναστεία τῆ Κασάνδρου κοινωνὸς ἔσται, τιμώμενος διαφόρως. πέρας δὲ πολλαῖς καὶ μεγάλαις ἐπαγγελίαις πείσας τὸν Πολυπέρχοντα καὶ συνθήκας ἐν απορρήτοις συνθέμενος προετρέψατο δολοφονήσαι 3 τον βασιλέα. ὁ δὲ Πολυπέρχων ἀνελών τὸν νεανίσκον καὶ φανερώς κοινοπραγών τοῖς περὶ τὸν Κάσανδρον τάς τ' έν τῆ Μακεδονία δωρεάς ἐκομίσατο καὶ κατὰ τὰς ὁμολογίας παρέλαβε στρατιύτας πεζούς μέν Μακεδόνας τετρακισχιλίους, Ιππείς δέ Θετταλούς πεντακοσίους. προσλαβόμενος δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τοὺς βουλομένους ἐπεχείρησε μὲν διὰ της Βοιωτίας προάγειν είς Πελοπόννησον, ύπο δέ Βοιωτών καὶ Πελοποννησίων κωλυθείς άνέστρεψε καί προελθών είς Λοκρούς ένταῦθα τὴν παραχειμασίαν ἐποιεῖτο.

29. "Αμα δὲ τούτοις πραττομένοις Λυσίμαχος

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> For further details of the murder cp. Plutarch, De falsa 214

Cassander arrived with his army. As the camps were 309 BC. not far distant from each other and the Macedonians regarded the restoration of the king without disfavour, Cassander, since he feared lest the Macedonians, being by nature prone to change sides easily. should sometime desert to Heracles, sent an embassy to Polyperchon. As for the king, Cassander tried to show Polyperchon that if the restoration should take place he would do what was ordered by others; but, he said, if Polyperchon joined with him and slew the stripling. he would at once recover what had formerly been granted him throughout Macedonia, and then, after receiving an army, he would be appointed general in the Peloponnesus and would be partner in everything in Cassander's realm, being honoured above all. Finally he won Polyperchon over by many great promises, made a secret compact with him, and induced him to murder the king.1 When Polyperchon had slain the youth and was openly co-operating with Cassander, he recovered the grants in Macedonia and also, according to the agreement, received four thousand Macedonian foot-soldiers and five hundred Thessalian horse. Enrolling also those of the others who wished, he attempted to lead them through Boeotia into the Peloponnesus; but, when he was prevented by Boeotians and Peloponnesians, he turned aside, advanced into Locris, and there passed the winter.2

29. While these events were taking place, Lysi-

pudicitia, 4 (p. 530); Justin, 15. 2. 3. According to Justin, 15. 1. 1, Polyperchon was already dead at the time of the murder.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The winter of 309/8 B.C. Henceforth Polyperchon plays a very minor part; in 303 B.C. he is mentioned as a supporter of Cassander (chap. 103. 6-7).

μέν έν Χερρονήσω πόλιν ἔκτισεν ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ Λυσιμαχίαν καλέσας. Κλεομένης δ' ὁ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεὺς ἐτελεύτησεν ἔρξας ἔτη ἑξήκοντα
καὶ μῆνας δέκα, τὴν δὲ βασιλείαν διαδεξάμενος ὁ
'Αρεὺς . . . υἱὸς¹ ἦρξεν ἔτη τέσσαρα πρὸς τοῖς
τεσσαράκοντα.

2 Περὶ δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς καιροὺς ᾿Αμίλκας ὁ τῶν ἐν Σικελία δυνάμεων στρατηγὸς τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν χωρίων χειρωσάμενος προῆγεν μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως ἐπὶ τὰς Συρακούσσας, ὡς καὶ ταύτας αἰρήσων κατὰ κράτος.

3 τὴν μὲν οὖν σιτοπομπείαν διεκώλυε πολὺν ἤδη χρόνον θαλασσοκρατῶν, τοὺς δ' ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας καρποὺς καταφθείρας ἐπεβάλετο καταλαβέσθαι τοὺς περὶ τὸ 'Ολυμπιεῖον' τόπους, κειμένους μὲν πρὸ τῆς πόλεως εὐθὺς δὲ καὶ προσβάλλειν ἐξ ἐφόδου τοῖς τείχεσι διεγνώκει, τοῦ μάντεως εἰρηκότος αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν ἐπίσκεψιν τῶν ἱερῶν ὅτι τῆ μετὰ ταύτην ἡμέρα 4 πάντως ἐν Συρακούσσαις δειπνήσει. οἱ δ' ἐκ τῆς πόλεως αἰσθόμενοι τὴν ἐπίνοιαν τῶν πολεμίων ἐξέπεμψαν τῶν μὲν πεζῶν νυκτὸς περὶ τρισχιλίους καὶ τῶν ἱππέων περὶ τετρακοσίους, προστάξαντες 5 καταλαβέσθαι τὸν Εὐρύηλον. ταχὺ δὲ τούτων τὸ παραγγελθὲν πραξάντων οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι νυκτὸς οὕσης προσῆγον, νομίζοντες λήσεσθαι τοὺς πολε-

2 'Ολυμπιείου Post, cp. Book 16. 68. 1, 83. 2: 'Ολύμπιου.

¹ δ' Αρέτα υἰὸς RX, δ' Αρέου υἰὸς F. Post suggests the loss of a line, e.g., δ' Αρεύς <υίωνὸς ὧν Κλεωμένους, 'Ακροτάτου δέ> υἰὸς, ep. Plutarch, Agis, 3.

machus founded a city in the Chersonesus, calling it <sup>200</sup> B.C. Lysimachea after himself.<sup>1</sup> Cleomenes, the king of the Lacedaemonians, died after having ruled sixty years and ten months <sup>2</sup>; and Areus, grandson of Cleomenes and son of Acrotatus,<sup>3</sup> succeeded to the throne and ruled for forty-four years.

At about this time Hamilcar,4 the general of the armies in Sicily, after gaining possession of the remaining outposts, advanced with his army against Syracuse, intending to take that city also by storm. He prevented the importation of grain since he had controlled the sea for a long time; and after destroying the crops on the land he now undertook to capture the region about the Olympieum,5 which lies before the city. Immediately on his arrival, however, he also decided to attack the walls, since the soothsaver had said to him at the inspection of the victims that on the next day he would certainly dine in Syracuse. But the people of the city, learning the intention of their enemy, sent out at night about three thousand of their infantry and about four hundred of their eavalry, ordering them to occupy Euryelus.6 These quickly carried out the orders; but the Carthaginians advanced during the night, believing that they would

<sup>1</sup> The settlers came from the city of Cardia, which had been destroyed by Lysimachus (Pausanias, 1. 9. 8).

<sup>2</sup> In Book 15, 60, 4 (370 B.C.) we are wrongly told that the

reign lasted for 34 years.

The translation follows the reading suggested in the

eritical note.

4 Continued from chap. 18. 3.

5 South of the city on the shore of the Great Harbour, near

the mouth of the Anapus River.

6 The narrow entrance at the west end of the plateau, Epipolae, which lies above the city on the west and overlooks the valley of the Anapus River.

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μίους. ήγεῖτο μὲν οὖν 'Αμίλκας πάντων, ἔχων τούς ἀεὶ περὶ έαυτὸν τεταγμένους, ἐπηκολούθει δὲ Δεινοκράτης, τῶν ἱππέων εἰληφώς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν. 6 τὸ δὲ τῶν πεζῶν στρατόπεδον εἰς δύο φάλαγγας διήρητο, τήν τε των βαρβάρων και την των συμμαχούντων Έλλήνων. παρηκολούθει δὲ καὶ πλήθος όχλου παντοδαπον έκτος της τάξεως ώφελείας ένεκα, χρείαν μὲν στρατιωτικὴν οὐδεμίαν παρεχόμενον, θορύβου δὲ καὶ ταραχής άλόγου γινόμενον αίτιον, έξ ὧν πολλάκις όλοσχερέστεροι συμβαίνουοι 7 κίνδυνοι. καὶ τότε δὲ τῶν όδῶν στενῶν οὐσῶν καὶ τραχειῶν οἱ μὲν τὰ σκευοφόρα κομίζοντες καὶ τῶν ἐκτὸς τῆς τάξεως συνακολουθούντων τινὲς έβάδιζον πρός άλλήλους φιλοτιμούμενοι περί τῆς όδοιπορίας· στενοχωρουμένου δὲ τοῦ πλήθους καὶ διά τοῦτό τισιν ἐγγενομένης άψιμαχίας καὶ πολλών έκατέροις παραβοηθούντων κραυγή καὶ πολύς θόρυβος κατείχε τὸ στρατόπεδον.

8 Καθ' ὅν δὴ χρόνον οἱ κατειληφότες τὸν Εὐρύηλον Συρακόσιοι μετὰ θορύβου προσιόντας τοὺς πολεμίους αἰσθόμενοι καὶ τόπους ἔχοντες ὑπερδεξίους 9 ὥρμησαν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους. καὶ τινὲς μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦς ὑψηλοῖς ἑστῶτες ἔβαλλον τοὺς ἐπιόντας, τινὲς δὲ τοὺς εὐκαίρους τῶν τόπων καταλαβόντες ἀπέκλειον τῆς ὁδοῦ τοὺς βαρβάρους, ἄλλοι δὲ κατὰ τῶν κρημνῶν τοὺς φεύγοντας ρίπτειν ἐαυτοὺς ἡνάγκαζον. διὰ γὰρ τὸ σκότος καὶ τὴν ἄγνοιαν ὑπελήφθησαν μεγάλη δυνάμει παραγεγονέναι πρὸς τὴν 218

not be seen by the enemy. Now Hamiltan was in the 800 B.C. foremost place with those who were regularly arrayed about him, and he was followed by Deinocrates,1 who had received command of the cavalry. The main body of the foot-soldiers was divided into two phalanxes, one composed of the barbarians and one of the Greek allies. Outside the ranks a mixed crowd of rabble also followed along for the sake of booty, men who are of no use whatever to an army, but are the source of tumult and irrational confusion, from which the most extreme dangers often arise. And on this occasion, since the roads were narrow and rough, the baggage train and some of the campfollowers kept jostling each other as they competed for the right of way; and, since the crowd was pressed into a narrow space and for this reason some became involved in brawls and many tried to help each side, great confusion and tumult prevailed in the army.

At this point the Syracusans who had occupied Euryelus, perceiving that the enemy were advancing in confusion whereas they themselves occupied higher positions, charged upon their opponents.<sup>2</sup> Some of them stood on the heights and sent missiles at those who were coming up, some by occupying advantageous positions blocked the barbarians from the passage, and others forced the fleeing soldiers to cast themselves down the cliffs; for on account of the darkness and the lack of information the enemy supposed that the Syracusans had arrived with a large force for the

<sup>1</sup> A Syracusan exile, cp. Book 19. 8. 6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> In spite of the picturesque details that follow, the fighting probably took place in the Anapus Valley, west and south of Euryelus and Epipolae (Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*<sup>2</sup>, 4, 2, 192).

10 ἐπίθεσιν. οἱ δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι τὰ μὲν διὰ τὴν τῶν ἰδίων ταραχήν, τὰ δὲ διὰ τὴν τῶν πολεμίων ἐπιφάνειαν ἐλαττούμενοι, μάλιστα δὲ διὰ τὴν ἀπειρίαν τῶν τόπων καὶ στενοχωρίαν ἀπορούμενοι πρὸς φυγὴν ἐτράπησαν. οὐκ ἐχόντων δὲ τῶν τόπων εὐρυχωρῆ διέξοδον οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἰδίων ἱππέων συνεπατοῦντο πολλῶν ὅντων, οἱ δὲ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὡς πολέμιοι διεμάχοντο, τῆς ἀγνοίας ἐπισχούσης 11 διὰ τὴν νύκτα. ᾿Αμίλκας δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὑπέστη τοὺς πολεμίους εὐρώστως καὶ τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν τεταγμένους ἡξίου συγκινδυνεύειν μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα διὰ τὴν ταραχὴν καὶ τὸν φόβον ἐγκαταλιπόντων αὐτὸν τῶν στρατιωτῶν μονωθεὶς¹ ὑπὸ τῶν Συρακοσίων συνηρπάγη.

30. Εἰκότως δ' ἄν τις παρασημήναιτο τὴν ἀνωμαλίαν τῆς τύχης καὶ τὸ παράλογον τῶν παρὰ τὰς ὑπολήψεις συντελουμένων παρ' ἀνθρώποις. 'Αγαθοκλῆς μὲν γὰρ ἀνδρεία διαφέρων καὶ πολλὴν δύναμιν ἐσχηκὼς τὴν συναγωνισαμένην περὶ τὸν 'Ιμέραν οὐ μόνον ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων ἡττήθη κατὰ κράτος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς τὴν κρατίστην καὶ πλείστην ἀπέβαλεν· οἱ δὲ τειχήρεις ἀποληφθέντες ἐν ταῖς Συρακούσσαις μικρῷ μέρει τῶν προηττηθέντων οὐ μόνον τὴν πολιορκήσασαν δύναμιν ἐχειρώσαντο τῶν Καρχηδονίων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν 'Αμίλκαν, ἐπιφανέστατον ὅντα τῶν πολιτῶν, ἐζώγρησαν· καὶ τὸ θαυμασιώτατον, δώδεκα μυριάδας πεζῶν καὶ πεντακισχιλίους ἱππεῖς ὀλίγος ἀριθμὸς 220

attack. The Carthaginians, being at a disadvantage 300 B.C. partly because of the confusion in their own ranks and partly because of the sudden appearance of the enemy, and in particular at a loss because of their ignorance of the locality and their cramped position, were driven into flight. But since there was no broad passage through the place, some of them were trodden down by their own horsemen, who were numerous, and others fought among themselves as if enemies, ignorance prevailing because of the darkness. Hamilear at first withstood the enemy stoutly and exhorted those drawn up near him to join with him in the fighting; but afterwards the soldiers abandoned him on account of the confusion and panic, and he, left alone, was pounced upon by the Syracusans.

30. One might with reason note the inconsistency of Fortune and the strange manner in which human events turn out contrary to expectation. For Agathocles, who was outstanding in courage and who had had a large army fighting in his support, not only was defeated decisively by the barbarians at the Himeras River, but he even lost the strongest and largest part of his army 1; whereas the garrison troops left behind in Syracuse, with only a small part of those who had previously been defeated, not only got the better of the Carthaginian army that had besieged them, but even captured alive Hamilcar, the most famous of their citizens. And what was most amazing, one hundred and twenty thousand footsoldiers and five thousand horsemen were defeated

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cp. Book 19, 108-109.

<sup>1</sup> μονωθείς Sintenis : μόγις σωθείς.

πολεμίων, προσλαβόμενος ἀπάτην καὶ τόπον, κατὰ κράτος ήττησεν, ωστ' άληθες είναι το λεγόμενον ὅτι πολλὰ τὰ κενὰ τοῦ πολέμου.

2 Μετὰ δὲ τὴν τροπὴν οἱ μεν Καρχηδόνιοι ἄλλοι¹ κατ' ἄλλους τόπους διασπαρέντες μόγις είς την ύστεραίαν ήθροίσθησαν, οί δὲ Συρακόσιοι μετά πολλών λαφύρων επανελθόντες είς τὴν πόλιν τὸν 'Αμίλκαν παρέδοσαν τοις βουλομένοις λαμβάνειν παρ' αὐτοῦ τιμωρίαν ἀνεμιμνήσκοντο δὲ καὶ τῆς τοῦ μάντεως φωνής, ος έφησεν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν ὑστεραίαν είς Συρακούσσας δειπνήσειν, τοῦ δαιμονίου 3 παραγαγόντος τάληθές. τὸν δ' οὖν 'Αμίλκαν οἱ τῶν ἀπολωλότων συγγενεῖς δεδεμένου ἀγαγόντες διά της πόλεως και δειναίς αικίαις κατ' αὐτοῦ χρησάμενοι μετά της έσχάτης υβρεως άνείλον. είθ' οί μεν της πόλεως προεστηκότες αποκόψαντες αὐτοῦ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀπέστειλαν τοὺς κομιοῦντας είς την Λιβύην πρός 'Αγαθοκλέα καὶ περὶ τών γεγονότων εὐτυχημάτων ἀπαγγελοῦντας.

31. Ἡ δὲ τῶν Καρχηδονίων στρατιά μετά τὴν γενομένην συμφοράν μαθούσα την αιτίαν των άτυχημάτων μόγις ἀπηλλάγη τῶν φόβων. ἀναρχίας δ' ούσης διέστησαν οἱ βάρβαροι πρὸς τοὺς "Ελληνας. 2 οί μεν οὖν φυγάδες μετὰ τῶν λοιπῶν Ἑλλήνων Δεινοκράτην στρατηγόν ἀπέδειξαν, οἱ δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι τοῖς δευτερεύουσι² μετὰ τὸν στρατηγὸν τιμῆ

την ήγεμονίαν ένεχείρισαν.

Καθ' ον δή χρόνον 'Ακραγαντίνοι θεωρούντες την èν Σικελία κατάστασιν εὐφυεστάτην οδσαν πρὸς έπίθεσιν ήμφισβήτησαν της κατά την νησον ήγε-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> ἄλλοι Hertlein : ἄλλος. <sup>2</sup> τŷ after δευτερεύουσι omitted by Madvig.

in battle by a small number of the enemy who en- 309 B.C. listed deception and terrain on their side; so that the saying is true that many are the empty alarms of war.1

After the rout the Carthaginians, scattered some here some there, were with difficulty gathered on the next day; and the Syracusans, returning to the city with much plunder, delivered Hamiltan over to those who wished to take vengeance upon him. They recalled also the word of the soothsayer who had said that Hamilear would enter Syracuse and dine there on the next day, the divinity having presented the truth in disguise. The kinsmen of the slain, after leading Hamilear through the city in bonds and inflicting terrible tortures upon him, put him to death with the utmost indignities. Then the rulers of the city cut off his head and dispatched men to carry it into Libya to Agathocles and report to him the successes that had been gained.

31. When the Carthaginian army after the disaster had taken place learned the cause of its misfortune, it was with difficulty relieved from its fears. There being no established commander, the barbarians separated from the Greeks. Then the exiles along with the other Greeks elected Deinocrates general, and the Carthaginians gave the command to those who had been second in rank to Hamilcar.

About this time the Acragantines, seeing that the situation in Sicily was most favourable for an attempt, made a bid for the leadership of the whole island;

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Book 17. 86, 1; 20. 67, 4; Thucydides, 3, 30; Aristotle, Nicomachean Ethics, 1116 b 7; Cicero, Letters to Atticus, 5. 20. 3. In most of these passages the MSS, are divided between κενά (empty) and καινά (strange); and Tyrrell and Purser on the last passage suggest κοινά (common to all).

3 μονίας· ὑπελάμβανον γὰρ Καρχηδονίους μὲν μόγις ανθέξειν τῶ πρὸς 'Αγαθοκλέα πολέμω, Δεινοκράτην δ' εὐκαταγώνιστον εἶναι συνηθροικότα φυγαδικὴν στρατιάν, τοὺς δ' ἐν ταῖς Συρακούσσαις θλιβομένους τῆ σιτοδεία μηδ' ἐγχειρήσειν ἀμφισβητεῖν των πρωτείων, το δε μέγιστον, την στρατείαν έαυτων ποιουμένων ἐπ' ἐλευθερώσει των πόλεων άσμένως απαντας ύπακούσεσθαι διά τε τὸ πρὸς τους βαρβάρους μίσος και δια την εμφυτον πάσιν 4 ἐπιθυμίαν τῆς αὐτονομίας. οὖτοι μὲν οὖν ἐλόμενοι στρατηγόν Ξενόδικον καὶ τὴν άρμόζουσαν δόντες δύναμιν εξέπεμψαν επί τον πόλεμον ο δε παραχρήμα έπι την Γέλαν δρμήσας και διά τινων ίδιοξένων νυκτός είσαχθείς έκυρίευσε τῆς πόλεως ἄμα 5 καὶ δυνάμεως άδρᾶς καὶ χρημάτων. ἐλευθερωθέντες ούν οἱ Γελώοι προθυμότατα πανδημεὶ συστρατεύοντες ήλευθέρουν τὰς πόλεις. διαβοηθείσης δὲ τῆς τῶν ᾿Ακραγαντίνων ἐπιβολῆς κατὰ πᾶσαν την νησον ενέπεσεν όρμη ταις πόλεσι πρός την έλευθερίαν. και πρώτοι μεν Ένναιοι πέμψαντες τὴν πόλιν τοῖς 'Ακραγαντίνοις παρέδωκαν οι δὲ ταύτην έλευθερώσαντες παρηλθον έπὶ τὸν Ἐρβησσόν, φρουρας εν αὐτῷ παραφυλαττούσης τὴν πόλιν. γενομένης δὲ μάχης ἰσχυρᾶς καὶ τῶν πολιτικῶν συνεργησάντων συνέβη την φρουραν άλωναι καί πολλούς μεν πεσείν των βαρβάρων, είς πεντακοσίους δὲ θεμένους τὰ ὅπλα παραδοῦναι σφᾶς αὐτούς.

32. Περὶ ταῦτα δ' ὄντων τῶν 'Ακραγαντίνων τῶν ἐν ταῖς Συρακούσσαις καταλελειμμένων στρα-

for they believed that the Carthaginians would 300 u.c. scarcely sustain the war against Agathocles; that Deinocrates was easy to conquer since he had collected an army of exises; that the people of Syracuse, pinched by famine, would not even try to compete for the primacy; and, what was most important, that if they took the field to secure the independence of the cities, all would gladly answer the summons both through hatred for the barbarians and through the desire for self-government that is implanted in all men. They therefore elected Xenodicus 1 as general, gave him an army suitable for the undertaking, and sent him forth to the war. He at once set out against Gela, was admitted at night by certain personal friends, and became master of the city together with its strong army and its wealth. The people of Gela, having been thus freed, joined in his campaign very eagerly and unanimously, and set about freeing the cities. As news of the undertaking of the Acragantines spread throughout the whole island, an impulse toward liberty made itself manifest in the cities. And first the people of Enna sent to the Acragantines and delivered their city over to them; and when they had freed Enna, the Acragantines went on to Erbessus, although a garrison stationed there was keeping watch over the city. After a bitter battle had taken place in which the citizens aided the Acragantines, the garrison was captured and, although many of the barbarians fell, at least five hundred of them laid down their arms and surrendered.

32. While the Acragantines were thus engaged, some of the soldiers who had been left in Syracuse by

Called Xenodocus in chaps. 56. 2; 62. 2.

τιωτών ύπ' 'Αγαθοκλέους καταλαβόμενοί τινες τὴν 'Εχέτλαν ἐπόρθουν τήν τε Λεοντίνην καὶ Καμαρι2 ναίαν. κακώς οὖν πασχουσών τῶν πόλεων διὰ τὸ τὴν χώραν δηοῦσθαι καὶ τοῦς καρποὺς ἄπαντας διαφθείρεσθαι ἐμβαλὼν εἰς τοὺς τόπους ὁ Ξενόδικος Λεοντίνους μὲν καὶ Καμαριναίους ἀπήλλαξε τοῦ πολέμου, τὴν δ' Ἑχέτλαν χωρίον ὀχυρὸν ἐκπολιορκήσας τοῦς μὲν πολίταις τὴν δημοκρατίαν ἀποκατέστησε, τοὺς δὲ Συρακοσίους κατεπλήξατο καθόλου δ' ἐπιπορευόμενος τά τε φρούρια καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἡλευθέρου τῆς τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἐπιστασίας.

3 "Αμα δὲ τούτοις πραττομένοις Συρακόσιοι πιεζούμενοι τῆ σιτοδεία καὶ πυνθανόμενοι σιτηγὰ πλοῖα
μέλλοντα ποιεῖσθαι πλοῦν ἐπὶ Συρακούσσας ἐπλήρουν τριήρεις εἴκοσι, τηρήσαντες δὲ τοὺς ἐφορμεῖν
εἰωθότας βαρβάρους ἀφυλάκτους ὅντας ἔλαθον ἐκπλεύσαντες καὶ παρακομισθέντες εἰς τοὺς Μεγαρεῖς
4 ἐπετήρουν τὸν τῶν ἐμπόρων κατάπλουν. μετὰ δὲ
ταῦτα τῶν Καρχηδονίων τριάκοντα ναυσὶν ἐκπλευσάντων ἐπ' αὐτοὺς τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐπεβάλοντο
ναυμαχεῖν, ταχὺ δὲ πρὸς τὴν γῆν ἐκδιωχθέντες
5 ἐξεκολύμβησαν πρός τινα ναὸν "Ηρας. γενομένης
οὖν μάχης περὶ τῶν σκαφῶν καὶ τῶν Καρχηδονίων
- ἐπιβαλλόντων σιδηρᾶς χεῖρας καὶ βιαιότερον ἀποσπώντων ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς δέκα μὲν τριήρεις ἑάλωσαν,
τὰς δ' ἄλλας ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐπιβοηθήσαντές τινες

διέσωσαν. Καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ Σικελίαν ἐν τούτοις ἢν.

33. Περὶ δὲ τὴν Λιβύην 'Αγαθοκλῆς, ἐπειδὴ κατέπλευσαν οἱ τὴν 'Αμίλκα κεφαλὴν κομίζοντες, ἀναλαβών ταύτην καὶ παριππεύσας πλησίον τῆς

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> This town is not definitely identified. Polybius, 1. 15. 10, 226

Agathocles, after seizing Echetla, plundered Leon- 309 B.C. tini and Camarina. Since the cities were suffering from the plundering of their fields and the destruction of all their crops, Xenodicus entered the region and freed the peoples of Leontini and Camarina from the war; and after taking Echetla, a walled town, by siege, he re-established democracy for its citizens and struck fear into the Syracusans; and, in general, as he advanced he liberated the strongholds and the cities from Carthaginian domination.

Meantime the Syracusans, hard pressed by famine and hearing that grain ships were about to make the voyage to Syracuse, manned twenty triremes and, watching the barbarians who were accustomed to lie at anchor off the harbour to catch them off guard, sailed out unseen and coasted along to Megara, where they waited for the approach of the traders. Afterwards, however, when the Carthaginians sailed out against them with thirty ships, they first tried to fight at sea, but were quickly driven to land and leapt from their ships at a certain shrine of Hera. Then a battle took place for the ships; and the Carthaginians, throwing grappling irons into the triremes and with great force dragging them off from the shore, captured ten 2 of them, but the others were saved by men who came to the rescue from the city.

And this was the condition of affairs in Sicily.

33. In Libya, when those who were carrying the head of Hamilcar had come into port, Agathocles took the head and, riding near the hostile camp to

mentions it as on the frontier between Syracusan and Carthaginian territory at the time of Hieron II.

παρεμβολής των πολεμίων είς φωνής ἀκοὴν ἔδειξε τοις πολεμίοις και την τών στρατοπέδων ήτταν 2 διεσάφησεν. οἱ δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι περιαλγεῖς γενόμενοι καὶ βαρβαρικώς προσκυνήσαντες συμφοράν έαυτων ἐποιοῦντο τὸν τοῦ βασιλέως θάνατον καὶ πρός του όλου πόλεμου άθυμοι καθειστήκεισαν. οί δὲ περὶ τὸν 'Αγαθοκλέα τοῖς περὶ Λιβύην προτερήμασιν επαρθέντες τηλικούτων εύτυχημάτων προσγενομένων μετέωροι ταις έλπίσιν εγενήθησαν, 3 ώς ἀπηλλαγμένοι τῶν δεινῶν. οὐ μὴν ἡ τύχη γε είασε την ευροιαν μένειν έπὶ της αὐτης τάξεως, ἀλλ' έκ των ίδίων στρατιωτών τω δυνάστη τους μεγίστους ἐπήνεγκε κινδύνους. Λυκίσκος γάρ τις των εφ' ήγεμονία τεταγμένων, παραληφθείς ύπ' 'Αναθοκλέους ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον, οἰνωθεὶς ἐβλασφήμει ι του δυνάστην. ό μεν οδυ 'Αγαθοκλής δια τας έν τῷ πολέμῳ χρείας ἀποδεχόμενος τὸν ἄνδρα τῆ παιδιᾶ τὰ πρός πικρίαν λεγόμενα διέσυρεν· ὁ δ' υίος 'Αρχάγαθος χαλεπώς φέρων επετίμα τε καί 5 διηπειλείτο. διαλυθέντος δε του πότου και πρός την σκηνην απιόντων έλοιδόρησεν ό Λυκίσκος τον 'Αρχάγαθον εἰς τὴν τῆς μητρυιᾶς μοιχείαν· ἐδόκει γαρ έχειν λάθρα τοῦ πατρὸς τὴν 'Αλκίαν τοῦτο 6 γὰρ ἦν ὄνομα τῆ γυναικί. ὁ δ' 'Αρχάγαθος εἰς οργην ύπερβάλλουσαν προαχθείς και παρά τινος τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν ἀρπάσας σιβύνην διήλασε διὰ τῶν πλευρών. τοῦτον μὲν οὖν παραχρῆμα τελευτήσαντα πρός την ίδίαν απήνεγκαν σκηνην οίς ην επιμελές. αμα δ' ήμέρα συνελθόντες οἱ τοῦ φονευθέντος φίλοι καὶ πολλοί τῶν ἄλλων στρατιωτῶν συνδραμόντες ηγανάκτουν ἐπὶ τοῖς πραχθεῖσι καὶ θορύβου την 7 παρεμβολήν ἐπλήρωσαν. πολλοί δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐφ' 228

within hearing distance, showed it to the enemy and 300 Bec. related to them the defeat of their expedition. The Carthaginians, deeply grieved and prostrating themselves on the ground in barbarian fashion, regarded the death of the king as their own misfortune, and they fell into deep despair in regard to the whole war. But Agathocles, who was already elated by his successes in Libya, when such strokes of fortune were now added, was borne aloft by soaring hopes, thinking himself freed from all dangers. Fortune notwithstanding did not permit success to remain long on the same side but brought the greatest danger to the prince from his own soldiers. For Lyciscus, one of those who had been placed in command, invited to dinner by Agathoeles, became drunk and insulted the prince. Now Agathocles, who valued the man for his services in the war, turned aside with a joke what had been said in bitterness; but his son, Archagathus,1 becoming angry, censured and threatened Lyciscus. When the drinking was concluded and the men were going away to their quarters, Lyciscus taunted Archagathus on the score of his adultery with his stepmother; for he was supposed to possess Alcia, for this was the woman's name, without his father's knowledge. Archagathus, driven into an overpowering rage, seized a spear from one of the guard and thrust Lyciscus through his ribs. Now he died at once and was carried away to his own tent by those whose task it was; but at daybreak the friends of the murdered man came together, and many of the other soldiers hastened to join them, and all were indignant at what had happened and filled the camp with uproar. Many, too, of those who

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> For the form of this name cp. chap. 11. 1, and note.

ήγεμονίαις τεταγμένων, εν εγκλήμασιν ὅντες καὶ φοβούμενοι περὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν, συνεπιθέμενοι τῷ καιρῷ στάσιν οὐ τὴν τυχοῦσαν εξέκαυσαν. παντὸς δὲ τοῦ στρατεύματος μισοπονήροῦντος ἔκαστοι τὰς πανοπλίας ἀνελάμβανον ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ φονεύσαντος τιμωρίαν καὶ πέρας τὸ πλῆθος ῷετο δεῖν ᾿Αρχάγαθον ἀναιρεῖσθαι, μὴ ἐκδιδόντος δὲ τὸν υίὸν ᾿Αγαθοκλέους αὐτὸν ἀντ᾽ ἐκείνου τὴν τιμωρίαν ὑπέχειν. 8 ἀπήτουν δὲ καὶ τοὺς μισθοὺς τοὺς ὀφειλομένους

καὶ στρατηγούς ήροῦντο τοὺς ἀφηγησομένους τοῦ στρατοπέδου καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον τὰ τείχη κατελαμβάνοντό τινες τοῦ Τύνητος καὶ πανταχόθεν φυλα-

καις περιέλαβον τούς δυνάστας.

34. Οξ δε Καρχηδόνιοι γνόντες την παρά τοις πολεμίοις στάσιν έπεμψάν τινας άξιοθντες μεταβάλλεσθαι καὶ τούς τε μισθούς μείζους καὶ δωρεάς άξιολόγους δώσειν ἐπηγγέλλοντο. πολλοὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἀπάξειν πρὸς αὐτοὺς τὴν στρατιὰν 2 ἐπηγγείλαντο· ὁ δ' 'Αγαθοκλῆς ὁρῶν τὴν σωτηρίαν έπὶ ροπῆς κειμένην καὶ φοβούμενος μὴ τοῖς πο-λεμίοις παραδοθεὶς μεθ' ὕβρεως καταστρέψη τὸν βίον, ὑπέλαβε κρεῖττον εἶναι, κὰν δέη τι πάσχειν, 3 ύπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀποθανεῖν. διόπερ ἀποθέμενος την πορφύραν καὶ μεταλαβών ίδιωτικήν καὶ ταπεινήν έσθητα παρηλθέν είς το μέσον. σιωπής οὖν γενομένης διὰ τὸ παράδοξον καὶ πολλῶν γενομένων τῶν συνδραμόντων διεξῆλθε λόγους οἰκείους της περιστάσεως καὶ τῶν προκατεργασθεισῶν αὐτῷ πράξεων άναμνήσας ἔφησεν ἔτοιμος εἶναι τελευτᾶν εὶ τοῦτο δόξει συμφέρειν τοῖς συστρατευομένοις· 4 οὐδέποτε γάρ αὐτὸν δειλία συνεσχημένον ὑπομεῖναί

had been placed in command, as they also were sub- 300 k.c. ject to accusation and feared for themselves, turned the crisis to their own advantage and kindled no inconsiderable sedition. When the whole army was full of indignation, the troops severally donned full armour to punish the murderer; and finally the mob made up its mind that Archagathus should be put to death, and that, if Agathocles did not surrender his son, he himself should pay the penalty in his place. And they also kept demanding the pay that was due them, and they elected generals to lead the army; and finally some of them seized the walls of Tunis and surrounded the princes with guards on every side.

34. The Carthaginians, on learning of the discord among the enemy, sent men to them urging them to change sides, and promised to give them greater pay and noteworthy bonuses.1 And indeed many of the leaders did agree to take the army over to them; but Agathocles, seeing that his safety was in the balance and fearing that, if he should be delivered to the enemy, he would end his life amid insults, decided that it was better, if he had to suffer, to die at the hands of his own men. Therefore, putting aside the purple and donning the humble garb of a private citizen, he came out into the middle of the crowd. Silence fell because his action was unexpected, and when a crowd had run together, he delivered a speech suitable to the critical situation. After recalling his earlier achievements, he said that he was ready to die if that should seem best for his fellow soldiers; for never had he, constrained by

Most of Agathocles' soldiers were mercenaries, cp. chaps. 11, 1; 33, 8.

τι παθείν ἄτοπον ένεκα τοῦ φιλοψυχείν. καὶ τούτου μάρτυρας ἐκείνους ὑπάρχειν ἀποφαινόμενος ενύμνωσε το ξίφος ώς σφάξων εαυτόν. μελλοντος δ' ἐπιφέρειν πληγὴν ἀνεβόησε τὸ στρατόπεδον διακωλθον καὶ πανταχόθεν ἐγίνοντο φωναὶ τῶν ἐγκλη-5 μάτων ἀπολύουσαι. προστάττοντος δὲ τοῦ πλήθους αναλαβεῖν τὴν βασιλικὴν ἐσθῆτα δακρύων καὶ τοῖς δχλοις εύχαριστών ένεδύετο τὸν προσήκοντα κόσμον, τοῦ πλήθους τὴν ἀποκατάστασω κρότω παραμυθησαμένου. τῶν δὲ Καρχηδονίων καραδοκούντων ώς αὐτίκα μάλα τῶν Ἑλλήνων πρὸς αὐτοὺς μεταθησομένων, ' 'Αγαθοκλής ού παρείς τον καιρον έξή-6 γαγεν έπ' αὐτοὺς τὴν δύναμιν. οἱ μὲν οὖν βάρβαροι νομίζοντες τους εναντίους αποχωρείν προς αυτούς, οδδεμίαν των πρός άλήθειαν πεπραγμένων έννοιαν έλάμβανον ό δ' 'Αγαθοκλής ώς έπλησίασε τοις πολεμίοις, ἄφνω τὸ πολεμικὸν προσέταζε σημαίνειν καὶ προσπεσών πολύν ἐποίει φόνον. οἱ δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι παραδόξω συμπτώματι περιπεσόντες καὶ πολλούς τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀποβαλόντες συνέφυγον 7 els τὴν παρεμβολήν. 'Αγαθοκλῆς μὲν οὖν διὰ τὸν υίον είς τους έσχάτους έλθων κινδύνους διά της ίδίας άρετης οὐ μόνον λύσιν εὖρε τῶν κακῶν, ἀλλά καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ηλάττωσεν οι δὲ τῆς στάσεως μάλιστ' αἴτιοι γενόμενοι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσοι πρὸς τὸν δυνάστην ἀλλοτρίως διέκειντο, ὑπὲρ τοὺς διακοσίους όντες, ετόλμησαν πρός τους Καρχηδονίους αὐτομολῆσαι.

'Ημεῖς δὲ τὰ περὶ Λιβύην καὶ Σικελίαν διεληλυθότες μνησθησόμεθα καὶ τῶν ἐν Ἰταλία πραχ-

θέντων.

cowardice, consented to endure any indignity through 309 B.C. love of life. And declaring that they themselves were witnesses of this, he bared his sword as if to slay himself. When he was on the point of striking the blow, the army shouted bidding him stop, and from every side came voices clearing him from the charges. And when the crowd kept pressing him to resume his royal garb, he put on the dress of his rank, weeping and thanking the people, the crowd meanwhile acclaiming his restoration with a clash of arms. While the Carthaginians were waiting intently, expecting that the Greeks would very soon come over to them, Agathocles, not missing the opportunity, led his army against them. The barbarians, believing that their opponents were deserting to them, had no idea at all of what had actually taken place; and when Agathoeles had drawn near the enemy, he suddenly ordered the signal for battle to be given, fell upon them, and created great havoc. The Carthaginians, stunned by the sudden reversal, lost many of their soldiers and fled into their camp. Thus Agathocles, after having fallen into the most extreme danger on account of his son, through his own excellence not only found a way out of his difficulties, but even defeated the enemy. Those, however, who were chiefly responsible for the sedition and any of the others who were hostile to the prince, more than two hundred in number, found the courage to desert to the Carthaginians.

Now that we have completed the account of events in Libya and in Sicily, we shall relate what took place in Italy.

<sup>1</sup> Continued in chap. 38. 1.

 $<sup>^1</sup>$  μεταθησομένων Dindorf : μετατεθησομένων RX, μεταβησομένων F.

35. Τῶν γὰρ Τυρρηνῶν στρατευσάντων ἐπὶ πόλιν Σούτριον ἄποικον 'Ρωμαίων οἱ μὲν ὕπατοι δυνάμεσιν άδραις εκβοηθήσαντες ενίκησαν μάχη τούς 2 Τυρρηνούς καὶ συνεδίωξαν εἰς τὴν παρεμβολήν, οἰ δέ Σαυνίται κατά τούτον τὸν χρόνον μακράν ἀπηρτημένης τῆς 'Ρωμαίων δυνάμεως ἀδεῶς ἐπόρθουν τῶν Ἰαπύνων τοὺς τὰ Ῥωμαίων φρονοῦντας. διόπερ ήναγκάσθησαν οἱ ὕπατοι διαιρεῖν τὰς δυνάμεις καὶ Φάβιος μέν έν τῆ Τυρρηνία κατέμεινεν, Μάρκιος δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς Σαυνίτας ἀναζεύξας ᾿Αλλίφας μέν πόλιν είλεν κατά κράτος, τούς δε πολιορκουμένους τῶν συμμάχων ἐκ τῶν κινδύνων ἐρρύσατο. 3 ό δὲ Φάβιος Τυρρηνών πολλοῖς πλήθεσιν ἐπὶ τὸ Σούτριον συνδραμόντων έλαθε τούς πολεμίους διά της των δμόρων χώρας έμβαλων είς την ανωτέρω Τυρρηνίαν, ἀπόρθητον γενομένην πολλών χρόνων 4 ἐπιπεσών δὲ ἀνελπίστως τῆς τε χώρας πολλήν έδήωσε καὶ τοὺς ἐπελθόντας τῶν ἐγχωρίων νικήσας πολλούς μεν ἀνείλεν, ούκ όλίγους δε καί ζώντας ύποχειρίους έλαβεν. μετά δε ταθτα περί την καλουμένην Περυσίαν δευτέρα μάχη τῶν Τυρρηνῶν κρατήσας, πολλούς άνελών κατεπλήξατο τὸ εθνος, πρώτος 'Ρωμαίων μετά δυνάμεως έμβεβληκώς είς 5 τούς τόπους τούτους. καὶ πρὸς μὲν 'Αρρητινούς καὶ Κροτωνιάτας, ἔτι δὲ Περυσίνους ἀνοχὰς ἐποιήσατο πόλιν δὲ τὴν ὀνομαζομένην Καστόλαν ἐκ-1 'Ouβοικών Dindorf.

35. When the Etruscans 1 had taken the field 300 B.C. against the city Sutrium, a Roman colony, the consuls, coming out to its aid with a strong army, defeated them in battle and drove them into their camp; but the Samnites at this time, when the Roman army was far distant, were plundering with impunity those Iapyges who supported the Romans. The consuls, therefore, were forced to divide their armies; Fabius remained in Etruria, but Marcius, setting out against the Samnites, took the city Allifae by storm and freed from danger those of the allies who were being besieged. Fabius, however, while the Etruscans in great numbers were gathering against Sutrium, marched without the knowledge of the enemy through the country of their neighbours 2 into upper Etruria, which had not been plundered for a long time. Falling upon it unexpectedly, he ravaged a large part of the country; and in a victory over those of the inhabitants who came against him, he slew many of them and took no small number of them alive as prisoners. Thereafter, defeating the Etruscans in a second battle near the place called Perusia and destroying many of them, he overawed the nation since he was the first of the Romans to have invaded that region with an army. He also made truces with the peoples of Arretium and Crotona,3 likewise with those of Perusia; and, taking by siege the city called

<sup>2</sup> Or, reading 'Ομβρικών: "through the country of the

Umbrians."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Continued from chap. 26. 4. For this campaign ep. Livy, 9. 35-40.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> The Etruscan city, called Cortona by Livy, 9. 37. 12, and by Latin writers generally, but Κρότων by the Greeks except Polybius, 3. 82. 9, who has Κυρτώνιον.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> ἐμβαλών Dindorf: συνεμβαλών.

πολιορικήσας συνηνάγκασε τοὺς Τυρρηνοὺς λῦσαι τὴν τοῦ Σουτρίου πολιορκίαν.

36. Έν δὲ τῆ 'Ρώμη κατά τοῦτον τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν τιμητάς είλοντο καὶ τούτων ὁ έτερος "Αππιος Κλαύδιος ὑπήκοον ἔχων τὸν συνάρχοντα Λεύκιον Πλαύτιον πολλά τῶν πατρώων νομίμων ἐκίνησε· τῷ δήμω γὰρ τὸ κεχαρισμένον ποιῶν οὐδένα λόνον έποιείτο τής συγκλήτου. καὶ πρώτον μέν τὸ καλούμενον "Αππιον ΰδωρ ἀπὸ σταδίων ογδοήκοντα κατήγαγεν είς τὴν 'Ρώμην καὶ πολλά τῶν δημοσίων γρημάτων είς ταύτην την κατασκευήν ανήλωσεν 2 ἄνευ δόγματος της συγκλήτου μετά δὲ ταῦτα της άφ' έωυτοῦ κληθείσης 'Αππίας όδοῦ τὸ πλεῖον μέρος λίθοις στερεοίς κατέστρωσεν από 'Ρώμης μέχρι Καπύης, όντος τοῦ διαστήματος σταδίων πλειόνων η χιλίων, και τών τόπων τούς μεν ύπερέχοντας διασκάψας, τοὺς δὲ φαραγγώδεις ἢ κοίλους ἀναλήμμασιν άξιολόγοις έξισώσας κατηνάλωσεν άπάσας τὰς δημοσίας προσόδους, αύτοῦ δὲ μνημεῖον άθάνατον κατέλιπεν, είς κοινήν εύχρηστίαν φιλο-3 τιμηθείς. κατέμιξε δὲ καὶ τὴν σύγκλητον, οὐ τοὺς εύγενεῖς καὶ προέχοντας τοῖς ἀξιώμασι προσγράφων μόνον, ώς ήν έθος, άλλα πολλούς και των απελευθέρων υίους ανέμιξεν έφ' οίς βαρέως έφερον οί 4 καυγώμενοι ταις εὐγενείαις. ἔδωκε δὲ τοις πολίταις καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἐν ὁποία τις βούλεται φυλή

1 Πλαύτιον Rhodoman : Κλαύδιον.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> υίοὺς Oudendorp: ἐνίους. πολλοὺς ⟨τῶν δυσγετῶν⟩ καὶ τῶν ἀπελευθέρων ἐνίους Wesseling. Reiske would add τῶν πολλῶν οr τοῦ πλήθους.

Castola, he forced the Etruscans to raise the siege 309 B.C. of Sutrium.

36. In Rome in this year censors were elected,2 and one of them Appius Claudius, who had his colleague, Lucius Plautius, under his influence, changed many of the laws of the fathers; for since he was following a course of action pleasing to the people, he considered the Senate of no importance. In the first place he built the Appian Aqueduct, as it is called, from a distance of eighty stades 3 to Rome, and spent a large sum of public money for this construction without a decree of the Senate. Next he payed with solid stone the greater part of the Appian Way, which was named for him, from Rome to Capua, the distance being more than a thousand stades.4 And since he dug through elevated places and levelled with noteworthy fills the ravines and valleys, he expended the entire revenue of the state but left behind a deathless monument to himself, having been ambitious in the public interest. He also mixed the Senate, enrolling not merely those who were of noble birth and superior rank as was the custom, but also including many sons of freedmen.5 For this reason those were incensed with him who boasted of their nobility. He also gave each citizen the right to be enrolled in whatever tribe

<sup>1</sup> Castola is unknown. Faesulae, Carsula, and Clusium

have been suggested in its place.

About 9 miles.
 About 115 miles.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Livy, 9, 29, 5, places the beginning of this censorship in the consulship of M. Valerius and P. Decius, *i.e.* 311 B.c. according to Diodorus, 312 B.c. according to the conventional Roman system; and in 9, 33-34 he has Appius retain the office contrary to law into the present year, 309 or 310 B.c.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Or, adding τοῦ πλήθους after πολλούς: "adding many of the plebeians and sons of freedmen." Cp. Livy, 9, 46, 10-11.

τάττεσθαι καὶ ὅποι προαιροῖτο τιμήσασθαι. τὸ δ' ὅλον, ὁρῶν τεθησαυρισμένον κατ' αὐτοῦ παρὰ τοῖς ἐπιφανεστάτοις τὸν φθόνοκ, ἐξέκλινε τὸ προσκόπτειν τισὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν, ἀντίταγμα κατασκευάζων τῆ τῶν εὐγενῶν ἀλλοτριότητι τὴν παρὰ 5 τῶν πολλῶν εὕνοιαν. καὶ κατὰ μέν τὴν τῶν ίππέων δοκιμασίαν οὐδενὸς ἀφείλετο τὸν ἴππον, κατά δὲ τὴν τῶν συνέδρων καταγραφὴν οὐδένα τῶν ἀδοξούντων συγκλητικῶν ἐξέβαλεν, ὅπερ ἦν έθος ποιείν τοίς τιμηταίς. είθ' οι μεν υπατοι διά τὸν φθόνον καὶ διὰ τὸ βούλεσθαι τοῖς ἐπιφανεστάτοις χαρίζεσθαι συνήγον την σύγκλητον οὐ την ύπὸ τούτου καταλεγείσαν, άλλὰ τὴν ύπὸ τῶν προη γεγενημένων τιμητών καταγραφεΐσαν ο δε δήμος τούτοις μὲν ἀντιπράττων τῷ δὲ ᾿Αππίω συμφιλοτιμούμενος καὶ τὴν τῶν συγγενῶν προαγωγὴν βεβαιώσαι βουλόμενος άγορανόμον είλετο της έπιφανεστέρας άγορανομίας υίον απελευθέρου Γναΐον Φλάυιον, δε πρώτος 'Ρωμαίων έτυχε ταύτης της άρχης πατρός ών δεδουλευκότος. ό δ' "Αππιος της άρχης άπολυθείς και τον άπο της συγκλήτου φθόνον εὐλαβηθεὶς προσεποιήθη τυφλὸς εἶναι καὶ κατ' οἰκίαν ἔμενεν.

37. 'Επ' ἄρχοντος δ' 'Αθήνησι Χαρίνου 'Ρωμαΐοι μὲν τὴν ὕπατον ἀρχὴν παρέδοσαν Ποπλίω

<sup>1</sup> έδωκε δὲ . . . τιμήσασθαι Fischer, ἔδωκε δὲ καὶ τοῖς πολίταις τὴν ἐξουσίαν ὅπου προαιροῦντο τιμήσασθαι Dindorf: ἔδωκε δὲ τοῖς πολίταις ἐξουσίαν ἐν ὁποία τις βούλεται ψυλή τάττεσθαι καὶ 238

he wished, and to be placed in the census class he 300 B.C. preferred.1 In short, seeing hatred toward himself treasured up by the most distinguished men, he avoided giving offence to any of the other citizens, securing as a counterpoise against the hostility of the nobles the goodwill of the many. At the inspection of the equestrian order he deprived no man of his horse, and in drawing up the album of the Senate he removed no one of the unworthy Senators, which it was the custom of the censors to do. Then the consuls, because of their hatred for him and their desire to please the most distinguished men, called together the Senate, not as it had been listed by him but as it had been entered in the album by the preceding censors; and the people in opposition to the nobles and in support of Appius, wishing also to establish firmly the promotion of their own class, elected to the more distinguished of the aedileships the son of a freedman, Gnaeus Flavius, who was the first Roman whose father had been a slave to gain that office.2 When Appius had completed his term of office, as a precaution against the ill will of the Senate, he professed to be blind and remained in his house.3

37. When Charinus was archon at Athens, the 308 B.C. Romans gave the consulship to Publius Decius and

<sup>3</sup> Continued in chap. 44, 8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cp. Livy, 9, 46, 10-11. Dindorf, followed by Mommsen (*Römische Forschungen*, 1, 307), omits "to be enrolled in whatever tribe he wished, and."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> For the aedileship of Flavius cp. Livy, 9. 46, where it is placed five years later.

τὴν ἐξουσίαν ὅποι προαιροῖτο τιμήσασθαι RX; ἔδωκε δὲ καὶ τοῖς πολίταις ἐξουσίαν ὅποι προαιροῖντο τιμήσασθαι καὶ ἐν ὁποία τις βούλεται ψυλῆ τάττεσθαι Γ.

Δεκίφ καὶ Κοΐντφ Φαβίφ, παρὰ δὲ τοῖς 'Ηλείοις όλυμπιὰς ήχθη ὀγδόη πρὸς ταῖς έκατὸν δέκα, καθ' ην ενίκα στάδιον 'Απολλωνίδης Τεγεάτης. κατά δε τούτους τους χρόνους Πτέλεμαΐος μέν εκ τῆς Μύνδου πλεύσας άδρῷ στόλῳ διὰ νήσων ἐν παράπλω τὴν "Ανδρον ἡλευθέρωσε καὶ τὴν φρουρὰν ἐξήγαγε. κομισθεὶς δ' ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰσθμὸν Σικυῶνα καὶ Κόρινθον παρέλαβεν παρὰ Κρατησιπόλεως. τὰς δὲ αἰτίας δι' ας ἐκυρίευσε πόλεων ἐπιφανῶν προδεδηλωκότες έν ταις πρό ταύτης βίβλοις το διλο-2 γειν ύπερ των αὐτων παρήσομεν. ἐπεβάλετο μέν οὖν καὶ τὰς ἄλλας Ἑλληνίδας πόλεις Πτολεμαΐος έλευθερούν, μεγάλην προσθήκην ήγούμενος έσεσθαι τοις ίδίοις πράγμασι την των Έλληνων εύνοιαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι συνταξάμενοι χορηγήσειν σίτον καὶ χρήματα τῶν ώμολογημένων οὐδὲν συνετέλουν, άγανακτήσας ό δυνάστης πρὸς μὲν Κάσανδρον ειρήνην εποιήσατο, καθ' ην έκατέρους έδει κυριεύειν τῶν πόλεων ὧν εἶχον, τὴν δὲ Σικυῶνα καὶ Κόρινθον ἀσφαλισάμενος φρουρά διήρεν els την Αἵνυπτον.

Αμα δὲ τούτοις πραττομένοις Κλεοπάτρα τῷ μέν 'Αντιγόνω προσκόπτουσα, τῆ δ' αίρέσει πρός τον Πτολεμαΐον αποκλίνουσα προήγεν έκ Σάρδεων, ώς διακομισθησομένη πρός έκεῖνον. ην δὲ ἀδελφή μὲν 'Αλεξάνδρου τοῦ Πέρσας καταπολεμήσαντος, θυγάτηρ δὲ Φιλίππου τοῦ ᾿Λμύντου, γυνή δὲ γε-γενημένη τοῦ εἰς Ἰταλίαν στρατεύσαντος ᾿Αλεξ-

Charinus was archon in 308/7 B.c. In the Fasti the year 309 a.c. is a "dictator year" with L. Papirius Cursor as dictator and C. Junius Bubuleus Brutus as his master-ofhorse. No consuls are given. For these dictator years,

Quintus Fabius 1; and in Elis the Olympian Games 308 B.C. were celebrated for the one hundred and eighteenth time, at which celebration Apollonides of Tegea won the foot race. At othis time,2 while Ptolemy was sailing from Myndus with a strong fleet through the islands, he liberated Andros as he passed by and drove out the garrison. Moving on to the Isthmus, he took Sicyon and Corinth from Cratesipolis. Since the causes that explain her becoming ruler of famous cities were made clear in the preceding Book,3 we shall refrain from again discussing the same subject. Now Ptolemy planned to free the other Greek cities also, thinking that the goodwill of the Greeks would be a great gain for him in his own undertakings; but when the Peloponnesians, having agreed to contribute food and money, contributed nothing of what had been promised, the prince in anger made peace with Cassander, by the terms of which peace each prince was to remain master of the cities that he was holding; and after securing Sicyon and Corinth with a garrison, Ptolemy departed for Egypt.

Meanwhile Cleopatra quarrelled with Antigonus and, inclining to cast her lot with Ptolemy, she started from Sardis in order to cross over to him. She was the sister of Alexander the conqueror of Persia and daughter of Philip, son of Amyntas, and had been the wife of the Alexander who made an expedition

probably invented to accommodate two systems of chronology, cp. Introduction to Vol. IX and H. Stuart Jones in Cambridge Ancient History, 7, 321. This fictitious year is omitted by both Livy and Diodorus, and from this point on the Varronian chronology and that of Diodorus agree. The consuls for 308 s.c. are given in the Fasti as P. Decius Mus for the second time and Q. Fabius Maximus Rullianus for the third, cp. Livy, 9, 40, 41.

<sup>2</sup> Continued from chap. 27. 3. <sup>3</sup> Cp. Book 19. 67. 1.

4 άνδρου. διὰ τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν οὖν τοῦ γένους οἰ περί Κάσανδρον καὶ Λυσίμαχον, ἔτι δὲ ἀντίγονον καὶ Πτολεμαΐον καὶ καθόλου πάντες οἱ μετά τὴν 'Αλεξάνδρου τελευτήν άξιολογώτατοι τῶν ήγεμόνων ταύτην έμνήστευον έκαστος γάρ τούτω τῶ γάμω συνακολουθήσειν Μακεδόνας έλπίζων άντείχετο της βασιλικής οἰκίας, ώς τὴν τῶν ὅλων ἀρχὴν 5 περιστήσων εἰς ἐαυτόν. ὁ δὲ ἐπιμελητὴς τῶν Σάρδεων έχων παράγγελμα παρ' 'Αντιγόνου τηρεῖν τὴν Κλεοπάτραν, διεκώλυεν αυτής την έξοδον υστερον δὲ προστάξαντος τοῦ δυνάστου διά τινων γυναικῶν 6 εδολοφόνησεν. ὁ δ' 'Αντίγονος οὐ βουλόμενος λέγεσθαι κατ' αὐτοῦ περὶ τῆς ἀναιρέσεως, τῶν γυναικών τινας εκόλασεν ώς επιβεβουλευκυίας καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν ἐκφορὰν βασιλικῶς ἐφιλοκάλησεν. Κλεοπάτρα μεν οὖν περιμάχητος γενομένη παρά τοῖς ἐπιφανεστάτοις ἡγεμόσι πρὸ τοῦ συντελεσθῆναι τὸν γάμον τοιαύτης ἔτυχε καταστροφῆς.

 ήμεῖς δὲ διεληλυθότες τὰ κατὰ τὴν 'Λσίαν καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα μεταβιβάσομεν τὸν λόγον ἐπὶ τὰ ἄλλα

μέρη της οίκουμένης.

38. Κατὰ γὰρ τὴν Λιβύην Καρχηδονίων ἐκπεμψάντων δύναμιν τὴν προσαξομένην τοὺς ἀφεστηκότας Νομάδας 'Αγαθοκλῆς ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦ Τύνητος
ἀπέλιπεν 'Αρχάγαθον τὸν υίὸν μετὰ μέρους τῆς
στρατιᾶς, αὐτὸς δ' ἀναλαβὼν τοὺς κρατίστους,
πεζοὺς μὲν ὀκτακισχιλίους, ἱππεῖς δὲ ὀκτακοσίους,
ζεύγη δὲ Λιβύων πεντήκοντα, κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐπη2 κολούθει τοῖς πολεμίοις. οἱ δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι παρα-

<sup>1</sup> προσαξομένην Dindorf: προσδεξομένην.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> For the marriage of Cleopatra and Alexander, at which 242

into Italy.1 Because of the distinction of her descent 308 B.C. Cassander and Lysimachus, as well as Antigonus and Ptolemy and in general all the leaders who were most important after Alexander's death, sought her hand; for each of them, hoping that the Macedonians would follow the lead of this marriage, was seeking alliance with the royal house in order thus to gain supreme power for himself. The governor of Sardis, who had orders from Antigonus to watch Cleopatra, prevented her departure; but later, as commanded by the prince, he treacherously brought about her death through the agency of certain women. But Antigonus, not wishing the murder to be laid at his door, punished some of the women for having plotted against her, and took care that the funeral should be conducted in royal fashion. Thus Cleopatra, after having been the prize in a contest among the most eminent leaders, met this fate before her marriage was brought to pass.

Now that we have related the events of Asia and of Greece, we shall turn our narrative to the other

parts of the inhabited world.2

38. In Libya,³ when the Carthaginians had sent out an army to win over the Nomads who had deserted, Agathocles left his son Archagathus before Tunis with part of the army, but he himself, selecting the strongest men—eight thousand foot, eight hundred horse, and fifty Libyan chariots—followed after the enemy at full speed. When the Carthaginians had

Philip was murdered, cp. Book 16, 91-94. After the death of Alexander of Epirus in 326 B.C., Cleopatra married Leonnatus (Plutarch, Eumenes, 3, 5), and on his death in 322 B.C., she took as her third husband Perdiceas (Arrian, FGrH, 156, 9, 26), who died in 321 B.C.

