Appian's Roman history

Appianus (of Alexandria.)
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APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

I
APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY HORACE WHITE, M.A., LL.D.

IN FOUR VOLUMES

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INTRODUCTION

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

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

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1634, from a MS. belonging to his friend Peiresc. A few detached sentences have been found in the lexicon of Suidas and elsewhere. The history terminates at the death of Sextus Pompeius in the year 35 B.C., shortly after the division of the Roman world between Antony and Octavian.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

H. W.

NOTE.

The first two volumes of the present edition have been revised and prepared for the press by J. D. Denniston, of New College, Oxford.
APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY
ΑΠΠΙΑΝΟΥ ΡΩΜΑΙΚΑ

ΠΡΟΟΙΜΙΟΝ

1. Την Ἑρωμαίκην ἱστορίαν ἀρχόμενος συγγράφειν, ἀναγκαῖον ἡγησάμην προτάξαι τοὺς ὁρους ὅσων ἔθνων ἀρχοῦσι Ῥωμαίοι. εἰσὶ δὲ οἶδε. ἐν μὲν τῷ ὀκεανῷ Βρεττανῶν τοῦ πλείους μέρους, διὰ δὲ τῶν Ἡρακλείων στηλῶν ἐσ τῆν ἑλλάδα ἐσπλεύοντι τε καὶ ἔπει τάς αὐτᾶς στήλας περιπλέοντι νῆσων ἀρχοῦσι πασῶν, καὶ ἰπείρων ὅσαι καθήκουσιν ἐπὶ τῆν ἑλλάδαν. ὃν εἰς ἐν δεξιὰ πρώτοι Μαυρούσιοι ὅσοι περὶ τῆν ἑλλάδαν, ὅσα τε ἄλλα Διβύων ἔθνη μέχρι Καρχηδόνος, καὶ τούτων ὑπερθε Νομάδες, οὓς Ῥωμαίοι καλοῦσι. Νομίδας καὶ τὴν χώραν Νομίδαν, ἐτεραὶ δὲ Διβυὲς ὅσοι περιουκοῦσι τὰς Σύρτεις μέχρι Κυρῆνης. Κυρήνη τε αὕτη καὶ Μαρμαρίδαι καὶ Ἀμμώνιοι καὶ οἱ τὴν Μάρειαν λίμνην κατοικοῦσιν, καὶ ἡ μεγάλη πόλις ἢν Ἀλέξανδρος ἔθηκε πρὸ Ἀἰγύπτου, Αἰγυπτός τε αὕτη μέχρι Αἰθιόπων τῶν ἑών ἀνὰ τὸν Νείλον πλέουτι, καὶ μέχρι Πηλούσιον διὰ θαλάσσης.

2. Ἐπιστρέφοντι δὲ τῷ πλοῦν καὶ περιώντε Συρία τε ἡ Παλαιστίνη, καὶ ὑπὲρ αὕτην
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PREFACE

1. INTENDING to write the history of the Romans, I have deemed it necessary to begin with the boundaries of the nations under their sway. They are as follows: In the ocean, the major part of those who inhabit the British Isles. Then entering the Mediterranean by the Pillars of Hercules and circumnavigating the same we find under their rule all the islands and the mainlands washed by that sea. The first of these on the right hand are the Mauretanians of the coast and various other African nations as far as Carthage. Farther inland are the nomad tribes whom the Romans call Numidians and their country Numidia; then other Africans who dwell around the Syrtes as far as Cyrene, and Cyrene itself; also the Marmaridae, the Ammonii, and those who dwell by the lake Mareotis; then the great city founded by Alexander on the border of Egypt, and Egypt itself, as one sails up the Nile, as far as eastern Ethiopia; and as far as Pelusium by sea.

2. Here turning our course and passing round, we take in Palestine-Syria, and beyond it a part
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μο重要原因, ἑχόμενοι δὲ τῶν Παλαιστινῶν Φοινικῶν ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάσσῃ, καὶ Φοινικῶν ὑπερθεν ἢ τῇ κοίλῃ Συρία, καὶ μέχρι ἐπὶ ποτα-μῶν Ἐὐφράτην ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἄνω Παλμυρηνοῦ τε καὶ Ἡ Παλμυρηνῶν ψάμμοι ἐπὶ αὐτῶν Ἐὐ-φράτην καθήκουσα, Κιλίκες τε Σύρων ἑχόμενοι, καὶ Καππαδοκαὶ Κιλίκων ὡμοροί, καὶ μέρος Ἀρμενίων, οὐς καλοῦσιν Ἀρμενίαν βραχυτέραν, παρά τε τὸν Ἑὔξειου πόλεων ἄλλα ὡς Ποντικὰ Ῥωμαίων ὑπίκοις γένη. Σύρων μὲν δὴ καὶ Κιλίκες ἐς τὴν τὴν θάλασσαν ἀφροῦσιν, Ἄρμενιοι δὲ καὶ Καππαδοκαὶ ἐς τὰ Ποντικά γένη καθῆκουσι, καὶ ἀνὰ τὴν μεσόγειον ἐπὶ τὴν καλο-μένην Ἀρμενίαν μείζονα, ὡς Ῥωμαῖοι οὐκ ἄρχουσι μὲν ἐς φόρου κομίδην, αὐτοὶ δὲ αὐτοῖς ἀπο-δεικνύουσι τοὺς βασιλέας. ἀπὸ δὲ Καππαδοκῶν καὶ Κιλίκων ἐς τὴν Ἰωνίαν καταβαίνοντι ἐστὶν ἡ μεγάλη χερρόνησος: ὁ τε γὰρ πόλις ὁ Ἑὔξειος καὶ Ἡ Προποντίς καὶ ὁ Ἔλληστοντος ἐπὶ δεξιά, καὶ τὸ Αἰγαῖον, ἐκ δὲ λαϊκὸς τὸ Παμφυλίον ἢ Αἰγύπτιον πέλαγος (λέγεται γὰρ ἀμφῶς) ποιεῖ χερρόνησον, καὶ εἰσὶν αὐτὸς οἱ μὲν ἐς τὸ Αἰγύπτιον πέλαγος ἀφροῦσιν, Πάμφυλιος τε καὶ Δυκιός καὶ μετ’ αὐτοὺς Καρία μέχρι Ἰωνίας, οἱ δ’ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑὔξειον καὶ τὴν Προποντίδα καὶ τὸν Ἔλληστοντος, Γαλάται τε καὶ Βιθυνοὶ καὶ Μυσοὶ καὶ Φρύγες, ἐν δὲ μεσογείῳ Πισίδαι τε καὶ Δυδοὶ. τοσαῦτα ἐδρνὴ τὴν χερρόνησον οἰκουσί, καὶ πάντων ἄρχουσι Ῥωμαίοι.

3. Περάσαντες δὲ καὶ ἐτέρων ἔθνων ἄρχουσιν ἀμφὶ τὸν Πόντον καὶ Μυσῶν τῶν ἐν Ἑὐρώπῃ, καὶ Θρᾳκῶν ὡς οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἑὔξειον. ἀπὸ δὲ
of Arabia. The Phoenicians hold the country next to Palestine on the sea, and beyond the Phoenician territory are Coele-Syria, and the parts stretching from the sea as far inland as the river Euphrates, namely Palmyra and the sandy country round about, extending even to the Euphrates itself. The Cilicians come next to the Syrians, and their neighbours are the Cappadocians, and that part of the Armenian country called Lesser Armenia. Along the Euxine are other nations called by the common name Pontic, subject to the Roman rule. The Syrians and Cilicians border on the Mediterranean, the Armenians and Cappadocians extend to the Pontic nations and to the interior as far as Greater Armenia, which is not subject to the Romans in the way of tribute, and its people appoint their own kings. Descending from Cilicia and Cappadocia to Ionia we find the great peninsula bounded on the right by the Euxine, the Propontis, the Hellespont, and the Aegean, and on the left by the Pamphylian or Egyptian sea, for it is called by both names. Some of the countries embraced in it look toward the Egyptian sea, namely: Pamphylia and Lycia and after them Caria extending to Ionia. Others look toward the Euxine, the Propontis, and the Hellespont, namely: the Galatians, Bithynians, Mysians, and Phrygians. In the interior are the Pisidians and Lydians. These are the nations which inhabit this peninsula and all are under Roman rule.

3. Crossing from these coasts they rule other nations around the Euxine, the Mysians of Europe and the Thracians who border that sea. Beyond
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'Ιωνίας κόλπος ἔστι θαλάσσης ὁ Λιγαίος, καὶ ἕτερος Ἰονίου θαλάσσης, καὶ ὁ Σικελικὸς πορθ-μός, καὶ ἡ Τυρρηνικὴ θάλασσα μέχρι τῶν Ἡρακλείων στῆλῶν. τούτο μηκὸς ἦστιν ἄπτ', Ἰωνίας ἐπὶ τὸν ὦκεανόν, καὶ ἐν τῷ τῷ παράπληρ' Ῥωμαίων ὑπήκοα τοσαῦτα, ἡ τε Ἑλλας πᾶσα καὶ Θεσσαλία καὶ Μακεδονες, καὶ ὁσα πρόσοικα ἄλλα Θρακῶν καὶ Ἡλληνικῶν καὶ Παιῶνων ἔθνη, αὐτή τε Ἰταλία μακροτάτη δή πάντων ἔθνων οὐσα καὶ ἁπτὸ τοῦ Ἰονίου παρῆ-κουσα ἐπὶ πλείστον τῆς Τυρρηνικῆς θαλάσσης μέχρι Κελτῶν, οὗσ αὐτοῖ Αλατας προσαγο-ρεύοντο, καὶ Κελτῶν ὁσα ἔθνη τὰ μὲν ἐς τήρης τῆν θάλασσαν τὰ δὲ ἐς τὸν βόρειον ὦκεανόν ἀνορᾶ, τὰ δὲ παρὰ Ῥήνου ποταμὸν ὄχθηται, Ἰβηρία τε πᾶσα καὶ Κελτίβηρες ἐπὶ τὸν ἑσπέριον καὶ βόρειον ὦκεανόν καὶ τὰς Ἡρακλείους στῆλας τελευτῶντες. καὶ τούτων πέρι καὶ ἐφ' ἐκάστου δηλώσο τὰ ἀκριβέστατα, ὅταν ἐς ἐκαστον ἔθνος ἡ γραφή περιή. νῦν δὲ, ὅσον ὦρας μεγάλοις τῆν ἄρχην περιλαβεῖν, κατὰ μὲν θάλασσαν ἐρηται, 4. κατὰ δὲ γῆν περιδεύοντι μοιρὰ τε Μαυρουσίων ἀν εἰς τῶν παρ' Ἀιθιόπη τοῖς περὶ ἑσπέριαν, καὶ εἴ τι θερμότερον ἡ θηριώδες ἀλλο Ἀρβύ̄νος μέχρι Αἰθιόπων τῶν ἑών. ταῦτα μὲν Λιβύ̄ς Ῥωμαίοις ὄροι, τῆς δὲ Ἀσίας ποταμός τε Εὐφράτης καὶ τὸ Καύκασον ὄρος καὶ ἡ Ἀρμε-νίας τῆς μείζονος ἄρχη, καὶ Κόλχος παρὰ τὴν Ἐυξείων θάλασσαν φιλήμενοι, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τούδε τοῦ πελάγους. εν δὲ τῆς Εὐρώπης ποταμοί δύο, Ῥήνος τε καὶ Ἰστρος, μάλιστα τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἄρχην ὀρίζουσι, καὶ τοῦτων Ῥήνος μὲν ἐς τὸν
PREFACE

Ionia are the Aegean sea, the Adriatic, the straits of Sicily, and the Tyrrhenian sea stretching to the Pillars of Hercules. This is the distance from Ionia to the ocean. Following the coast line we find the following countries subject to the Romans: all of Greece, Thessaly, and Macedonia, also the adjoining Thracians, the Illyrians, and Pannonians, and Italy itself, the longest country of all, extending from the Adriatic and bordering the greater part of the Tyrrhenian sea as far as the country of the Celts (whom the Romans call Gauls), some of whom face the Mediterranean, others the Northern ocean, and still others dwell along the river Rhine; also all of Spain and Celtiberia on the Northern and Western oceans as far as the Pillars of Hercules. Of these I shall speak more particularly when I come to deal with each nation. But for the present let this suffice for the principal boundaries which define their empire along the sea.

4. On the landward side the boundaries are the part of Mauritania adjoining western Ethiopia and the tropical region, infested with numbers of wild beasts, which extends as far as eastern Ethiopia. These are the Roman boundaries in Africa. Those of Asia are the river Euphrates, Mount Caucasus, the kingdom of Greater Armenia, the Colchians who dwell along the Euxine sea, and the remainder of that coast. In Europe two rivers, the Rhine and the Danube, for the most part bound the Roman empire. Of these, the Rhine empties into the Northern
Ἐνώνεις κόλπος ἐστὶ θαλάσσης ὁ Λιγαῖος, καὶ ἐτερος Ἰονίου θαλάσσης, καὶ ὁ Σικελικός πορθμός, καὶ ἡ Τυρρηνικὴ θάλασσα μέχρι τῶν Ἡρακλείων στηλῶν. τούτο μὴκός ἐστιν ἀπ' Ἰωνίας ἐπὶ τὸν ὦκεανὸν, καὶ ἐν τῷ τῷ παράπλοι Ῥωμαιῶν ὑπήκοα τοσαῦτα, ἢ τε Ἑλλάς πάσα καὶ Θεσσαλία καὶ Μακεδόνες, καὶ ὁσα πρόσοικα ἄλλα Ἰθακεῖς καὶ Ἰλλυρίων καὶ Παιόνων ἐθνη, αὐτή τε Ἰταλία μακροτάτη δῆ πάντων ἐθνῶν οὐσα καὶ ἀπ' τοῦ Ἰονίου παρικούσα ἐπὶ πλείστων τῆς Τυρρηνικῆς θαλάσσης μέχρι Κελτῶν, οὑς αὐτοὶ Γαλάτας προσαγχρευοῦσι, καὶ Κελτῶν ὁσα ἐθνη τὰ μὲν ἐς τὴν τὴν θάλασσαν τὰ δὲ ἐς τὸν βόρειον ὦκεανόν ἀφορᾷ, τὰ δὲ παρὰ Ῥήμον ποταμὸν ὄχθη. Ἰβηρία τε πάσα καὶ Κελτίβηρες ἐπὶ τῶν ἐσπέρων καὶ βόρειον ὦκεανόν καὶ τὰς Ἡρακλείους στὴν τελευτάντες. καὶ τούτων πέρι καὶ ἐφ' ἐκάς δηλώσω τὰ ἀκριβέστατα, ὅταν ἐς ἐκαστὸν ἐς ἡ γραφὴ περί ἐς, νῦν δέ, ὅσον ὁροὶς μεγαλύτερα τὴν ἀρχὴν περιλαβεῖν, κατὰ μὲν θάλασσαν, ἀρχὴν ὁμολογεῖαι, 4. κατὰ δὲ ἐς τῶν περιφερείας ὅπως ἠκολούθησαν, καὶ η τοῦ θερμοτέρου ἡ θερισίδος, Λιβύης μέχρι Αἰγυπτοῦ πόλεων ἐφών. ταῦτα Λιβύης Ῥωμαῖοι ὅροι, τῆς δὲ Ἰονίας περὶ τῆς Εὐφράτης καὶ τὸ Καύκασου ὄρος καὶ ἡ νίας τῆς μείζονος ἀρχῆς, καὶ Κόλχοι πάντες Εὐξείων θάλασσαν, ὠκενμένοι, καὶ τὰ λυμήματα τῶν πελάγους. Ὁ Πήνης ποταμός τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς ἀρχῆς ἦν.
Ionia are the Aegean sea, the Adriatic, the Straits of Sicily, and the Tyrhenian sea stretching to the Pillars of Hercules. This is the distance from Ionia to the ocean. Following the coast line we find the following countries subject to the Romans: all of Greece, Thessaly, and Macedonia, also the adjoining racians, the Illyrians, and Pannonians, and Italy itself, the longest country of all, extending from the Aetia and bordering the greater part of the Rhynian sea as far as the country of the Celts (in the Romans call Gauls), some of whom face the Mediterranean, others the Northern ocean, and still dwell along the river Rhine; also all of Spain, Iberia on the Northern and Western oceans; the Pillars of Hercules. Of these I shall more particularly when I come to deal with Ionia. But for the present let this suffice for the principal boundaries which define their empire.
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βόρειων ὀκεανῶν, Ἰστρός δὲ ἐς τὸν Ἑβίζεινον πόλιν καταδιδοῖ. περάσαντες δὲ πη καὶ τούσδε Κελτῶν τῶν ὑπὲρ Ῥήνου ἄρχουσιν ἐνίων, καὶ Γετῶν τῶν ὑπὲρ Ἰστροῦ, οὕς Δακοὺς καλοῦσιν. ὅροι μὲν οὕτωι καὶ ἦπεροι, ὡς ἐγγύτατα ἐλθεῖν τοῦ ἀκριβοῦς· 5. νὴσοι δὲ πᾶσαι ὅσαι τῆς ἐντὸς θαλάσσης εἰσίν, αἴ τι Κυκλάδες ἢ Σποράδες ἢ Ἰάδες ἢ Ἐχινάδες ἢ Τυρρηνίδες ἢ Γυμνησίαι ἢ ὅσαι ἄλλας ὀνομάζουσιν ἔτερωσι, περὶ τε Διβύνην καὶ τὸ Ἰόνιον ἢ Αἰγύπτιον ἢ Μυτρῖον ἢ Σικελικὸν ἢ ὅσα ἄλλα τῆς τῆς θαλάσσης ύμνια τα, ὅσαι τε ἐξαιρέτως ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὀνομάζονται μεγάλαι νῆσοι, Κύπρος τε καὶ Κρήτη καὶ Ρόδος καὶ Λέσβος καὶ Εὔβοια καὶ Σικελία καὶ Σαρδῶ καὶ Κύρνος, καὶ εἰ τις ἄλλη μικρότερα τε καὶ μείζων, ἀπαντα ταύτ' ἐστὶ Ἱομαίου ὅπηκα. καὶ τὸν βόρειων ὀκεανῶν ἐς τὴν Βρεττανίδα νῆσον περάσαντες, ἢπείροι μεγάλης μείζων, τὸ κράτιστον αὐτὴς ἔχουσιν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, οὕδεν τῆς ἄλλης δεόμενοι οὐ γὰρ εὐφορος αὐτοῖς ἐστὶν οὐδ' ἢν ἔχουσιν.

6. Τούτων τοσοῦτων καὶ τηλικοῦτων ἐθνῶν ὅντων τὸ μέγεθος, Ἰταλίαν μὲν αὐτὴν ἐπιμόρχως τε καὶ μὸδις ἐν πεντακοσίοις ἐτεσί κατειργάσαντο βεβαιος. καὶ τούτων τὰ ἡμίσεα βασιλεύσων ἐχρώντο, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ τοὺς βασιλέας ἐκβαλόντες, καὶ ἐπομόσαντες οὐκ ἀνεξέσθαι βασιλέως, ἀριστοκρατία τε ἐχρήσαντο ἀπὸ τούδε καὶ προστάταις ἄρχουσιν ἐτησίοις. διακοσίοις δὲ μάλιστα ἐξῆς ἐπὶ τοῖς πεντακοσίοις ἐπὶ μέγα ἦλθεν ἡ ἀρχή, καὶ ἥσιν τε δυνάμεως ἐκράτησαν ἀπείρου, καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν ἐθνῶν τότε ὕπηγάγοντο. Γάιός τε
ocean and the Danube into the Euxine. On the other side of these rivers, however, some of the Celts beyond the Rhine are under Roman sway, and beyond the Danube some of the Getae, who are called Dacians. These, with the nearest approach to accuracy, are the boundaries on the mainland.

5. All the islands also of the Mediterranean, the Cyclades, Sporades, Ionian isles, Echinades, the Tuscan isles, the Balearic isles, and all the rest, whatever their different names, that are off the coast of Libya and in Libyan, Ionian, Egyptian, Myrtoan, Sicilian, and other Mediterranean waters, by whatever names called, also those which the Greeks by way of distinctness call the great islands, Cyprus, Crete, Rhodes, Lesbos, Euboea, Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica, and whatever other isle there may be, large or small—all are under Roman rule. Crossing the Northern ocean to Britain, which is an island greater than a large continent, they have taken possession of the better and larger part, not caring for the remainder. Indeed, the part they do hold is not very profitable to them.

6. Although holding the empire of so many and such great nations the Romans laboured five hundred years with toil and difficulty to establish their power firmly in Italy itself. Half of this time they were under kings, but having expelled them and sworn to have kingly rule no longer, they henceforward adopted aristocracy, and chose their rulers yearly. In about the two hundred years next succeeding the five hundred their dominion increased greatly, they acquired unexampled foreign power, and brought the greater part of the nations under their sway.
Καίσαρ ὑπὲρ τοὺς τότε δυναστεύσας, καὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν κρατηναμενός τε καὶ διαθέμενος ἐσ φυλακὴν ἀσφαλῆ, τὸ μὲν σχῆμα τῆς πολιτείας καὶ τὸ ὄνομα ἔφυλαξε, μόναρχον δὲ ἔαυτὸν ἐπέστησε πᾶσι. καὶ ἔστιν ἢδε ἡ ἀρχὴ μέχρι νῦν ὑφ' ἐνὶ ἄρχοντι, οὐς βασιλέας μὲν οὐ λέγουσιν, ὡς ἔγω νομίζω, τὸν ὅρκον αἰδοῦμενοι τὸν πάλαι, αὐτοκράτορας δὲ ὁμομάζουσιν, δὲ καὶ τῶν προσκαίρων στρατηγῶν ὄνομα ἦν εἰσὶ δὲ ἐργῷ τὰ πάντα βασιλεῖς.

7. Καὶ ἔστι καὶ τοῖς τοῖς αὐτοκράτορισιν ἐς τὸν παρὸντα χρόνον ἐγγυτάτω διακοσίων ἐτῶν ἄλλων, ἐν οἷς ἢ τε πόλεις μάλιστα κατεκοσμήθη, καὶ ἡ πρόσοδος ἐπὶ πλείστον ἡξήθη, καὶ πάντα ἐν εἰρήνη μακρὰ καὶ εὐσταθεὶς προῆλθεν ἐς εὐδαιμονίαν ἀσφαλῆ. καὶ τινα καὶ τοῖς προτέροις ἔθνεσιν οἴδε οἱ αὐτοκράτορες ἐς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν προσέλαβον, καὶ ἀφιστάμενα ἄλλα ἐκρατύναντο. ὅλως τε δὲ εὐβούλιαν τὰ κράτιστα γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης ἔχοντες σώζειν ἐθέλουσι μᾶλλον ἡ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐς ἀπειρόν ἐκφέρειν ἐπὶ βάρβαρα ἐθνὴ πενιχρὰ καὶ ἀκερδή, ὅν ἐγὼ τινας εἶδον ἐν Ὁρμῆ πρεσβευομένους τε καὶ διδόντας ἐαυτοὺς ὑπηκόους εἶναι, καὶ οὐ δεξάμενον βασιλέα ἀνδρας οὐδὲν αὐτῷ χρησίμους ἐσομένους. ἐθνείς τε ἄλλοις, ἀπείρους τὸ πλῆθος, αὐτοὶ διδόσι τοὺς βασιλεάς, οὐδὲν αὐτῶν ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν δεόμενοι καὶ τῶν ὑπηκόων ἐνίοις προσαναλίσκουσιν, αἰδούμενοι καίπερ ἐπιζημίως ὄντας ἀποθέσθαι. τὴν τε ἀρχὴν ἐν
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[Julius] Caesar having got the upper hand of his rivals possessed himself of the sovereignty, which he strengthened, systematised, and secured, and, while preserving the form and name of the republic, made himself the absolute ruler of all. In this way the government, from that time to this, has been a monarchy; but they do not call their rulers kings, out of respect, as I think, for the ancient oath. They call them imperators [emperors], that being the title also of those who formerly held the chief command of the armies for the time being. Yet they are very kings in fact.

7. From the advent of the emperors to the present time is nearly two hundred years more, in the course of which the city has been greatly embellished, its revenue much increased, and in the long reign of peace and security everything has moved towards a lasting prosperity. Some nations have been added to the empire by these emperors, and the revolts of others have been suppressed. Possessing the best part of the earth and sea they have, on the whole, aimed to preserve their empire by the exercise of prudence, rather than to extend their sway indefinitely over poverty-stricken and profitless tribes of barbarians, some of whom I have seen at Rome offering themselves, by their ambassadors, as its subjects, but the emperor would not accept them because they would be of no use to him. They give kings to a great many other nations whom they do not wish to have under their own government. On some of these subject nations they spend more than they receive from them, deeming it dishonourable to give them up even though they are costly. They surround the empire with great
κύκλω περικάθηνεται μεγάλοις στρατοπέδοις, καὶ
φυλάσσουσι τὴν τοσήνδε γὴν καὶ θάλασσαν
ώσπερ χωρίων.

8. Ἀρχή τε οὐδεμία προήλθε πω μέχρι νῦν ἐς
tosóúto megyðous καὶ χρόνου. οὔτε γὰρ τὰ
Ἐλλήνων, εἰ τις ὁμοῦ τὰ Ἀθηναίων καὶ Δακε-
daomônia καὶ Ἐθβαίων, δυναστευσάντων παρὰ
μέρος, ἀπὸ τῆς Δαρείου στρατείας, θεῖν αὐτοὺς ἔστων
ἐλλαμπρύνεσθαι μάλιστα, ἐς τὴν Φιλίππου τοῦ
Ἀμύντου τῆς Ἐλλάδος ἡγεμονίαν συναγάγοι,
πολλὰ ἀν ἔτη φανείθη. οἱ δὲ ἄγωνες αὐτοῖς ἐγέ-
νυντο οὐκ ἐπὶ ἀρχὴς περικλήθησε μᾶλλον ἡ φιλο-
tημία πρὸς ἄλληλους, καὶ οἱ λαμπρότατοι περὶ
tῆς αὐτῶν ἑλευθερίας πρὸς ἄρχας ἄλλας ἐπινόουσας.
oi δὲ τινες αὐτῶν ἐσ Σικελίαν πλεύσαντες ἐπὶ
ἀρχῆς ἐτέρας ἐπιτίθει προσέπτασαν ἢ εἰ τις ἐς
tῆν Ἀσίαν διήλθη, μικρὰ καὶ ὅδε δράσας εὐθὺς
ἐπανήγα. ὅλως τε ἡ Ἑλληνικὴ δύναμις, καὶ τερ
ἐκθύμως ὑπὲρ ἡγεμονίας ἅγωνισαμένων, οὐ προ-
ήθην ὑπὲρ τὴν Ἐλλάδα βεβαιῶς, ἀλλὰ δεινὰ
μὲν ἐγένυντο ἀδουλωτῶν αὐτὴν καὶ ἀήττητον
κατασχεῖν ἐπὶ πλεύστων, ἀπὸ δὲ Φιλίππου τοῦ
Ἀμύντου καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Φιλίππου καὶ
πάνυ μοι δοκοῦσι πρᾶξαι κακῶς καὶ ἀναξίως
αὐτῶν.

9. Ὅτε τῇς Ἀσίας ἀρχὴ ἔρχεται μὲν πέρι
καὶ ἀρετῆς οὖν ἐς τὰ σμικρότατα τῶν Εὐρωπαίων
παραβάλλεται δι’ ἁσθενεῖαν καὶ ἀτολμίαν τῶν
ἐθνῶν. καὶ τούτο δηλόωσε καὶ ἦδε ἡ γραφὴ
προϊόνσαν: ὁλίγας γὰρ μάχαις Ῥωμαίοι τοιούτων
tῆς Ἀσίας ἐθνῶν κατέσχουσι οὐσων ἔτι κρατοῦσι,
kai taúta Maκεδόνων αὐτῶν ὑπερμαχουμένων, τὰ
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armies and they garrison the whole stretch of land and sea like a single stronghold.

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

9. The empire of Asia is not to be compared, as to achievements and bravery, with that of the smallest of the countries of Europe, on account of the effeminacy and cowardice of the Asiatic peoples, as will be shown in the progress of this history. Such of the Asiatic nations as the Romans hold, they subdued in a few battles, though even the Macedonians joined
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dè πολλὰ περὶ τὴν Διβύην καὶ τῇν Εὐρώτην ἐξετρίφησαν. Ἄσυριῶν τε αὐτό Καὶ Μῆδων καὶ Περσῶν, τριῶν τῶν μεγίστων ἵγεμονιῶν ἐς Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Φιλίππου, συντιθεμένων οὐτ' ἄν ὁ χρόνος ἑφίκοιτο τῶν ἐνακοσίων ἕτων, ὡσα ἐστὶ Ῥωμαιοῖς ἐς τὸν παρόντα χρόνον, τὸ τε μέγεθος τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς ἑκείνων οὐδὲ ἐς ἦμοι νομίζω τήδε τῆς ἱγεμονίας ἀπαύγαν, τεκμαιρόμενοι ὅτι Ῥωμαῖοις ἅπτο τε δύσεων καὶ τοῦ πρὸς ἐσπέραν ὦκεανοῦ ἐπὶ τὸ Καύκασον ὄρος καὶ ποταμὸν Ἐφράτην καὶ ἐς Αἰθίοπας τοὺς ἄνω δὲ Ἀιγύπτου καὶ Ἀράβων ἐπὶ τὸν ἔφοι ὦκεανοῦ ἡ ἀρχή διεξέρχεται, καὶ ὄρος ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς ὁ ὦκεανος ἀρχομένου τε καὶ δυνάμενον τοῦ θεοῦ, θαλάσσης τε πάσης ἱγεμονεύουσι τῆς ἐντός ὀυσίας καὶ νῆσων ἀπασῶν καὶ ἐν τῷ ὦκεανῷ Βρεττανῶν. Μῆδοις δὲ καὶ Πέρσαις ἢ τε πλείστη θάλασσα ὁ Παμφύλως κόλπος ἢν καὶ μία νῆσος ἢ Κύπρος ἢ τί που ἄλλο σμικρὸν τῆς Ἰωνίας ἐν θαλάσσῃ τοῦ τε Περσικοῦ κόλπου (καὶ γὰρ τούδε ἐκράτους) πόσον τι καὶ τὸ τούτων πελάγος ἐστὶν ;

10. Τὰ δὲ δὴ Μακεδόνων, τὰ μὲν πρὸς Φιλίππου τοῦ Ἀμάντου καὶ πάνυ σμικρὰ ἦν, καὶ ἐστὶν ἄν ὑπήκουσαν· τὰ δὲ αὐτοῦ Φιλίππου πόνου μὲν καὶ ταλαιπωρίας ἐγεμενοὶ μὲν πεπτῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῦτα περὶ τὴν Ἐλλάδα καὶ τὰ πρόσχορα μόνα ἦν. ἐπὶ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρον μεγέθει τε καὶ πλήθει καὶ εὐτυχίᾳ καὶ ταχυεργίᾳ διαλάμψασα ἡ ἀρχή, καὶ ὁλίγον δεῖν ἐς ἀπειρον καὶ ἀμίμητον ἐλθοῦσα, διὰ τὴν βραχύτητα τοῦ χρόνου προσέοικεν ἀστραπῆ λαμπρώ. ἦς γε καὶ διαλυθείσης ἐς πολλὰς σατραπεῖας ἐπὶ πλείστον ἐξέλαμπτε τὰ μέρη. καὶ τοὺς
in the defence, while the conquest of Africa and of Europe was in many cases very exhausting. Again, the duration of the Assyrians, Medes, and Persians taken together (the three greatest empires before Alexander), does not amount to nine hundred years, a period which that of Rome has already reached, and the size of their empire, I think, was not half that of the Romans, whose boundaries extend from the setting of the sun and the Western ocean to Mount Caucasus and the river Euphrates, and through Egypt up country to Ethiopia and through Arabia as far as the Eastern ocean, so that their boundary is the ocean both where the sun-god rises and where he sinks, while they control the entire Mediterranean, and all its islands as well as Britain in the ocean. But the greatest sea-power of the Medes and Persians included only the gulf of Pamphylia and the single island of Cyprus or perhaps some other small islets belonging to Ionia in the Mediterranean. They controlled the Persian gulf also, but how much of that is open sea?

10. Again, the history of Macedonia before Philip, the son of Amyntas, was of very small account; there was a time, indeed, when the Macedonians were a subject race. The reign of Philip himself was full of toil and struggles which were not contemptible, yet even his deeds concerned only Greece and the neighbouring country. The empire of Alexander was splendid in its magnitude, in its armies, in the success and rapidity of his conquests, and it wanted little of being boundless and unexampled, yet in its shortness of duration it was like a brilliant flash of lightning. Although broken into several satrapies even the parts were splendid. The kings of my own
ἐμοὶς βασιλεύσι μόνοις ἡν στρατιά τε πεζῶν μυριάδες ἐικοσὶ καὶ μυριάδες ἱππεῶν τέσσαρες, καὶ ἐλέφαντες πολεμισταὶ τριακόσιοι, καὶ ἄρματα ἐς μάχας δισχίλια, καὶ ὄπλα ἐς διαδοχὴν μυριάσι τριάκοντα. καὶ τάδε μὲν αὐτοῖς ἦν ἐς πεζομαχίαν, ἐς δὲ ναυμαχίας κοινωτά, καὶ ὅσα σμικρότεραι ἄλλα, δισχίλια, τριήρεις δὲ ἀπὸ ἡμιοιῶν μέχρι πεντήρους πεντακόσιαι καὶ χίλιαι, καὶ σκεύη τριηριτικὰ διπλότερα τούτων, θαλαμηγά τε χρυσόστρωμα καὶ χρυσέμβολα ἐς πολέμου πομπῆν, οἷς αὐτοὶ διαπλέοντες ἐπέβαινον οἱ βασιλεῖς, ὀκτακόσια, χρημάτων δ’ ἐν τοῖς θησαυροῖς τέσσαρες καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα μυριάδες ταλάντων Αἰγυπτίων. ἐς γὰρ ἡ τοσοῦτο παρασκευὴς τε καὶ στρατιάς ἐκ τῶν βασιλικῶν ἀναγραφῶν φαίνεται προαγαγόν τε καὶ καταλιπτῶν ὁ δεύτερος Αἰγυπτίων βασιλεὺς μετ’ Ἀλέξανδρον, δὲ καὶ πορίσαι, δεινότατος ἡν βασιλέων καὶ δαπανήσαι λαμπρότατος καὶ κατασκευάσαι μεγαλουργότατος. φαίνεται δὲ καὶ πολλὰ τῶν ἄλλων σατραπεῖῶν οὐ πολὺ τούτων ἀποδέουντα. ἄλλα πάντα ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπιγόνων αὐτῶν συνετρίφθη, στασιασάντων ἐς ἀλλήλους’ ὃ δὴ μόνῳ ἀρχαὶ μεγάλαι καταλύονται.

11. Τὰ δὲ Ἡρωμαῖοι μεγέθει τε καὶ χρόνῳ διήνεγκε δ’ εὐβουλίαν καὶ εὔτυχίαν ἓς τε τὴν περέκτησιν αὐτῶν ἄρετή καὶ φερεποία καὶ ταλαυπωρία πάντας ὑπερήφανοι, οὐτε ταῖς εὐπραγίαις ἐπαιρόμενοι μέχρι βεβαιῶς ἐκράτησαν, οὕτε συστελλόμενοι ταῖς συμφοραῖς’ ὅπε γε καὶ δύο μυριάδες ἀνδρῶν ἐνίστε μιᾶς ἡμέρας, καὶ ἐτέρας

1 So Schw. for MSS. μεγέθει τε καὶ εὐτυχία διήνεγκε δ’ εὐβουλίαν καὶ χρόνον.
country [Egypt] alone had an army consisting of 200,000 foot, 40,000 horse, 300 war elephants, and 2,000 armed chariots, and arms in reserve for 300,000 soldiers more. This was their force for land service. For naval service they had 2,000 barges propelled by poles, and other smaller craft, 1,500 galleys with from one and a half to five benches of oars each, and galley furniture for twice as many ships, 800 vessels provided with cabins, gilded on stem and stern for the pomp of war, with which the kings themselves were wont to go to naval combats; and money in their treasuries to the amount of 740,000 Egyptian talents.\footnote{The sum must be greatly exaggerated. Various attempts have been made to explain the error.} Such was the state of preparedness for war shown by the royal accounts as recorded and left by the king\footnote{Ptolemy Philadelphus, d. 247 B.C.} of Egypt second in succession after Alexander, a monarch remarkable for his skill in raising money, for the lavishness of his expenditure, and for the magnificence of his public works. It appears also that many of the other satrapies were not much inferior in these respects. Yet all these resources were wasted under their successors through civil war, by which alone great empires are destroyed.

11. Through prudence and good fortune has the empire of the Romans attained to greatness and duration; in gaining which they have excelled all others in bravery, patience, and hard labour. They were never elated by success until they had firmly secured their power, nor were they ever cast down by misfortune, although they sometimes lost 20,000
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téssares, ἀπώλλυντο, καὶ ἄλλης πέντε. καὶ περὶ τῆς πόλεως αὐτῆς πολλάκις ἐκινδύνευον, καὶ λυμοὶ τε καὶ λοιμοὶ συνεχεῖς καὶ στάσεις, ὅμων πάντα ἐπιτίπτοντα, οὐκ ἀπέστησε τῆς φιλοτιμίας, ἐως ἐπτακοσίοις ἐτεσὶ κακοπαθοῦντες τε καὶ κυνικυνεύοντες ἀγχωμάλως τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐς τὸν προήγαγον καὶ τῆς εὐνυχίας ὃναντο διὰ τὴν εὐβούλιαν.

12. Καὶ τάδε πολλοὶ μὲν Ἑλλήνων πολλοὶ δὲ Ῥωμαῖων συνέγραψαν, καὶ ἔστιν ἡ ἱστορία τῆς Μακεδονικῆς, μεγάλης δὴ τῶν προτέρων οὕσης, πολὺ μείζων. ἀλλ’ ἐντυγχάνοντά με, καὶ τὴν ἀρέτην αὐτῶν ἐντελῆ καθ’ ἐκαστὸν ἔθνος ἰδεῖν ἐθέλοντα, ἀπέφερεν ἡ γραφὴ πολλάκις ἀπὸ Καρχηδόνος ἐπὶ Ἰβηρας καὶ εξ Ἰβήρων ἐπὶ Σικελίαν ἡ Μακεδονίαν ἡ ἐπὶ πρεσβείας ἡ συμμαχίας ἐς ἄλλα ἐθνή γενομένας, εἰτ’ αὖθις ἐς Καρχηδόνα ἀνήγεν ἡ Σικελίαν ὡσπερ ἀλώμενον, καὶ πάλιν ἐκ τούτων ἀνέλων ἐπὶ ὑπάρχερεν, ἐως ὅτι τὰ μέρη συνήγαγον ἐμαντῷ, ὑσάκεις ἐς Σικελίαν ἐστράτευσαν ἡ ἐπρέσβευσαν ἡ ὄτιον ἐπραξαν ἐς Σικελίαν, μέχρι κατεστήσαντο αὐτὴν ἐς τὸν κόσμον τὸν παρόντα, ὑσάκεις τε αὐ Καρχηδονίους ἐπολέμησαν ἡ ἐσπείραστο, ἡ ἐπρέσβευσαν ἡ αὐτοῦς ἡ πρεσβείας ἐδέξαντο παρ’ ἐκείνου, ἡ ἐδρασάν ὁτιοῦν ἡ ἐπαθοῦν πρὸς αὐτῶν, ἐως Καρχηδόνα κατέσκαψαν καὶ τὸ Διβύων ἔθνος προσέλαβον, καὶ αὖθις ἔκκσαι αὐτοὶ Καρχηδόνα, καὶ Διβύῃ κατέστησαν ἐς τὰ νῦν ὄντα. καὶ τόδε μοι κατ’ ἔθνος ἐκαστὸν ἐπράχθη, βουλομένῳ τὰ ἐς ἐκάστους ἔργα Ῥωμαιῶν καταμαθεῖν, ἴνα τὴν τῶν

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men in a single day, at another time 40,000 and once 50,000, and although the city itself was often in danger. Neither famine, nor frequently recurring plague, nor sedition, nor all these falling upon them at once could abate their ardour; until, through the doubtful struggles and dangers of seven hundred years, they achieved their present greatness, and won prosperity as the reward of good counsel.

12. These things have been described by many writers, both Greek and Roman, and the history is even longer than that of the Macedonian empire, which was the longest history of earlier times. Being interested in it, and desiring to compare the Roman prowess carefully with that of every other nation, my history has often led me from Carthage to Spain, from Spain to Sicily or to Macedonia, or to join some embassy to foreign countries, or some alliance formed with them; thence back to Carthage or Sicily, like a wanderer, and again elsewhere, while the work was still unfinished. At last I have brought the parts together, showing how often the Romans sent armies or embassies into Sicily and what they did there until they brought it into its present condition; also how often they made war and peace with the Carthaginians, or sent embassies to them or received the same from them, and what damage they inflicted upon or suffered from them until they demolished Carthage and made Africa a Roman province, and how they rebuilt Carthage and brought Africa into its present condition. I have made this research also in respect to each of the other provinces, desiring to learn the Romans' relations to each, in order to understand the weakness of these nations or their power of
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ἐθνῶν ἀσθένειαν ἢ φερετονιάν καὶ τὴν τῶν ἐλότων ἀρετὴν ἢ εὐνυχίαν, ἢ εἰ τι αὐ ἄλλο συγκύρημα συνηνέχθη, καταμάθοιμι.

13. Νομίσας δ' ἂν τινα καὶ ἄλλον οὕτως ἐθελήσαι μαθεῖν τὰ Ῥωμαίων, συγγράφῳ κατ' ἐθνος ἐκαστον' ὅσα δὲ ἐν μέσῳ πρὸς ἑτέρους αὐτοὺς ἐγένετο, ἐξαιρώ καὶ ἐς τὰ ἐκεῖνων μετατίθημι. τοὺς δὲ χρόνους ἐπὶ μὲν πάσι περισσόν ἡγούμην καταλέγειν, ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων ἐκ διαστήματος ὑπομνήσω. καὶ τὰ ὄνοματα Ῥωμαίων πάλαι μὲν ἢν ἐν, ὡσπερ ἄνθρωποι ἄπασιν, ἐκάστῳ, μετὰ δὲ ἐγένοντο δυν. καὶ οὐ πολὺς χρόνος ἐξ οὗ καὶ τρίτον ἧρξατο τισιν ἐς ἐπιγνωσιν ἐκ πάθους ἢ ἀρετῆς προστίθεσθαι, καθὰ καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τισιν ἐπὶ τὰ ὄνοματα ἦσαν ἐπικλήσεις. ἔγω δὲ ἐστι μὲν ὅποι καὶ πάντων ἐπιμνήσομαι, καὶ μάλιστα ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν, ἐς γνώρισμα τῶν ἀνδρῶν τὰ δὲ πολλὰ καὶ τούτους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους, ἀ κυριώτατα ἡγούμαι, προσαγορεύσω.

14. Τριῶν δὲ βίβλων οὐσῶν αἰ τὰ ἐς τὴν Ἱταλίαν ὅτα αὐτοῖς πολλὰ πεπραγμένα συνάγουσι, τὰς μὲν τρεῖς ἡγητέουν εἶναι Ῥωμαϊκῶν Ἱταλικῶς, διὰ δὲ πλῆθος ἔργων διήρηνται. καὶ δηλούσιν ἢ μὲν πρώτῃ τὰ τῶν βασιλέων ἐπτὰ γενομένων ἔργα, ἐφεξῆς ἀπαντα ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν, ὡς ἐγένετο· καὶ αὐτὴν ἐπιγράφῳ Ῥωμαϊκῶν βασιλικήν. ἢ δ' ἐξῆς τὰ ἐς τὴν ἄλλην Ἱταλίαν, χωρίς γε τῆς παρὰ τὸν κόλπον τὸν Ἰόνιουν' ἐς δὲ σύγκρισιν τῆς προτέρας ἦδε λέγεται ἢ ἐξῆς.
endurance, as well as the bravery or good fortune of their conquerors or any other circumstance con-
tributing to the result.
13. Thinking that the public would like to learn the history of the Romans in this way, I am going to write the part relating to each nation separately, omitting what happened to the others in the meantime, and taking it up in its proper place. It seems superfluous to put down the dates of everything, but I shall mention those of the most important events now and then. As to names, Roman citizens, like other people, formerly had only one each; afterwards they took a second, and not much later, for easier recognition, there was given to some of them a third derived from some personal incident or as a distinction for bravery, just as certain of the Greeks had surnames in addition to their ordinary names. For purposes of distinction I shall sometimes mention all the names, especially of illustrious men, but for the most part I shall call these and others by the names that are deemed most characteristic.
14. As there are three books which treat of the numerous exploits of the Romans in Italy, these three together must be considered the Italian-Roman history; but the division into books has been made on account of the great number of events which they contain. The first of these will show the events that took place in successive reigns while they had kings, of whom there were seven, and this I shall call the history of Rome under the kings. Next in order will be the history of the rest of Italy except the part along the Adriatic. This, by way of distinction from the
ἈΠΙΑΝΟΣ Ὁ ΡΩΜΑΙΟΣ ΡΩΜΑΙΟΣ

Ῥωμαϊκῶν Ἰταλικῆ. τελευταίω δὲ ἔθνευ, Σαυνίταις, ζε παρὰ τῶν Ἰονίων ἡκηταί, μεγάλῳ τε καὶ χαλεπῷ ὁγδοίκοντα ἔτεσι συνεπλάκησαν, μέχρι καὶ τούσδε, καὶ ὁσα σφίσιν ἐγγύς ἔθνη συνεμάχει, καὶ Ἐλληνας ὅσοι ὑπὸ τὴν Ἰταλίαν εἰσίν, ὑπηγάγοντο καὶ ἐστίν ἦδε, τῶν προτέρων ἐς σύγκρισιν, Ρωμαϊκῶν Σαυνιτικῆ. τὰ δὲ λοιπά, τούτων ἐκάστη κατὰ λόγον ἐπηγράφονται, Ῥωμαϊκῶν Κελτικῆ τε καὶ Σικελικῆ καὶ Ἰβηρικῆ καὶ Ἀνυβαϊκῆ καὶ Καρχηδονικῆ καὶ Μακεδονικῆ καὶ ἐφεξῆς ὁμοίως. Τέτακται δ' αὐτῶν ἄλλη μετ' ἄλλην ως ἐκάστῳ πολέμῳ τὴν ἀρχὴν πρὸ ἐτέρου λαβεῖν συνέπεσεν, εἰ καὶ τὸ τέλος τῷ ἔθνει μετὰ πολλὰ ἐτέρα γεγένηται. ὡς δ' αὕτω Ῥωμαῖοι πρὸς ἄλλην ἐστασιάσαν τε καὶ ἐπολέμησαν ἑμφύλια, φοβερώτερα σφίσι ταῦτα μάλιστα γενόμενα, ἐς τοὺς στρατηγοὺς τῶν στάσεων διήρηται, τὰ μὲν ἐς Μάριον τε καὶ Σύλλαν, τὰ δ' ἐς Πομπήιον τε καὶ Καίσαρα, τὰ δ' ἐς Ἀντωνίον τε καὶ τὸν ἐτέρου Καίσαρα, τὸν Σεβαστὸν ἐπίκλην, πρὸς τοὺς ἀνδροφόνους τοῦ προτέρου Καίσαρος, τὰ δ' ἐς ἄλλησος, αὐτῶν Ἀντωνίου τε καὶ Καίσαρος στασιασάντων. τινὶ τελευταίῳ τῶν ἑμφυλίων ὅντι καὶ Ἀγάμπτος ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίους ἐγένετο καὶ τὰ Ῥωμαίους ἐσ μοναρχίαν περιῆλθεν.

15. Ὡδὲ μὲν ἐς βίβλους ἐκαστα τῶν ἔθνων, ἐς στρατηγοὺς τὰ ἑμφύλια, διήρηται. δὲ τελευταία καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν αὐτῶν ὁσην ἐχουσιν, ἦ πρόσοδον ἂν καρποῦνται καθ' ἐκαστῶν ἔθνος, ἦ εἰ τὸ προσαναλίσκουσιν ἐς τὰς ἐπινεῖσις φρουράς, ὡς το τοιούτοτροπα ἄλλα, ἐπιδείξει. ἀρμόζει δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ γένους ἄρξασθαι τὸν περὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς
PREFACE

former, will be called the second Italian book of Roman history. With the last nation, the Samnites, who dwelt along the Adriatic, the Romans struggled eighty years under the greatest difficulties, but finally they subjugated them and the neighbours who were allied with them, and also the Greeks of southern Italy. This, by way of distinction from the former, will be called the Samniate Roman history. The rest will be named according to its subject, the Celtic, Sicilian, Spanish, Hannibalic, Carthaginian, Macedonian, and so on. The order of these histories with respect to each other is according to the time when the Romans began to be embroiled in war with each nation, even though many other things intervened before that nation came to its end. The internal seditions and civil wars of the Romans—to them the most calamitous of all—will be designated under the names of their chief actors, as the wars of Marius and Sulla, those of Pompey and Caesar, those of Antony and the second Caesar, surnamed Augustus, against the murderers of the first Caesar, and those of Antony and Augustus against each other. At the end of this last of the civil wars Egypt passed under the Roman sway, and the Roman government itself became a monarchy.