<sup>2</sup> Continued in chap. 45, 1.

3 Continued from chap, 34. 7.

γενηθέντες εἰς τοὺς Νομάδας τοὺς καλουμένους Ζούφωνας, πολλούς τῶν ἐγχωρίων προσηγάγοντο καὶ τῶν ἀφεστηκότων ἐνίους εἰς τὴν προϋπάρχουσαν άποκατέστησαν συμμαχίαν ἐπεὶ δ' ἤκουσαν πλησίον είναι τους πολεμίους, κατεστρατοπέδευσαν επί τινος γεωλόφου περιεχομένου ρείθροις βαθέσι καὶ 3 δυσπεράτοις. καὶ πρὸς μὲν τὰς ἀπροσδοκήτους έπιθέσεις τῶν ἐναντίων ταῦτα προεβάλουτο, τῶν δὲ Νομάδων τοὺς μάλιστ' εὐθέτους προσέταξαν ἐπακολουθεῖν τοῖς "Ελλησιν καὶ παρενοχλοῦντας κωλύειν αὐτῶν τὴν εἰς τοὕμπροσθεν πορείαν. ὧν ποιησάντων τὸ προσταχθέν Αγαθοκλής ἐπὶ μὲν τούτους ἀπέστειλε τούς τε σφενδονήτας καὶ τοξότας, αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ τῆς ἄλλης δυνάμεως ὥρμησεν ἐπὶ 4 την στρατοπεδείαν των πολεμίων. οἱ δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι τὴν ἐπίνοιαν αὐτοῦ κατανοήσαντες ἐξήγαγον την στρατιάν έκ της παρεμβολης και παρατάξαντες ετοιμοι πρός μάχην καθειστήκεισαν. ἐπεὶ δ' εώρων τους περί τον 'Αγαθοκλέα διαβαίνοντας ήδη τον ποταμόν, συντεταγμένοι ἐνέβαλον καὶ περὶ τὸ ρείθρον δυσπέρατον υπάρχον πολλούς των έναντίων 5 ἀνήρουν. προσβιαζομένων δὲ τῶν μετ' 'Αγαθοκλέους οἱ μὲν "Ελληνες ταῖς ἀρεταῖς ὑπερεῖχον, οί δὲ βάρβαροι τοῖς πλήθεσι περιεγίνοντο. ἔνθα δή τῶν στρατοπέδων ἐπὶ πολύν χρόνον φιλοτίμως άγωνιζομένων οι παρ' άμφοτέροις Νομάδες τῆς μέν μάχης άφειστήκεισαν, επετήρουν δε το τέλος τοῦ κινδύνου, διεγνωκότες τῶν ἡττημένων τὰς 6 άποσκευας διαρπάσαι. 'Αγαθοκλής δε τους αρίστους έχων περί αύτον πρώτος εβιάσατο τούς άνθεστηκότας καὶ τῆ τούτων τροπή τοὺς λοιποὺς βαρβάρους φυγείν ἐποίησεν· μόνοι δὲ τῶν ἱππέων 244

come to the tribe of Nomads called the Zuphones, 308 B.C. they won over many of the inhabitants and brought back some of the deserters to their former alliance, but on learning that the enemy were at hand, they camped on a certain hill, which was surrounded by streams that were deep and difficult to cross. These they used as protection against the unexpected attacks of their opponents, but they directed the fittest of the Nomads to follow the Greeks closely and by harassing them to prevent them from advaneing. When these did as they had been directed. Agathoeles sent against them his slingers and bowmen, but he himself with the rest of his army advanced against the camp of the enemy. The Carthaginians on discovering his intention led their army out from their camp, drew it up, and took their positions ready for battle. But when they saw that Agathoeles was already crossing the river, they attacked in formation. and at the stream, which was difficult to ford, they slew many of their opponents. However, as Agathocles pressed forward, the Greeks were superior in valour, but the barbarians had the advantage of numbers. Then when the armies had been fighting gallantly for some time, the Nomads on both sides withdrew from the battle and awaited the outcome of the struggle, intending to plunder the baggage train of those who were defeated. But Agathocles, who had his best men about him, first forced back those opposite to him, and by their rout he caused the rest of the barbarians to flee. Of the cavalry only

<sup>1</sup> ἄλλην before στρατοπεδείαν omitted by Dindorf.

οί συναγωνιζόμενοι τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις "Ελληνες, ων Κλίνων ήγεῖτο, τοὺς περὶ τὸν 'Αγαθοκλέα βαρεῖς έπικειμένους ύπέστησαν. άγωνισαμένων δ' αὐτῶν λαμπρώς οἱ πλεῖστοι μὲν ἀνηρέθησαν μαχόμενοι γενναίως, οἱ δὲ περιλειφθέντες τύχη τινὶ διεσώθησαν.

39. 'Ο δ' 'Αγαθοκλής ἀφεὶς τὸ διώκειν τούτους ώρμησεν έπὶ τοὺς καταφυγόντας βαρβάρους εἰς την παρεμβολήν καὶ προσβιαζόμενος τόποις προσάντεσι καὶ δυσπροσίτοις ούχ ήττον έπασχεν ή διετίθει τους Καρχηδονίους. ου μην έληγε της τόλμης, άλλα τη νίκη μετεωριζόμενος ένέκειτο, διαλαμβάνων κατά κράτος αίρήσειν την στρατο-2 πεδείαν. ἐν τοσούτω δὲ τὸ τέλος τῆς μάχης καραδοκοῦντες οἱ Νομάδες ταῖς μὲν τῶν Καρχηδονίων άποσκευαίς ούχ οδοί τε ήσαν ἐπιθέσθαι διὰ τὸ τὰς δυνάμεις άμφοτέρας πλησίον τῆς παρεμβολῆς άνωνίζεσθαι, επί δε την των Ελλήνων στρατοπεδείαν ώρμησαν, είδότες τὸν 'Αγαθοκλέα μακράν ἀπεσπασμένον. ἐρήμου δ' αὐτῆς οὕσης τῶν δυναμένων αμύνασθαι ραδίως επιπεσόντες τοὺς μεν αντιστάντας ολίγους όντας απέκτειναν, αίχμαλώτων 3 πλήθους καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ώφελείας ἐκυρίευσαν. δὴ πυθόμενος ὁ ᾿Αγαθοκλῆς ῆγε κατὰ τάχος τὴν δύναμιν καὶ τινὰ μέν τῶν ἀφηρπασμένων ἀνέσωσε, τῶν δὲ πλείστων οἱ Νομάδες ἐκυρίευον καὶ νυκτὸς 4 έπιγενομένης μακράν έαυτούς έξετόπισαν. ό δὲ δυνάστης στήσας τρόπαιον τὰ μὲν λάφυρα διείλετο τοις στρατιώταις, όπως μηδείς άγανακτήση περί των ἀπολωλότων, τους δ' αιχμαλώτους "Ελληνας τούς συστρατευσαμένους τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις εἴς τι² 5 φρούριον ἀπέθετο. οὖτοι³ μὲν οὖν εὐλαβούμενοι 246

the Greeks who, led by Clinon, were assisting the 308 m.c. Carthaginians withstood Agathoeles' heavy armed men as they advanced. Although they struggled brilliantly, most of these Greeks were slain while fighting gallantly, and those who survived were saved

by mere chance.

39. Agathocles, giving up the pursuit of the cavalry, attacked the barbarians who had taken refuge in the camp; and, since he had to force his way over terrain steep and difficult of access, he suffered losses no less great than those he inflicted on the Carthaginians. Nevertheless, he did not slacken his zeal, but rather, made confident by his victory, pressed on, expecting to take the camp by storm. At this the Nomads who were awaiting the outcome of the battle, not being able to fall on the baggage train of the Carthaginians since both armies were fighting near the camp, made an attack on the encampment of the Greeks, knowing that Agathocles had been drawn off to a great distance. Since the camp was without defenders capable of warding them off, they easily launched an attack, killing the few who resisted them and gaining possession of a large number of prisoners and of booty as well. On hearing this Agathocles led his army back quickly and recovered some of the spoil, but most of it the Nomads kept in their possession, and as night came on they withdrew to a distance. The prince, after setting up a trophy, divided the booty among the soldiers so that no one might complain about his losses; but the captured Greeks, who had been fighting for the Carthaginians, he put into a certain fortress. Now these men, dreading punishment

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> ἔληγέ γε Reiske. <sup>2</sup> εῖς τι Wesseling: εἰς τὸ, <sup>3</sup> οὖτοι Dindorf: αὐτοὶ,

την από τοῦ δυνάστου τιμωρίαν νυκτός ἐπέθεντο τοῖς ἐν τῷ φρουρίῳ καὶ τῆ μάχη κρατούμενοι κατελάβοντο τόπον ἐρυμνόν, ὅντες οὐκ ἐλάττους τῶν χιλίων, ὧν ἦσαν Συρακόσιοι 'πλείους τῶν πεντα-6 κοσίων 'Αγαθοκλῆς δὲ πυθόμενος τὸ πεπραγμένον ἦκε μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ καταβιβάσας ὑποσπόνδους τοὺς ἐπιθεμένους ἄπαντας ἀπέσφαξεν.

40. 'Απὸ δὲ τῆς μάχης ταύτης γενόμενος καὶ πάντα τῆ διανοία σκοπούμενος πρὸς τὸ λαβεῖν τοὺς Καρχηδονίους ύποχειρίους εξέπεμψε πρεσβευτήν "Ορθωνα τὸν Συρακόσιον πρὸς 'Οφέλλαν εἰς Κυρήνην. οδτος δ' ήν μεν των φίλων των συνεστρατευμένων 'Αλεξάνδρω, κυριεύων δὲ τῶν περί Κυρήνην πόλεων καὶ δυνάμεως άδρᾶς περιεβάλετο 2 ταις έλπίσι μείζονα δυναστείαν. τοιαύτην ούν αὐτοῦ διάνοιαν ἔχοντος ῆκεν ὁ παρ' Αγαθοκλέους πρεσβευτής, άξιων συγκαταπολεμήσαι Καρχηδονίους άντι δε ταύτης της χρείας επηγγέλλετο τον 'Αγαθοκλέα συγχωρήσειν αὐτῷ τῶν ἐν Λιβύη 3 πραγμάτων κυριεύειν. είναι γὰρ ίκανὴν αὐτώ τὴν Σικελίαν, ἵν' έξη των ἀπὸ τῆς Καρχηδόνος κινδύνων ἀπαλλαχθέντα μετ' ἀδείας κρατεῖν ἀπάσης τῆς νήσου παρακείσθαι δέ και την Τταλίαν αὐτῷ πρὸς ἐπαύξησιν τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἐὰν κρίνη μειζόνων ὀρέγεσθαι. 4 την μεν γάρ Λιβύην διεζευγμένην μεγάλω καὶ χαλεπώ πελάγει μηδαμώς άρμόζειν αὐτώ, εἰς ἡν καὶ νῦν οὐ κατ' ἐπιθυμίαν, ἀλλὰ κατ' ἀνάγκην 5 ἀφιχθαι. ὁ δὲ 'Οφέλλας τῆ πάλαι βεβουλευμένη

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> In 382 s.c. Ophellas as general of Ptolemy restored the oligarchy in Cyrenc, which had been threatened by the mercenary leader Thibron in the service of the democrats (Book 18.19-21). He seems to have remained in Cyrenc as Ptolemy's 248

from the prince, attacked those in the fortress at 308 n.c. night and, although defeated in the battle, occupied a strong position, being in number not less than a thousand, of whom above five hundred were Syracusans. However, when Agathoeles heard what had happened, he came with his army, induced them to leave their position under a truce, and slaughtered all these rules had sealed the struce.

all those who had made the attack.

40. After he had finished this battle, Agathocles, examining in mind every device for bringing the Carthaginians into subjection, sent Orthon the Syracusan as an envoy into Cyrenê to Ophellas. The latter was one of the companions who had made the campaign with Alexander; now, master of the cities of Cyrenê and of a strong army, he was ambitious for a greater realm. And so it was to a man in this state of mind that there came the envoy from Agathocles inviting him to join him in subduing the Carthaginians.2 In return for this service Orthon promised Ophellas that Agathocles would permit him to exercise dominion over Libya. For, he said, Sicily was enough for Agathocles, if only it should be possible for him, relieved of danger from Carthage, to rule over all the island without fear. Moreover, Italy was close at his hand for increasing his realm if he should decide to reach after greater things. For Libya, separated by a wide and dangerous sea, did not suit him at all, into which land he had even now come through no desire but because of necessity. Ophellas, now that to his long-considered judgement

governor, although he is not mentioned in connection with the insurrection there put down by Ptolemy in 312 s.c. (Book 19, 79, 1-3).

<sup>2</sup> According to Justin, 22. 7. 4, Ophellas rather than Agathocles first proposed the alliance.

κρίσει προστεθείσης τῆς γενομένης ἐλπίδος ἀσμένως ύπήκουσε καὶ πρὸς μὲν 'Αθηναίους περὶ ουμμαχίας διεπέμπετο, γεγαμηκώς Εύθυδίκην την Μιλτιάδου θυγατέρα τοῦ τὴν προσηγορίαν φέροντος εἰς τὸν 6 στρατηγήσαντα τῶν ἐν Μαραθῶνι νικησάντων. διὰ δή ταύτην την έπιγαμίαν καὶ την άλλην σπουδήν, ην υπηρχεν αποδεδειγμένος είς την πόλιν, καὶ πολλοί τῶν ᾿Αθηναίων προθύμως ὑπήκουσαν εἰς την στρατείαν. οὐκ ολίγοι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Έλλήνων ἔσπευδον κοινωνῆσαι τῆς ἐπιβολῆς, ἐλπίζοντες τήν τε κρατίστην της Λιβύης κατακληρουχήσειν καὶ τὸν ἐν Καρχηδόνι διαρπάσειν πλοῦτον. 7 τὰ μὲν γὰρ κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα διὰ τοὺς συνεχεῖς πολέμους καὶ τὰς τῶν δυναστῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους φιλοτιμίας ἀσθενή καὶ ταπεινά καθειστήκει ωσθ' ύπελάμβανον μή μόνον έγκρατεῖς ἔσεσθαι πολλών άγαθῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν παρόντων κακῶν ἀπαλλαγήσεσθαι.

41. 'Ο δ' οὖν 'Οφέλλας, ἐπειδὴ πάντ' αὐτῷ πρὸς τὴν στρατείαν κατεσκεύαστο λαμπρῶς, ἐξώρμησε μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως, ἔχων πεζοὺς μὲν πλείους τῶν μυρίων, ἱππεῖς δὲ έξακοσίους, ἄρματα δὲ ἐκατόν, ἡνιόχους δὲ καὶ παραβάτας πλείους τῶν τριακοσίων. ἡκολούθουν δὲ καὶ τῶν ἔξω τάξεως λεγομένων οὐκ ἐλάττους μυρίων πολλοὶ δὲ τούτων τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ τὴν ἄλλην παρασκευὴν ἡγον, ὥστε 2 ἐμφερῆ τὴν στρατιὰν ὑπάρχειν ἀποικία. ὀκτωκαίδεκα μὲν οὖν ἡμέρας ὁδοιπορήσαντες καὶ διελθόντες σταδίους τρισχιλίους κατεσκήνωσαν περὶ Αὐτό-

was added this actual hope, gladly consented and sent 208 B.C. to the Athenians an envoy to confer about an alliance, for Ophellas had married Euthydice, the daughter of a Miltiades who traced that name back to him who had commanded the victorious troops at Marathon. On account of this marriage and the other marks of favour which he had habitually displayed toward their city, a good many of the Athenians eagerly enlisted for the campaign. No small number also of the other Greeks were quick to join in the undertaking since they hoped to portion out for eolonization the most fertile part of Libya and to plunder the wealth of Carthage. For conditions throughout Greece on account of the continuous wars and the mutual rivalries of the princes had become unstable and straitened, and they expected not only to gain many advantages, but also to rid themselves of their present evils.

41. And so Ophellas, when everything for his campaign had been prepared magnificently, set out with his army, having more than ten thousand foot-soldiers, six hundred horsemen, a hundred chariots, and more than three hundred charioteers and men to fight beside them. There followed also of those who are termed non-combatants not less than ten thousand; and many of these brought their children and wives and other possessions, so that the army was like a colonizing expedition. When they had marched for eighteen days and had traversed three thousand stades,<sup>2</sup> they encamped at Automala<sup>3</sup>; thence as

After Ophellas' death she returned to Athens and became a wife of Demetrius Poliorcetes (Plutarch, Demetrius, 14. 1).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> About 345 miles.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> At the extreme western limit of Cyrene, at the most southern point of the Greater Syrtis (Strabo, 2, 5, 20).

μαλα<sup>1</sup>· ἐντεῦθεν δὲ πορευομένοις ὑπῆρχεν ὅρος ἐξ άμφοτέρων των μερών απόκρημνον, έν μέσω δ' έχον φάραγγα βαθεΐαν, εξ ής ανέτεινε λισσή πέτρα 3 πρός ὀρθὸν ἀνατείνουσα σκόπελον περὶ δὲ τὴν ρίζαν αὐτῆς ἄντρον ῆν εὐμέγεθες, κιττῷ καὶ σμίλακι συνηρεφές, εν ώ μυθεύουσι γεγονέναι βασίλισσαν Λάμιαν τῷ κάλλει διαφέρουσαν διὰ δὲ τὴν τῆς ψυχής άγριότητα διατυπώσαί φασι την όψιν αὐτής τον μετά ταθτα χρόνον θηριώδη. των γάρ γινομένων αὐτῆ παίδων άπάντων τελευτώντων βαρυθυμούσαν έπὶ τῶ πάθει καὶ φθονούσαν ταῖς τῶν άλλων γυναικών εὐτεκνίαις κελεύειν ἐκ τῶν ἀγκαλών έξαρπάζεσθαι τὰ βρέφη καὶ παραχρήμα ἀπο-4 κτέννειν. διὸ καὶ καθ' ἡμᾶς μέχρι τοῦ νῦν βίου παρά τοις νηπίοις διαμένειν την περί της γυναικός ταύτης φήμην καὶ φοβερωτάτην αὐτοῖς εἶναι τὴν 5 ταύτης προσηγορίαν. ὅτε δὲ μεθύσκοιτο, την άδειαν διδόναι πασιν α βούλοιντο ποιείν απαρατηρήτως. μή πολυπραγμονούσης οὖν αὐτής κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον τὰ γινόμενα τοὺς³ κατὰ τὴν γώραν ὑπολαμβάνειν μὴ βλέπειν αὐτήν καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' ἐμυθολόγησάν τινες ώς εἰς ἄρσιχον ἐμβάλοι τούς οφθαλμούς, την έν οίνω συντελουμένην όλινωρίαν είς τὸ προειρημένον μέτρον μεταφέροντες, 6 ώς τούτου παρηρημένου την δρασιν. ὅτι δὲ κατὰ

Λὐτόμαλα Wesseling: Αὐτομόλας.
 διατετυπῶσθαί Madvig, Fischer.
 τοὺς added by Wesseling.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The myth is also preserved in the scholia on Aristophanes, Peace, 758, and Wasps, 1035. In the latter place credit is 252

they advanced there was a mountain, precipitous on 208 B.C. both sides but with a deep ravine in the centre, from which extended a smooth rock that rose up to a lofty peak. At the base of this rock was a large cave thickly covered with ivy and bryony, in which according to myth had been born Lamia, a queen of surpassing beauty.1 But on account of the savagery of her heart they say that the time that has elapsed since has transformed her face to a bestial aspect. For when all the children born to her had died. weighed down in her misfortune and envying the happiness of all other women in their children, she ordered that the new-born babies be snatched from their mothers' arms and straightway slain. Wherefore among us even down to the present generation, the story of this woman remains among the children and her name is most terrifying to them.3 But whenever she drank freely, she gave to all the opportunity to do what they pleased unobserved. Therefore. since she did not trouble herself about what was taking place at such times, the people of the land assumed that she could not see. And for that reason some tell in the myth that she threw her eyes into a flask,4 metaphorically turning the carelessness that is most complete amid wine into the aforesaid measure, since it was a measure of wine that took away her sight. One might also present Euripides given to Duris (FGrH, 76, F 17), whom Diodorus is probably following here.

<sup>2</sup> This was because of the jealous wrath of Hera, the father

of the children being Zeus.

<sup>3</sup> Strabo, 1. 2. 8, lists this myth among those used to

frighten children. Cp. Horace, Art of Poetry, 340.

<sup>4</sup> Plutareh, On Curiosity, 2 (p. 516), says that she took her eyes out of her head when she wished to rest at home and replaced them when she went abroad.

την Λιβύην γέγονεν αὕτη καὶ τὸν Εὐριπίδην δείξαι τις ἂν μαρτυροῦντα: λέγει γὰρ

τίς τούνομα τὸ ἐπονείδιστην βροτοῖς¹ οὐκ οΐδε Λαμίας τῆς Λιβυστικῆς γένος;

 'Ο δ' οὖν² 'Οφέλλας ἀναλαβών τὴν δύναμω προήγεν διὰ τής ἀνύδρου καὶ θηριώδους ἐπιπόνως. ου μόνον γάρ ύδατος ἐσπάνιζεν, άλλὰ καὶ τῆς ξηρᾶς τροφής ἀπολιπούσης ἐκινδύνευσεν ἄπαν ἀπ-2 ολέσαι τὸ στρατόπεδον. δακέτων δὲ θηρίων παντοίων ἐπεχόντων τὰ περὶ τὰς Σύρτεις ἔρημα καὶ τῶν πλείστων ὀλέθριον ἐχόντων τὸ δῆγμα πολλῆ τῆ συμφορά περιέπιπτον, ἀβοήθητον έχοντες τὴν έκ τῶν ἰατρῶν καὶ φίλων ἐπικουρίαν. καὶ γάρ ἔνιοι τῶν ὄφεων ὁμοίαν ἔχοντες τὴν χρόαν τῆ κατ' αὐτοὺς ούση χώρα τὴν ίδίαν φύσιν ἀπροόρατον ἐποίουν οίς πολλοί διὰ τὴν ἄγνοιαν ἐπιβαίνοντες δήγμασι θανατηφόροις περιέπιπτον. τέλος δὲ κατὰ την όδοιπορίαν πλείον η δύο μηνας κακοπαθήσαντες μόγις διήνυσαν πρός τους περί 'Αγαθοκλέα καί βραχὸ διαχωρίσαντες ἀπ' ἀλλήλων τὴν δύναμιν κατεστρατοπέδευσαν.

3 Είθ' οἱ μὲν Καρχηδόνιοι πυθόμενοι τὴν τούτων παρουσίαν κατεπλάγησαν, ὁρῶντες τηλικαύτην δύναμιν κατ' αὐτῶν ἤκουσαν' ὁ δ' 'Αγαθοκλῆς ἀπαντήσας τοῖς περὶ τὸν 'Οφέλλαν καὶ φιλοφρόνως ἄπαντα χορηγήσας τούτους μὲν ἠξίου τὴν στρατιὰν ἀναλαμβάνειν ἐκ τῆς κακοπαθείας, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπιμείνας ἡμέρας ὀλίγας καὶ κατασκεψάμενος ἕκαστα τῶν πραττομένων ἐν τῆ παρεμβολῆ τῶν παρόντων.

None of the attempts to heal this limping verse is convincing.

as a witness that she was born in Libya, for he says: 908 m.c. "Who does not know the name of Lamia, Libyan in race, a name of greatest reproach among mortals?" 1

42. Now Ophellas with his army was advancing with great difficulty through a waterless land filled with savage creatures; for not only did he lack water, but since dry food also gave out, he was in danger of losing his entire army. Fanged monsters of all kinds infest the desert near the Syrtis, and the bite of most of these is fatal; therefore it was a great disaster into which they were fallen since they were not helped by remedies supplied by physicians and friends. For some of the serpents, since they had a skin very like in appearance to the ground that was beneath them, made their own forms invisible; and many of the men, treading upon these in ignorance, received bites that were fatal. Finally, after suffering great hardships on the march for more than two months, they with difficulty completed the journey to Agathoeles and encamped, keeping the two forces a short distance apart.

The Carthaginians, on hearing of their presence, were panic stricken, seeing that so great a force had arrived against them; but Agathocles, going to meet Ophellas and generously furnishing all needed supplies, begged him to relieve his army from its distress.<sup>2</sup> He himself remained for some days and carefully observed all that was being done in the camp of the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The play from which this fragment comes is not known. Cp. Nauck, Trag. Gr. Frag., Euripides, 922.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> According to Justin, 22. 7. 5, Agathoeles went so far in showing his friendship as to have Ophelias adopt one of his sons.

<sup>2</sup> δ' οὖν Dindorf: γοῦν R, γ' οὖν XF.

έπεὶ τὸ πλείον μέρος τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐπὶ χορτάσματα καὶ σιτολογίαν έξεληλύθει, τὸν δὲ 'Οφέλλαν έώρα μηδέν των ύφ' έαυτοῦ βεβουλευμένων ύπονοοῦντα, συνήγαγεν εκκλησίαν των ίδιων στρατιωτών, κατηγορήσας δέ τοῦ παρόντος ἐπὶ τὴν συμμαχίαν ώς ἐπιβουλεύοντος καὶ παροξύνας τὸ πλήθος εὐθὺς διεσκευασμένην τὴν δύναμιν ἦγεν 4 έπὶ τοὺς Κυρηναίους. εἶθ' ὁ μὲν 'Οφέλλας διὰ τὸ παράδοξον καταπλαγείς έπεχείρησε μέν αμύνασθαι, καταταγούμενος δέ καὶ τὴν ὑπολελειμμένην δύναμιν οὐκ ἔχων ἀξιόχρεων μαχόμενος ἐτελεύτησεν. 5 δ δ' 'Αγαθοκλής συναναγκάσας τὸ λοιπὸν πλήθος ἀποθέσθαι¹ τὰ ὅπλα καὶ φιλανθρώποις ἐπαγγελίαις παραστησάμενος ἄπαντας κύριος εγένετο τῆς δυνάμεως πάσης. 'Οφέλλας μεν οδν έλπίσας μεγάλα καὶ προχειρότερον αύτὸν πιστεύσας τοιαύτης έτυχε της του βίου καταστροφής.

43. Έν δὲ τῆ Καρχηδόνι Βορμίλκας πάλαι διανενοημένος ἐπιθέσθαι τυραννίδι καιρὸν ἐπεζήτει ταῖς ἰδίαις ἐπιβολαῖς οἰκεῖον. πολλάκις δὲ διδόντος τοῦ καιροῦ τὰς ἀφορμὰς τοῦ πράττειν τὸ βεβουλευμένον ἀεί τις αἰτία μικρὰ παρεμπίπτουσα διεκώλυεν· δεισιδαίμονες γὰρ οἱ μέλλοντες ἐγχειρεῖν ταῖς παρανόμοις καὶ μεγάλαις πράξεσι καὶ τὸ μέλλοιν ἀεὶ τοῦ πράττειν καὶ τὴν ὑπέρθεσιν τῆς συντελείας προκρίνουσιν. ὅ καὶ τότε συνέβαινεν καὶ περὶ

# 1 ἀποθέσθαι Dindorf : ἀποδόσθαι.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The whole account, with its emphasis on the treachery 256

#### BOOK XX, 42, 3-43, 1

new arrivals. When the larger part of the soldiers 308 No. had scattered to find fodder and food, and when he saw that Ophellas had no suspicion of what he himself had planned, he summoned an assembly of his own soldiers and, after accusing the man who had come to join the alliance as if he were plotting against himself and thus rousing the anger of his men, straightway led his army in full array against the Cyreneans. Then Ophellas, stunned by this unexpected action, attempted to defend himself; but, pressed for time, the forces that he had remaining in camp not being adequate, he died fighting. Agathocles forced the rest of the army to lay down its arms, and by winning them all over with generous promises, he became master of the whole army. Thus Ophellas, who had cherished great hopes and had rashly entrusted himself to another, met an end so inglorious,1

43. In Carthage Bormilear, who had long planned to make an attempt at tyranny, was seeking a proper occasion for his private schemes. Time and again when circumstances put him in a position to carry out what he had planned, some little cause intervened to thwart him.<sup>2</sup> For those who are about to undertake lawless and important enterprises are superstitious and always choose delay rather than action, and postponement rather than accomplishment. This happened also on this occasion and in regard to this man;

of Agathocles, is probably drawn from Duris, as a part of

it quite certainly is (cp. note on chap. 41. 3).

For chaps. 43-44 cp. Justin, 22. 7. 6-11, who says that Bormilear, after Agathoeles had inflicted severe losses on the Carthaginians, wished to go over to Agathoeles with his army, was prevented by a sedition in the Sicilian camp, and was put to death by his fellow citizens.

2 ἐκεῖνον· ἐξέπεμψε μὲν γὰρ τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους τῶν πολιτῶν εἰς τὴν ἐπὶ τοὺς Νομάδας στρατείαν, ΐνα μηδένα των άξιολόγων έχη τὸν ἀντιστησόμενον, ούκ έτόλμα δε ἀποκαλύψασθωι πρός την τυραννίδα, 3 μετακαλούμενος ύπὸ τῆς εὐλαβείας, καθ' ὃν δὲ καιρον 'Αγαθοκλής ἐπέθετο τοῖς περὶ τὸν 'Οφέλλαν, όρμησαι καὶ τοῦτον συνέβη πρὸς την δυναστείαν, ἀγνοούντων ἀμφοτέρων τὰ παρὰ τοῖς πολεμίοις 4 πραττόμενα. ούτε γάρ 'Αγαθοκλής έγνω την ἐπίθεσιν της τυραννίδος και την έν τη πόλει ταραχήν, έπει ραδίως αν εκράτησε της Καρχηδόνος είλετο γαρ αν Βορμίλκας επ' αυτοφώρω γενόμενος συνεργείν 'Αγαθοκλεί μαλλον ή τοίς πολίταις δούναι την έκ τοῦ σώματος τιμωρίαν οὕτε πάλιν οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι τὴν ἐπίθεσιν τὴν 'Αγαθοκλέους ἐπύθοντο. ραδίως γαρ αν αυτον έχειρώσαντο προσλαβόμενοι 5 την μετ' 'Οφέλλα δύναμιν. άλλ', οίμαι, παρ' άμφοτέροις οὐκ άλογίστως συνέβη γενέσθαι ταύτην την ἄγνοιαν, καίπερ μεγάλων μεν οὐσῶν τῶν πράξεων, ἐγγὺς δ' ἀλληλων τῶν ἐπικεχειρηκότων ε τοις τηλικούτοις τολμήμασιν· ὅ τε γὰρ 'Αγαθοκλῆς ανδρα φίλον μέλλων αναιρείν προς οὐδεν ἐπέβαλλε την διάνοιαν των παρά τοις πολεμίοις συντελουμένων, ὅ τε Βορμίλκας τὴν τῆς πατρίδος ἐλευθερίαν άφαιρούμενος οὐδεν όλως επολυπραγμόνει των παρά τοῖς ἀντιστρατοπεδεύουσιν, ὡς ἄν ἔχων προκείμενον έν τῆ ψυχῆ τὸ μὴ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος, άλλὰ τοὺς πολίτας καταπολεμήσαι. 7 Ταύτη δ' ἄν τις καὶ τὴν ἱστορίαν καταμέμψαιτο.

Ταύτη δ΄ ἄν τις καὶ τὴν ἱστορίαν καταμέμψαιτο, θεωρῶν ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦ βίου πολλὰς καὶ διαφόρους πράξεις συντελουμένας κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρόν, τοῖς δ' ἀναγράφουσιν ἀναγκαῖον ὑπάρχον τὸ μεσολαβεῖν

for he sent out the most distinguished of the citizens \$08 n.c. to the campaign against the Nomads so that he might have no man of consequence to oppose him, but he did not venture to make an open bid for the tyranny, being held back by caution. But it happened that at the time when Agathocles attacked Ophellas, Bormilcar made his effort to gain the tyranny, each of the two being ignorant of what the enemy was doing. Agathoeles did not know of the attempt at tyranny and of the confusion in the city when he might easily have become master of Carthage, for when Bormilcar was discovered in the act he would have preferred to co-operate with Agathoeles rather than pay the penalty in his own person to the citizens. And again, the Carthaginians had not heard of Agathocles' attack, for they might easily have overpowered him with the aid of the army of Ophellas. But I suppose that not without reason did such ignorance prevail on both sides, although the actions were on a large scale and those who had undertaken deeds of such daring were near each other. For Agathocles. when about to kill a man who was his friend, paid attention to nothing that was happening among his enemics; and Bormilcar, when depriving his fatherland of its liberty, did not concern himself at all with events in the camp of the enemy, since he had as a fixed purpose in his mind to conquer at the time, not his enemies, but his fellow citizens.

At this point one might censure the art of history, when he observes that in life many different actions are consummated at the same time, but that it is necessary for those who record them to interrupt the

<sup>1</sup> τῶν added by Geer.

την διήγησιν καὶ τοῖς ἄμα συντελουμένοις μερίζειν τοὺς χρόνους παρὰ φύσιν, ὥστε την μὲν ἀλήθειαν τῶν πεπραγμένων τὸ πάθος ἔχειν, την δ' ἀναγραφην ἐστερημένην τῆς ὁμοίας ἐξουσίας μιμεῖσθαι μὲν τὰ γεγενημένα, πολὺ δὲ λείπεσθαι τῆς ἀληθοῦς διαθέσεως.

44. 'Ο δ' οὖν Βορμίλκας ἐξετασμὸν τῶν στρατιωτών ποιησάμενος εν τῆ καλουμένη Νέα πόλει. μικρον έξω της άρχαίας Καρχηδόνος ούση, τούς μέν άλλους διαφήκε, τούς δέ συνειδότας περί της ἐπιθέσεως, ὄντας πολίτας μὲν πεντακοσίους, μισθοφόρους δὲ περὶ χιλίους ἀναλαβών, ἀνέδειξεν έαυ-2 τον τύραννον. είς πέντε δε μέρη τους στρατιώτας διελόμενος επήει πάντας τους εν ταις όδοις απαντῶντας ἀποσφάττων. γενομένης δὲ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ταραχής εξαισίου το μεν πρώτον οι Καρχηδόνιοι τούς πολεμίους ύπέλαβον παρεισπεπτωκέναι προδιδομένης της πόλεως ώς δ' ἐπεγνώσθη τάληθές, συνέτρεχον οἱ νέοι καὶ εἰς τάξεις καταστάντες 3 ώρμησαν ἐπὶ τὸν τύραννον. ὁ δὲ Βορμίλκας τοὺς έν ταις όδοις άναιρων ώρμησεν είς την άγοραν καί πολλούς τῶν πολιτῶν ἀνόπλους καταλαβών ἀπ-4 έκτεινε. τῶν δὲ Καρχηδονίων καταλαβομένων τὰς περί την άγοραν οίκίας ύψηλας ούσας και τοῖς βέλεσι πυκνοίς χρωμένων οἱ μετέχοντες τῆς ἐπιθέσεως κατετραυματίζοντο, τοῦ τόπου παντός έμ-5 βελούς όντος. διόπερ κακοπαθούντες συνέφραξαν έαυτούς και διά των στενωπών συνεξέπεσαν είς τὴν Νέαν πόλιν, βαλλόμενοι συνεχώς ἀπὸ τῶν 260

narrative and to parcel out different times to simul- 208 m.c. taneous events contrary to nature, with the result that, although the actual experience of the events contains the truth, yet the written record, deprived of such power, while presenting copies of the events, falls far short of arranging them as they really were.

44. Be that as it may, when Bormilcar had reviewed the soldiers in what was called the New City, which is a short distance from Old Carthage, he dismissed the rest, but holding those who were his confederates in the plot, five hundred citizens and about a thousand mercenaries, he declared himself tyrant. Dividing his soldiers into five bands, he attacked, slaughtering those who opposed him in the streets. Since an extraordinary tumult broke out everywhere in the city, the Carthaginians at first supposed that the enemy had made his way in and that the city was being betrayed; when, however, the true situation became known, the young men ran together, formed companies, and advanced against the tyrant. Bormilear, killing those in the streets, moved swiftly into the market place; and finding there many of the citizens unarmed, he slaughtered them. Carthaginians, however, after occupying the buildings about the market place, which were tall, hurled missiles thick and fast, and the participants in the uprising began to be struck down since the whole place was within range. Therefore, since they were suffering severely, they closed ranks and forced their way out through the narrow streets into the New City, being continuously struck with missiles from

¹ ἀναλαβών added by Rhodoman, who also suggests παρακαλεσάμενος, παρακελευσάμενος, and συναγαγών; παρακατασχών Reiske.

οἰκιῶν καθ' ἃς τυγχάνοιεν αἰεὶ γινόμενοι. καταλαβομένων δ' αὐτῶν ὑπερδέξιόν τινα τόπον οἱ
Καρχηδόνιοι τῶν πολιτῶν πάντων συνδραμόντων
ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἀντεστρατοπέδευσαν τοῖς ἀφεστη6 κόσι. τέλος δὲ πρέσβεις πέμψαντες τῶν πρεσβυτάτων τοὺς εὐθέτους καὶ τῶν ἐγκλημάτων δόντες
ἄφεσιν διελύθησαν καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις οὐδὲν ἐμνησικάκησαν διὰ τοὺς περιεστῶτας τὴν πόλιν κινδύνους, αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν Βορμίλκαν αἰκισάμενοι δεινῶς
τοῦ ζῆν ἐστέρησαν, οὐδὲν φροντίσαντες τῶν δεδομένων ὅρκων. Καρχηδόνιοι μὲν οὖν κινδυνεύσαντες
τοῖς ὅλοις σφαλῆναι τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἐκομίσαντο
τὴν πατρώαν πολιτείαν.

7 'Αγαθοκλής δὲ πλοῖα φορτηγὰ γεμίσας τῶν λαφύρων καὶ τοὺς ἀχρήστους εἰς πόλεμον τῶν ἐκ Κυρήνης παραγενομένων ἐμβιβάσας ἀπέστειλεν εἰς Συρακούσσας. χειμώνων δ' ἐπιγενομένων ἃ μὲν διεφθάρη τῶν πλοίων, ἃ δ' ἐξέπεσε πρὸς τὰς κατ' Ἰταλίαν Πιθηκούσσας νήσους, ὀλίγα δ' εἰς τὰς

Συρακούσσας διεσώθη.

8 Κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἰταλίαν οἱ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὕπατοι, Μαρσοῖς πολεμουμένοις ὑπὸ Σαμνιτῶν βοηθήσαντες, τῆ τε μάχη προετέρησαν καὶ συχνοὺς τῶν πολεμίων 9 ἀνεῖλον. εἶτα διὰ τῆς ᾿Ομβρίκων χώρας διελθόντες

σανείλου. είτα δια της Ομβρίκων χώρας διελθόντες ἐνέβαλον εἰς τὴν Τυρρηνίαν πολεμίαν οὖσαν καὶ τὸ καλούμενου Καίριου φρούριου ἐξεπολιόρκησαν. διαπρεσβευομένων δὲ τῶν ἐγχωρίων ὑπὲρ ἀνοχῶν πρὸς μὲν Ταρκυνιήτας εἰς ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους Τυρρηνοὺς ἄπαντας εἰς ἐνιαυτὸν ἀνοχὰς ἐποιήσαντο. whatever houses they chanced at any time to be near. 208 Mc. After these had occupied a certain elevation, the Carthaginians, now that all the citizens had assembled in arms, drew up their forces against those who had taken part in the uprising. Finally, sending as envoys such of the oldest men as were qualified and offering amnesty, they came to terms. Against the rest they invoked no penalty on account of the dangers that surrounded the city, but they cruelly tortured Bormilear himself and put him to death, paying no heed to the oaths which had been given. In this way, then, the Carthaginians, after having been in the gravest danger, preserved the constitution of their fathers.

Agathoeles, loading cargo vessels with his spoil and embarking on them those of the men who had come from Cyrenê who were useless for war, sent them to Syracuse. But storms arose, and some of the ships were destroyed, some were driven to the Pithecusan Islands off the coast of Italy, and a few came safe to

Syracuse.1

In Italy 2 the Roman consuls, going to the aid of the Marsi, against whom the Samnites were making war, were victorious in the battle and slew many of the enemy. Then, crossing the territory of the Umbrians, they invaded Etruria, which was hostile, and took by siege the fortress called Caerium.<sup>2</sup> When the people of the region sent envoys to ask a truce, the consuls made a truce for forty years with the Tarquinians but with all the other Etruscans for one year.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Continued in chap. 54. 1.

Continued from chap. 36. 6. Cp. Livy, 9. 41. 5-7.
 Unknown. Caprium in Table of Contents, p. 138, and in var. lect. here.
 Continued in chap. 80. 1.

45. Τοῦ δ' ἐνιαυσίου χρόνου διεληλυθότος 'Αθήνησι μέν ήρχεν 'Αναξικράτης, έν 'Ρώμη δὲ ὕπατοι κατέστησαν "Αππιος Κλαύδιος και Λεύκιος Οὐολόμνιος. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων Δημήτριος μὲν ὁ 'Αντιγόνου παραλαβών παρά τοῦ πατρός δύναμιν άδρὰν πεζικήν τε καὶ ναυτικήν, ἔτι δὲ βελών καὶ τών άλλων των είς πολιορκίαν χρησίμων την άρμόζουσαν παρασκευήν εξέπλευσεν έκ της 'Εφέσουπαράγγελμα δ' είχεν έλευθερούν πάσας μέν τάς κατά την Ελλάδα πόλεις, πρώτην δε την 'Λθη-2 ναίων, φρουρουμένην ύπο Κασάνδρου, καταπλεύσαντος δ' αὐτοῦ μετά τῆς δυνάμεως εἰς τὸν Πειραιά καὶ πανταχόθεν προσβαλόντος έξ εφόδου καὶ κήρυγμα ποιησαμένου, Διονύσιος δ καθεσταμένος έπὶ της Μουνυχίας φρούραρχος καὶ Δημήτριος ό Φαληρεύς επιμελητής της πόλεως γεγενημένος ύπο Κασάνδρου, πολλούς έχοντες στρατιώτας, ἀπό τῶν 3 τειχών ημύνοντο. τών δ' 'Αντιγόνου στρατιωτών τινες βιασάμενοι καὶ κατά τὴν ἀκτὴν ὑπερβάντες έντος του τείχους παρεδέξαντο πλείους των συναγωνιζομένων. τὸν μὲν οὖν Πειραιᾶ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον άλωναι συνέβη, των δ' ένδον Διονύσιος μέν ό φρούραρχος είς την Μουνυχίαν συνέφυγε, Δημή-4 τριος δ' ο Φαληρεύς απεχώρησεν είς άστυ. τη δ' ύστεραία πεμφθείς μεθ' έτέρων πρεσβευτής ύπο τοῦ δήμου πρὸς Δημήτριον καὶ περὶ τῆς αὐτονομίας διαλεχθείς και της ίδίας ασφαλείας έτυνε παρα-

After ποιησαμένου Fischer in apparatus suggests the addition of ὅτι Δημήτριος τὰς ᾿Αθήνας ἐλευθεροῖ, ep. Plutarch, Demetrius, 8.

#### BOOK XX, 45, 1-4

45. When that year had come to an end, Anaxi- 307(B.C. crates was archon in Athens and in Rome Appius Claudius and Lucius Volumnius became consuls.1 While these held office, Demetrius, the son of Antigonus, having received from his father strong land and sca forces, also a suitable supply of missiles and of the other things requisite for carrying on a siege, set sail from Ephesus. He had instructions to free all the cities throughout Greece, but first of all Athens, which was held by a garrison of Cassander.2 Sailing into the Peiraeus with his forces, he at once made an attack on all sides and issued a proclamation.3 Dionysius, who had been placed in command of the garrison on Munychia, and Demetrius of Phalerum, who had been made military governor of the city 4 by Cassander, resisted him from the walls with many soldiers. Some of Antigonus' men, attacking with violence and effecting an entrance along the coast, admitted many of their fellow soldiers within the wall. The result was that in this way the Peiraeus was taken; and, of those within it, Dionysius the commander fled to Munychia and Demetrius of Phalerum withdrew into the city. On the next day, when he had been sent with others as envoys by the people to Demetrius and had discussed the independence of the city and his own security, he obtained a safe-conduct for himself and, giving

For this campaign ep. Plutarch, Demetrius, 8-9.

4 i.e. of Athens.

Anaxierates was archon in 307/6 n.c. In the Fasti the consuls for 307 n.c. are Ap. Claudius Caecus and L. Volumnius Flamma Violens; ep. Livy, 9, 42, 2. The narrative is continued from chap. 37, 6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> If we accept Fischer's suggested supplement, we should add "that Demetrius was freeing Athens."

πομπης καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὰς ᾿Αθήνας ἀπογινώσκων ἔφυγεν εἰς τὰς Θήβας, ὕστερον δὲ πρὸς Πτολεμαῖον 5 εἰς Αἴγυπτον. οὖτος μὲν οὖν ἔπη δέκα τῆς πόλεως ἐπιστατήσας ἐξέπεσεν ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος τὸν εἰρημένον τρόπον. ὁ δὲ δῆμος τῶν ᾿Αθηναίων κομισάμενος τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἐψηφίσατο τιμὰς τοῖς αἰτίοις

της αὐτονομίας.

Δημήτριος δ' ἐπιστήσας τοὺς πετροβόλους καὶ τὰς ἄλλας μηχανὰς καὶ τὰ βέλη προσέβαλλε τῆ 6 Μουνυχία καὶ κατά γῆν καὶ κατά θάλατταν. ἀμυνομένων δὲ τῶν ἔνδον ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν εὐρώστως συνέβαινε τούς μέν περί Διονύσιον προέχειν ταις δυσχωρίαις καὶ ταῖς τῶν τόπων ὑπεροχαῖς, οὕσης τῆς Μουνυχίας ὀχυρᾶς οὐ μόνον ἐκ φύσεως ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῖς τῶν τειχῶν κατασκευαῖς, τοὺς δὲ περὶ τὸν Δημήτριον τῷ τε πλήθει τῶν στρατιωτῶν πολλαπλασίους είναι καὶ ταῖς παρασκευαῖς πολλά πλεον-7 εκτείν. τέλος δ' ἐπὶ δύο ἡμέρας συνεχώς τῆς πολιορκίας γινομένης οἱ μὲν φρουροὶ τοῖς καταπέλταις καὶ πετροβόλοις συντιτρωσκόμενοι καὶ διαδόχους οὐκ ἔχοντες ήλαττοῦντο, οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Δημήτριον ἐκ διαδοχῆς κινδυνεύοντες καὶ νεαλεῖς άει γινόμενοι, διά τῶν πετροβόλων ἐρημωθέντος τοῦ τείχους, ἐνέπεσον εἰς τὴν Μουνυχίαν καὶ τοὺς μέν φρουρούς ήνάγκασαν θέσθαι τὰ ὅπλα, τὸν δὲ φρούραρχον Διονύσιον εζώγρησαν.

46. Τούτων δὲ ὀλίγαις ἡμέραις κατευτυχηθέντων ὁ μὲν Δημήτριος κατασκάψας τὴν Μουνυχίαν ὀλόκληρον τῷ δήμω τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἀποκατέστησεν καὶ 2 φιλίαν καὶ συμμαχίαν πρὸς αὐτοὺς συνέθετο, οἱ δὲ ᾿Αθηναῖοι γράψαντος ψήφισμα Στρατοκλέους ἐψηup the direction of Athens, fled to Thebes and later 307 B.C. into Egypt to Ptolemy. And so this man, after he had been director of the city for ten years, was driven from his fatherland in the way described. The Athenian people, having recovered their freedom, decreed honours to those responsible for their liberation.

Demetrius, however, bringing up ballistae and the other engines of war and missiles, assaulted Munychia both by land and by sea. When those within defended themselves stoutly from the walls, it turned out that Dionysius had the advantage of the difficult terrain and the greater height of his position, for Munychia was strong both by nature and by the fortifications which had been constructed, but that Demetrius was many times superior in the number of his soldiers and had a great advantage in his equipment. Finally, after the attack had continued unremittingly for two days, the defenders, severely wounded by the catapults and the ballistae and not having any men to relieve them, had the worst of it; and the men of Demetrius, who were fighting in relays and were continually relieved, after the wall had been cleared by the ballistae, broke into Munychia, forced the garrison to lay down its arms, and took the commander Dionysius alive.2

46. After gaining these successes in a few days and razing Munychia completely, Demetrius restored to the people their freedom and established friendship and an alliance with them. The Athenians, Stratocles

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cp. Diogenes Lacrtius, 5. 78; Strabo, 9. 1. 20 (p. 398).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Plutarch, Demetrius, 9, places the capture of Megara (cp. chap. 46. 3) between the surrender of Athens and the taking of Munychia.

φίσαντο χρυσᾶς μὲν εἰκόνας ἐφ' ἄρματος στῆσαι τοῦ τε 'Αντιγόνου καὶ Δημητρίου πλησίον 'Αρμοδίου καὶ 'Αριστογείτονος, στεφαικώσαι δὲ ἀμφοτέρους άπὸ ταλάντων διακοσίων καὶ βωμὸν ίδρυσαμένους προσαγορεύσαι Σωτήρων, πρὸς δὲ τὰς δέκα φυλὰς προσθείναι δύο, Δημητριάδα καὶ 'Αντιγονίδα, καὶ συντελείν αὐτοίς κατ' ένιαυτον άνωνας καὶ πομπην καὶ θυσίαν, ἐνυφαίνειν τει αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸν τῆς

3 'Αθηνᾶς πέπλον.<sup>2</sup> ὁ μὲν οὖν δῆμος ἐν τῷ Λαμιακῷ πολέμω καταλυθείς ύπ' 'Αντιπάτρου μετ' έτη πεντεκαίδεκα παραδόξως ἐκομίσατο τὴν πάτριον πολιτείαν· ό δὲ Δημήτριος, φρουρουμένης τῆς Μεγαρέων πόλεως, ἐκπολιορκήσας αὐτὴν ἀπέδωκεν την αυτονομίαν τω δήμω και τιμών αξιολόγων

έτυχεν ύπο των εδ παθόντων.

 'Αντίγονος δέ, παραγενομένων πρὸς αὐτὸν 'Αθήνηθεν πρεσβευτών καὶ τό τε περὶ τῶν τιμῶν ἀναδόντων ψήφισμα καὶ περὶ σίτου καὶ Εύλων εἰς ναυπηγίαν διαλεχθέντων, έδωκεν αὐτοῖς πυροῦ μὲν μεδίμνων πεντεκαίδεκα μυριάδας, ύλην δὲ τὴν ίκανην ναυσίν έκατόν έξ "Ιμβρου δέ την φρουράν 5 έξαγαγών ἀπέδωκεν αὐτοῖς τὴν πόλιν. πρὸς δὲ τὸν υίὸν Δημήτριον ἔγραψε κελεύων τῶν μὲν συμμαχίδων πόλεων συνέδρους συστήσασθαι τούς βουλευσομένους κοινή περί τῶν τή Ἑλλάδι συμφερόντων, αὐτὸν δὲ μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως εἰς Κύπρον πλεύσαι καὶ διαπολεμήσαι την ταγίστην πρός τούς

> 1 ένυφαίνειν τε Dindorf: ένυφαινόντων. <sup>2</sup> κατ' ἐνιαυτόν after πέπλον omitted by Wesseling.

For the honours conferred on Demetrius and Antigonus cp. Plutarch, Demetrius, 10-12. For Stratocles, an old political ally of Hypereides, who had acted as an accuser in 268

#### BOOK XX. 46, 2-5

writing the decree,1 voted to set up golden statues 307 H.C. of Antigonus and Demetrius in a chariot near the statues of Harmodius and Aristogeiton, to give them both honorary crowns at a cost of two hundred talents. to consecrate an altar to them and call it the altar of the Saviours, to add to the ten tribes two more, Demetrias and Antigonis, to hold annual games in their honour with a procession and a sacrifice, and to weave their portraits in the peplos of Athena. Thus the common people, deprived of power in the Lamian War by Antipater,2 fifteen years afterwards unexpectedly recovered the constitution of the fathers. Although Megara was held by a garrison, Demetrius took it by siege, restored their autonomy to its people, and received noteworthy honours from those whom he had served.3

When an embassy had come to Antigonus from Athens and had delivered to him the decree concerning the honours conferred upon him and discussed with him the problem of grain and of timber for ships, he gave to them one hundred and fifty thousand medimni of grain and timber sufficient for one hundred ships; he also withdrew his garrison from Imbros and gave the city back to the Athenians. He wrote to his son Demetrius ordering him to call together counsellors from the allied cities who should consider in common what was advantageous for Greece, and to sail him-self with his army to Cyprus and finish the war with

the affair of Harpalus and had played an important rôle in Athens during the Lamian War, ep. Plutarch, *Demetrius*, 11-12. A number of decrees which he introduced in the Assembly in this period are extant, e.g. 16, 2, 240, 247.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cp. Book 18, 18.

But cp. the note on chap. 45. 7.

About 230,000 bushels.

6 Πτολεμαίου στρατηγούς. οὖτος μὲν οὖν συντόμως πάντα πράξας κατὰ τὰς ἐντολὰς τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ κομισθεὶς ἐπὶ Καρίας παρεκάλει τοὺς 'Ροδίους πρὸς τὸν κατὰ Πτολεμαίου πόλεμον. οὐ προσεχόντων δ' αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ κοινὴν εἰρήνην αἰρουμένων ἄγειν πρὸς ἄπαντας ταύτην ἀρχὴν συνέβη γενέσθαι τῷ

δήμω της πρός 'Αντίγονον άλλοτριότητος.

47. 'Ο δε Δημήτριος παραπλεύσας είς Κιλικίαν κάκειθεν ναθς και στρατιώτας προσλαβόμενος διέπλευσεν είς την Κύπρον έχων πεζούς μέν μυρίους πεντακισχιλίους, ἱππεῖς δὲ τετρακοσίους, ναῦς δὲ ταχυναυτούσας μέν τριήρεις πλείους τών έκατον δέκα, τών δε βαρυτέρων στρατιωτίδων πεντήκοντα καὶ τρεῖς καὶ πόρια τῶν παντοδαπῶν ἰκανὰ τῶ 2 πλήθει των ίππέων τε καὶ πεζών, καὶ τὸ μέν πρώτον κατεστρατοπέδευσεν έν τη παραλία της Καρπασίας καὶ νεωλκήσας τὰ σκάφη χάρακι καὶ τάφρω βαθεία την παρεμβολήν ωχύρωσεν έπειτα τοις πλησιοχώροις προσβολάς ποιησάμενος είλε κατά κράτος Οὐρανίαν καὶ Καρπασίαν, τῶν δὲ νεών την ίκανην φυλακην απολιπών ανέζευξε μετά 3 της δυνάμεως έπὶ την Σαλαμίνα. ό δὲ τεταγμένος θπό Πτολεμαίου τῆς νήσου στρατηγός Μενέλαος συναγαγών τούς στρατιώτας έκ τών φρουρίων διέτριβεν εν Σαλαμινι, απεχόντων δε τεσσαράκοντα

<sup>1</sup> Cp. chap. 27.

<sup>1</sup> τριήρεις omitted by Hertlein. Cp. note on translation.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> So the text; but in chap. 50. 1-3 we find that Demetrius, after leaving 10 quinqueremes at Salamis, had 10 quinqueremes, 10 sixes, and 7 sevens in his left wing alone. It 270

the generals of Ptolemy as soon as possible. De-307 me, metrius, promptly doing all according to his father's orders, moved toward Caria and summoned the Rhodians for the was against Ptolemy. They did not obey, preferring to maintain a common peace with all, and this was the beginning of the hostility between

that people and Antigonus.

47. Demetrius, after coasting along to Cilicia and there assembling additional ships and soldiers, sailed to Cyprus with fifteen thousand foot-soldiers and four hundred horsemen, more than one hundred and ten swift triremes, fifty-three heavier transports,2 and freighters of every kind sufficient for the strength of his cavalry and infantry. First he went into camp on the coast of Carpasia,3 and after beaching his ships, strengthened his encampment with a palisade and a deep moat ; then, making raids on the peoples who lived near by, he took by storm Urania and Carpasia; then leaving an adequate guard for the ships, he moved with his forces against Salamis. Menelaus, who had been made general of the island by Ptolemy, had gathered his soldiers from the outposts and was waiting in Salamis; but when the enemy was at a

seems certain, therefore, that the βαρύτεραι στρατιώτιδες are not transports (which is the regular meaning of the term) but heavy warships (quinqueremes and larger) carrying armed men as well as oarsmen. Such ships would fight by boarding rather than by ramming (cp. Tarn, Hellenistic Military and Naval Developments, 144). It is quite certain also that among the ταχυναυτούσαι ναύς are the quadriremes mentioned in the battle (chap. 50, 3), the τριήρως of the text being an error either of the copyists or of Diodorus himself. For this whole passage cp. Beloch, Griechische Geschichte<sup>2</sup>, 4. 1. 154, note I.

3 On the north coast of Cyprus, near the end of the cape

that projects to the north-east.

4 The exact situation of this city is unknown.

<sup>5</sup> Cp. chap. 91, 1.

σταδίους τῶν πολεμίων ἐξῆλθεν ἔχων πεζοὺς μὲν μυρίους καὶ δισχιλίους, ἱππεῖς δὲ περὶ ὀκτακοσίους. γενομένης δὲ μάχης ἐπ' ὀλίγον χρόνον οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸν Μενέλαον ἐκβιασθέντες ἐτράπησαν, ὁ δὲ Δημήτριος συνδιώξας τοὺς πολεμίους εἰς τὴν πόλιν αἰχμαλώτους μὲν ἔλαβεν οὐ πολὺ ἐλάττους τρισχι- λίων, ἀνεῖλε δὲ περὶ χιλίους. τοὺς δ΄ ἀλόντας τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀπολύσας τῶν ἐγκλημάτων καταδιεῖλεν εἰς τὰς τῶν ἰδίων στρατιωτῶν τάξεις ἀποδιδρασκόντων δ' αὐτῶν πρὸς τοὺς περὶ τὸν Μενέλαον διὰ τὸ τὰς ἀποσκευὰς ἐν Λὶγύπτω καταλελοιπέναι παρὰ Πτολεμαίω, γνοὺς ἀμεταθέτους ὅντας ἐνεβίβασεν εἰς τὰς ναῦς καὶ πρὸς 'Αντίγονον εἰς Συρίαν ἀπέστειλεν.

5 Οδτος δε τοῦτον τον χρόνον διέτριβε περὶ τὴν ἄνω Συρίαν, πόλιν κτίζων περὶ τὸν 'Ορόντην ποταμὸν τὴν ἀνομασμένην 'Αντιγονίαν ἀφ' ξαυτοῦ. κατεσκεύαζε δε πολυτελῶς, τὴν περίμετρον ὑποστησάμενος σταδίων ἐβδομήκοντα· εὐφυὴς γὰρ ῆν ὁ τόπος ἐφεδρεῦσαι τῆ τε Βαβυλῶνι καὶ ταῖς ἄνω σατραπείαις καὶ πάλιν τῆ κάτω Συρία καὶ ταῖς 6 περὶ Αἰγύπτου σατραπείαις! οὐ μὴν πολύν γε χρόνον συνέβη μεῖναι τὴν πόλιν, Σελεύκου καθελόντος αὐτὴν καὶ μεταγαγόντος ἐπὶ τὴν κτισθεῖσαν μὲν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, ἀπ' ἐκείνου δὲ κληθεῖσαν Σελεύκειαν. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων ἀκριβῶς ἔκαστα δηλώσομεν ἐπὶ τοὺς οἰκείους χρόνους παραγενη-

\* ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐκείνου κληθεῖσαν 'Αντιόχειαν Dindorf,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> ταῖς περὶ Λἰγύπτου σατραπείαις Reiske, ταῖς ἀπ' Λὶ, στρατείαις Madvig, τοῖς περὶ Λὶ, πράγμασι Fischer in apparatus, ep. chap. 104. 4: ταῖς ἀπ' Λὶ, σατραπείας.

distance of forty stades, he came out with twelve 307 B.C. thousand foot and about eight hundred horse. In a battle of short duration which occurred, the forces of Menelaüs were overwhelmed and routed; and Demetrius, pursuing the enemy into the city, took prisoners numbering not much less than three thousand and killed about a thousand. At first he freed the captives of all charges and distributed them among the units of his own soldiers; but when they ran off to Menelaüs because their baggage had been left behind in Egypt with Ptolemy, recognizing that they would not change sides, he forced them to embark on his ships and sent them off to Antigonus in Syria.

At this time Antigonus was tarrying in upper Syria, founding a city on the Orontes River, which he called Antigonia after himself. He laid it out on a lavish scale, making its perimeter seventy stades 2; for the location was naturally well adapted for watching over Babylon and the upper satrapies, and again for keeping an eye upon lower Syria and the satrapies near Egypt. It happened, however, that the city did not survive very long, for Seleucus dismantled it and transported it to the city which he founded and called Seleucea after himself. But we shall make these matters clear in detail when we

<sup>3</sup> Or, reading ταις ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου στρατείαις, "and expeditions from Egypt"; or again, reading τοις περὶ Αἰγύπτου

πράγμασι, " and affairs in Egypt."

About 4½ miles.
 About 8 miles.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> So the text; but the city was actually called Antiochea after Scleucus' father. The error is probably Diodorus' rather than the copyist's. Antigonia was not completely abandoned; at least it is mentioned as if still in existence in 51 n.c. (Dio Cassius, 40, 29, 1. Cp. also Benziger, in Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. Antiocheia (1) and Antigoneia (1).)

Τ θέντες· τῶν δὲ κατὰ τὴν Κύπρον οἱ περὶ τὸν Μενέλαον ἡττημένοι τῆ μάχη τὰ μὲν βέλη καὶ τὰς μηχανὰς παρεκόμισαν ἐπὶ τὰ τείχη καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις διαλαβόντες τὰς ἐπάλξεις παρεσκευάζοντο πρὸς τὸν κίνδυνον, ὁρῶντες καὶ τὸν Δημήτριον πρὸς 8 πολιορκίαν ἐτοιμαζόμενον, πρὸς δὲ Πτολεμαῖον ἀπέστειλαν εἰς Αἴγυπτον τοὺς δηλώσοντας περὶ τῶν ἐλαττωμάτων καὶ ἀξιώσοντας βοηθεῖν, ὡς κινδυνευόντων αὐτῷ τῶν ἐν τῆ νήσω πραγμάτων.

48. Δημήτριος δὲ τήν τε τῶν Σαλαμινίων δρῶν πόλιν οὖκ εὖκαταφρόνητον οὖσαν καὶ στρατιωτῶν πληθος υπάρχον έν αυτή των αμυνομένων έκρινε μηχανάς τε τοις μεγέθεσιν ύπεραιρούσας κατασκευάζειν καὶ καταπέλτας δξυβελεῖς καὶ λιθοβόλους παντοίους και την άλλην κατασκευήν καταπληκτικήν. μετεπέμψατο δὲ καὶ τεχνίτας ἐκ τῆς 'Ασίας καὶ σίδηρον, ἔτι δ' ὕλης πληθος καὶ τῆς ἄλλης χορη-2 γίας την επιτήδειον κατασκευήν. ταχύ δε πάντων εύτρεπών αύτώ γενομένων συνέπηξε μηχανήν την ονομαζομένην έλέπολιν, το πλάτος έχουσαν έκάστην πλευράν τεσσαράκοντα καὶ πέντε πήχεις, τὸ δ' ύψος πηχών εννενήκοντα, διειλημμένην στέγαις έννέα, υπότροχον δε πασαν τροχοίς στερεοίς τέσ-3 σαρσιν οκταπήχεσι τὸ ὕψος. κατεσκεύασε δὲ καὶ κριούς ύπερμεγέθεις και χελώνας δύο κριοφόρους. της δ' έλεπόλεως είς μέν τὰς κάτω στέγας εἰσήνεγκε πετροβόλους παντοίους, ών ήσαν οἱ μέγιστοι τριτάλαντοι, είς δὲ τὰς μέσας καταπέλτας δξυβελεῖς

For this campaign cp. Plutarch, Demetrius, 15-17.

No further reference to this is found in the extant portions of the history.

come to the proper time.1 As to affairs in Cyprus, 307 B C. Menelaüs, after having been defeated in the battle. had missiles and engines brought to the walls, assigned positions on the battlements to his soldiers, and made ready for the fight; and since he saw that Demetrius was also making preparations for siege, he sent messengers into Egypt to Ptolemy to inform him about the defeat and to ask him to send aid as his interests

on the island were in danger.

48. Since Demetrius saw that the city of the Salaminians was not to be despised and that a large force was in the city defending it, he determined to prepare siege engines of very great size, catapults for shooting bolts and ballistae of all kinds, and the other equipment that would strike terror. He sent for skilled workmen from Asia, and for iron, likewise for a large amount of wood and for the proper complement of other supplies. When everything was quickly made ready for him, he constructed a device called the "helepolis," 2 which had a length of forty-five cubits on each side and a height of ninety cubits. It was divided into nine storeys, and the whole was mounted on four solid wheels each eight cubits high. He also constructed very large battering rams and two penthouses to carry them. On the lower levels of the helepolis he mounted all sorts of ballistae, the largest of them capable of hurling missiles weighing three talents 4; on the middle levels he placed the largest

4 About 180 lbs.

Literally, "city-taker." Cp. chap. 91. If the cubit used is the standard Attic measure of about 11 feet, the dimensions given are about 68 feet on each side and 135 feet in height, with wheels 12 feet in diameter; but a shorter Macedonian cubit, perhaps about one foot long, is possible (Tarn, Hellenistic Military and Naval Developments, 15-16).

μεγίστους, εἰς δὲ τὰς ἀνωτάτας ὀξυβελεῖς τε τοὺς ἐλαχίστους καὶ πετροβόλων πλῆθος, ἄνδρας τε τοὺς χρησομένους τούτοις κατὰ τρόπον πλείους τῶν διακοσίων.

Προσαγαγών δὲ τὰς μηχανὰς τῆ πόλει καὶ πυκνοῖς χρώμενος τοῖς βέλεσι τῆ μὲν τὰς ἐπάλξεις ἀπέσυρε τοῖς πετροβόλοις, τῆ δὲ τὰ τείχη διέσεισε 5 τοις κριοις. αμυνομένων δέ και των ένδον εθρώστως καὶ τοῖς μηχανήμασιν έτέρας μηχανάς ἀντιταττόντων έφ' ήμέρας μέν τινας αμφίδοξος ήν δ κίνδυνος, αμφοτέρων κακοπαθούντων καὶ κατατραυματιζομένων το δε τελευταίον του τείχους πίπτοντος καὶ τῆς πόλεως κινδυνευούσης άλῶναι κατά κράτος νυκτός έπιγενομένης έληξε τὰ τῆς 6 τειχομαχίας. οί δὲ περί τὸν Μενέλαον ἀκριβώς είδότες άλωσομένην την πόλιν, εί μή τι καινοτομείν ἐπιχειρήσειαν, ήθροισαν ύλης ξηράς πληθος, ταύτην δὲ περὶ τὸ μεσονύκτιον ἐμβαλόντες ταῖς τῶν πολεμίων μηχαναίς καὶ ἄμα πάντες οἰστοὺς² πυρσοφόρους ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν ἀφέντες ἀνῆψαν τὰ 7 μέγιστα τῶν ἔργων. ἄφνω δὲ τῆς φλογὸς εἰς ὕψος άρθείσης οί περί τον Δημήτριον έπεχείρησαν μέν βοηθείν, τοῦ δὲ πυρὸς καταταχήσαντος συνέβη τὰς 8 μηχανάς κατακαυθήναι καὶ πολλούς τῶν ἐν αὐταῖς όντων διαφθαρήναι. ό δὲ Δημήτριος ἀποσφαλείς της έλπίδος οὐδ' ως έληγεν, άλλα προσεκαρτέρει τη πολιορκία καὶ κατά γῆν καὶ κατά θάλατταν, νομίζων τῷ χρόνῳ καταπολεμήσειν τοὺς πολεμίους.

49. Πτολεμαίος δὲ πυθόμενος τὴν τῶν ἰδίων ἢτταν ἐξέπλευσεν ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου δύναμιν ἔχων ἀξιόλογον πεζικήν τε καὶ ναυτικήν. κατενεχθεὶς δὲ τῆς Κύπρου πρὸς τὴν Πάφον ἔκ τε τῶν πόλεων

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catapults, and on the highest his lightest catapults  $_{307\,B.C.}$  and a large number of ballistae; and hé also stationed on the helpolis more than two hundred men to

operate these engines in the proper manner.

Bringing the engines up to the city and hurling a shower of missiles, he cleared the battlements with the ballistae and shattered the walls with the rams. Since those within resisted boldly and opposed his engines of war with other devices, for some days the battle was doubtful, both sides suffering hardships and severe wounds; and when finally the wall was falling and the city was in danger of being taken by storm, the assault was interrupted by the coming of night. Menelaüs, seeing clearly that the city would be taken unless he tried something new, gathered a large amount of dry wood, at about midnight threw this upon the siege engines of the enemy, and at the same time all shot down fire-bearing arrows from the walls and set on fire the largest of the siege engines. As the flames suddenly blazed high, Demetrius tried to come to the rescue; but the flames got the start of him, with the result that the engines were completely destroyed and many of those who manned them were lost. Demetrius, although disappointed in his expectations, did not stop but pushed the siege persistently by both land and sea, believing that he would overcome the enemy in time.

49. When Ptolemy heard of the defeat of his men, he sailed from Egypt with considerable land and sea forces. Reaching Cyprus at Paphos, he received

<sup>2</sup> πάντες οἰστούς Fischer, cp. Arrian, 2. 21. 3; πάντας τούς.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The defeat described in chap. 47. 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Fischer suggests the addition of ἐλαττόνων before πετρο-βόλων.

παρεδέξατο τὰ σκάφη καὶ παρέπλευσεν εἰς Κίτιον, 2 της Σαλαμινός ἀπέχον σταδίους διακοσίους. είχε δέ τὰς πάσας ναθς μακρὰς έκκτὸν καὶ τεσσαράκοντα τούτων δ' ήν ή μεγίστη πεντήρης, ή δ' έλαχίστη τετρήρης στρατιωτικά δὲ πόρια ταύταις έπηκολούθει πλείω των διακοσίων, άγοντα πεζούς 3 οὐκ ἐλάττους τῶν μυρίων. οὖτος μὲν οὖν πρὸς τον Μενέλαον κατά γην έπεμψέ τινας, διακελευόμενος τὰς ναθς, ἄν ή δυνατόν, κατὰ τάχος ἐκ τῆς Σαλαμίνος πρός αὐτὸν ἀποστείλαι, οὕσας ἐξήκοντα· ήλπιζε γάρ, εὶ προσλάβοι ταύτας, ῥαδίως κρατήσειν τη ναυμαχία, διακοσίοις σκάφεσιν άγωνιζόμενος. 4 ο δε Δημήτριος νοήσας αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐπιβολὴν ἐπὶ μέν της πολιορκίας απέλιπε μέρος της δυνάμεως, τὰς δὲ ναθς ἀπάσας πληρώσας καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν τούς κρατίστους εμβιβάσας βέλη καὶ πετροβόλους ενέθετο καὶ τῶν τρισπιθάμων ὀξυβελῶν τοὺς ίκα-5 νούς ταις πρώραις ἐπέστησε. κοσμήσας δὲ πολυτελώς πρός ναυμαχίαν τὸν στόλον περιέπλευσε τὴν πόλιν καὶ κατά τὸ στόμα τοῦ λιμένος μικρὸν ἔξω βέλους άφεις τας άγκύρας διενυκτέρευσεν, αμα μέν τας εκ της πόλεως ναθς κωλύων συμμίξαι ταίς άλλαις, άμα δὲ καραδοκών τὸν ἐπίπλουν τών πο-6 λεμίων καὶ πρὸς ναυμαχίαν ὢν ἔτοιμος. τοῦ δὲ Πτολεμαίου πλέοντος ἐπὶ τὴν Σαλαμῖνα καὶ τῶν ύπηρετικών πλοίων συνεπομένων πόρρωθεν καταπληκτικόν δρασθαι συνέβαινε τὸν στόλον διὰ τὸ  $\pi \lambda \hat{\eta} \theta o s$ .

50. 'Ο δὲ Δημήτριος κατανοήσας τὸν ἐπίπλουν'Αντισθένην μὲν τὸν ναύαρχον ἔχοντα ναῦς δέκα

About 23 miles, which is approximately correct for the 278

ships from the cities and coasted along to Citium, 307 B.C. which was distant from Salamis two hundred stades.1 He had in all one hundred and forty 2 ships of war, of which the largest were quinqueremes and the smallest quadriremes; more than two hundred transports followed, which carried at least ten thousand footsoldiers. Ptolemy sent certain men to Menelaüs by land, directing him, if possible, to send him quickly the ships from Salamis, which numbered sixty; for he hoped that, if he received these as reinforcement, he would easily be superior in the naval engagement since he would have two hundred ships in the battle. Learning of his intention, Demetrius left a part of his forces for the siege; and, manning all his ships and embarking upon them the best of his soldiers, he equipped them with missiles and ballistae and mounted on the prows a sufficient number of catapults for throwing bolts three spans 3 in length. After making the fleet ready in every way for a naval battle, he sailed around the city and, anchoring at the mouth of the harbour just out of range, spent the night, preventing the ships from the city from joining the others, and at the same time watching for the coming of the enemy and occupying a position ready for battle. When Ptolemy sailed up toward Salamis, the service vessels following at a distance, his fleet was awe-inspiring to behold because of the multitude of its ships.

50. When Demetrius observed Ptolemy's approach, he left the admiral Antisthenes with ten of the

distance by land; but the distance by sea around Cape Pedalium is at least twice as great.

Plutarch, Demetrius, 16. 1, gives the number as 150.
About 21 inches. For this battle cp. Plutarch, Demetrius, 16: Polyaenus, 4. 7. 7.

τῶν πεντηρικῶν ἀπέλιπε κωλύσοντα τὰς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ναθς ἐπεξιέναι πρὸς τὴν ναυμαχίαν, ἔχοντος τοῦ λιμένος στενὸν τὸν ἔκπλουν, τοῖς δ' ἱππεῦσι προσέταξε παράγειν παρά τὸν αἰγιαλόν, ἵν' ἐάν τι γένηται πταίσμα, διασώσειαν τους πρός την γην 2 διανηξομένους. αὐτὸς δ' ἐκτάξας τὰς ναῦς ἀπήντα τοῖς πολεμίοις, έχων τὰς ἀπάσας ὀκτώ πλείους τῶν έκατὸν σὺν ταῖς πληρωθείσαις ἐκ τῶν χωρίων τῶν ληφθέντων τούτων δ' ήσαν αί μέγισται μεν έπτή-3 ρεις, αί πλεισται δὲ πεντήρεις. καὶ τὸ μὲν εὐώνυμον κέρας ἐπείχον ἐπτήρεις ἐπτὰ Φοινίκων, τετρήρεις δε τριάκοντα των 'Αθηναίων, Μηδίου τοῦ ναυάρχου τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἔχοντος ἐπίπλους δὲ τούτοις έταξεν έξήρεις δέκα καὶ πεντήρεις άλλας τοσαύτας, διεγνωκώς δισχυρόν κατασκευάσαι τοῦτο τὸ κέρας ἐφ' οῦ καὶ αὐτὸς ήμελλε διαγωνίζεσθαι. 4 κατὰ μέσην δὲ τὴν τάξιν τὰ ἐλάχιστα τῶν σκαφῶν έστησεν, ών ήγοῦντο Θεμίσων τε ό Σάμιος καὶ Μαρσύας ό τὰς Μακεδονικὰς πράξεις συνταξάμενος. τὸ δὲ δεξιὸν είχε κέρας Ἡγήσιππός τε ὁ Ἁλικαρνασσεύς και Πλειστίας ο Κώος, άρχικυβερνήτης ων τοῦ σύμπαντος στόλου.

Πτολεμαΐος δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἔτι νυκτὸς ἐπέπλει κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐπὶ τὴν Σαλαμῖνα, νομίζων φθάσειν⁴ τοὺς πολεμίους τὸν εἴσπλουν ποιησάμενος ὡς δ' ἡμέρας ἐπιγενομένης οὐ μακρὰν ὁ τῶν ἐναντίων

<sup>3</sup> ἴσως after διεγνωκὸς omitted by Dindorf.
<sup>4</sup> φθάσειν Dindorf: φθάσει Fischer, following the MSS.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> διασώσειαν Dindorf, διασώσαιεν Fischer, F, διασώση μέν RX.
<sup>2</sup> See note on translation.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The number is probably corrupt; Plutarch (Demetrius, 280

quinqueremes to prevent the ships in the city from 307 B.C. going forth for the battle, since the harbour had a narrow exit; and he ordered the cavalry to patrol the shore so that, if any wreck should occur, they might rescue those who should swim across to the land. He himself drew up the fleet and moved against the enemy with one hundred and eight ships in all,1 including those that had been provided with crews from the captured towns. The largest of the ships were sevens and most of them were quinqueremes.2 The left wing was composed of seven Phoenician sevens and thirty Athenian quadriremes, Medius the admiral having the command. Sailing behind these he placed ten sixes and as many quinqueremes, for he had decided to make strong this wing where he himself was going to fight the decisive battle. In the middle of the line he stationed the lightest of his ships, which Themison of Samos and Marsyas,3 who compiled the history of Macedonia, commanded. The right wing was commanded by Hegesippus of Halicarnassus and Pleistias of Cos, who was the chief pilot of the whole fleet.

At first, while it was still night, Ptolemy made for Salamis at top speed, believing that he could gain an entrance before the enemy was ready; but as day broke, the fleet of the enemy in battle array was

<sup>16)</sup> gives the total as 180, Polyaenus (4. 7. 7) as 170. If we were right in regard to the βαρύτεραι στρατιώτιδεs (cp. chap. 47. 1, and note), Demetrius by Diodorus' own count should have had in this battle 110 triremes and quadriremes and 43 heavier warships (10 having been left at Salamis) plus any from the captured ports.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> This statement also appears to be false.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> According to Suidas he was a half-brother of Antigonus. He wrote a history of Macedonia in 10 books, one of Attica in 12 books, and a work on the education of Alexander.

στόλος έκτεταγμένος έωρατο, καὶ αὐτὸς τὰ πρὸς 6 τὴν ναυμαχίαν παρεσκευάζετο. τὰ μὲν οὖν πόρια πόρρωθεν ἐπακολουθεῖν παρήγγειλεν, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων νεῶν τὴν ἀρμόζουσαν τάξιν ποιησάμενος αὐτὸς τὸ λαιὸν κέρας διακατεῖχε, συναγωνιζομένων αὐτῷ τῶν μεγίστων σκαφῶν. τοιαύτης δὲ τῆς διατάξεως γενομένης εὐχὰς ἐκάτεροι τοῖς θεοῖς ἐποιοῦντο, καθάπερ ἦν ἔθος, διὰ τῶν κελευστῶν, συνεπιλα-

βομένου καὶ τοῦ πλήθους τῆ φωνῆ.

51. Οί δὲ δυνάσται, ώς ἄν περί τοῦ βίου καὶ τῶν όλων μέλλοντες διακινδυνεύειν, εν άγωνία πολλή καθειστήκεισαν. Δημήτριος μέν οθν τών έναντίων αποσχών ώς αν τρείς σταδίους ήρεν το συγκείμενον πρός μάχην σύσσημον, ἀσπίδα κεχρυσωμένην, φα-2 νεράν πάσιν έκ διαδοχής το παραπλήσιον δέ καί τῶν περὶ Πτολεμαῖον ποιησάντων ταχύ τὸ διεῖργον διάστημα συνηρέθη. ώς δ' αι τε σάλπιγγες τὸ πολεμικόν εσήμαινον καί συνηλάλαξαν αί δυνάμεις άμφότεραι, φερομένων άπασών των νεών είς έμβολήν καταπληκτικώς το μέν πρώτον τοις τόξοις καὶ τοῖς πετροβόλοις, ἔτι δὲ τοῖς ἀκοντίσμασι πυκνοις χρώμενοι κατετραυμάτιζον τους υποπίπτοντας. είτα συνεγγισάντων των σκαφών και μελλούσης γίνεσθαι τῆς ἐμβολῆς βιαίου οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν κατα-στρωμάτων συγκαθῆκαν, οἱ δ' ἐρέται παρακληθέντες ύπο των κελευστών εκθυμότερον ενέκειντο. 3 ἀπὸ κράτους δὲ καὶ βίας ἐλαθεισῶν τῶν νεῶν αί μέν παρέσυρον άλλήλων τούς ταρσούς, ώστε πρός φυγήν και διωγμόν άχρήστους γίνεσθαι και τους έπιβεβηκότας ἄνδρας ώρμηκότας πρὸς άλκὴν κωλύεσθαι τῆς πρὸς τὸν κίνδυνον όρμῆς αἱ δὲ κατὰ πρώραν τοις έμβόλοις συρράττουσαι πρύμναν άνε-282

visible at no great distance, and Ptolemy also pre- 307 B.C. pared for the battle. Ordering the supply ships to follow at a distance and effecting a suitable formation of the other ships, he himself took command of the left wing with the largest of his warships fighting under him. After the fleet had been disposed in this way, both sides prayed to the gods as was the custom, the signalmen <sup>1</sup> leading and the crews joining in the

response.

51. The princes, since they were about to fight for their lives and their all, were in much anxiety. When Demetrius was about three stades 2 distant from the enemy, he raised the battle signal that had been agreed upon, a gilded shield, and this sign was made known to all by being repeated in relays. Ptolemy also gave a similar signal, the distance between the fleets was rapidly reduced. When the trumpets gave the signal for battle and both forces raised the battle cry, all the ships rushed to the encounter in a terrifying manner; using their bows and their ballistae at first, then their javelins in a shower, the men wounded those who were within range; then when the ships had come close together and the encounter was about to take place with violence, the soldiers on the decks crouched down and the oarsmen, spurred on by the signalmen, bent more desperately to their oars. As the ships drove together with force and violence, in some cases they swept off each other's oars so that the ships became useless for flight or pursuit, and the men who were on board, though eager for a fight, were prevented from joining in the battle; but where the ships had met prow to

The men who kept time for the oarsmen.
<sup>2</sup> About <sup>1</sup>/<sub>3</sub> mile.

κρούοντο πρὸς ἄλλην ἐμβολὴν καὶ κατετραυμάτιζον άλλήλους οι ταύταις εφεστώτες, άτε του σκοπου σύνεγγυς έκάστοις κειμένου. τινές δὲ τῶν τριηραρχών εκ πλαγίας τυπτόντων και τών εμβόλων δυσαποσπάστως έχόντων ἐπεπήδων ἐπὶ τὰς τῶν πολεμίων ναθς, πολλά και πάσχοντες δεινά και 4 διατιθέντες οί μεν γάρ των εγγιζόντων τοίχων έφωβάμενοι καὶ σφαλέντες τῆς βάσεως περιέπιπτον είς θάλασσαν καὶ παραχρήμα τοῖς δόρασιν ύπὸ τῶν έφεστώτων έφονεύοντο, οί δὲ κρατήσαντες τῆς ἐπιβολής τους μέν ἀνήρουν, τους δέ κατά την στενοχωρίαν εκβιαζόμενοι περιέτρεπον είς το πέλαγος. όλως δὲ ποικίλαι καὶ παράλογοι συνίσταντο μάχαι, πολλάκις τῶν μὲν ἡττόνων ἐπικρατούντων διὰ τὴν τῶν σκαφῶν ὑπεροχήν, τῶν δὲ κρειττόνων θλιβομένων διά τὸ περὶ τὴν στάσιν ἐλάττωμα καὶ τὴν ανωμαλίαν των συμβαινόντων έν τοις τοιούτοις 5 κινδύνοις. ἐπὶ μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἀγώνων διάδηλος ή άρετη γίνεται, δυναμένη τυγχάνειν των πρωτείων μηδενός έξωθεν αὐτομάτου παρενοχλοῦντος κατά δὲ τὰς ναυμαχίας πολλὰς καὶ ποικίλας αίτίας συμβαίνει παραλόγως έλαττοῦν τοὺς δι' άνδρείαν δικαίως αν τυχόντας της νίκης.

52. Λαμπρότατα δὲ πάντων Δημήτριος ἡγωνίσατο τῆς ἐπτήρους ἐπιβεβηκὼς ἐπὶ τῆ πρύμνη. ἀθρόων γὰρ αὐτῷ περιχυθέντων οῦς μὲν ταῖς λόγχαις ἀκοντίζων, οῦς δὲ ἐκ χειρὸς τῷ δόρατι τύπτων ἀνήρει πολλῶν δὲ καὶ παντοίων βελῶν ἐπ' αὐτὸν φερομένων ἃ μὲν προορώμενος ἐξέκλινεν, ἃ δὲ τοῖς

prow with their rams, they drew back for another 307 BC. charge, and the soldiers on board shot at each other with effect since the mark was close at hand for each party. Some of the men, when their captains had delivered a broadside blow and the rams had become firmly fixed, leaped aboard the ships of the enemy, receiving and giving severe wounds; for certain of them, after grasping the rail of a ship that was drawing near, missed their footing, fell into the sea, and at once were killed with spears by those who stood above them; and others, making good their intent, slew some of the enemy and, forcing others along the narrow deck, drove them into the sea. As a whole the fighting was varied and full of surprises: many times those who were weaker got the upper hand because of the height of their ships, and those who were stronger were foiled by inferiority of position and by the irregularity with which things happen in fighting of this kind. For in contests on land, valour is made clearly evident, since it is able to gain the upper hand when nothing external and fortuitous interferes; but in naval battles there are many causes of various kinds that, contrary to reason, defeat those who would properly gain the victory through prowess.

52. Demetrius fought most brilliantly of all, having taken his stand on the stern of his seven. A crowd of men rushed upon him, but by hurling his javelins at some of them and by striking others at close range with his spear, he slew them; and although many missiles of all sorts were aimed at him, he avoided some that he saw in time and received others

1 τυπτόντων Geer, έτυπτον.

<sup>2</sup> Reiske adds ἐαυτοῦ or ναυαρχίδος before ἐπτήρους. Fischer suggests τῆς ἰδίας ἐπτήρους.

2 σκεπαστηρίοις ὅπλοις ἐδέχετο. τριῶν δ' ὑπερασπιζόντων αὐτὸν είς μὲν λόγχη πληγείς ἔπεσεν, οί δὲ δύο κατετραυματίσθησαν. τέλος δὲ τοὺς ἀντιστάν-τας ὁ Δημήτριος ἐκβιασάμενος καὶ τροπὴν τοῦ δεξιού κερατος ποιήσας εύθυ και τάς συνεχείς 3 φυγεῖν ἡνάγκασεν. Πτολεμαΐος δὲ τὰ μέγιστα τῶν σκαφών και τους κρατίστους ἄνδρας έχων μεθ' αύτοῦ ραδίως ετρέψατο τοὺς καθ' αὐτον τεταγμένους καὶ τῶν νεῶν ἃς μὲν κατέδυσεν, ἃς δὲ αὐτάνδρους είλεν. ύποστρέφων δ' από τοῦ νικήματος ήλπιζε και τὰς ἄλλας ράδίως χειρώσασθαι θεωρήσας δὲ τό τε δεξιὸν¹ κέρας τῶν ἰδίων συντετριμμένον καὶ τὰς συνεχεῖς ἀπάσας πρὸς φυγὴν ώρμημένας, έτι δὲ τοὺς περὶ τὸν Δημήτριον μετὰ βάρους ἐπιφερομένους απέπλευσεν είς Κίτιον. 4 Δημήτριος δὲ νικήσας τῆ ναυμαχία τῷ μὲν Νέωνι

καὶ Βουρίχω παρέδωκε τὰ στρατιωτικὰ τῶν πλοίων, προστάξας διώκειν καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῆ θαλάττη διανηχομένους ἀναλαμβάνειν αὐτὸς δὲ τὰς ἰδίας ναῦς κοσμήσας τοῖς ἀκροστολίοις καὶ τὰς άλούσας ἐφελκόμενος τὸν πλοῦν ἐποιεῖτο πρὸς τὸ στρατόπεδον 5 καὶ τὸν οἰκεῖον λιμένα. κατὰ δὲ τὸν τῆς ναυμαχίας καιρὸν Μενέλαος ὁ ἐν τῆ Σαλαμῖνι στρατηγός πληρώσας τὰς έξήκοντα ναῦς έξαπέστειλε πρὸς βοήθειαν τῷ Πτολεμαίω, ναύαρχον ἐπιστήσας Μενοίτιον. γενομένου δ' ἀγῶνος περί τὸ στόμα τοῦ λιμένος πρὸς τὰς ἐφορμούσας ναῦς καὶ τῶν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως βια-

σαμένων αι μεν τοῦ Δημητρίου δέκα ναῦς ἔφυγον πρός τὸ πεζον στρατόπεδον, οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Μενοίτιον ἀναπλεύσαντες καὶ τῶν καιρῶν μικρὸν ὑστερήσαντες ἀνέστρεψαν πάλιν εἰς τὴν Σαλαμίνα.

6 Τῆς δὲ ναυμαχίας τοιοῦτον τέλος λαβούσης τῶν

upon his defensive armour. Of the three men who 307 B.C. protected him with shields, one fell struck by a lance and the other two were severely wounded. Finally Demetrius drove back the forces confronting him, created a rout in the right wing, and forthwith forced even the ships next to the wing to flee. Ptolemy, who had with himself the heaviest of his ships and the strongest men, easily routed those stationed opposite him, sinking some of the ships and capturing others with their crews. Turning back from that victorious action, he expected easily to subdue the others also; but when he saw that the right wing of his forces had been shattered and all those next to that wing driven into flight, and further, that Demetrius was pressing on with full force, he sailed back to Citium.

Demetrius, after winning the victory, gave the transports to Neon and Burichus, ordering them to pursue and pick up those who were swimming in the sea; and he himself, decking his own ships with bow and stern ornaments and towing the captured craft, sailed to his camp and his home port. At the time of the naval battle Menelaüs, the general in Salamis, had manned his sixty ships and sent them as a reinforcement to Ptolemy, placing Menoetius in command. When a battle occurred at the harbour mouth with the ships on guard there, and when the ships from the city pressed forward vigorously, Demetrius' ten ships fled to the camp of the army; and Menoetius, after sailing out and arriving a little too late, returned to Salamis.

In the naval battle, whose outcome was as stated,

<sup>1</sup> δεξιον Geer, cp. chaps. 50. 6; 52. 2: εὐώνυμον.

μεν πορίων ήλω πλείω των έκατόν, εν οίς ήσαν σχεδόν στρατιώται όκτακισχίλιοι τών δὲ μακρών αυτανδροι μεν ελήφθησαν τεσσαράκοντα, διεφθάρησαν δὲ περὶ ὀγδοήκοντα, ἃς πλήρεις οὔσας θαλάττης κατήγαγον οι κρατήσαντες εις την πρός τη πόλει στρατοπεδείαν. διεφθάρη δὲ καὶ τῶν Δημητρίου σκαφῶν εἴκοσι πάντα δὲ τῆς προσηκούσης ἐπιμελείας τυχόντα παρείχετο τὰς άρμοζούσας χρείας. 53. Μετά δὲ ταθτα Πτολεμαΐος ἀπογνούς τὰ κατά τὴν Κύπρον ἀπῆρεν εἰς Λίγυπτον. Δημήτριος δὲ πάσας τὰς ἐν τῆ νήσω πόλεις παραλαβών καὶ τοὺς φρουροῦντας στρατιώτας, τούτους μὲν εἰς τάξεις κατεχώρισεν, όντας πεζούς μεν μυρίους έξακισχιλίους συντεταγμένους, ίππεις δε περί έξακοσίους, πρὸς δὲ τὸν πατέρα ταχέως ἐμβιβάσας εἰς την μεγίστην ναθν τους δηλώσοντας περί των κατ-2 ορθωθέντων έξαπέστειλεν. ό δ' 'Αντίγονος πυθόμενος την γεγενημένην νίκην και μετεωρισθείς έπι τῷ μεγέθει τοῦ προτερήματος διάδημα περιέθετο καὶ τό λοιπὸν ἐχρημάτιζε βασιλεύς, συγχωρήσας καὶ τῷ Δημητρίω τῆς αὐτῆς τυγχάνειν προσηγορίας 3 καὶ τιμῆς. ὁ δὲ Πτολεμαῖος οὐδὲν τῆ ψυχῆ ταπεινωθείς διά την ήτταν και αὐτὸς όμοίως ἀνέλαβε τὸ διάδημα καὶ πρὸς ἄπαντας ἀνέγραφεν έαυτὸν 4 βασιλέα. παραπλησίως δὲ τούτοις καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ δυνάσται ζηλοτυπήσαντες άνηγόρευον έαυτοὺς βασιλεις, Σέλευκος μὲν προσφάτως τὰς ἄνω σατραπείας προσκεκτημένος, Λυσίμαχος δὲ καὶ Κάσανδρος τὰς έξ άρχης δοθείσας μερίδας διατηρούντες.

Ήμεις δε περί τούτων ίκανως είρηκότες εν μέρει διέξιμεν περί των κατά Λιβύην και Σικελίαν πρα-

χθέντων.

## BOOK XX. 52. 6-53. 4

more than a hundred of the supply ships were taken, 307 B.C. upon which were almost eight thousand soldiers, and of the warships forty were captured with their crews and about eighty were disabled, which the victors towed, full of sea water, to the camp before the city. Twenty of Demetrius' ships were disabled, but all of these, after receiving proper care, continued to per-

form the services for which they were suited.

53. Thereafter Ptolemy gave up the fight in Cyprus and returned to Egypt. Demetrius, after he had taken over all the cities of the island and their garrisons, enrolled the men in companies; and when they were organized they came to sixteen thousand foot and about six hundred horse. He at once sent messengers to his father to inform him of the successes, embarking them on his largest ship. when Antigonus heard of the victory that had been gained, elated by the magnitude of his good fortune, he assumed the diadem and from that time on he used the style of king; and he permitted Demetrius also to assume this same title and rank. Ptolemy, however, not at all humbled in spirit by his defeat, also assumed the diadem and always signed himself king. And in a similar fashion in rivalry with them the rest of the princes also called themselves kings : Seleucus, who had recently gained the upper satrapies, and Lysimachus and Cassander, who still retained the territories originally allotted to them.2

Now that we have said enough about these matters, we shall relate in their turn the events that took place

in Libya and in Sicily.

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Ptolemy's assumption of the diadem is placed in the year 305/4 by the Parian Marble, FGrH, 239. B 23.
 Continued in chap. 73.

54. 'Αγαθοκλής γὰρ πυθόμενος τοὺς προειρη-μένους δυνάστας ἀνηρημένους τὸ διάδημα¹ καὶ νομίζων μήτε δυνάμεσι μήτε χώρα μήτε τοῖς πραχθείσι λείπεσθαι τούτων έαυτον άνηγόρευσε βασιλέα. καὶ διάδημα μὲν οὐκ ἔκρινεν ἔχειν ἐφόρει γὰρ αἰεὶ στέφανον, δν κατά την ἐπίθεσιν της τυραννίδος ἔκ τινος ίερωσύνης<sup>2</sup> περικείμενος οὐκ ἀπέθετο περί της δυναστείας άγωνιζόμενος ένιοι δέ φασιν αὐτὸν ἐπιτετηδεῦσθαι τοῦτον ἐξ ἀρχῆς φορεῖν διὰ τὸ μὴ 2 λίαν αὐτὸν εὐχαίτην εἶναι. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τῆς προσηγορίας ταύτης άξιόν τι σπεύδων πράξαι έπὶ μέν 'Ίτυκαίους ἐστράτευσεν ἀφεστηκότας ἄφνω δ' αὐτῶν τῆ πόλει προσπεσών καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας απειλημμένων πολιτικών ζωγρήσας είς τριακοσίους τὸ μέν πρώτον διδούς ἄφεσιν τών εγκλημάτων ηξίου παραδιδόναι την πόλιν ου προσεχόντων δέ τῶν ἔνδον συνεπήγνυε μηχανήν καὶ κρεμάσας ἐπ' αὐτῆ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους προσήγαγε τοῖς τείχεσιν. 3 οί δ' 'Ιτυκαΐοι τοὺς μὲν ἡτυχηκότας ἡλέουν, πλείονα δὲ λόγον τῆς τῶν ἀπάντων ἐλευθερίας ἢ τῆς ἐκείνων σωτηρίας ποιούμενοι διέλαβον τὰ τείχη τοῖς στρατιώταις και την πολιορκίαν εύγενως υπέμενον. 4 είθ' ὁ μὲν 'Αγαθοκλης ἐπιστήσας τη μηχανή τούς τε όξυβελεις και σφενδονήτας και τοξότας άπὸ ταύτης άγωνιζόμενος ήρχετο της πολιορκίας καὶ . ταις ψυχαις των ένδον ώσπερ καυτήριά τινα προσ-

<sup>1</sup> τὸ διάδημα added by Rhodoman.

<sup>2</sup> λερωσύνης ὂν MSS., ὂν transferred by Dindorf.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> διά τό . . . eľvaι editors : διά τό μὴ τέλειον αὐτὸν εὐχαιτίαν είναι F, ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ λίαν αὐ. εὐ. εἰ. Fischer.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cp. Aelian, Var. Hist. 11. 4. For a similar reason Julius 290

#### BOOK XX, 54, 1-4

54. When Agathocles heard that the princes whom 307 a.c. we have just mentioned had assumed the diadem, since he thought that neither in power nor in territory nor in deeds was he inferior to them, he called himself king. He decided not to take a diadem: for he habitually wore a chaplet, which at the time when he seized the tyranny was his because of some priesthood and which he did not give up while he was struggling to gain the supreme power. But some say that he originally had made it his habit to wear this because he did not have a good head of hair. However this may be, in his desire to do something worthy of this title, he made a campaign against the people of Utica, who had deserted him. Making a sudden attack upon their city and taking prisoner those of the citizens who were caught in the open country to the number of three hundred, he at first offered a free pardon and requested the surrender of the city; but when those in the city did not heed his offer, he constructed a siege engine,3 hung the prisoners upon it, and brought it up to the walls. The Uticans pitied the unfortunate men; yet, holding the liberty of all of more account than the safety of these, they assigned posts on the walls to the soldiers and bravely awaited the assault. Then Agathoeles, placing upon the engine his catapults, slingers, and bowmen, and fighting from this, began the assault, applying, as it were, branding-irons to the souls of

Caesar welcomed the right to wear a laurel wreath (Suctionius, Divus Iulius, 45. 2).

3 Probably a movable tower like the "helepolis" of chap.

48. 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> But, according to Polybius, 1. 82. 8, Utica and Hippu Acra (cp. chap. 55. 3) were the only cities that had remained true to Carthage.

5 ηγεν· οί δ' ἐπὶ τῶν τειχῶν ἐστῶτες τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὥκνουν τοῖς βέλεσι χρήσασθαι, προκειμένων αὐτοῖς σκοπῶν πολιτικῶν ἀνδρῶν, ὧν ἦσάν τινες καὶ τῶν επιφανεστάτων επικειμένων δε τῶν πολεμίων βαρύτερον ηναγκάζουτο τους έπι της μηχανής όντας 6 ἀμύνεσθαι. ἔνθα δὴ συνέβαινε γίνεσθαι παράλογα πάθη τοῖς Ἰτυκαίοις καὶ τύχης ἐπηρεασμὸν ἐν ἀνάγκαις κειμένοις ἀνεκφεύκτοις προβεβλημένων γὰρ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τοὺς ήλωκότας τῶν έξ Ἰτύκης άναγκαΐον ήν ή τούτων φειδομένους περιοράν ύποχείριον τοις πολεμίοις γινομένην τὴν πατρίδα ἢ τῷ πόλει βοηθοῦντας ἀνηλεῶς φονεῦσαι πλῆθος πολι- Τῶν ἢτυχηκότων. ὅπερ καὶ συνέβη γενέσθαι ἀμυνόμενοι γάρ τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ παντοίοις βέλεσι χρώμενοι καί τινας τῶν ἐφεστηκότων τῆ μηχανῆ κατηκόντισαν καὶ τὰ μὲν τῶν κρεμαμένων πολιτῶν σώματα κατηκίσαντο, τὰ δὲ τοῖς ὀξυβελέσι πρὸς τῆ μηχανῆ προσκαθήλωσαν καθ' οὔς ποτε τύχοι τοῦ σώματος τόπους, ώστε σταυρῷ παραπλησίαν είναι την ύβριν άμα και την τιμωρίαν. και ταθτ' έγίνετό τισιν ύπὸ συγγενών η φίλων, εὶ τύχοι, τῆς άνάγκης οὐ πολυπραγμονούσης τι τῶν παρ' άνθρώποις δσίων.

55. 'Ο δ' 'Αγαθοκλής, όρων αὐτοὺς ἀπαθως ώρμηκότας πρὸς τὸν κίνδυνον, περιστήσας πανταχόθεν τὴν δύναμιν καὶ κατά τινα τόπον φαύλως ῷκοδομημένον βιασάμενος εἰσέπεσεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν. 2 των δ' Ἰτυκαίων των μὲν εἰς τὰς οἰκίας, των δ' εἰς

1 κειμένοις ἀνεκφεύκτοις Reiske: κείμενον ἀνέκφευκτον.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> τινας τῶν ἐφ. τῆ μη. κατηκόντισαν καὶ τὰ μέν τῶν κρ. πολ. σώματα κατηκίσαντο, τὰ Geer: τὰ τῶν ἐφ. τῆ μη. σώματα κατηκίσαντο καὶ τινὰς μὲν τῶν κρ. πολ. κατηκόντισαν, τινὰς.

those within the city. Those standing on the walls sor B.C. at first hesitated to use their missiles since the targets presented to them were their own fellow-countrymen, of whom some were indeed the most distinguished of their citizens; but when the enemy pressed on " more heavily, they were forced to defend themselves against those who manned the engine. As a result there came unparalleled suffering and despiteful treatment of fortune to the men of Utica, placed as they were in dire straits from which there was no escape; for since the Greeks had set up before them as shields the men of Utica who had been captured, it was necessary either to spare these and idly watch the fatherland fall into the hands of the enemy or, in protecting the city, to slaughter mercilessly a large number of unfortunate fellow citizens. And this, indeed, is what took place; for as they resisted the enemy and employed missiles of every kind, they shot down some of the men who were stationed on the engine, and they also mangled some of their fellow citizens who were hanging there, and others they nailed to the engine with their bolts at whatever places on the body the missiles chanced to strike, so that the wanton violence and the punishment almost amounted to crucifixion. And this fate befell some at the hands of kinsmen and friends, if so it chanced, since necessity is not curiously concerned for what is holy among men.

55. But when Agathocles saw that they were coldbloodedly intent on fighting, he put his army in position to attack from every side and, forcing an entrance at a point where the wall had been poorly constructed, broke into the city. As some of the Uticans fled into their houses, others into temples,

ίερα καταφευγόντων δι' όργης αὐτοὺς ἔχων φόνου την πόλιν ἐπλήρωσε. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἐν χειρῶν νόμω διέφθειρε, τοὺς δ' ἀλόντας ἐκρέμασε, τοὺς δ' ἐπὶ θεῶν ἱερὰ καὶ βωμοὺς καταφυγόντας διαψευσθηναι 3 τῆς ἐλπίδος ἐποίησεν. διαφορήσας δὲ τὰς κτήσεις καὶ φυλακὴν ἀπολιπὼν ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως ἐστρατοπέδευσεν ἐπὶ τὴν "Ιππου καλουμένην ἄκραν, ώχυρωμένην φυσικώς τῆ παρακειμένη λίμνη. πολιορκήσας δε αὐτὴν ενεργῶς καὶ τῶν εγχωρίων ναυμαχία περιγενόμενος κατὰ κράτος είλε. τούτω δὲ τῷ τρόπῳ τὰς πόλεις χειρωσάμενος τῶν τε ἐπὶ θαλάττη τόπων των πλείστων έκυρίευσεν καὶ των τὴν μεσόγειον οἰκούντων πλὴν τῶν Νομάδων ὧν τινὲς μὲν φιλίαν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐποιήσαντο, τινὲς δ' ἐκαραδόκουν τὴν τῶν ὅλων κρίσιν. τέτταρα γὰρ την Λιβύην διείληφε γένη, Φοίνικες μεν οί την Καρχηδόνα τότε κατοικοθντες, Λιβυφούνικες δὲ πολλάς έγοντες πόλεις επιθαλαττίους και κοινωνοῦντες τοις Καρχηδονίοις ἐπιγαμίας, οίς ἀπὸ τῆς συμπεπλεγμένης συγγενείας συνέβη τυχεῖν ταύτης τῆς προσηγορίας ὁ δὲ πολὺς λαὸς τῶν ἐγχωρίων, άρχαιότατος ών, Λίβυς ωνομάζετο, μισών διαφερόντως τοὺς Καρχηδονίους διὰ τὸ βάρος τῆς ἐπιστασίας οἱ δὲ τελευταῖοι Νομάδες ὑπῆρχον, πολλήν τής Λιβύης νεμόμενοι μέχρι τής ερήμου. 5 'Αγαθοκλής δε τοις μεν κατά Λιβύην συμμάχοις καὶ ταῖς δυνάμεσιν ὑπερέχων τῶν Καρχηδονίων,

καὶ ταῖς δυνάμεσιν ὑπερέχων τῶν Καρχηδονίων, περὶ δὲ τῶν ἐν Σικελία πραγμάτων ἀγωνιῶν ἄφρακτα καὶ πεντηκοντόρους ναυπηγησάμενος ἐν-

Literally, "The citadel of the horse" or "The cape of the horse," identified with Hippos Diarrhytus, the modern 294

Agathocles, enraged as he was against them, filled 307 a.c. the city with slaughter. Some he killed in hand-tohand fighting; those who were captured he hanged, and those who had fled to temples and altars of the gods he cheated of their hopes. When he had sacked the movable property, he left a garrison in possession of the city, and led his army into position against the place called Hippu Acra, which was made naturally strong by the marsh that lay before it. After laying siege to this with vigour and getting the better of its people in a naval battle, he took it by storm. When he had conquered the cities in this way, he became master both of most of the places along the sea and of the peoples dwelling in the interior except the Nomads, of whom some arrived at terms of friendship with him and some awaited the final issue. For four stocks have divided Libya: the Phoenicians, who at that time occupied Carthage; the Libyphoenicians, who have many cities along the sea and intermarry with the Carthaginians, and who received this name as a result of the interwoven ties of kinship. inhabitants the race that was most numerous and oldest was called Libyan, and they hated the Carthaginians with a special bitterness because of the weight of their overlordship; and last were the Nomads, who pastured their herds over a large part of Libya as far as the desert.

Now that Agathocles was superior to the Carthaginians by reason of his Libyan allies and his own armies but was much troubled about the situation in Sicily, he constructed light ships and penteconters

Biserte; cp. Beloch, Griechische Geschichte<sup>2</sup>, 4. 1. 195, note 2. Here Agathoeles gathered material for the construction of his fleet, Appian, African Wars, 110.

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εβίβασε στρατιώτας δισχιλίους. καταλιπών δὲ τῶν ἐν τῆ Λιβύη πραγμάτων στρατηγὸν ᾿Αγάθαρχον τὸν υίὸν ἀνήχθη ταῖς ναυσίτ, ἐπὶ Σικελίαν τὸν πλοῦν ποιούμενος.

56. "Αμα δὲ τούτοις πραττομένοις Ξενόδοκος ό τῶν 'Ακραγαντίνων στρατηγός πολλάς μὲν τῶν πόλεων ήλευθερωκώς, έλπίδας δε μεγάλας παρεσχηκώς τοις Σικελιώταις της καθ' όλην την νησον αύτονομίας εξήγαγε την δύναμιν επί τους 'Αγαθοκλέους στρατηγούς, οδσαν πεζών μέν πλειόνων ή μυρίων, 2 ίππέων δὲ σχεδον χιλίων. οἱ δὲ περὶ Λεπτίνην καὶ Δημόφιλον έκ τῶν Συρακουσσῶν καὶ τῶν φρουρίων ἐπιλέξαντες όσους ήδύναντο πλείστους1 ἀντεστρατοπέδευσαν πεζοις μέν οκτακισχιλίοις και διακοσίοις, ίππεῦσι δὲ χιλίοις καὶ διακοσίοις. γενομένης οδν παρατάξεως ισχυράς ήττηθείς ό Ξενόδοκος έφυγεν είς τὸν 'Ακράγαντα καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν απέβαλεν οὐκ ελάττους τῶν χιλίων καὶ πεντακο-3 σίων. οἱ μὲν οὖν ᾿Ακραγαντῖνοι ταύτη τῆ συμφορῷ περιπεσόντες διέλυσαν έαυτῶν μέν τὴν καλλίστην ἐπιβολήν, τῶν δὲ συμμάχων τὰς τῆς ἐλευθερίας έλπίδας 'Αγαθοκλής δὲ τής μάχης ἄρτι γεγενημένης καταπλεύσας τῆς Σικελίας εἰς Σελινοῦντα Ήρακλεώτας μέν ήλευθερωκότας την πόλιν ηνάγκασε πάλιν υποτάττεσθαι, παρελθών δὲ ἐπὶ θάτερον μέρος της νήσου Θερμίτας μέν προσαγαγόμενος ύποσπόνδους ἀφῆκε τῶν Καρχηδονίων τοὺς φρουροῦντας² ταύτην τὴν πόλιν, Κεφαλοίδιον δὲ ἐκπολιορκήσας Λεπτίνην μέν ταύτης έπιμελητήν

<sup>1</sup> όσους ήδύναντο πλείστους Dindorf : οῦς ήδύναντο πλείους.

and placed upon them two thousand soldiers. Leaving 307 n.c. his son Agatharchus 2 in command of affairs in Libya, he put out with his ships and made the voyage to

Sicily.

56. While this was happening, Xenodocus,3 the general of the Acragantines, having freed many of the cities and roused in the Sicilians great hopes of autonomy throughout the whole island, led his army against the generals of Agathocles. It consisted of more than ten thousand foot-soldiers and nearly a thousand horsemen. Leptines and Demophilus, assembling from Syracuse and the fortresses as many men as they could, took up a position opposite him with eighty-two hundred foot-soldiers and twelve hundred horse. In a bitter fight that ensued, Xenodocus was defeated and fled to Acragas, losing not less than fifteen hundred of his soldiers. The people of Acragas after meeting with this reverse put an end to their own most noble enterprise and, at the same time, to their allies' hopes of freedom. Shortly after this battle had taken place, Agathocles put in at Selinus in Sicily and forced the people of Heraclea, who had made their city free, to submit to him once more. Having crossed to the other side of the island, he attached to himself by a treaty the people of Therma, granting safe conduct to the Carthaginian garrison. Then, after taking Cephaloedium and leaving Leptines as its governor, he himself marched

<sup>2</sup> Usually called Archagathus, cp. chap. 11. 1, and note.

<sup>5</sup> Cp. chap. 31. 4.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The fleet was constructed at Hippu Acra, cp. Appian, African Wars, 110.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> τοὺς φρουροῦντας Reiske, Madvig; approved by Fischer in apparatus: φρουρούντων.

απέλιπεν, αὐτὸς δὲ διὰ τῆς μεσογείου ποιούμενος τὴν πορείαν ἐπεβάλετο μὲν νυκτὸς εἰς τὰ Κεντόριπα παρεισπεσεῖν εἰσδεχομένων αὐπόν τινων πολιτικῶν ἀνδρῶν, καταφανοῦς δὲ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς γενομένης καὶ τῶν φρουρῶν παραβοηθησάντων ἐξέπεσεν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, ἀποβαλὼν τῶν στρατιωτῶν πλείους 4 πεντακοσίων. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτά τινων ἐκ τῆς ᾿Απολλωνίας μεταπεμπομένων αὐτὸν καὶ τὴν πατρίδα προδώσειν ἐπαγγελλομένων ἡκε πρὸς τὴν πόλιν τῶν δὲ προδοτῶν καταφανῶν γενομένων καὶ κολασθέντων κατὰ μὲν πρώτην ἡμέραν πολιορκήσας ἄπρακτος ἐγένετο, τῆ δ᾽ ὑστεραία πολλὰ κακοπαθήσας καὶ συχνοὺς ἀποβαλὼν μόλις εἶλε τὴν πόλιν καὶ τῶν ᾿Απολλωνιατῶν τοὺς πλείστους ἀποσφάξας διήρπασε τὰς κτήσεις.

57. Τούτου δὲ περὶ ταῦτ' ὅντος Δεινοκράτης ὁ τῶν φυγάδων ἡγούμενος ἀναλαβῶν τὴν ᾿Ακραγαντίνων προαίρεσιν καὶ προστάτην αὐτὸν ἀναδείξας τῆς κοινῆς ἐλευθερίας ἐποίησε πολλοὺς ἀπανταχόθεν 2 συνδραμεῖν πρὸς αὐτόν οἱ μὲν γὰρ διὰ τὴν ἔμφυτον πᾶσιν ἐπιθυμέαν τῆς αὐτονομίας, οἱ δὲ διὰ τὸν ᾿Αγαθοκλέους φόβον προθύμως ὑπήκουον τοῖς παραγγελλομένοις. ἡθροισμένων δ᾽ αὐτῷ¹ πεζῶν μὲν οὐ πολὺ ἐλάττων δισμυρίων, ἱππέων δὲ χιλίων καὶ πεντακοσίων καὶ πάντων τούτων ἐν φυγαῖς καὶ μελέταις τοῦ πονεῖν συνεχῶς γεγονότων κατεστρατοπέδευσεν ἐν ὑπαίθρω, προκαλούμενος τῆ μάχη 3 τὸν δυνάστην. τοῦ δ᾽ ᾿Αγαθοκλέους λειπομένου πολὺ ταῖς δυνάμεσι καὶ φυγομαχοῦντος ἐκ ποδὸς ἡκολούθει συνεχῶς, ἀκονητὶ περιπεποιημένος τὴν νίκην.

'Από δὲ τούτων των καιρων τοῖς περὶ τὸν 'Αγα-

through the interior and attempted to slip by night 307 k.c. into Centoripa, where some of the citizens were to admit him. When their plan was discovered, however, and the guard came to the defence, he was thrown out of the city, losing more than five hundred of his soldiers. Thereupon, men from Apollonia having invited him and promised to betray their fatherland, he came to that city. As the traitors had become known and had been punished, he attacked the city but without effect for the first day, and on the next, after suffering heavily and losing a large number of men, he barely succeeded in taking it. After slaughtering most of the Apolloniates, he plundered their possessions.

57. While Agathoeles was engaged on these matters, Deinocrates, the leader of the exiles, taking over the policy of the Acragantines and proclaiming himself champion of the common liberty, caused many to flock to him from all sides; for some eagerly gave car to his appeals because of the desire for independence inborn in all men, and others because of their fear of Agathoeles. When Deinocrates had collected almost twenty thousand foot-soldiers and fifteen hundred mounted men, all of them men who had had uninterrupted experience of exile and hardship, he camped in the open, challenging the tyrant to battle. However, when Agathoeles, who was far inferior in strength, avoided battle, he steadily followed on his heels, having secured his victory without a struggle.

From this time on the fortunes of Agathocles, not

<sup>1</sup> αὐτῶ Dindorf : αὐτῶν.

θοκλέα συνέβαινε πρός το χεΐρον μεταβάλλειν οὐ · μόνον τὰ κατὰ Σικελίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ κατὰ Λιβύην 4 πράγματα. 'Αρχάγαθος γὰρ ὁ καταλειφθείς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ στρατηγὸς μετὰ τὴν ἀναγωγὴν τοῦ πατρὸς τὸ μέν πρώτον επλεονέκτει, πέμψας είς τοὺς ἄνω τόπους μέρος τι της δυνάμεως, ης ην ηγεμών Εύμαχος. ούτος γάρ Τώκας πόλιν εύμεγέθη χειρωσάμενος πολλούς προσηγάγετο τῶν πλησίον κατοικούντων 5 Νομάδων. εξθ΄ έτέραν εκπολιορκήσας, την όνομαζομένην Φελλίνην, ηνάγκασε πειθαρχείν τους την έξης χώραν νεμομένους, τούς καλουμένους 'Ασφοδελώδεις, όντας τῷ χρώματι παραπλησίους τοῖς 6 Αλθίοψι. τρίτην δ' είλε Μεσχέλαν, μεγίστην οδσαν, ώκισμένην δὲ τὸ παλαιὸν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκ Τροίας ἀνακομιζομένων Έλλήνων, περί ών έν τη τρίτη βίβλω προειρήκαμεν, έξης δε την ονομαζομένην άκραν "Ιππου τὴν δμώνυμον τῆ χειρωθείση κατὰ κράτος ύπ' 'Αγαθοκλέους καὶ τελευταίαν τὴν προσαγορευομένην 'Ακρίδα πόλιν αὐτόνομον, ην έξανδραποδισάμενος εξέδωκε τοις στρατιώταις διαρπάσαι.