15. Thus, the foreign wars have been divided into books according to the nations, and the civil wars according to the chief commanders. The last book will show the present military force of the Romans, the revenues they collect from each province, what they spend for the naval service, and other things of that kind. It is proper to begin with the origin of the people of whose prowess I am about to write.
αὐτῶν συγγράφουτα. τις δὲ ὅντα ταύτα συνέγραψα, πολλοὶ μὲν ἰσασί καὶ αὐτὸς προέφημα, σαφέστε-ρον δ’ εἶπεῖν, Ὀππιανὸς Ἀλεξανδρεύς, ἔσ τὰ πρῶτα ἦκον ἐν τῇ πατρίδι, καὶ δίκαιος ἐν Ῥώμῃ συναγορεύσας ἐπὶ τῶν βασιλέων, μέχρι μὲ σφῶν ἐπιτροπεύειν ἡξίωσαν. καὶ εἰ τῷ σπουδή καὶ ῥὰ λοιπὰ μαθεῖν, ἔστι μοι καὶ περὶ τούτου συγγραφή.
PREFACE

Who I am, who have written these things, many indeed know, and I have already indicated. To speak more plainly I am Appian of Alexandria, a man who have reached the highest place in my native country, and have been, in Rome, a pleader of causes before the emperors, until they deemed me worthy of being made their procurator. And if any one has a great desire to learn more about my affairs there is a special treatise of mine on that subject.¹

¹ See Introduction.
PREFACE

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¹ See Introduction.
BOOK I

CONCERNING THE KINGS

FRAGMENTS
Α'

ΕΚ ΤΗΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗΣ.

Ι

1. Ἀρχεται τῆς ἱστορίας ἀπὸ Αἰνείου τοῦ Ἀγχίσου τοῦ Κάπνου, δε ἐν τῷ Τροίκῳ ἦμαζε πολέμῳ, μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἁλωσιν τῆς Τροίας ἔφυγε, καὶ μετὰ μακρὰν πλάνην κατέπλει ἐς τινὰ τῆς Ἰταλίας αἰγιαλὸν, Δώρευτον ἐπικαλούμενον, ἐνθὰ καὶ στρατόπεδον αὐτοῦ δείκνυται, καὶ τὴν ἀκτῆν ἀπ' ἐκεῖνου Τροίαν καλοῦσιν. ἦρχε τότε Ἀβορίγιων τῶν τῇ Ἰταλίας Φαῦνος ὁ τοῦ Ἀρεως, δε καὶ ξεύγνωσιν Αἰνεία τὴν θυγατέρα αὐτοῦ Δαυιδίαν, καὶ γῆς δίδοσιν ἐκ περιόδου σταδίων τετρακοσίων. ὁ δὲ πόλιν ἔκτισε καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς γυναικὸς Δαυιδίων ἐπωνόμασε. τρίτῳ δὲ ἔτει τοῦ Φαῦνος τελευτήσαντος ἐκδέχεται τὴν ἄρχην ὁ Αἰνείας κατὰ τὸ κῆδος, καὶ τοὺς Ἀβορίγιας ἀπὸ τοῦ κηδεστοῦ Δαυιδίου Φαῦνος Δαυιδίους ἐπωνόμασε. τρίτῳ δὲ ἔτει πάλιν διὰ Δαυιδίαν τὴν γυναικα ὑπὸ Ῥουτούλων τῶν Τυρρηνῶν, προμηθεύσαντοι αὐτῶν τῷ βασιλεῖ, ἀναρέται πολέμῳ νόμῳ ὁ Αἰνείας, καὶ τὴν ἄρχην διεδέχετο Ἐυρυλέων, Ἀσκάνιος μετονομασθεῖς, δι' ἐγεννηθη 28
BOOK I

CONCERNING THE KINGS

I. FROM PHOTIUS

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

tῷ Αἰνεία ἐκ Κρεούσης τῆς Πριάμου, τῆς ἐν Ἰλίῳ γενομένης αὐτῷ γυναικός. οἱ δὲ τῆς Δαουνίας Ἀσκάνιον αὐτῷ γεννηθηναι φασὶ, τῶν διάδοχων τῆς ἀρχῆς.

2. Ἀσκάνιον δὲ τελευτήσαντος ἔτει τετάρτῳ μετὰ τὴν Ἀλβής οὐκίσκων (καὶ γὰρ οὗτος ἐκτίσε πόλιν, Ἀλβής καλέσας, καὶ ἀπὸ Δαουνίον τὸν λαὸν μετόκισεν) ἐκδέχεται τὴν ἀρχήν Σίλουνος. καὶ Σιλουνίου παῖδα Αἰνείαν Σιλουνίον φασὶ, Αἰνείον δὲ Λατῖνον Σιλουνίον, τοῦ δὲ Κάτυν, Κάτυνος δὲ Κάπτευον γενέσθαι, Καπέτου δὲ Τιμέρίνου, τοῦ δὲ Ἀγρίππαν, τοῦ δὲ Ῥωμύλου. καὶ τόνδε μὲν βληθῆναι κεραυνῷ οὐ γενέσθαι παῖδα Ἀμεντίνου, Ἀμεντίνου δὲ Πρόκαν γενέσθαι. καὶ πάση δὲ τῶν Σιλουνίων ἐπώνυμον εἶναι. τῷ δὲ Πρόκα δύο ἐγενέσθην νιοί, πρεσβύτερος μὲν Νεμέτωρ, νεώτερος δὲ Ἀμούλιος. λαβόντος δὲ τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς τελευτῶντος τὴν ἀρχήν, ὁ νεώτερος ὑβρεί καὶ βία κατέσχεν ἀφελόμενος. καὶ τοῦ μὲν παῖδα τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ Ἐγεστοῦ κτείνει, τὴν θυγατέρα δὲ Ῥέαν Σιλουνίων ἱέρειαν, ὅνα ἀπαίς διαμείνῃ, καθίστησι· τῶν μέντοι Νεμέτορα τῆς εἰς τὸ σῶμα ἐπιβολῆς ή τῶν ἥδων ἔξειλε πραότης καὶ ἡ πολλὴ ἐπιείκεια. ἀλλ' ἡ Σιλουνία ἐκείνη παρὰ τῶν νόμων. καὶ την μὲν Ἀμούλιος ἐπὶ κολάσει συνελάμβανε, δύο δὲ παῖδας ἐκ τῆς δε γενομένους ποιμέσιν ἔδωκεν, εἰς τὸν πλησίον ποταμὸν ἐμβαλεῖν τὰ βρέφη. Θύβρις ἦν ὄνομα τῶν ποταμῶν, Ῥώμος δὲ καὶ Ῥωμύλος οἱ παῖδες, ἐξ Αἰνείου ἔλκουσε μητρόθεν τὸ γένος· τὸ γὰρ τοῦ φύντος ἄδηλον. Phot. Biblioth. p. 16 b 4 Bekk.
CONCERNING THE KINGS

the son of Aeneas and Creusa, a daughter of Priam, to whom he had been married in Troy. But some say that the Ascanius who succeeded to the government was the son of Aeneas and Lavinia.

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

'Ὁ μὲν πρῶτος τόμος τῶν ἐπτὰ βασιλέων, Ὄρμυλον, Νοὺμᾶ Πομπιλίου, Ἀγκὸν Ὀστιλίου καὶ Ἀγκὸν ἕτερου τοῦ καὶ Μαρκίου, ἐπιγόνου Νοὺμᾶ, Ταρκυνίου, Σερούλου Τυλλίου, καὶ Ταρκυνίου Δευκίου τοῦ Ταρκυνίου, τούτων τῶν ἐπτὰ ἔργα τε καὶ πρᾶξεις περιέχει. ὅτι ο πρῶτος κτίστης τε Ῥώμης καὶ οἰκιστής γεγονός, ἄρξας τε πατρικῶς μᾶλλον ἡ τυραννικῶς, ὡμῶς ἐσφάγη, ἢ ὡς ἄλλοι φασίν, ἡφανίσθη. ὦ δε δεύτερος οὖδεν ἦττον βεβασιλευκός, εἰ μή καὶ μᾶλλον, τὸν ἑαυτοῦ βίον ἑτελεύτησε ζῆσας ... ο δε τρίτος ἑκεραυνώθη. νόσῳ δὲ τὸν βίον ο τέταρτος ὑπεξῆλθεν. ὦ δὲ πέμπτος ὑπὸ ποιμένων ἐσφάγη, καὶ ὦ ἐκτὸς ὁμοίως σφαγῆ κατέστρεψε τὸν βίον, ὦ δὲ ἐβδομὸς καὶ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῆς βασιλείας παρανομῶν ἐξηλάθη. ἦξιν τῆς βασιλείας καταλυθεύσις εἰς τοὺς ὑπάτους τὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς μετετέθη. id. p. 15 b 22.

III

Ἡ δὲ τὸν πατέρα φυλάξασα ἀποδημοῦντα ὑπισχυεῖται Τατίων προδόσεων τὸ φρούριον. Suid. vv. Τάτιος το φυλάξασα.

IV

Κελεύσαντος δε Τατίου τὸν χρυσὸν ἐς τὴν παίδα ἐλίθαζον, ἔστε τιτρωσκομένη κατεχῶσθη. Suid. v. λιθάξω.
CONCERNING THE KINGS

II. FROM THE SAME

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

III FROM SUIDAS

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

IV. FROM THE SAME

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

1 An obvious error for 'Tullus.'
APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK I

V

"Ὅτι τὸν πόλεμον τὸν πρὸς Ἡρωμύλου Τάτιον αἱ Ἡρωμαίοι γυναῖκες καὶ Σαβίνων θυγατέρες διήτησαν, αὕται τῷ χάρακι τῶν γονέων προσελθοῦσαι, χειρᾶς τε προτείνουσαι, καὶ βρέφη τὰ ἦδη σφίσιν ἐκ τῶν ἄνδρῶν γενόμενα ἐπιδεικνύουσαι, καὶ τοῖς ἄνδράσι μαρτυροῦσαι μηδὲν ὑβριστικὸν ἐς αὐτὰς ἀμαρτεῖν. ἐδέοντο τε λαβεῖν τινὰ οίκτον τοὺς Σαβίνους σφῶν τε αὐτῶν καὶ κηδεστῶν καὶ ἐκγόνων καὶ θυγατέρων, καὶ φείσασθαι συγγενοῦς καὶ μαροῦ πολέμου, ἡ πρώτας ἀνελεῖν αἱ τὴν αἰτίαν ἐξουσὶ τοῦ πολέμου. οἱ δὲ τῶν τε παρόντων ἀπορία καὶ οίκτω τῶν γυναικῶν, συγγιγνώσκοντες ἦδη μὴ καθ' ὑβριν εἰργάσθαι ταῦτα Ἡρωμαῖοι ἄλλο ὑπὸ χρείας, ἐς τὰς διαλλαγὰς ἐνεδίδουν. καὶ συνελθόντες Ἡρωμύλος τε καὶ Τάτιος ἐς τὴν ἐξ ἐκείνου ἱερὰν γενομένην ὥδεν ἐπὶ τοῖσδε συνέβησαν, βασιλεύειν μὲν ἄμφω, Τάτιον τε καὶ Ἡρωμύλον, Σαβίνους δὲ τοὺς τότε τῷ Τατίῳ συντρατεύσαντας, καὶ εἰ τινὲς ἄλλοι τῶν Σαβίνων ἑθέλοιεν, ἐς τὸ Ἡρωμαῖων μετοικίζοσθαι ἐπ' ἴσῃ καὶ ὀμοίᾳ. U. (i. e. Ursin. Select. de legationibus) p. 334.
CONCERNING THE KINGS

V. FROM "THE EMBASSIES"

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

VI

"Ὁ δὲ στρατηγὸς αἰσθόμενος παρ' ἰδιοξένων ἐξήγησειλεν Ὅστιλῷ. Suid. v. ἰδιοξένος.

VII

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

-VIII

Συμβάσεις ποιεῖν ἐφ' οἷς ἀν Γάβιοι δικαίωσιν. id. v. δικαιοῦν.

IX


X

"Ὁ δὲ 'Οράτιος λελωβημένος ἦν τὰ σκέλη, ὑπατείας τε οὐκ ἔτυχεν οὕτε ἐν πολέμῳ οὕτε ἐν εἰρήνῃ διὰ τὴν ἀχρηστίαν τῶν ποδῶν. Suid. vv. ἀχρηστία et 'Οράτιος.

XI

Οἱ ὑπατοὶ τὰ ὄρκια προύτεινον, καὶ ἐς πάντα ἔφασαν ἐνδώσειν μᾶλλον ἢ Ταρκύνιον προσήσεσθαι. id. v. προσήσεσθαι.
CONCERNING THE KINGS

VI. From Suidas

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

VII. From the Same

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

VIII. From the Same

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

IX. From the Anonymous Grammarian

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

X. From Suidas

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

XI. From the Same

The Consuls tendered the oaths [by which they bound themselves], and said that they would yield everything rather than take back Tarquinius.
APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK I

XII


XIII

ἡτίνων ἐνσπονδοί Ῥωμαίοις ὄντες ἐστράτευον ἐπ' αὐτοῦς . . . οἱ δὲ ἡτίνων ἐγκλήματα εἶς Ῥωμαίους ἐποιοῦντο τῇ τε πάρεσιν αὐτῶν τῇ ἐπὶ σφᾶς ὄντας ἐνσπόνδους καὶ συγγενεῖς. Suid. vn. ἐνσπονδος et párēsis.
CONCERNING THE KINGS

XII. FROM "VIRTUES AND VICES"

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

XIII. FROM SUIDAS

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

CONCERNING ITALY

FRAGMENTS
Β'

ΕΚ ΤΗΣ ΙΤΑΛΙΚΗΣ

Ι

Οὐολούσκοι δὲ τοὺς πταίσμασι τῶν γειτόνων οὐ καταπλαγέντες ἐστράτευον ἐτί Ρωμαίοις, καὶ ἐπολιόρκουν τοὺς αὐτῶν κληρούχους. Suid. v. κληρούχου.

II

'Ὁ δὲ δήμος τῶν Μάρκιον μετίοντα τὴν ὑπατείαν οὐκ ἔχειροτόνησεν, οὗ τὸν ἄνδρα ἀπαξιῶν, ἀλλὰ τὸ φρόνημα δεδιῶς αὐτοῦ. id. v. ἀπαξιῶν.

III

'Ὁ Μάρκιος πιμπράμενος ἐτί Ρωμαίοις, φυγὴν καταδικασθείς, καὶ μικρὸν ἐς αὐτοὺς οὐδὲν ἐπινοῶν ἐς Οὐολούσκους ἐτράπετο. id. v. πίμπραται.

IV

"Ὁτι πατρίδα καὶ γένος ἀλλαξάμενος ἦκοι, τὸ μηδὲν ἢγησάμενος, καὶ τὰ τῶν Οὐολούσκων ἀντὶ τῆς πατρίδος αἱρήσεσθαι βουληθείς. id. v. ἀλλαξάμενος.

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

CONCERNING ITALY

I. From Suidas

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

II. From the Same

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

III. From the Same

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

IV. From the Same

He said that he came having renounced country and kin, holding them of no account, and intending to side with the Volsci against his country.
1. Ὅτι τοῦ Μαρκίου φυγαδευθέντος καὶ ἐς Ὀὐλούσκους καταφυγόντος καὶ κατὰ Ρωμαίων ἐκστρατεύσαντος καὶ τεσσαράκοντα σταδίους ἀποσχόντος ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄστεος καὶ στρατοπεδεύσαντος, ὁ δήμος ἤπειλε τῇ βουλῇ παραδώσειν τὰ τείχη τοὺς πολεμίους, εἰ μὴ πρεσβεύσοιτο περὶ διαλλαγῶν πρὸς Μάρκιον. Ὁ δὲ μόλις ἔξε-πεμψει αὐτοκράτορας εἰρήνης πέρι Ρωμαίων πρεσβεύσης, οἱ προελθόντες ἐς τὸ Ὀὐλούσκων στρατόπεδον Μαρκίῳ μετὰ Ὀὐλούσκων ἀκρω-μένῳ προύτειναν ἀμνηστίαν καὶ κάθοδον, εἰ καταλύσει τὸν πόλεμον, τῆς τῇ βουλῇ αὐτῶν ὑπεμίσκικου ὡς ὡς ἁμαρτούσης ἐς αὐτῶν. Ὁ δὲ πολλὰ τοῦ δήμου κατηγορήσας περὶ δὲν ἐς αὐτῶν καὶ Ὀὐλούσκους ἐξημαρτήκεσαν, ἑπηγέλλητο ὁμως Ὀὐλούσκους αὐτοῖς διαλλάξειν, ἂν ἦν τε γῆν ἔχουσι Ὀὐλούσκων καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἀποδώσι, καὶ ποιήσωνται πολίταις ὀσπέρ Δατίνους. ἔως δὲ ἄν ἔχωσι τὰ τῶν κρατοῦντων οἱ κρατοῦμενοι, ὡς ὄραν τίνες αὐτοῖς ἐσονται διαλύσσεις. ταῦτα μετοίσωσαν ἀπέλυε τοὺς πρέσβεις, καὶ τριάκοντα ἡμέρας ἐς τὴν σκέψιν ἔδον. τραπεῖς δὲ ἔπι τοὺς ἄλλους Δατίνους ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις αὐτῶν εἰδὲ ταῖς τριάκοντα ἡμέρας, καὶ ἤκει ἐπὶ τὰς ἀποκρίσεις.

2. Οἱ δὲ ἀπεκρίναντο, ἐὰν ἐκ τῆς Ρωμαίων γῆς ἀπαγάγῃ τὸν στρατόν, πέμψει τοὺς συνθησο-μένους αὐτῷ τὰ πρέπουντα. πάλιν δὲ ἄντειπτόντος ἐπεμπον ἐτέρους δέκα δεσιμένους μηδὲν ἀνά-
CONCERNING ITALY

V. FROM "THE EMBASSIES"

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

2. They replied that if he would withdraw his army from the Roman territory they would send an embassy to him to conclude peace on fair terms. When he refused again, they sent ten others to beg
ξιόν ποιεῖν τῆς πατρίδος, μηδέ ἕξ ἐπιτάγματος ἀλλ' ἐκουσίους ἔαν γίγνεσθαι τὰς συνθήκας, αἰδούμενον τε τὴν πατρίδα, καὶ τὸ τῶν προγόνων ἀξίωμα τιμῶντα τῶν ἐσ αὐτῶν οὕχ ἀμαρτῶν. οὐ δὲ τοσοῦτον αὐτοῖς ἀπεκρίνατο, τριῶν ἄλλων ἡμερῶν ἤκειν βουλευσαμένους τι κάλλιον. οἱ μὲν δὴ τοὺς ἱερέας ἔπεμπον, ταῖς ἱεραῖς ἔστησιν ἐσταλμένους, ταῦτα τοῦ Μαρκίου δεσμούμενοι. οὐ δὲ καὶ τούτους ἐφη δεῖν ἢ τὰ κελευόμενα ποιεῖν, ἢ μηδὲ αὐτοὶ ἀφικνεῖσθαι πρὸς αὐτόν. ὡς οὖν πολλοὶ καθίσταντο, καὶ τὸ τείχος ἐπλήρουν λίθων καὶ βελῶν ὡς ἄνωθεν ἀμυνόμενοι Μάρκιον.

3. Οὐαλερία δ' ἡ Ποταμικόλα θυγάτηρ πολλὰς ἀγομένη γυναῖκας ἐπὶ τε τὴν μητέρα τοῦ Μαρκίου Οὐστουρίαν καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν γυναῖκα Οὐσολουμμίαν, πένθιμα ἠμφισμέναι πᾶσαι, καὶ τὰ παιδία ταῖς ἱκεσίαις ἐπιφέρουσα, συνεξελθεῖν αὐταῖς πρὸς Μάρκιον ἤξιον αὐτᾶς, καὶ δεηθῆναι φείσασθαι σφῶν τε αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς πατρίδος. αἱ μὲν δὴ τῆς βουλῆς ἐπιτρέπουσης ἐξήσαν, μόναι γυναίκες, ἓς ἔχθρον στρατόπεδον ὁ δὲ Μάρκιος θαυμάζων τῆς εὐτολμίας τὴν πόλιν, οἷα Ῥωμαίων ἔστι καὶ τὰ γύναια, προσιόυσαι ἀπήντα, καὶ τὰς ράβδους καθήρει καὶ τοὺς πελέκεας διὰ τήν μητέρα, προσδραμόν τὴν ἡσπάζετο, καὶ ἤγεν ἐπὶ τὸ συνέδριον τῶν Οὐσολουσκῶν, καὶ λέγειν ἐκέλευσεν ὦ τι χρήζοι.

4. Ἡ δὲ συνηδικήσθαι μὲν ἐξελαυνομένῳ τῆς πόλεως, μήτηρ οὖσα, ἐφη, ὅραν δ' ὧτι Ῥωμαῖοι πολλὰ πρὸς αὐτοῦ πεπόθασιν ἡδὴ καὶ τίσιν.
CONCERNING ITALY

him not to do anything unworthy of his native country, and to allow a treaty to be made, not by his command, but of their own free will, for he should regard the honour of his country and the reputation of his ancestors, who had never done him any wrong. He replied merely that he would give them three days more in order that they might think better of it. Then the Romans sent their priests to him wearing their sacred vestments to add their entreaties. To these he said that either they must obey his commands or they need not come to him again. Then the Romans prepared for a siege and piled up stones and missiles on the walls to drive off Marcius from above.

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

4. She said that, being his mother, she, as well as he, was wronged in his banishment from the city; but that she saw that the Romans had already suffered grievously at his hands, and had paid a
APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK II

ἐτισαμ ἰκανήν, διὶ χώρα τε τοσαύτη διέ-
φθαρται καὶ πόλεις ἀπολύλισα πολλαὶ, καὶ τὸ
Ῥωμαίους ἐσχατον, παρακαλοῦσι καὶ πρέσβεις
πέμπουσιν ὑπάτους καὶ ἱερεᾶς καὶ μητέρα καὶ
γυναῖκα, τὸ τε ἁδίκημα ὴνται ἀμνηστία καὶ
καθόδως. "σὺ δὲ μὴ ἀνιάτῳ κακῷ τὸ κακὸν έὡ,
μηδὲ συμφοραίς ἐπιχείρει κοιναῖς αὐτοῦ τε σοῦ
καὶ τῶν ἀδικοῦντων. ¹ ποί φέρων οἴσεις τὸ πῦρ;
μετὰ τὴν χώραν ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν; μετὰ τὴν πόλιν
ἐπὶ τὴν ἐστίαν τὴν σῆ; μετὰ τὴν ἐστίαν ἐπὶ τὰ
ἱερά; δός χάριν, ὦ παῖ, κάμοι καὶ τῇ πατρίδι παρα-
καλοῦσαι." ἢ μὲν δὴ τοσαῦτα εἶπεν, ὃ δὲ Μάρκιος
οὐκ εἶτα πατρίδα καλεῖν τὴν ἐκβαλοῦσαν ἄλλα
τὴν ὑποδεδηγμένην· οὐδὲν γὰρ εἶναι φίλιον, ἢν
ἀδική, οὐδὲ ἔχθρον εὑ ποιοῦν καὶ τὸ τῶν παρ-
όντων ἐκέλευεν ὥραν, πίστιν τε δόντων αὐτῷ καὶ
λαβόντων, καὶ πολίτην πεποιημένων καὶ στρατη-
γὸν ἀποφηνάντων καὶ τὰ ἴδια ἐπιτρεψάντων.
τιμᾶς τε ὅσων ἡξίωτο, καὶ ὅρκους οὓς ὡμοσε
αὐτοῖς, ἐπεξῆκε, καὶ παρεκάλει τὴν μητέρα τοὺς
αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους τίθεσθαι πολέμους καὶ φίλους.

5. Ἡ δὲ ἔτι λέγουσι ἀγανακτήσασα καὶ τὰς
χείρας ἐς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνασχοῦσα, θεοὺς γενεθλίους
ἐμαρτύρατο δύο μὲν ἡ ἕκτεβείας γυναικῶν ἀπὸ
Ῥώμης ἐν μεγάλοις ἐστάλθαι κακοῖς, ἐπὶ Τατίον

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

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

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


VI

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

VII

Ἐλεεινοὶ τοῦ πάθους, ἀξιέπαινοι τῆς ἀρετῆς γενόμενοι. μέγα γὰρ τούτῳ Ῥωμαίως πάθος ἐγένετο καὶ πλῆθος ἐνέκα καὶ ἀξιώματος εὐγενοῦς οἴκου καὶ πανωλθεῖσας. καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν ἀποφράδα τίθενται. Suid. vn. ἐλεεινοῖς et ἀποφράδες ἡμέραι.
CONCERNING ITALY

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

Vb. FROM SUIDAS

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

VI. FROM THE SAME

(The Fabii) were as much to be pitied for their misfortunes as they were worthy of praise for their bravery. For what befell them was a great misfortune to the Romans, on account of their number, the dignity of a noble house, and its total destruction. The day on which it happened was ever after considered unlucky.
APPION'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK II

VII

Τῷ δὲ στρατηγῷ στρατὸς ἦν δυσπειθής ὑπὸ μνησικαίας, ἐθελοκάκως τε ἡγουόμενο, καὶ ἐφευγον ἐπιδησάμενοι τὰ σώματα ὡς τετρωμένοι, καὶ τὰς σκηνὰς διέλυσαν, καὶ ἀναχωρεῖσθαι, ἀπειρίαν ἐπικαλοῦντες τῷ στρατηγῷ. id. n. ἐθελοκάκως.