58. 'Εμπλήσας δ' ἀφελείας τὸ στρατόπεδον κατέβη πρός τοὺς περὶ τὸν 'Αρχάγαθον καὶ δόξας 
ἀγαθὸς ἀνὴρ γεγονέναι πάλιν ἐστράτευσεν εἰς τοὺς 
ἄνω τῆς Λιβύης τόπους. ὑπερβαλὼν δὲ τὰς πόλεις 
ὧν πρότερον ἐγεγόνει κύριος, παρεισέπεσεν εἰς τὴν 
καλουμένην Μιλτινὴν πόλιν, ἀπροσδοκήτως ἐπι2 φανείς συστραφέντων δ' ἐπ' αὐτὸν τῶν βαρβάρων 
καὶ κρατησάντων ἐν ταῖς όδοῖς ἐξεβλήθη παραλόγως 
καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀπέβαλεν. ἐντεῦθεν

1 The name means " like the asphodel."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> There is nothing about this incident in Book 3; and 300

only in Sicily but also in Libya, suffered a change for 307 B.C. the worse. Archagathus, who had been left by him as general, after the departure of his father at first gained some advantage by sending into the inland regions a part of the army under the command of Eumachus. This leader, after taking the rather large city of Tocae, won over many of the Nomads who dwelt near by. Then, capturing another city called Phelline, he forced the submission of those who used the adjacent country as pasture, men called the Asphodelodes, who are similar to the Ethiopians in colour. The third city that he took was Meschela, which was very large and had been founded long ago by the Greeks who were returning from Troy, about whom we have already spoken in the third Book.2 Next he took the place called Hippu Acra, which has the same name as that captured by storm by Agathocles,3 and finally the free city called Acris, which he gave to his soldiers for plundering after he had enslaved the people.4

58. After sating his army with booty, he returned to Archagathus; and since he had gained a name for good service, he again led an army into the inland regions of Libya. Passing by the cities that he had previously mastered, he gained an entrance into the city called Miltine, having appeared before it without warning; but when the barbarians gathered together against him and overpowered him in the streets, he was, to his great surprise, driven out and lost many of his men. Departing thence, he marched through

chronologically it belongs in Book 7, of which only fragments are extant; cp. Vol. III, pp. 358-359.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. chap. 55. 3.

<sup>4</sup> None of the cities or peoples mentioned in this paragraph can be identified with certainty.

δ' άναζεύξας προήγεν δι' όρους ύψηλοῦ παρήκοντος έπὶ σταδίους διακοσίους, πλήρους δ' όντος αἰλούρων, έν & συνέβαινε μηδέν όλως ππηνόν νεοττεύειν μήτε έπὶ τοῖς δένδρεσι μήτε έν ταῖς φάραγξι διὰ τὴν 3 άλλοτριότητα των προειρημένων ζώων. διελθών δὲ τὴν ὀρεινὴν ταύτην ἐνέβαλεν εἰς χώραν ἔχουσαν πληθος πιθήκων καὶ πόλεις τρεῖς τὰς ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν ζώων ὀνομαζομένας εἰς τὸν Ἑλληνικὸν τρόπον 4 της διαλέκτου μεθερμηνευομένας Πιθηκούσσας. έν δέ ταύταις οὐκ όλίγα τῶν νομίμων πολύ παρήλλαττε τών παρ' ήμιν. τάς τε γάρ αὐτάς οἰκίας οί πίθηκοι κατώκουν τοις άνθρώποις, θεοί παρ' αὐτοις νομιζόμενοι καθάπερ παρ' Αίγυπτίοις οι κύνες, έκ τε των παρεσκευασμένων έν τοῖς ταμιείοις τὰ ζώα τὰς τροφὰς ἐλάμβανον ἀκωλύτως ὁπότε βούλοιντο. και τας προσηγορίας δ' ετίθεσαν οι γονείς τοις παιοί κατά τὸ πλείστον ἀπὸ τῶν πιθήκων, 5 ώσπερ παρ' ήμιν ἀπὸ τῶν θεῶν. τοῖς δ' ἀποκτείνασι τοῦτο τὸ ζῷον ὡς ἠσεβηκόσι τὰ μέγιστα θάνατος ώριστο πρόστιμον διό δή καὶ παρά τισιν ενίσχυσεν εν παροιμίας μέρει λεγόμενον επὶ τῶν άνατεὶ κτεινομένων ὅτι πιθήκου αἰμ' ἀποτίσειαν. 6 δ δ' οὖν Εὔμαχος μίαν μὲν τούτων τῶν πόλεων έλων κατά κράτος διήρπασε, τὰς δὲ δύο προσηγάγετο. πυνθανόμενος δὲ τοὺς περιοικοῦντας βαρβάρους άθροίζειν έπ' αὐτὸν μεγάλας δυνάμεις προήγε συντονώτερον, διεγνωκώς έπανιέναι πρός

59. Μέχρι μεν δή τούτων τῶν καιρῶν ἐν τῆ

τούς ἐπὶ θαλάττη τόπους.

<sup>1</sup> èv Reiske : éni.

a high mountain range that extended for about two 307 B.C. hundred stades 1 and was full of wildcats,2 in which, accordingly, no birds whatever nested either among the trees or the ratines because of the rapacity of the aforementioned beasts. Crossing this range, he came out into a country containing a large number of apes and to three cities called from these beasts Pithecusae, if the name is translated into the Greek language. In these cities many of the customs were very different from those current among us. For the apes lived in the same houses as the men, being regarded among them as gods, just as the dogs are among the Egyptians,4 and from the provisions laid up in the storerooms the beasts took their food without hindrance whenever they wished. Parents usually gave their children names taken from the apes, just as we do from the gods. For any who killed this animal, as if he had committed the greatest sacrilege, death was established as the penalty. For this reason, among some there was current a proverbial saving about those slain with impunity that they were paying the penalty for a monkey's blood. However this may be, Eumachus, after taking one of these cities by storm, destroyed it, but the other two he won over by persuasion. When, however, he heard that the neighbouring barbarians were collecting great forces against him, he pushed on more vigorously, having decided to go back to the regions by the sea.

59. Up to this time all the campaign in Libya had

4 Cp. Book 1, chap. 83. 1.

About 23 miles.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Or " weasels."

<sup>3 &</sup>quot;Ape-cities"; ep. the Πιθηκοῦσαι νῆσοι, "Ape Islands," off the coast of Campania (chap. 44. 7).

Λιβύη κατά νοῦν ἄπαντα τὰ πράγματα τοῖς περὶ τὸν ᾿Αργάγαθον ἦν. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τῆς γερουσίας έν Καρχηδόνι βουλευσαμένης περὶ τοῦ πολέμου καλως έδοξε τοις συνέδροις τρία στρατόπεδα ποιήσαντας ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐκπέμψαι, τὸ μὲν ἐπὶ τὰς παραθαλαττίους πόλεις, τὸ δ' εἰς τὴν μεσόγειον, 2 τὸ δ' εἰς τοὺς ἄνω τόπους. ἐνόμιζον γὰρ τοῦτο πράξαντες πρώτον μέν την πόλιν ἀπαλλάξειν της πολιορκίας αμα δὲ καὶ τῆς σιτοδείας πολλών γάρ καὶ παντοδαπῶν ὅχλων συμπεφευγότων εἰς τὴν Καρχηδόνα συνέβαινε πάντων γεγονέναι σπάνιν, έξανηλωμένων ήδη των ἐπιτηδείων ἀπό δὲ τῆς πολιορκίας οὐκ ἦν κίνδυνος, ἀπροσίτου τῆς πόλεως ούσης διά την άπο των τειχών και της θαλάττης 3 όχυρότητα: έπειθ' ὑπελάμβανον καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους διαμένειν μαλλον πλειόνων στρατοπέδων όντων έν ύπαίθρω τῶν παραβοηθούντων τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, ήλπιζον και τους πολεμίους αναγκασθήσεσθαι μερίζειν τὰς δυνάμεις καὶ μακρὰν ἀποσπᾶσθαι τῆς Καρχηδόνος. ἄπερ ἄπαντα κατὰ τὴν ἐπίνοιαν αὐ-4 των συνετελέσθη τρισμυρίων μέν γὰρ στρατιωτών έκ τῆς πόλεως ἐκπεμφθέντων οἱ καταλειπόμενοι εμφρουροι<sup>2</sup> ούχ οίον ίκανὰ πρὸς αὐτάρκειαν είχον, άλλ' ἐκ περιουσίας ἐχρῶντο δαψιλέσι πᾶσιν, οἶ τε σύμμαχοι τὸ πρὸ τοῦ διὰ τὸν ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων φόβον αναγκαζόμενοι προστίθεσθαι τοῖς πολεμίοις τότε πάλιν θαρρήσαντες ανέτρεχον είς την προυπάρχουσαν φιλίαν. 60. 'Ο δ' 'Αρχάγαθος όρῶν διειλημμένην ἄπασαν

60. 'Ο δ' 'Αρχάγαθος όρων διειλημμένην ἄπασαν τὴν Λιβύην πολεμίοις στρατοπέδοις καὶ αὐτὸς διεῖλε τὴν δύναμιν καὶ μέρος μὲν ἐξέπεμψεν εἰς τὴν

been satisfactory to Archagathus. But after this the 307 B.C. senate in Carthage took good counsel about the war and the senators decided to form three armies and send them forth from the city, one against the cities of the coast, one into the midland regions, and one into the interior. They thought that if they did this they would in the first place relieve the city of the siege and at the same time of the searcity of food; for since many people from all parts had taken refuge in Carthage, there had resulted a general scarcity, the supply of provisions being already exhausted, but there was no danger from the siege since the city was inaccessible because of the protection afforded by the walls and the sea. In the second place, they assumed that the allies would continue more loyal if there were more armies in the field aiding them. And, what was most important, they hoped that the enemy would be forced to divide his forces and to withdraw to a distance from Carthage. All of these aims were accomplished according to their purpose; for when thirty thousand soldiers had been sent out from the city, the men who were left behind as a garrison not only had enough to maintain themselves, but out of their abundance they enjoyed everything in profusion; and the allies, who hitherto, because of their fear of the enemy, were compelled to make terms with him, again gained courage and hastened to return to the formerly existing friendship.

60. When Archagathus saw that all Libya was being occupied in sections by hostile armies, he himself also divided his army; part he sent into the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> ἀπὸ Fischer : ὁ.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> ἔμφρουροι Mudvig; ἐν τῆ πόλει Dindorf; εὐπόρως Post: ἔμποροι.

παραθαλάττιον, της δ' άλλης στρατιάς ην μέν Αίσχρίωνι παραδούς εξέπεμψεν, ής δ' αὐτὸς ἡγεῖτο, καταλιπών τὴν ἱκανὴν φυλακὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ Τύνητος. 2 τοσούτων δε στρατοπέδων επί της χώρας πανταχή πλαζομένων και προσδοκωμένης έσεσθαι πραγμάτων όλοσχεροῦς μεταβολῆς ἄπαντες ἡγωνίων, 3 καραδοκοῦντες τὸ τέλος τῶν ἀποβησομένων. "Αννων μεν οὖν ἡγούμενος τοῦ κατά τὴν μεσόγειον στρατοπέδου θείς ενέδραν τοῖς περί τὸν Αἰσχρίωνα καὶ παραδόξως ἐπιθέμενος ἀνεῖλε πεζούς μὲν πλείους τῶν τετρακισχιλίων, ἱππεῖς δὲ περὶ διακοσίους, ἐν οίς ἡν καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ στρατηγός τῶν δ' άλλων οἱ μὲν ἥλωσαν οἱ δὲ διεσώθησαν πρὸς 'Αρχάγαθον, ἀπέχοντα σταδίους πεντακοσίους. 4 Ἰμίλκων δ' ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄνω τόπους στρατεύειν ἀπο-δειχθεὶς τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐφήδρευε ἔν τινι" πόλει προσδεχόμενος τον Εύμαχον, εφελκόμενον βαρύ τὸ στρατόπεδον διὰ τὰς ἐκ τῶν άλουσῶν πόλεων 5 ώφελείας. μετά δὲ ταῦτα τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐκταξάντων την δύναμιν καὶ προκαλουμένων εἰς μάχην 'Ιμίλκων μέρος μέν της στρατιάς κατέλιπε διεσκευασμένον εν τῆ πόλει, διακελευσάμενος, ὅταν αὐτὸς ἀναχωρή προσποιούμενος φεύγειν, ἐπεξελθεῖν τοις ἐπιδιώκουσιν αὐτὸς δὲ προαγαγών τοὺς ἡμίσεις των στρατιωτών καὶ μικρόν πρό τῆς παρεμβολής συνάψας μάχην εύθυς έφευγεν ώς καταπε-6 πληγμένος. οί δὲ περὶ τὸν Ευμαχον ἐπαρθέντες τῆ νίκη καὶ τῆς τάξεως οὐδὲν φροντίσαντες εδίωκον καὶ τεθορυβημένως των υποχωρούντων εξήπτοντο.

coastal region, and of the rest of his forces he gave 307 B.C. part to Aeschrion and sent him forth, and part he led himself, leaving an adequate garrison in Tunis. When so many armies were wandering everywhere in the country and when a decisive crisis in the campaign was expected, all anxiously awaited the final outcome. Now Hanno,1 who commanded the army of the midland region, laid an ambush for Acschrion and fell on him suddenly, slaying more than four thousand foot-soldiers and about two hundred mounted troops, among whom was the general himself; of the others some were captured and some escaped in safety to Archagathus, who was about five hundred stades distant.2 As for Himilco, who had been appointed to conduct the campaign into the interior, at first he rested in a certain city lying in wait for Eumachus, who was dragging along his army heavily loaded with the spoils from the captured Then when the Greeks drew up their forces and challenged him to battle, Himilco left part of his army under arms in the city, giving them orders that, when he retired in pretended flight, they should burst out upon the pursuers. He himself, leading out half of his soldiers and joining battle a little distance in front of the encampment, at once took to flight as if panic-stricken. Eumachus' men, elated by their victory and giving no thought at all to their formation, followed, and in confusion pressed hard upon those who were withdrawing; but when

To be distinguished from the Hanno of chaps. 10. 1. and
 3, who is now dead. Nothing further is known of this Hanno.
 About 57 miles.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> ἔν των Holm: τῆ MSS., Fischer.
<sup>3</sup> προσδεχόμενος Reiske: πρὸς MSS., Fischer.

ἄφνω δὲ καθ' ἔτερον μέρος τῆς πόλεως ἐκχυθείσης τῆς δυνάμεως κατεσκευασμένης καὶ πλήθους ἱκανοῦ πρὸς ἔν παρακέλευσμα συναλολάξαντος κατεπλά-7 γησαν. ἐμβαλόντων οὖν τῶν βαρβάρων εἰς ἀσυντάκτους καὶ πεφοβημένους διὰ τὸ παράδοξον, ταχὺ τροπὴν συνέβη γενέσθαι τῶν 'Ελλήνων. ὑποτεμομένων δὲ τῶν Καρχηδονίων τὴν εἰς τὴν στρατοπεδείαν ἀποχώρησιν τῶν πολεμίων ὴναγκάσθησαν οἱ περὶ τὸν Εὔμαχον καταφυγεῖν ἐπὶ τὸν πλησίον δὸ τὸν τόπον τῶν Φοινίκων ἄμα μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ δύμους καταπονηθέντες, ἄμα δ' ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων κρατούμενοι σχεδὸν ἄπαντες ἀνηρέθησαν ἀπὸ μὲν γὰρ πεζῶν ὀκτακισχιλίων τριάκοντα μόνον διεσώθησαν, ἀπὸ δ' ἱππέων ὀκτακοσίων τετταράκοντα διέφυγον τὸν κίνδυνον.

61. 'Ο δ' 'Αρχάγαθος τηλικαύτη συμφορά περιπεσών ἐπανῆλθεν εἰς Τύνητα. καὶ τῶν μὲν ἐκπεμφθέντων στρατιωτῶν τοὺς περιλειπομένους μετεπέμπετο πανταχόθεν, εἰς δὲ τὴν Σικελίαν ἐξέπεμψε τοὺς δηλώσοντας τῷ πατρὶ τὰ συμβεβηκότα καὶ παρακαλέσοντας βοηθεῖν τὴν ταχίστην. 2 τοῖς δὲ προγεγονόσιν ἀτυχήμασιν ἐτέρα τοῖς "Ελλησιν ἐλάττωσις ἐπεγένετο ἀπέστησαν μὲν γὰρ ἀπ' αὐτῶν πλὴν ὀλίγων ἄπαντες οἱ σύμμαχοι, συνεστράφησαν δὲ αἱ τῶν πολεμίων δυνάμεις καὶ πλησίον ποιησάμενοι παρεμβολὰς ἐφήδρευον. 'Ιμίλκων μὲν γὰρ κατελάβετο τὰ στενὰ καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας ἐκβολῶν ἀπέκλεισε τοὺς ἐναντίους, ἀπέχοντας σταδίους ἐκατόν ἐκ δὲ θατέρου μέρους ἐστρατοπέδευσεν 'Ατάρβας ἀπὸ τεσσαράκοντα στα-4 δίων τοῦ Τύνητος. διόπερ τῶν πολεμίων οὐ μόνον 308

suddenly from another part of the city there poured 307 B.C. forth the army all ready for battle and when a great host shouted at a single command, they became panic-stricken. Accordingly, when the barbarians fell upon an enemy who had been thrown into disorder and frightened by the sudden onslaught, the immediate result was the rout of the Greeks. Since the Carthaginians cut off the enemy's return to his camp, Eumachus was forced to withdraw to the nearby hill, which was ill supplied with water. When the Phoenicians invested the place, the Greeks, who had become weak from thirst and were being overpowered by the enemy, were almost all killed. In fact, of eight thousand foot-soldiers only thirty were saved, and of eight hundred horsemen forty escaped from the battle.

61. After meeting with so great a disaster Archagathus returned to Tunis. He summoned from all sides the survivors of the soldiers who had been sent out; and he sent messengers to Sicily to report to his father what had happened and to urge him to come to his aid with all possible speed. In addition to the preceding disasters, another loss befell the Greeks; for all their allies except a few deserted them, and the armies of the enemy gathered together and, pitching camp near by, lay in wait for them. Himileo occupied the passes and shut off his opponents, who were at a distance of a hundred stades, from the routes leading from the region; and on the other side Atarbas camped at a distance of forty stades from Tunis. Therefore, since the enemy

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> About 11½ miles.
<sup>2</sup> About 4½ miles.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> ἐκβολῶν Post : εἰσβολῶν.

της θαλάττης άλλα και της χώρας κυριευόντων, σιτοδεία τε συνέβαινε συνέχεσθαι τους "Ελληνας

καὶ τῷ φόβω πάντοθεν κατείχοντο.

5 'Εν άθυμία δὲ δεινή πάντων ὅντων 'Αγαθοκλής ώς ἐπύθετο τὰ κατὰ την Λιβύην ἐλαττώματα, παρεσκευάσατο ναθς¹ μακράς έπτακαίδεκα, διανοούμενος βοηθεῖν τοῖς περὶ τὸν ᾿Αρχάγαθον. καὶ τῶν κατά Σικελίαν δε πραγμάτων επί το χειρου αὐτῷ μεταβεβληκότων διὰ τὸ τοὺς περὶ Δεινοκράτην φυγάδας ηὐξησθαι ἐπὶ πλεῖον, τὸν μὲν ἐν τῆ νήσω πόλεμον τοις περί Λεπτίνην στρατηγοις ένεχείρισεν, αὐτὸς δὲ πληρώσας τὰς ναθς ἐπετήρει τὸν τοθ πλοθ καιρόν, έφορμούντων των Καρχηδονίων τριάκοντα 6 ναυσί. καθ' ον δη χρόνον έκ Τυρρηνίας αὐτῷ κατέπλευσαν όκτωκαίδεκα ναθς έπὶ βοήθειαν, αξ διὰ νυκτὸς εἰς τὸν λιμένα εἰσπεσοῦσαι τούς Καρχηδονίους έλαθον. ὁ δ' 'Αγαθοκλής ταύτης τυχών της άφορμης κατεστρατήγησε τούς πολεμίους, τοίς μέν συμμάχοις μένειν παραγγείλας μέχρι αν αὐτὸς έκπλεύσας επισπάσηται τους Φοίνικας πρός του διωγμόν, αὐτὸς δέ, καθάπερ ἢν συντεθειμένος, ἐκ τοῦ λιμένος ἀνήχθη κατὰ σπουδὴν τοῖς ἐπτακαίδεκα 7 σκάφεσιν. είθ' οἱ μὲν ἐφορμοῦντες ἐδίωκον, οἱ δὲ περί του 'Αγαθοκλέα κατανοήσαντες τους Τυρρηνούς παραφαινομένους έκ τοῦ λιμένος ἄφνω τὰς ναθε επέστρεψαν καὶ καταστάντες εἰς εμβολήν διεναυμάχουν τοῖς βαρβάροις. οἱ δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι διά τε το παράδοξον και δια το των πολεμίων είς μέσον ἀπολαμβάνεσθαι τὰς ίδίας τριήρεις κατα-8 πλαγέντες έφυγον. είθ' οι μεν "Ελληνες πέντε νεών αὐτάνδρων ἐκυρίευσαν, ὁ δὲ τῶν Καρχηδονίων στρατηγός άλισκομένης ήδη της ναυαρχίδος άπ-310

controlled not only the sea but also the land, the 207 B.C. Greeks both suffered from famine and were beset by

fear on every side.

While all were in deep despair, Agathocles, when he learned of the reverses in Libya, made ready seventeen warships intending to go to the aid of Archagathus. Although affairs in Sicily had also shifted to his disadvantage because of the increase in the strength of the exiles who followed Deinoerates, he entrusted the war on the island to Leptines as general; and he himself, manning his ships, watched for a chance to set sail, since the Carthaginians were blockading the harbour with thirty ships. Now at this very time eighteen ships arrived from Etruria as a reinforcement for him, slipping into the harbour at night without the knowledge of the Carthaginians. Gaining this resource, Agathocles outgeneralled his enemies; ordering the allies to remain until he should have sailed out and drawn the Carthaginians into the chase, he himself, just as he had planned, put to sea from the harbour at top speed with his seventeen ships. The ships on guard pursued, but Agathocles, on seeing the Etruscans appearing from the harbour, suddenly turned his ships, took position for ramming, and pitted his ships against the barbarians. The Carthaginians, terror-stricken by the surprise and because their own triremes were cut off between the enemy fleets, fled. Thereupon the Greeks captured five ships with their crews; and the commander of the Carthaginians, when his flagship was on the point of being captured, killed

<sup>1</sup> τε after vaûs omitted by Dindorf,

έσφαξεν έαυτόν, προκρίνας τον θάνατον τῆς προσδοκηθείσης αἰχμαλωσίας. οὐ μὴν ἐφάνη γε εὖ βεβουλευμένος ἡ γὰρ ναῦς φόροῦ πνεύματος ἐπιλαβομένη τοῦ δόλωνος ἀρθέντος ἐξέφυγε τὸν κίνδυνον.

 Αγαθοκλής μὲν οὖν οὐδ' ἐλπίδας ἔχων τοῦ κατά θάλατταν περιέσεσθαί ποτε Καρχηδονίων ένίκησε ναυμαχία παραδόξως καὶ τὸ λοιπόν θαλασσοκρατών παρείχετο τοις έμπόροις την ασφάλειαν. διόπερ οἱ Συρακόσιοι, πάντοθεν πρὸς αὐτοὺς κομιζομένης άγορας, άντὶ τῆς τῶν ἐπιτηδείων σπάνεως 2 ταχέως πάντων έσχον δωβίλειαν. ὁ δὲ δυνάστης μετεωρισθείς τῷ γεγονότι προτερήματι Λεπτίνην έξαπέστειλε λεηλατήσοντα την πολεμίαν και μάλιστα τὴν 'Ακραγαντίνην. ὁ γὰρ Ξενόδοκος διὰ την γεγενημένην ήτταν βλασφημούμενος ύπο των 3 άντιπολιτευομένων έστασίαζε πρός αὐτούς. παρήγγειλε μὲν οὖν τῷ Λεπτίνη πειρᾶσθαι προκαλέσασθαι τον άνδρα πρός μάχηνι ραδίως γάρ προτερήσειν ώς στασιαζούσης δυνάμεως και προηττημένης. 4 όπερ καὶ συνετελέσθη · ὁ μὲν γὰρ Λεπτίνης ἐμβαλών els την 'Ακραγαντίνην την χώραν έδήου, ό δὲ Ξενόδοκος το μέν πρώτον ήσυχίαν είχεν, ου νομίζων αύτον ἀξιόμαχον είναι, ονειδιζόμενος δε ύπο των πολιτών είς δειλίαν προήγαγε την στρατιάν, τώ μέν ἀριθμῷ βραχὺ λειπομένην τῶν ἐναντίων, τῆ δ' άρετή πολύ καταδεεστέραν ούσαν, ώς αν τής μέν

<sup>1</sup> τὴν before μάχην omitted by Hertlein.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The δόλων was either a light spar that could be rigged at 312

himself, preferring death to the anticipated captivity. 807 n.c. But in truth he was shown by the event to have judged unwisely; for his ship caught a favouring

judged unwisely; for his ship caught a favouring wind, raised its jury mast and fled from the battle.

62. Agathocles, who had no hope of ever getting the better of the Carthaginians on the sea, unexpectedly defeated them in a naval battle, and thereafter he ruled the sea and gave security to his merchants. For this reason the people of Syracuse, goods being brought to them from all sides, in place of scarcity of provisions soon enjoyed an abundance of everything. The tyrant, encouraged by the success that had been won, dispatched Leptines to plunder the country of the enemy and, in particular, that of Acragas. For Xenodocus, vilified by his political opponents because of the defeat he had suffered, was at strife with them. Agathoeles therefore ordered Leptines to try to entice the man out to a battle; for, he said, it would be easy to defeat him since his army was seditious and had already been overcome. And indeed this was accomplished; for when Leptines entered the territory of Acragas and began plundering the land, Xenodocus at first kept quiet, not believing himself strong enough for battle ; but when he was reproached by the citizens for cowardice, he led out his army, which in number fell little short of that of his opponents but in morale was far inferior since the citizen army had been formed

the prow of the warship, extending forward like a high bowsprit, or a square sail hung on a crossarm at the end of such a spar. We hear of this rig only on Phoenician and Roman craft. Since it could be set up more quickly than the ordinary mast, which was stowed before battle, it seems often to have been used as here. Cp. Livy, 36, 44, 3, 45, 1; 37, 30, 7; Polybius, 16, 15, 2. 2 Cp. chap, 56, 3.

πολιτικής ἐν ἀνέσει καὶ σκιατροφία γεγενημένης, της δ' ἐν ἀγραυλία καὶ συνεχέσι στρατείαις γε5 γυμνασμένης. διὸ καὶ μάχης, γενομένης οἱ περὶ τὸν Λεπτίνην ταχὺ τοὺς ᾿Ακραγαντίνους τρεψάμενοι συνεδίωξαν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἔπεσον δ' ἐπὶ τῆς παρατάξεως τῶν ἡττηθέντων πεζοὶ μὲν περὶ πεντακοσίους, ἱππεῖς δὲ πλείω τῶν πεντήκοντα. εἶθ' οἱ μὲν ᾿Ακραγαντίνοι δυσφοροῦντες ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐλαττώμασιν ἐν αἰτίαις εἰχον τὸν Ξενόδοκον, ὡς δι' ἐκεῖνον δὶς ἡττημένοι ὁ δὲ φοβηθεὶς τὰς ἐπιφερομένας εὐθύνας καὶ κρίσεις ἀπεχώρησεν εἰς τὴν Γέλαν.

63. 'Αγαθοκλής δὲ ἐν ἡμέραις ὀλίγαις καὶ πεζή καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν νενικηκώς τοὺς πολεμίους ἔθυε τοις θεοις και λαμπράς ύποδοχάς των φίλων έποιείτο. ἀπετίθετο δ' ἐν τοῖς πότοις τὸ τῆς τυραννίδος άξίωμα και των τυχόντων ίδιωτών ταπεινότερον έαυτὸν ἀπεδείκνυεν, ἄμα μὲν διὰ τῆς τοιαύτης πολιτείας θηρώμενος τὴν παρά τῶν πολλῶν εὔνοιαν αμα δὲ διδούς ἐν τῆ μέθη καθ' αύτοῦ παρρησίαν, άκριβως κατενόει την έκάστου διάνοιαν, της άληθείας εκφερομένης απαρακαλύπτως διά τὸν οίνον. 2 ύπάρχων δέ καὶ φύσει γελωτοποιός καὶ μίμος οὐδ' έν ταις έκκλησίαις απείχετο του σκώπτειν τους καθημένους καί τινας αὐτῶν εἰκάζειν, ὥστε τὸ πλήθος πολλάκις είς γέλωτα έκτρέπεσθαι καθάπερ τινά τῶν ἠθολόγων ἢ θαυματοποιῶν θεωροῦντας. 3 δορυφορούμενος δε ύπο πλήθους είς τὰς εκκλησίας είσήει μόνος, οὐχ όμοίως Διονυσίω τῶ τυράννω. ούτος γάρ έπὶ τοσούτον άπίστως διέκειτο πρός απαντας ώστε κατά μέν τὸ πλείστον κομάν καὶ πωγωνοτροφείν, όπως μή συναναγκασθή τώ τοῦ κουρέως σιδήρω παραβαλείν τὰ κυριώτατα μέρη 314

amid indulgence and a sheltered way of life and the 207 s.c. other had been trained in military service in the field and in constant campaigns. Therefore when battle was joined, Leptines quickly routed the men of Acragas and pursued them into the city; and there fell in the battle on the side of the vanquished about five hundred foot soldiers and more than fifty horsemen. Then the people of Acragas, vexed over their disasters, brought charges against Xenodocus, saying that because of him they had twice been defeated; but he, fearing the impending investigation and

trial, departed to Gela.

63. Agathoeles, having within a few days defeated his enemies both on land and on sea, sacrificed to the gods and gave lavish entertainments for his friends. In his drinking bouts he used to put off the pomp of tyranny and to show himself more humble than the ordinary citizens; and by seeking through a policy of this sort the goodwill of the multitude and at the same time giving men licence to speak against him in their cups he used to discover exactly the opinion of each, since through wine the truth is brought to light without concealment. Being by nature also a buffoon and a mimic, not even in the meetings of the assembly did he abstain from jeering at those who were present and from portraying certain of them, so that the common people would often break out into laughter as if they were watching one of the impersonators or conjurors. With a crowd serving as his bodyguard he used to enter the assembly unattended, unlike Dionysius the tyrant. For the latter was so distrustful of one and all that as a rule he let his hair and beard grow long so that he need not submit the most vital parts of his body to the

τοῦ σώματος: εὶ δὲ καί ποτε χρεία γένοιτο τὴν κεφαλήν ἀποκείρασθαι, περιέκαε τὰς τρίχας, μίαν ασφάλειαν τυραννίδος αποφαινόμενος την απιστίαν. 4 ό δ' οὖν 'Αγαθοκλής παρὰ τὸν πότον λαβών ρυτὸν μέγαν χρυσοῦν εἶπεν ώς οὐ πρότερον ἀπέστη τῆς κεραμευτικής τέχνης εως τοιαθτα εκπωμάτων πλάσματα φιλοτεχνών έκεραμεύσατο. οὐ γάρ άπηρνείτο την επιστήμην, άλλά και τουναντίον έκαυχατο, διὰ τῆς ίδίας ἀρετῆς ἀποφαινόμενος ἀντί τοῦ ταπεινοτάτου βίου τὸν ἐπιφανέστατον μετειλη-5 φέναι. καί ποτε πολιορκοῦντος αὐτοῦ τινα τῶν οὺκ ἀδόξων πόλεων καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους βοώντων " Κεραμεῦ καὶ καμινεῦ, πότε τοὺς μισθοὺς άποδώσεις τοῖς στρατιώταις: " ὑπολαβών εἶπεν 6 '' "Όταν ταύτην έξέλω.'' οὐ μὴν άλλὰ διὰ τὴν έν τοις πότοις εὐτραπελίαν κατανοήσας τῶν μεθυόντων τούς άλλοτρίως τὰ πρὸς τὴν δυναστείαν έχοντας παρέλαβεν αὐτούς ποτε κατ' ιδίαν πάλιν ἐπὶ τὴν έστίασιν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Συρακοσίων τοὺς μάλιστα πεφρονηματισμένους, τὸν ἀριθμὸν πεντακοσίους όντας· οίς περιστήσας τών μισθοφόρων τοὺς εὐ-7 θέτους ἄπαντας ἀπέσφαξεν. σφόδρα γὰρ εὐλαβεῖτο μή χωρισθέντος αὐτοῦ εἰς Λιβύην καταλύσωσι την δυναστείαν, επικαλεσάμενοι τους μετά Δεινοκράτους φυγάδας. τοῦτον δὲ τὸν τρόπον ἀσφαλισάμενος τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐξέπλευσεν ἐκ τῶν Συρακουσσών.

64. Καὶ κομισθεὶς εἰς Λιβύην κατέλαβε τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐν ἀθυμία καὶ σπάνει πολλῆ· διόπερ κρίνων 316

steel of the barber; and if ever it became necessary 807 a.c. for him to have his head trimmed, he singed off the locks, declaring that the only safety of a tyrant was distrust.1 Now Agathocles at the drinking bout, taking a great golden cup, said that he had not given up the potters' craft 2 until in his pursuit of art he had produced in pottery beakers of such workmanship as this. For he did not deny his trade but on the contrary used to boast of it, claiming that it was by his own ability that in place of the most lowly position in life he had secured the most exalted one. Once when he was besigging a certain not inglorious city and people from the wall shouted, "Potter and furnace-man, when will you pay your soldiers?" he said in answer, "When I have taken this city." a None the less, however, when through the jesting at drinking bouts he had discovered which of those who were flushed with wine were hostile to his tyranny he invited them individually on another occasion to a banquet, and also those of the other Syracusans who had become particularly presumptuous, in number about five hundred; and surrounding them with suitable men from his mercenaries he slaughtered them all. For he was taking very careful precautions lest, while he was absent in Libya, they should overthrow the tyranny and recall Deinocrates and the exiles. After he had made his rule secure in this way, he sailed from Syracuse.

64. When he arrived in Libya 4 he found the army discouraged and in great want: deciding, therefore,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cp. Cicero, Tusculan Disputations, 5, 20, 58.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Book 19, 2, 7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Cp. Plutarch, Apophthegmata, p. 176. For the character of Agathocles cp. Book 19. 9; Polybius, 9. 23. 2; 15. 35.

<sup>4</sup> For this second Libyan campaign cp. Justin, 22. 8. 4-15.

συμφέρειν διαγωνίζεσθαι παρεκάλεσε τους στρατιώτας είς τον κίνδυνον καὶ προαγαγών τὴν δύναμιν έκτεταγμένην προεκαλείτο τούς βαρβάρους είς 2 μάχην. είχε δὲ πεζούς μὲν τοὺς ἄπαντας ὑπολειπομένους "Ελληνας έξακισχιλίους, Κελτούς δὲ καὶ Σαυνίτας καὶ Τυρρηνούς τούτων οὐκ ἐλάττους, Λίβυας δὲ μικρὸν ἀπολείποντας τῶν μυρίων, οθς εφέδρους είναι συνέβαινε, συμμεταβαλλομένους άει 3 τοις καιροίς: χωρίς δε τούτων ήκολούθουν ίππεις χίλιοι πεντακόσιοι, ζεύγη δὲ Λιβύων πλείω τῶν έξακισχιλίων. οἱ δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι κατεστρατοπεδευκότες έπὶ των ύπερδεξίων καὶ δυσπροσίτων διακινδυνεύειν μέν πρός άνθρώπους άπογινώσκοντας την σωτηρίαν οὐκ ἔκρινον, μένοντες δ' ἐν τῆ παρεμβολή και πάντων εθποροθντες τή απάνει και τῷ χρόνῳ καταπολεμήσειν τοὺς ἐναντίους ήλπιζον. 4 ο δ΄ Αναθοκλής οὐ δυνάμενος μὲν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὰ πεδία προάνεσθαι, τῶν δὲ καιρῶν ἀναγκαζόντων τολμάν τι καὶ παραβάλλεσθαι τὴν δύναμιν ήγαγεν έπὶ τὴν τῶν βαρβάρων στρατοπεδείαν. ἐπεξελθόντων οὖν τῶν Καρχηδονίων καὶ πολύ τῷ πλήθει καὶ ταις δυσχωρίαις υπερεχόντων έπι μέν τινα χράνου οι περί τον Αγαθοκλέα διεκαρτέρουν πάντοθεν έκθλιβόμενοι, μετά δὲ ταῦτ' ἐνδόντων τῶν μισθοφόρων και των άλλων ήναγκάσθησαν άναχωρήσαι 5 προς την στρατοπεδείαν. οι δε βάρβαροι βαρέως έπικείμενοι τους μεν Λίβυας παρήλλαττον ουδέν ένοχλοθντες, ίνα την εύνοιαν αὐτῶν ἐκκαλέσωνται. τούς δ' Έλληνας καὶ μισθοφόρους γνωρίζοντες διὰ τῶν ὅπλων ἐφόνευον, μέχρις ὅτου συνεδίωξαν είς τὴν παρεμβολήν.

Τότε μεν οὖν ἀνηρέθησαν 'Αγαθοκλέους εἰς τρισ-

that it was best to fight a battle, he encouraged the 307 B.C. soldiers for the fray and, after leading forth the army in battle array, challenged the barbarians to combat. As infantry he had all the surviving Greeks, six thousand in number, at least as many Celts, Samnites, and Etruscans, and almost ten thousand Libvans, who, as it turned out, only sat and looked on, being always ready to change with changing conditions. In addition to these there followed him fifteen hundred horsemen and more than six thousand Libyan chariots. The Carthaginians, since they were encamped in high and inaccessible positions, decided not to risk a battle against men who had no thought of safety; but they hoped that, by remaining in their camp where they were plentifully supplied with everything, they would defeat their enemy by famine and the passage of time. But Agathocles, since he could not lure them down to the plain and since his own situation forced him to do something daring and chance the result, led his army against the encampment of the barbarians. Then when the Carthaginians came out against him, even though they were far superior in number and had the advantage of the rough terrain, Agathocles held out for some time although hard pressed on every side; but afterwards, when his mercenaries and the others began to give way, he was forced to withdraw toward his camp. The barbarians, as they pressed forward stoutly, passed by the Libyans without molesting them in order to elicit their goodwill; but recognizing the Greeks and the mercenaries by their weapons, they continued to slay them until they had driven them into their own camp.

Now on this occasion about three thousand of

χιλίους· κατά δὲ τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν νύκτα τὰς δυνάμεις ἀμφοτέρας συνέβη περιπεσεῖν παραλόγω τινὶ συμ-

φορά καὶ πάσιν ἀνελπίστω.

65. Τῶν γὰρ Καρχηδονίων μετὰ τὴν νίκην τοὺς καλλίστους τῶν αἰχμαλώτων θυόντων χαριστήρια νυκτός τοις θεοις και πολλού πυρός τους ιεροκαυτουμένους ἄνδρας κατέχοντος εξαίφνης πνεύματος έπιπεσόντος συνέβη την ίεραν σκηνήν αναφθήναι, πλησίον οδσαν τοῦ βωμοῦ, ἀπὸ δέ ταύτης τὴν στρατηγικήν καὶ τὰς κατὰ τὸ συνεχές ούσας τῶν ήγεμόνων, ώστε πολλήν ἔκπληξιν γενέσθαι καὶ φόβον κατὰ πᾶν τὸ στρατόπεδον. τινὲς μὲν γὰρ τὸ πῦρ ἐπιχειροῦντες σβέσαι, τινὲς δὲ τὰς πανοπλίας καὶ τὰ πολυτελέστατα τῶν παρεσκευασμένων ἐκκομίζοντες ύπο της φλογός απελαμβάνοντο των γάρ σκηνών ἐκ καλάμου καὶ χόρτου συγκειμένων καὶ τοῦ πυρὸς ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος βιαιότερον ἐκριπισθέντος ή παρά των στρατιωτών βοήθεια κατ-2 εταχείτο. διό καὶ τῆς παρεμβολῆς ταχὺ πάσης φλεγομένης πολλοί μεν έν στεναίς ταίς διόδοις άποληφθέντες ζώντες κατεκαύθησαν καὶ τῆς εἰς τοὺς αίχμαλώτους ώμότητος παραχρήμα τήν κόλασιν ύπέσχον, αὐτῆς τῆς ἀσεβείας ἴσην τὴν τιμωρίαν πορισαμένης τοις δ' έκ της παρεμβολής έκπίπτουσι μετά θορύβου καὶ κραυγής έτερος μείζων έπηκολούθησε κίνδυνος.

66. Τῶν μὲν γὰρ ᾿Αγαθοκλεῖ συντεταγμένων Λιβύων εἰς πεντακισχιλίους ἀποστάντες τῶν Ἑλλήνων 
νυκτὸς ηὐτομόλουν πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους. τούτους 
δὲ οἱ πρὸς τὴν κατασκοπὴν ἐκπεμφθέντες ὡς ἴδον 
ἐπὶ τὴν παρεμβολὴν τῶν Καρχηδονίων προσάγοντας, νομίσαντες τὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων δύναμιν ἄπασαν

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# BOOK XX. 64. 5-66. 1

Agathocles' men were killed; but on the following 307 m.c. night it so happened that each army was visited by

a strange and totally unexpected mishap.

65. While the Carthaginians after their victory were sacrificing the fairest of their captives as thankofferings to the gods by night, and while a great blaze enveloped the men who were being offered as victims, a sudden blast of wind struck them, with the result that the sacred hut, which was near the altar, caught fire, and from this the hut of the general caught and then the huts of the leaders, which were in line with it, so that great consternation and fear sprang up throughout the whole camp. Some were trapped by the conflagration while trying to put out the fire and others while carrying out their armour and the most valued of their possessions; for, since the huts were made of reeds and straw and the fire was forcibly fanned by the breeze, the aid brought by the soldiers came too late. Thus when almost the entire camp was in flames, many, caught in the passages which were narrow, were burned alive and suffered due punishment on the spot for their cruelty to the captives, the impious act itself having brought about a punishment to match it; and as for those who dashed from the camp amid tumult and shouting, another greater danger awaited them.

66. As many as five thousand of the Libyans who had been taken into Agathocles' army had deserted the Greeks and were going over by night to the barbarians. When those who had been sent out as seouts saw these men coming toward the Carthaginian camp, believing that the whole army of the Greeks

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> τὰς added by Reiske.

διεσκευασμένην ἐπιέναι, ταχύ τοῖς στρατιώταις 2 έδήλωσαν την προσιούσαν δύναμιν. διαδοθέντος ούν πρός απαντας τοῦ λόγου θόρυβος ἐνέπιπτε καὶ προσδοκία της των πολεμίων εφόδου. εκάστου δέ την σωτηρίαν έν τη φυγή τιθεμένου, και μήτε παραγγέλματος δοθέντος ύπο των στρατηγών μήτε τάξεως ούσης μηδεμιάς οι φεύγοντες ενέπιπτον άλλήλοις. ών οί μεν διά τὸ σκότος, οί δε διά τὴν εκπληξιν άγνοοθντες τους οικείους ώς πολεμίους 3 παύνοντο. πολλοῦ δὲ φόνου γινομένου καὶ τῆς άγνοίας επικρατούσης οί μεν εν χειρών νόμω διεφθάρησαν, οι δ' έκπεπηδηκότες ἄνοπλοι και την φυνήν ποιούμενοι διά των δυσχωριών κατεκρημνίζοντο, της ψυχης έπτοημένης διά τὸν ἀπροσδόκητον φόβον. τὸ δὲ τέλος πλειόνων ή πεντακισχιλίων άπολομένων το λοιπον πλήθος διεσώθη πρός την 4 Καρχηδόνα. οί δ' ἐν τῆ πόλει τότε μὲν συνεξαπατηθέντες τῆ φήμη τῶν ιδίων ὑπέλαβον ἡττῆσθαι μάχη καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως τὸ πλεῖστον διεφθάρθαι. διόπερ άγωνιώντες άνέωξαν τὰς πύλας καὶ μετά θορύβου και πτοήσεως έδέχοντο τους στρατιώτας. φοβούμενοι μή τοις έσχάτοις οι πολέμιοι συνεισπέσωσιν ήμέρας δε γενομένης μαθόντες τάληθες μόλις ἀπελύθησαν της των δεινών προσδοκίας.

67. Οἱ δὲ περὶ τον ᾿Αγαθοκλέα κατὰ τον αὐτον χρόνον δι᾽ ἀπάτην καὶ προσδοκίαν ψευδῆ ταῖς
όμοίαις περιέπεσον συμφοραῖς. τῶν γὰρ ἀποστατῶν Λιβύων μετὰ τὸν ἐμπυρισμὸν τῆς παρεμβολῆς
καὶ τὸν γενόμενον θόρυβον οὐ τολμησάντων προάγειν, ἀλλ᾽ εἰς τοὐπίσω πάλιν ἐπανιόντων, τῶν

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was advancing ready for battle, they quickly reported 207 B.C. the approaching force to their fellow soldiers. When the report had been spread through the whole force, there arose tumult and dread of the enemy's attack. Each man placed his hope of safety in flight; and since no order had been given by the commanders nor was there any formation, the fugitives kept running into each other. When some of them failed to recognize their friends because of the darkness and others because of fright, they fought against them as if they were enemies. A general slaughter took place; and while the misunderstanding still prevailed, some were slain in hand to hand fighting and others, who had sped away unarmed and were fleeing through the rough country, fell from cliffs, distraught in mind by the sudden panic. Finally after more than five thousand had perished, the rest of the multitude came safe to Carthage. But those in the city, who had also been deceived at that time by the report of their own people, supposed that they had been conquered in a battle and that the largest part of the army had been destroyed. Therefore in great anxiety they opened the city gates and with tumult and excitement received their soldiers, fearing lest with the last of them the enemy should burst in. When day broke, however, they learned the truth and were with difficulty freed from their expectation of disaster.

67. At this same time, however, Agathoeles by reason of deceit and mistaken expectation met with similar disaster. For the Libyans who had deserted did not dare go on after the burning of the camp and the tumult that had arisen, but turned back again;

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> ἐπιέναι Fischer : εἶναι.

Έλλήνων τινές αἰσθόμενοι προσιόντας αὐτοὺς καὶ δόξαντες την των Καρχηδονίων δύναμιν ήκειν απήγγειλαν τοῖς περὶ τὸν ᾿Αγαθοκλέα πλησίον ὑπάρχειν 2 τὸ τῶν πολεμίων στρατόπεδον. τοῦ δυνάστου δὲ παραγγείλαντος είς ὅπλα χωρεῖν, ἐξέπιπτον ἐκ τῆς στρατοπεδείας οἱ στρατιῶται μετὰ πολλοῦ θορύβου. άμα δὲ τῆς τε κατὰ τὴν παρεμβολὴν φλογὸς εἰς ύψος άρθείσης καὶ τῆς τῶν Καχηδονίων κραυγῆς έξακούστου γινομένης ύπέλαβον πρός άλήθειαν τούς βαρβάρους άπάση τῆ δυνάμει προσάγειν ἐπ' αὐτούς. 3 της δ' ἐκπλήξεως τὸ βουλεύεσθαι παραιρουμένης ένέπεσε φόβος εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ πάντες πρὸς φυγὴν ὤρμησαν. εἶτα προσμιξάντων αὐτοῖς τῶν Λιβύων καὶ τῆς νυκτὸς μείζονα τὴν ἄγνοιαν φυλαττούσης οἱ περιτυγχάνοντες ἀλλήλους ὡς πολεμίους 4 ήμύνοντο. όλην δέ την νύκτα πανταχή διασπειρομένων αὐτῶν καὶ πανικῷ θορύβῳ συνεχομένων συνέβη πλείους των τετρακισχιλίων αναιρεθήναι. ἐπιγνωσθείσης δὲ μόγις τῆς ἀληθείας οἱ διασωθέντες έπανηλθον είς την παρεμβολήν. αι μέν οὖν δυνάμεις αμφότεραι του είρημένου τρόπου ήτύχησαυ, έξαπατηθείσαι κατά την παροιμίαν τοῖς κενοῖς τοῦ

πολέμου.

68. 'Αγαθοκλῆς δέ, μετὰ τὴν γενομένην ἀτυχίαν τῶν μὲν Λιβύων ἀπάντων ἀποστάντων ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, τῆς δὲ ὑπολειπομένης δυνάμεως ἀδυνατούσης διαπολεμεῖν πρὸς τοὺς Καρχηδονίους διέγνω τὴν Λιβύην ἐκλιπεῖν. διακομίσαι δὲ τοὺς στρατιώτας οὐχ ὑπελάμβανεν δυνήσεσθαι διὰ τὸ μήτε πόρια παρεσκευάσθαι μήτε τοὺς Καρχηδονίους ἐπιτρέψαι ποτ' 2 ἄν θαλασσοκρατοῦντας. διαλύσεις δ' οὐκ ἐνόμιζε ποιήσεσθαι τοὺς βαρβάρους, πολὺ προέχοντας ταῖς 324

and some of the Greeks, seeing them advancing and 307 B. believing that the army of the Carthaginians had come, reported to Agathocles that the enemy's forces were near at hand. The dynast gave the order to take up arms, and the soldiers rushed from the camp with great tumult. Since at the same time the fire in the Carthaginian camp blazed high and the shouting of the Carthaginians became audible, the Greeks believed that the barbarians were in very truth advancing against them with their whole army. Since their consternation prevented deliberation, panic fell upon the camp and all began to flee. Then as the Libyans mingled with them and the darkness fostered and increased their uncertainty, those who happened to meet fought each other as if they were enemies. They were scattered about everywhere throughout the whole night and were in the grip of panic fear, with the result that more than four thousand were killed. When the truth was at long last discovered, those who survived returned to their camp. Thus both armies met with disaster in the way described, being tricked, according to the proverb, by the empty alarms of war.1

68. Since after this misfortune the Libyans all deserted him and the army which remained was not strong enough to wage battle against the Carthaginians, Agathocles decided to leave Libya. But he did not believe that he would be able to transport his soldiers since he had not prepared any transports and the Carthaginians would never permit it while they controlled the sea. He did not expect that the barbarians would agree to a truce because they were

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cp. chap. 30. 1, and note.

δυνάμεσι καὶ διαβεβαιουμένους ταῖς τῶν πρῶτον διαβάντων άπωλείαις άποτρέψαι τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπι-3 τίθεσθαι τη Λιβύη. έκρινεν οὖν μετ' ολίγων λάθρα ποιήσασθαι την άναγωγην καὶ συνενεβίβασε τον νεώτερον τῶν υίῶν Ἡρακλείδην· τὸν γὰρ ᾿Αρχάγαθον εὐλαβεῖτο μήποτε συνών τῆ μητρυιᾶ καὶ φύσει τολμηρός ών έπιβουλήν κατ' αὐτοῦ συστήση. ό δ' 'Αρχάγαθος ύποπτεύσας αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐπίνοιαν παρετήρει τον έκπλουν, διανοούμενος μηνθααι των ήγεμόνων τοις διακωλύσουσι την επιβολήν· ήγειτο γάρ δεινόν είναι τό των μέν κινδύνων έαυτον προθύμως μετεσχηκέναι, προαγωνιζόμενον τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τάδελφοῦ, τῆς δὲ σωτηρίας μόνον ἀποστερείσθαι, καταλειπόμενον έκδοτον τοίς πολεμίοις. 4 διὸ δή τοὺς περὶ τὸν 'Αγαθοκλέα μέλλοντας λάθρα τὸν ἀπόπλουν ποιεῖσθαι νυκτὸς ἐμήνυσέ τισι τῶν ήγεμόνων. οί δὲ συνδραμόντες οὐ μόνον διεκώλυσαν, άλλά και τω πλήθει την ραδιουργίαν έξέθηκαν· έφ' ofs οί στρατιώται περιαλγείς γενόμενοι συνελάβοντο τὸν δυνάστην καὶ δήσαντες παρέδωκαν είς φυλακήν.

69. 'Αναρχίας οὖν γενομένης ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ θόρυβος ἦν καὶ ταραχὴ καὶ τῆς νυκτὸς ἐπιλαβούσης διεδόθη λόγος ὡς πλησίον εἰσὶν οἱ πολέμιοι. ἐμπεσούσης² δὲ πτόης καὶ φόβου πανικοῦ διεσκευασμένος ἔκαστος προῆγεν ἐκ τῆς παρεμβολῆς οὐδενὸς παραγγέλλοντος. καθ' ὃν δὴ χρόνον οἱ τὸν δυνάστην παραφυλάττοντες οὐχ ἦττον τῶν ἄλλων ἐκπεπληγμένοι καὶ δόξαντες ὑπό τινων καλεῖσθαι 326

far superior in their armies and were determined by 207 B.C. the destruction of those who had first come across to prevent others from attacking Libya. He decided, therefore, to make the return voyage with a few in secret, and he took on board with him the younger of his sons, Heracleides; for he was on his guard against Archagathus, lest at some time this son, who was on intimate terms with his step-mother and was bold by nature, should form a conspiracy against himself. Archagathus, however, suspecting his purpose watched for the sailing with care, being determined to reveal the plot to such of the leaders as would prevent the attempt; for he thought it monstrous that, although he had shared willingly in the battles, fighting in behalf of his father and brother, yet he alone should be deprived of a safe return and left behind as a victim to the enemy. He therefore disclosed to some of the leaders that Agathocles was about to sail away in secret by night. These coming quickly together not only prevented this, but also revealed Agathocles' knavery to the rank and file; and the soldiers, becoming furious at this, seized the tyrant, bound him, and put him in custody.

69. Consequently, when discipline disappeared in the camp, there was tumult and confusion, and as night came on word was spread abroad that the enemy was near. When fright and panic fear fell upon them, each man armed himself and rushed forth from the encampment, no man giving orders. At this very time those who were guarding the tyrant, being no less frightened than the others and imagining that they were being summoned by somebody, hastily

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> συνενεβίβασε Dindorf: συνεβίβασε.
<sup>2</sup> έμπεσούσης Rhodoman: έκπεσούσης.

ταχέως έξηγον τὸν 'Αγαθοκλέα διειλημμένον δε-3 σμοίς. τὸ δὲ πλήθος ώς ίδεν, εἰς ἔλεον ἐτράπη καὶ πάντες ἐπεβόων ἀφεῖναι. • ὁ δὲ λυθεὶς καὶ μετ' όλίγων εμβάς είς το πορθμεΐον έλαθεν εκπλεύσας κατά την δύσιν της Πλειάδος χειμώνος όντος. οδτος μέν οθν της ίδίας σωτηρίας φροντίσας έγκατέλιπε τούς υίούς, οθς οί στρατιώται τὸν δρασμὸν άκούσαντες εθθύς ἀπέσφαξαν, καὶ στρατηγούς έξ έαυτων έλόμενοι διελύθησαν πρός Καρχηδονίους, ώστε τὰς πόλεις ας είχον παραδούναι καὶ λαβείν τάλαντα τριακόσια καὶ τοὺς μὲν αἰρουμένους μετὰ Καρχηδονίων στρατεύειν κομίζεσθαι τοὺς ἀεὶ διδομένους μισθούς, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους εἰς Σικελίαν 4 διακομισθέντας λαβείν ολκητήριον Σολούντα. τών μέν οδν στρατιωτών οί πλείους έμμείναντες ταίς συνθήκαις έτυχον των όμολογηθέντων σσοι δε τάς πόλεις διακατέχοντες άντεῖχον ταῖς παρ' 'Αγαθο-5 κλέους έλπίσιν, έξεπολιορκήθησαν κατά κράτος. ὧν οί Καρχηδόνιοι τοὺς μὲν ἡγεμόνας ἀνεσταύρωσαν, τούς δ' άλλους δήσαντες πέδαις, ην διά τον πόλεμον εξηγρίωσαν χώραν, εξηνάγκαζον τοις ίδίοις πόνοις πάλιν έξημεροῦν.

Καρχηδόνιοι μέν οὖν ἔτος τέταρτον πολεμούμενοι τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἐκομίσαντο τὴν ἐλευθερίαν.

70. Τῆς δ' 'Αγαθοκλέους στρατείας εἰς Λιβύην ἐπισημήναιτ' ἄν τις τό τε παράδοξον καὶ τὴν εἰς τὰ τέκνα γενομένην τιμωρίαν οἶον τῆ θεία προνοία. ἐπὶ μὲν γὰρ τῆς Σικελίας ἡττηθεὶς καὶ τὴν πλείστην

About November 1, 307 s.c. Cp. Polybius, 7, 2, 4.

brought out Agathocles bound with chains. When 367 s.c. the common soldiers saw him they were moved to pity and all shouted to let him go. When released, he embarked on the transport with a few followers and secretly sailed away, although this was in the winter at the season of the setting of the Pleiades.1 This man, then, concerned about his own safety, abandoned his sons, whom the soldiers at once slew when they learned of his escape 2; and the soldiers selected generals from their own number and made peace with the Carthaginians on these terms: they were to give back the cities which they held and to receive three hundred talents, and those who chose to serve with the Carthaginians were to receive pay at the regular rates, and the others, when transported to Sicily, were to receive Solus 3 as a dwellingplace. Now, most of the soldiers abided by the terms and received what had been agreed upon; but all those who continued to occupy the cities because they still clung to hopes of Agathoeles were attacked and taken by storm. Their leaders the Carthaginians crucified; the others they bound with fetters and forced them by their own labour to bring back again into cultivation the country they had laid waste during the war.

In this way, then, the Carthaginians recovered

their liberty in the fourth year of the war.

70. One might well draw attention both to the almost incredible elements in Agathocles' expedition to Libya and to the punishment that befell his children as if by divine providence. For although in Sicily he had been defeated and had lost the largest

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> A Carthaginian city on the north coast of Sicily about 12 miles east of Panormus.

της δυνάμεως ἀπολέσας ἐπὶ της Λιβύης μικρῷ 2 μέρει τούς προνενικηκότας κατεπολέμησεν. καὶ τὰς μὲν ἐν τῆ Σικελία πόλεις ἀπάσας ἀποβαλών πρός Συρακούσσαις ἐπολιορκεῖτο, κατὰ δὲ τὴν Λιβύην πασών των ἄλλων πόλεων έγκρατής γενόμενος είς πολιορκίαν κατέκλεισε τοὺς Καρχηδονίους, της τύχης ωσπερ επίτηδες επιδεικυυμένης την 3 ίδίαν δύναμιν έπὶ τῶν ἀπηλπισμένων. εἰς τηλικαύτην δ' ύπεροχήν έλθόντος αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν 'Οφέλλαν φονεύσαντος, όντα φίλον καὶ ξένον, φανερώς ἐπεσημήνατο τὸ δαιμόνιον ώς διὰ τὴν εἰς τοῦτον παρανομίαν των υστερον αυτώ γεγενημένων το θείον! έπιστήσαι του γάρ αὐτου μηνός καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ήμέρας 'Οφέλλαν άνελων παρέλαβε την δύναμων καὶ πάλιν τοὺς υίοὺς ἀπολέσας ἀπέβαλε τὸ στρα-4 τόπεδον. καὶ τὸ πάντων ιδιώτατον, ὁ θεὸς ώσπερ αγαθός νομοθέτης διπλην έλαβε παρ' αὐτοῦ την κόλασιν ένα γαρ φίλον άδίκως φονεύσας δυείν υίων έστερήθη, τῶν μετ' 'Οφέλλα παραγενομένων προσενεγκάντων τὰς χειρας τοις νεανίσκοις. ταθτα μέν οὖν ἡμῶν εἰρήσθω πρὸς τοὺς καταφρονοῦντας τῶν τοιούτων.

71. 'Ο δ' 'Αγαθοκλης ἐπειδη διεκομίσθη ταχέως ἐκ της Λιβύης εἰς τὴν Σικελίαν, μεταπεμψάμενος μέρος τῆς δυνάμεως παρηλθεν εἰς τὴν τῶν Αἰγεσταίων πόλιν οὖσαν σύμμαχον. ἀπορούμενος δὲ χρημάτων εἰσφέρειν ἠνάγκαζε τοὺς εὐπόρους τὸ πλεῖον μέρος τῆς ὑπάρξεως, οὕσης τῆς πόλεως τότε 2 μυριάνδρου. πολλῶν δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀγανακτούντων καὶ συντρεχόντων αἰτιασάμενος, τοὺς Αἰγεσταίους 330

part of his army, in Libya with a small portion of 307 B.C. his forces he defeated those who had previously been victorious. And after he had lost all the cities in Sicily, he was besieged at Syracuse; but in Libya, after becoming master of all the other cities, he confined the Carthaginians by a siege, Fortune, as if of set purpose, displaying her peculiar power when a situation has become hopeless. After he had come to such a position of superiority and had murdered Ophellas 1 although he was a friend and a guest, the divine power clearly showed that it established through his impious acts against Ophellas a portent of that which later befell him; for in the same month and on the same day on which he murdered Ophellas and took his army, he caused the death of his own sons and lost his own army. And what is most peculiar of all, the god like a good lawgiver exacted a double punishment from him; for when he had unjustly slain one friend, he was deprived of two sons, those who had been with Ophellas laying violent hands upon the young men. Let these things, then, be said as our answer to those who scorn such matters.

71. When with all speed Agathocles had crossed from Libya into Sicily, he summoned a part of his army and went to the city of Segesta, which was an ally. Because he was in need of money, he forced the well-to-do to deliver to him the greater part of their property, the city at that time having a population of about ten thousand. Since many were angry at this and were holding meetings, he charged the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cp. chap. 42.

<sup>1</sup> την θωήν Fischer.

ἐπιβουλεύειν αὐτῷ δειναῖς περιέβαλε συμφοραῖς τὴν πόλιν τούς μέν γὰρ ἀπορωτάτους προαγαγών ἐκτὸς τῆς πόλεως παρά τὸν Σκάμανδρον ποταμὸν ἀπέσφαξεν, τοὺς δὲ δοκοῦντας οὐσίαν κεκτῆσθαι μείζονα βασανίζων ηνάγκαζε λέγειν δπόσα έχων τις τυγχάνει χρήματα, καὶ τοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν ἐτρόχιζε τούς δὲ εἰς τούς καταπέλτας ἐνδεσμεύων κατετόξευεν, ενίοις δ' αστραγάλους προστιθείς βιαιότε-3 ρον δειναῖς ἀλγηδόσι περιέβαλλεν. έξεῦρε δὲ καὶ έτέραν τιμωρίαν έμφερη τῷ Φαλάριδος ταύρω κατεσκεύασε γάρ κλίνην χαλκην άνθρωπίνου σώματος τύπον έχουσαν καὶ καθ' έκαστον μέρος κλεισὶ διειλημμένην, είς ταύτην δ' έναρμόζων τούς βασανιζομένους ὑπέκαιε ζώντας, τούτω διαφερούσης τῆς κατασκευής ταύτης παρά τὸν ταθρον, τῷ καὶ θεω-4 ρεῖσθαι τοὺς ἐν ταῖς ἀνάγκαις ἀπολλυμένους. τῶν δέ γυναικών των εὐπόρων τινών μέν καρκίνοις σιδηροις τὰ σφυρὰ πιέζων συνέτεινε, τινών δὲ τοὺς τιτθούς ἀπέτεμνεν, ταις δ' έγκύοις πλίνθους έπὶ την οσφυν επιτιθείς το εμβρυον από του βάρους έξέθλιβεν. τούτω δὲ τῷ τρόπω τὰ χρήματα πάντα τοῦ τυράννου ζητοῦντος καὶ μεγάλου φόβου τὴν πόλιν ἐπέχοντος τινές μέν αύτους συγκατέκαυσαν 5 ταις οἰκίαις, τινèς δὲ ἀγχόνη τὸ ζῆν ἐξέλιπον. ἡ μέν οὖν Αἵγεστα τυχοῦσα μιᾶς ἡμέρας ἀτυχοῦς ἡβηδὸν ἐθανατώθη. ὁ δ' ᾿Αγαθοκλῆς παρθένους μὲν καὶ παίδας εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν διακομίσας ἀπέδοτο τοῖς Βρεττίοις, της δὲ πόλεως οὐδὲ τὴν προσηγορίαν 332

people of Segesta with conspiring against him and 307 s.c. visited the city with terrible disasters. For instance, the poorest of the people he brought to a place outside the city beside the river Scamander and slaughtered them; but those who were believed to have more property he examined under torture and compelled each to tell him how much wealth he had; and some of them he broke on the wheel, others he placed bound in the catapults and shot forth, and by applying knucklebones with violence to some, he caused them severe pain. He also invented another torture similar to the bull of Phalaris: that is, he prepared a brazen bed that had the form of a human body and was surrounded on every side by bars; on this he fixed those who were being tortured and roasted them alive, the contrivance being superior to the bull in this respect, that those who were perishing in anguish were visible. As for the wealthy women, he tortured some of them by crushing their ankles with iron pincers, he cut off the breasts of others, and by placing bricks on the lower part of the backs of those who were pregnant, he forced the expulsion of the foetus by the pressure. While the tyrant in this way was seeking all the wealth, great panic prevailed throughout the city, some burning themselves up along with their houses, and others gaining release from life by hanging. Thus Segesta, encountering a single day of disaster, suffered the loss of all her men from youth upward. Agathocles then took the maidens and children across to Italy and sold them to the Bruttians, leaving not even the name

It is possible that the ἀστράγαλοι are whips studded with bits of bone. Cp. Lucian, Ass, 38; Plutarch, Moralia, 1197 c.

<u>ἀπολιπών, ἀλλὰ Δικαιόπολιν μετονομάσας ἔδωκεν</u>

ολκητήριον τοῖς αὐτομόλοις.

72. 'Ακούσας γὰρ τὴν τῶν υἰῶν ἀναίρεσιν καὶ δι' όργης έχων απαντας τους απολελειμμένους κατά Λιβύην ἔπεμψε τῶν φίλων τινὰς εἰς Συρακούσσας πρός "Αντανδρον τόν άδελφόν, διακελευσάμενος τούς τῶν συστρατευσάντων ἐπὶ Καρχηδόνα συγ-2 γενεῖς ἄπαντας ἀποσφάξαι. ταχὺ δὲ τούτου τὸ προσταχθέν ποιήσαντος ποικιλώτατον γενέσθαι συνέβη φόνον των προγεγονότων ου γάρ μόνον τοὺς ἀκμάζοντας ταῖς ἡλικίαις ἀδελφοὺς ἢ πατέρας η παίδας εξήγεν επί τον θάνατον, άλλα καί πάππους καὶ τούτων, εὶ τύχοι, καὶ πατέρας περιόντας ἐσχατογήρους καὶ ταῖς ὅλαις αἰσθήσεσι διὰ τον χρόνον ήδη παραλελυμένους, έτι δε νηπίους παῖδας έν άγκάλαις φερομένους και τῆς ἐπιφερομένης αὐτοῖς συμφορᾶς οὐδεμίαν αἴσθησιν λαμβάνοντας. ήγοντο¹ δὲ καὶ γυναῖκες ὄσαι μετεῖχον οἰκειότητος ἡ συγγενείας καὶ καθόλου πᾶς ὁ μέλλων τῆ καθ' αύτον τιμωρία λύπην έμποιησαι τοις έπὶ της Λι-3 βύης ἀπολειφθεῖσι. πολλοῦ δὲ πλήθους καὶ παντοίου πρός την θάλατταν άχθέντος έπὶ την τιμωρίαν καὶ τῶν σφαγέων ἐφεστώτων δάκρυα καὶ δεήσεις καὶ θρηνος εγίνετο συμφορητός, ών μεν άνηλεως φονευομένων, ών δε έπὶ ταῖς τών πλησίον συμφοραίς ἐκπληττομένων καὶ διὰ τὸ προσδοκώμενον οὐδὲν διαφερόντων ταις ψυχαις των προαποθνη-

<sup>1</sup> ήγοντο Dindorf: ήγον.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The name (lit. "Just City") is not found elsewhere.

#### BOOK XX, 71, 5-72, 3

of the city; but he changed the name to Dicaeopolis 307 a.c.

and gave it as dwelling to the deserters.1

72. On hearing of the murder of his sons Agathocles became enraged at all those who had been left behind in Libya, and sent some of his friends into Syracuse to Antander his brother, ordering him to put to death all the relatives of those who had taken part in the campaign against Carthage.2 As Antander promptly carried out the order, there occurred the most elaborately devised massacre that had taken place up to this time; for not only did they drag out to death the brothers, fathers, and sons who were in the prime of manhood, but also the grandfathers, and even the fathers of these if such survived, men who lingered on in extreme old age and were already bereft of all their senses by lapse of time, as well as infant children borne in arms who had no consciousness whatever of the fate that was bearing down upon them. They also led away any women who were related by marriage or kinship, and in sum, every person whose punishment would bring grief to those who had been left in Libya. When a crowd, large and composed of all kinds of people, had been driven to the sea for punishment and when the executioners had taken their places beside them, weeping and prayers and wailing arose mingled together, as some of them were mercilessly slaughtered and others were stunned by the misfortunes of their neighbours and because of their own imminent fate were no better in spirit than those who were being

Segesta certainly recovered its name and became again a Carthaginian ally (Book 29, 10, 2), probably in 306 s.c., when all cities formerly belonging to Carthage were restored by Agathocles (chap. 79, 5).

<sup>2</sup> Cp. chap. 4. 3.

4 σκόντων. τὸ δὲ πάντων χαλεπώτατον, πολλῶν ἀναιρεθέντων καὶ παρά τὸν αἰγιαλὸν ἐρριμμένων τῶν σωμάτων οὕτε συγγενης οὐδεὶς οὕτε φίλος ἐτόλμα τινὰ κηδεύειν, φοβούμενος μη δόξη προσαγγέλλειν έαυτον μετέχοντα της εκείνων οἰκειότητος. 5 διὰ δὲ τὸ πλήθος τῶν φονευθέντων ἐπὶ τοῦ κύματος συνέβη την θάλατταν έφ' ίκανὸν τόπον αίματι κραθείσαν πόρρωθεν διαφαίνειν την ύπερβολην

της του πάθους ώμότητος.

73. Τοῦ δ' ἐνιαυσίου χρόνου διεληλυθότος 'Αθήνησι μέν ήρχε Κόροιβος, έν 'Ρώμη δέ την υπατον άρχην παρέλαβον Κόιντος Μάρκιος και Πόπλιος Κορνήλιος. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων 'Αντίγονος ὁ βασιλεύς, τελευτήσαντος αὐτῶ τοῦ νεωτέρου τῶν υἱῶν Φοίνικος, τοῦτον μὲν βασιλικῶς ἔθαψε, τὸν δὲ Δημήτριον έκ της Κύπρου μεταπεμβάμενος ήθροιζε τάς δυνάμεις είς την 'Αντιγονίαν. Εκρινε δέ στρα-2 τεύειν ἐπὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον. αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν τοῦ πεζοῦ στρατεύματος άφηγούμενος προήγε διά τής Κοίλης Συρίας, έχων πεζούς μέν πλείους τῶν δκτακισμυρίων, ίππεις δε περί οκτακισχιλίους, ελέφαντας δὲ τρισὶ πλείους τῶν ὀγδοήκοντα τῷ δὲ Δημητρίω παραδούς τον στόλον συνέταξε συμπαραπλείν αμα πορευομένη τη δυνάμει, παρεσκευασμένων νεών των άπασων μακρών μεν έκατον πεντήκοντα, πορίων δὲ στρατιωτικών έκατόν, ἐν οἶς ἐκομίζετο 3 βελών πλήθος. των δε κυβερνητών οἰομένων δείν

Continued in chap. 77.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Coroebus was archon in 306/5. Livy, 9, 42, 10, gives the 336

put to death before them. And what was most 307 B c cruel of all, when many had been slain and their bodies had been cast out along the shore, neither kinsmen nor friends dared pay the last rites to any, fearing lest he should seem to inform on himself as one who enjoyed intimacy with those who were dead. And because of the multitude of those who had been slain beside its waves, the sea, stained with blood over a great expanse, proclaimed afar the unequalled

savagery of this outrage.1

73. When this year had passed, Corochus became 200 B.C. archon in Athens, and in Rome Quintus Marcius and Publius Cornelius succeeded to the consulship.2 While these held office King Antigonus, the younger of whose sons, Phoenix, had died, buried this son with royal honours; and, after summoning Demetrius from Cyprus, he collected his forces in Antigonia.4 He had decided to make a campaign against Egypt. So he himself took command of the land army and advanced through Coelê Syria with more than eighty thousand foot soldiers, about eight thousand horsemen, and eighty-three elephants. Giving the fleet to Demetrius, he ordered him to follow along the coast in contact with the army as it advanced. In all there had been made ready a hundred and fifty warships and a hundred transports in which a large stock of ordnance was being conveyed. When the pilots thought it necessary to heed the setting of the

consuls for 306 s.c. as P. Cornelius Arvina and Q. Marcius Tremulus. The Capitoline Fasti are fragmentary for a period of some 40 years beginning at this point.

An error by Diodorus or a copyist for Philip; cp. chap.

5; Plutarch, Demetrius, 2. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Continued from chap. 53. For the following campaign ep. Plutarch, Demetrius, 19, 1-2; Pausanias, 1, 6, 6.

ἀπομένειν¹ τὴν τῆς Πλειάδος δύσιν δοκοῦσαν ἔσεσθαι μεθ' ήμέρας δκτώ, τούτοις μεν επετίμησεν ώς κατορρωδούσι τούς κινδύμους, αὐτός δέ στρατοπεδεύων περί Γάζαν και σπεύδων φθάσαι την τοῦ Πτολεμαίου παρασκευήν τοῖς μέν στρατιώταις παρήγγειλε δέχ' ήμερῶν ἔχειν ἐπισίτισιν, ἐπὶ δὲ ταις καμήλοις ταις άθροισθείσαις ύπὸ τῶν 'Αράβων ἐπέθηκε σίτου μυριάδας μεδίμνων τρισκαίδεκα καὶ γόρτου πλήθος τοῖς τετράποσι τά τε βέλη κομίζων τοις ζεύγεσι προήγε διά τής ερήμου μετά κακοπαθείας διά το πολλούς είναι των τόπων τελματώδεις καὶ μάλιστα περὶ τὰ καλούμενα Βάραθρα. 74. Οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Δημήτριον ἐκ τῆς Γάζης έκπλεύσαντες περί μέσας νύκτας το μέν πρώτον εὐδίας ούσης ἐφ' ἡμέρας τινὰς ταῖς ταχυναυτούσαις ναυσίν ξουμούλκουν τὰ στρατιωτικὰ πόρια: ἔπειτα της Πλειάδος περικαταλαμβανούσης αὐτούς καὶ πνεύματος ἐπιγενομένου βορίου συνέβη πολλά τῶν τετρηρικών σκαφών ύπο του χειμώνος κατενεχθήναι παραβόλως ἐπὶ πόλιν Ῥαφίαν, οὖσαν δυσ-2 προσόρμιστον καὶ τεναγώδη. τῶν δὲ πλοίων τῶν κομιζόντων τὰ βέλη τὰ μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ χειμῶνος συγκλυσθέντα διεφθάρη, τὰ δ' ἐπαλινδρόμησεν εἰς τὴν Γάζαν τοις δε κρατίστοις των σκαφών βιασάμενοι 3 διέτειναν μέχρι τοῦ Κασίου. τοῦτο δὲ τοῦ μὲν Νείλου διέστηκεν οὐ μακράν, ἀλίμενον δέ ἐστι καὶ κατὰ τας χειμερίους περιστάσεις απροσόρμιστον. διόπερ ηναγκάζοντο τὰς ἀγκύρας ἀφέντες ὡς ἄν ἐν δυσὶ

1 ἀπομένευ Fischer: ἀπιδεῖν.

About November 1.

<sup>2</sup> Literally "Pits," a region of quicksands between the 358

Pleiades, which was expected to take place after 306 BC. cight days, Antigonus censured them as men afraid of danger; but he himself, since he was encamped at Gaza and was eager to forestall the preparations of Ptolemy, ordered his soldiers to provide themselves with ten days' rations, and loaded on the camels, which had been gathered together by the Arabs, one hundred and thirty thousand measures of grain and a good stock of fodder for the beasts; and, carrying his ordnance in waggons, he advanced through the wilderness with great hardship because many places in the region were swampy, particularly near the

spot called Barathra.

74. As for Demetrius, after setting sail from Gaza about midnight, since the weather at first was calm for several days, he had his transports towed by the swifter ships; then the setting of the Pleiades overtook them and a north wind arose, so that many of the quadriremes were driven dangerously by the storm to Raphia,2 a city which affords no anchorage and is surrounded by shoals. Of the ships that were carrying his ordnance, some were overwhelmed by the storm and destroyed, and others ran back to Gaza: but pressing on with the strongest of the ships he held his course as far as Casium.4 This place is not very distant from the Nile, but it has no harbour and in the stormy season it is impossible to make a landing here. They were therefore compelled to east their anchors and ride the waves at a distance

Sirbonian Lake and the Mediterranean. Cp. Books 1, 30, 4-9, and 16, 46, 4-5, for accounts of the dangers of this region.

3 A day's march south of Gaza.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Probably at the western end of the Sirbonian Lake. For the dangers from storms on this coast ep. Strabo, 16. 2, 26 (p. 758).

σταδίοις ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἀποσαλεύειν, ἄμα πολλοῖς περιεχόμενοι δεινοίς τοῦ μέν νὰρ κλύδωνος ρηγνυμένου τραγύτερον έκινδύνευον αυτανδρα τὰ σκάφη συγκλυσθήναι, τής δε γής ούσης απροσορμίστου καὶ πολεμίας ούτε ναῦς ἀκινδύνως ἦν προσπλεῖν ούτε τοὺς ἄνδρας προσνήξασθαι, τὸ δὲ μέγιστον. έλελοίπει τὸ εἰς πότον αὐτοῖς ὕδωρ, εἰς τοιαύτην τε σπάνιν κατεκλείσθησαν ώστε εί μίαν ήμέραν ό γειμών ἐπέμεινεν, πάντες ἄν τῶ δίψει διεφθάρησαν. 4 εν άθυμία δ' όντων απάντων και προσδοκωμένης ήδη της απωλείας το μέν πνεθμα κατέπαυσεν, ή δέ μετ' 'Αντιγόνου δύναμις καταντήσασα πλησίον 5 τοῦ στόλου κατεστρατοπέδευσεν. ἐκβάντες οὖν ἐκ των σκαφών καὶ προσαναλαβόντες έαυτούς έν τῆ στρατοπεδεία προσέμενον των νεών τὰς ἀποσπασθείσας. διεφθάρη δ' εν τούτω τῷ σάλω τρία σκάφη τῶν πεντηρικῶν, ἐξ ὧν ἔνιοι τῶν ἀνδρῶν διενήξαντο πρός τὴν γῆν. ἔπειτα 'Αντίγονος μὲν προαγαγών την δύναμιν πλησίον τοῦ Νείλου κατεστρατοπέδευσεν, ἀπέχων δύο σταδίους τοῦ ποταμοῦ.

75. Πτολεμαίος δὲ προκατειληφώς τοὺς εὐκαιροτάτους τόπους ἀσφαλέσι φυλακαῖς ἀπέστειλέν
τινας ἐν τοῖς κοντωτοῖς, παρακελευσάμενος προσπλεῖν πλησίον τῆς ἐκβάσεως καὶ κηρύττειν ὅτι
δώσει τοῖς μεταβαλομένοις ἀπ' ᾿Αντιγόνου, τῶν
μὲν ιδιωτῶν ἐκάστοις δύο μνᾶς, τοῖς δ' ἐφ' ἡγε2 μονίας τεταγμένοις τάλαντον. γενομένων οὖν τῶν
κηρυγμάτων τοιούτων ἐνέπεσέ τις όρμὴ πρὸς μετάθεσιν τοῖς μετ' ᾿Αντιγόνου μισθοφόροις, ἐν οἶς καὶ
τῶν ἡγεμόνων πλείους ῥέπειν² συνέβαινε δι' αἰτίας
340

of about two stades 1 from the land, where they were 206 B.C. at once encompassed by many dangers; for since the surf was breaking rather heavily, there was danger that the ships would founder with their crews, and since the shore was harbourless and in enemy hands, the ships could neither approach without danger, nor could the men swim ashore, and what was worst of all, the water for drinking had given out and they were reduced to such straits that, if the storm had continued for a single day more, all would have perished of thirst. When all were in despair and already expecting death, the wind fell, and the army of Antigonus came up and camped near the fleet. They therefore left the ships and recuperated in the camp while waiting for those vessels that had become separated. In this exposure to the waves three of the quinqueremes were lost, but some of the men from these swam to the shore. Then Antigonus led his army nearer to the Nile and camped at a distance of two stades 1 from the river.

75. Ptolemy, who had occupied in advance the most strategic points with trustworthy garrisons, sent men in small boats, ordering them to approach the landing-place and proclaim that he would pay a premium to any who deserted Antigonus, two minae to each of the ordinary soldiers and one talent to each man who had been assigned to a position of command. When proclamations to that effect had been made, an urge to change sides fell upon the mercenaries of Antigonus, and it transpired that many even of their officers were inclined for one reason or another

A little less than ½ mile.

τραχύτερον Rhodoman: ταχύτερον.
 ρέπειν Capps, <προθύμους> είναι Fischer: είναι.

3 τινάς είς τὸ μεταβολής ἐπιθυμεῖν. πολλών δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν αὐτομολούντων ὁ μὲν 'Αντίγονος ἐπιστήσας τω χείλει του ποταμού τοξότας και σφενδονήτας καὶ πολλά τῶν ὀξυβελικῶν τοὺς προσπλέοντας ἐν τοῖς κοντωτοῖς ἀνέστελλε· τῶν δ' αὐτομολούντων συλλαβών τινας δεινώς ηκίσατο, βουλόμενος καταπλήξασθαι τούς της όμοίας όρμης άντεχομένους. 4 καὶ προσλαβών τὰ καθυστεροῦντα τῶν σκαφῶν προσέπλευσεν έπὶ τὸ καλούμενον Ψευδόστομον, νομίζων ένταθθα δυνήσεσθαί τινας των στρατιωτών άποβιβάσαι. εύρων δὲ πρὸς αὐτῷ φυλακὴν ἰσχυρὰν καὶ τοῖς τε ὀξυβελέσι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις παντοίοις βέλεσιν άνειργόμενος άπέπλευσε περικαταλαμβα-5 νούσης νυκτός. Επειτα παραγγείλας τοῖς κυβερνήταις ἀκολουθεῖν τῆ στρατηγίδι νηὶ προσέχοντας τῷ λαμπτῆρι προσέπλευσεν ἐπὶ τὸ στόμα τοῦ Νείλου τὸ καλούμενον Φατνιτικόν ήμέρας δὲ γενομένης, έπειδή πολλαί των νεών ἀπεπλανήθησαν, ήναγκάσθη ταύτας περιμένειν καὶ τὰς μάλιστα ταχυναυτούσας τών ηκολουθηκυιών εξαποστέλλειν επί την τούτων ζήτησιν.

76. Διόπερ χρόνου γενομένου πλείονος οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸν Πτολεμαῖον πυθόμενοι τὸν κατάπλουν τῶν πολεμίων ἦκον ὀξέως βοηθήσοντες καὶ τὴν δύναμιν διασκευάσαντες ἔστησαν παρὰ τὸν αἰγιαλόν ὁ δὲ Δημήτριος ἀποτυχὼν καὶ ταύτης τῆς ἐκβάσεως καὶ τὴν συνάπτουσαν παραλίαν ἀκούων ἔλεσι καὶ λίμναις ὡχυρῶσθαι φυσικῶς ἐπαλινδρόμει παντὶ τῷ στόλῳ. εἶτ' ἐμπεσόντος βορέου λαμπροῦ καὶ τοῦ κλύδωνος εἰς ὕψος αἰρομένου τρία μὲν σκάφη τῶν τετρηρικῶν καὶ τῶν στρατιωτικῶν πορίων τινὰ κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ βιαιότερον ὑπὸ τοῦ κύματος ἐπὶ τὴν 342

to desire a change. But when many were going over 306 B.C. to Ptolemy, Antigonus, stationing bowmen, slingers, and many of his catapults on the edge of the river, drove back those who were drawing near in their punts; and he captured some of the deserters and tortured them frightfully, wishing to intimidate any who were contemplating such an attempt as this. After adding to his force the ships that were late in arriving, he sailed to the place called Pseudostomon,1 believing that he would be able to disembark some of the soldiers there. But when he found at that place a strong garrison and was held in check by bolts and other missiles of every kind, he sailed away as night was closing in. Then giving orders to the pilots to follow the ship of the general, keeping their eyes fixed on its light, he sailed to the mouth of the Nile called Phatniticum; but when day came, since many of the ships had missed the course, he was forced to wait for these and to send out the swiftest of those that had followed him to search for them.

76. Since this caused considerable delay, Ptolemy, hearing of the arrival of the enemy, came quickly to reinforce his men and after drawing up his army, stationed it along the shore; but Demetrius, having failed to make this landing also and hearing that the adjacent coast was naturally fortified by swamps and marshes, retraced his course with his whole fleet. Then a strong north wind burst upon them and the billows rose high; and three of his quadriremes and in the same way some of the transports were cast

1 Literally, "False Mouth."

<sup>1</sup> Φατνιτικόν Stephanus: Φαγνιτικόν RX, Φαγνητικόν F. <sup>2</sup> ήκολουθηκοιών Schaefer: ήκολουθηκότων. <sup>3</sup> τινὰ Rhodoman, ἔμα Madyig: ἄμα...

γην έξεβράσθη καὶ τοῖς περὶ τὸν Πτολεμαῖον ύποχείρια κατέστη αί δ' ἄλλαι ἐκβιασαμένων τῶν πληρωμάτων διεσώθησαν πρὸς τὴν 'Αντιγόνου 3 στρατοπεδείαν. των δέ περί τον Πτολεμαΐον διειληφότων πάσαν την περί τον ποταμόν έκβασιν φυλακαίς Ισχυραίς και πολλών μέν σκαφών ποταμίων αὐτῷ παρεσκευασμένων, πάντων δὲ τούτων έγόντων βέλη παντοΐα καὶ τούς χρησομένους αὐτοις άνδρας οί περί τον 'Αντίγονον ού μετρίως ήπο-4 ρούντο· ή γάρ ναυτική δύναμις άχρηστος ήν αὐτοῖς προκατειλημμένου τοῦ Πηλουσιακοῦ στόματος ὑπὸ των πολεμίων, τό τε πεζόν στράτευμα την δρμην άπρακτον είχε τῷ μεγέθει τοῦ ποταμοῦ διειργόμενον, τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, ήμερῶν ἤδη συχνῶν διεληλυθυιών ύπολείπειν ήδη συνέβαινε τόν τε σίτον καί 5 τὰ χορτάσματα τοῖς κτήνεσι. διὰ δὴ ταῦτα τῆς δυνάμεως άθυμούσης παρακαλών το στρατόπεδον καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας 'Αντίγονος προέθηκε βουλήν πότερον συμφέρει μένειν καὶ διαπολεμεῖν. ἢ νῦν μεν επανελθείν είς Συρίαν, υστερον δε κάλλιον παρασκευασαμένους στρατεύσαι καθ' ὃν ἂν χρόνον 6 έλάχιστος ο Νείλος είναι δόξη. πάντων δε κατενεχθέντων επί το την ταχίστην απιέναι παρήγγειλε τοις στρατιώταις άναζευγνύειν και ταχύ πάλιν έπανηλθεν els την Συρίαν, συμπαραπλέοντος αὐτω καὶ τοῦ στόλου παντός. Πτολεμαΐος δὲ μετὰ τὴν άπαλλαγήν τῶν πολεμίων περιχαρής γενόμενος καὶ θύσας τοις θεοίς χαριστήρια τούς φίλους είστία 7 λαμπρώς. καὶ πρὸς μέν τοὺς περὶ Σέλευκον καὶ Λυσίμαχον καὶ Κάσανδρον ἔγραψε περὶ τῶν εὐτυχημάτων καὶ περὶ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν πρὸς αὐτὸν αὐτοviolently upon the land by the waves and came into 806 m.c. the possession of Ptolemy; but the other ships, whose crews had kept them from the shore by main force, reached the camp of Antigonus in safety. Since Ptolemy, however, had already occupied every landing-place along the river with strong guards, since many river boats had been made ready for him, and since all of these were equipped with ordnance of every kind and with men to use it, Antigonus was in no little difficulty; for his naval force was of no use to him since the Pelusiac mouth of the Nile had been occupied in advance by the enemy, and his land forces found their advance thwarted since they were checked by the width of the river, and what was of greatest importance, as many days had passed, food for the men and fodder for the beasts were falling short. Since, then, his forces for these reasons were disheartened, Antigonus called together the army and its leaders and laid before them the question whether it was better to remain and continue the war or to return for the present to Syria and later make a campaign with more complete preparation and at the time at which the Nile was supposed to be lowest. When all inclined toward the quickest possible withdrawal, he commanded the soldiers to break camp and speedily returned to Syria, the whole fleet coasting along beside him. After the departure of the enemy Ptolemy rejoiced greatly; and, when he had made a thank-offering to the gods, he entertained his friends lavishly. He also wrote to Seleucus, Lysimachus, and Cassander about his successes and about the large number of men who had deserted to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> παρακαλών Capps: παραλαβών. Fischer in apparatus suggests παραλαβών κατά τὸ σ. τοὺς ή.

μολησάντων, αὐτὸς δὲ τὸ δεύτερον ἢγωνισμένος ὑπὲρ τῆς Αἰγύπτου καὶ νομίσας δορίκτητον ἔχειν τὴν χώραν ἐπανῆλθεν εἰς τὴν Αλεξάνδρειαν.

77. "Αμα δὲ τούτοις πραττομένοις Διονύσιος δ τῆς Ἡρακλείας τῆς ἐν τῷ Πόντῳ τύραννος ἐτελεύτησεν ἄρξας ἔτη τριάκοντα δύο, τὴν δὲ δυναστείαν διαδεξάμενοι οἱ υἰοὶ 'Οξάθρας' καὶ Κλέαρχος ἦρξαν ἔτη ἐπτακαίδεκα.

Κατά δὲ τὴν Σικελίαν 'Αγαθοκλής ἐπήει τὰς ύπ' αὐτὸν πόλεις ἀσφαλιζόμενος φρουραῖς καὶ χρήματα πραττόμενος σφόδρα γάρ εὐλαβεῖτο μήποτε διά τὰς γεγενημένας περί αὐτὸν ἀτυχίας δρμήσωσιν 2 οί Σικελιώται πρός την αὐτονομίαν. καθ' ον δή χρόνον Πασίφιλος δ στρατηγός, ακούσας την των Αγαθοκλέους υίων αναίρεσιν και τα περί την Λιβύην έλαττώματα, τοῦ μέν δυνάστου κατεφρόνησε. πρός δὲ Δεινοκράτην ἀποστὰς καὶ φιλίαν αὐτῶ συνθέμενος τάς τε πόλεις ας ήν πεπιστευμένος διακατέσχεν καὶ τὴν μετ' αὐτοῦ δύναμιν ἐλπίσι ψυχ-3 αγωγήσας άλλοτρίαν κατεσκεύασε τοῦ τυράννου. δ δ' 'Αγαθοκλής πανταχόθεν των έλπίδων περικοπτομένων ούτως εταπεινώθη την ψυχην ώστε διαπρεσβεύσασθαι πρός Δεινοκράτην καὶ παρακαλεῖν ἐπὶ τοΐσδε συνθήκας ποιήσασθαι, έκχωρήσαι μέν τῆς δυναστείας 'Αγαθοκλέα, παραδούναι δὲ τὰς Συρακούσσας τοῖς πολίταις καὶ μηκέτι εἶναι φυγάδα Δεινοκράτην, εξαίρετα δε δοθήναι των ερυμάτων 1 'Oξάθρας Wesseling (cp. Book 17, 34, 2 'Oξάθρης): ζαθρας.

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him; and he himself, having finished the second 200 ke. struggle for Egypt 1 and convinced that the country was his as a prize of war, returned to Alexandria.2

77. While these events were taking place, Dionysius, the tyrant of Heraclea Pontica, died after having ruled for thirty-two years \*; and his sons, Oxathras and Clearchus, succeeding to his tyranny, ruled for

seventeen years.

In Sicily 4 Agathocles visited the cities that were subject to him, making them secure with garrisons and exacting money from them; for he was taking extreme precautions lest, because of the misfortunes that had befallen him, the Sicilian Greeks should make an effort to gain their independence. Indeed at that very time Pasiphilus the general, having heard of the murder of Agathocles' sons and of his reverses in Libya, regarded the tyrant with contempt; and, deserting to Deinocrates and establishing friendship with him, he both kept a firm grip on the cities which had been entrusted to him and by alluring the minds of his soldiers with hopes alienated them from the tyrant. Agathocles, now that his hopes were being curtailed in every quarter, was so cast down in spirit that he sent an embassy to Deinocrates and invited him to make a treaty on these terms: that, on the one hand, Agathocles should withdraw from his position as tyrant and restore Syracuse to its citizens, and Deinocrates should no longer be an exile, and that, on the other hand, there should be given to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cp. Book 18. 33-35.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> It is probably in the winter after this campaign that Ptolemy assumed the diadem and the royal title; cp. chap. 58. 3, and note. The narrative is continued in chap. 81.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Cp. Book 16. 88. 5.

<sup>4</sup> Continued from chap. 79. 5.

'Αγαθοκλεῖ δύο, Θέρμα καὶ Κεφαλοίδιον καὶ τὴν

χώραν τὴν τούτων.

78. Θαυμάσαι δ' αν τις εἰκότως έν τούτοις πως Αναθοκλής, ύποστατικός ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις πᾶσι γενόμενος καὶ μηδέποθ' ἐαυτὸν ἐν ταῖς ἐσχάταις προσδοκίαις ἀπελπίσας, τότε δειλωθεὶς ἀκονιτὶ παρεχώρησε τοῖς πολεμίοις τῆς τυραννίδος, ὑπὲρ ης πολλούς και μεγάλους κινδύνους προηγωνίσατο, καὶ τὸ πάντων παραλογώτατον, Συρακουσσών τε κυριεύσας καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων καὶ ναθς καὶ χρήματα κεκτημένος καὶ δύναμιν σύμμετρον, έξησθένησε τοις λογισμοις, οὐδὲν τῶν γενομένων περί 2 Διονύσιον τὸν τύραννον μνησθείς. τούτου γάρ ποτε συνδιωχθέντος είς περίστασιν όμολογουμένως άπεγνωσμένην καὶ διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν ἐπηρτημένων κινδύνων ἀπελπίσαντος μέν τὰ κατὰ τὴν δυναστείαν, μέλλοντος δ' εκ τῶν Συρακουσσῶν εξιππεύειν πρὸς έκούσιον φυγήν, "Ελωρις ό πρεσβύτατος τῶν φίλων ἐπιλαβόμενος τῆς ὁρμῆς " Διονύσιε," φησίν, " καλὸν 3 εντάφιον ή τυραννίς." παραπλησίως δε τούτω καὶ δ κηδεστής Μεγακλής ἀπεφήνατο πρός αὐτόν, είπων ότι δει τον έκ τυραννίδος έκπίπτοντα του σκέλους έλκόμενον ἀπιέναι καὶ μὴ κατὰ προαίρεσιν ἀπαλλάττεσθαι. ὑπὸ δὲ τούτων τῶν παρακλήσεων ό Διονύσιος μετεωρισθείς ένεκαρτέρησε πασί τοις δοκούσιν είναι δεινοίς και την μέν άρχην μείζονα κατεσκεύασεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐν τοῖς ταύτης καλοῖς έγγηράσας ἀπέλιπε τοῖς ἐκγόνοις μεγίστην τῶν κατά την Εθρώπην δυναστείαν.

79. 'Αγαθοκλής δ' ἐπ' οὐδενὶ τούτων μετεω-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> In Book 14. 8. 4-6 the words of Heloris are given as here; S48

Agathocles two designated fortresses, Therma and 306 B.C.

Cephaloedium, together with their territories.

78. One might with good reason express wonder at this point that Agathocles, who had shown himself resolute in every other situation and had never lost confidence in himself when his prospects were at their lowest, at this time became a coward and without a fight abandoned to his enemies the tyranny for the sake of which he had previously fought many great battles, and what was the most unaccountable of all, that while he was master of Syracuse and of the other cities and had possession of ships and wealth and an army commensurate with these, he lost all power of calculating chances, recalling not one of the experiences of the tyrant Dionysius. For instance, when that tyrant had been driven into a situation that was confessedly desperate and when, because of the greatness of the impending dangers, he had given up hope of retaining his throne and was about to ride out from Syracuse into voluntary exile, Heloris, the eldest of his friends, opposing his impulse, said, "Dionysius, tyranny is a good winding-sheet." And similarly his brother-in-law, Megacles, spoke his mind to Dionysius, saying that the man who was being expelled from a tyranny ought to make his exit dragged by the leg and not to depart of his own free Encouraged by these exhortations, Dionysius firmly faced all the emergencies that seemed formidable, and not only made his dominion greater, but when he himself had grown old amid its blessings. he left to his sons the greatest empire of Europe.

79. Agathocles, however, buoyed up by no such

but the advice here assigned to Megacles is there put in the mouth of the historian Philistus.

ρισθείς οὐδε τὰς ἀνθρωπίνας ελπίδας εξελέγξας τῆ πείρα τηλικαύτην ἀρχὴν ἔκδοτον ἐποίει ταύταις¹ ται̂ς όμολογίαις. ταύτας δ' ἀσυντελέστους συνέβη γενέσθαι τῆ μὲν 'Αγαθοκλέους προαιρέσει κυρωθείσας, δια δὲ τὴν Δεινοκράτους πλεονεξίαν μὴ προσδεχθεί-2 σας. οδτος γάρ μοναρχίας ὢν ἐπιθυμητής τῆς μὲν έν ταις Συρακούσσαις δημοκρατίας άλλότριος ήν, τῆ δε ήγεμονία τη τότε ούση περί αὐτον εὐαρεστείτο: άφηγείτο γὰρ πεζων μέν πλειόνων ή δισμυρίων, ίππέων δε τρισχιλίων, πόλεων δε πολλών καὶ μεγάλων, ώστε αὐτὸν μὲν καλεῖσθαι τῶν φυγάδων στρατηγόν, τῆ δ' ἀληθεία βασιλικὴν ἔχειν ὑπεροχήν, 3 της εξουσίας ούσης περί αὐτὸν αὐτοκράτορος. εἰ κατέλθοι δ' εἰς τὰς Συρακούσσας, πάντως ἀναγ-καῖον ἄν ἦν ἰδιώτην ὑπάρχειν καὶ ἔνα τῶν πολλῶν άριθμεῖσθαι, τῆς αὐτονομίας ἀγαπώσης τὴν ἰσότητα, έν τε ταῖς χειροτονίαις ὑπὸ τοῦ τυχόντος δημαγωγοῦ παρευημερεῖσθαι, τοῦ πλήθους ἀντικειμένου ταις ύπεροχαις των ανδρών των ανόντων παρρησίαν. διόπερ 'Αγαθοκλής μέν δικαίως αν λέγοιτο λελοιπέναι την της τυραννίδος τάξιν, Δεινοκράτης δ' αἴτιος εἶναι νομίζοιτο τῶν ὕστερον τῶ 4 δυνάστη κατορθωθέντων. οδτος γάρ, συνεχώς 'Αγαθοκλέους διαπρεσβευομένου περὶ τῶν ὁμολογιών καὶ δεομένου συγχωρήσαι τὰ δύο φρούρια πρὸς καταβίωσιν, ἀεὶ προφάσεις εὐλόγους κατεσκεύαζε δι' ων διέκοπτε τὰς ἐλπίδας των όμολογιών, ποτε μεν αποφαινόμενος εκ Σικελίας αὐτον ἀπαλλάττεσθαι, ποτὲ δὲ τὰ τέκνα πρὸς όμηρίαν 5 αἰτῶν. ὁ δ' ᾿Αγαθοκλῆς γνοὺς αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐπίνοιαν πρός μέν τοὺς φυγάδας διεπέμπετο κατηγορών τοῦ 1 ἐποίει ταύταις Post, ἐποιείτο Dindorf: πεποίηται.

consideration and failing to test his mortal hopes by 306 p.c. experience, was on the point of abandoning his empire, great as it was, on these terms. But as it happened, the treaty never went into effect, ratified indeed by the policy of Agathocles, but not accepted because of the ambition of Deinocrates. The latter. having set his heart upon sole rule, was hostile to the democracy in Syracuse and was well pleased with the position of leadership that he himself then had; for he commanded more than twenty thousand foot soldiers, three thousand horsemen, and many great cities, so that, although he was called general of the exiles, he really possessed the authority of a king, his power being absolute. But if he should return to Syracuse, it would inevitably be his lot to be a private citizen and be numbered as one of the many, since independence loves equality; and in the elections he might be defeated by any chance demagogue. since the crowd is opposed to the supremacy of men who are outspoken. Thus Agathocles might justly be said to have deserted his post as tyrant, and Deinocrates might be regarded as responsible for the later successes of the dynast. For Deinocrates, when Agathoeles kept sending embassies to discuss the terms of peace and begging him to grant the two fortresses in which he might end his days, always trumped up specious excuses by which he cut off any hope of a treaty, now insisting that Agathocles should leave Sicily, and now demanding his children as hostages. When Agathocles discovered his purpose, he sent to the exiles and accused Deinocrates

Δεινοκράτους ώς διακωλύοντος αὐτοῦ τυχεῖν αὐτοὺς τῆς αὐτονομίας, πρὸς δὲ Καρχηδονίους πρεσβευτὰς ἀποστείλας συνέθετο τὴν εἰρήχην ἐφ' οῖς τὰς πόλεις κομίσασθαι τοὺς Φοίνικας πάσας τὰς πρότερον ὑπ' αὐτοὺς γεγενημένας ἀντὶ δὲ τούτων ἔλαβε παρὰ Καρχηδονίων χρυσίον μὲν εἰς ἀργυρίου λόγον ἀναγόμενον τριακοσίων ταλάντων, ὡς δὲ Τίμαιός φησιν, ἐκατὸν πεντήκοντα, σίτου δὲ μεδίμνων εἴκοσι μυριάδας.

Καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ Σικελίαν ἐν τούτοις ἦν.

80. Κατά δὲ τὴν Ἰταλίαν Σαμνῖται μὲν Σώραν καὶ Καλατίαν² πόλεις 'Ρωμαίοις συμμαχούσας έκπολιορκήσαντες έξηνδραποδίσαντο οί δ' υπατοι δυνάμεσιν άδραις είς την Ίαπυγίαν εμβαλόντες πλη-2 σίον Σιλβίου πόλεως κατεστρατοπέδευσαν. φρουρουμένης δὲ αὐτῆς ύπὸ Σαμνιτών συνεστήσαντο πολιορκίαν ἐφ' ίκανὰς ἡμέρας καὶ κατὰ κράτος έλόντες αιχμάλωτα σώματα πλείω τῶν πεντακισχιλίων ἔλαβον καὶ τῶν ἄλλων λαφύρων ἱκανόν τι 3 πλήθος. ἀπὸ δὲ τούτων γενόμενοι³ τὴν τῶν Σαμνιτών χώραν ἐπῆλθον δενδροτομοῦντες καὶ πάντα τόπον καταφθείροντες πολλά γάρ έτη της 'Ρώμης πρός τοῦτο τὸ ἔθνος διαπολεμούσης ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡγεμονίας ήλπιζον των έπὶ τῆς χώρας κτήσεων στερήσαντες τούς πολεμίους αναγκάσειν είξαι τοίς 4 ύπερέχουσιν. διὸ καὶ πέντε μῆνας καταναλώσαν-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> ἀναγόμενον added by Fischer, cp. Books 16. 56. 6; 17. 71. 1.

of hindering them from gaining their independence, 306 n.c. and to the Carthaginians he sent envoys and made peace with them on terms such that the Phoenicians should regain all the sities which had formerly been subject to them, and in return for them he received from the Carthaginians gold to the value of three hundred talents of silver (or, as Timaeus says, one hundred and fifty), and two hundred thousand measures of grain.<sup>1</sup>

And affairs in Sicily were in this condition.

80. In Italy the Samnites took Sora and Calatia, cities that were allied to the Romans, and enslaved the inhabitants 2; and the consuls with strong armies invaded Iapygia and camped near Silvium.<sup>a</sup> This city was garrisoned by the Samnites, and the Romans began a siege which lasted a considerable number of days. Capturing the city by storm, they took prisoner more than five thousand persons and collected a considerable amount of booty besides. When they had finished with this, they invaded the country of the Sammites, cutting down the trees and destroying every district. For the Romans, who had for many years been fighting the Samnites for the primacy. hoped that if they deprived the enemy of their property in the country, it would force them to submit to the stronger. For this reason they devoted

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cp. Justin, 22. 8. 15. The narrative is continued in chap. 89.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cp. Livy 9. 43. 1. The narrative is continued from chap.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Strabo, 6. 3. 8 (p. 283), places Silvium on the frontier between Apulia and Iapygia.

<sup>\*</sup> καὶ Καλατίαν Wesseling, καὶ Καιατίαν οτ καὶ 'Ατίναν Μοmmsen: καὶ 'Ατίαν RX, καὶ 'Αττίαν F.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> γενόμενοι added by Kallenberg.

τες εἰς τὴν τῆς πολεμίας γῆς καταφθορὰν τάς τε ἐπαύλεις σχεδὸν ἀπάσας ἐπυρπόλησαν καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐξηγρίωσαν, ἀφανίσαντες πᾶν τὸ δυνάμενον ἐνεγκεῖν ῆμερον καρπόν. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τοῖς μὲν ᾿Αναγνίταις ἀδικήματα ποιοῦσι πόλεμον κατήγγειλαν, Φρουσίνωνα δὲ ἐκπολιορκήσαντες ἀπέδοντο τὴν

χώραν.

81. Τοῦ δ' ἐνιαυσίου χρόνου διεληλυθότος 'Αθήνησι μέν ήρχεν Ευξένιππος, έν 'Ρώμη δ' υπήρχον ύπατοι Λεύκιος Ποστούμιος και Τιβέριος Μινούκιος. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων Ροδίοις ἐνέστη πόλεμος πρὸς 2 'Αντίγονον διά τοιαύτας τινάς αίτίας. ή πόλις ή τῶν 'Ροδίων ἰσχύουσα ναυτικαῖς δυνάμεσι καὶ πολιτευομένη κάλλιστα τῶν Ἑλλήνων περιμάχητος τοῖς δυνάσταις καὶ βασιλεῦσιν ήν, έκάστου σπεύδοντος είς την αυτού<sup>2</sup> φιλίαν προσλαμβάνεσθαι. προορωμένη δὲ πόρρωθεν τὸ συμφέρον καὶ πρὸς ἄπαντας κατ' ιδίαν συντιθεμένη την φιλίαν τῶν πρὸς άλλή-3 λους τοῖς δυνάσταις πολέμων οὐ μετεῖχεν. διόπερ συνέβαινεν αὐτὴν τιμᾶσθαι μὲν ὑφ' ἐκάστου βασιλικαις δωρεαις, άγουσαν δε πολύν χρόνον ειρήνην μεγάλην ἐπίδοσιν λαβεῖν πρὸς αὕξησιν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον γὰρ προεληλύθει δυνάμεως ὥσθ' ὑπὲρ μὲν τῶν

Ελλήνων ίδία τον πρός τους πειρατάς πόλεμον έπαναιρεΐσθαι καὶ καθαράν παρέχεσθαι των κακούργων τὴν θάλατταν, τον δὲ πλεΐστον ἰσχύσαντα

τῶν μνημονευομένων 'Αλέξανδρον προτιμήσαντ' αὐτὴν μάλιστα τῶν πόλεων καὶ τὴν ὑπὲρ ὅλης τῆς

<sup>1 &#</sup>x27;Αναγνίταις Rhodoman, cp. Livy, 9. 43 : Αἰγινήταις RX, Αἰγινίταις F. <sup>2</sup> αὐτοῦ Post : αὐτοῦ.

five months to the ruining of the enemy's land; and 306 a.c. they burned nearly all the farm-buildings and laid waste the land, destroying everything that could produce cultivated fruit. Thereafter they declared war on the Anagnitae, who were acting unjustly, and

taking Frusino they distributed the land.1

81. When this year had passed, Euxenippus be- 305 B.C. came archon in Athens, and in Rome Lucius Postumius and Tiberius Minucius were consuls.2 While these held office war arose between the Rhodians and Antigonus for some such reasons as these. The city of the Rhodians, which was strong in sea power and was the best governed city of the Greeks, was a prize eagerly sought after by the dynasts and kings, each of them striving to add her to his alliance. Seeing far in advance what was advantageous and establishing friendship with each of the dynasts separately, Rhodes took no part in their wars with each other. As a result she was honoured by each of them with regal gifts and, while enjoying peace for a long time, made great steps forward. In fact she advanced to such strength that in behalf of the Greeks she by herself undertook her war against the pirates and purged the seas of these evil-doers; and Alexander, the most powerful of men known to memory, honouring Rhodes above all cities, both deposited there the

Euxenippus was archon in 305/4 B.C. Livy, 9. 44. 2, gives as the consuls of 305 s.c., L. Posturnius and T. Minucins; but a fragment of the Fasti Capitolini supports Diodorus

in the praenomen of the last-named.

The narrative is continued from chap. 76. For the Rhodian campaign cp. Plutarch, Demetrius, 21-22.

Anagnia was the chief city of the Hernici. Livy, 9. 43, places the victory over the Hernici in this year but the confiscation of the land of Frusino three years later (10. 1. 3). The narrative is continued in chap. 90. 3.

βασιλείας διαθήκην έκει θέσθαι καὶ τάλλα θαυ4 μάζειν καὶ προάγειν εἰς ὑπεροχήν. οἱ δ' οὖν 
'Ρόδιοι πρὸς πάντας τοὺς δυμάστας συντεθειμένοι 
τὴν φιλίαν διετήρουν μὲν ἐαυτοὺς ἐκτὸς ἐγκλήματος δικαίου, ταις δ' εὐνοίαις ἔρεπον μάλιστα πρὸς 
Πτολεμαιον συνέβαινε γὰρ αὐτοις τῶν τε προσόδων 
τὰς πλείστας είναι διὰ τοὺς εἰς Αἴγυπτον πλέοντας 
ἐμπόρους καὶ τὸ σύνολον τρέφεσθαι τὴν πόλιν ἀπὸ 
ταύτης τῆς βασιλείας.

82. "Ο δή συνορῶν ὁ 'Αντίγονος καὶ σπεύδων αὐτοὺς ἀποσπάσαι τῆς πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἐπιπλοκῆς τὸ μὲν πρῶτον πρεσβευτὰς ἀπέστειλε καθ' ὅν καιρὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς Κύπρου διεπολέμει πρὸς Πτολεμαῖον, ἀξιῶν αὐτῷ συμμαχεῖν καὶ ναῦς συναποστεῖλαι τῷ Δημητρίω· οὐ προσεγόντων δ' αὐτῶν ἀπέστειλέ

2 Δημητρίω· οὐ προσεχόντων δ' αὐτῶν ἀπέστειλέ τινα τῶν στρατηγῶν μετὰ νεῶν, συντάξας τοὺς πλέοντας εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἐκ τῆς 'Ρόδου κατάγειν καὶ περιαιρεῖσθαι τὰ φορτία. τούτου δ' ἐκβληθέντος ὑπὸ τῶν 'Ροδίων φήσας αὐτοὺς ἀδίκου κατῆρχθαι πολέμου διηπειλήσατο πολιορκήσειν δυνάμεσιν άδραῖς τὴν πόλιν. οἱ δὲ 'Ρόδιοι τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐψηφίσαντο μεγάλας αὐτῷ τιμὰς καὶ πέμψαντες πρέσβεις ἢξίουν μὴ βιάσασθαι τὴν πόλιν προπεσεῖν παρὰ τὰς συνθήκας εἰς τὸν πόλεμον πρὸς Πτολεγαῖον. τραχύτερον δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀπαντῶντος καὶ τὸν υίὸν Δημήτριον ἐκπέμψαντος μετὰ δυνά-

μεως καὶ πολιορκητικῶν ὀργάνων φοβηθέντες τὴν

<sup>1</sup> προπεσεῦν Dindorf: προσπεσεῦν.

Alexander entrusted certain memoranda to Craterus (Book 18, 4, 1), but these were not a will, and Diodorus' 356

testament <sup>1</sup> disposing of his whole realm and in other 305 a.c. ways showed admiration for her and promoted her to a commanding position. At any rate, the Rhodians, having established pilets of friendship with all the rulers, carefully avoided giving legitimate grounds for complaint; but in displaying goodwill they inclined chiefly toward Ptolemy, for it happened that most of their revenues were due to the merchants who sailed to Egypt, and that in general the city

drew its food supply from that kingdom.

82. Because Antigonus knew this and was intent on separating the Rhodians from their connection with Ptolemy, he first sent out envoys to them at the time when he was fighting with Ptolemy for Cyprus and asked them to ally themselves with him and to dispatch ships in company with Demetrius 2; and when they did not consent, he dispatched one of his generals with ships, ordering him to bring to land any merchants sailing to Egypt from Rhodes and to seize their cargoes. When this general was driven off by the Rhodians, Antigonus, declaring that they were authors of an unjust war, threatened to lay siege to the city with strong forces. The Rhodians, however, first voted great honours for him; and, sending envoys, they begged him not to force the city to rush into the war against Ptolemy contrary to their treaties. But then, when the king answered rather harshly and sent his son Demetrius with an army and siege equipment, they were so

narrative of the events following Alexander's death assumes that no will existed.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cp. chap. 46. 6. In 315 n.c. Rhodes had built warships for Antigonus from timber that he furnished (Book 19. 57. 4; 58. 5); and in 313 n.c. she had furnished 10 ships for the campaign to free Greece (Book 19. 77. 2).

ύπεροχὴν τοῦ βασιλέως τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀπέστειλαν πρός τὸν Δημήτριον, φήσαντες συμπολεμήσειν 'Αντιγόνω πρός Πτολεμαΐον: ής δ' ἐκεῖνος όμήρους έκατὸν ήτει τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους καὶ τοῖς λιμέσι δέχεσθαι τὸν στόλον προσέταττεν, ὑπολαβόντες ἐπιβουλεύειν αὐτὸν τῆ πόλει, τὰ πρὸς πόλεμον 4 παρεσκευάζοντο. Δημήτριος δὲ πᾶσαν τὴν δύναμιν άθροίσας είς τον εν Λωρύμοις λιμένα στόλον έξήρτυς πρός του ἐπίπλουν του ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥόδου. είχε δέ ναθς μακράς μέν παντοίας μεγέθει διακοσίας, ύπηρετικά δὲ πλείω τῶν έκατὸν έβδομήκοντα ἐν δὲ τούτοις ἐκομίζοντο στρατιῶται βραχὸ λειπόμενοι τῶν τετρακισμυρίων σὺν ἱππεθσι καὶ τοῖς συμμαχοῦσι πειραταῖς. ὑπῆρχε δὲ καὶ βελῶν παντοίων πλήθος καὶ πάντων τῶν πρὸς πολιορκίαν χρησίμων 5 μεγάλη παρασκευή. χωρίς δὲ τούτων ίδιωτικά πόρια συνηκολούθει τῶν ταῖς ἀγοραῖς χρωμένων βραχὺ λειπόμενα τῶν χιλίων· πολλὰ γὰρ ἔτη τῆς χώρας της 'Ροδίων ἀπορθήτου γεγενημένης συνέρρει πανταχόθεν πληθος των εἰωθότων ώφελείας ίδίας ήγεῖσθαι τὰ τῶν πολεμουμένων ἀτυχήματα.

83. ΄Ο μὲν οὖν Δημήτριος ὥσπερ εἴς τινα ναυμαχίαν ἐκτάξας τὸν στόλον καταπληκτικώς προηγεῖσθαι μὲν ἐποίησε τὰς μακρὰς ναθς, ἐχούσας έπὶ ταῖς πρώραις τοὺς τρισπιθάμους τῶν ὀξυβελῶν, έπακολουθείν δὲ τὰς στρατιωτικὰς καὶ τὰς ίππηγούς ρυμουλκουμένας ύπὸ τῶν ταῖς εἰρεσίαις χρω-

frightened by the superior power of the king that at 205 B.C. first they sent to Demetrius, saying that they would join Antigonus in the war with Ptolemy, but when Demetrius demanded as hostages a hundred of the noblest citizens and ordered also that his fleet should be received in their harbours, concluding that he was plotting against the city, they made ready for war. Demetrius, gathering all his forces in the harbour at Loryma, made his fleet ready for the attack on Rhodes. He had two hundred warships of all sizes and more than one hundred and seventy auxiliary vessels; on these were transported not quite forty thousand soldiers besides the cavalry and the pirates who were his allies. There was also an ample supply of ordnance of all sorts and a large provision of all the things necessary for a siege. In addition there accompanied him almost a thousand privately owned ships, which belonged to those who were engaged in trade; for since the land of the Rhodians had been unplundered for many years, there had gathered together from all quarters a host of those who were accustomed to consider the misfortunes of men at war a means of enriching themselves.

83. And so Demetrius, having drawn up his fleet as if for a naval battle in a way to inspire panie, sent forward his warships, which had on their prows the catapults for bolts three spans in length 2; and he had the transports for men and horses follow, towed by the ships that used oarsmen; and last of all came

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Loryma is in Caria about twenty miles distant from Rhodes.

For the use of catapults on ships cp. Tarn, Hellenistic Military and Naval Developments, 120-121.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Λωρύμοις Palmer, cp. Book 17. 83. 7 : 'Ελωρύμνοις.

μένων, ἐπὶ πᾶσι δὲ καὶ τὰ τῶν πειρατῶν πόρια καὶ τὰ τῶν ἐμπόρων καὶ ἀγοραίων, ὑπεράγοντα τῶ πλήθει, καθάπερ προείρηται, ώστε πάντα τὸν άνὰ μέσον τόπον τῆς τε νήσου καὶ τῆς ἀντικειμένης παραλίας συμπεπληρωμένον φαίνεσθαι τοῖς πλοίοις καὶ πολύν φόβον καὶ κατάπληξιν παρέχεσθαι τοῖς 2 ἀπό τῆς πόλεως θεωροῦσιν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ στρατιῶται τῶν 'Ροδίων διειληφότες τὰ τείχη τὸν ἐπίπλουν έκαραδόκουν τῶν πολεμίων, πρεσβῦται δὲ καὶ γυναΐκες ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκιῶν ἀφεώρων, οὕσης τῆς πόλεως θεατροειδοῦς, πάντες δὲ τό τε μέγεθος τοῦ στόλου καὶ τὴν αὐγὴν τῶν ἀποστιλβόντων ὅπλων καταπληττόμενοι περί των όλων οὐ μετρίως ήγωνίων. 3 εἰθ' ὁ μὲν Δημήτριος κατέπλευσεν εἰς τὴν νῆσον, ἀποβιβάσας δὲ τὴν δύναμιν κατεστρατοπέδευσεν πλησίον τῆς πόλεως, ἐκτὸς βέλους ποιησάμενος τὴν παρεμβολήν. εὐθὺς δὲ τῶν πειρατῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τους ευθέτους εξέπεμψε πορθήσοντας την νησον 4 καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν. ἐδενδροτόμησε δε και την πλησίον χώραν και καθείλε τάς έπαύλεις, έξ ων ωχύρωσε την στρατοπεδείαν, περιλαβών τριπλώ χάρακι καὶ σταυρώμασι πυκνοῖς καὶ μεγάλοις, ώστε την των πολεμίων βλάβην γίνεσθαι τῶν ἰδίων ἀσφάλειαν. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πάση τῆ δυνάμει καὶ τοῖς πληρώμασιν ἔχωσεν ἐν ὀλίγαις ήμέραις τὸ μεταξύ τῆς πόλεως διαλεΐπου πρὸς τὴν εκβασιν καὶ κατεσκεύασε λιμένα ταῖς ναυσιν άρκοῦντα.