VIII

1. Ὡστις σημείων γενομένων ἐκ Διὸς ἀγῶν μετὰ τὴν Οὐνιεντίας ἀλώσαν, οἱ μάντεις ἔλεγον ἐκλειφθήσατε τινα πρὸς εὑσέβειαν, καὶ ὁ Κάμιλλος ἀφήγαεν ὅτι τὴν δεκάτην τῆς λείας ἐκλάθοντο τῷ θεῷ τῷ χρήσαιτε πρὶς τῆς λίμνης ἐξελέσθαι. ἣ μὲν οὖν βουλή τοὺς λαξάνατος ὁτιόν ἐκ τῆς Οὐνιεντίας ἐκέλευσεν ἀποτιμήσασθαι καθ' αὐτοὺς καὶ σὺν ὁρκῷ τῷ δέκατον εἰσενεγκείν, ὃπο δὲ εὑσέβειας οὐκ ἄκυποι καὶ τῆς γῆς ἤδη πεπραμένης, ὡς λαφύροι, τῷ δέκατον ἀναθίναι. κρατήρ τε ἀπὸ τὸν δῶν τῶν χρημάτων ἐν Δελφοῖς ἐκείτο χρύσεις ἐπὶ χαλκῆς βάσεως ἐν τῷ Ρωμαίων καὶ Μασσαλιτῶν θησαυρῷ, μέχρι τὸν μὲν χρυσὸν Ὀνόμαρχος ἐν τῷ Ψωκικῷ πολέμῳ κατεχόνθηκε, κεῖται δ' ἡ βάσις.

2. Αὐτὸν δὲ Κάμιλλον ἐν τῷ δήμῳ τις ἐδίωκεν ὡς αὐτοῖς γεγονότα τῇ πόλει φασμάτων καὶ τεράτων χαλεπῶν, καὶ ὁ δήμος ἐκ πολλοῦ τῶν
CONCERNING ITALY

VII. From the Same

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

VIII. From "Virtues and Vices"

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

2. Camillus was afterwards accused before the people of being himself the author of those bad omens and portents. The people, who had been for some
APPian's Roman History, Book II

ἄνδρα ἀποστρεφόμενος ἐξημώσει πεντήκοντα μυμιάσιν, οὐκ ἔπικλασθεὶς οὐδ’ ὅτι πρὸ τῆς δίκης αὐτῷ παῖς ἔτεθνήκει. τὰ μὲν οὖν χρήματα οἱ φίλοι συνεισήγηκαν, ἵνα μὴ ὑβρισθεί τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Καμίλλου· αὐτὸς δὲ βαρυθυμῶν ἐς τὴν Ἀρδεατῶν πόλιν μετώπισεν, εὐξάμενος τὴν Ἀχίλλειον εὐχῆν, ἐπιποθῆσαι Ἡρωιόνος Κάμιλ- λον ἐν καίρῳ. καὶ ἀπήντησεν αὐτῷ καὶ τόδε οὐ πολὺ ὑπερ. Κελτῶν γὰρ τὴν πόλιν καταλαβόντων ὁ δῆμος ἐπὶ Καμίλλου κατέφυγε καὶ δικτάτορα αὐτὸς εἰλετο, ὡς ἐν ταῖς Κελτικαῖς πράξεσι συγγέγραπται. Val. p. 546.

IX

"Ὅτι Μάρκος Μάλλιος εὐπατρίδης, Κελτῶν ἐπελθόντων τῇ Ῥώμῃ, ταῦτην περιέσωσε καὶ τιμῶν μεγάστων ἡξιώθη. ὑπεροῦν δὲ πρεσβύτην πολλάκις ἐστρατευμένον ἀγόμενον ἐς δουλείαν ὑπὸ τοῦ δανειστοῦ γνωρίσας, ἀπέδωκε τὸ χρέος ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν εὐφημούμενος πάσιν ἥφιε τοῖς έαυτοῦ χρήσταις τὰ ὀφλήματα. προῖδων δὲ τῇ δόξῃ καὶ ὑπὲρ ἄλλων ἀπεδίδου. καὶ ταῖς δημοκρίσιαις ἐπαιρωμένοις ἐβούλευσεν ἥδη χρεῶν ἀποκοπᾶς κοινὰς, ἡ τοῦ δῆμου ἦξιον τοῖς δανεί- σασιν ἄποδονται, τὴν γῆν ἐς τοῦτο ἀποδόμενον ἐτι οὐσαν ἀνέμητον. Val. p. 549.
CONCERNING ITALY

time set against him, fined him 500,000 sesterces,\textsuperscript{1} B.C. having no pity for him although he had recently lost a son. His friends contributed the money in order that the person of Camillus might not be disgraced. In deep indignation he went into exile in the city of Ardea, praying the prayer of Achilles, that the time might come when the Romans would long for Camillus. And in fact this came to pass very soon, for when the Gauls captured the city, the people fled for succour to Camillus and again chose him Dictator, as has been told in my Gallic history.

IX. FROM THE SAME

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

\textsuperscript{1} Schw. observes that the number is exaggeratedly large, and the text undoubtedly corrupt.
BOOK III

THE SAMNITE HISTORY

FRAGMENTS
Γ' 

ΕΚ ΤΗΣ ΣΑΤΝΙΤΙΚΗΣ

1.

"Οτι οι Ῥωμαίων στρατηγοὶ Κορνήλιος καὶ Κορούνιος, καὶ Δέκιος δημότης, Σαυνίτας νυκήσαντες υπέλυσον Καμπανοῖς φύλακας πρὸς τᾶς Σαυνίτῶν ἐπιδρομᾶς. οἱ δὲ φύλακες οἶδε Καμπανῶις ἁβροδιαῖτοις καὶ πολυτελεῖσιν οὕσι κοινωνοῦντες ἐφθείροντο τὰς γνώμας, καὶ ἐφθόνουν ὡν ἔχουσιν ἀγαθῶν, αὐτοὶ πενόμενοι καὶ τὰ χρέα δεδιότες τὰ ἐν Ῥώμῃ. τέλος δὲ ἐπεβοῦλευον τοὺς ξένους έαυτῶν ἀνελόντες ἐκαστοὶ τὴν περιουσίαν κατασχεῖν καὶ τὰς γυναικὰς ἐς γάμου προσαγαγέσθαι. καὶ τάχα ἄν ἐπράξαν αἰσχρὸν οὕτω μύσος, εἰ μη Μάρκιος, ἡ Ῥωμαίων στρατηγός, ἐπὶ Σαυνίτας ὀδεύον ἔμαθε τὸ βούλεμα τῶν φυλάκων, καὶ ἐπικρύψας τοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν ἐξώτυλος καὶ ἀφίκειν οἷα κεκμηκότας, τοὺς δὲ πολυποτέρους ἐκέλευσε ἐς Ῥώμην ἐπὶ τινα χρείαν ἐπείγεσθαι, χειλάρχον τε αὐτοῖς συνέπεμψεν, ὃ ἐκεῖκτο ἀφανὸς αὐτῶς φυλάσσειν. ἐκάτεροι δ' ὑπώπτευον με-

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

THE SAMNITE HISTORY

I. FROM "VIRTUES AND VICES"

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

2. 'Ετι δ' αὐτῶν ὁδὸν ἡμέρας μᾶς ἀπεχῶντων ὑπήντα Κορούινος, καὶ παραστρατοπεδεύσας ἐν τοῖς ὅρεσι τοῖς Ἀλβανῶν ἤρεμει, περισκοπῶν τε τὸ ἔργον ἔτι, καὶ μέγα ἡγούμενος ἀπεγνωκόσι μάχεσθαι. οἱ δὲ ἐπεμύγνυτο ἀλλήλους κρύφα, καὶ ὄδυμοι καὶ δάκρυα τῶν φυλάκων ἦν ὡς ἐν οἰκείως καὶ φίλως ἀμαρτείν μὲν ὁμολογούντων, τὴν δὲ αὐτίαν ἐς τὰ χρέα φερῶντω τὰ ἐν Ῥώμη. ὃν ὁ Κορούινος αἰσθανόμενος, καὶ ὅκνων ἄψασθαι πολιτικὸν καὶ τοσοῦτον φόνον, συνεβούλευσε τῇ βουλῇ τὰ χρέα τοῖς ἀνδράσι μεθείναι, τὸν τε πόλεμον ἐξαίρων ἐπὶ μέγα, εἰ τοσῶν ἀνδρῶν δύνατο κρατῆσαι μαχομένων ἐξ ἀπογνώσεως, καὶ τὰς συνόδους αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπιμεῖσις ἐν υπονοίᾳ τιθέμενος, μὴ οὐδ' ὁ ἰδίος αὐτῷ στρατὸς ἐς πάντα ἡ πιστός, ἀτε συγγενεῖσ ὄντες ἐκείνων, καὶ ούχ ἤσον αὐτῶν αὐτῶν ἀμείωμοι τὰ χρέα. σφαλέντα δὲ κυδυνεύσειν ἐφ' ἐφ' περὶ μείωνων καὶ τὴν νίκην, εἰ κρατήσειν, ἀπυγχεστάτην ἔσεσθαι τῇ πόλει κατ' οἰκείων τοσῶν. οἴς ἡ βουλὴ πεισθεῖσα τὰς μὲν τῶν χρεῶν ἀποκοπασ ἐψηφίσατο πᾶσι Ῥωμαίοις, τοῖς δὲ τότε ἐξήροις καὶ ἀδειαν. οἱ μὲν δὴ τὰ ὅπλα ἀποθέμενοι κατέσταν ἐς τὴν πόλιν. Val. p. 549.
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disclosed and they broke away from the tribune near the town of Terracina. They set free all those who were working in the fields, in the slave-prisons, armed them as well as they could, and marched on Rome to the number of 20,000 in all.

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

II

"Ωτι Μάλλιος Τορκουάτος ὁ ὕπατος τοιοῦτος ἦν τὴν ἀρετὴν. τούτῳ πατήρ ἐγεγένητο μικρο-
λόγος καὶ ἄμελής ἐστὶν αὐτὸν. καὶ ἐν ἀγροῖς αὐτὸν εἶχε, μετὰ τῶν θεραπόντων ἐργαζόμενον τε καὶ
τρεφόμενον. γραψαμένου δὲ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ πολλοῖς ἁδικήμασι Πομπωνίου δημάρχου, καὶ μέλλοντος
ἐρείν τι καὶ περὶ τῆς ἐς τὸν παῖδα κακώσεως, ὁ
παῖς δὲ Μάλλιος ἦκεν, ἐπικρύπτον ξυφίδιον, ἐς
τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ δημάρχου, καὶ τυχεῖν ἥξισεν
αὐτοῦ μόνου ὡς ὅτι τὸ ἱερὸν χρήσιμον ἐς τὴν
dίκην. ὑποδέχθης δὲ καὶ λέγειν ἀρχόμενος ἐπέ-
κλεισε τὰς θύρας, καὶ τὸ ξίφος ἐπισπάσας ἦπείλει
τῷ δημάρχῳ κτενεῖν αὐτόν, εἰ μὴ ὄμοσειν ὅτι
λύσει τῷ πατρὶ τὴν δίκην. καὶ ὁ μὲν ὄμοσε καὶ
dιέλυσεν, ἐκθέμενος τῷ δήμῳ τὸ συμβάν. ὁ δὲ
Μάλλιος ἔξ ἐκείνου λαμπρός ἦν, ἔπαινούμενος
ὅτι τοιόσος ἐς τοιόνδε πατέρα ἐγεγένητο. id.
p. 550.

III

Ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν εἰς μονομαχίαν προνακαλεῖτο,
σκόπτων ἐς αὐτὸν. ὁ δὲ τέως μὲν αὐτοῦ κατείχε,
μετὰ δὲ, οὐ γέρων ἐτι τὸ ἐρέθισμα, ἀντήλασε τὸν
ὕπτων. Ἀνδ. ν. ἐρέθισμα.

IV

1. "Ὅτι Σαυνῆται ἐς τὴν Φρεγελλανῶν ἐμβαλό-
ντες ἐπόρθουν, Ἡραμαῖοι δὲ Σαυνητῶν καὶ Δαυνιῶν
ὀγδοήκοντα κώμας καὶ μίαν εἶλον, καὶ ἀνδρας ἐξ
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II. FROM THE SAME

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

III. FROM SUIDAS

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

IV. FROM "THE EMBASSIES"

1. While the Samnites were raiding and plundering the territory of Fregellae, the Romans captured eighty-one villages belonging to the Samnites and
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αὐτῶν χιλίοις καὶ δισμυρίοις ἀνελόντες ἀπανέστησαν αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς Φρεγέλλης. καὶ πάλιν ἐς Ἄρπην ἐπρέπειεν οἱ Σαυνῖται, νεκρὰ σῶματα ἀνδρῶν φέροντες ὡς αἰτίους τοῦτο τὸν πολέμον γεγονότας ἀνηρηκότες, καὶ χρυσίον ὡς ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκείνων περιούσιας πεπορισμένον. ἐφ’ οίς αὐτούς ἡ βουλὴ πάνω νομίζουσα τετρύσθαι, προσεδόκα κακοπαθοῦντας ἐνδώσειν περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας. οἱ δὲ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἐδέχοντο, καὶ εἰ τι καὶ ἀντέλεγον, ἡ παρηγοῦντο καὶ παρεκάλουν ἢ ἐς τὰς πόλεις ἀνετίθεντο. περὶ δὲ τῆς ἡγεμονίας οὐκ ἀνασχόμενοι πάλιν οὐδ’ ἀκούσαι, οὐκ ἐκδοσόμενοι δὴ τὰς πόλεις ἐφασάν ἥκειν, ἀλλ’ ἐς φιλίαν συνάξοντες, λυσάμενοι δὴ τοῦ χρυσίου τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἀπῆσαν ὀργῇ, καὶ τὴν πεῖραν ἔχοντες τὴν περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας.

2. Καὶ Ἡρωμαῖοι μὲν ἐψηφίζοντο μηδὲ πρεσβεῖας ἔτι παρὰ Σαυνῖτῶν προσέσθαι, ἀλλ’ ἀσποῦντο καὶ ἀκήρυκτον πόλεμον αὐτοῖς πολέμειν ἔως κατὰ κράτος ἐξέλωσι, θεὸς δ’ ἐνεμέση τῆς μεγαληγορίας, καὶ ὁστερὸν ἡττήθησαν ὑπὸ Σαυνῖτῶν καὶ ὑπὸ ξυγὸν ἥχθησαν οἱ Ἡρωμαῖοι. εἰς γὰρ στενώτατον χώρον τούτους συγκλείσαντες οἱ Σαυνῖται τοῦ Ποντίου σφῶν στρατηγοῦντος, καὶ λιμῷ πιεζομένων Ἡρωμαίων, οἱ στρατηγοὶ σφῶν προσβευσάμενοι παρεκάλουν τοῦ Ποντίου καταθέσαι Ἡρωμάιοις χάριν, ἂν οὐ πολλοὶ παρέχοσι καυρὸ. ὡδὲ ἀπεκρίνατο μὴ δεῖν μηδὲ προσβεύειν ἔτι πρὸς αὐτῶν, εἰ μὴ τὰ 64
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the Daunii, slew 21,000 of their men, and drove them out of the Fregellian country. Again the Samnites sent ambassadors to Rome bringing the dead bodies of some men whom they had executed as guilty of causing the war, and also gold said to be taken from their store. Wherefore the Senate, thinking that they had been utterly crushed, expected that a people who had been so sorely afflicted would concede the supremacy of Italy. The Samnites accepted the other conditions, and, in so far as they had any objections to make, they made them in a tone of remonstrance and appeal, or proposed to refer the matter to their cities. But as to the supremacy, they would not endure even to hear anything more on that subject, because, they said, they had not come to surrender their towns, but to cultivate friendship. Accordingly they used their gold in redeeming prisoners, and went away angry and resolved to make trial for the supremacy hereafter.

2. Thereupon the Romans voted to receive no more embassies from the Samnites, but to wage irreconcilable and implacable war against them until they were subjugated by force. Heaven, however, resented this haughty spirit, for soon afterwards the Romans were defeated by the Samnites and compelled to pass under the yoke. The Samnites, under their general Pontius, having shut the Romans up in a defile where they were oppressed by hunger, the consuls sent messengers to him and begged that he should win such gratitude of the Romans as opportunity rarely offered. He replied that they need not send any more messengers to him at all unless they were prepared to surrender their arms

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Δῆλον καὶ αὐτοὺς παραδοέντε. θρήνος οὖν ἦν ὁ δὲ πόλεως ἀλούσης. καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ διέτριψαν μὲν ἐτὶ ἄλλας ἡμέρας, ὄκνοντος ἀνώς τι τῆς πόλεως ἐργάσασθαι. ὡς δὲ οὔτε μηχανὴ σωτηρίας ἐφαίνετο, ὥ τε λιμός ἐπίεζεν αὐτοὺς, καὶ νεότης ἦν πέντε μυριάδων, ἢ ὅκνον φθειρομένην ὑπερ- ἱδείων, ἐπέτρεψαν ἑαυτοὺς τῷ Ποντῷ, καὶ παρεκ- ἄλον, εἰ ὑπόςτε τε πωλείν εἰ ἐπὶ φυλάσσειν ἐπὶ λύτροις ἐλοίτο, μηδὲν ἐς σώματα ἄνδρῶν ἀτυχοῦντων ὑβρίσαι.

3. Ὅς τὸ πατρὶ συνεβούλευτε, μεταπεμψά- μενος αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ Καυνίου, φερόμενον ὑπὸ γῆς ἀμάξη. καὶ ὁ πρεσβύτης ἔφη, "ἐν ἐστιν, ὃ παῖ, μεγάλης ἔχθαρας φάρμακον, εὐεργεσίας ἡ κολά- σεως ὑπερβολή. αἱ μὲν οὖν κολάσεις καταπλῆσ- σουσί, αἱ δὲ εὐεργεσίαι προσάγουνται. ἵσθι νίκην τῆς πρώτης καὶ μεγίστην, θησαυρίζειν τὴν εὐτυχίαν καὶ πάντας ἀπόλυσον ἀπαθεῖς, μὴτ' ἐνυβρίσας μὴτ' ἀφελόμενος μηδέν, ἵνα σῶν ἄ σοι τὸ μέγεθος τῆς εὐεργεσίας. εἰσὶ δ', ὡς ἀκούσ, φιλοτιμότατοι. ἀλλὰ μόναις εὐεργεσίαις ἡττώμε- νοι διαγωνιοῦνται σοι περὶ τῆς τῆς χάριτος. ἔχεις ἐνέχυρον τῆς τῆς εὐεργεσίαν εἰρήνης ἀθανάτου λαβεῖν. ἢν δὲ σε ταῦτα μὴ πείθη, κτείνον ἀπάντας ὀμαλῶς, μηδ' ἀγγελον ὑπολιπὼν. λέγω δ' ἐκεῖνα μὲν αἰρούμενος, ταῦτα δ' ὡς ἀναγκαῖα. Ἐγγάζοι γὰρ ὁτιοῦν ὑβρισθέντες ἀμυνόμενται σε πάντως. ἀμυνεῖσθαι δὲ μέλλοντας αὐτοὺς προκατάβλαπτε. μείζον δ' οὐκ ἄν εὑροίς βλάβοις νέων ὁμοί πέντε μυριάδων."

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and their persons. Thereupon a lamentation was raised as though a city had been captured, and the consuls delayed several days longer, hesitating to do an act unworthy of Rome. But when no means of rescue appeared and famine became severe, there being 50,000 young men in the defile whom they could not bear to see perish, they surrendered to Pontius and begged him, whether he elected to kill them, or to sell them into slavery, or to keep them for ransom, not to put any stigma of shame upon the persons of the unfortunate.

3. Pontius took counsel with his father, sending to Caudium to fetch him in a carriage on account of his age. The old man said to him: "My son, for a great enmity there is but one cure,—either extreme generosity or extreme severity. Severity terrifies, generosity conciliates. Know that the first and greatest of all victories is to treasure up success. Release them all without punishment, without shame, without loss of any kind, so as to secure for yourself the debt of a great benefit conferred. I hear that they are very sensitive on the subject of their honour. Vanquished by benefits only, they will strive to surpass you in respect of this deed of kindness. It is in your power to make this benefit a security for everlasting peace. If this does not suit you, then kill them to the last man, not sparing one to carry the news. I advise as my choice the former, otherwise the latter is a necessity. The Romans will avenge themselves, inevitably for any shame you put upon them. In that case you should strike the first blow, and you will never deal them a heavier one than the slaughter of 50,000 of their young men at one time."
4. Ὅ μὲν τοσάυτα εἶπεν, ὁ δὲ παῖς ἀντέλεξεν· ἃτι μὲν, ὁ πάτερ, ἐναντιώτατα εἶπας ἀλλήλοις, οὐ θαμάζω· προείπας γὰρ ἔρειν ὑπερβολὰς ἐκατέρων. ἐγὼ δὲ οὐ κτενῶ μὲν ἄνδρας τοσοῦτος, νέμεσίν τε θεοῦ φυλασσόμενος καὶ φθόνον ἀνθρώπων αἰδοῦ-μένους, καὶ τὰ ἔθνη τὰς ἐς ἀλλήλους ἐπιδίδασ ὁν καὶ ἀφαιρήσομαι δι’ ἀνηκέστου κακοῦ. περὶ δὲ τῆς ἀφέσεως οὔδ’ αὐτῷ μὲν μοι δοκεῖ, Ἦρωμαίων πολλά καὶ δεινὰ δεδρακότων ἡμᾶς, καὶ χωρία καὶ πόλεις ἡμετέρας ἔτι νῦν ἑχόντων, τούσδε τοὺς εἰλημμένους ἀπολύειν παντὸς ἀπαθείς. οὐ ποιῆσω· ἐμπληξία γὰρ ἡ ἄλογος φιλανθρωπία. ἑπισκόπει δὲ, παρεῖς ἐμέ, καὶ τὸ τῶν Σαυνιτῶν ὅν παίδες καὶ πατέρες καὶ ἀδελφοὶ τεθνάσιν ὑπὸ Ἦρωμαίων, καὶ κτήματα καὶ χρήματα ἀφηρημένοι χρήζουσιν παραμυθάσει. φύσει δὲ γαὖρον ὁ νεω-κηκώς, καὶ τὰ κέρδη περιβλέπονται. τίς οὖν ἀνέξεται μοῦ τούσδε μὴ κτείνει μηδὲ πωλεῖν μηδὲ ξημοῦν, ἄλλ’ ὡς ευργέτας ἀπαθείς προ-πέμπειν; διὰ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα παρῶμεν τὰς ὑπερ-βολὰς, ἐπεὶ τῆς μὲν οὐ κύριος ἔγω, τῆς δ’ ἀπανθρωποτέρας οὐκ ἀνέχομαι· ὡς δ’ ἂν καὶ Ἦρωμαίων τι τοῦ φρονήματος περιέλυμη καὶ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους ἀδιάβλητος εἶν, ὅπλα μὲν αὐτοῦ, οἷς ἐχρῆσαντο ἀεὶ καθ’ ἡμῶν, ἀφαιρήσομαι καὶ χρήματα (καὶ γὰρ ταῦτα ἔχουσι παρ’ ἡμῶν), ἐκπέμψω δ’ ὑπὸ ξυγόν σώσος, ή τινὶ αἰσχύνη.
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4. When he had thus spoken his son answered: "I do not wonder, father, that you have suggested two plans absolutely opposed to each other, for you said in the beginning that you should propose extreme measures of one kind or the other. But I cannot put such a large number of men to death. I should fear the vengeance of heaven and the opprobrium of mankind. Nor can I take away from the two nations all hope of mutual accommodation by doing an irreparable wrong. As to releasing them I myself do not approve of that. After the Romans have inflicted so many evils upon us and while they hold so many of our fields and towns in their possession to this day, it is impossible to let these captives go scot free. I will not do it. Thoughtless leniency is insanity. Now look at this matter from the Samnites' point of view, leaving me out of the account. The Samnites, whose sons, fathers, and brothers have been slain by the Romans, and who have lost their goods and money, want satisfaction. A victor is naturally a haughty creature and our men are greedy of gain. Who then will endure that I should neither kill, nor sell, nor even fine these prisoners, but dismiss them unharmed as though they were benefactors? Therefore let us discard the two extremes—the one because it is not in my power, the other because I cannot be guilty of such inhumanity. Yet, in order to humble the pride of the Romans to some extent, and to avoid the censure of the world, I will take away the arms they have always used against us, and also their money (for even their money they get from us). Then I will make them pass safe and sound under the yoke, this being the mark of shame they are accustomed
καὶ αὐτοὶ κατ’ ἄλλων ἔχρησαντο, καὶ εἰρήνην εἶναι τοὺς ἐθνεῖς συνθήσομαι, τῶν τε ἵππεων ἐπιλέξομαι τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους ὅμηρα τῶν τῶν συνθηκῶν, ἐως ἅπασα ὁ δήμος ἐπιψηφίσῃ. καὶ τάδε ποιῶν ἡγοῦμαι νεκρικότος τε ἔργα ποιήσειν καὶ φιλανθρώπου, Ἡρωμαίοις τε ἀγαπήσειν ὅσα καὶ αὐτοὶ, φάσκοντες ἀρετῆς ἀντιποιεῖσθαι, πολλάκις ἔσ ἄλλους ἔδρασαν."