84. Οἱ δὲ Ῥόδιοι μέχρι μέν τινος πρέσβεις ἐκπέμποντες ἢξίουν μηδὲν πρᾶξαι κατὰ τῆς πόλεως

δè after ούσης omitted by Dindorf.
<sup>2</sup> δè added by Dindorf.

also the cargo-ships of the pirates and of the mer- 305 R.C. chants and traders, which as we have already said, were exceedingly numerous, so that the whole space between the island and the opposite shore was seen to be filled with his vessels, which brought great fear and panie to those who were watching from the city. For the soldiers of the Rhodians, occupying their several positions on the walls, were awaiting the approach of the hostile fleet, and the old men and women were looking on from their homes, since the city is shaped like a theatre 1; and all, being terrorstricken at the magnitude of the fleet and the gleam of the shining armour, were not a little anxious about the final outcome. Then Demetrius sailed to the island; and after disembarking his army, he took position near the city, setting up his camp out of range of missiles. He at once sent out fit and proper men from the pirates and others to plunder the island both by land and by sea. He also cut down the trees in the region near by and destroyed the farm buildings, and with this material he fortified the camp, surrounding it with a triple palisade and with great, close-set stockades, so that the loss suffered by the enemy became a protection for his own men. After this, using the whole army and the crews, he in a few days closed with a mole the space between the city and the exit, and made a port large enough for his ships.

84. For a time the Rhodians kept sending envoys and asking him to do nothing irreparable against the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cp. Book 19, 45, 3.

ἀνήκεστον: ώς δ' οὐδεὶς αὐτοῖς προσεῖχεν, ἀπογνόντες τὰς διαλύσεις εξέπεμψαν πρεσβευτάς πρός Πτολεμαΐον καὶ Λυσίμαχον καὶ Κάσανδρον, άξιοῦντες βοηθεῖν, ώς τῆς πόλεως προπολεμούσης1 2 ύπὲρ αὐτῶν. τῶν δ' ἐν τῆ πόλει κατοικούντων παροίκων καὶ ξένων δόντες έξουσίαν τοῖς βουλομένοις συναγωνίζεσθαι, τούς λοιπούς άχρήστους έκ της πόλεως εξέπεμψαν, αμα μεν της των άναγκαίων ένδείας προνοηθέντες, αμα δὲ καὶ τοῦ μηδένα τῆ καταστάσει δυσχεραίνοντα γίνεσθαι τῆς πόλεως προδότην. ἀριθμόν δὲ ποιησάμενοι τῶν δυναμένων άγωνίζεσθαι πολιτών μεν εύρον περί έξακισχιλίους, 3 τῶν δὲ παροίκων καὶ ξένων εἰς χιλίους. ἐψηφίσαντο δὲ καὶ τῶν δούλων τοὺς ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς γενομένους εν τοῖς κινδύνοις ἀγοράσαντας παρὰ τῶν δεσποτῶν ἐλευθέρους² καὶ πολίτας είναι· ἔγραψαν δέ καὶ τῶν τελευτησάντων ἐν τῷ πολέμω τὰ μέν σώματα δημοσία θάπτεσθαι, τους δε γονεῖς3 καὶ παΐδας τρέφεσθαι λαμβάνοντας τὴν χορηγίαν ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ ταμιείου, καὶ τὰς μὲν παρθένους δημοσία προικίζεσθαι, τούς δ' υίους εν ήλικία γενομένους ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ στεφανῶσαι τοῖς Διονυ-4 σίοις πανοπλία. διά δὲ τούτων ἐκκαλεσάμενοι τὰς άπάντων προθυμίας είς τὸ τοὺς κινδύνους ὑπομένειν εὐψύχως, ἐποιήσαντο καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τὴν ἐνδεχομένην παρασκευήν. δμονοοῦντος γὰρ τοῦ πλήθους οί μεν εύποροι χρήματ' εἰσέφερον, οἱ δὲ τεχνῖται τάς αύτων ἐπιστήμας παρείχοντο πρός τὴν των

<sup>1</sup> προπολεμούσης Wesseling : προσπολεμούσης.

city; but as no one paid any heed to these, they gave 305 B.C. up hope of a truce and sent envoys to Ptolemy, Lysimachus, and Cassander, begging them to give aid and saying that the city was fighting the war on their behalf. As to the metics and aliens who dwelt in the city, to those who wished they gave permission to join them in the fighting, and the others who were of no service they sent forth from the city, partly as a precaution against scarcity of supplies, and partly that there might be no one to become dissatisfied with the situation and try to betray the city. When they made a count of those who were able to fight, they found that there were about six thousand citizens and as many as a thousand metics and aliens. They voted also to buy from their masters any slaves who proved themselves brave men in the battle, and to emancipate and enfranchise them. And they also wrote another decree, that the bodies of those who fell in the war should be given public burial and, further, that their parents and children should be maintained, receiving their support from the public treasury, that their unmarried daughters should be given dowries at the public cost, and that their sons on reaching manhood should be crowned in the theatre at the Dionysia and given a full suit of armour. When by these measures they had roused the spirits of all to endure the battles with courage, they also made what preparation was possible in regard to other matters. Since the whole people was of one mind, the rich contributed money, the craftsmen gave their skilled services for the preparation of the arms, and

<sup>2</sup> ελευθέρους Capps: ελευθεροθν.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Fischer suggests the addition of καὶ γυναϊκας after γονεῖς, ep. Book 17. 11. 5.

οπλων κατασκευήν, άπας δ' ήν ένεργός, τη φιλο-5 τιμία τοὺς ἄλλους ὑπερθέσθαι σπεύδων. διόπερ οί μέν εγίνοντο περί τούς δξυβελείς και πετροβόλους, οί δὲ περὶ τὴν τῶν ἄλλων κατασκευήν, τινὲς δὲ τὰ πεπονηκότα των τειχών ἐπεσκεύαζον, πλείστοι δὲ λίθους πρός τὰ τείχη φέροντες ἐσώρευον. ἐξέπεμψαν δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄριστα πλεουσῶν νεῶν τρεῖς ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ τοὺς παρακομίζοντας αὐτοῖς 6 άγορας έμπόρους. αθται δέ παραδόξως έπιφανείσαι πολλά μέν πλοία των έπὶ τὴν προνομὴν τῆς χώρας ώφελείας χάριν πλεόντων εμπόρων κατεπόντισαν, οὺκ ὀλίγα δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸν αἰγιαλὸν κατασπῶσαι συνέκαυσαν, καὶ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων τὰ δυνάμενα δοῦναι λύτρον παρεκόμιζον εἰς τὴν πόλιν συνέθεντο γὰρ οἱ 'Ρόδιοι πρὸς τὸν Δημήτριον ὥστε ἀλλήλοις διδόναι λύτρον έλευθέρου μέν χιλίας δραχμάς, δούλου δὲ πεντακοσίας.

85. Πρὸς τὰς θέσεις τῶν ὀργάνων δὲ ὁ Δημήτριος ἄφθονον ἔχων ἀπάντων χορηγίαν ἤρξατο
κατασκευάζειν δύο χελώνας, τὴν μὲν πρὸς τοὺς πετροβόλους, τὴν δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ὀξυβελεῖς, ἀμφοτέρας
δὲ ταύτας ἐπὶ δύο πλοίων φορτηγῶν διαβεβηκυίας κατεζευγμένων,¹ δύο δὲ πύργους τετραστέγους ὑπερέχοντας τοῖς ὕψεσι τῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ λιμένος
πύργων, ἐκάτερον δὲ τούτων ἐπὶ δύο πλοίων ἴσων²
βεβηκότα καὶ κατειλημμένον ὅπως ἐν τῷ προσάγειν ἡ στάσις ἐκατέρα τῶν πλευρῶν ἰσόρροπον
2 ἔχη τὸ βάρος. κατεσκεύασε δὲ καὶ χάρακα πλωτὸν
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every man was active, each striving in a spirit of soone. rivalry to surpass the others. Consequently, some were busy with the catapults and ballistae, others with the preparation of other equipment, some were repairing any ruined portions of the walls, and very many were carrying stones to the walls and stacking They even sent out three of their swiftest ships against the enemy and the merchant ships which brought provisions to him. These ships on appearing unexpectedly sank many vessels belonging to merchants who had sailed for the purpose of plundering the land for their own profit, and even hauled not a few of the ships up on the beach and burned them. As for the prisoners, those who could pay a ransom they took into the city, for the Rhodians had made an agreement with Demetrius that each should pay the other a thousand drachmae as ransom for a free man and five hundred for a slave.

85. Demetrius, who had an ample supply of everything required for setting up his engines of war, began to prepare two penthouses, one for the ballistae, the other for the catapults, each of them firmly mounted on two cargo vessels fastened together, and two towers of four storeys, exceeding in height the towers of the harbour, each of them mounted upon two ships of the same size and fastened there in such a way that as the towers advanced the support on each side upheld an equal weight. He also prepared

Or, reading καὶ κατεζευγμένας: "mounted on two cargo vessels and fastened securely."

διαβεβηκυίας κατεζευγμένων Geer, διαβεβηκυίας καὶ κατεζευγμένως Fischer: διαβεβηκότων καὶ κατεζευγμένων.
 τσον Madvig, Fischer.

τετραπέδων ξύλων ἐπικαθηλωμένων, ὅπως προπλέων<sup>2</sup> οδτος κωλύη τους πολεμίους επιπλέοντας ἐμβολὰς διδόναι τοῖς φέρουσι τὰς μηχανὰς πλοίοις.

3 εν όσω δε ταῦτα την συντέλειαν ελάμβανεν, ἀθροίσας τους άδροτάτους των λέμβων και τούτους καταφράξας σανίσι καὶ θυρίδας κλειστάς κατασκευάσας ενέθετο μεν των τρισπιθάμων δξυβελών τους πορρωτάτω βάλλοντας καὶ τοὺς τούτοις κατὰ τρόπον χρησομένους, έτι δὲ τοξότας Κρῆτας, τὰς δὲ ναῦς προσαγαγών έντος βέλους κατετίτρωσκε τους κατά την πόλιν ύψηλότερα τὰ παρὰ τὸν λιμένα τείχη κατασκευάζοντας.

Οί δὲ 'Ρόδιοι θεωροθντες τοῦ Δημητρίου τὴν πάσαν ἐπιβολὴν οὖσαν ἐπὶ τὸν λιμένα καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἀσφάλειαν τούτου παρεσκευάζοντο. δύο μέν οθν έστησαν μηχανάς έπὶ τοῦ χώματος, τρεῖς δ' ἐπὶ φορτηγῶν πλοίων πλησίον τῶν κλείθρων τοῦ μικροῦ λιμένος εν δὲ ταύταις έθηκαν πλήθος όξυβελών καὶ πετροβόλων παντοίων τοῖς μεγέθεσιν, όπως, εάν τε ἀποβιβάζωσιν οἱ πολέμιοι πρὸς τὸ χῶμα στρατιώτας ἄν τε τὰς μηχανὰς προσάγωσι, διὰ τούτων αὐτοὺς εἴργεσθαι τῆς ἐπιβολης. ἐπέστησαν δὲ καὶ τοῖς όρμοῦσι τῶν φορτηγῶν ΄ πλοίων ἐν τῷ λιμένι βελοστάσεις οἰκείας τοῖς έπιτίθεσθαι μέλλουσι καταπέλταις.3

86. Αμφοτέρων δὲ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον παρεσκευασμένων δ Δημήτριος τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐπιβαλόμενος προσάγειν τὰς μηχανάς τοῖς λιμέσιν έκωλύθη κλύδωνος έπιγενομένου τραχυτέρου μετά

<sup>1</sup> τετραπέδων ξύλων ἐπικαθηλωμένων Gcer, ἐπὶ τετρ. ξύ. καθηλωμένον Fischer: ἐπὶ τετρ. ξύ. καθηλωμένων.

a floating boom of squared logs studded with spikes, 1 205 m.c. in order that as this was floated forward it might prevent the enemy from sailing up and ramming the ships that were carrying the engines of war. In the interval while these were receiving their finishing touches, he collected the strongest of the light craft, fortified them with planks, provided them with ports that could be closed, and placed upon them those of the catapults for bolts three palms long which had the longest range and the men to work them properly, and also Cretan archers; then, sending the boats within range, he shot down the men of the city who were building higher the walls along the harbour.

When the Rhodians saw that the entire attack of Demetrius was aimed against the harbour, they themselves also took measures for its security. They placed two machines 2 on the mole and three upon freighters near the boom of the small harbour; in these they mounted a large number of catapults and ballistae of all sizes, in order that if the enemy should disembark soldiers on the mole or should advance his machines, he might be thwarted in his design by this means. They also placed on such cargo ships as were at anchor in the harbour platforms suitable for the catapults that were to be mounted on them.

86. After both sides had made their preparations in this way, Demetrius at first endeavoured to bring his engines of war against the harbour, but he was prevented when too rough a sea arose; later on,

2 Probably penthouses or sheds.

Or, reading έπὶ τετραπέδον ξύλον καθηλιομένον: " a floating palisade fastened with spikes to squared logs."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> καταπέλταις Rhodoman : καταπέλτας.

δὲ ταῦτα νυκτὸς εὐδίας λαβόμενος ἔλαθε παραπλεύσας καὶ καταλαβόμενος ἄκρον τὸ χῶμα τοῦ μεγάλου λιμένος εὐθὺς περιεχαράκωσε τὸν τόπον καὶ διέφραξε θυρώμασι καὶ πέτροι**ς**, ἐξεβίβασε δ' εἰς αὐτὸν στρατιώτας τετρακοσίους καὶ βελῶν πληθος παντοδαπῶν, ἀπέχοντος ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν τοῦ τόπου 2 τούτου πέντε πλέθρα. ἔπειθ' ἡμέρας γενομένης παρεκόμισε τὰς μηχανὰς εἰς τὸν λιμένα μετὰ σάλπυγγος καὶ κραυγής καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἐλάττοσιν όξυβελέσι μακράν φερομένοις άνειργε τους έργαζομένους τὸ παρὰ τὸν λιμένα τεῖχος, τοῖς δὲ πετροβόλοις τάς τε μηχανάς τῶν πολεμίων καὶ τὸ διὰ τοῦ χώματος τεῖχος τῆ μὲν διέσεισε, τῆ δὲ κατέβαλεν, άσθενες ύπάρχον και ταπεινον εκείνοις τοις 3 καιροίς. ἀμυνομένων δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως εὐρώστως τότε μὲν ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν διετέλεσαν άμφότεροι πολλά κακά καὶ δρώντες καὶ πάσχοντες· τῆς δὲ νυκτὸς ήδη καταλαμβανούσης ὁ μὲν Δημήτριος ταις ρυμουλκούσαις ναυσίν απήγαγε τας μηχανάς πάλιν έξω βέλους οι δε 'Ρόδιοι ξηρας ύλης καὶ δαδὸς ἀκάτια πληρώσαντες καὶ πῦρ ἐνθέμενοι το μέν πρώτον ἐπιδιώξαντες προσέπλεον ταῖς μηχαναίς ταίς των πολεμίων και την ύλην υφηψαν, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τῷ πλωτῷ χάρακι καὶ τοῖς βέλεσιν άνειρχθέντες συνηναγκάσθησαν χωρείν είς τουπίσω. 4 της δε φλογός επισχυούσης ολίγοι μεν κατασβέσαντες επανηλθον σύν τοις σκάφεσιν, οι πλείστοι δε καιομένων των άκατίων εξεκολύμβησαν. τῆ δ' ύστεραία κατὰ μὲν θάλατταν ὁ Δημήτριος παραπλησίαν ἐποιήσατο τὴν ἐπίθεσιν, κατά δὲ τὴν γῆν προσέταξεν άμα πανταχόθεν προσβάλλειν μετ' άλαλαγμοῦ καὶ σάλπιγγος, ὅπως εἰς ἀγωνίαν καὶ 368

however, taking advantage of calm weather at night, 305 n.c. he sailed in secretly, and after seizing the end of the mole of the great harbour he at once fortified the place, cutting it off with walls of planks and stones, and landed there four hundred soldiers and a supply of ordnance of all kinds. This point was five plethra 1 distant from the city walls. Then at daybreak he brought his engines into the harbour with the sound of trumpets and with shouts; and with the lighter catapults, which had a long range, he drove back those who were constructing the wall along the harbour, and with the ballistae he shook or destroyed the engines of the enemy and the wall across the mole, for it was weak and low at this time. But since those from the city also fought stoutly, during that whole day both sides continued to inflict and suffer severe losses; and when night was already closing in, Demetrius by means of towboats drew his engines back out of range. The Rhodians, however, filled light boats with dry pitchy wood and placed fire in them; at first they went in pursuit and, drawing near to the engines of the enemy, lighted the wood, but afterwards, repelled by the floating boom and by the missiles, they were forced to withdraw. As the fire gained force a few put it out and sailed back with their boats, but most of them plunged into the sea as their boats were consumed. On the following day Demetrius made a similar attack by sea, but he also gave orders to assail the city at the same time by land from all sides with shouts and sound of trumpet

About 500 feet.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> παρεκόμισε Wesseling : παρεκόμισαν.

φόβον ἀγάγη τοὺς 'Ροδίους, πολλῶν τῶν ἀντι-

σπασμάτων ὄντων.

87. Τοιαύτην δὲ τὴν πολιορκίαν ποιησάμενος ἐφ' ήμέρας όκτω τας μέν μηχανός τας έπι του χώματος τοῖς ταλαντιαίοις πετροβόλοις συνέτριψε, τοῦ δὲ διατειχίσματος τὸ μεσοπύργιον σὺν αὐτοῖς τοις πύργοις διέσεισεν. κατελάβοντο δε και των στρατιωτών τινες μέρος τοῦ παρὰ τὸν λιμένα διατειχίσματος ἐφ' οὖς συστραφέντες οἱ Ῥόδιοι μάχην συνήψαν καὶ πολλαπλάσιοι γενόμενοι τοὺς μέν ανείλου, τούς δ' επανελθείν είς τούπίσω συνηνάγκασαν συνήργει δέ τοῖς έκ τῆς πόλεως ή τοῦ παρά τὸ τεῖχος τόπου τραχύτης, πολλών καί μεγάλων πετρών κατά το συνεχές κειμένων παρά την 2 οἰκοδομὴν ἔξω τοῦ τείχους. τῶν δὲ τοὺς στρατιώτας τούτους κομισάντων σκαφῶν οὐκ ὀλίγων διά την ἄγνοιαν ἐποκειλάντων οἱ 'Ρόδιοι ταχέως τὰ μὲν ἀκροστόλια περιέσπασαν, ὕλην δὲ ξηρὰν καὶ δάδας ταις ναυσίν ἐνέντες ἐνέπρησαν. τούτων δὲ περί ταθτ' όντων οί μέν τοθ Δημητρίου στρατιώται πανταγοῦ περιπλέοντες κλίμακας προσέφερον τοῖς τείχεσι και βιαιότερον ενέκειντο, συναγωνιζομένων καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς πανταχόθεν καὶ συναλαλαζόν-3 των. ἔνθα δὴ πολλῶν παραβόλως κινδυνευσάντων καὶ συχνῶν ἀναβάντων ἐπὶ τὰ τείχη συνίστατο καρτερά μάχη, τῶν μὲν ἔξωθεν βιαζομένων, τῶν δ' έκ της πόλεως άθρόων παραβοηθούντων. τέλος δέ τῶν 'Ροδίων ἐκθύμως ἀγωνιζομένων οἱ μὲν ἔπεσον των προσαναβάντων, οί δὲ κατατραυματισθέντες έάλωσαν, εν οίς ήσαν τινες και των επιφανεστά-4 των ήγεμόνων. τοιούτων δε γενομένων τοῖς έξωθεν 1 ἐφ' οθε Fischer : ἐφ' οὐ.

in order to throw the Rhodians into an agony of 2015 R.C.

terror because of the many distractions.

87. After carrying on this kind of siege warfare for eight days, Demetrius shattered the engines of war upon the mole by means of his heavy ballistae and weakened the curtain of the cross-wall together with the towers themselves. Some of his soldiers also occupied a part of the fortifications along the harbour; the Rhodians rallying their forces joined battle against these, and now that they outnumbered the enemy, they killed some and forced the rest to withdraw. The men of the city were aided by the ruggedness of the shore along the wall, for many large rocks lay close together beside the structure outside of the wall. Of the ships which had conveyed these soldiers no small number ran aground in their ignorance; and the Rhodians at once, after stripping off the beaks, threw dry pitchy wood into the ships and burned them. While the Rhodians were so occupied, the soldiers of Demetrius sailing up on every side placed ladders against the walls and pressed on more strongly, and the troops who were attacking from the land also joined in the struggle from every side and raised the battle cry in unison. Then indeed. since many had recklessly risked their lives, and a good number had mounted the walls, a mighty battle arose, those on the outside trying to force their way in and those in the city coming to the defence with one accord. Finally, as the Rhodians contended furiously, some of the men who had mounted were thrown down and others were wounded and captured, among whom were some of their most distinguished leaders. Since such losses had befallen those who

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> ăyvoiav Geer : âycovíav.

έλαττωμάτων ό μεν Δημήτριος ἀπεκόμισε τὰς μηχανὰς εἰς τὸν ἴδιον λιμένα καὶ τὰ πεπονηκότα τῶν πλοίων καὶ μηχανῶν ἐπεσκεύασεν, οἱ δὲ 'Ρόδιοι τοὺς μὲν τελευτήσαντας τῶν πολιτῶν ἔθαψαν, τὰ δὲ ὅπλα τῶν πολεμίων καὶ τὰ ἀκροστόλια τοῖς θεοῖς ἀνέθηκαν, τὰ δὲ διὰ τῶν πετροβόλων πεπωκότα τῶν τειχῶν ἀνωκοδόμουν.

88. Δημήτριος δέ περί την έπισκευήν των μηγανών και των πλοίων ήμέρας έπτα γενόμενος και πάντα τὰ πρὸς τὴν πολιορκίαν παρασκευασάμενος πάλιν ἐπέπλευσε τῷ λιμένι πᾶσα γὰρ ἦν ἡ σπουδή περί τὸ κρατήσαι τούτου καὶ τῆς σιτοπομπείας 2 άποκλεῖσαι τοὺς κατὰ τὴν πόλιν. γενόμενος δ' έντὸς βέλους τοῖς μὲν πυρφόροις πολλοῖς οὖσιν εἰς τὰ διωρμισμέναι πλοία τῶν 'Ροδίων ἐνέβαλε, τοῖς δέ πετροβόλοις τὰ τείχη διέσεισε, τοῖς δ' όξυβελέσι τὰ φαινόμενα τῶν σωμάτων κατετίτρωσκε. 3 συνεχούς ούν και καταπληκτικής γενομένης τής προσβολής οι μέν παρά τοις 'Ροδίοις ναύκληροι διαγωνιάσαντες περί των πλοίων κατέσβεσαν τούς πυρφόρους, οί δὲ πρυτάνεις κινδυνεύοντος άλωναι τοῦ λιμένος παρεκάλεσαν τοὺς ἀρίστους τῶν πολιτών τον ύπερ της κοινης σωτηρίας ύπομεί-4 ναι κίνδυνον. πολλών οὖν προθύμως ὑπακουόντων τρείς ναθς τὰς κρατίστας ἐπλήρωσαν ἐπιλέκτων άνδρων, οίς παρήγγειλαν πειρασθαι τοις έμβόλοις βυθίσαι τὰ πλοῖα τὰ τὰς μηχανὰς κομίζοντα τῶν 5 πολεμίων. οδτοι μέν οδν, καίπερ πολλών ἐπ' αὐτοὺς φερομένων βελών, ὢσάμενοι τὸ μὲν πρῶτον τὸν σεσιδηρωμένον χάρακα διέσπασαν, τοῖς δὲ 372

fought from the outside, Demetrius withdrew his 306 B.C. engines of war to his own harbour 1 and repaired the ships and engines that had been damaged; and the Rhodians buried those of their citizens who had perished, dedicated to the gods the arms of the enemy and the beaks of the ships, and rebuilt the parts of the wall that had been overthrown by the ballistae.

88. After Demetrius had spent seven days on the repair of his engines and ships and had made all his preparations for the siege, he again attacked the harbour; for his whole effort centred upon capturing this and shutting off the people of the city from their grain supplies. When he was within range, with the fire-arrows, of which he had many, he made an attack on the ships of the Rhodians that lay at anchor, with his ballistae he shook the walls, and with his catapults he cut down any who showed themselves. Then when the attack had become continuous and terrifying, the Rhodian ship-captains, after a fierce struggle to save their ships, put out the fire-arrows, and the magistrates, since the harbour was in danger of being taken, summoned the noblest citizens to undergo the perils of war for the sake of the common safety. When many responded with alacrity, they manned the three staunchest ships with picked men, whom they instructed to try to sink with their rams the ships that carried the engines of the enemy. These men, accordingly, pushed forward although missiles in large numbers were speeding against them; and at first they broke through the iron studded boom, and then by delivering repeated blows with

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cp. chap. 83. 4.

διωρμισμένα Fischer: διωρισμένα.

πλοίοις πολλάς ἐμβολάς δόντες καὶ θαλάττης αὐτά πληρώσαντες δύο μέν τῶν μηχανῶν κατέβαλον, τῆς δὲ τρίτης ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ, τὸν Δημήτριον εἰς τοὐπίσω τοῖς ρύμασιν ἐλκομένης οἱ μὲν 'Ρόδιοι θαρρήσαντες τοις κατωρθωμένοις θρασύτερον του 6 καθήκοντος προέπιπτον είς τὸν κίνδυνον. διὸ πολλῶν αὐτοῖς καὶ μεγάλων νεῶν περιχυθεισῶν καὶ τοῖς έμβόλοις πολλά μέρη τῶν τοίχων ἀναρρηττουσῶν<sup>1</sup> δ μέν ναύαρχος Έξήκεστος καὶ δ τριήραρχος καί τινες άλλοι κατατραυματισθέντες ήλωσαν, τοῦ δ' άλλου πλήθους ἐκκολυμβήσαντος καὶ διανηξαμένου πρός τους ίδίους μία μέν των νεών ύποχείριος έγένετο τοῖς περὶ τὸν Δημήτριον, αί δ' ἄλλαι δι-7 έφυγον τὸν κίνδυνον. τοιαύτης οὖν γενομένης τῆς ναυμαχίας δ μέν Δημήτριος ἄλλην μηχανήν κατεσκεύασε τριπλασίαν τῷ ὕψει καὶ πλάτει τῆς πρότερον, προσάγοντος δ' αὐτήν πρὸς τὸν λιμένα νότος έκνεφίας έπιγενόμενος τὰ μὲν ὁρμοῦντα τῶν πλοίων συνέκλυσε, την δε μηχανήν κατέβαλε. καθ' ον δή χρόνον οἱ 'Ρόδιοι τῷ καιρῷ δεξιῶς χρησάμενοι πύλην ἀνοίξαντες ἐπέθεντο τοῖς τὸ χῶμα κατειλη-8 φόσι. γενομένης δὲ μάχης ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἰσχυρας καί του μέν Δημητρίου διά τὸν χειμώνα μή δυναμένου βοηθήσαι, των δε Ροδίων έκ διαδοχής άγωνιζομένων ήναγκάσθησαν οί τοῦ βασιλέως ἀποθέμενοι τὰ ὅπλα παραδοῦναι σφᾶς αὐτούς, ὄντες 9 σχεδόν τετρακόσιοι. τούτων δὲ τῶν προτερημάτων νενομένων τοις 'Poδίοις κατέπλευσαν τῆ πόλει σύμμαχοι παρά μέν Κνωσσίων έκατὸν πεντήκοντα, παρά δέ Πτολεμαίου πλείους τῶν πεντακοσίων,

 $<sup>^1</sup>$  ἀναρρηττουσών Dindorf: ἀναρρηττόντων  $\mathrm{RX},$  ἀνορυττόντων F.

their rams upon the ships and filling them with 805 R.O. water, they overthrew two of the engines; but when the third was drawn back with ropes by the men of Demetrius, the Rhodians, encouraged by their successes, pressed on into the battle more boldly than was prudent. And so, when many large ships crowded around them and the sides of their own ships had been shattered in many places by the rams, the admiral Execestus, the trierarch, and some others were disabled by wounds and captured; and as the rest of its crew jumped into the sea and swam to their own fellows, one of the ships came into the possession of Demetrius; but the other ships escaped from the battle. When the naval battle had turned out in this way, Demetrius constructed another machine three times the size of the former in height and width; but while he was bringing this up to the harbour, a violent storm from the south sprang up, which swept over the ships that were anchored and overthrew the engine. And at this very time the Rhodians, shrewdly availing themselves of the situation, opened a gate and sallied out upon those who had occupied the mole. A severe battle ensued lasting for a long time : and since Demetrius could not send reinforcements because of the storm, and the Rhodians, on the other hand, were fighting in relays, the king's men were forced to lay down their arms and surrender, in number about four hundred. After the Rhodians had gained these advantages there sailed in as allies for the city one hundred and fifty soldiers from the Cnossians and more than five hundred from Ptolemy,

ῶν ἦσάν τινες 'Ρόδιοι μισθοφοροῦντες παρὰ τῷ βασιλεῖ.

Καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ τὴν ἐν Ῥόδω πολιορκίαν ἐν

τούτοις ήν.

89. Κατά δὲ τὴν Σικελίαν 'Αγαθοκλῆς οὐ δυνάμενος διαλύσασθαι πρός τους περί Δεινοκράτην φυγάδας ἀνέζευξεν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς μεθ' ης είχε δυνάμεως, νομίζων άναγκαῖον ὑπάρχειν αὐτῷ διακινδυνεύειν καὶ παραβάλλεσθαι περὶ τῶν ὅλων. συνηκολούθουν δ' αὐτῷ πεζοὶ μὲν οὐ πλείους τῶν 2 πεντακισχιλίων, ίππεις δε είς οκτακοσίους. οί δε περί Δεινοκράτην φυγάδες δρῶντες τὴν τῶν πολεμίων δρμήν ἄσμενοι κατήντησαν είς την μάχην, όντες πολλαπλάσιοι πεζοί μεν γάρ ύπηρχον πλείους των δισμυρίων καὶ πεντακισχιλίων, ίππεῖς δ' οὐκ έλάττους τρισχιλίων. άντιστρατοπεδευσάντων δ' αὐτῶν περὶ τὸ καλούμενον Τόργιον καὶ μετά ταῦτα παραταξαμένων έπ' ολίγον μεν χρόνον συνέστη καρτερά μάχη διὰ τὰς ἀμφοτέρων προθυμίας μετά δὲ ταθτα τῶν πρὸς τὸν Δεινοκράτην διαφερομένων τινές, όντες πλείους των δισχιλίων, μετεβάλοντο πρός του τύραννου καὶ τοῖς φυγάσιν αἴτιοι κατ-3 έστησαν της ήττης. οί μεν γάρ μετ' 'Αγαθοκλέους όντες πολύ μαλλον έθάρρησαν, οί δε Δεινοκράτει συναγωνιζόμενοι κατεπλάγησαν καὶ νομίσαντες πλείους είναι τούς άφισταμένους πρός φυγήν ώρμησαν. είθ' ὁ μὲν 'Αγαθοκλής διώξας αὐτοὺς μέχρι τινός και τοῦ φονεύειν ἀποσχόμενος διεπέμψατο πρός τούς ήττημένους, άξιων παύσασθαι μέν της

some of whom were Rhodians serving as mercenaries 305 n.c. in the king's army.

This was the state of the siege of Rhodes.1

 In Sicily Agathocles, since he had been unable to make terms with Deinocrates and the exiles, took the field against them with what forces he had, believing that it was necessary for him to fight a battle with them and stake everything on the result. Not more than five thousand foot soldiers followed him and horsemen to the number of eight hundred. Deinocrates and the exiles, when they saw the move made by the enemy, gladly came out to meet him in battle, being many times as strong; for their foot soldiers came to more than twenty-five thousand and their eavalry to not less than three thousand. When the armies had encamped opposite each other near the place called Torgium, and then were drawn up against each other in battle array, for a short time there was a stubborn battle because of the eagerness of both sides; but then some of those who were at odds with Deinocrates, more than two thousand in number, went over to the tyrant and were responsible for the defeat of the exiles. For those who were with Agathoeles gained much more confidence, and those who were fighting on the side of Deinocrates were dismayed and, overestimating the number of the deserters, broke into flight. Then Agathocles, after pursuing them for a certain distance and refraining from slaughter, sent envoys to the defeated and asked them to put an end to the quarrel and return

Continued in chap. 91. <sup>2</sup> Continued from chap. 79. The exact position is unknown.

¹ Τόργιον Ortelius and Cluverius from Hesychius: Γόργιον RX, Γοργόνιον F.

διαφοράς, καταπορευθήναι δ' είς τὰς πατρίδας. είληφέναι γαρ αὐτοὺς πεῖραν τοῦ μηδέποτ' ἄν δύνασθαι περιγενέσθαι τούς φυγάδας άγωνιζομένους πρός αὐτόν, ὅτε καὶ νῦν πολλαπλασίους ὄντας 4 αὐτοὺς ἡττῆσθαι. τῶν δὲ φυγάδων οἱ μὲν ἱππεῖς ἄπαντες ἀπὸ τῆς φυγῆς διεσώθησαν εἰς "Λμβικας χωρίον, των δε πεζών ένιοι μεν νυκτός επινενομένης διέδρασαν, οί δὲ πλείους καταλαβόμενοι λόφον καὶ τὴν μὲν ἐκ τοῦ διαγωνίζεσθαι νίκην ἀπελπίσαντες, ἐπιθυμοῦντες δὲ συγγενῶν φίλων καὶ πατρίδος καὶ τῶν ἐν ταύτη καλῶν διελύ-5 σαντο πρὸς 'Αγαθοκλέα. λαβόντων οὖν αὐτῶν πίστεις καὶ καταβάντων ἀπό τινος ἐρυμνοῦ λόφου τὰ μέν ὅπλα παρείλετο, τὴν δὲ δύναμιν περιστήσας άπαντας κατηκόντισεν, όντας περί έπτακισχιλίους, ώς Τίμαιός φησιν, ώς δ' ένιοι γράφουσιν, είς τετρακισχιλίους αξι γάρ ο τύραννος οῦτος πίστεως μὲν καί τῶν ὅρκων κατεφρόνει, τὴν δ' ἰδίαν ἰσχὺν οὐκ έκ της περί αὐτὸν δυνάμεως, ἀλλ' ἐκ της τῶν ὑποτεταγμένων ἀσθενείας περιεποιείτο, πλείον δεδοικώς τούς συμμάχους η τούς πολεμίους.

90. Την δε αντιτεταγμένην δύναμιν οὕτω διαφθείρας προσεδέξατο τοὺς ὑπολελειμμένους τῶν φυγάδων καὶ πρὸς Δεινοκράτην διαλυθεὶς στρατηγὸν αὐτὸν μέρους τῆς δυνάμεως ἀπέδειξε καὶ διετέλεσε πιστεύων τὰ μέγιστα. θαυμάσειε δ' ἄν τις ἐν τούτοις τὸν 'Αγαθοκλέα, πῶς πρὸς ἄπαντας ὑπόπτως ἔχων καὶ μηδέποτε μηδενὶ βεβαίως πιστεύσας πρὸς μόνον Δεινοκράτην διετήρησε τὴν φιλίαν μέχρι τε-2 λευτῆς. ὁ δὲ Δεινοκράτης προδοὺς τοὺς συμμάχους τὸν μὲν Πασίφιλον ἐν τῆ Γέλα συναρπάσας ἀπ-

to their native cities; for, he said, they had found by 305 H.C. experience that the exiles would never be able to prevail in a battle with him, seeing that even on this occasion, although they were many times more numerous, they had been defeated. Of the exiles, all the horsemen survived the flight and came safe into Ambicae 1; but as for the foot soldiers, although some escaped when night came on, most of them after occupying a hill made terms with Agathocles, for they had lost hope of victory by fighting and longed for their relatives and friends and for their fatherland and its comforts. Now when they had received pledges of good faith and had come down from the hill-fort, such as it was, Agathocles took their arms; and then, stationing his army about them, he shot them all down, their number being about seven thousand, as Timaeus says, but as some have written, about four thousand. Indeed, this tyrant always scorned faith and his oaths: and he maintained his own power, not by the strength of his armed forces but by the weakness of his subjects, fearing his allies more than his enemies.

90. When he had destroyed in this manner the army that had been arrayed against him, Agathocles received any exiles who survived and, making terms with Deinocrates, appointed him general over part of his army and continued to entrust the most important matters to him. In this connection one might well wonder why Agathocles, who was suspicious of everyone and never completely trusted anybody, continued his friendship toward Deinocrates alone until death. But Deinocrates, after betraying his allies, seized and slew Pasiphilus in Gela and handed the

Or Ambycae. The place is unknown.

έκτεινεν, τὰ δὲ φρούρια καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἐνεχείρισεν ἀγαθοκλεῖ, διετῆ χρόνον ἀναλώσας εἰς τὴν τῶν

πολεμίων παράθεσιν.

3 Κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἰταλίαν 'Ρωμιῖοι μὲν Παιλιγνους¹ καταπολεμήσαντες τὴν χώραν ἀφείλοντο καί τισι τῶν δοξάντων τὰ 'Ρωμαίων πεφρονηκέναι μετέδωκαν τῆς πολιτείας. μετὰ δὲ ταιτα Σαμνιτῶν τὴν Φαλερνῖτιν πορθούντων ἀνέζευξαν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς οἱ ὕπατοι καὶ γενομένης παρατάξεως προετέρησαν οἱ ⁴ 'Ρωμαῖοι. σημείας μὲν οὖν εἶκον εἴκοσι, στρατιώτας δ' ἐζώγρησαν ὑπὲρ τοὺς δισχιλίους. τῶν δ' ὑπάτων εὐθὺς ἐλόντων πόλιν Βῶλαν, Γέλλιος Γάιος ὁ τῶν Σαμνιτῶν ἡγεμὼν ἐφάνη μετὰ στρατιωτῶν ἑξακισχιλίων. γενομένης δὲ μάχης ἰσχυρῶς αὐτός τε ὁ Γέλλιος ἑάλω καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Σαμνιτῶν οἱ πλεῖστοι μὲν κατεκόπησαν, τινὲς δε καὶ ζῶντες συνελήφθησαν. οἱ δ' ὕπατοι τοιούτοις προτερήμασι χρησάμενοι τῶν συμμαχίδων πόλεων τὰς ἀλούσας ἀνεκτήσαντο Σώραν, 'Αρπίναν καὶ Σερεννίαν.

91. Τοῦ δ' ἐνιαυσίου χρόνου διεληλυθότος 'Αθήνησι μὲν ἦρχε Φερεκλῆς, ἐν 'Ρώμη δὲ τὴν ὑπατικὴν 
ἀρχὴν διεδέξαντο Πόπλιος Σεμπρώνιος καὶ Πόπλιος 
Σολπίκιος, ὀλυμπιὰς δ' ἤχθη παρὰ τοῖς 'Ηλείοις 
ἐνάτη πρὸς ταῖς ἐκατὸν δέκα, καθ' ἡν ἐνίκα στάδιον 
'Ανδρομένης Κορίνθιος. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων Δημήτριος

Continued in chap. 101.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Παιλιγνούς Fischer in apparatus (cp. Ptolemaeus, Geography, 3. 1. 16. 55): Παλινίους RX, Παληνίους F.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Continued from chap. 80. Cp. Livy, 9. 44.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> The Ager Falernus is in northern Campania, a little to the west of the Ager Stellatinus where Livy places these Samnite raids.

strongholds and the cities to Agathoeles, spending some.

two years in the delivery of the enemy.1

In Italy 2 the Romans defeated the Paeligni and took their land, and to some of those who seemed well disposed toward Rome, they granted citizenship. Thereafter, since the Samnites were plundering Falernitis,2 the consuls took the field against them, and in the battle that followed the Romans were victorious. They took twenty standards and made prisoners of more than two thousand soldiers. The consuls at once took the city of Bola, but Gellius Gaius, the leader of the Samnites, appeared with six thousand soldiers. A hard fought battle took place in which Gellius himself was made prisoner, and of the other Samnites most were cut down but some were captured alive. The consuls, taking advantage of such victories, recovered those allied cities that had been captured : Sora, Harpina, and Scrennia.4

91. When that year had passed, Pherecles became 301 k.c. archon in Athens and in Rome Publius Sempronius and Publius Sulpicius received the consulship<sup>5</sup>; and in Elis the Olympian Games were celebrated for the one hundred and nineteenth time, at which celebration Andromenes of Corinth won the footrace. While

<sup>6</sup> Pherecles was archon in 304/3 n.c. Livy, 9, 45, 1, gives the consuls of 304 n.c. as P. Sulpicius Saverrio and P. Sem-

pronius Sophus.

<sup>4</sup> Livy (9. 44) places three battles in this year, the first indecisive, the other two decisive Roman victories with 21 standards captured in one and 26 in the other. According to him Bovianum (not Bola, which is unknown) was captured after the second battle (not between them), the Samnite leader is named Statius Gellius (not Gellius Gaius), and the three cities recovered are Sora, Arpinum, and Cesennia (or Censennia). Diodorus returns to Italian affairs in chap. 101. 5.

μέν 'Ρόδον πολιορκών, ἐπὶ ταῖς κατὰ θάλατταν προσβολαῖς ἀποτυγχάνων, ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς διέγνω τὰς 2 έπιθέσεις ποιείσθαι. παρασκευασάμενος οθν ύλης παντοίας πληθος κατεσκεύασε μηχανήν την καλουμένην έλέπολιν, ύπεραίρουσαν πολύ τῷ μεγέθει τῶν προ αὐτης γενομένων. ἐσχαρίου γὰρ ὅντος τετραγώνου την μεν πλευράν εκάστην ύπεστήσατο πηχών σχεδον πεντήκοντα, συμπεπηγυΐαν έκ τετραγώνων ξύλων σιδήρω δεδεμένων την δε ανά μέσον χώραν διέλαβε δοκοις άλλήλων απεχούσαις ώσανει πηχυν, οπως παράστασις ή τοις προωθείν την μηχανήν 3 μέλλουσιν. τὸ δὲ πᾶν βάρος ἢν ὑπότροχον, στερεοῖς και μεγάλοις όκτω τροχοις υπειλημμένον τα γαρ πάχη τῶν ἀψίδων ὑπῆρχε πηχῶν δυεῖν, σεσιδηρωμένα λεπίσιν ζοχυραίς. πρός δε την εκ πλαγίας μετάθεσιν ήσαν άντίστρεπτα πεπραγματευμένα, δι' ων ή πασα μηχανή ραδίως παντοίαν υπελάμβανε 4 κίνησιν. ἐκ δὲ τῶν γωνιῶν ὑπῆρχον κίονες ἴσοι τῶ μήκει, βραχὺ λείποντες τῶν ἐκατὸν πηχῶν, ούτως συννενευκότες είς άλλήλους ώς τοῦ παντός κατασκευάσματος όντος έννεαστέγου την μεν πρώτην στένην ὑπάρχειν ἀκαινῶν³ τεσσαράκοντα τριῶν.

1 προωθείν Reiske : παρωθείν.

3 ἀκαινῶν Fischer: κλινῶν.

1 Continued from chap. 88. For the siege of Rhodes cp.

Plutarch, Demetrius, 21-22.

3 About 75 feet. Tarn (Hellenistic Military and Naval

<sup>2</sup> την έκ πλαγίας μετάθεσιν Reiske: ταις έκ πλαγίας μεταθέσεσιν RX, ταις πλαγίαις μεταθέσεσιν F.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Literally, "taker of cities." Cp. the helepolis described in chap. 48. 2. According to Vitruvius, 10. 16. 4, this helepolis was built by Epimachus of Athens. Cp. Plutarch, Demetrius, 21. 1, and Athenaeus in Wescher, Poliorcétique, pp. 27 ff.

these held office, Demetrius,1 who was besieging 304 B.C. Rhodes, failing in his assaults by sea, decided to make his attacks by land. Having provided therefore a large quantity of material of all kinds, he built an engine called the helepolis,2 which far surpassed in size those which had been constructed before it. Each side of the square platform he made almost fifty cubits in length, a framed together from squared timber and fastened with iron; the space within he divided by bars set about a cubit 4 from each other so that there might be standing space for those who were to push the machine forward. The whole structure was movable, mounted on eight great solid wheels: the width of their rims was two cubits and these were overlaid with heavy iron plates. permit motion to the side, pivots had been constructed,5 by means of which the whole device was easily moved in any direction. From each corner there extended upward beams equal in length and little short of a hundred cubits long, inclining toward each other in such a way that, the whole structure being nine storeys high, the first storey had an area of forty-three hundred square feet and the topmost

Developments, pp. 15-16) suggests that there was a shorter Macedonian cubit of about 13 inches. This would reduce all the figures given in the notes by about 30 per cent, which seems probable in most cases, but impossible in the spacing of the crossbeams, see next note.

4 About 18 inches. Probably these crossbars or beams were below the platform, which would protect the men who stood on the ground and moved the tower by pushing on the bars. It is possible, however, that the "platform" was simply an open frame of cross timbers, between which the men stood.

i.e. the axles were connected to the frame by vertical

pivots, castor fashion.

5 την δ' ἀνωτάτω ἐννέα. τὰς δὲ τρεῖς ἐπιφανεῖς¹ πλευράς της μηχανης έξωθεν συνεκάλυψε λεπίσι σιδηραῖς καθηλωμέναις, ἵνα μηδὲν ὑπὸ τῶν πυρ-φόρων βλάπτηται. θυρίδας δ'εξίχον αἱ στέγαι κατὰ πρόσωπον, τοῖς μεγέθεσι καὶ τοῖς σχήμασι πρὸς τὰς ἰδιότητας τῶν μελλόντων ἀφίεσθαι βελῶν άρμο-6 ζούσας. αδται δέ είχον καλύμματα διά μηχανής άνασπώμενα, δι' ὧν ἀσφάλειαν ἐλάμβανον οί κατὰ τὰς στέγας περὶ τὴν ἄφεσιν τῶν βελῶν ἀναστρεφόμενοι ήσαν μεν γάρ εκ βυρσών περιερραμμένα, πλήρη δὲ ἐρίων, εἰς τὸ τῆ πληγῆ² ἐνδιδόναι τῶν η λιθοβόλων. έκάστη δὲ τῶν στεγῶν είχε δύο κλίμακας πλατείας, ὧν τῆ μὲν πρός τὴν ἀνακομιδὴν τῶν χρησίμων, τῆ δὲ πρὸς τὴν κατάβασιν ἐχρῶντο πρός τὸ χωρὶς θορύβου πῶν ὑπηρετεῖσθαι. οἱ δὲ μέλλοντες κινήσειν τὴν μηχανὴν ἐξελέχθησαν ἐξ ἀπάσης τῆς δυνάμεως οἱ ταῖς ῥώμαις διαφέροντες 8 ἄνδρες τρισχίλιοι καὶ τετρακόσιοι τούτων δ' οί μεν εντός ἀποληφθέντες, οί δ' εκ των ὅπισθεν μερών παριστάμενοι προεώθουν, πολλά τῆς τέχνης συνεργούσης είς την κίνησιν. κατεσκεύασε δε καί χελώνας τὰς μὲν χωστρίδας, τὰς δὲ κριοφόρους καὶ στοάς δι' ὧν ἔμελλον οί τοῖς ἔργοις προσιόντες έλεύσεσθαι καὶ πάλιν ἐπιστρέψειν ἀσφαλῶς. τοῖς δ' ἐκ τῶν νεῶν πληρώμασιν ἀνεκάθαρε⁴ τὸν τόπον έπὶ σταδίους τέτταρας, δι' ὧν ἔμελλεν προσάξειν

ἐπιφανεῖς added by Fischer, cp. Pol. 8. 4. 8.
 <sup>2</sup> τῆ πληγῆ Dindorf: τὴν πληγὴν.
 <sup>3</sup> προεώθουν Wesseling: προσώθουν.
 <sup>4</sup> ἀνεκάθαρε Fischer: ἀνεκάθαιρε RX, ἀνεκάθηρε F.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The tower then would be nearly 150 feet high, about 30 feet square at the top and  $65\frac{1}{2}$  feet square at the base. If 384

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storey of nine hundred.1 The three exposed sides 304 B.C. of the machine he covered externally with iron plates nailed on so that it should receive no injury from fire carriers. On cash storey there were ports on the front, in size and shape fitted to the individual characteristics of the missiles that were to be shot forth. These ports had shutters, which were lifted by a mechanical device and which secured the safety of the men on the platforms who were busy serving the artillery: for the shutters were of hides stitched together and were filled with wool so that they would vield to the blows of the stones from the ballistae. Each of the storeys had two wide stairways, one of which they used for bringing up what was needed and the other for descending, in order that all might be taken care of without confusion. Those who were to move the machine were selected from the whole army, three thousand four hundred 2 men excelling in strength; some of them were enclosed within the machine while others were stationed in its rear, and they pushed it forward, the skilful design aiding greatly in its motion. He also constructed penthouses-some to protect the men who were filling the moat, others to carry rams-and covered passages through which those who were going to their labours might go and return safely. Using the crews of the ships, he cleared a space four stades wide through which he planned to advance the siege engines he

the platform was 75 feet square, a ledge about 5 feet wide would be left about the base of the tower.

Either they worked in relays or this figure includes all the men employed for moving the various machines, towers, and penthouses. Allowing five square feet to the man, a minimum if they were to work effectively, 3400 men would occupy 17,000 sq. ft., three times the area of the helopolis.

τὰς κατασκευασθείσας μηχανάς, ὥστε γίνεσθαι τὸ ἔργον ἐπὶ μῆκος μεσοπυργίων εξ καὶ πύργων ἐπτά. τὸ δ' ἠθροισμένον πλῆθος τῶν τεχνιτῶν καὶ τῶν τοις ἔργοις προσιόντων οὐ ποκὰ ἐλείπετο τῶν τρισ-

μυρίων.

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92. Διόπερ τῆ πολυχειρία τάχιον τῆς προσδοκίας άπάντων ἐπιτελουμένων φοβερὸς ἢν ὁ Δημήτριος τοις 'Ροδίοις. οὐ μόνον γὰρ τὰ μεγέθη τῶν μηχανῶν καὶ τὸ πληθος της ήθροισμένης δυνάμεως ἐξέπληττεν αὐτούς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ τοῦ βασιλέως βίαιον 2 καὶ φιλότεχνον ἐν ταῖς πολιορκίαις. εὐμήχανος γὰρ ών καθ' ύπερβολήν έν ταις έπινοίαις και πολλά παρὰ τὴν τῶν ἀρχιτεκτόνων τέχνην παρευρίσκων ωνομάσθη μεν πολιορκητής, την δ' εν ταις προσβολαῖς ὑπεροχὴν καὶ βίαν τοιαύτην εἶχεν ὤστε δόξαι μηδὲν οὕτως ὀχυρὸν εἶναι τεῖχος ὃ δύναιτ' αν την απ' εκείνου τοις πολιορκουμένοις ασφά-3 λειαν παρέχεσθαι. ην δέ καὶ κατά το μέγεθος τοῦ σώματος καὶ κατὰ τὸ κάλλος ἡρωικὸν ἀποφαίνων άξίωμα, ώστε καὶ τοὺς ἀφικνουμένους τῶν ξένων θεωρούντας εὐπρέπειαν κεκοσμημένην ὑπεροχῆ βασιλική θαυμάζειν καὶ παρακολουθεῖν ἐν ταῖς ἐξόδοις 4 ένεκεν της θέας. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις ὑπηρχε καὶ τη ψυχη μετέωρος καὶ μεγαλοπρεπής καὶ καταφρονών οὐ τῶν πολλῶν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐν ταῖς δυναστείαις όντων, καὶ τὸ πάντων ιδιώτατον, κατά μέν την ειρήνην εν μέθαις διέτριβε καὶ συμποσίοις έχουσιν ορχήσεις και κώμους και το σύνολον εζήλου την μυθολογουμένην ποτέ γενέσθαι κατ' ἀνθρώπους τοῦ Διονύσου διάθεσιν, κατά δὲ τοὺς πολέμους ένεργὸς ἦν καὶ νήφων, ώστε παρὰ πάντας τούς έργατευομένους έναγώνιον παρέχεσθαι τὸ σῶμα καὶ

had prepared, wide enough so that it covered a front 304 s.c. of six curtains and seven towers. The number of craftsmen and labourers collected was not much less

than thirty thousand

92. As everything, therefore, because of the many hands was finished sooner than was expected, Demetrius was regarded with alarm by the Rhodians; for not only did the size of the siege engines and the number of the army which had been gathered stun them, but also the king's energy and ingenuity in conducting sieges. For, being exceedingly ready in invention and devising many things beyond the art of the master builders, he was called Poliorectes 1; and he displayed such superiority and force in his attacks that it seemed that no wall was strong enough to furnish safety from him for the besieged. Both in stature and in beauty he displayed the dignity of a hero, so that even those strangers who had come from a distance, when they beheld his comeliness arrayed in royal splendour, marvelled at him and followed him as he went abroad in order to gaze Furthermore, he was haughty in spirit and proud and looked down not only upon common men but also upon those of royal estate; and what was most peculiar to him, in time of peace he devoted his time to winebibbing and to drinking bouts accompanied by dancing and revels, and in general he emulated the conduct said by mythology to have been that of Dionysus among men; but in his wars he was active and sober, so that beyond all others who practised this profession he devoted both body

i.e. "stormer of cities." Cp. Plutarch, Demetrius, 2-1, for his character.

5 τὴν ψυχήν. ἐπὶ γὰρ τούτου βέλη τὰ μέγιστα συνετελέσθη καὶ μηχαναὶ παντοῖαι πολὺ τὰς παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις γενομένας ὑπεραίρουσαι καὶ σκάφη δὲ μέγιστα καθείλκυσεν οὖτος μετὰ τὴν πολιορκίαν

ταύτην καὶ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς τελευτήν. 93. Οἱ δὲ 'Ρόδιοι θεωροῦντες τὴν προκοπὴν τῶν

παρά τοις πολεμίοις έργων κατεσκεύασαν έντος έτερον τείχος παράλληλον τῷ μέλλοντι πονείν κατά τάς προσβολάς. έχρωντο δε λίθοις καθαιρούντες τοῦ θεάτρου τὸν περίβολον καὶ τὰς πλησίον οἰκίας, έτι δὲ τῶν ἱερῶν ἔνια, τοῖς θεοῖς εὐξάμενοι καλ-2 λίονα κατασκευάσειν σωθείσης της πόλεως. έπεμψαν δὲ καὶ τῶν νεῶν ἐννέα, διακελευσάμενοι τους άφηγουμένους πανταχή πλείν και παραδόξως έπιφαινομένους & μέν βυθίζειν τών άλισκομένων πλοίων, α δε κατάγειν είς την πόλιν. εκπλευσάντων δὲ τούτων καὶ τριχῆ διαιρεθέντων Δαμόφιλος μέν έχων ναθς τὰς καλουμένας παρὰ 'Ροδίοις φυλακίδας ἔπλευσεν εἰς Κάρπαθον καὶ πολλὰ μέν πλοῖα των Δημητρίου καταλαβών, ἃ μὲν τοῖς ἐμβόλοις θραύων κατεπόντιζεν, ἃ δ' ἐπὶ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν κομίζων ένεπύριζεν, έκλεγόμενος των σωμάτων τὰ χρησιμώτατα, οὐκ ὀλίγα δὲ τῶν κομιζόντων τοὺς ἐκ της νήσου καρπούς κατήγαγεν είς την πατρίδα.

3 Μενέδημος δε τριῶν ἀφηγούμενος τριημιολιῶν πλεύσας τῆς Λυκίας ἐπὶ τὰ Πάταρα καὶ καταλαβῶν όρμοῦσαν ναῦν τοῦ πληρώματος ἐπὶ γῆς ὅντος ἐνεπύρισε τὸ σκάφος, πολλὰ δὲ πλοῦα τῶν κομιζόντων τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ὑποχείρια

and mind to the task. For it was in his time that the 204 n.c. greatest weapons were perfected and engines of all kinds far surpassing those that had existed among others; and this man launched the greatest ships after this siege I and after the death of his father.

93. When the Rhodians saw the progress of the enemy's siege works, they built a second wall inside parallel to the one that was on the point of failing under the attacks. They used stones obtained by tearing down the theatre's outer wall and the adjacent houses, and also some of the temples, vowing to the gods that they would build finer ones when the city had been saved. They also sent out nine of their ships, giving the commanders orders to sail in every direction and, appearing unexpectedly, to sink some of the ships they intercepted and bring others to the city. After these had sailed out and had been divided into three groups, Damophilus, who had ships of the kind called by the Rhodians "guardships," sailed to Carpathos :; and finding there many of Demetrius' ships, he sank some, shattering them with his rams, and some he beached and burnt after selecting the most useful men from their crews, and not a few of those that were transporting the grain from the island, he brought back to Rhodes. Menedemus, who commanded three light undecked ships,3 sailed to Patara in Lycia; and finding at anchor there a ship whose crew was on shore, he set the hull on fire; and he took many of the freighters that were carrying provisions to the army and dispatched them

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cp. Plutarch, Demetrius, 31. 1, 32. 2, 43. 3-5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> An island between Rhodes and Crete.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Literally, three "one and a halves," perhaps ships with one and one half banks of oars; or more probably, with half the oars manned by two men, half by one.

4 λαβὼν ἐξαπέστειλεν εἰς τὴν 'Ρόδον. εἶλε δὲ καὶ τετρήρη πλέουσαν μὲν ἐκ Κιλικίας, ἔχουσαν δ' ἐσθῆτα βασιλικὴν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἀποσκευὴν ἢν ἡ γυνὴ Δημητρίου Φίλα παρασκευασαμένη φιλοτιμότερον ἀπεστάλκει τἀνδρί. τὸν μὲν οὖν ἱματισμὸν ἀπέστειλεν εἰς Αἴγυπτον, οὐσῶν τῶν στολῶν άλουργῶν καὶ βασιλεῖ φορεῖν πρεπουσῶν, τὴν δὲ ναῦν ἐνεώλκησεν καὶ τοὺς ναύτας ἀπέδοτο τούς τ' ἐκ τῆς τετρήρους καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων πλοίων τῶν 5 ἀλόντων. τῶν δ' ὑπολοίπων νεῶν τριῶν 'Λμύντας ἡγούμενος ἔπλευσεν ἐπὶ νήσων καὶ πολλοῖς πλοίοις περιτυχὼν κομίζουσι τὰ πρὸς τὰς μηχανὰς ἀρμόζοντα τοῖς πολεμίοις ἃ μὲν αὐτῶν κατέδυσεν, ἃ δὲ κατήγαγεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ἐν οῖς ἑάλωσαν καὶ τεχνῖται τῶν ἀξιολόγων καὶ πρὸς βέλη καὶ κατα-

πέλτας έμπειρία διαφέροντες ένδεκα.