5. Ταῦτα τοῦ Ποντίου λέγοντος ὁ πρεσβύτης ἐδάκρυσε τε, καὶ ἐπιβὰς τῆς ἀπήνῃς ἐς τὸ Καύδιον ἀπῆλαυνεν. ὁ δὲ Πόντιος τοὺς πρέσβεις καλέσας ἤρετο εἰ τις εἰρηνοδίκης αὐτοῖς παρεῖ. τοὺς δὲ παρῆν οὐδεὶς ὡς ἐπὶ ἁσποῦδον καὶ ἀκήρυκτον πόλεμον ἐστρατευκόσι. τοὺς οὖν ὑπάτους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἄρχουσι τῆς στρατιᾶς καὶ παντὶ τῷ πλῆθει λέγειν ἐκείνευ τοὺς πρέσβεις, "ἡμεῖς ἀεὶ Ἡρωμαίοις ἐσπευδόμεθα φιλίαν, ἢν αὐτοὶ διελύσατε, Σιδικηνοῖς τοὺς ἡμετέρους ἐχθροῖς συμμαχοῦντες. εἰτ’ αὐθεὶς αὖ φιλίας ἡμῖν γενομένης, Ἡραπολίταις ἐπολεμεῖτε τοῖς ἡμετέρους γείτοσιν, καὶ ὁκ ἠγνοοῦμεν ὅτι ταῦτ’ ἢν ὑμῖν παρασκευὴ πλεονεξίας ἐπὶ ὅλην τὴν Ἰταλίαν. ἐν τε τὰς προτέραις μάχαις πολλὰ παρὰ τὴν ἀπειρίαν τῶν ἡμετέρων στρατηγῶν προλαβόντες οὐδὲν ἐπεδείξασθε μέτριον ἢ ἡμᾶς, οὐδ’ ἤρκεισθε τὴν χώραν πορθοῦντες καὶ χωρία καὶ πόλεις ἔχοντες ἀλλοτρίας, καὶ κληροῦχους ἢ αὐτὰ πέμποντες, ἀλλὰ
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to put upon others. Then I will establish peace B.C. 321 between the two nations and select the most illustrious of their knights as hostages for its observance, until the entire people ratify it. In this way I think I shall have acted in a way worthy of a victor and a humane man. I think also that the Romans themselves will be content with these terms, which they, who lay claim to such excellence of character, have often imposed upon others."

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

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1 The fetiales were a Roman college of priests, who sanctioned treaties when concluded, and who demanded satisfaction of an enemy before a declaration of war.
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καὶ πρεσβευσαμένων ἡμῶν δῖς πρὸς ύμᾶς, καὶ πολλὰ συγχωροῦντων, ὑπερήφανα ἡμῖν ἄλλα ἑπτασσετε, τὴν ἀρχὴν ὅλην ἀποδέσθαι καὶ ὑμῶν ὑπακούειν, ὥστε ποῦ ὑπενδομένους ἀλλ’ ἐαλωκότας. καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ τὸν πόλεμον τόνδε ἀστυνόδω καὶ ἀκήρυκτον ἐψηφίσασθε, κατ’ ἀνδρῶν ποτὲ φίλων, κατὰ Σαβίνων ἐκογόνων τῶν ὑμῶν συνοικούντων. ἑνεκα μὲν οὖν τῆς ὑμετέρας πλεονεξίας ἔδει καὶ τὰ παρ’ ἡμῶν ὑμῖν ἀστυνοῦνα εἶναι. ἐγὼ νέμεσιν τε θεῶν αἰδούμενος, ἢν ὑμεῖς ὑπερείδεσθε, καὶ συγγενείας καὶ φίλίας τῆς ποτὲ μνημονεύουν, δίδωμι ἐκαστὸν ὑμῶν σὺν ἰματίῳ σῷν ὑπὸ ξυγὸν ἀπελθεῖν, ἢν ὀμόσητε τῇν τε γῆν καὶ τὰ χωρία πάνθε’ ἡμῖν ἀποδώσειν, καὶ τοὺς κληρούχους ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων ἀπάξειν, καὶ μηδὲ ποτὲ ἐπὶ Σαυνίτας στρατεύωσιν.”

6. Ἀπαγγελθέντων δὲ τούτων ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ὀλοφυρμός ἦν καὶ θρήνος ἐπὶ πλείστον θανάτου γὰρ ἤγοντο εἶναι χείρονα τὴν υβριν τὴν ὑπὸ τῷ ξυγῷ. ὥσι καὶ περὶ τῶν ἱππέων ἐπύθουσο, αὐθίς ἔθρημον ἐπὶ πλείστον. ὑπὸ δὲ ἀπορίας αὐτὰ ἑδέχοντο, καὶ τοὺς ὄρκους ὄμνυν ο’ τε Πόντιος καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ὑπατοι, δύο ὄντες Ποστούμιος τε καὶ Οντούριος, καὶ ταμία δύο καὶ ταξιάρχαι τέσσαρες καὶ χιλιάρχοι δώδεκα, σύμπαντες ὅσοι μετὰ τοῦς διεθερμένους ἠρχον. γενομένων δὲ τῶν ὄρκων ὁ μὲν Πόντιος παραλύσας τι τοῦ διατείχισματος, καὶ δυσί δόρασιν ἐς τὴν γῆν ἐμπεπηγόσιν ἐπικάρσιον ἀλλ’ ἐπιθείς, ἐξεπιστέψετο Ῥωμαίοις ἐκαστον ὑπὸ τούτῳ. καὶ τίνα ὑποζύγια ἐδωκεν αὐτοῖς ἐς τοὺς ἀρρωστούντας,

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

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

7. 'Απαγγελθείσης δὲ τῆς συμφορᾶς εἰς τὴν
πόλιν οἰμωγῆ καὶ θρήνος ἦν ὡς ἐπὶ πένθει, καὶ οἱ
γυναῖκες ἐκόπτοντο τοὺς αἰσχρῶς περισσεωσ-μένους ὡς ἀποδανόντας, ἢ τε βουλὴ τὴν ἐπιπόρ-φυρον ἐσθήτα ἀπέθετο, καὶ θυσίαι καὶ γάμοι,
καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα τοιουτότροπα, ἐπέσχετο ἐπὶ τὸ
ἐτος ὅλον, ἐως τὴν συμφορὰν ἀνέλαβον. τῶν δὲ
ἀφειμένων οἱ μὲν ἐς τοὺς ἀγροὺς διέφευγον ὑπὸ
αἰδοὺς, οἱ δὲ νυκτὸς ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσήκαν. οἱ δὲ
ἀρχοντες ἡμέρας μὲν ἐσήλθον ὑπ’ ἀνίγκης, καὶ
tὰ σημεῖα τῆς ἱρχῆς ἐπέκειτο αὐτοῖς, ἐπρασσοῦν
de οὐδέν. U. p. 338.

V

Δευτάτῳ κατὰ ξῆλον ἀρετῆς εἴπτετο νέων λογά-
δων πλῆθος ὄρετοι κοσίων, ἐπὶ πάντα τὰ ἔργα
ἐτοιμοι. καὶ βαρύς ἦν τῇ βουλῇ παρὰ τὰς
ἐκκλησίας. Suid. v. ξῆλος.

VI

1. "Οτι Κελτῶν Σενόνων πολὺ πλῆθος Τυρ-
ρηνοὶς συνεμάχουν κατὰ Ῥωμαίων. Ῥωμαίοι δὲ ἐς
tὰς Σενόνων πόλεις ἐπρέσβευσαν, καὶ ἐνεκάλουν
ὅτι ὄντες ἐνυπονδότι μισθοφοροῦσι κατὰ Ῥωμαίων.
tούσδε τοὺς πρέσβεις Βριτομαρίς μετὰ τῶν κηρυ-
κείων καὶ τῆς ιερᾶς στολῆς κατέτεμεν ἐς πολλὰ
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provisions sufficient to bring them to Rome. This method of dismissing prisoners, which the Romans call sending under the yoke, seems to me to convey the reproach of having been captured in battle.

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

V. FROM SUIDAS

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

VI. FROM "THE EMBASSIES"

1. Once a great number of the Senones, a Celtic tribe, aided the Etruscans in war against the Romans. The latter sent ambassadors to the towns of the Senones and complained that, while they were under treaty stipulations, they were serving as mercenaries against the Romans. Although they bore the herald's staff, and wore the garments of their office, Britomaris cut them in pieces and
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καὶ διέρριψεν, ἐγκαλὼν ὅτι αὐτοῦ ὁ πατὴρ ἐν Τυρρηνίᾳ πολεμῶν ἀνήρρητο ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων. Κορνήλιος δὲ ὁ ὑπατος τοῦ μύσους ἐν ὁδῷ πυθόμενος τὰ μὲν Τυρρηνῶν εἰσαεν, ἐσὲ δὲ τὰς Σενόνων πόλεις συντόνῳ σπουδῇ διὰ Σαβίνων καὶ Πικεντίων ἐσβαλὼν πάντα καθιέρει καὶ ἐνεπίμπη ρη, καὶ τὰς μὲν γυναίκας καὶ τὰ παιδία ἠνδραποδιζέτο, τοὺς δὲ ἡβῶντας πάντας ἐκειναὶ πλήν Βρετομάριος, ὅπως δεινὰς αἰκισσάμενος ἤγεν ἐς τὸν θρίαμβον.

2. Οἱ δὲ Σενόνων, ὥσοι ἦσαν ἐν Τυρρηνίᾳ, πυθόμενοι ¹ ἀνηρήσκαι, Τυρρηνοὺς ἤγην ἐπὶ Ῥώμῃς. καὶ πολλῶν μεταξὺ γενομένων οἱ Σένονες, οὔτε πατρίδας ἔχοντες ἐς ἀς διαφύγοντοι, ὀργιζόμενοι τε τῶν γεγονότων, ἐνέπιπτοι τῷ Δομιτίῳ καὶ διεφθάρησαν πολλοὶ. τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν σφᾶς αὐτοὺς διεχρῶντο μακρῶς. καὶ δίκη μὲν ἦδε παρανομίας ἐς πρέσβεις ἐγένετο Σένοσιν. U. p. 343.

VII

1. "Ὅτι Κορνήλιος ἐπὶ καταφράκτων δέκα νεῶν ἐθεάτο τὴν μεγάλην Ἑλλάδα, καὶ τις ἐν Τάραντι δημαγωγὸς Φιλόχαρις, αἰσχρῶς τε βεβιωκὼς καὶ παρὰ τοῦτο καλούμενος Θαῖς, παλαιῶν τοὺς Ταραντίνους ἀνεμίμησακε συνθηκῶν, μὴ πλεῖν Ῥωμαίος πρόσω Δακίας ἀκρας, παροξύνας τε ἐπεισεν ἐπαναχθήναι τῷ Κορνηλίῳ. καὶ τέσσαρας μὲν αὐτοῦ ναῦς κατέδυσαν οἱ Ταραντίνοι,

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

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

VII. FROM THE SAME.

1. CORNELIUS went on a voyage of inspection along the coast of Magna Graecia with ten decked ships. At Tarentum there was a demagogue named Philocharis, a man of obscene life, who was for that reason nick-named Thais. He reminded the Tarentines of an old treaty by which the Romans had bound themselves not to sail beyond the promontory of Lacinium, and so stirred their passion that he persuaded them to put out to sea and attack Cornelius, of whose ships they
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μίαν δὲ ἔλαβον αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσιν. ἐς τε Θουρίων ἐγκληματα ποιούμενοι ὅτι "Ἑλληνες οντες ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους κατέφυγον ἀντὶ σφῶν, καὶ παρελθεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐπέκειναι αἵτινες μάλιστα ἐγεγένητο, τούς μὲν ἐπιφανεῖς αὐτῶν ἐξέβαλον, τὴν δὲ πόλιν διήρπασαν, καὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίοις φρουρούς ὑποστόνους ἀφῆκαν.

2. Ῥωμαιοὶ δὲ τούτων πυθόμενοι πρέσβεις ἐς Τάραντα πέμποντο, τοὺς μὲν αἰχμαλώτους κελεύοντες, οὓς οὐ πολεμοῦντας ἄλλα θεωμένους ἔλαβον, ἀποδοῦναι, Θουρίων δ' οὖς ἐξέβαλον, εἰς τὴν πόλιν καταγαγεῖν, ἀ τε διηρπάκεσαν αὐτοὺς, ἢ τὴν ξημίαν τῶν ἀπολομένων, ἀποτίσας, σφίσε δ' ἐκδοῦναι τοὺς αἶτιας τῆς παρανομίας, εἰ Ῥωμαίοις ἐθέλουσιν εἶναι φίλοι. οἱ δὲ τοὺς πρέσβεις μόλις ποτὲ ἐπὶ τὸ κοινὸν ἐπίργαγον, καὶ ἐπειθόντας ἐχλεύαζον εἰ τι μὴ καλῶς ἔλημιζε αὐτῷ ἐξωκποτῶν δὲ καὶ τὴν στολὴν αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ ἐπιτόρφυρον. Φιλωνίδης δὲ τῆς, ἀνὴρ γελοῖος καὶ φιλοσκόμμων, Ποστούμιῳ τῷ τῆς προσβείας ἡγουμένῳ προσελθὼν ἀπεστράφη τε, καὶ ἔπικυψά την ἐσθήτα ἀνεσύρα τὴν ἑαυτοῦ, καὶ τοῦ πρεσβευτοῦ κατηχημόνησεν. καὶ τὸ μὲν θέατρον ἔπαιζεν ως ἐπὶ γελοῖο, Ποστούμιος δὲ προτείνας τὸ μεμολυσμένον, "ἐκπληνεῖτε," ἐφ' "τούτῳ αἰματι πολλῷ, τοιοῦτοι ἀρεσκόμενοι γέλωσιν," καὶ οὐδὲν τῶν Ταραντίων ἀποκριναμένων ἀπήλθον οἱ πρέσβεις. ο δὲ Ποστούμιος τὴν ὑβρίν ἐκ τῆς ἐσθήτος οὐκ ἀποπλύνας ἐπέδειξε Ῥωμαιοῖς, (3) καὶ ὁ δήμος ἀγανακτῶν Αἰμιλίῳ πολεμοῦντι Σαυνίταις ἐπέστειλεν
sank four and captured one with all on board. They also accused the Thurini of preferring the Romans to the Tarentines although they were Greeks, and held them chiefly to blame for the Romans overpassing the limits. Then they expelled the noblest citizens of Thurii, sacked the city, and dismissed the Roman garrison under a flag of truce.

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

3. The people, deeply incensed, sent orders to Aemilius, who was waging war against the Samnites,
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tà μὲν Σαυνιτῶν ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἔαν, εἰς δὲ τὴν Ταραντῖνων εἰσβάλλειν, καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐφ᾿ οἷς ἦξιοιν οἱ πρέσβεις ἐς διαλλαγάς προκαλέσασθαι, ἂν δ᾿ ἀπειθῶσι, πολεμεῖν κατὰ κράτος. ὁ μὲν δὴ τάδε προύτευε τοῖς 'Ταραντῖνοις, οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἐγέλων ἔτι τὴν στρατιὰν ὀρῶντες, ἀλλ᾿ ἐγάγανον ταῖς γνώμαις ἀγχώμαλοι, μέχρι τις ἀποροῦσι καὶ βουλευμένοις ἔφη, τὸ μὲν ἐκδοῦναι τινὰς ἤδη δεδουλωμένων εἰναι, τὸ δὲ πολεμεῖν μόνους ἐπισφάλεις. "Εἰ δὲ καὶ τῆς ἔλευσιν ἐγκρατῶς ἐξόμηθα καὶ πολεμήσομεν ἐξ ἰσον, Πύρρον ἔξ Ἡπείρου τὸν βασιλέα καλώμεν, καὶ στρατηγῶν ἀποφήμωμεν τοῦτο τοῦ πολέμου." Ὅ καὶ γέγονεν. U. p. 343.

VIII

"Ὅτι μετὰ τὸ ναυάγιον ὁ Πύρρος ὁ βασίλειος τῆς Ἡπείρου ἐς τὸν Τάραντα κατήγετο, καὶ οἱ Ταραντῖνοι τότε μᾶλλον τοὺς βασιλικοὺς ἐβαρύνοντο, ἐσοικιζομένους ταῖς παρὰ σφαῖς βίω, καὶ φαγερῶς ἐνυπρίζοντας ταῖς αὐτῶν γυναιξὶ καὶ παισίν. ὡς δὲ καὶ τὰ συσσίτια σφῶν ὁ Πύρρος καὶ τὰς ἄλλας συνόδους καὶ διατριβὰς ὡς οὐ πρεπούσας πολέμῳ διέλυε, γυμνᾶσα τὸ ἐνοπτὰ ἔτασσεν αὐτοῖς, καὶ θάνατον τοῖς ἀμέλουσιν ὅριζε, τότε δὴ καὶ τάμητα ἀθησίν ἔργοις καὶ ἐπιτύμμασι κάμνουσιν ό Ταραντῖνοι τῆς πόλεως ὡς ἀλλοτρίας ἐς τοὺς ἄγρους ἀπεδίδρασκον. καὶ ὁ βασιλεύς τὰς θύρας ἀπέκλειε, καὶ φρουρὰς ἑφίστη. καὶ οἱ Ταραντίνοι τῆς ἄβουλίας σφῶν ἥσθάνοντο σαφῶς. Val. p. 553.

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to suspend operations for the present and invade the territory of the Tarentines, and offer them the same terms that the late embassy had proposed, and if they did not agree, to wage war against them with all his might. He made them the offer accordingly. This time they did not laugh, for they saw the army. They were about equally divided in opinion until one of their number said to them as they doubted and disputed: "To surrender citizens is the act of a people already enslaved, yet to fight without allies is hazardous. If we wish to defend our liberty stoutly and to fight on equal terms, let us call on Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, and make him our leader in this war." This was done.

VIII. FROM "VIRTUES AND VICES"

AFTER the shipwreck, Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, arrived at the harbour of Tarentum. The Tarentines were very much put out with the king's officers, who quartered themselves upon the citizens by force, and openly abused their wives and children. Afterwards Pyrrhus put an end to their revels and other social gatherings and amusements as incompatible with a state of war, and ordered the citizens to severe military exercise, under penalty of death if they disobeyed. Then the Tarentines, utterly worn out by exercises and tasks to which they were unaccustomed, fled the city as though it were a foreign government and took refuge in the fields. Then the king closed the gates and placed guards over them. In this way the Tarentines gained a clear perception of their own folly.

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1. "Ὅτι ὁ δὲ ἐν Ὕληγίῳ ὑπὸ τῶν ἡγεμών τῶν ἱστηρίας καὶ φυλακῆς τῆς πόλεως, μή τι πάθοιεν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν, παρέμενον, αὐτοὶ τε καὶ Δέκιος ὁ ἡγεμών αὐτῶν, τοῖς ἄγαθοῖς τῶν Ὕληγίων φθονήσαντες, καὶ φυλάξαντες αὐτοὺς εὐωκουμένους ἐν ἔρημῃ διέφθειραν, καὶ ταῖς γυναιξίν ἀκουσίαις συνήσαν. πρόφασιν δὲ τῆς παρανομίας ἔφεραν ὅτι Ὕληγίῳ τὴν φρουρὰν προεδίδοσαν Πύρρῳ. καὶ Δέκιος μὲν ἀντὶ φρουράρχου τύραννος ἦν, καὶ φιλίαν ἔθετο Μαμερτίνοις τοῖς ἐπὶ τοῦ πορθμοῦ τοῦ Σικελικοῦ κατωκημένοις, οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ κἀκεῖνος ἐς ἑδύνεσ εἶναυ οὕμων ἀδερφοκόσιν.

2. Ἀλγήσαντα δὲ αὐτῶν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς, καὶ τοῖς ἐν Ὅληγίῳ ἱσταρίσι ἀπιστοῦντα, μετάπεμπτος ἀπὸ Μεσσηνίας ἔθεράπευε Ὅληγίων ἀνήρ, μεταφερκός ἐς Μεσσηνίαν πρὸ πολλοῦ, ὅτι Ὅληγίων ἦν ἄγνοομενός. οὕτως αὐτῶν ἔπεισεν ἐπὶ ἀπαλλαγῆς συντόμως φαρμάκων ἀνασχέθαι θερμῶν, καὶ χρήσας τοῖς κατακαίουσι καὶ δαπανώσι ἐκέλευσεν ἀνασχέθαι τοῦ πόλου μέχρι αὐτῶς ἐπανέλθου, καὶ λαθῶν ἐπελευσεν ἐς Μεσσηνίαν. ὁ δὲ ἐς πολὺ τῆς ὄδυνης ἀνασχόμενος ἀπενεψατο, καὶ εὗρε τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς δεδαπανημένους.

3. Φαβρίκιος δὲ ὑπὸ Ὅληγίων ἐπὶ διορθώσει τῶνδε πεμφθεὶς τὴν τε πόλιν τοῖς ἐτὶ Ὅληγίων λοιποῖς ἀπεδίδοι, καὶ τῶν φρουρῶν τοὺς αὐτῶς 82
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IX. FROM THE SAME

1. Some Roman soldiers were stationed in B.C. 280 Rhegium for the safety and protection of the city against enemies. They, and their leader Decius, envying the good fortune of the inhabitants and seizing an opportunity when they were feasting on a holiday, slew them and violated their wives. They offered an excuse for this crime, that the citizens of Rhegium were about to betray the garrison to Pyrrhus. So Decius became supreme ruler instead of a prefect of the guard, and he contracted an alliance with the Mamertines, who dwelt on the other side of the strait of Sicily, and who had perpetrated the same kind of outrage on their hosts not long before.

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

3. Fabricius was sent by the Romans to re-establish order. He restored the city to those Rhegians who still remained, and sent the ringleaders in the mutiny
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tῆς ἀποστάσεως ἐς Ῥώμην ἐπεμψεν, οὗ μαστυγωθέντες ἐν ἀγορᾷ μέση τὰς κεφαλὰς ἀπεκόπησαν καὶ ἐξερρίφησαν ἀταφοι. Δέκιος δὲ φυλασσόμενος ἀμελῶς, ὥστε πηρός, ἐαυτὸν διεχρήσατο. id. ib.

X

1. Ὄτι ὁ Πύρρος ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς Ἡπείρου, νικήσας τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ὡς ἀναλαβεῖν χρήζων τὴν στρατιὰν ἐκ μάχης εὐτόνου, καὶ Ῥωμαίους ἐπιτίζων ἐσ διαλύσεις τότε μάλιστα ἐνδώσειν, ἐπέμπεν ὡς Ῥώμην Κινέαν τὸν Θησαλῶν, δόξαν ἐπὶ λόγοις ἔχοντα μιμεῦσαί την Δημοσθένους ἀρετήν. καὶ παρελθὼν ὁ Κινέας ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἄλλα τε πολλὰ περὶ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐσεμνολόγηε, καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ ἀγώνι μετριοπάθειαν κατελογίζετο, μὴτ' ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν εὐθὺς ἐλάσαντος μὴτ' ἐπὶ τὸ ἡσσιμένου στρατόπεδον ἐδίδου δ' αὐτοῖς εἰρήνην καὶ φιλίαν καὶ συμμαχίαν πρὸς Πύρρου, εἰ Ταραντίνους μὲν ἐς ταῦτα συμπεριλάβοιεν, τοὺς δ` ἄλλους Ἑλλήνας τοὺς ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ κατοικοῦντας ἔλευθεροι καὶ αὐτονόμους ἔθεν, Δευκανόνδα καὶ Σαυνίτας καὶ Δαυνίον καὶ Βρεττίον ἀποδοίειν ὅσα αὐτῶν ἔχουσι πολέμῳ λαβόντες. καὶ γγυγμένων ἐφικτοῖς Πύρρου ἀποδώσειν αὐτοῖς τοὺς ἀἵμαλλωτοὺς ἂνευ λύτρων.

2. Οἱ δ` ἐνεδοιάζον ἐπὶ πλείστον, τῇ τε δύση τοῦ Πύρρου καὶ τῷ συμβεβηκότι πάθει καταπλαγέντες, ἔως Ἀππιανος Κλαύδιος, ὁ Καίκος ἐπικλησίεν, ἥδη τετυφλωμένος, ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον τοῖς παισίν αὐτῶν ἀγαγεῖν κελεύσας, “ἡχόμην,”

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

X. FROM "THE EMBASSIES"

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

2. The Romans hesitated a long time, being much intimidated by the prestige of Pyrrhus and by the calamity that had befallen them. Finally Appius Claudius, surnamed the Blind (because he had lost his eyesight from old age), commanded his sons to lead him into the senate-chamber, where he said:
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eίπεν, "ὅτι μὴ βλέπω· νῦν δ' ὅτι ἄκουὼν. τὰ γὰρ τοιαύτα ὤμον βουλεύματα ἥξιον μὴθ' ὄραν μήτ' ἄκουειν, οὐ δὲ ἐν ἁτύχημα ἁθρόως οὕτως ἑαυτῶν ἐκλέλησθε, καὶ τὸν τούτο δράσαντα αὐτὸν τε καὶ τοὺς ἐπαγαγομένους αὐτὸν βουλεύσθε φίλους ἀντὶ πολεμίων θέσθαι, καὶ τὰ τῶν προγόνων κτήματα Λευκανοῦ καὶ Βρεττίους δοῦναι. τὶ τούτ' ἐστιν ἢ Ῥωμαίοις ἔπληκτος ἐπὶ Μακεδόνια γενέσθαι; καὶ ταύτα τινες εἰρήνην ἀντὶ δουλείας τολμῶσιν ὄνομαζεν." ἀλλὰ τε πολλὰ ὤμον τούτοις ὁ Ἀππίος ἐπίπων καὶ ἐρεθίσας, ἐσηγήσατο Πύρρον, εἰ δέοιτο τῆς Ῥωμαίων φιλίας καὶ συμμαχίας, ἠξ Ἰταλίας ἀπελθόντα πρεσβεύειν, παρόντα δὲ μήτε φίλον ἡγεῖσθαι μήτε σύμμαχον μήτε Ῥωμαίοις δικαστὴν ἡ διαιτητὴν.

3. Καὶ ἡ βουλὴ ταῦθ' ἀπερ καὶ ὁ Ἀππίος εἶπεν ἀπεκρίνατο Κινέας. Λαιουίνω δ' ἄλλα δύο τέλη καταλέγοντες ἐκήρυξαν οὕτως, εἴ τις ἄντι τῶν ἀπολογολῶτων αὐτὸν ἐπιδίδωσιν, εἴ τιν τοιαῦτα πραγματεύσεται. καὶ ὁ Κινέας ἔπι τιρών, καὶ θεόμενος αὐτοῦς θοιομένους ἐς τὰς ἀπογραφάς, λέγεται πρὸς τὸν Πύρρον ἐπανελθόντα εἶπειν ὅτι πρὸς ὤμον ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς ὁ πόλεμος. οἴ δὲ συν Κινέαν ἄλλα Πύρρον αὐτὸν εἶπειν τούτο τὸ ἔπος, ἴδοντα τὴν στρατιὰν τῶν Ῥωμαίων τῆς προτέρας πλείονα· καὶ γὰρ ὁ ἔτερος ὑπάτος τῷ Λαιουίνῳ Κορογκάνιος ἦκεν ἐκ Τυρρηνίας μεθ' ἡς εἰχε παρασκευῆς. λέγεται δὲ καὶ τὰλλα περὶ τῆς Ῥώμης πυνθανομένῳ Πύρρῳ Κινέας εἶπειν ὅτι πόλις ἐστὶ στρατηγῶν ὁλη, καὶ τοῦ Πύρρου θαυμᾶσαντος μεταλαβὼν φάναι, "βασιλέων μᾶλλον".

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"I was grieved at the loss of my sight; now I regret that I did not lose my hearing also, for never did I expect to see or hear deliberations of this kind from you. Has a single misfortune made you in a moment so forget yourselves as to take the man who brought it upon you, and those who called him hither, for friends instead of enemies, and to give the heritage of your fathers to the Lucanians and Bruttians? What is this but making the Romans servants of the Macedonians? And some of you dare to call this peace instead of servitude!" Many other things in the like sense did Appius urge to arouse their spirit. If Pyrrhus wanted peace and the friendship of the Romans, let him withdraw from Italy and then send his embassy. As long as he remained let him be considered neither friend nor ally, neither judge nor arbitrator of the Romans.

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

4. 'Ρωμαίων δὲ πρέσβεις αὐτὸν ἤξιον λύσαι τῇ πόλει τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους, ἢ ἀντιλαβεῖν ὅσους ἔχουσι Ταραπτίνων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων αὐτοῦ. ὡς δὲ σπευδομένοις μὲν ἐφε, καθάπερ προείπε Κινέας, χαριεῖσθαι τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους, πολεμοῦσι δ' οὐ δώσειν ἐφ' ἕαυτόν ἄνδρας τοιούτους καὶ τοσούτους, ἐξενισε δ' αὐτοὺς βασιλικῶς, καὶ τὸν τής πρεσβείας ἡγούμενον Φαβρίκιον πυθανόμενος ἐν τῇ πόλει μέγα δύνασθαι καὶ δεινῶς πένεσθαι καθωμίλει, λέγων, εἰ πράξειν αὐτῷ τὰς διαλύσεις, ὑποστράτηγον καὶ κοινωνία τῶν παρών τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀπάξειν ἐς Ἡπειρον. χρήματα τε αὐτὸν λαβεῖν ἐντεῦθεν ἢδη παρεκάλει, προφασίζων ὡς δῶσοντα τοὺς τὴν εἰρήνην ἐργασαμένοις. ἐπιγελάσασι δ' ὁ Φαβρίκιος περὶ μὲν τῶν κοινῶν οὐδ' ἀπεκρίνατο, "τὴν δ' ἐμὴν," ἐφη, "παρρησίαν οὔτε τῶν σῶν φίλων οὐδές οὔτε αὐτῶς οὐσεὶς σύ, ὃ βασίλευς καὶ τὴν πενίαν τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ μακριῶς μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν τῶν τυράννων πλοῦτον ὁμοῦ καὶ φόβουν." οἱ δὲ οὐχ οὔτω φασὶν αὐτόν, ἀλλ' ὅτι μου τῆς φύσεως Ἡπειρωταῖ μεταλαβόντες ἔμε σοῦ προθήσουσιν.
than generals. When Pyrrhus saw that there was no expectation of peace from the Senate, he pressed on towards Rome, laying everything waste on his way. When he had come as far as the town of Anagnia, finding his army encumbered with booty and a host of prisoners, he decided to postpone the battle. Accordingly he turned back to Campania, sending his elephants in advance, and distributed his army in winter quarters among the towns.

4. Hither came Roman ambassadors proposing either to ransom the prisoners or to exchange them for Tarentines and such others of his allies as they had taken. He replied that if they were ready for peace, he would, as Cineas had said in his proclamation, release the prisoners gratuitously, but if the war was to continue, he would not give up such a large number of valiant men to fight against him. However, he entertained them in a kingly way and hearing that Fabricius, the chief of the embassy, had great influence in the city, and also that he was a very poor man, he approached him and said that if he would bring about a treaty of peace, he would take him to Epirus, and make him his chief officer and the sharer of all his possessions; and he asked him to accept a present of money then and there, on the pretext that he was to give it to those who arranged the treaty. Fabricius burst out laughing. He made no answer at all as to public matters, but said: “Neither your friends nor you, O King, can take away my independence. I consider my poverty more blessed than all the riches of kings if conjoined with fear.” Others report the conversation differently, saying that Fabricius replied: “Beware lest the Epirotes share my nature and prefer me to you.”
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5. Ὅποτέρως δ' οὖν ἀπεκρίνατο, θαυμάσας αὐτὸν τοῦ φρονήματος ὁ Πύρρος ἐτέραν ὁδὸν ἐς τὰς διαλλαγάς ἐπενόει, καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἐς τῶν Κρονίων τὴν ἐορτὴν ἐπεμπεν ἀνευ φυλάκων, ἐφ' ὃ, δεχομένης μὲν τῆς πόλεως ἃ ὁ Πύρρος προτείνει, μένειν καὶ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας ἀπολελύσθαι, μὴ δεχομένης δὲ ἐορτάσαντας ἐπανήκειν ἐς αὐτόν. τούτους ἡ βουλή, πάνυ παρακαλοῦντας καὶ ἐνάγοντας ἐς τὰς διαλύσεις, ἐκέλευσεν ἐορτάσαντας Πύρρῳ παραδοῦναι σφαῖς αὐτούς ἐν ἕμερᾳ ἥντη, καὶ θάνατον ἐπέταξε τοὺς ἀπολειψθείς τῆς ἕμερας. οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτὴν ἄπαντες ἐφύλαξαν, καὶ Πύρρῳ πολεμητέα πάντως αὐθίς ἔδοκε. U. p. 345.

XI

1. Ὅτι τὸν Πύρρον ἦδη μὲν τὰ Ῥωμαιῶν κατέπλησεν, ἐτάρασσε δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐν Μολοσσῶις θροφούμενα. Ἀγαθοκλῆς τε, ἀρχων Σικεлиῶν, ἀρτὶ ἐθεμνῆκε, οὗ θυγατέρα Δάνασσαν ἔχων ὁ Πύρρος ἐν ταῖς γυναιξί, τὴν νήσου οἰκείαν ἀντὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας περιεβλέπτο. ὅκνει δ' ὁμοὶς ἔτι τοὺς ἐπικαλέσαντας ἀνευ τινὸς εἰρήνης καταλιπτείν. ἄσμενος οὖν τῆς προφάσεως τῆς περὶ τῶν αὐτό- μολον ἐπιβᾶς ἐμαρτύρει τοῖς ὑπάτοις, καὶ Κινέαν ἐπεμπεν ἐς Ῥώμην χάριν ὠμολογήσοντα τῆς σωτηρίας τοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἀμοιβὴν ἀγοντα, εἰρήνην τε ὑπὶ δύνατο πράξ- οντα. δῶρα δ' ὁ Κινέας ἐφερε πολλὰ μὲν ἀνδράσι,
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5. Whichever answer he made, Pyrrhus admired his high spirit. He then tried another plan for procuring peace. He allowed the prisoners to go home without guards to attend the festival of Saturn, on the condition that if the city accepted the terms offered by him they should be free, but if not that they should return to him at the end of the festival. Although the prisoners earnestly besought and urged the Senate to accept the terms, the latter ordered them, at the conclusion of the festival, to deliver themselves up to Pyrrhus on a day specified, and decreed the death penalty to those who should linger beyond that time. This order was observed by all. In this way Pyrrhus again thought that war was unavoidable.

XI. FROM THE SAME

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

2. Οἳ δὲ περὶ μὲν τῶν δώρων ἐνεκελεύσαντο ἀλλήλοις· καὶ φασίν οὐδένα λαβεῖν οὐδέν, οὔτε ἀνδρὰ οὔτε γυναῖκα. ἀπεκρίναντο δ’ αὐτῷ, καθὰ καὶ πρῶτον, ἀπελθόντα Πύρρου ἐξ Ἰταλίας προσβείων πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀνευ δώρων· ἀπορήσειν γὰρ οὐδὲνὸς τῶν δικαίων. τοὺς δὲ πρόσβες καὶ αὐτοῖ πολυτελώς ἐξεύξουν, καὶ Πύρρῳ τοὺς Ταραντίνους καὶ τῶν ἄλλων αὐτοῦ συμμάχων αἴχαμαλώτους ἀντέπεμπον. ὦ μὲν δὴ Πύρρος ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐς Σικελίαν διέπλει μετὰ τε τῶν ἔλεφάντων . . . καὶ ὀκτακισχιλίων ἵππεων, ὑποσχόμενοι τοῖς συμμάχοις ἐς Σικελίας ἐπανήξειν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν. καὶ ἐπανήλθεν ἐτεί. τρίτῳ, Καρχηδονίων αὐτῶν ἐξελασάντων ἐς Σικελίας. id. p. 348.

XII

1. "Ὅτι Πύρρος μετὰ τὴν μάχην καὶ τὰς πρὸς Ῥωμαίοις συνθήκας ἐς Σικελίαν διέπλει, ὑποσχόμενος τοῖς συμμάχοις ἐκ Σικελίας ἐπανήξειν ἐς Ἰταλίαν. καὶ ἐπανήλθεν ἐτεί τρίτῳ, Καρχηδονίων αὐτῶ ἐξελασάντων ἐς Σικελίας, ἢδη καὶ τοῖς Σικελιώταις βαρύν ἐπὶ τε ξενίας καὶ χορηγίαις καὶ φουραῖς καὶ ἐσφοραῖς γενόμενον. ὦ μὲν δὴ πλούσιος ἐν τῶν θεοῦ γεγονός ἐς τὸ Ῥήγμων διέπλει ναυσί καταφράκτως δέκα καὶ ἐκατόν, φορτίσε ὦ καὶ ὀλκάσει πολὺ πλείσσων οἱ δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι διὰ παραμπαχῆς αὐτῶ κατέδυσαν ναῦς ἐβδομήκοντα, καὶ τὰς λυσίδις ἀπλοῖς ἐποίησαν, τὰς τὴν . . . .

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

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

XII. FROM “VIRTUES AND VICES”

1. After the battle and the armistice with the Romans, Pyrrhus sailed for Sicily, promising he would return to Italy. Three years later he returned, having been driven out of Sicily by the Carthaginians, and having been a grievous burden to the Sicilians themselves by reason of the lodging and supplying of his troops, the garrisons and the tribute he had imposed on them. Enriched by these exactions he set sail for Rhegium with 110 decked ships, besides a much larger number of merchant vessels and ships of burthen. But the Carthaginians made a naval attack upon him, sank seventy of his ships, and disabled all the rest except


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dώδεκα μόνων, αἰς ὁ Πύρρος διαφυγών ἐτίνυτο
Λοκροὺς τοὺς ἐπιζευγρίος, ὅτι φρούραν αὐτοῦ
cαι τὸν φρούραρχον αὐτής, ὕβρισαντας εἰς αὐτούς,
ἀνηρήκεσαν. ὡμὸς δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ πεκρῶς κτείνων
tε καὶ συλῶν οὖ Πύρρος οὐδὲ τῶν ἀναθημάτων τῆς
Περσεφόνης ἀπέσχετο, ἕπισκόψας τὴν ἀκαιρον
θεοσέβειαν εἶναι δεισιδαιμονίαν, τὸ δὲ συλλέξαι
πλούτον ἀπονοεῖ νεβουλίαν.

2. Ἀναχθέντα δ' αὐτὸν μετὰ τῶν σύλων χειμῶν
ὑπέλαβε, καὶ τῶν νεών τὰς μὲν κατέδυσε καὶ
dιεῖφθειρεν αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσι, τὰς δ' ἐς τὴν γῆν
ἐξέρρυσεν. τὰ δὲ ιερὰ πάντα σῶ ὁ κλύδων ἐς
tοὺς Λοκρῶν λαμένας ἐπανήγαγεν, ὡστε καὶ
Πύρρον ὅψε τῆς ἀσεβείας αὐτόθμενον ἀναθείναι
tε αὐτὰ ἐς τὸ ιερόν τῇ Περσεφόνῃ, καὶ θυσίας
ιλάσκεσθαι τὴν θεὸν πόλλαις. τὸν δὲ ιερὸν οὐκ
ἀπαντώντων ἄτι μᾶλλον ἐξεμαίνετο, καὶ τοὺς περὶ
tῆς ἱεροσυνίας αὐτῷ συμβουλεύσαντας ἡ λέγοντι
συνθεμένους, ἡ διακονησαμένους τὸ ἔργον, ἐκτείνεν.
ὁ μὲν δὴ Πύρρος οὕτως ἐπεπράχει κακῶς. Val.
p. 554.

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twelve. Escaping with these he took vengeance on the Italian Locrians who had put to death his garrison and their commanding officer, because of outrages committed upon the inhabitants. He massacred and plundered them with savage cruelty, not even sparing the temple gifts of Proserpina, saying jestingly that unseasonable piety was no better than superstition, and that it was good policy to obtain wealth without labour.

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

ΕΚ ΤΗΣ ΚΕΛΤΙΚΗΣ

Ι

1. Κελτοί Ρωμαίοις ἐπεχείρησαν πρῶτοι, καὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ἐλούν ἀνευ τοῦ Καπιτωλίου, καὶ ἐμπεπρήκασιν. Κάμιλλος δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐνίκησε καὶ ἔξηλασε, καὶ μετὰ χρόνον ἐπελθόντας αὐθίς ἐνίκησε, καὶ ἐθριάμβευσεν ἀπ' αὐτῶν ὡγδοήκοντα γεγονὼς ἐτη. καὶ τρίτη δὲ Κελτῶν στρατιὰ ἐμβέβληκεν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, ἦν καὶ αὐτὴν οἱ Ρωμαίοι διεφθάρκασιν ὑψ' ἡγεμόνι Τίτῳ Κοιντίῳ. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Βοιοὶ, Κελτικὸν ἔθνος θηριωδέστατον, ἐπήλθε Ρωμαίοις, καὶ αὐτοὶς Γάιος Σουλτίκιος δικτάτωρ μετὰ στρατιὰς ἀπήντα, ὡς τις καὶ στρατηγήματι τοιοῦτῳ χρήσασθαι λέγεται. ἐκέλευσε γὰρ τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ μετῶπου τεταγμένους ἐξακοντίσαντας ὅμοιο συγκαθίσαι τάχιστα, μέχρι βάλωσιν οἱ δεύτεροι καὶ τρίτοι καὶ τέταρτοι, τοὺς δ' ἀφιέντας ἀεὶ συνίζειν, ἵνα μὴ κατ' αὐτὸν ἔνεχθεί τὰ δόρατα. βαλόντων δὲ τῶν υπότατων ἀναπηδάν ἀπαντάς ὅμοι, καὶ σὺν βοὴ τάχιστα ἐς χειρας ἱέναι καταπλήξειν

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BOOK IV

FROM THE GALLIC HISTORY

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

1. The Gauls took the initiative by attacking the Romans. They took Rome itself, except the Capitol, and burned it. Camillus, however, overcame and expelled them. At a later period, when they had made a second invasion, he overcame them again and enjoyed a triumph in consequence, being then in his eighty-first year. A third army of Gauls which invaded Italy was in its turn destroyed by the Romans under Titus Quintius. Afterwards the Boii, the most savage of the Gallic tribes, attacked the Romans. Gaius Sulpicius, the dictator, marched against them, and is said to have used the following stratagem. He commanded those who were in the front line to discharge their javelins, and immediately crouch low; then the second, third, and fourth lines to discharge theirs, each crouching in turn so that they should not be struck by the spears thrown from the rear; then when the last line had hurled their javelins, all were to spring up together, and with a cheer close speedily with the
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γάρ ὅδε τοὺς πολεμίους τοσῶνδε δοράτων ἀφετοί καὶ ἐπ’ αὐτὴ ταχεῖαν ἐπιχείρησεν. τὰ δὲ δόρατα ἦν οὐκ ἀπεοικότα τάκυτοις; δὲ Ρωμαίοι καλοῦσιν ύσσούς, ξύλου τετραγώνου τὸ ἦμιαν, καὶ τὸ ἀλλο σιδήρου τετραγώνου καὶ τοῦ δὲ καὶ μαλακοῦ χωρίς γε τῆς αἰχμῆς. καὶ οἱ Βοιοὶ οὖν ὑπὸ Ρωμαίων τούτων εὐθαρσῆν πανοστρατιά.

2. Ἀλλοι δὲ πάλιν Κελτοὺς ἐνίκησε Ποτίλλιος, καὶ μετ’ ἐκείνων τοὺς αὐτῶς Κάμιλλος ὁ τοῦ Καμίλλου νεός. ἔστησε δὲ κατὰ Κελτῶν καὶ Πάππος Αἰμιλιος τρόπαια. πρὸ δὲ τῶν τοῦ Μάριου ὑπατειῶν πλείστον τι καὶ μαχημάτωσα, τῇ τε ἥλικίᾳ μάλιστα φοβερώτατον χρῆμα Κελτῶν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν τε καὶ Γαλατίαν ἔσθεβαλε, καὶ τινας ὑπάτους Ῥωμαίων ἐνίκησε καὶ στρατόπεδα κατ- ἐκοψεν ἐφ’ οὐδ’ ὁ Μάριος ἀποσταλεῖς ἀπαντᾷς διέφθειρε. τελευταία δὲ καὶ μέγιστα τῶν ἐς Γαλάτας Ῥωμαίων πετραγμένων ἔστι τὰ ὑπὸ Γαϊῳ Καίσαρι στρατηγοῦντι γενόμενα. μυρίασι τε γάρ ἀνδρῶν ἵγροι, ἐν τοῖς δέκα έτεσιν ἐν οἷς ἐστρατηγήσεν, ἐσ χεῖρας ἥλθον, εἰ τὸς ὕψ’ ἐν τὰ μέρη συναγάγοι, τετρακοσίων πλεῖσι, καὶ τούτων ἐκατὸν μὲν ἐξώγησαν, ἐκατὸν δ’ ἐν τῷ πόνῳ κατέκανον. ἔσην δὲ τετρακόσια καὶ πόλεις ὑπὲρ ὀκτακοσίας, τὰ μὲν ἀφιστάμενα σφῶν, τὰ δὲ προσπειλμαβάνουτε, ἐκρατύναντο. πρὸ δὲ τοῦ Μάριου καὶ Φάβιος Μάξιμος ὁ Αἰμιλιανός, ὄλγην κομίδὴ στρατιάν ἔχων, ἐπολέμησε τοῖς Κελτοῖς, καὶ δῶδεκα μυρίάδας αὐτῶν ἐν μία μάχῃ κατέκανε, πεντεκαίδεκα μόνους τῶν ἱδίων ἀποβαλὼν. καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι ἐπραξε πιεζόμενου ὑπὸ τραύματος ὑπογυιοῦ, καὶ τὰ τάγματα ἐπιών καὶ παραθαρ-
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enemy. The hurling of so many missiles, followed by an immediate charge, would terrify their adversaries. The Gauls used spears not unlike javelins, pila, as the Romans call them, four-sided, half of wood and half of iron, which was soft except for the pointed end. In this way the army of the Boii was completely destroyed by the Romans.

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

3. Καίσαρ δὲ πολεμήσας αὐτοῖς πρῶτον μὲν Ἐλονητίον καὶ Τιγυρίον ἀμφὶ τὰς εἰκοσι μυρίά-δας ὄντας ἐνίκησεν. οἱ Τιγύριοι δ' αὐτῶν χρόνῳ ἐμπροσθεν Πίσσωνος καὶ Κασσίου τινὰ στρατον ἐλάσσως ὑπὸ ξυγον ἐξεπεπόμφεσαν, ὡς ἐν χρο-νικαίς συντάξεις δοκεῖ Παῦλῳ τῷ Κλαυδίῳ. τοὺς μὲν οὖν Τιγυρίους ὑποστράτηγος αὐτοῦ Δαβιδην ἔνικησε, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ὁ Καίσαρ, καὶ Τρικουροὺς ἀμύνοντας σφίσαν, ἔπειτα τοὺς μετ' Ἀριωνίσσοντος Γερμανοῦς, οἱ καὶ τὰ μεγέθη μεῖζους τὸν μεγίστου ἄρχον καὶ τὸ ἡθος ἀγριοῦ καὶ τὴν τόλμαν θρασύτατοι, καὶ θανάτον κατα-φρονηταί δι' ἐλπίδα ἀναβιώσεως, καὶ κρύπο ὁμοίως ἔφερον θάλπης, καὶ πόα ἔχρωντο παρὰ τὰς ἀπορίας τρόφῃ, καὶ ὁ ὑπός ἡυλὸς. ἦσαν δὲ, ὡς οὐκεκα, οἵ φερέτοντο ἐν ταῖς μάχαις, οὐδὲ λογισμὸν ἢ ἐπιστήμη τινὴ ἀλλὰ θυμῷ χρώμου καθάπερ θηρία, διὸ καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς Ὀρμαιών ἐπι-στήμης καὶ φερετοῦσας ἡσσώντο. οἱ μὲν γὰρ μετὰ ὁρμῆς βαρυπάτης ἐπηπήδων αὐτοῖς, καὶ ὄλην ὁμοῦ τὴν φάλαγγα ἀνεώθουν. Ὀρμαιῶν δ' ὑπέμενον ἐν τάξει, καὶ καταστράτηγον αὐτοὺς, καὶ ὄκτακισμύριος αὐτῶν τελευτῶτες ἀπέκτειναν.

4. Μετὰ τούτων ὁ Καίσαρ τοῖς καλουμένοις Βάλγαις ἐπιπεσὼν ποταμὸν τινα περάσα, τοσοῦ-τους ἀπέκτεινεν ὡς τὸν ποταμὸν γεφυρωθέντα τοῖς σώμασι περάσαι. Νέρβοι δὲ αὐτῶν ἐτρέψαντο, ἀρτι στρατόπεδον εἰς ὄδουπορίας κατασκεύαζοντι αἰφνιδίως ἐπιπεσόντες, καὶ παμπόλλως ἐφόνευσαν.
ranks and encouraging his troops, and showing them how to fight barbarians, now borne on a litter and now hobbling on foot leaning on the arms of others.