6 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐκκλησίας συναχθείσης συνεβούλευόν τινες τὰς εἰκόνας τὰς ᾿Αντιγόνου καὶ Δημητρίου κατασπάσαι, δεινὸν εἶναι λέγοντες ἐν ἴσω
τιμᾶσθαι τοὺς πολιορκοῦντας τοῖς εὐεργέταις· ἐφ᾽
οἷς ὁ δῆμος ἀγανακτήσας τούτοις μὲν ὡς άμαρτάνουσιν ἐπετίμησεν, τῶν δὲ περὶ ᾿Αντίγονον τιμῶν
οὐδεμίαν μετεκίνησεν, καλῶς πρός τε δόξαν¹ καὶ τὸ
7 συμφέρον βουλευσάμενος. ἤ τε γὰρ μεγαλοψυχία
καὶ τὸ βέβαιον τῆς ἐν δημοκρατία κρίσεως παρὰ
μὲν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐπαίνων ἐτύγχανε, παρὰ δὲ τοῖς
πολιορκοῦσι μεταμελείας· τὰς γὰρ κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα πόλεις οὐδεμίαν ἐνδεδειγμένας εὔνοιαν εἰς
τοὺς εὐεργέτας ἐλευθεροῦντες τὴν διὰ τῆς πείρας
φανεῖσαν βεβαιοτάτην εἰς ἀμοιβὴν χάριτος ἐφαί
1 πρίς το δόξαν Βρίκλος ποὰς τὰν δόξον Wasseling · ποὰς πὸ

1 πρίς το δόξαν Βρίκλος ποὰς τὰν δόξον Wasseling · ποὰς πὸ

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1 πρίς το δόξον Βρίκλος ποὰς τὰν δόξον Ψονενείνας · ποὰς πὸ

1 πρίς το δόξον Βρίκλος ποὰς τὰν δόξον Βρίκλος · ποὰς πὸ

1 πρίς το δόξον Βρίκλος ποὰς τὰν δόξον Ψονενείνας · ποὰς πὸ

1 πρίς το δόξον Βρίκλος ποὰς τὰν δόξον Ψονενείνας · ποὰς πὸ

1 πρίς το δόξον Βρίκλος ποὰς τὰν δόξον Ψονενείνας · ποὰς πὸ

1 πρίς το δόξον Βρίκλος πὸς τὰν δόξον Ψονενείνας · ποὰς πὸ

1 πρίς το δόξον Βρίκλος πὸ δίχον Βρίκλος πὸ δίχον Βρίκλος πὸ τοῦς και Δεικούν και

 $<sup>^1</sup>$  πρός τε δόξαν Reiske, πρός τὴν δόξαν Wesseling : πρός τὸ δόξαν.

to Rhodes. He also captured a quadrireme that was 304 B.C. sailing from Cilicia and had on board royal robes and the rest of the outfit that Demetrius' wife Phila had with great pains made ready and sent off for her husband. The clothing Damophilus sent to Egypt since the garments were purple and proper for a king to wear; but the ship he hauled up on land, and he sold the sailors, both those from the quadrireme and those from the other captured ships. Amyntas, who was in command of the three remaining ships, made for islands where he fell in with many freighters carrying to the enemy materials useful for the engines of war; he sank some of these and some he brought to the city. On these ships were also captured eleven famous engineers, man of outstanding skill in making missiles and catapults.

Thereafter, when an assembly had been convened, some advised that the statues of Antigonus and Demetrius should be pulled down, saying that it was absurd to honour equally their besiegers and their benefactors. At this the people were angry and censured these men as erring, and they altered none of the honours awarded to Antigonus, having made a wise decision with a view both to fame and to self interest. For the magnanimity and the soundness of this action in a democracy won plaudits from all others and repentance from the besiegers; for while the latter were setting free the cities throughout Greece, which had displayed no goodwill at all toward their benefactors, they were manifestly trying to enslave the city that in practice showed itself most

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cp. chap. 53.

νοντο καταδουλούμενοι πρός τε το παράδοξον τής τύχης, ει συμβαίη την πόλιν άλωναι, κατελείπετ' αὐτοις προς παραίτησιν της τηρηθείσης ὑπ' αὐτων φιλίας ἀνάμνησις. ταῦτα μἐν οῦν τοις 'Ροδίοις

ἐπράχθη συνετῶς.

94. Δημητρίου δὲ διὰ τῶν μεταλλέων ὑπορύξαντος το τεῖχος τῶν αὐτομόλων τις ἐμήνυσε τοῖς πολιορκουμένοις ώς οί ταις ύπονομαις χρώμενοι 2 σχεδόν έντός είσι τοῦ τείχους. διόπερ οἱ Ῥόδιοι τάφρον ορύξαντες βαθείαν, παράλληλον τῷ δοκοῦντι πεσείσθαι τείχει, ταχύ καὶ αὐτοὶ ταῖς μεταλλείαις χρώμενοι συνηψαν ύπο γην τοις έναντίοις και δι-3 εκώλυσαν της είς τουμπροσθεν πορείας. των δέ διορυγμάτων παρ' άμφοτέροις τηρουμένων έπεχείρησάν τινες των παρά του Δημητρίου διαφθείρειν χρήμασι τὸν τεταγμένον ἐπὶ τῆς φυλακῆς ὑπὸ τῶν Ροδίων 'Αθηναγόραν οδτος δ' ήν Μιλήσιος μέν τὸ γένος, ὑπὸ Πτολεμαίου δ' ἐξαπεσταλμένος ἡγεμών 4 τῶν μισθοφόρων. ἐπαγγειλάμενος δὲ προδώσειν συνετάξαθ' ἡμέραν καθ' ἢν ἔδει παρὰ Δημητρίου πεμφθήναι τινα των άξιολόγων ήγεμόνων του νυκτὸς ἀναβησόμενον διὰ τοῦ ὀρύγματος εἰς τὴν πόλιν, όπως κατασκέψηται τὸν τόπον τὸν μέλλοντα 5 δέξασθαι τοὺς στρατιώτας. εἰς ἐλπίδας δὲ μεγάλας άγαγών τους περί Δημήτριον εμήνυσε τη βουλή. καὶ πέμψαντος τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν φίλων `Αλέξανδρον τὸν Μακεδόνα τοῦτον μὲν ἀναβάντα διά της διώρυχος συνέλαβον οι 'Ρόδιοι, τὸν δ' 'Αθηναγόραν ἐστεφάνωσαν χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ καὶ δω-ρεὰν ἔδωκαν ἀργυρίου τάλαντα πέντε, σπεύδοντες καὶ τῶν ἄλλων μισθοφόρων καὶ ξένων ἐκκαλεῖσθαι την πρός τον δήμον εύνοιαν.

constant in repaying favours; and as protection 304 u.c. against the sudden shift of fortune if the war should result in the capture of Rhodes, the Rhodians retained as a means of gaining mercy the memory of the friendship that they had preserved. These things,

then, were done prudently by the Rhodians.

94. When Demetrius had undermined the wall by using his sappers, one of the deserters informed the besieged that those who were working underground were almost within the walls. Therefore the Rhodians by digging a deep trench parallel to the wall which was expected to collapse and by quickly undertaking mining operations themselves, made contact with their opponents underground and prevented them from advancing farther. Now the mines were closely watched by both sides, and some of Demetrius' men tried to bribe Athenagoras, who had been given command of the guard by the Rhodians. This man was a Milesian by descent, sent by Ptolemy as commander of the mercenaries.1 Promising to turn traitor he set a day on which one of the ranking leaders should be sent from Demetrius to go by night through the mine up into the city in order to inspect the position where the soldiers would assemble. But after leading Demetrius on to great hopes, he disclosed the matter to the council; and when the king sent one of his friends, Alexander the Macedonian, the Rhodians captured him as he came up through the mine. They crowned Athenagoras with a golden crown and gave him a gift of five talents of silver. their object being to stimulate loyalty to the city on the part of the other men who were mercenaries and foreigners.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cp. chap. 88. 9.

95. Δημήτριος δὲ τῶν τε μηχανῶν αὐτῷ τέλος έγουσών καὶ τοῦ πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος τόπου παντὸς άνακαθαρθέντος την μεν ελέπολιν μέσην έστησε, τάς δε χωστρίδας χελώνας επιδεείλεν, οὔσας¹ ὀκτώ· κατέστησεν δ' εἰς εκάτερον μέρος τῆς μηχανῆς τέτταρας καὶ τούτων ἐκάστη συνῆψεν στοὰν μίαν els τὸ δύνασθαι μετ' ἀσφαλείας ἐπιτελεῖν τὸ προσταττόμενον τους εἰσιόντας τε καὶ πάλιν εξιόντας. κριοφόρους δὲ δύο πολλαπλασίας τοῖς μεγέθεσιν. είνε γαρ έκατέρα δοκόν πηγών έκατον είκοσι, σεσιδηρωμένην και την εμβολήν έχουσαν παραπλησίαν νεώς εμβόλω, και προωθουμένην μεν εὐκινήτως, υπότρογον δέ και την έναγώνιον ενέργειαν λαμβάνουσαν δι' άνδρῶν οὐκ ἐλαττόνων ἢ χιλίων. 2 μέλλων δὲ προσάγειν τὰς μηχανὰς τοῖς τείχεσι τοὺς μέν πετροβόλους καὶ τοὺς όξυβελεῖς παρήνεγκε τῆς έλεπόλεως είς έκάστην στέγην τούς άρμόζοντας. 3 έπὶ δὲ τοὺς λιμένας καὶ τοὺς πλησίον τόπους απέστειλε την ναυτικήν δύναμιν, πρός δὲ τὸ λοιπὸν τείχος τὸ δυνάμενον προσβολάς δέξασθαι τὸ πεζὸν 4 στρατόπεδον ἐπιδιείλεν. ἔπειτα δὲ πρὸς ἕν παρακέλευσμα καὶ σημεῖον πάντων συναλαλαξάντων πανταχόθεν τῆ πόλει προσβολάς ἐποιεῖτο. διασείοντος δ' αὐτοῦ τοῖς κριοῖς καὶ τοῖς πετροβόλοις τὰ τείχη παρεγενήθησαν Κνιδίων πρέσβεις, άξιοθντες έπισχείν και πείσειν έπαγγελλόμενοι τούς 'Ροδίους δέχεσθαι τὰ δυνατώτατα τῶν προσ-5 ταγμάτων. ἀνέντος δè τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τῶν

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> εἰs after οὕσας omitted by Hertlein.
<sup>2</sup> ἐκατέρα δοκὸν Reiske: ἐκατέραν.

#### BOOK XX, 95, 1-5

95. Demetrius, when his engines of war were com- 304 B.C. pleted and all the space before the walls was cleared. stationed the helepolis in the centre, and assigned positions to the penthouses, eight in number, which were to protect the sappers. He placed four of these on each side of the helepolis and connected with each of them one covered passage so that the men who were going in and out might accomplish their assigned tasks in safety; and he brought up also two enormous penthouses in which battering rams were mounted. For each shed held a ram with a length of one hundred and twenty cubits, sheathed with iron and striking a blow like that of a ship's ram; and the ram was moved with ease, being mounted on wheels and receiving its motive power in battle from not less than a thousand men. When he was ready to advance the engines against the walls, he placed on each storey of the helepolis ballistae and catapults of appropriate size,2 stationed his fleet in position to attack the harbours and the adjacent areas, and distributed his infantry along such parts of the wall as could be attacked. Then, when all at a single command and signal had raised the battle cry together, he launched attacks on the city from every side. While he was shaking the walls with the rams and the ballistae, Cnidian envoys arrived, asking him to withhold his attack and promising to persuade the Rhodians to accept the most feasible of his demands. The king broke off the attack, and the envoys carried on

<sup>2</sup> Cp. chap. 48. 3.

A ram 180 feet long would probably buckle in use in spite of the iron reinforcement; but see the footnote on chap. 91. 2 for the possibility that the cubit used here is shorter than the Attic standard. Cp. the rams used by the Romans before Carthage in 149 s.c., Appian, Punic Wars, 98.

πρέσβεων δεῦρο κἀκεῖσε πολλὰ διαλεχθέντων πέρας οὐ δυναμένων συμφωνῆσαι πάλιν ἐνηργεῖτο τὰ τῆς πολιορκίας. καὶ Δημήτριος μὲν κατέβαλε τὸν στερεώτατον τῶν πύργων, ἀμκοδομημένον ἐκ λίθων τετραπέδων, καὶ μεσοπύργιον ὅλον διέσεισεν, ὥστε μὴ δύνασθαι τοὺς ἐν τῆ πόλει πάροδον ἔχειν ἐπὶ

τάς ἐπάλξεις κατά τοῦτον τὸν τόπον.

96. Έν δὲ ταῖς αὐταῖς ἡμέραις Πτολεμαῖος δ βασιλεύς ἀπέστειλε τοις 'Ροδίοις πλοίων πλήθος των την άγοραν κομιζόντων, εν ols ήσαν σίτου τριάκοντα μυριάδες άρταβων σύν τοῖς όσπρίοις. 2 προσφερομένων δ' αὐτῶν πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἐπεχείρησε Δημήτριος άποστέλλειν σκάφη τὰ κατάξοντα πρὸς τὴν αύτοῦ στρατοπεδείαν. φοροῦ δὲ πνεύματος αὐτοῖς ἐπιγενομένου ταθτα μὲν πλήρεσι τοῖς ἱστίοις φερόμενα κατηνέχθη πρός τους οικείους λιμένας, οί δ' ύπο Δημητρίου πεμφθέντες ἐπανῆλθον ἄπρακτοι. 3 έπεμψε δὲ τοῖς 'Ροδίοις καὶ Κάσανδρος κριθών μεδίμνους μυρίους καὶ Λυσίμαχος πυρών μεδίμνους τετρακισμυρίους καὶ κριθών τοὺς ἴσους. τηλικαύτης οὖν χορηγίας τοῖς κατά τὴν πόλιν γενομένης ήδη κάμνοντες ταις ψυχαις οι πολιορκούμενοι πάλιν άνεθάρρησαν καὶ κρίναντες συμφέρειν ἐπιθέσθαι ταῖς μηχαναΐς τῶν πολεμίων πυρφόρων τε πλήθος παρεσκευάσαντο καὶ τοὺς πετροβόλους καὶ τοὺς ὀξυ-4 βελείς εστησαν απαντας επί του τείχους, νυκτός δ' έπιγενομένης περί δευτέραν φυλακήν ἄφνω τοῖς μέν πυρφόροις συνεχώς την έλέπολιν έβαλλον, τοῖς δ' άλλοις βέλεσι παντοίοις χρώμενοι τοὺς ἐκεῖ

<sup>1</sup> τὴν ἐλέπολιν ἔβαλλον Reiske: τὴν φυλακὴν ἔβαλον.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> This Egyptian measure, like the Greek medimnus (the 396

negotiations back and forth at great length; but in 204 B.C. the end they were not able to reach any agreement, and the siege was actively resumed. Demetrius also overthrew the strongest of the towers, which was built of squared stones, and shattered the entire curtain, so that the forces in the city were not able to maintain a thoroughfare on the battlements at

this point.

At this same period King Ptolemy dispatched to the Rhodians a large number of supply ships in which were three hundred thousand measures tof grain and legumes. While these ships were on their way to the city, Demetrius attempted to dispatch ships to bring them to his own camp. But a wind favourable to the Egyptians sprang up, and they were carried along with full sails and brought into the friendly harbours, but those sent out by Demetrius returned with their mission unaccomplished. Cassander also sent to the Rhodians ten thousand measures of barley, and Lysimachus sent them forty thousand measures of wheat and the same amount of barley. Consequently, when those in the city obtained such large supplies, the besieged, who were already disheartened, regained their courage. Deciding that it would be advantageous to attack the siege engines of the enemy, they made ready a large supply of fire-bearing missiles and placed all their ballistae and catapults upon the wall. When night had fallen, at about the second watch, they suddenly began to strike the helepolis with an unremitting shower of the fire missiles, and by using other missiles of all kinds, they shot down any who rushed to the

measure referred to below), was somewhat more than a bushel.

5 συντρέχοντας κατετίτρωσκον. οί δὲ περὶ τὸν Δημήτριον, ἀνελπίστου τῆς ἐπιθέσεως γενομένης, άγωνιάσαντες περί των κατασκευασθέντων έρνων 6 συνέτρεχον ἐπὶ τὴν βοήθεια. ἀσελήνου δὲ τῆς νυκτός ούσης οι μέν πυρφόροι διέλαμπον φερόμενοι βιαίως, οἱ δ' ὀξυβελεῖς καὶ πετροβόλοι τὴν φορὰν άπροόρατον έχοντες πολλούς διέφθειρον τών μή 7 δυναμένων συνιδείν την επιφερομένην πληγήν. έτυχον δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς μηχανῆς λεπίδων τινὲς άποπεσούσαι, καταψιλωθέντος δε του τόπου προσέπιπτον οἱ πυρφόροι τῶ ξυλοφανεῖ τοῦ κατασκευάσματος. διόπερ άγωνιάσας δ Δημήτριος μήποτε τοῦ πυρός ἐπινεμηθέντος ἄπασαν συμβή τὴν μηχανήν λυμανθήναι, κατά τάχος έβοήθει καὶ τῶ παρασκευασθέντι ύδατι έν ταῖς στέγαις ἐπειρᾶτο σβεννύναι τὴν ἐπιφερομένην φλόγα. τὸ δὲ τέλευταΐον ἀθροίσας τή σάλπιγγι τοὺς τεταγμένους ἐπὶ τής κινήσεως τῶν ἔργων διὰ τούτων ἀπήγαγε τὰς μηχανάς έκτος βέλους.

97. "Επειτα γενομένης ήμέρας προσέταξε τοις ύπηρέταις άθροισαι τὰ βέλη τὰ πεσόντα παρὰ τῶν 'Ροδίων, ἐκ τούτων βουλόμενος συλλογίσασθαι τῶν ἐν τῆ πόλει τὴν παρασκευήν. ὧν ταχὺ τὸ προσταχθὲν ποιησάντων ἠριθμήθησαν πυρφόροι μὲν τοις μεγέθεσι παντοιοι πλείους τῶν ὀκτακοσίων, ὀξυβελεις δὲ οὐκ ἐλάττους τῶν χιλίων πεντακοσίων. τοσούτων δὲ βελῶν ἐνεχθέντων ἐν βραχει χρόνω νυκτὸς ἐθαύμαζε τὴν χορηγίαν τῆς πόλεως καὶ τὴν

έν τούτοις δαψίλειαν.

3 Τότε μὲν οὖν ὁ Δημήτριος κατεσκεύασε² τὰ πεπο-

δὲ added by editors.
 ἐπεσκεύασε Dindorf, cp. § 7 below.

spot. Since the attack was unforeseen, Demetrius, so4 n.c. alarmed for the siege works that had been constructed, hurried to the rescue. The night was moonless; and the fire missiles shon? bright as they hurtled violently through the air; but the catapults and ballistae, since their missiles were invisible, destroyed many who were not able to see the impending stroke. It also happened that some of the iron plates of the helepolis were dislodged, and where the place was laid bare the fire missiles rained upon the exposed wood of the structure. Therefore Demetrius, fearing that the fire would spread and the whole machine be ruined, came quickly to the rescue, and with the water that had been placed in readiness on the platforms he tried to put out the spreading fire. He finally assembled by a trumpet signal the men who were assigned to move the apparatus and by their efforts dragged the machine beyond range.

97. Then when day had dawned he ordered the camp followers to collect the missiles that had been hurled by the Rhodians, since he wished to estimate from these the armament of the forces within the city. Quickly carrying out his orders, they counted more than eight hundred fire missiles of various sizes and not less than fifteen hundred catapult bolts. Since so many missiles had been hurled in a short time at night, he marvelled at the resources possessed by the city and at their prodigality in the use of these weapons.

Next Demetrius repaired such of his works as had

νηκότα τῶν ἔργων καὶ περὶ τε τὴν ταφὴν τῶν τελευτησάντων καὶ τὴν θεραπείαν τῶν τραυματιῶν 4 εγίνετο. καθ' δυ δή χρόνου οἱ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν άνεσιν λαβόντες της άπὸ τῶν μηχανῶν βίας ώκοδόμησαν τρίτον τείχος μηνοειδές, περιλαμβάνοντες τῆ μέν περιφερεία πάντα τὸν κινδυνεύοντα τόπον τοῦ τείχους· οὐδὲν δ' ήττον καὶ τάφρω βαθεία περιέλαβον τὸ πεπτωκὸς τοῦ τείχους, ὅπως μὴ δύνηται ῥαδίως ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐξ ἐφόδου μετὰ βάρους εἰσπεσεῖν 5 είς την πόλιν. Εξέπεμψαν δε και ναθς των άριστα πλεουσών, 'Αμύνταν ἐπιστήσαντες ἡγεμόνα, ος ἐκπλεύσας πρός την Περαίαν της 'Λσίας ἐπεφάνη παραδόξως πειραταίς τισιν ἀπεσταλμένοις ὑπὸ Δημητρίου. οδτοι δ' είχον ἄφρακτα τρία, κράτιστοι δοκοθντες είναι τών τω βασιλεί συστρατευόντων. γενομένης δ' ἐπ' ὀλίγον χρόνον ναυμαχίας οἱ Ῥόδιοι βιασάμενοι τῶν νεῶν αὐτάνδρων ἐκυρίευσαν, ἐν οἶς 6 ήν καὶ Τιμοκλής ὁ ἀρχιπειρατής. ἐπέπλευσαν δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐμπόρων τισὶ καὶ παρελόμενοι κέλητας ούκ ολίγους γέμοντας σίτου τούτους τε καὶ τὰ τῶν πειρατών ἄφρακτα κατήγαγον εἰς τὴν 'Ρόδον νυ-7 κτός, λαθόντες τους πολεμίους. ό δε Δημήτριος έπισκευάσας τὰ πεπονηκότα τῶν ἔργων προσέβαλλε τῶ τείχει τὰς μηχανὰς καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς βέλεσιν ἀφειδώς χρώμενος τους μεν επί ταις επάλξεσιν εφεστώτας άνειρξε, τοις δε κριοίς τύπτων το συνεχές του τόπου δύο μὲν μεσοπύργια κατέβαλε, περί δὲ τὸν πύργον τὸν ἀνὰ μέσον τούτων φιλοτιμουμένοις τοῖς έκ της πόλεως ισχυροί και συνεχείς έκ διαδοχής άγωνες εγίνοντο, ώστε και τον στρατηγόν αὐτων 400

been damaged, and devoted himself to the burial 304 B.C. of the dead and the care of the wounded. Meanwhile the people of the city, having gained a respite from the violent attacks of the siege engines, constructed a third crescent-shaped wall and included in its circuit every part of the wall that was in a dangerous condition; but none the less they dug a deep moat around the fallen portion of the wall so that the king should not be able to break into the city easily by an assault with a heavily armed force. They also sent out some of their fastest ships, installing Amyntas as commander; he, sailing to Peraca i in Asia, suddenly confronted some pirates who had been sent out by Demetrius. These had three deckless ships and were supposed to be the strongest of the pirates who were fighting as allies of the king. In the brief naval battle that ensued, the Rhodians overpowered the foc and took the ships with their crews, among whom was Timocles, the chief pirate. They also encountered some of the merchants and, seizing a fair number of light craft loaded with grain, they sent these and the undecked ships of the pirates to harbour in Rhodes by night, escaping the notice of the enemy. Demetrius, after he had repaired such of his equipment as was damaged, brought his siege engines up to the wall. By using all his missiles without stint, he drove back those who were stationed on the battlements, and striking with his rams a continuous portion of the wall, he overthrew two curtains; but as the city's forces fought obstinately for the tower that was between them, there were bitter and continuous encounters, one after another, with the

I Literally, "the opposite land," the Rhodian territory in Caria directly opposite the island.

'Ανανίαν ἐκθύμως ἀγωνισάμενον ἀναιρεθήναι καὶ

συχνούς τῶν ἄλλων στρατιωτῶν ἀποθανεῖν.

98. "Αμα δὲ τούτοις πραττομένοις Πτολεμαΐος μὲν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀπέστειλε τοῦς 'Ροδίοις σῖτον καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἀγορὰν οὐκ ἐλάττονα τῆς πρότερον ἐκπεμφθείσης καὶ στρατιώτας χιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους, ὧν ῆν ἡγεμὼν 'Αντίγονος ὁ Μακεδών. 2 καθ' ὂν δὴ χρόνον ἡκον πρὸς τὸν Δημήτριον πρέσβεις παρά τε 'Αθηναίων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων, τὸν ἀριθμὸν μὲν ὄντες ὑπὲρ τοὺς πεντήκοντα, πάντες δὲ ἀξιοῦντες διαλύσασθαι τὸν βασιλέα πρὸς τοὺς 'Ροδίους. γενομένων οῦν ἀνοχῶν καὶ πολλῶν καὶ παντοδαπῶν ἡηθέντων λόγων πρός τε τὸν δῆμον καὶ πρὸς τοὺς περὶ τὸν Δημήτριον οὐδαμῶς ἐδυνήθησαν συμφωνῆσαι διόπερ οἱ πρέσβεις ἀπῆλθον ἄπρακτοι.

4 Δημήτριος δε διανοηθείς νυκτός επιθέσθαι τῆ πόλει κατά τὸ πεπτωκός τοῦ τείχους ἐπέλεξε τῶν τε μαχίμων τοὺς κρατίστους καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τοὺς 5 εὐθέτους εἰς χιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους. τούτους μὲν οὖν προσέταξεν ἡσυχῆ προσελθεῖν τῷ τείχει περὶ δευτέραν φυλακήν, αὐτὸς δὲ διασκευάσας παρήγγειλε τοῖς ἐφ' ἐκάστω μέρει τεταγμένοις, ὅταν σημήνη, συναλαλάξαι καὶ προσβολὰς ποιεῖσθαι 6 καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν. πάντων δὲ τὸ παραγγελθὲν ποιούντων οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τὰ πεπτωκότα τῶν τειχῶν ὁρμήσαντες τοὺς προφυλάττοντας ἐπὶ τῆς τάφρου κατασφάξαντες παρεισέπεσον εἰς τὴν πόλιν καὶ τοὺς περὶ τὸ θέατρον τόπους κατελαμβά-7 νοντο· οἱ δὲ τῶν 'Ροδίων πρυτάνεις' πυθόμενοι τὸ

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> πρυτάνεις added by Dindorf, cp. chap. 88. 3.

Cp. chap. 96. 1.

result that their leader Ananias was killed fighting 204 R.C. desperately and many of the soldiers were slain also.

98. While these events were taking place, King Ptolemy sent to the Rhodians grain and other supplies in no less quantity than those formerly sent, and fifteen hundred soldiers, whose leader was Antigonus, the Macedonian. At this very time there came to Demetrius more than fifty envoys from the Athenians and the other Greek cities, all of them asking the king to come to terms with the Rhodians. A truce, therefore, was made; but although many arguments of all sorts were presented to the city and to Demetrius, they could in no way agree; and so the envoys returned without accomplishing their aim.<sup>2</sup>

Demetrius, having determined to attack the city at night through the breach in the wall, selected the strongest of his fighting men and of the rest those fitted for his purpose to the number of fifteen hundred. These, then, he ordered to advance to the wall in silence during the second watch; as for himself, when he had made his preparations, he gave orders to those stationed on each side that when he gave the signal they should raise the battle cry and make attacks both by land and sea. When they all carried out the order, those who had advanced against breaches in the walls, after dispatching the advance guards at the moat, charged past into the city and occupied the region of the theatre; but the magistrates of the Rhodians, learning what had happened

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> According to Plutarch, Demetrius, 22, 4, Demetrius, who was looking for a pretext to end the siege, was induced by the Athenians to make terms on condition that the Rhodians should be allies of Antigonus and Demetrius except in a war with Ptolemy. Cp. chap. 99, 3.

συμβεβηκός καὶ τὴν πόλιν όρῶντες ἄπασαν τεθορυβημένην τοις μεν έπὶ τοῦ λιμένος καὶ τῶν τειχῶν παρήγγειλαν μένειν έπὶ τῆς ίδίας τάξεως καὶ τοὺς έξωθεν, αν προσβάλωσιν, αμίνασθαι, αὐτοὶ δ' έγοντες τὸ τῶν ἐπιλέκτων σύστημα καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ της 'Αλεξανδρείας προσφάτως καταπεπλευκότας στρατιώτας ώρμησαν έπὶ τοὺς ἐντὸς τοῦ τείχους 8 παρεισπεπτωκότας. περικαταλαβούσης δ' ήμέρας καὶ τοῦ Δημητρίου τὸ σύσσημον ἄραντος οἱ μὲν τῷ λιμένι προσβαλόντες και το τείχος πάντοθεν περιεστρατοπεδευκότες συνηλάλαξαν, εὐθαρσεῖς ποι-οῦντες τοὺς κατειληφότας μέρος τοῦ περὶ τὸ θέατρον τόπου, ο δε κατά την πόλιν όχλος παίδων καί γυναικών εν φόβοις ήν και δάκρυσιν, ώς της πατρί-9 δος κατά κράτος άλισκομένης. οὐ μὴν άλλὰ τοῖς παρεισπεσούσιν έντὸς τοῦ τείχους γενομένης μάχης πρὸς τοὺς 'Ροδίους καὶ πολλών παρ' ἀμφοτέροις πεσόντων τὸ μὲν πρώτον οὐδέτεροι τῆς ίδίας τάξεως έξεγώρουν, μετά δὲ ταῦτα τῶν μὲν 'Ροδίων ἀεὶ πλειόνων γινομένων καὶ τὸν κίνδυνον έτοίμως ὑπομενόντων, ως ἄν ὑπὲρ πατρίδος καὶ τῶν μεγίστων ἀγωνιζομένων, τῶν δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως θλιβομένων, "Αλκιμος μὲν καὶ Μαντίας οἱ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἔχοντες πολλοίς περιπεσόντες τραύμασιν ετελεύτησαν, των δ' ἄλλων οἱ πλεῖστοι οἱ μὲν ἐν χειρῶν νόμῳ διεφθάρησαν, οἱ δ' ἥλωσαν, ὀλίγοι δὲ πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα φυνόντες διεσώθησαν, πολλοί δε και των Ροδίων ανηρέθησαν, εν ols ην και ο πρύτανις Δαμοτέλης ἐπ' ἀρετῆ γενόμενος περίβλεπτος.

99. Δημήτριος δὲ τὴν τῆς πόλεως ἄλωσιν ὑπολαβὼν ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν αὐτοῦ τὴν τύχην ἀφηρῆσθαι πάλιν παρεσκευάζετο πρὸς τὴν πολιορκίαν. εἶτα and seeing that the whole city had been thrown into 304 N.C. confusion, sent orders to those at the harbour and the walls to remain at their own posts and oppose the enemy outside if he should attack; and they themselves, with their contingent of selected men and the soldiers who had recently sailed in from Alexandria. attacked the troops who had got within the walls. When day returned and Demetrius raised the ensign, those who were attacking the port and those who had been stationed about the wall on all sides shouted the battle cry, giving encouragement to the men who had occupied part of the region of the theatre; but in the city the throng of children and women were in fear and tears, thinking that their native city was being taken by storm. Nevertheless, fighting began between those who had made their way within the wall and the Rhodians, and many fell on both sides. At first neither side withdrew from its position; but afterwards, as the Rhodians constantly added to their numbers and were prompt to face danger-as is the way with men fighting for their native land and their most precious things,-and on the other hand the king's men were in distress, Alcimus and Mantias, their commanders, expired after receiving many wounds, most of the others were killed in hand-tohand fighting or were captured, and only a few escaped to the king and survived. Many also of the Rhodians were slain, among whom was the president Damoteles, who had won great acclaim for his valour.

99. When Demetrius realized that Fortune had snatched from his hand the capture of the city, he made new preparations for the siege. When his

τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῷ γράψαντος διαλύσασθαι πρὸς 'Ροδίους ώς ἄν ποτε δύνηται, τὸν κάλλιστον ἐπετήρει καιρόν, δώσοντα προφάσεις εὐλόγους τῆς 2 συνθέσεως. Πτολεμαίου δε γράψαντος τοις 'Poδίοις τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὅτι πέμψει σίτου πληθος αὐτοῖς καὶ στρατιώτας τρισχιλίους, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα συμβουλεύοντος, έὰν ή δυνατόν, μετρίως διαλύσασθαι πρός 'Αντίγονον, απαντες έρεπον πρός την 3 εἰρήνην. καθ' ὂν δή χρόνον τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Λίτωλών ἀποστείλαντος πρεσβευτάς περί διαλύσεων οί 'Ρόδιοι συνέθεντο πρὸς Δημήτριον ἐπὶ τοῖσδε, αὐτόνομον καὶ ἀφρούρητον είναι τὴν πόλιν καὶ ἔχειν τὰς ίδίας προσόδους, συμμαχεῖν δὲ 'Ροδίους 'Αντιγόνω πλην έαν έπὶ Πτολεμαΐον στρατεύηται, καὶ δοθναι των πολιτων όμήρους έκατον οθς αν άπογράψηται Δημήτριος πλήν τῶν ἀρχὰς ἐχόντων.

100. Οἱ μὲν οὖν 'Ρόδιοι πολιορκηθέντες ἐνιαύσιον χρόνον τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ κατελύσαντο τὸν πόλεμον. τοὺς δ' ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς γενομένους ἐτίμησαν ταῖς ἀξίαις δωρεαῖς καὶ τῶν δούλων τοὺς ἀνδραγαθήσαντας ἐλευθερίας καὶ πολι-2 τείας ἢξίωσαν. ἔστησαν δὲ καὶ τῶν βασιλέων εἰκόνας Κασάνδρου καὶ Λυσιμάχου¹ τῶν δευτερευόντων μὲν ταῖς δόξαις, συμβεβλημένων δὲ 3 μεγάλα πρὸς τὴν τῆς πόλεως σωτηρίαν. τὸν δὲ Πτολεμαῖον ἐν ἀνταποδόσει μείζονος χάριτος ὑπερβάλλεσθαι βουλόμενοι θεωροὺς ἀπέστειλαν εἰς Λιβύην τοὺς ἐπερωτήσοντας τὸ παρ' "Αμμωνι μαντεῖον 406

father thereafter wrote to him to come to terms with 804 B.C. the Rhodians as best he could, he awaited a favourable opportunity that would provide a specious excuse for the settlement. Since Ptolemy had written to the Rhodians, first saying that he would send them a great quantity of grain and three thousand soldiers, but then advising them, if it should be possible, to make equitable terms with Antigonus, everyone inclined toward peace. At just this time the Actolian League sent envoys to urge a settlement, and the Rhodians came to terms with Demetrius on these conditions: that the city should be autonomous and ungarrisoned and should enjoy its own revenue; that the Rhodians should be allies of Antigonus unless he should be at war with Ptolemy; and that they should give as hostages a hundred of their citizens whom Demetrius should select, those holding office being exempt.1

100. In this way, then, the Rhodians, after they had been besieged for a year, brought the war to an end. Those who had proved themselves brave men in the battles they honoured with the prizes that were their due, and they granted freedom and citizenship to such slaves as had shown themselves courageous. They also set up statues of King Cassander and King Lysimachus, who though they held second place in general opinion, yet had made great contributions to the salvation of the city. In the case of Ptolemy, since they wanted to surpass his record by repaying his kindness with a greater one, they sent a sacred mission into Libya to ask the oracle at

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cp. Plutarch, Demetrius, 22. 4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> καὶ after Λυσιμάχου omitted by Wesseling.

εί συμβουλεύει 'Poδίοις Πτολεμαΐον ώς θεόν τιμή4 σαι. συγκατατιθεμένου δε τοῦ χρηστηρίου τέμενος ἀνῆκαν ἐν τῆ πόλει τετράγωνον, οἰκοδομήσαντες παρ' ἐκάστην πλευρὰν στοὰν' σταδιαίαν, ὁ προσηγόρευσαν Πτολεμαΐον. ἀνωκοδόμησαν δε καὶ τὸ θέατρον καὶ τὰ πεπτωκότα τῶν τειχῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τόπων τοὺς καθηρημένους πολλῷ κάλλιον ἡ προϋπῆρχον.

δ Δημήτριος δὲ κατὰ τὰς ἐντολὰς τοῦ πατρὸς διαλυσάμενος πρὸς 'Ροδίους ἐξέπλευσε μετὰ πάσης τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ κομισθεὶς διὰ νήσων κατέπλευσε

6 τής Βοιωτίας εἰς Αὖλιν. σπεύδων δ' ελευθερώσαι τοὺς Ἑλληνας (οἱ γὰρ περὶ Κάσανδρον καὶ Πολυπέρχοντα τὸν ἔμπροσθεν χρόνον ἄδειαν ἐσχηκότες ἐπόρθουν τὰ πλεῖστα μέρη τῆς Ἑλλάδος) πρῶτον μὲν τὴν Χαλκιδέων πόλιν ὴλευθέρωσε, φρουρουμένην ὑπὸ Βοιωτῶν, καὶ τοὺς κατὰ τὴν Βοιωτίαν καταπληξάμενος ἡνάγκασεν ἀποστῆναι τῆς Κασάνδρου φιλίας, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πρὸς μὲν Αἰτωλοὺς συμμαχίαν ἐποιήσατο, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς περὶ Πολυπέρχοντα καὶ Κάσανδρον διαπολεμεῖν παρεσκευάζετο.

7 "Αμα δὲ τούτοις πραττομένοις Εὔμηλος μὲν δ Βοσπόρου βασιλεὺς βασιλεύων ἔκτον ἔτος ἐτελεύτησε, τὴν δὲ βασιλείαν διαδεξάμενος Σπάρτακος δ υίὸς ἦρξεν ἔτη εἴκοσιν.

101. Ἡμεῖς δὲ τὰ περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ τὴν ᾿Ασίαν διευκρινηκότες μεταβιβάσομεν τὸν λόγον ἐπὶ θάτερα μέρη τῆς οἰκουμένης.

<sup>1</sup> πλευράν στοάν Rhodoman : στοάν πλευράν.

<sup>1 600</sup> feet.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Continued in chap. 102. 1.

Ammon if it advised the Rhodians to honour Ptolemy 304 B.C. as a god. Since the oracle approved, they dedicated in the city a square precinct, building on each of its sides a portice a stade 1 long, and this they called the Ptolemaeum. They also rebuilt the theatre, the fallen portions of the walls, and the buildings that had been destroyed in the other quarters in a manner more beautiful than before.

Now that Demetrius, in accordance with injunctions of his father, had made peace with the Rhodians, he sailed out with his whole force; and after passing through the islands, he put in at Aulis in Bocotia. Since he was intent on freeing the Greeks (for Cassander and Polyperchon having up to this time enjoyed impunity were engaged in plundering the greater part of Greece), he first freed the city of the Chalcidians, which was garrisoned by Bocotians, and by striking fear into the Bocotians, he forced them to renounce their friendship with Cassander; and after this he made an alliance with the Actolians and hegan his preparations for carrying on war against Polyperchon and Cassander.<sup>2</sup>

While these events were taking place, Eumelus, the king of Bosporus, died in the sixth year of his reign,<sup>3</sup> and his son Spartacus <sup>4</sup> succeeded to the throne and

reigned for twenty years.

101. Now that we have carefully passed in review the happenings in Greece and Asia, we shall turn our narrative toward the other parts of the inhabited world.

For the reign of Eumelus cp. chaps, 22, 1—26, 2.

<sup>•</sup> The name is spelled Σπάρτοκος on coins and inscriptions, e.g. the Athenian inscription of 289/8 honouring this king for a gift of grain to the city (IG, 2<sup>2</sup>, 653 = Dittenberger, Syll.<sup>3</sup> 370).

Κατά μέν γάρ τὴν Σικελίαν 'Αγαθοκλῆς, εἰρήνην άγόντων των Λιπαραίων, ἐπιπλεύσας αὐτοῖς ἀπροσδοκήτως είσεπράξατο τους μηδ' ότιοῦν προαδική-2 σαντας άργυρίου τάλαντα πεντήκοντα. ὅτε δὴ πολλοις έδοξε θείον είναι το ρηθησόμενον, τής παρανομίας τυχούσης επισημασίας παρά τοῦ δαιμονίου. άξιούντων γάρ των Λιπαραίων είς τά προσελλείποντα των χρημάτων δούναι χρόνον καὶ λεγόντων μηδέποτε τοις ιεροις αναθήμασι κατακεχρησθαι, δ 'Αγαθοκλής βιασάμενος αὐτοὺς δοῦναι τὰ κατὰ τὸ πρυτανείον, ὧν είχον ἐπιγραφὴν τὰ μὲν Αλόλου, τὰ δ' Ἡφαίστου, λαβών παραχρημα ἐξέπλευσεν. πνεύματος δ' επιγενομένου τών νεών ένδεκα συνετρίβησαν αι τὰ χρήματα κομίζουσαι. 3 διόπερ έδοξε πολλοίς ό μεν λεγόμενος περί τούς τόπους εκείνους είναι κύριος των ανέμων εὐθὺς κατά τὸν πρώτον πλοῦν λαβεῖν παρ' αὐτοῦ τιμωρίαν, ό δὲ "Ηφαιστος ἐπὶ τῆς τελευτῆς, οἰκείως τῆς ἀσεβείας κολάσαι' τὸν τύραννον ἐν τῆ πατρίδι, συνωνύμως έπὶ θερμοῖς τοῖς ἄνθραξι κατακαύσας ζώντα της γάρ αὐτης προαιρέσεως ήν καὶ δικαιοσύνης τὸ τῶν περὶ τὴν Αἴτνην σωζόντων τοὺς έαυτών γονείς αποσχέσθαι καὶ τὸ τοὺς ἀσεβοῦντας els τὸ θεῖον διὰ τῆς ίδίας δυνάμεως μετελθεῖν.

4 Οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ μὲν τῆς καταστροφῆς 'Αγαθοκλέους, ὅταν πρὸς τοὺς οἰκείους χρόνους ἔλθωμεν, αὐτὸ" τὸ γενόμενον βεβαιώσει τὸ νῦν εἰρημένον.

κολάσαι Madvig : κολάσας.
 ἔλθωμεν, αὐτὸ Post : ἔλθωμεν αὐτοῦ.

Continued from chap, 90, 2.

In Sicily,1 although the inhabitants of the Lipa- 304 n.c. raean Islands were at peace with him, Agathocles sailed against them without warning and exacted from men who had done him no prior injury whatever, fifty talents of silver. To many, indeed, what I am about to relate seemed the work of a god, since his crime received its brand from the divinity. When the Liparaeans begged him to grant them time for what was lacking in the payment and said that they had never turned the sacred offerings to profane uses. Agathoeles forced them to give him the dedications in the Prytaneum, of which some bore inscriptions to Aeolus and some to Hephaestus; and taking these he at once sailed away. But a wind came up and the cleven of his ships that were carrying the money were sunk. And so it seemed to many that the god who was said in that region to be master of the winds at once on his first voyage exacted punishment from him, and that at the end Hephaestus punished him in his own country in a way that matched the tyrant's impious actions and the god's own name by burning him alive on hot coals 2; for it belonged to the same character and the same justice to refrain from touching those who were saving their own parents on Actna, and with his proper power to search after those who had been guilty of impiety toward his shrine.

However, as regards the disaster that befell Agathocles, when we come to the proper time, the action itself will confirm what we now have said; but we

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> For the death of Agathocles cp. Book 21, frag. 16.

The reference is to Amphinomus and Anapia. While they were rescuing their parents from an irruption of Aetna, the volcanic fires opened and made a way for them to pass. Cp., e.g., Seneca, de Beneficiis, 3. 37.2; Pausanias, 10. 28. 4.

έφεξης δὲ ρητέον ημιν τὰ πραχθέντα κατὰ τοὺς

συνεχείς τῆς 'Ιταλίας τόπους.

Ταμαΐοι μεν καὶ Σαμνῖται διαπρεσβευσάμενοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους εἰρήνην συνέθεντο, πολεμήσαντες ἔτη εἴκοσι δύο καὶ μῆνας ἔξ· τῶν δ' ὑπάτων Πόπλιος Σεμπρώνιος μετὰ δυνάμεως ἐμβαλῶν εἰς τὴν τῶν Αἰκλῶν χώραν ἐχειρώσατο τετταράκοντα πόλεις ἐν ἡμέραις ταῖς πάσαις πεντήκοντα, ἀναγκάσας δὲ πῶν τὸ ἔθνος ὑποτάττεσθαι 'Ρωμαίοις ἐπανῆλθε καὶ θρίαμβον κατήγαγεν ἐπαινούμενον. ὁ δὲ δῆμος ὁ 'Ρωμαίων πρός τε Μαρσούς καὶ Παλιγνούς,' ἔτι δὲ Μαρρουκίνους, συμμαχίαν ἐποιήσατο.

102. Τοῦ δ' ἐνιαυσίου χρόνου διεληλυθότος 'Αθήνησι μὲν ἦρχε Λεώστρατος, ἐν 'Ρώμη δ' ὑπῆρχον 
ὕπατοι Σερούιος Κορνήλιος καὶ Λεύκιος Γενούκιος. 
ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων Δημήτριος εἶχε πρόθεσιν πρὸς μὲν 
τοὺς περὶ Κάσανδρον διαπολεμεῖν, τοὺς δ' Έλληνας 
ἐλευθεροῦν· καὶ πρῶτον τὰ κατὰ τὴν 'Ελλάδα 
διοικεῖν, ἄμα μὲν νομίζων δόξαν οἴσειν αὐτῷ μεγάλην τὴν τῶν 'Ελλήνων αὐτονομίαν, ἄμα δὲ καὶ 
τοὺς περὶ Πρεπέλαον ἡγεμόνας τοῦ Κασάνδρου 
πρότερον συντρῦψαι καὶ τότε προσάγειν δεῖν² ἐπ' 
αὐτὴν τὴν Μακεδονίαν,' εἰ μὴ ἐπ' αὐτὸν πορεύοιτο

2 ο Κάσανδρος. Της δε των Σικυωνίων πόλεως

2 8cm added by Post.

3 Μακεδονίαν Reiske: ήγεμονίαν.

<sup>1</sup> Παλιγνούς Rhodoman: Παλλινούς R, Παλλίνους X, Πεληνούς F.

<sup>4</sup> εἰ μὴ . . . ό Κάσανδρος Post : ἢ . . . τὸν Κάσανδρον.

must now tell of events in the adjacent parts of 804 R.C.

Italy.1

The Romans and the Samnites interchanged envoys and made peace after having fought for twenty-two years and six months \*; and one of the consuls, Publius Sempronius, invading the country of the Aceli \* with an army, captured forty cities in a total of fifty days, and after forcing the entire tribe to submit to Rome, returned home and celebrated a triumph with great applause. The Roman people made alliances with the Marsi, the Paligni, and the Marrucini.

102. When the year had come to its end, Leo- 308 B.C. stratus was archon in Athens, and in Rome the consuls were Servius Cornelius and Lucius Genucius. While these held office Demetrius proposed to carry on his war with Cassander and to free the Greeks; and first he planned to establish order in the affairs of Greece, for he believed that the freeing of the Greeks would bring him great honour, and at the same time he thought it necessary to wipe out Prepelaüs and the other leaders before attacking Cassander, and then to go on against Macedonia itself if Cassander did not march against him. Now

<sup>3</sup> The Aequi or Aequiculi in Latin writers; usually called the Aikoi or Aikanoi by the Greek historians, Cp. Livy,

9, 45, 5-18. 4 Continued in chap. 104, 1.

<sup>6</sup> Cp. Book 19, 64, 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The next reference to Sicilian affairs is in Book 21. 2. 1.
<sup>2</sup> Cp. Livy, 9. 45. 1-4; the narrative is continued from chap. 90. 4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Leostratus was archon in 303/2. Livy, 10. 1. 1, gives as consuls for 303 s.c. I. Genucius and Ser. Cornelius. In the Fasti Capitolini only Lentulus, the cognomen of Cornelius, can be read. The narrative is continued from chap. 100. 6. Cp. Plutarch, Demetrius, 25.

φρουρουμένης ύπὸ τῶν Πτολεμαίου τοῦ βασιλέως στρατιωτών, ών ήν επιφανέστατος στρατηγός Φίλιππος, νυκτός επιθέμενος απροσδοκήτως παρεισέπεσεν έντὸς τοῦ τείχους. είτα οί μεν φρουροί συνέφυνον είς την ακρόπολιν, δ δε Δημήτριος της πόλεως κυριεύσας τον μεταξύ τόπον τῶν οἰκιῶν καὶ της άκρας κατείχε. μέλλοντος δ' αὐτοῦ μηχανάς προσάγειν καταπλαγέντες την μεν ἀκρόπολιν δι' δμολογίας παρέδοσαν, αὐτοὶ δ' ἀπέπλευσαν εἰς Αίγυπτον. ό δε Δημήτριος τους Σικυωνίους είς την άκρόπολιν μετοικίσας το μέν τω λιμένι συνάπτον μέρος τῆς πόλεως κατέσκαψεν, ἀνοχύρου<sup>2</sup> παντελώς όντος τοῦ τόπου, τῶ δὲ πολιτικῶ πλήθει συνεπιλαβόμενος της οἰκοδομίας και την ελευθερίαν άποκαταστήσας τιμών ἰσοθέων ἔτυχε παρά τοῖς εδ 3 παθοῦσι. Δημητριάδα μέν γὰρ τὴν πόλιν ωνόμασαν, θυσίας δὲ καὶ πανηγύρεις, ἔτι δ' ἀγῶνας ἐψηφίσαντο συντελεῖν αὐτῶ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀπονέμειν τιμάς ώς κτίστη. άλλά ταθτα μέν ό χρόνος διαληφθείς πραγμάτων μεταβολαίς ηκύρωσεν, οί δέ Σικυώνιοι πολλώ κρείττονα μεταλαβόντες τόπον διετέλεσαν εν αὐτῷ μέχρι τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνων 4 ενοικούντες. δ γάρ της ακροπόλεως περίβολος επίπεδος ών καὶ μέγας κρημνοῖς δυσπροσίτοις περιέχεται πανταχόθεν, ώστε μηδαμή δύνασθαι μηχανάς προσάγειν έχει δε και πλήθος υδάτων, εξ ού κηπείας δαψιλείς κατεσκεύασαν, ώστε την επίνοιαν τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ πρὸς ἀπόλαυσιν εἰρηνικὴν καὶ πρός ἀσφάλειαν πολέμου δόξαι καλώς προεωρᾶσθαι. 103. 'Ο δέ Δημήτριος διοικήσας τὰ περὶ τοὺς

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> συνέφυγον Bekker: συνεισέπεσον RX, συνέπεσον F.
<sup>2</sup> ἀνοχύρου Dindorf: ἀχυροῦ.

the city of Sicyon was garrisoned by King Ptolemy's 808 B.C. soldiers, commanded by a very distinguished general, Attacking this city suddenly by night, Philip. Demetrius broke his way inside the walls. Then the garrison fled to the acropolis, but Demetrius took possession of the city and occupied the region between the houses and the acropolis. While he hesitated to bring up his siege engines, the garrison in panic surrendered the acropolis on terms and the men themselves sailed off to Egypt. After Demetrius had moved the people of Sicyon into their aeropolis, he destroyed the part of the city adjacent to the harbour, since its site was quite insecure; then, after he had assisted the common people of the city in building their houses and had re-established free government for them, he received divine honours from those whom he had benefited; for they called the city Demetrias, and they voted to celebrate sacrifices and public festivals and also games in his honour every year and to grant him the other honours of a founder. Time, however, whose continuity has been broken by changes of conditions, has invalidated these honours; but the people of Sieyon, having thus obtained a much better location, continue to live there down to our times.1 For the enclosed area of the acropolis is level and of ample size, and it is surrounded on all sides by cliffs difficult to scale, so that on no side can engines of war be brought near; moreover, it has plenty of water by the aid of which they developed rich gardens, so that the king in his design seems to have made excellent provision both for comfort in time of peace and for safety in time of war.

103. After Demetrius had settled the affairs of the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Cp. Pausanias, 2, 7, 1; Strabo 8, 6, 25.

Σικυωνίους ἀνέζευξε μετὰ πάσης τῆς δυνάμεως ἐπὶ τὴν Κόρινθον, ῆν ἐφρούρει Πρεπέλαος Κασάν-δρου στρατηγός. τὸ μὲν οῦν πρῶτον νυκτὸς ὑπό τινων πολιτών είσαχθείς διά τφος πυλίδος έκράτησε 2 της πόλεως και των λιμένων. των δε φρουρών καταφυγόντων των μέν είς τὸ καλούμενον Σισύφιον. τῶν δ' εἰς τὸν 'Ακροκόρινθον, προσαγαγών μηχανάς τοις όχυρώμασι και πολλά κακοπαθήσας είλε το Σισύφιον κατά κράτος. είτα τῶν ἐνταῦθα' συμφυγόντων πρός τους κατειληφότας του 'Ακροκόρινθον και τούτους καταπληξάμενος ηνάγκασε 3 παραδούναι την ἄκραν σφόδρα γὰρ ήν ἀνυπόστατος ούτος ο βασιλεύς έν ταις προσβολαίς, εθμήχανος ύπάρχων περί την κατασκευήν των πολιορκητικών σπαρχών περί την καταύκεσην του ποπορκητικού ἔργων. οὐ μήν ἀλλὰ τοὺς Κορινθίους ἐλευθερώσας παρεισήγαγε φυλακήν εἰς τὸν ᾿ Λκροκόρινθον, βουλομένων των πολιτων διά του βασιλέως τηρεισθαι την πόλιν μέχρι αν ο πρός Κάσανδρον καταλυθή 4 πόλεμος. και Πρεπέλαος μεν αισχρώς εκπεσών εκ της Κορίνθου πρός Κάσανδρον απεχώρησεν, Δημήτριος δέ παρελθών είς την 'Αχαΐαν Βουραν μέν κατά κράτος είλε καὶ τοῖς πολίταις ἀπέδωκε τὴν αὐτονομίαν, Σκύρον2 δ' εν ολίγαις ήμέραις παραλαβών 5 εξέβαλε την φρουράν. μετά δε ταῦτ' επ' 'Ορχομενὸν τῆς 'Αρκαδίας στρατεύσας ἐκέλευσε τῷ τῆς φρουρᾶς ἀφηγουμένω Στρομβίχω παραδοῦναι την πόλιν. οὐ προσέχοντος δ' αὐτοῦ τοῦς λόγοις ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλά λοιδοροῦντος ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους βλασφήμως προσαγαγών μηχανάς δ βασιλεύς καὶ καταβαλών 6 τὰ τείχη κατὰ κράτος είλε τὴν πόλιν. τὸν μὲν οδν Στρόμβιχου του ύπο Πολυπέρχουτος καθεσταμένου <sup>1</sup> ἐνταῦθα Hertlein : ἐν ταύτη.

people of Sicyon, he set out with his whole army for 303 B.C. Corinth, which was held by Prepelaus, a general of Cassander. At first, after he had been admitted at night by certain citizens through a postern gate, Demetrius gained possession of the city and its harbours. The garrison, however, fled, some to the place called Sisyphium, some to Acrocorinth; but he brought up engines of war to the fortifications and took Sisyphium by storm after suffering heavy losses. Then, when the men there fled to those who had occupied Aerocorinth, he intimidated them also and forced them to surrender the citadel; for this king was exceedingly irresistible in his assaults, being particularly skilled in the construction of siege equipment. Be that as it may, when once he had freed the Corinthians he brought a garrison into Acrocorinth, since the citizens wished the city to be protected by the king until the war with Cassander should be brought to an end. Prepelaüs, ignominiously driven out of Corinth, withdrew to Cassander, but Demetrius, advancing into Achaia, took Bura by storm and restored autonomy to its citizens; then, capturing Sevrus in a few days, he east out its garrison. After this, making a campaign against Arcadian Orchomenus, he ordered the garrison commander, Strombichus, to surrender the city. When he paid no attention to the orders but even poured much abuse upon him from the wall in an insulting manner, the king brought up engines of war, overthrew the walls, and took the city by storm. As for Strombichus, who had been made garrison-commander by Polyperchon,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Sisyphium is on the slope of Acrocorinth below Peirene, Strabo, 8, 6, 21.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Σκίρον Wesseling.

φρούραρχον καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἀλλοτρίως διατεθέντων πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰς ὀγδοήκοντα πρὸ τῆς πόλεως ἀνεσταύρωσε, τῶν δ' ἄλλων μισθοφόρων ελὼν εἰς δισχιλίους κατέμιξε τοῖς ἰδίοις στρατιώταις. 7 μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἄλωσιν ταύτης τῆς πόλεως οἱ σύνεγγυς τὰ φρούρια κατέχοντες, ὑπολαμβάνοντες ἀδύνατον ὑπάρχειν τὸ διαφυγεῖν τὴν βίαν τοῦ βασιλέως, παρέδωκαν αὐτῷ τὰ χωρία. ὁμοίως δὲ τούτοις καὶ οἱ τὰς πόλεις φρουροῦντες, τῶν μὲν περὶ Κάσανδρον καὶ Πρεπέλαον καὶ Πολυπέρχοντα μὴ βοηθούντων τοῦ δὲ Δημητρίου μετὰ μεγάλης δυνάμεως καὶ μηχανῶν ὑπεραγουσῶν προσιόντος, ἐκουσίως ἐξεχώρουν.

Καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ Δημήτριον ἐν τούτοις ἦν.

104. Κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἱταλίαν Ταραντῖνοι πόλεμον ἔχοντες πρὸς Λευκανοὺς καὶ Ῥωμαίους ἐξέπεμψαν πρεσβευτὰς εἰς τὴν Σπάρτην, αἰτούμενοι βοήθειαν ² καὶ στρατηγὸν Κλεώνυμον. τῶν δὲ Λακεδαιμονίων προθύμως ἡγεμόνα δόντων τὸν αἰτούμενον καὶ τῶν Ταραντίνων χρήματα καὶ ναῦς ἀποστειλάντων ὁ μὲν Κλεώνυμος ἐπὶ Ταινάρω τῆς Λακωνικῆς ξενολογήσας στρατιώτας πεντακισχιλίους συντόμως κατέπλευσεν εἰς Τάραντα. ἐνταῦθα δὲ μισθοφόρους ἀθροίσας ἄλλους οὐκ ἐλάττους τῶν προτέρων κατέγραφε καὶ τοὺς πολιτικοὺς πεζοὺς μὲν πλείους τῶν δισμυρίων, ἱππεῖς δὲ δισχιλίους. προσελάβετο δὲ τῶν τε κατ Ἰταλίαν Ἑλλήνων τοὺς πλείστους 3 καὶ τὸ τῶν Μεσσαπίων ἔθνος. ἀδρᾶς οῦν δυνάμεως

Continued in chap. 106. 1.
 Continued from chap. 101. 5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Son of King Cleomenes II, but passed over in favour of Areus I because of his violent and tyrannical character. Cp.

and at least eighty of the others who were hostile to \$108 p.c. him, Demetrius crucified them in front of the city, but having captured at least two thousand of the other mercenaries, he incorporated them with his own men. After the capture of this city, those who commanded the forts in the vicinity, assuming that it was impossible to escape the might of the king, surrendered the strongholds to him. In like fashion those also who guarded the cities withdrew of their own accord, since Cassander, Prepelaüs, and Polyperchon failed to come to their aid but Demetrius was approaching with a great army and with overwhelming engines of war.