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

4. Afterwards Caesar fell upon the so-called Belgae as they were crossing a river, and killed so many of them that he crossed the stream on a bridge of their bodies. The Nervii, however, defeated him by falling suddenly upon his army as it was getting itself into camp after a march. They made a very great
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tous de tαξιάρχας καὶ λοχαγοὺς ἀπαντας· καὶ
αὐτῶν ἐκεῖνων ἐς λόφου τινὰ μετὰ τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν
πεφευγότα περιέσχον κύκλῳ. ὕπο δὲ τοῦ δεκάτου
τάγματος αὐτοῖς ἐξόπισθεν ἐπιπεσόντος ἐφθά-
ρησαν, ἔξακισμύριοι δύνες. ἦσαν δὲ τῶν Κίμβρων
καὶ Τευτόνων ἀπόγονοι. ἐκράτησε δὲ καὶ Ἁλλο-
βρίγων ὁ Καῖσαρ. Οὐσιπτέτων δὲ καὶ Ταγχαρέων
τεσσαράκοντα μυριάδες, στρατεύσιμοι τε καὶ
ἀστράτευτοι, συνεκόπησαν. Σοῦκαμβροὶ δὲ πεν-
tακοσίοις ἠπεύησι τοὺς πεντακισχίλιους ἠπεῖς
τοῦ Καῖσαρος ἔτρεψαν, ἐξαίφνης ἐπιπεσόντες,
cαι δίκην ἔδωσαν ἡττηθέντες μετὰ ταῦτα.

5. Ἐπέρασε καὶ τὸν Ρήνου πρῶτος Ῥωμαίων ὁ
Καῖσαρ, καὶ ἔτη τῆς Βρέττανίδας νήσου, ἦπείρου τε
μείζονα οὖσαν μεγίστης καὶ τοῖς τηδε ἀνθρώποις
ἀγνώστον ἔτι. ἔπερασε δὲ κατὰ τὸν καυρὸν τῆς
ἀμπώτεως· ἀρτι γὰρ τὸ πάθος ἤπτετο τῆς θαλ-
άσσης, καὶ ο οστόλος ἑσαλευτό, ἡρέμα πρῶτον,
eĩta ὀξύτερον, μέχρι σὺν βιαῖω τάχει διέπλευσεν
ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐς τὴν Βρέττανίαν.

II

"Ὅτι Ὄλυμπιάδων τοῖς Ἐλλησιν ἐπτά καὶ ἐνε-
nήκοντα γεγενημένων, τῆς γῆς τῶν Κελτῶν ὦκ
ἀρκούσης αὐτοῖς διὰ τὸ πλῆθος, ἀνίσταται μοῦρα
Κελτῶν τῶν ἀμφὶ τῶν Ῥήνου ἱκανὴ κατὰ ξήτησιν
ἐτέρας γῆς· οὗ τὸ τε Ἁλπειον ὄρος ὑπερέβησαν,
καὶ Κλουσίνους, εὐδαίμονα γην ἔχουσι Τυρρηνῶν,
ἐπολέμουν. οὐ πάλαι δὲ οἱ Κλουσίνοι Ῥωμαίοις
ἐνσπουνδοῦ ἔγγονοτες ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς κατέφυγον. καὶ
οἱ Ῥωμαίοι πρόσβεις συνεπεμψαν αὐτοῖς, Φαβί-
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slaughter, killing all of his tribunes and centurions. Caesar himself took refuge on a hill with his body-guard, where the enemy surrounded him; but, being assailed in the rear by the tenth legion, they were destroyed, although they were 60,000 in number. The Nervii were the descendants of the Cimbri and Teutones. Caesar conquered the Allobroges also. He slaughtered 400,000 of the Usipetes and Tencteri, armed and unarmed together. The Sigambri with 500 horse put to flight 5,000 of Caesar's horse, falling upon them unexpectedly. They subsequently paid the penalty for this in a defeat.

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

II. FROM "THE EMBASSIES"

In the 97th Olympiad, according to the Greek calendar, a considerable part of the Gauls who dwelt on both banks of the Rhine moved off in search of new land, that which they occupied being insufficient for their numbers. Having scaled the Alps they fell upon the territory of Clusium, a fertile part of Etruria. The Clusians had made a league with the Romans not long before, and now applied to them for aid. So the three Fabii were sent with the Clusians as
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ους τρεῖς, οί τοῖς Κελτοῖς ἐμελλον προαγορεύσειν ἀνώστασθαι τῆς γῆς ὡς Ῥωμαίων φίλης, καὶ ἀπειλήσεις ἀπειθοῦσιν. ἄποκριμαμένων δὲ τῶν Κελτῶν ὃτι ἀνθρώπων οὐδένα δεδίασιν οὔτε ἀπείλοντα ἁρσίσιν οὔτε πολεμοῦντα, χρήζοντες δὲ γῆς οὔτω τὰ Ῥωμαίων πολυπραγμονοῦσιν, οἱ πρέσβεις οἱ Φάβιοι τοὺς Κλούσιους ἐνήγαγον ἐπιθέσθαι τοῖς Κελτοῖς τὴν χώραν λεηλατοῦσιν ἀπερισκέπτως. καὶ συνεκδημοῦντες αὐτοῖς ἀναρροῦσι τῶν Κελτῶν πολὺ πλῆθος ἐν προνομῇ, καὶ τὸν ἥγομενον ἔκεινον τοῦ μέρους αὐτὸς ὁ Ῥωμαίων πρεσβευτής Κόιντος Φάβιος ἀνείλε τε καὶ ἐσκύλευσε, καὶ τὰ ὅπλα φορῶν ἐπανήλθεν ἐς Κλούσιον. U. p. 349.

III.

"Οτι οἱ τῶν Κελτῶν βασιλεὺς Βρέννος, τῶν Φαβίων τῶν Ῥωμαίων πολλοὺς ἀνελόντων Κελτῶν, μὴ δεξάμενος τοὺς Ῥωμαίων πρέσβεις, ἐπὶ τούτων πρέσβεις ἐπιλεξάμενος ἐς κατάπληξιν, οἱ Κελτῶν ἀπάντων μεγάλων τὰ σώματα ὅντων ὑπερέβαλλοι, ἐξέπεμπεν ἐς Ῥώμην, αἰτιώμενος τοὺς Φαβίους ὅτι πρεσβεύοντες παρὰ τοὺς κοινῶν νόμους ἐπολέμησαν. ὦτε τε τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐς δίκην ἐκδότους οἱ γενέσθαι, εἴ μὴ θέλουσί ἡ Ῥωμαίοι κοινῶν αὐτῶν εἶναι τὸ ἔργον. οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαίοι συνεγίγγωσκοι μὲν τοὺς Φαβίους ἀμαρτεῖν, οἴδοι δὲ οἶκου διάφεροντος χρήματα τοὺς Κελτοὺς πράξασθαι παρὰ σφῶν παρεκάλουν. οὐ πειθομένων δὲ χειροτονούσι τοὺς Φαβίους ἐπὶ τὴν ἐτήσιον ἀρχὴν χιλιάριο
ambassadors to the Gauls to order them to vacate a country that was in alliance with Rome, and to threaten them if they did not obey. The Gauls replied that they feared neither the threats nor the arms of any man, that they were in need of land, and that they had not yet meddled with the affairs of the Romans. The Fabii, who had come as ambassadors, urged the Clusians to make an attack upon the Gauls while they were heedlessly plundering the country. They took part in the expedition themselves and slew an immense number of the Gauls whom they caught foraging. Quintus Fabius, one of the Roman embassy, himself killed the chief of that band, stripped his body, and carried his arms back to Clusium.

III. From the Same

After the Fabii had slain this large number of Gauls, Brennus, their king, refused to receive the Roman embassy, and subsequently, for the purpose of intimidating the Romans, selected as ambassadors to them certain Gauls who exceeded all the others in bodily size as much as the Gauls exceeded other peoples, and sent them to Rome to complain that the Fabii, while serving as ambassadors, had joined in war against him, contrary to the law of nations. He demanded that they should be given up to him for punishment unless the Romans wished to make the crime their own. The Romans acknowledged that the Fabii had done wrong, but having great respect for that distinguished family, they urged the Gauls to accept a pecuniary compensation from them. As the latter refused, they elected the Fabii
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χους, καὶ τοὺς πρεσβεύουσι τῶν Κελτῶν ἔφασαν ὦν δύνασθαι νῦν οὐδὲν ἐς τοὺς Φαβίους ἄρχοντας ἢδη. τοῦ δ' ἐπιόντος ἐτους ἥκειν αὐτοὺς, ἀν ἔτι μηνίσων, ἐκέλευον. Βρέννος δὲ καὶ ὁ ὁσοι Κελτῶν ἦσαν ὑπ' ἐκείνῳ, νομίσαντες ὑβρίσθαι καὶ χαλέπως ἐνεγκόντες ἐς τοὺς ἄλλους Κελτοὺς περιπετείαν, ἀξιωύτες αὐτοὺς συνεφάγασθαι τούδε τοῦ πολέμου. καὶ πολλῶν ἀφικομένων ἄραντες ἦλαυνον ἐπὶ τὴν Ἄρωμην. id. p. 350.

IV

'Ο δὲ υφίσταται γράμματα διοίσειν διὰ τῶν ἑχθρῶν ἐς τὸ Καπιτῶλιον. Suid. v. υφίσταται.

V

"Ὅτι Καίδικιος γράμμα φέρων ἀπὸ τῆς Βουλής περὶ τῆς ὑπάτου ἀρχῆς, παρεκάλει τὸν Κάμιλλον μηδὲν ἐν τῷ παρόντι μηνύσαι τῇ πατρίδι τῆς ζημίας. ὁ δὲ ἐπισχῶν αὐτὸν ἔτι λέγοντα εἶπεν, "οὐκ ἂν ηὐξάμην ἐπιτοθῆσαι με Ὀρμαίους, εἰ τοιαύτῃ τῇ ἰλπίσα τὴν ἐπιτοθησίαν αὐτοῖς ἔσεσθαι. νῦν δὲ δικαιοτέραν εὐχὴν εὐχομαι, γενέσθαι τῇ πατρίδι χρήσιμος ἐς τοσοῦτον ἀγαθὸν ἐς ὅσον κακοῦ περιελήλυθεν." Val. p. 557.

VI

"Ὅτι Κελτοὶ μηδεμῶ μηχανὴ δυνηθέντες ἐπιβήναι τῆς ἀκροπόλεως, ἥρεμου ὡς λιμῷ τοὺς ἐνδοὺ παραστησόμενοι. καὶ τῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ Καπιτολίου 108
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military tribunes for that year, and then said to the Gallic ambassadors that they could not do anything to the Fabii now because they were holding office, but told them to come again next year if they were still angry. Brennus and the Gauls under him considered this an outrage, and, being indignant at it, they sent around to the other Gauls asking them to make common cause with them in the war. When a large number had collected in obedience to this summons they broke camp and marched against Rome.

IV. From Suidas

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

V. From “Virtues and Vices”

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

VI. From the Same

When the Gauls could find no means for scaling the Capitol they remained quietly in camp in order to reduce the defenders by famine. A certain priest
κατέβασεν ιερεὺς, ὄνομα Δόρσων, ἐπὶ ἐτήσιον δὴ τινα ἱεροθυγίαν ἐς τὸν τῆς Ἑστίας νεῶν στέλλων τὰ ιερὰ διὰ τῶν πολεμίων, αἰδευθέντων ἡ καταπλαγέντων αὐτοῦ τὴν τόλμαν ἢ τὴν εὐσέβειαν, ἢ τὴν ὀψιν ιερὰν οὖσαν. ὁ μὲν δὴ κινδυνεύειν ὑπὲρ τῶν ιερῶν ἠλόμενον ὑπ’ αὐτῶν ἐσώζετο τῶν ιερῶν. καὶ τόδε φησὶν ὁδὲ γενέσθαι Κάσσιος ὁ Ῥωμαιός. id. ib.

VII

Τοῦ δὲ οὖν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἅθην ἑνεπίμπλαντο οἱ Κελτοὶ, τὴν τε φύσιν ὄντες ἀκρατεῖς, καὶ χώραν ἔχοντες, ὅτι μὴ πρὸς δημητριακοὺς καρποὺς, τῶν ἄλλων ἄγονον καὶ ἄφαν. τὰ τε σώματα αὐτοῖς μεγάλα ὄντα καὶ τρυφηλὰ καὶ σαρκῶν ύγρῶν μεστὰ ὑπὸ τῆς ἁθημαγίας καὶ μεθῆς ἐς δηγον καὶ βάρος ἐξεχείτο, καὶ πρὸς δρόμους καὶ πόνους ἅθυματα πάμπαν ἐγίνετο. ὑπὸ τοῦ ἱδρῶτος καὶ ἀσθενῶς, ὅπου τι δεῖ κάμμεν, ἐξελύοντο ταχέως. id. ib. et hinc Suid. v. ἅθην.

VIII

Ὅδε γυμνοὺς ἐπεδείκνυε Ῥωμαιός, "οὕτω εἰσὶν οἱ τὴν βοὴν βαρεῖαν ἱέντες ὑμῖν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις καὶ τὰ ὄπλα παταγοῦντες καὶ ξίφη μακρὰ καὶ κόμας αἰώροῦντες. ἀν τὸ ἀτολμὸν ὀρῶντες, καὶ τὸ σώμα μαλακὸν καὶ ἄτονον, προσίεσθε τῷ ἐργῷ." Suid. v. ἱέντες.

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named Dorso went down from the Capitol to make a certain yearly sacrifice in the temple of Vesta, and passed with the sacred utensils through the ranks of the enemy, who were either awed by his courage or had respect for his piety and the sanctity of his appearance. Thus he who had incurred danger for the sake of his holy office was saved by it. That this event occurred, as related, the Roman writer Cassius tells us.

VII. FROM THE SAME

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

VIII. FROM SUIDAS

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

IX

Τὸν δὲ δῆμον ἀπὸ τοῦ τεῖχους ὀρᾶν, καὶ τοῖς πολυμένοις ἐτέρους νεαλέεις ἑπιτέμπευεν ἀεὶ. οἱ δὲ Κελτοὶ κεκμηκότες ἀκμῆς συμπλεκόμενοι ἐφευγον ἀτάκτως. id. v. νεαλής.

X

'Ὁ δὲ Κελτὸς ἀγανακτῶν καὶ λυφαίμων ἐδίωκε τὸν Οὐαλέριον, συγκαταπεσεῖν ἐπειγόμενος: ὑπὸ δὲ τοὺς πόδας ἀναχωροῦντος ἀεὶ τοῦ Οὐαλερίου κατέπεσε τρημής ὁ Κελτός. καὶ δεύτερον τούτῳ μονομάχῳ ἐπὶ Κελτοῖς ἐμεγαλαύχουν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι. id. v. λυφαιμεί.

XI

"Οτι τὸ τῶν Σενόνων ἔθνος ἐνσπουδόν ἦν Ῥωμαίοις, καὶ ἐμισθοφόρουν κατὰ Ῥωμαίων. ἦ δὲ βουλὴ πρέσβεις ἐπεμψεν ἐγκαλέσοντας ὅτι ὅντες ἐνσπουδοὶ μισθοφοροῦσι κατὰ Ῥωμαίων. τούτους Βριτόμαρις ὁ Κελτός, ἀγανακτῶν ὑπὲρ τοῦ πατρὸς ὅτι συμμαχὸν Τυρρηνοῖς ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἐν τρίδε τῷ πολέμῳ διέφθαρτο, τά τε κηρύκεια φέροντας καὶ τὴν ἄσυλον ἐσθήτα περικείμενος κατέτεμεν ἐς πολλά, καὶ τὰ μέρη τῶν σωμάτων διέρριψεν ἐς τὰ πεδία. καὶ τοῦ μύσος ὁ Κορνήλιος ἐν ὅδῷ πυθόμενος, ἐς τάς Σενόνων πόλεις συντόνῳ σπουδῇ διὰ Σαβίνων καὶ Πικεντίνων ἐσβαλὼν ἀπαντα καθήρει καὶ ἐνεπίμπρη, τῶν τε
THE GALLIC HISTORY

IX. FROM THE SAME

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

X. FROM THE SAME

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

XI. FROM "THE EMBASSIES"

The Senones, although they had a treaty with the Romans, nevertheless furnished mercenaries against them, and accordingly the Senate sent an embassy to them to remonstrate against this infraction of the treaty. Britomaris, the Gaul, being incensed against them on account of his father, who had been killed by the Romans while fighting on the side of the Etruscans in this very war, slew the ambassadors while they held the herald's staff in their hands, and wore the inviolable garments of their office. He then cut their bodies in small pieces and scattered them in the fields. The consul Cornelius, learning of this abominable deed while he was on the march, made a forced march against the towns of the Senones by way of the Sabine country and Picenum, and ravaged them all with fire and sword.
APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK IV

ἀνθρώπων τὰς μὲν γυναίκας καὶ τὰ παιδία ἃνδραποδίζετο, τοὺς δὲ ἐν ᾗμηρία πάντας ἐκτείνειν ὀμαλῶς, καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐλυμαίνετο ποικίλως καὶ ἀσίκον ἐς τὸ λοιπὸν ἐποίει. Βριτομαρίν δὲ μόνον ἤγευν αἰχμάλωτον ἐπὶ λύμη. ὦστερον δὲ Σένονες οὐκ ἠχοῦσες ἐτὶ πατρίδας ἐς ὡς διαφύγομεν, συνέπεσον ἐς ἱερὰς ὑπὸ τόλμης τῷ Δομετίῳ, καὶ ἦπτώμενοι σφαῖς αὐτοὺς ὑπ’ ὀργῆς διεχρόντο μανικῶς, καὶ δίκη μὲν ἢδε παρανομίας ἐς πρέσβεις ἐγένετο Σένοσιν. ᾋ. p. 350.

XII

"Οτι οἱ Σαλύων δυνάσται, τοὺς ἕθους ἠτηθέντος ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων, ἐς Ἀλλόβριγας κατέφυγον. καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐξαιτοῦσθε οἱ Ῥωμαίοι στρατεύονσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀλλόβριγας οὐκ ἐκδίδοντας, ἤγομενου σφῶν Γναῖον Δομετίου. ὁ παροδεύοντι τὴν τῶν Σαλύων ἐντυγχάνει πρεσβευτὴς Βιτοίτου βασιλέως τῶν Ἀλλόβριγων, ἐσκενασμένος τε πολυτελῶς, καὶ δορυφόροι παρέπτοντο αὐτῷ κεκοσμημένοι καὶ κύνες: δορυφοροῦνται γὰρ δὴ καὶ πρὸς κυνῶν οἱ τῇ βάρβαροι. μουσικὸς τε ἀνήρ εἶπεν, βαρβάρῳ μουσικῇ τὸν βασιλέα Βιτοίτον, εἰτ’ Ἀλλόβριγας, ἐτὰ τὸν πρεσβευτὴν αὐτὸν ἐς τε γένος καὶ ἀνδρείαν καὶ περιουσίαν ὑμῶν οὐ δὴ καὶ μάλιστα ἑνεκα αὐτοὺς οἱ τῶν πρεσβευτῶν ἐπιφανεῖς ἐπάγονται. ἀλλ’ ὁ μὲν συγγνώμην αἰτῶν τοῖς Σαλύων δυνάσταις ἀπέτυχεν. id. p. 351.
THE GALlic HISTORY

He reduced the women and children to slavery, killed all the adult males without exception, devastated the country in every possible way, and made it uninhabitable for the future. Britomaris alone he took with him as a prisoner for torture. A little later the Senones, having no longer any homes to escape to, fell boldly upon the consul Domitius, and being defeated by him killed themselves in despair. Such punishment was meted out to the Senones for their crime against the ambassadors.

XII. FROM THE SAME

The chiefs of the Salyi, a nation vanquished by the Romans, took refuge with the Allobroges. When the Romans asked for their surrender and it was refused, they made war on the Allobroges, under the leadership of Cnaeus Domitius. When he was passing through the territory of the Salyi, an ambassador of Bituitus, king of the Allobroges, met him, arrayed magnificently and followed by attendants also adorned, and by dogs; for the barbarians of this region use dogs also as bodyguards. A musician too was in the train who sang in barbarous fashion the praises of King Bituitus, and then of the Allobroges, and then of the ambassador himself, celebrating his birth, his bravery, and his wealth; and it is for this reason chiefly that ambassadors of distinction take such persons along with them. But this one, although he begged pardon for the chiefs of the Salyi, accomplished nothing.
APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK IV

XIII

"Ὅτι τῶν Τευτόνων μοῖρα ληστεύουσα πολύ-
ανδρός ἐς τὴν γῆν τῶν Νωρικῶν ἐσέβαλε, καὶ ὃ
Ῥωμαίων ὕπατος Παπίριος Κάρβων δεῖγας μὴ ἐς
τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐσβάλοιεν, ἐφήδρευε τοῖς Ἀλπείοις,
ὁ μάλιστα ἐστιν ἡ διάβασις στενωτάτη. οὐκ
ἐπιχειροῦντων δ' ἐκείνων αὐτὸς ἐπέβαινεν αὐτοῖς,
αἰτιώμενος ἐς Νωρικοὺς ἐσβάλειν, Ῥωμαίων
ξένους ὄντας· ἐποιοῦντο δ' οἱ Ῥωμαίοι ξένους,
οἷς ἐδίδοσαν μὲν εἶναι φίλοις, ἀνάγκη δ' οὐκ ἐπὶ
ὡς φίλοις ἐπαμύνειν. οἱ μὲν δὴ Τεύτονες πλη-
σιάζοντι τῷ Κάρβωνι προσέπεμπον ἀγνοῆσαι τε
τὴν ἐς Ῥωμαίους Νωρικῶν ξενίαν, καὶ αὐτῶν ἐς
tὸ μέλλον ἀφέξεσθαι· ὁ δ' ἐπαινέσας τοὺς πρέ-
σθεις, καὶ δοὺς αὐτοῖς ὁδῶν ἡγεμόνας, κρύφα τοῖς
ήγουμένοις ἐνετείλατο μακροτέραν αὐτοῖς περιά-
γειν. τῇ βραχυτέρᾳ δὲ αὐτοῖς διαδραμῶν, ἀδοκήτως
ἀναπαυομένοις ἐτί τοῖς Τεύτοσιν ἐμπεσῶν, ἐδώκε 
δίκην ἀπιστίας, πολλοὺς ἀποβαλῶν. τάχα δ' ἀν καὶ
πάντας ἀπώλεσεν, εἰ μὴ ξόφος καὶ ὁμβρός
cal βρονταὶ βαρεῖαι, τῆς μάχης ἐτί συνεστώσης
eπιτεσσοῦσαι, διέστησαν αὐτοὺς ἀπ' ἀλλήλων,
cal ὁ ἀγῶν ὑπὸ τῆς ἀνωθὲν ἐκπλήξεως διελύθη.
σποράδες δὲ καὶ ὑμεῖς ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαιῶν διαφυ-
γόντες, τρίτη μόλις ἡμέρα συνῆλθον. καὶ Τεύ-
tονες ἐς Γαλάτας ἐχώρουν. id. p. 352.

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XIII. FROM THE SAME

A numerous band of the Teutones bent on plunder B.C. 113 invaded the territory of Noricum. The Roman consul, Papirius Carbo, fearing lest they should make an incursion into Italy, occupied the Alps at a place where the pass is narrowest. As they made no movement in this direction he marched against them himself, complaining that they had invaded the people of Noricum, who were foreign friends 1 of the Romans. It was the practice of the Romans to make foreign friends of any people for whom they wanted to intervene on the score of friendship, without being obliged to defend them as allies. As Carbo was approaching, the Teutones sent word to him that they had not known anything about this relationship between Rome and Noricum, and that for the future they would abstain from molesting them. He praised the ambassadors, and gave them guides for their homeward journey, but privately charged the guides to take them by a longer route. He himself then cut across by the shorter, and fell unexpectedly upon the Teutones, who were still resting, but he suffered severely for his perfidy, and lost a large part of his army. He would probably have perished with his whole force had not darkness and a tremendous thunder-storm fallen upon them while the fight was in progress, separating the combatants and putting an end to the battle by sheer terror from heaven. Even as it was, the Romans only escaped in small bands into the woods and came together with difficulty three days later. The Teutones passed into Gaul.

i.e. amici, as opposed to socii. See Heitland's Roman Republic, vol. ii, section 428.
APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK IV

XIV

'O dé tois sómasti tôn Kímbrown áphuusteiín éké-
leven, éous ħméra gínetai, polúkhrosa einai doków. 
Suid. vv. áphuústos et Kímbros.