This was the situation of Demetrius.1

104. In Italy 2 the people of Tarentum were waging war with the Lucanians and the Romans; and they sent envoys to Sparta asking for assistance and for Cleonymus as general. When the Lacedaemonians willingly granted them the leader whom they requested and the Tarentines sent money and ships, Cleonymus enrolled five thousand mercenaries at Taenarum in Laconia 4 and sailed at once to Tarentum. After collecting there other mercenaries no less in number than those previously enrolled, he also enlisted more than twenty thousand citizens as footsoldiers and two thousand as mounted troops. He won the support also of most of the Greeks in Italy and of the tribe of the Messapians. Then, since

Plutarch, Pyrrhus, 26. 8; Pausanias, 3. 6. 2. Originally Tarentum was a colony of Sparta.

4 For Taenarum as a recruiting ground for mercenaries cp.

Book 18, 21, 1-3,

5 The Messapians, an Italic tribe occupying the heel of the Italian peninsula, were the closest neighbours of the Tarentines.

περί αὐτὸν οὕσης οἱ μὲν Λευκανοὶ καταπλαγέντες φιλίαν ἐποιήσαντο πρὸς τοὺς Ταραντίνους, τῶν δὲ Μεταποντίνων οὐ προσεχόντων αὐτῶ τοὺς Λευκανούς έπεισεν εμβαλείν είω την χώραν καὶ τῷ καιρώ συνεπιθέμενος κατεπλήξατο τούς Μεταποντίνους. παρελθών δ' είς την πόλιν ώς φίλος επράξατο μέν άργυρίου τάλαντα πλείω τῶν έξακοσίων, διακοσίας δε παρθένους τας επιφανεστάτας έλαβεν είς. όμηρίαν, ούχ ούτω της περί την πίστιν ασφαλείας 4 χάριν, ώς της ίδίας ένεκεν λαγνείας. αποθέμενος γάρ την Λακωνικήν έσθητα διετέλει τρυφών καί τούς πιστεύσαντας αὐτῶ καταδουλούμενος τηλικαύτας γάρ έχων δυνάμεις καὶ χορηγίας οὐδὲν τῆς Σπάρτης ἄξιον ἔπραξεν. ἐπεβάλετο μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ την Σικελίαν στρατεύειν, ώς την τυραννίδα μέν καταλύσων την 'Αγαθοκλέους, την δ' αὐτονομίαν τοῖς Σικελιώταις ἀποκαταστήσων, ὑπερθέμενος δὲ έπὶ τοῦ παρόντος ταύτην τὴν στρατείαν ἔπλευσεν είς Κόρκυραν καὶ κρατήσας τῆς πόλεως χρημάτων τε πλήθος είσεπράξατο καὶ φρουρὰν εγκατέστησε, διανοούμενος δρμητηρίω τούτω τῷ τόπω χρήσασθαι καὶ τοῖς περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα πράγμασιν ἐφεδρεύειν.

105. Εὐθὺ δὲ καὶ πρεσβειῶν πρὸς αὐτὸν παραγενομένων παρά τε Δημητρίου τοῦ πολιορκητοῦ καὶ Κασάνδρου περὶ συμμαχίας τούτων μὲν οὐδετέρω προσέθετο, τους δε Ταραντίνους και τών άλλων τινάς πυθόμενος άφεστηκέναι της μέν Κορκύρας την ίκανην φυλακην ἀπέλιπεν, μετά δὲ της ἄλλης δυνάμεως ἔπλει κατά σπουδήν ἐπὶ την 'Ιταλίαν, ώς κολάσων τοὺς ἀπειθοῦντας. προσσχών δὲ τῆ χώρα καθ' δυ τόπου ἐφύλασσου οι βάρβαροι,

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he had a strong army under his command, the 203 r.c. Lucanians in alarm established friendship with the Tarentines; and when the people of Metapontum did not come over to him, he persuaded the Lucanians to invade the territory of the Metapontines and, by making a simultaneous attack himself, intimidated them. Then, entering their city as a friend, he exacted more than six hundred talents of silver; and he took two bundred maidens of the best families as hostages, not so much as a guarantee of the city's faith as to satisfy his own lust.1 Indeed, having discarded the Spartan garb, he lived in continued luxury and made slaves of those who had trusted in him; for although he had so strong an army and such ample supplies, he did nothing worthy of Sparta. He planned to invade Sicily as if to overthrow the tyranny of Agathoeles and restore their independence to the Siciliots; but postponing this campaign for the present, he sailed to Coreyra, and after getting possession of the city exacted a great sum of money and installed a garrison, intending to use this place as a base and to await a chance to take part in the affairs in Greece.

105. But soon, when envoys did come to him both from Demetrius Poliorcetes and from Cassander proposing alliances, he joined with neither of them; but when he learned that the Tarentines and some of the others were in revolt, he left an adequate garrison in Coreyra, and with the rest of his army sailed at top speed to Italy in order to punish those who defied his commands. Putting in to land in the district that was defended by the barbarians, he took

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cp. Duris, FGrH, 76. 18; Athenaeus, 13. 84 (p. 605 e).

τὴν μèν πόλιν' έλων ἐξηνδραποδίσατο, τὴν δὲ χώραν 2 ἐλεηλάτησεν. ὁμοίως δὲ τὸ καλούμενον Τριόπιον ἐκπολιορκήσας εἰς τρισχιλίους ἔλαβεν αἰχμαλώτους. καθ' δν δὴ χρόνον οἱ μèν ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας βάρβαροι συνδραμόντες ἐπέθεντο νυκτὸς τῆ στρατοπεδεία καὶ μάχης γενομένης ἀνεῖλον τῶν μετὰ Κλεωνύμου πλείους τῶν διακοσίων, ἐζώγρησαν δὲ περὶ χιλίους. 3 ἄμα δὲ τῷ κινδύνῳ τούτῳ χειμών ἐπιγενόμενος εἴκοσι τῶν νεῶν διέφθειρε πλησίον ὁρμουσῶν τῆς παρεμβολῆς. ὁ δὲ Κλεώνυμος δυσὶν ἐλαττώμασι τηλικούτοις περιπεσών ἀπέπλευσε μετὰ τῆς δυνά-

μεως είς την Κόρκυραν.

106. Τοῦ δ' ἐνιαυσίου χρόνου διεληλυθότος 'Λθήνησι μὲν ἢν ἄρχων Νικοκλῆς, ἐν 'Ρώμη δὲ τὴν ὕπατον ἀρχὴν διεδέξαντο Μάρκος Λίβιος καὶ Μάρκος Αἰμίλιος. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων Κάσανδρος ὁ Μακεδόνων βασιλεὺς ὁρῶν τὴν δύναμιν τῶν 'Ελλήνων αὐξομένην καὶ πάντα τὸν πόλεμον ἐπὶ τὴν Μακεδονίαν συνιστάμενον περίφοβος ἦν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μέλλοντος. διόπερ ἐξέπεμψε πρεσβευτὰς πρὸς 'Αντίγονον εἰς τὴν 'Ασίαν, ἀξιῶν διαλύσασθαι πρὸς αὐτόν. ἀποκριναμένου δ' ἐκείνου διότι μίαν γινώσκει διάλυσιν, ἐὰν ὁ Κάσανδρος ἐπιτρέπη τὰ καθ' αὐτόν, καταπλαγεὶς Λυσίμαχον ἐκ τῆς Θράκης

The name of the city seems to have been lost.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The context (if, indeed, Tarentines above is right) suggests that the city is Tarentum; but no enslavement of its population is known, and it is most probable that some city name has fallen out. Cleonymus' raid upon Thuriae (Livy, 422)

the city, sold its people into slavery, and plundered 2008 R.C. the countryside. He likewise took by siege the city called Triopium, capturing about three thousand prisoners. But at this very time the barbarians throughout the region came together and attacked his camp by night, and in the battle that took place they slew more than two hundred of Cleonymus' men and made prisoners about a thousand. A storm rising at the time of the battle destroyed twenty of the ships that lay at anchor near his encampment. Having met with two such disasters, Cleonymus sailed away to Coreyra with his army.

archon in Athens, and in Rome Marcus Livius and Marcus Aemilius received the consulship. While these held office, Cassander, the king of the Macedonians, on seeing that the power of the Greeks was increasing and that the whole war was directed against Macedonia, became much alarmed about the future. He therefore sent envoys into Asia to Antigonus, asking him to come to terms with him. But when Antigonus replied that he recognized only one basis for a settlement—Cassander surrender of whatever he possessed,—Cassander was alarmed and summoned Lysimachus from Thrace to take con-

<sup>10. 2. 1),</sup> an otherwise unknown city on the east coast of the Bay of Tarentum, belongs in the next year.

<sup>2</sup> The exact site is not known.

There is nothing more about Cleonymus in what remains of Diodorus. For his further adventures cp. Livy 10, 2,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Nicocles was archon in 302/I. Livy, 10. 1. 7, gives the consuls of 302 s.c. as M. Livius Denter and Aemilius (without praenomen).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> i.e. the alliance under Demetrius Poliorcetes. The narrative is continued from chap, 103. 7. Cp. Justin, 15. 2. 15; Orosius, 3. 23. 41.

μετεπέμψατο πρός τὴν τῶν ὅλων κοινοπραγίαν· 3 ἀεὶ γὰρ εἰώθει τοῦτον κατὰ τοὺς μεγίστους φόβους είς την βοήθειαν προσλαμβάνεσθαι διά τε την τάνδρὸς άρετὴν καὶ διὰ τὸ τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ ομορον είναι τη Μακεδονία. συνεδρεύσαντες οὐν οί βασιλείς οὖτοι περὶ τοῦ κοινοῦ συμφέροντος ἐξέπεμψαν πρεσβευτὰς πρός τε Πτολεμαίον τὸν Αἰγύπτου βασιλέα καὶ πρὸς Σέλευκον τὸν τῶν ἄνω σατραπειών κυριεύοντα, περί τε της ύπερηφανίας της έν ταις αποκρίσεσιν εμφανίζοντες και τον έκ τοῦ πολέμου κίνδυνον κοινόν είναι πάντων διδά-4 σκοντες. της γάρ Μακεδονίας κρατήσαντα τὸν 'Αντίγονον εὐθὺς ἀφελεῖσθαι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τὰς βασιλείας δεδωκέναι γάρ αὐτὸν πεῖραν πλεονάκις ότι πλεονέκτης έστὶ καὶ πᾶσαν ἀρχὴν ἀκοινώνητον ποιεί. συμφέρειν οδν απαντας συμφρονήσαι καὶ 5 κοινῆ πρὸς 'Αντίγονον ἐπανελέσθαι πόλεμον. μέν οὖν περὶ Πτολεμαΐον καὶ Σέλευκον δόξαντες άληθη λέγειν προθύμως ύπήκουσαν και συνετάξαντο πρός ἀλλήλους βοηθεῖν άδραῖς δυνάμεσι.

107. Τοῖς δὲ περὶ Κάσανδρον ἔδοξε μὴ περιμένειν τὴν τῶν πολεμίων ἔφοδον, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοὺς
φθάσαντας ἐπιστρατεύειν καὶ προλαμβάνειν τὸ
χρήσιμον. διόπερ ὁ Κάσανδρος Λυσιμάχω μὲν
παρέδωκε μέρος τοῦ στρατοπέδου καὶ στρατηγὸν
Πρεπέλαον συνεξέπεμψεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἀνέζευξε μετὰ
τῆς λοιπῆς δυνάμεως εἰς Θετταλίαν, διαπολεμήσων
Δημητρίω καὶ τοῖς Ἑλλησι. Λυσίμαχος δὲ μετὰ

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> προς άλλήλους after λέγεω omitted by Bekker.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> πρός ἀλλήλους added by Bekker.
<sup>3</sup> Πρεπέλαον added by Beloch (Griechische Geschichte<sup>2</sup>, 4.
1. 162, note 3).

certed action in regard to their highest interests; 302 R.C. for it was his invariable custom when facing the most alarming situations to call on Lysimachus for assistance, both because of his personal character and because his kingdom lay next to Macedonia. When these kings had taken counsel together about their common interest, they sent envoys to Ptolemy, the king of Egypt, and to Seleucus, who was ruler of the upper satrapies, revealing the arrogance of Antigonus' answer and showing that the danger arising from the war was common to all. For they said, if Antigonus should gain control of Maccdonia, he would at once take their kingdoms from the others also; indeed he had given proof many times that he was grasping and regarded any command as a possession not to be shared. It would therefore, they said, be advantageous for all to make plans in common and jointly undertake a war against Antigonus. Now Ptolemy and Seleucus, believing that the statements were true, eagerly agreed and arranged with Cassander to assist one another with strong forces.

107. Cassander, however, thought it best not to await the attack of his enemies but to get the start of them by opening the campaign himself and seizing what he could use to advantage. Therefore Cassander gave to Lysimachus a part of his army and sent with it Prepelaüs as general, while he himself moved with the rest of the army into Thessaly to carry on the war with Demetrius and the Greeks.

But cp. critical note.

στρατοπέδου διαβάς έκ τῆς Εὐρώπης εἰς τὴν 'Ασίαν Λαμψακηνούς μέν καὶ Παριανούς έκουσίως προσθεμένους άφηκεν έλευθέρους, Σίγειον δε έκπολιορκήσας φρουράν παρεισήγαγες μετά δέ ταθτα Πρεπελάφ μεν τῷ στρατηγῷ δοὺς πεζοὺς έξακισχιλίους, ίππεις δε χιλίους εξέπεμψε προσαξόμενον τὰς πόλεις τάς τε κατὰ τὴν Αἰολίδα καὶ τὴν Ἰωνίαν, αὐτὸς δὲ τὸ μὲν πρώτον ἐπεχείρησε πολιορκεῖν τὴν "Αβυδον καὶ βέλη καὶ μηχανάς καὶ τάλλα παρ-3 εσκευάζετο· ἐπεὶ δὲ κατὰ θάλατταν ήλθε τοῖς πολιορκουμένοις στρατιωτών πλήθος παρά Δημητρίου το δυνάμενον την ασφαλειαν παρέχεσθαι τη πόλει, ταύτης μέν της ἐπιβολης ἀπέστη, την δ' ἐφ' Έλλησπόντω Φρυγίαν προσαγαγόμενος καὶ Σύνναδα<sup>1</sup> πόλιν ἔχουσαν ἀποσκευὰς μεγάλας βασιλικὰς 4 ἐπολιόρκησεν. ὅτε δὴ καὶ Δόκιμον τὸν ἀντιγόνου στρατηγόν πείσας κοινοπραγείν τά τε Σύνναδα παρέλαβε διὰ τούτου καὶ τῶν ὀχυρωμάτων ἔνια τῶν ἐχόντων τὰ βασιλικὰ χρήματα. ὁ δ' ἐπὶ τῆς Αἰολίδος καὶ τῆς Ἰωνίας πεμφθεὶς ὑπὸ Λυσιμάγου στρατηγός Πρεπέλαος 'Αδραμυττίου μεν εκυρίευσεν èν παρόδω, τὴν δ' "Εφεσον πολιορκήσας καὶ καταπληξάμενος τοὺς ένδον παρέλαβε τὴν πόλιν. τούς μέν έγκαταληφθέντας τῶν 'Ροδίων έκατὸν όμήρους ἀπέστειλεν είς την πατρίδα, τούς δ' 'Εφεσίους ἀφηκε, τὰς δὲ ναθς τὰς ἐν τῶ λιμένι πάσας ένέπρησε διὰ τὸ θαλασσοκρατεῖν τοὺς πολεμίους

¹ Fischer in apparatus suggests reading καὶ 〈ἐπὶ τῆν ἄνω Φρυγίαν προάγων〉 Σύνναδα. . . . Cp. note on translation. 426

Lysimachus with his army crossed from Europe to 302 n.c. Asia, and since the inhabitants of Lampsacus and Parium came over to him willingly, he left them free, but when he took Sigeum by force, he installed a garrison there. Next, giving his general Prepelaus six thousand foot-soldiers and a thousand horse, he sent him to win over the cities throughout Acolis and Ionia; as for himself, he first attempted to invest Abydus and set about preparing missiles and engines and the other equipment; but when there arrived by sea to assist the besieged a large body of soldiers sent by Demetrius, a force sufficient to secure the safety of the city, he gave up this attempt and won over Hellespontine Phrygia, and also laid siege to the city of Synnada, which possessed a great royal treasure. It was at this very time that he even persuaded Docimus, the general of Antigonus, to make common cause with him, and by his aid he took Synnada and also some of the strongholds that held the royal wealth. Prepelaus, the general who had been sent by Lysimachus to Acolis and Ionia, mastered Adramyttium as he passed by, and then, laying siege to Ephesus and frightening its inhabitants, he took the city. The hundred Rhodian hostages a whom he found there he sent back to their native land; and he left the Ephesians free but burned all the ships in the harbour, since the enemy controlled the sea

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Since Synnada is not in Hellespontine Phrygia, we may suppose either an error on Diodorus' part or the loss of some such words as those suggested by Fischer: "and then advancing into Upper Phrygia, he laid siege to Synnada." <sup>2</sup> Cp. chap. 99. 3.

opi dimpi dai di

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> <έλευθέρους> ἀφῆκε Reiske; <ύποσπόνδους> ἀφῆκε Hertlein, Fischer.

καὶ τὴν ὅλην κρίσιν τοῦ πολέμου ἄδηλον ὑπάρχειν. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Τηίους μὲν καὶ Κολοφωνίους προσηγάγετο, Ἐρυθραίοις δὲ καὶ Κλαζομενίοις ἐλθούσης κατὰ θάλατταν βοηθείας τὰς εμὲν πόλεις ἐλεῖν οὐκ ἤδυνήθη, τὴν δὲ χώραν αὐτῶν πορθήσας ἀνέζευξεν ἐπὶ Σάρδεις. ἐνταῦθα δὴ τὸν ᾿Αντιγόνου στρατηγὸν Φοίνικα πείσας ἀποστῆναι τοῦ βασιλέως παρέλαβε τὴν πόλιν πλὴν τῆς ἄκρας ταύτην γὰρ φυλάττων Φίλιππος εἶς τῶν ᾿Αντιγόνου φίλων βεβαίαν ἐτήρει τὴν εὔνοιαν τὴν πρὸς τὸν πεπιστευκότα.

Τὰ μὲν οδν περὶ Λυσίμαχον ἐν τούτοις ἢν.

108. 'Αντίγονος δὲ προκεχειρισμένος ἀγῶνα μέγαν καὶ πανήγυριν ἐν 'Αντιγονία συντελεῖν πάντοθεν άθλητάς τε καὶ τεχνίτας τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους ἐπὶ μεγάλοις ἄθλοις καὶ μισθοῖς ἠθροίκει. ώς δ' ήκουσε την Λυσιμάχου διάβασιν καὶ τῶν στρατηνῶν την απόστασιν, τον μέν αγώνα διέλυσε, τοις δ' άθληταῖς καὶ τοῖς τεχνίταις ἀπέδωκε μισθούς οὐκ 2 έλάττους διακοσίων ταλάντων. αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν δύναμιν άναλαβών ώρμησεν έκ της Συρίας σύντομον την πορείαν ποιούμενος επί τούς πολεμίους. είς δὲ Ταρσὸν τῆς Κιλικίας ἀφικόμενος ἐξ ὧν κατεκόμισε χρημάτων έκ των Κυΐνδων<sup>2</sup> το στρατόπεδον 3 είς τρείς μήνας εμισθοδότησεν. χωρίς δε τούτων τρισχίλια τάλαντα μετά της δυνάμεως εκόμιζεν, όπως τοιαύτην έχη την χορηγίαν, όταν αὐτῷ χρεία γένηται χρημάτων. ἔπειτα τὸν Ταῦρον ὑπερβαλών

<sup>1</sup> καὶ Δόκιμον after Φοίνικα omitted by Wesseling.

and the whole outcome of the war was uncertain. SUZ B.C. After this he secured the adherence of the people of Teos and of Colophon, but since reinforcements came by sea to Erythrae, and Clazomenae, he could not capture these cities; however, he plundered their territory and then set out for Sardis. There, by persuading Antigonus' general Phoenix to desert the king, he gained control of the city except the aeropolis; for Philip, one of the friends of Antigonus, who was guarding the citadel, held firm his loyalty toward the man who had placed trust in him.

The affairs of Lysimachus were in this position.

108. Antigonus, who had made preparations to celebrate great games and a festival in Antigonia, had collected from all sides the most famous athletes and artists to compete for great prizes and fees. But when he heard of the crossing of Lysimachus and the desertion of his own generals, he abandoned the games but distributed to the athletes and artists not less than two hundred talents as compensation. himself taking his army set out from Syria and made a rapid march against the enemy. Arriving at Tarsus in Cilicia, he paid the army for three months from the money he had brought down from Cyinda.2 Apart from this fund, he was carrying three thousand talents with the army in order that he might have this provision whenever he had need of money. Then, crossing the Taurus Range, he marched toward

<sup>2</sup> For the treasury of Alexander at Cyinda ep. Book 18, 62, 2; 19, 56, 5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> This is probably the same Philip as the adviser given to Demetrius by Antigonus in 314 n.c., Book 19, 69, 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Κυάνδων, cp. Books 18. 62. 2; 19. 56. 5; Κουάνδων RF, Κουάνδων X.

προήγεν έπὶ Καππαδοκίας καὶ τοὺς ἀφεστηκότας περί τὴν ἄνω Φρυγίαν καὶ Λυκαονίαν ἐπιπορευόμενος πάλιν είς την προϋπάρχουσαν συμμαχίαν 4 ἀποκατέστησεν. καθ' δυ δή χρόνου οι περί του Λυσίμαχον πυθόμενοι την των πολεμίων παρουσίαν συνήδρευον, βουλευόμενοι πως χρηστέον είη τοις 5 έπιφερομένοις κινδύνοις. ἔδοζεν οὖν αὐτοῖς εἰς μέν μάχην μή συγκαταβαίνειν, έως αν οί περί Σέλευκον έκ τῶν ἄνω σατραπειῶν καταβῶσι, τόπους δ'1 όχυρούς καταλαβέσθαι καὶ χάρακι καὶ τάφρω τὴν στρατοπεδείαν ἀσφαλισαμένους ὑπομένειν τῶν πολεμίων την έφοδον. οὖτοι μὲν οὖν τὸ δοχθὲν αὐτοῖς ἐπετέλουν κατά σπουδήν· ὁ δ' 'Αντίγονος ἐπεὶ πλησίον εγένετο των πολεμίων, εκτάξας την δύ-6 ναμιν προεκαλεῖτο εἰς μάχην. οὐδενὸς δ' ἐπεξιέναι τολμώντος αὐτὸς μὲν κατελάβετο τόπους τινάς, δι' ων ἀναγκαῖον ἢν τὰς τροφὰς τοῖς ἐναντίοις παρακομίζεσθαι οί δε περί τον Λυσίμαχον φοβηθέντες μήποτε της άγορας άποκοπείσης υποχείριοι γένωνται τοῖς πολεμίοις, νυκτὸς ἀνέζευξαν καὶ διατείναντες σταδίους τετρακοσίους κατεστρατοπέδευσαν 7 περὶ Δορύλαιον είχε γὰρ τὸ χωρίον σίτου τε καὶ τῆς ἄλλης χορηγίας πληθος καὶ ποταμὸν παραρρέοντα δυνάμενον ἀσφάλειαν παρέχεσθαι τοῖς παρ' αὐτὸν στρατοπεδεύουσι. βαλόμενοι δὲ στρατοπεδείαν ωχύρωσαν την παρεμβολήν βαθεία τάφρω καὶ τριπλῷ χάρακι.

109. 'Αντίγονος δε πυθόμενος την των πολεμίων ἀποχώρησιν εὐθὺς ἐπεδίωκεν αὐτοὺς καὶ πλησίον γενόμενος τῆς παρεμβολῆς, ἐπεὶ πρὸς παράταξιν οὐ συγκατέβαινον, ἤρξατο περιταφρεύειν τὴν στρατοπεδείαν καὶ καταπέλτας καὶ βέλη μετεπέμψατο,

Cappadocia; and, advancing upon those who had 302 B.C. deserted him in upper Phrygia and Lycaonia, he restored them again to the former alliance. At this very time Lysimachus, on hearing of the presence of the enemy, held a council considering how he ought to meet the approaching dangers. They decided not to join in battle until Seleucus should come down from the upper satrapies, but to occupy strong positions and, after making their encampment safe with palisade and ditch, to await the onslaught of the enemy. They therefore carried out their decision with vigour; but Antigonus, when he came near the enemy, drew up his army and challenged them to battle. When no one dared to issue forth, he himself occupied certain places through which it was necessary that the provisions for his opponents should be transported; and Lysimachus, fearing that if their food supply should be cut off, they would then be at the mercy of the enemy, broke camp at night, made a forced march of four hundred stades,2 and camped near Dorylaeum; for the stronghold had an ample store of grain and other supplies, and a river ran by it that could give protection to those who camped beside it. Pitching camp, they strengthened their encampment with a deep ditch and a triple stockade.

109. When Antigonus learned of the departure of the enemy he at once pursued them; and, after he had approached their encampment, since they did not come out for battle, he began to surround their camp with a trench, and he sent for catapults

About 44 miles,

<sup>1 8&#</sup>x27; Geer : δέ.

βουλόμενος αὐτὴν πολιορκῆσαι. συντελουμένων δ' άκροβολισμών περί τὴν ταφρείαν καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸν Λυσίμαχον πειρωμένων ανείργειν τοῖς βέλεσι τοὺς έργαζομένους έν πάσιν προεπέρουν οί περί τον 2 'Αντίγονον. ἔπειτα χρόνου γενομένου καὶ τῶν ἔργων ήδη συντέλειαν λαμβανόντων, της δὲ τροφης ύπολιπούσης τους πολιορκουμένους οι περί Λυσίμαχον, τηρήσαντες νύκτα χειμέριον, αναζεύξαντες έκ της παρεμβολής διά των ύπερδεξίων τόπων άπεχώρησαν είς παραχειμασίαν. ὁ δ' Αντίγονος ήμέρας γενομένης ώς είδε την των πολεμίων άπαλ-3 λαγήν, άντιπαρηγεν αὐτὸς διὰ τῶν πεδίων. ἐπιγενομένων δὲ όμβρων μεγάλων καὶ τῆς χώρας ούσης βαθυγείου και πηλώδους τῶν τε ὑποζυγίων οὐκ ολίγα συνέβη καὶ τῶν σωμάτων τινὰ διαφθαρηναι καὶ τὸ σύνολον ἐπιπόνως ἄπασαν τὴν δύναμιν 4 διατεθήναι. διόπερ ό βασιλεύς ἄμα μεν ἀναλαβεῖν βουλόμενος έκ της κακοπαθίας τούς στρατιώτας, άμα δὲ τὴν χειμερινὴν ὥραν δρῶν περιλαμβάνουσαν τοῦ μὲν καταδιώκειν ἀπέστη, πρὸς δὲ τὴν χειμασίαν ἐπιλεξάμενος τοὺς εὐθετωτάτους τόπους διείλε κατὰ 5 μέρη την δύναμιν. πυνθανόμενος δὲ Σέλευκον καταβαίνειν έκ τῶν ἄνω σατραπειῶν μετὰ μεγάλης δυνάμεως, επεμψέ τινας τῶν φίλων εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα πρός Δημήτριον, παρακελευόμενος ήκειν πρός αὐτὸν μετά τῆς δυνάμεως τὴν ταχίστην σφόδρα γαρ εὐλαβεῖτο μὴ πάντων τῶν βασιλέων ἐπ' αὐτὸν συνδραμόντων ἀναγκασθῆ παρατάξει κρίναι τὸν όλον πόλεμον πρίν η συνελθείν εἰς ταὐτὸν την ἐκ 6 της Εὐρώπης δύναμιν. παραπλησίως δὲ καὶ Λυσίμαχος διείλε την δύναμιν είς χειμασίαν εν τῷ καλουμένω Σαλωνίας πεδίω. άγοραν δε πολλήν εξ 432

and missiles, intending to storm it. When shots were 309 s.c. exchanged about the excavation and Lysimachus' men tried to drive away with missiles those who were working, in every case Antigonus had the better of it. Then as time passed and the work was already nearing completion, since food was growing scarce for the besieged, Lysimachus, after waiting for a stormy night, set out from the camp and departed through the higher land to go into winter quarters. But when at daybreak Antigonus saw the departure of the enemy, he himself marched parallel with them through the plains. Great rainstorms occurred, with the result that, as the country had deep soil and became very muddy, he lost a considerable number of his pack animals and a few of his men, and in general the whole army was in serious difficulty. Therefore the king, both because he wished to restore his soldiers after their sufferings and because he saw that the winter season was at hand, gave up the pursuit; and selecting the places best suited for wintering, he divided his army into sections. But when he learned that Seleucus was coming down from the upper satrapies with a great force, he sent some of his friends into Greece to Demetrius, bidding him come to him with his army as soon as possible; for, since all the kings had united against him, he was taking every precaution not to be forced to decide the whole war in battle before the army in Europe came to join him. Similarly Lysimachus also divided his army in order to go into winter quarters in the plain called that of Salonia. He obtained ample

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Σαλωνίας Wesseling (cp. Strabo, 12. 5. 7): Σαλμωνίας.

'Ηρακλείας μετεπέμπετο, ποιησάμενος ἐπιγαμίαν 7 πρός τοὺς 'Ηρακλεώτας' ἔγημε γὰρ "Αμηστριν τὴν 'Οξυάρτου μὲν θυγατέρα, Δαρείου δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀδελφιδῆν, Κρατεροῦ δὲ γυναῖκα γενομένην ὑπ' 'Αλεξάνδρου δοθεῖσαν, τότε δυναστεύουσαν τῆς πόλεως.

Καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ τὴν 'Ασίαν ἐν τούτοις ἦν.

110. Κατά δὲ τὴν Ἑλλάδα Δημήτριος διατρίβων έν ταις 'Αθήναις έσπευδε μυηθήναι και παραλαβείν' την εν Έλευσινι τελετήν. ἀπεχούσης δε χρόνον ικανον της κατά νόμους ημέρας, καθ' ην ειώθεισαν 'Αθηναῖοι συντελεῖν τὴν τελετήν, ἔπεισε τὸν δῆμον διὰ τὰς εὐεργεσίας κινῆσαι τὸ πάτριον ἔθος. παραδούς οὖν αὐτὸν ἄνοπλον τοῖς ἱερεῦσι καὶ πρὸ τῆς ώρισμένης ήμέρας μυηθείς ἀνέζευξεν έκ τῶν 'Αθη-2 νων. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρώτον εἰς Χαλκίδα τῆς Εὐβοίας ήθροισε τὸν στόλον καὶ τὴν πεζὴν δύναμιν μετὰ δὲ ταθτα πυθόμενος τους περί Κάσανδρον προκατειληφθαι τὰς παρόδους, πεζή μὲν ἀπέγνω την εἰς Θετταλίαν ποιείσθαι πορείαν, παραπλεύσας δέ μετά της δυνάμεως είς τον εν Λαρίση λιμένα και την δύναμιν εκβιβάσας την μεν πόλιν εξ εφόδου παρέλαβε, την δ' ἄκραν ἐκπολιορκήσας τοὺς μὲν φρουροὺς δήσας παρέδωκεν είς φυλακήν, τοις δε Λαρισαίοις 3 την αὐτονομίαν ἀποκατέστησεν. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα 'Αντρώνας' μέν καὶ Πτελεόν προσηγάγετο, Δίον δέ

παραλαβεῖν Fischer (in apparatus): καταλαβεῖν.
 'Αντρώνας Unger, Fischer, "Αντρώνας Madvig, "Αντρώνα Wesseling: Πρώνας.

After Craterus deserted Amestris (or Amastris) in order to marry Phila (Book 18. 18. 7), she married Dionysius, the 484

supplies from Heraclea, having made a marriage 302 B.C. alliance with the Heracleotes; for he had married Amestris, the daughter of Oxyartes and niece of King Darius. She had been wife of Craterus, given him by Alexander, and at the time in question was ruler of the city.<sup>1</sup>

Such was the situation in Asia.

110. In Greece Demetrius, who was tarrying in Athens, was eager to be initiated and to participate in the mysteries at Eleusis.<sup>2</sup> Since it was a considerable time before the legally established day on which the Athenians were accustomed to celebrate the mysteries, he persuaded the people because of his benefactions to change the custom of their fathers. And so, giving himself over unarmed to the priests, he was initiated before the regular day and departed from Athens. And first he gathered together his fleet and his land army in Chalcis of Euboca; then, learning that Cassander had already occupied the passes in advance, he gave up the attempt to advance into Thessaly by land, but sailed along the coast with the army into the port of Larisa.3 Disembarking the army, he captured the city at once; and taking the aeropolis, he imprisoned the garrison and put them under guard, but he restored their autonomy to the people of Larisa. Thereafter he won over Antrones and Ptelcum.4 and when Cassander would have trans-

ruler of Heraclea. On his death she continued to rule that city for their minor children until her marriage with Lysimachus (Straho, 12. 3. 10). Lysimachus in his turn soon deserted her to marry Arsinoë.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Plutarch, Demetrius, 26.

<sup>3</sup> This is Larisa Cremaste in Phthiotis.

4 Antron (or Antrones) and Pteleum are also in Phthiotis, a little north-east of Larisa.

καὶ 'Ορχομενὸν' μετοικίζοντος εἰς Θήβας Κασάνδρου διεκώλυσε μετοικισθήναι τὰς πόλεις. Κάσανδρος δὲ θεωρών τὰ πράγματα τῷ Δημητρίω κατά νοῦν χωροῦντα Φεράς μεν καὶ Θήβας άδροτέραις φρουραίς παρεφύλαττε, την δε δύναμιν πασαν είς ένα τόπον άθροίσας άντεστρατοπέδευσε τοῖς 4 περὶ τὸν Δημήτριον. εἶχε δὲ τοὺς σύμπαντας πεζούς μέν είς δισμυρίους εννακισχιλίους, ίππεῖς δὲ δισχιλίους. τῶ δὲ Δημητρίω συνηκολούθουν ίππεις μεν χίλιοι καὶ πεντακόσιοι, πεζοὶ δὲ Μακεδόνες οὐκ ἐλάττους τῶν ὀκτακισχιλίων, μισθοφόροι δ' είς μυρίους καὶ πεντακισχιλίους, ἐκ δὲ τῶν κατὰ την Έλλάδα πόλεων δισμύριοι και πεντακισχίλιοι, ψιλικά δὲ τάγματα καὶ πειρατῶν παντοδαπῶν τῶν συντρεχόντων έπὶ τοὺς πολέμους² καὶ τὰς άρπαγὰς ούκ έλάττους των οκτακισχιλίων, ωστ' είναι τούς άπαντας πεζούς περί τούς πεντακισμυρίους έξακισ-5 χιλίους. ἀντικαθημένων δὲ τῶν στρατοπέδων άλλήλοις έπὶ πολλάς ήμέρας ἐκτάξεις μὲν ἐγίνοντο παρ' άμφοτέροις, είς μάχην δε οὐδέτερος συγκατέβαινε, καραδοκών την ἐπὶ τῆς 'Ασίας ἐσομένην β των όλων κρίσιν. Δημήτριος δέ, των Φεραίων έπικαλεσαμένων αὐτόν, παρεισπεσών είς τὴν πόλιν μετά μέρους της δυνάμεως την μεν άκραν έκπολιορκήσας ύποσπόνδους άφηκε τους παρά Κασάνδρου στρατιώτας, τοις δε Φεραίοις την ελευθερίαν άποκατέστησεν.

111. Έν τούτοις δ' ὄντων τῶν περὶ Θεσσαλίαν ἦκον πρὸς τὸν Δημήτριον οἱ πεμφθέντες ὑπ' 'Αντιγόνου, διασαφοῦντες τὰς παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐντολὰς

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Fischer in apparatus suggests Νηλίαν and 'Ορμένιον from Strabo, 9. 5. 15.

ported the people of Dium and Orchomenus 1 into 302 B.C. Thebes, he prevented the transplanting of the cities. But when Cassander saw that Demetrius' undertakings were prospering, he first protected Pherae and Thebes with stronger garrisons; and then, after collecting his whole army into one place, he encamped over against Demetrius. He had in all twenty-nine thousand foot-soldiers and two thousand horsemen. Demetrius was followed by fifteen hundred horsemen, not less than eight thousand Macedonian footsoldiers, mercenaries to the number of fifteen thousand, twenty-five thousand from the cities throughout Greece, and at least eight thousand of the light armed troops and of the freebooters of all sorts who had gathered for the fighting and the plundering; so that there were in all about fifty-six thousand footsoldiers. For many days the camps were pitched opposite each other, and the battle lines were drawn up on both sides, but neither came forward into battle since each was awaiting the decision of the whole matter that would take place in Asia. Demetrius, however, when the people of Pherae called upon him, entering their city with part of his army and taking the citadel, dismissed the soldiers of Cassander on terms and restored their liberty to the people of Pherae.

111. While affairs in Thessaly were in this state, there came to Demetrius the messengers sent by Antigonus, accurately detailing the orders of his

<sup>1</sup> Dium and Orchomenus in this region are unknown; but since the Thebes in question must be Thebae Phthiotides (cp. Pherae and Thebes below), Demetrius can hardly have returned to Bocotia.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> πολέμους Dindorf: πολεμίους.

καὶ παρακελευόμενοι τὴν ταχίστην διαβιβάζειν τὰς 2 δυνάμεις είς την 'Ασίαν. διόπερ αναγκαΐον ηγησάμενος υπάρχειν ο βασιλεύς το πείθεσθαι τώ πατρί, πρός μεν Κάσανδρον διαλύσεις εποιήσατο, συνθέμενος είναι κυρίας τὰς συνθήκας, ἐὰν ὧσιν εὐάρεστοι τῷ πατρί, ἀκριβῶς μὲν είδὼς οὐ προσδεξόμενον αὐτὸν διὰ τὸ κεκρικέναι πάντως διὰ τῶν ὅπλων ἐπιθεῖναι τέλος τῷ συμβάντι πολέμῳ, βουλόμενος δε την έκ της Ελλάδος αποχώρησιν εὐσχήμονα ποιήσασθαι καὶ μὴ φυγῆ παραπλησίαν: ἐγέγραπτο γαρ έν ταις συνθήκαις πρός τοις άλλοις και τό τας Ελληνίδας πόλεις έλευθέρας ύπάρχειν, οὐ τὰς κατὰ την Έλλάδα μόνον, άλλὰ καὶ τὰς κατὰ τὴν 'Ασίαν. 3 μετὰ δὲ ταῦθ' ὁ Δημήτριος παρασκευασάμενος πόρια πρός τὴν παρακομιδὴν τῶν τε στρατιωτῶν καὶ τῆς ἀποσκευῆς ἀνήχθη παντὶ τῷ στόλω καὶ κομισθείς διά νήσων κατέπλευσεν είς "Εφεσον. έκβιβάσας δὲ τὴν δύναμιν καὶ στρατοπεδεύσας πλησίον των τειχών ήνάγκασε την πόλιν εἰς την προϋπάρχουσαν ἀποκαταστήναι τάξιν καὶ τὴν μέν ύπο Πρεπελάου τοῦ Λυσιμάχου στρατηγοῦ παρεισαχθεῖσαν φρουρὰν ἀφῆκεν ὑπόσπονδον, ἰδίαν δὲ φυλακήν είς την άκραν καταστήσας παρηλθεν είς Έλλήσποντον. καὶ Λαμψακηνούς μὲν καὶ Παριανούς, ἔτι δὲ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν μεταβεβλημένων πόλεών τινας άνεκτήσατο, ἐπὶ δὲ τὸ στόμα τοῦ Πόντου παραγενόμενος πρός τῷ Χαλκηδονίων ἱερῷ στρατοπεδείαν περιεβάλετο καὶ τοὺς φυλάξοντας του τόπου ἀπέλιπε στρατιώτας πεζούς μέν τρισχιλίους, ναθς δέ μακράς τριάκοντα την δ' άλλην 438

father and bidding him take his army across into Asia 302 B.C. as swiftly as possible. Since he regarded obedience to his father's orders as obligatory, the king came to terms with Cassander, making the condition that the agreements should be valid only if they were acceptable to his father; for although he very well knew that his father would not accept them since he had definitely made up his mind to bring to an end by force of arms the war which had set in, yet Demetrius wished to make his withdrawal from Greece appear respectable and not like a flight. Indeed, it was written among other conditions in the agreement that the Greek cities were to be free, not only those of Greece but also those of Asia. Then Demetrius, after preparing ships for the transportation of the soldiers and the equipment, set sail with his whole fleet and, going through the islands, put in at Ephesus. Disembarking his army and camping near the walls, he forced the city to return to its former status; then he dismissed on terms the garrison that had been introduced by Prepelaus, the general of Lysimachus, and after stationing his own garrison on the acropolis, he went on to the Hellespont. He also recovered Lampsacus and Parium, likewise some of the other cities that had changed sides; and when he arrived at the entrance of the Pontus, he constructed a camp beside the shrine of the Chalcedonians 1 and left to guard the region three thousand foot-soldiers and thirty warships. Then he sent the rest of the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The shrine of the Chalcedonians may be identical with the place on the shore of the Pontus called Hieron, Book 19, 73, 6.

Χαλκηδονίων Fischer (in apparatus; cp. Books 18, 72, 4;
 60, 3): Καλχηδονίων RX, Καρχηδονίων F.

δύναμιν διελόμενος κατά πόλεις διέδωκεν είς

χειμασίαν.

Περί δὲ τούτους τοὺς χρόνους καὶ Μιθριδάτης, ύπήκοος ῶν 'Αντιγόνω καὶ δόξας ἀφίστασθαι πρὸς τούς περί Κάσανδρον, ἀνηρέθη περί Κίον τῆς Μυσίας, ἄρξας αὐτῆς καὶ Μυρλείας¹ ἔτη τριάκοντα καὶ πέντε· τὴν δὲ δυναστείαν διαδεξάμενος Μιθριδάτης πολλούς προσεκτήσατο, της δε Καππαδοκίας

καὶ Παφλαγονίας ήρξεν έτη τριάκοντα έξ.

112. Έν δὲ ταῖς αὐταῖς ἡμέραις Κάσανδρος μετὰ την απαλλαγήν την Δημητρίου τας μέν κατά την Θετταλίαν πόλεις άνεκτήσατο, Πλείσταρχον δέ μετά δυνάμεως έξέπεμψεν είς την 'Ασίαν βοηθήσοντα τοις περί Λυσίμαχον. οί δέ συναποσταλέντες ήσαν πεζοί μέν μύριοι δισχίλιοι, ίππεῖς δὲ 2 πεντακόσιοι. ό δὲ Πλείσταρχος ἐπειδὴ παραγενόμενος έπὶ τὸ στόμα τοῦ Πόντου κατέλαβε τοὺς τόπους προκατεχομένους ύπὸ τῶν πολεμίων, ἀπογνούς την διάβασιν παρηλθεν είς 'Οδησσόν, η κείται μεταξύ μέν τῆς τε 'Απολλωνίας καὶ Καλλαντίας," κατ' άντικού δὲ τῆς ἐν τῶ πέραν 'Ηρακλείας. 3 έχούσης τι μέρος τῆς Λυσιμάχου δυνάμεως. οὐκ έχων δ' ίκανὰ πόρια πρὸς τὴν τῶν στρατιωτῶν διάβασιν τριχή διεμέρισε την δύναμιν. την μέν οθν πρώτην ἀποστολήν συνέβη διασωθήναι πρός την Ἡράκλειαν, τὴν δὲ δευτέραν ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ τὸ στόμα τοῦ Πόντου φυλακίδων νεών άλώναι. κατά τὴν

Μυρλείας Post: 'Αρρίνης RX, Μαρίνης F, <sup>2</sup> Καλλαντίας Palmer: Γαλατίας.

army into winter quarters, dividing it among the 302 Re. cities.

At about this time Mithridates, who was subject to Antigonus but appeared to be shifting his allegiance to Cassander, was stain at Cius in Mysia after having ruled that city and Myrlea for thirty-five years; and Mithridates, inheriting the kingdom, added many new subjects and was king of Cappadocia and

Paphlagonia for thirty-six years.

112. In these same days Cassander, after the departure of Demetrius, took possession of the cities of Thessaly and sent Pleistarchus with an army into Asia to aid Lysimachus. Those sent with him were twelve thousand foot-soldiers and five hundred horsemen. But when Pleistarchus came to the entrance of the Pontus, he found that the region had already been taken over by the enemy and, abandoning the crossing, he turned aside to Odessus, which lies between Apollonia and Callantia, directly opposite to Heraclea on the opposite shore, where a part of the army of Lysimachus was quartered. Since he did not have ships enough for transporting his soldiers, he divided his army into three contingents. Now the first force sent out came safe to Heraelea, but the second was captured by the guard-ships at the entrance to the Pontus. When Pleistarchus himself

<sup>2</sup> Myrlea, later called Apamea, was an important port

near Clus; but see critical note.

Mithridates II of Cius in Bithynia, son of Ariobarzanes, ep. Book 16, 90, 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Mithridates III of Cius and I of Pontus, if identical with the Mithridates of Book 19, 40, 2, and Plutarch, *Demetrius*, 4, is son of an Ariobarzanes who is probably the brother of Mithridates II. In our passage, then, the nephew succeeds his uncle.

τρίτην δὲ αὐτοῦ συνδιαβαίνοντος τοῦ Πλειστάρχου χειμὼν ἐπεγενήθη τηλικοῦτος ὥστε τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν 4 σκαφῶν καὶ τῶν σωμάτων διαφθαρῆναι καὶ γὰρ ή κομίζουσα ναῦς ἐξήρης τὸν στρατηγὸν συνεκλύσθη καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῆ πλεόντων οὐκ ἐλαττόνων ἢ πεῦτακοσίων τρεῖς πρὸς τοῖς τριάκοντα μόνον διεσώθησαν. ἐν δὲ τούτοις ἦν καὶ ὁ Πλείσταρχος, ναυαγίου μὲν ἐπειλημμένος, εἰς δὲ τὴν γῆν ἡμιθανὴς ἐκβεβρασμένος. οῦτος μὲν οῦν ἀποκομισθεὶς εἰς Ἡράκλειαν καὶ προσαναλαβὼν ἐκ τῆς ἀτυχίας τὸ σῶμα πρὸς Λυσίμαχον εἰς τὴν χειμασίαν ἀνέζευξε,

αποβεβληκώς το πλείον της δυνάμεως.

113. Έν δὲ ταῖς αὐταῖς ἡμέραις καὶ Πτολεμαῖος ό βασιλεύς ἀναζεύξας εξ Αίγύπτου μετὰ δυνάμεως άξιολόγου τὰς μὲν ἐν τῆ Κοίλη Συρία πόλεις ἁπάσας ὑποχειρίους ἐποιήσατο Σιδῶνα δὲ πολιορκοῦντος αὐτοῦ τινες παρήσαν ἀπαγγέλλοντες ψευδώς ὅτι παρατάξεως γενομένης τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν οἱ μὲν περὶ Λυσίμαχον καὶ Σέλευκον ήττηθέντες ἀποκεχωρή-κασιν εἰς τὴν Ἡράκλειαν, ᾿Αντίγονος δὲ νενικηκώς 2 προσάγει μετά δυνάμεως έπὶ Συρίας. παραλογισθείς οδν ύπο τούτων καὶ πεισθείς άληθη την προσαγγελίαν είναι, πρός μέν τους Σιδωνίους είς τέτταρας μήνας άνοχὰς ἐποιήσατο, τὰς δὲ χειρωθείσας πόλεις φρουραίς ασφαλισάμενος επανήλθε 3 μετά της δυνάμεως είς Αίγυπτον. ἄμα δὲ τούτοις πραττομένοις ένιοι των παρά Λυσιμάχω στρατιωτῶν αὐτομολήσαντες ἦλθονε ἐκ τῆς χειμασίας παρ' Αντίγονον, Αὐταριάται μὲν δισχίλιοι, Λύκιοι δὲ καὶ Παμφύλιοι περὶ ὀκτακοσίους. τούτοις μέν οὖν 'Αντίγονος φιλανθρώπως προσενεχθείς τούς τε μιset sail with the third group, so great a tempest rose 302 n.c. that most of the vessels and the men on them were lost; and indeed the large warship 1 that carried the general sank, and of the not less than five hundred men who sailed in he?, only thirty-three were saved. Among these was Pleistarchus who, holding to a piece of wreekage, was east ashore half dead. He was carried to Heraclea and after recovering from the misfortune went to Lysimachus at winter quarters,

having lost the larger part of his army.

113. During these same days King Ptolemy, setting out from Egypt with an army of considerable size, subjugated all the cities of Cocle-Syria; but while he was besieging Sidon certain men came to him with the false report that a battle had taken place between the kings in which Lysimachus and Seleucus had been defeated, that they had withdrawn to Heraclea, and that Antigonus, after winning the victory, was advancing with an army against Syria. Consequently Ptolemy, deceived by them and believing that their report was true, made a fourmonth's truce with the Sidonians, secured with garrisons the cities that he had captured, and went back to Egypt with his army. At the same time as this was taking place, some of the soldiers of Lysimachus, having left their winter quarters as deserters, went over to Antigonus, namely two thousand Autariatae and about eight hundred Lycians and Pamphylians. Now Antigonus, receiving these men

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The hexeres was probably a ship with a single row of oars on each side, each oar manned by six men, rather than a ship with six superimposed banks of oars on each side. Cp. Tarn, Hellenistic and Naval Developments, 122-141.

<sup>&</sup>quot; ήλθον added by Rhodoman.

σθούς ἔδωκεν, οὖς ἔφασαν ὀφείλεσθαι παρὰ Λυσιμάχου, καὶ δωρεαῖς ἐτίμησε. καθ' ὅν δὴ χρόνον
ἢλθε καὶ Σέλευκος ἐκ τῶν ἄνω σατραπειῶν διαβεβηκὼς εἰς Καππαδοκίαν μετὰ πολλῆς δυνάμεως
καὶ κατασκευάσας στεγνὰ τοῖς στρατιώταις παρεχείμαζεν. εἰχε δὲ πεζοὺς μὲν εἰς δισμυρίους,
ἱππεῖς δὲ σὺν τοῖς ἱπποτοζόταις περὶ μυρίους
δισχιλίους, ἐλέφαντας δὲ ὀγδοήκοντα πρὸς τοῖς
τετρακοσίοις, ἄρματα δὲ δρεπανηφόρα πλείω τῶν
ἐκατόν.

5 Αἱ μὲν οὖν τῶν βασιλέων δυνάμεις τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἠθροίζοντο, κεκρικότων ἀπάντων κατὰ τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν θερίαν διὰ τῶν ὅπλων κρῖναι τὸν πόλεμον. ἡμεῖς δέ, καθάπερ ἐν ἀρχῇ προεθέμεθα, τὸν γενόμενον τούτοις τοῖς βασιλεῦσι πρὸς ἀλλήλους πόλεμον περὶ τῶν ὅλων πράξεων ἀρχὴν ποιησόμεθα

της έπομένης βίβλου.

παρεχείμαζεν Dindorf: παραχειμάζειν.

## BOOK XX, 113, 3-5

in kindly fashion, not only gave them the pay which 202 ne, they said was due them from Lysimachus but also honoured them with gifts. At this time Seleucus also arrived, having crossed over from the upper satrapies into Cappadocia with a large army, and after making huts for the soldiers he went into winter quarters near by. He had foot-soldiers to the number of about twenty thousand, about twelve thousand horsemen including his mounted archers, four hundred and eighty elephants, and more than a hundred scythed chariots.

In this way, then, the forces of the kings were being gathered together, since they all had determined to decide the war by force of arms during the coming summer. But, as we proposed in the beginning, we shall make the war that these kings waged against each other for supreme rule the beginning of the following book.



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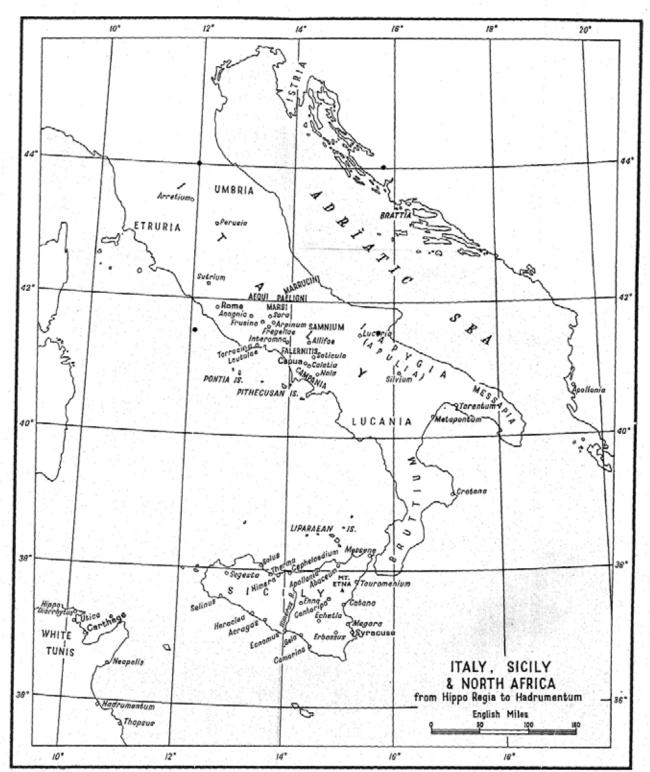
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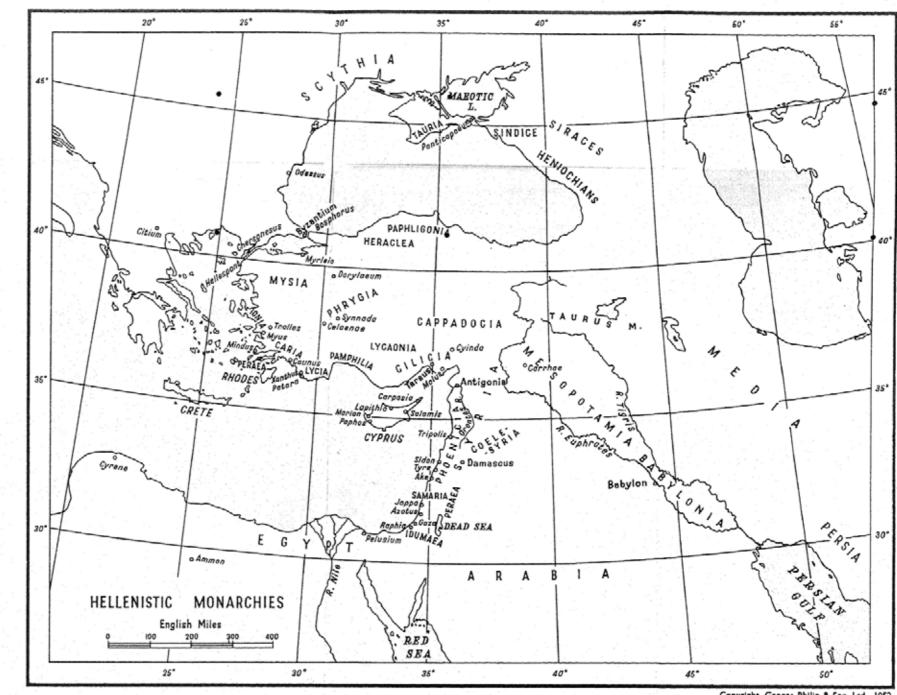
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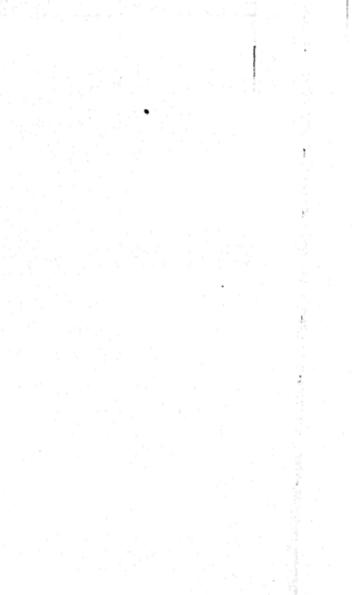


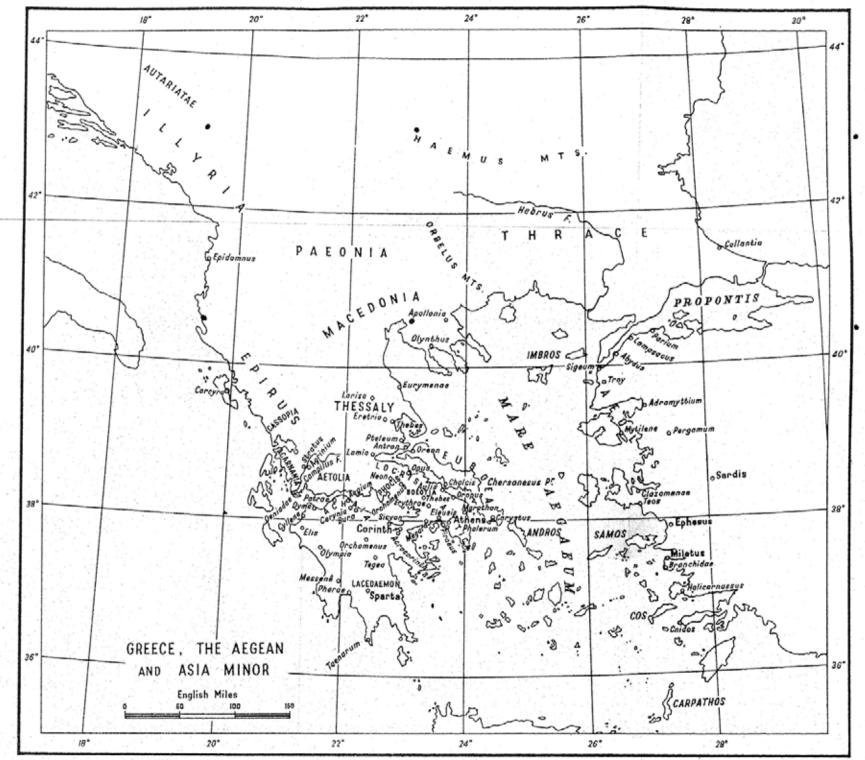
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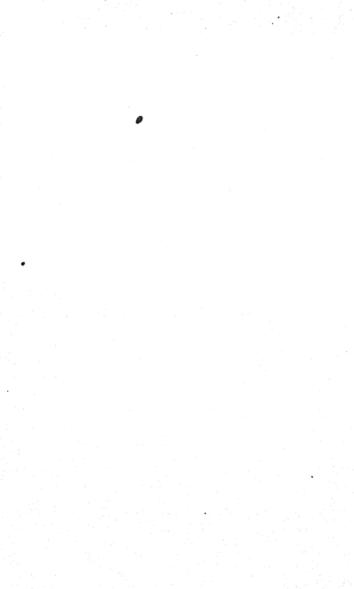
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