XV

"Oti éthi diú Tugúrioi kai 'Elouúntioi éis tìn 
'Rωmáion Keltikhn éseḇalou, kai toúτon tôn 
stólon ó Kaḯsar Γáios pudómenos diesteíxevn 
ôsa perì 'Rodanov èstí potamóv ès ékatôn kai 
pentíkoustå stadioustå múλista. kai prepheusau-
ménous èstì diasteira tois polémois upér stonódow 
ékleuen démara dònain kai ú soma. ãpokrimum-
ménov ò eüis theoráta tautoi lámðánov, oû didónai, 
Boulóménov pházai tìn òmairhmían autów, èstì mèn 
tous Tugúriois èlástous òntas èpempé Dabíndn, 
aútòs èstì èstì tous 'Elouúntious èkórëi, protolàbòu 
Galatow tón òreiów ès diumuríous. kai ìgínetai 
Dabíndn to èrënov eümarèis, ñðokhtois Tugúriois 
perì tòn potamòn èpítpeánto, kai trephamènò 
kai skedásauti tòus polloús èn ìsúntaξía. 
U. p. 352.

XVI

"Oti 'Arióounstos, Germañwv basileus tòv 
upér 'Rhínov, èpibáinov tòv péraì Aìdouíoù ètì 
pro tòu Kaḯsaron èpólêmei filoi ou sói Rωmaiów. 
tóte mèn ðh, tois Rωmaiów keleūonoi peísthèis, 
ánékexen ðpò tòw Aìdouínwv, kai filoi ñξíswse 
Rωmaiów genèstai. kai ègèneto, ùpateúontos 
aútòu Kaḯsaron kai ðphíswamènou. id. p. 353.

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THE GALMIC HISTORY

XIV. FROM SUIDAS

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

XV. FROM "THE EMBASSIES"

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

XVI. FROM THE SAME

Arionvistus, the king of the Germans beyond the Rhine, crossed to this side before Caesar's arrival and made war against the Aedui, who were friends of the Romans. But when the Romans commanded him to desist, he obeyed and moved away from the Aedui and desired to be accounted a friend of the Roman people also, and this was granted, Caesar being himself consul and voting for it.
"Οτι Ἀριόσωνις ο Γερμανῶν βασιλεύς, φίλος γενόμενος Ῥωμαιῶν, ἐσ λόγους ἤλθε τῷ Καίσαρι, καὶ διαχωρισθέντων ἀπ’ ἄλληλων αὐθίς συνελθείν ἐς λόγους ἥξισαν. τοῦ δὲ Καίσαρος οὐ συνελθόντος, ἀλλὰ τοὺς πρωτεύοντας Γαλατῶν ἀποστείλαντος, ἔδησε τοὺς πρέσβεις. καὶ ὁ Καίσαρ ἑστράτευεν ἐπ’ αὐτὸν μετ’ ἀπειλής. δέος δ’ ἐμπίπτει τῷ στρατῷ κατὰ κλέος τῶν Γερμανῶν. id. ib.

XVIII

"Οτι Οὐσιπέτας, ἔθνος Γερμανικῶν, καὶ Ταγχρέα δοκοῦσι πρότεροι σφετέροι ἵππευσιν ὀκτακοσίως τρέψασθαι τῶν Καίσαρος ἵππεων ἐς πεντακισχίλιοι, ὁ δὲ Καίσαρ αὐτοῖς πρεσβευομένους ἐς αὐτὸν ἐπιθέσθαι, τοὺς πρέσβεις κατασκύλοντας ὡς τεσσαράκοντα μυριάδας τούτων συγκοπήναι. Κάτωνα τε ἐν Ῥώμη τῶν τεσσαράκοντας λευκάριοι γενόμενοι ἐσενεγκεῖν, ἐκδοῦναι τοῖς βαρβάροις τῶν Καίσαρα ὡς ἐναγῆς ἐργον ἐς διαπρεσβευσάμενους ἐργασάμενον. ὁ δὲ Καίσαρ ἐν ταῖς ἱδίαις ἀναγραφαῖς τῶν ἐφημέρων ἐργον φεσὶ τοὺς Οὐσιπέτας καὶ Ταγχρέας κελευσμένους ἐκπενθᾶν ἐς τὰ ἀρχαῖα σφῶν, φάναι πρέσβεις ἐς τοὺς ἐκβαλόντας Σουήβους ἀπεσταλκέναι καὶ τὰς ἀποκρίσεις αὐτῶν ἀναμένειν, καὶ ἐν ταῖς διαπρεσβευσάμενοις ἐπιθέσθαι τοῖς ὀκτακοσίοις, καὶ παρ’ αὐτὸ τρέψαι τοὺς Ῥωμαίοις πεντακισχίλιοι. ἐπιπρεσβευσάμενον δ’ αὐτῶν καὶ περὶ 120
THE GALLIC HISTORY

XVII. FROM THE SAME

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

XVIII. FROM THE SAME

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

tου παρασπονδήματος ἀπολογουμένων, ὑποτοπήσας ἐνέδραν ὁμοίων, ἐπιθέσθαι πρὸ τῶν ἀποκρίσεων. id. ib.

XIX

Εὐθὺς ἠρέθιζον τοὺς Βρεττανοὺς παρορκήσαι, ἐγκλῆμα ἔχοντας ὡτι σπονδῶν σφίσι γενομένων ἐτι παρὴν τὸ στρατόπεδον. Suid. v. παρορκήσαι.

XX

Δείσας ὁ Καῖσαρ περὶ τῷ Κικέρωνι υπέστρεφεν εἰς τούπισω. id. v. δείσαντες.

XXI

"Ὅτι ὁ Βρυτόρης διέφθειρεν Αἰδούνους Ῥωμαίων ἀποστήμαι, καὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος ὅνειδίσαντος αὐτοῖς φιλίαν ἔφασαν παλαιῶν ἐφθακέναι. Mai, Scriptorum veterum nov. collect. t. 2 p. 367.
THE GALLIC HISTORY

sent another embassy to explain this violation of good faith he suspected a similar deception, and made his attack before giving his answer.

XIX. FROM SUIDAS

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

XX. FROM THE SAME

Caesar apprehending an attack on Cicero turned back.

XXI. FROM THE VATICAN MSS. OF CARDINAL MAI

Britores seduced the Aedui from their Roman allegiance. When Caesar reproached them for this, they said that an ancient alliance had the precedence.
BOOK V

OF SICILY AND THE OTHER ISLANDS

FRAGMENTS
Ε'

ΕΚ ΤΗΣ ΣΙΚΕΛΙΚΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΝΗΣΙΩΤΙΚΗΣ

I

"Οτι ἀπορούντες Ῥωμαῖοι τε καὶ Καρχηδόνιοι χρημάτων, οἱ μὲν οὐκέτι ἐναυστήγουν, τετρυμένοι διὰ τὰς ἐσφοράς, ἀλλὰ πεζῆν στρατιὰν καταλέγοντες ἐξέπεμπτον ἐς Λιβύην καὶ ἐς Σικελίαν ἀνὰ ἔτος ἐκαστὸν, Καρχηδόνιοι δ' ἐς Πτολεμαίον ἐπρεσβεύοντο, τὸν Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Δάγου, βασιλέα Αἰγύπτου, δισχίλια τάλαντα κιχρῶμενοι. τῷ δ' ἦν ἐς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους καὶ Καρχηδόνιους φιλία, καὶ συναλλάξας σφᾶς ἐπεχείρησαν ἀλλήλους. οὐ δυνηθέσι δ' ἐφ' χρήματι φίλοις κατ' ἐχθρῶν συμμαχεῖν, οὐ κατὰ φίλων. U. p. 354.

II

1. "Οτι οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι δίς ἐν τῇ γῆ τοῦ αὐτοῦ χρόνου καὶ δίς ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ παθόντες, ἐν ἂ δὴ καὶ πάνω προύχειν ἐνόμιζον, καὶ χρημάτων ἀπορούντες ἦδη καὶ νεῶν καὶ ἀνδρῶν, ἦτον ἄνοχὰς παρὰ τοῦ Λουτατίου, καὶ λαβόντες ἐπρεσβεύοντο ἐς Ῥώμην περὶ διαλλαγῶν ἐπὶ βραχυτέροις, συνέπεμπον τε τοῖς πρέσβεσιν Ἀτίλιον Ῥήγλον τὸν 126
BOOK V

OF SICILY AND THE OTHER ISLANDS

I. FROM "THE EMBASSIES"

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

II. FROM THE SAME

1. WHEN the Carthaginians had met with two disasters on land at the same time, and two at sea, where they had considered themselves much the superior, and were already short of money, ships, and men, they sought an armistice from Lutatius and having obtained it sent an embassy to Rome to negotiate a treaty on certain limited conditions. With their own embassy they sent Atilius
APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK V

ὑπατον, αἰχμάλωτον ὄντα σφῶν, δεησόμενου τῆς πατρίδος ἐπὶ τοῦτο συνθέσθαι. ὥ δὲ ἦκε μὲν ὡς αἰχμάλωτος ἐσταλμένος φοινικικῶς, ὑπολειφθείς δὲ τῶν πρεσβεῶν ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ τετρύσθαι τὰ Καρχηδόνιών ἐδήλου, καὶ παρήγγειν ἠ πολεμεῖν ἐγκρατῶς ἦ ἐπὶ πλείοσι συνθέσθαι. καὶ τόνδε μὲν ἡ Καρχηδώνα ἐκόντα ἐπανελθόντα ἔκτειναν οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι, κέντρα σιδήρεα σανίσιν ἐνημοσμένα πάντοθεν ἐστῶτες ἐπὶ περιπέμπτες, ἦνα μηδαμόσε δύνατο ἐπικλίνεσθαι, αὐτὸν δὲ τὴν εἰρήνην ἐπὶ πλείοσι συνήθεντο.

2. Καὶ ἢν ἐφ’ οίς συνέθεντο, τὰ μὲν αἰχμάλωτα Ἰταλίαν καὶ τοὺς αὐτομόλους, ὅσιον παρὰ Καρχηδόνιοι εἶσι, Ἰταλίαις εὑρῆς ἀποδύναι, καὶ Σικελίας Ἰταλίαις ἀποστῆναι καὶ τῶν βραχυτέρων νῆσῶν ὅσιον περὶ Σικελίαν, Συρακοσίοις δὲ ἦ Ἰέρου τῷ Συρακουσῶν τυράννῳ πολέμου Καρχηδόνιος μὴ κατάρχειν, μηδὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐνοπλοφεύ, ποινὴν δὲ τοῦ πολέμου Ἰταλίαις ἐνεγκείν τάλαντα Εὐβοϊκὰ διαχίλια ἐν ἐτεσίν εἰκοσὶ, τὸ μέρος ἐκάστου ἔτους ἣ Ἰταλίαις ἀναφέρονται. ἔχει δὲ τὸ Εὐβοϊκὸν τάλαντον Ἀλεξανδρείας δραχμὰς ἐπτακισχίλια. ὥ μὲν δὴ πρῶτος περὶ Σικελίας Ἰταλίαις καὶ Καρχηδόνιοι πόλεμος, ἐτεσίν εἰκοσὶ καὶ τέσσαραν αὐτοῖς γενόμενος, ἐς τοῦτο ἐτελεύτατη. καὶ ἀπώλευτον νῆσι ἐν αὐτῷ Ἰταλίαις ἐπτακόσια, Καρχηδόνιων δὲ πεντακόσια. Σικελίας δὲ ὅτω τοῦ πλέονος Ἰταλίαις κατέσχον, ὅσιον Καρχηδόνιοι κατείχον φόρους τε

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OF SICILY AND THE OTHER ISLANDS

Regulus, the consul, who was their prisoner, to urge his countrymen to agree to the terms. When he came into the senate-chamber, clad as a prisoner in Punic garments, and the Carthaginian ambassadors had retired, he exposed to the Senate the desperate state of Carthaginian affairs, and advised that either the war should be prosecuted vigorously, or that more satisfactory conditions of peace should be insisted on. For this reason, after he had returned voluntarily to Carthage, the Carthaginians put him to death by enclosing him in a standing posture in a box the planks of which were stuck full of iron spikes so that he could not possibly lie down. Nevertheless peace was made on conditions more satisfactory to the Romans.

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

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

1 The Euboic talent is equal to about seven-tenths of the Aeginetan.

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αὐτοῖς ἐπέθεσαν, καὶ τὲλη τὰ θαλάσσια ταῖς πόλεσι μερισάμενοι στρατηγῶν ἐτήσιον ἔπεμπον ἐς Σικελίαν. Ἰέρωνα δὲ τὸν Συρακοσίων τύραν- νον, ἀνθ' ὁν αὐτοῖς ἐς τὸν πόλεμον συνε- πετράχει, φίλου καὶ σύμμαχον ἔθεντο.

3. Καταλυθέντος δὲ τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ, Κελτοὶ Κάρχηδονίους τὸν τε μισθὸν ἦτον τὸν ἐτὶ ὁφει- λόμενον σφίνων ἐκ Σικελίας, καὶ δωρεὰς ὅσας ὑπέσχητο αὐτοῖς δώσειν Ἀμίλχας. ἦτον δὲ καὶ Δίβνες, ὑπήκουοι μὲν ὅντες οἷδε Καρχηδονίων, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς ἐν Σικελία στρατείας ἐπὶ φρονήματος γεγονότες καὶ τοὺς Καρχηδονίους ἀσθενεῖς καὶ ταπεινοὺς ὅρωντες ἐχαλέπτανον τε αὐτοῖς τῆς ἀναρέσεως τῶν τρισχλίων, οὐδὲ ἐσταυρώκεσαν τῇς ἐς Ἡρωμαίους μεταβολής οὐνεκα. διωθομένων δὲ τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἐκατέρους, κατέλαβον ἀμφοὶ Τύνητα πόλιν καὶ Ἰτύκην, ὡς μεγάλῃς Διβύνης ἐστὶ μετὰ Καρχηδόνας οὕτω ὀρμόμενοι τὴν τε ἀλλήν ἀφίστανον καὶ τῶν Νομάδων τινὰς ἔπειθον καὶ δούλων πολὺ πλῆθος ἀποδιδρασκόν- των ὑπεδέχοντο, τά τοῖς Καρχηδονίων πάντα ἐλεημότους. οἱ δὲ πανταχόθεν πολεμοῦμενοι συμμάχους ἐπὶ τοὺς Δίβνας Ἡρωμαίους ἐπεκαλοῦντο. καὶ Ἡρωμαίοι στρατιὰς μὲν αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἔπεμψαν, ἀγορὰν δ' ἐκ τε Ἰταλίας καὶ Σικελίας ἐπάγγεσθαι καὶ ξενολογεῖν ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐς μόνον τὸν τὸν πόλεμον ἐπέτρεψαν. ἔπεμψαν δὲ καὶ πρέ- σβεις ἐς Διβύνην, εἰ δύνατον διαλύσαι τὸν πόλεμον· οἱ ἐπανήλθον ἀπρακτοί. καὶ Καρχηδόνιοι ἐγκρα- τῶς εἰχοῦσιν πολέμου. id. ib.
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Sicilians, and apportioned certain naval charges B.C. among their towns, and sent a praetor each year to govern them. On the other hand Hiero, the ruler of Syracuse, who had cooperated with them in this war, was declared to be their friend and ally.

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

"Ὅτι Ἰπποκράτης καὶ Ἐπικύδης, ἀδελφῶν μὲν ἄλληλων, στρατηγὸς δὲ Συρακοσίων, Ῥωμαίους ἕκ πολλοὺ δυσχεραίνοντες, ἐπεὶ τὰς Συρακούσας οὐκ ἰσχυον ἐκπολεμώσαι, κατέφυγον ἐς Λεοντίνους διαφερομένους τῶν Συρακοσίων, καὶ κατηγόρουν τῆς πατρίδος ὅτι τὰς σπουδὰς Ἰέρανος ἐφ’ ὅλη Σικελία πεποιημένου μόνοι Συρακόσιοι σφίξιν αὐτῶς ἀνακαίνισειαν. οἱ δὲ ἠρεθίζοντο. καὶ Ἀυτοὶ Συρακόσιοι μὲν ἐπεκήρυσσον, εἰ τὰς Ἰπποκράτους ἡ Ἐπικύδους κομίσει τὴν κεφαλήν, ἵσοσταθον αὐτῷ χρυσίον ἀντιδώσειν, Λεοντίνοι δὲ αὐτῶν Ἰπποκράτη στρατηγὸν ἦροῦντο. Val. p. 558 et hinc Suid. v. Ἐπικύδης.

IV

"Ὅτι Σικελίοι καὶ τέως ἀγανακτοῦντες ἔπι τῇ ἀμότητι Μαρκέλλου τοῦ στρατηγοῦ, μᾶλλον τι καὶ τῶν τῷ ἔργῳ συνεταράσσοντο, ἐφ’ ὃ κατὰ προδοσίαν ἐς Συρακούσας ἐσήλθεν. καὶ πρὸς Ἰπποκράτη μετετίθεντο, καὶ συνώμωμον μὴ διαλύσασθαι χωρίς ἄλληλων, ἀγοραν τὸ αὐτῷ καὶ στρατιῶν ἔσπερυσμον, ἐς δισμυρίους πεζοὺς καὶ ἤπεισας πεντακισχίλιους. Val. ib.

V

"Ὅτι διαβεβλημένῳ τῷ Μαρκέλλῳ οὐκ ἐπίστευν χωρίς όρκων. διὸ καὶ Ταυρομενίων προσ-χωροῦντων οἱ, συνέθετο καὶ ὤμος μὴ φρουρήσει τὴν πόλιν μήτε στρατολογήσειν ἀπ’ αὐτῆς. id. ib.

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III. FROM "VIRTUES AND VICES"

Hippocrates and Epicydes, two brothers, were generals of the Syracusans. They had been for a long time incensed against the Romans, and when they could not stir up their fellow-countrymen to war, they went over to the Leontines, who had some differences with the Syracusans, and accused their countrymen of renewing a separate league with the Romans, although Hiero had made one to include the whole of Sicily. The Leontines were much stirred up by this. The Syracusans made proclamation that if anybody would bring them the head of Hippocrates or of Epicydes, they would give him its weight in gold. But the Leontines chose Hippocrates as their general.

IV. FROM THE SAME

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

V. FROM THE SAME

Marcellus was in such bad odour that nobody would trust him except under oath, for which reason, when the Tauromenians gave themselves up to him, he made an agreement and confirmed it with an oath, that he would not station any guard in their city nor require the inhabitants to serve as soldiers.
VI

1. "Ότι Κρήτη εξ ἀρχῆς εὐνοϊκῶς ἔχειν ἔδοκει Μιθριδάτη βασιλεύοντι Πόντου, καὶ αὐτῷ μισθοφορῆσαι πολεμοῦντι Ῥωμαίοις ἐλέγετο. ἔδοξε δὲ καὶ τοὺς πλεύσασι τότε λησταῖς ἐς χάριν τοῦ Μιθριδάτου συνλαβεῖν καὶ συμμαχῆσαι σαφῶς διωκομένοις ὑπὸ Μάρκου 'Ἀντωνίου. πρεσβευσαμένου δὲ τοῦ 'Ἀντωνίου πρὸς αὐτούς ὑπεριδεῖν καὶ ὑπερηφάνως ἀποκρίνασθαι. καὶ πολεμῆσαι μὲν αὐτοῖς εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τόδε 'Ἀντωνίος, καὶ οὐ πράξαι καλῶς, χρηματίσαι δὲ ὄμως διὰ τὴν πράξιν Κρητικὸς. καὶ ἦν ὁδε πατὴρ Μάρκου Ἀντωνίου τοῦ πολεμήσαντος ὑστερον Καίσαρι τῷ κληθέντι Σεβαστῷ περὶ 'Ακτιον. ψηφισαμένων δὲ 'Ῥωμαίων Κρησὶ πολεμεῖν διὰ τάδε, οἱ Κρήτες ἐπρέσβευσαν ἐς 'Ῥώμην περὶ διαλλαγῶν. οἱ δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐκέλευσον ἐκδοῦναί τε αὐτοῖς Δασθένη τὸν πολεμήσαντα Ἀντωνίφς, καὶ τὰ σκάφη τὰ λῃστικὰ πάντα παραδοῦναι, καὶ ὅσα 'Ῥωμαίων ἔχουν αἰχ-μάλωτα, καὶ ὁμήρα τριακόσια καὶ ἀργυρίου τά-λαντα τετρακισχίλια.

2. Οὗ δεξαμένων δὲ ταύτα Κρητῶν ἱρέθη στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ αὐτών Μέτελλος. καὶ νικᾶ μὲν ὁ Μέτελλος ἐν Κυδωνίᾳ Δασθένη, καὶ φυγόντος ἐς Κυνωσσόν Πανάρης Μετέλλῳ τὴν Κυδωνιαν παρέ-δωκεν ἐπὶ συνθήκη, μὴν παθεῖν αὐτὸς. Μετέλ-λου δὲ Κυνωσόν περικαθημένου, ὁ Δασθένης τὴν οἰκίαν χρημάτων πλήσας κατέφλεξε, καὶ διέφυγεν ἀπὸ τῆς Κυνωσσοῦ. καὶ οἱ Κρήτες ἐς Πομπήιον

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VI. FROM "THE EMBASSIES"

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

2. As the Cretans would not accept these conditions, Metellus was chosen general against them. He gained a victory over Lasthenes at Cydonia. The latter fled to Cnossus, and Panares delivered over Cydonia to Metellus on condition of his own safety. While Metellus was besieging Cnossus, Lasthenes set fire to his own house there, which he had filled with money, and escaped from the place. Then the Cretans sent word to Pompey the Great,
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VII

"Ὅτι Κλώδιος ὁ πατρίκιος, ὁ ποῦλχερ ἐπίκλην, τούτ' ἔστιν εὔπρεπής, τῆς Γαίου Καίσαρος γυναικὸς ἡρα. καὶ ἀρμόσασθαι αὐτῶν ἐς γυναῖκα ἐκ κεφαλῆς ἐς ἄκρους πόδας, ἔτι ὀντα ἀγένευον, καὶ ἐς τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ Γαίου παρελθεῖν οἰα γυναῖκα νυκτὸς, ὅτε μόναις γυναικῶν ἐξῆν ἐσελθεῖν, μνημε- ρίων ἀγομένων. πλανηθέντα δὲ τῆς ὁδηγούσης, κατάφωρον ὑπ' ἄλλων ἐκ τῆς φωνῆς γενόμενον ἐξελαθήναι. Val. p. 558.
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who was conducting the war against the pirates, and B.C. against Mithradates, that if he would come they would surrender themselves to him. As he was then busy with other things, he commanded Metellus to withdraw from the island, as it was not seemly to continue a war against those who offered to give themselves up, and he said that he would come to receive the surrender of the island later. Metellus paid no attention to this order, but pushed on the war until the island was subdued, making the same terms with Lasthenes as he had made with Panares. Metellus was awarded a triumph and the title of Creticus with more justice than Antonius, for he actually subjugated the island.

VII. FROM "VIRTUES AND VICES"

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

THE WARS IN SPAIN
ΙΒΗΡΙΚΗ

Ι

1. "Ορος ἐστὶ Πυρήνη διήκου ἀπὸ τῆς Τυρηνικῆς θαλάσσης ἐπὶ τῶν βόρειον ὄκεανον, οἰκοῦσι δ᾽ αὐτοῦ πρὸς μὲν ἔως Κελτοὺς, ὃσοι Γαλάται τε καὶ Γάλλοι νῦν προσαγορεύονται, πρὸς δὲ δύσεων Ἰβηρέσ τε καὶ Κελτίβηρες, ἀρχόμενοι μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ Τυρηνικοῦ πέλαγος, περιόντες δ᾽ ἐν κύκλῳ διὰ τῶν Ἡρακλείων στηλῶν ἐπὶ τῶν βόρειον ὄκεανον. οὕτως ἐστὶν ἡ Ἰβηρία περίκλυστος, ὅτι μὴ τῇ Πυρήνῃ μόνη, μεγίστῳ τῶν Εὐρωπαίων ὄρων καὶ ἰδιότατῳ σχεδὸν ἁπάντων τοῦ δὲ περίπλου τοῦ τὸ μὲν Τυρηνικὸν πέλαγος διαπλέουσιν ἐπὶ τὰς στῆλας τὰς Ἡρακλείους, τῶν δὲ ἐσπερίου καὶ τῶν βόρειον ὄκεανον οὐ περῶσιν, ὅτι μὴ πορθμεύεσθαι μόνον ἐπὶ Βρεττανῶν, καὶ τούτῳ ταῖς ἀμφώτευη τοῦ πελάγους συμφερόμενοι ἔστι δ᾽ αὐτοῖς ὁ διάπλους ἡμιον ἡμέρας, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ οὔτε Ῥωμαίοι οὔτε τὰ ἔθνη τὰ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων περίονται τοῦ τὸ ὄκεανος. μέγεθος δὲ τῆς Ἰβηρίας, τῆς Ἰσπανίας νῦν ὑπὸ τινῶν ἀντὶ Ἰβηρίας λεγομένης, ἐστὶ πολὺ καὶ ἀπιστοῦ ὡς ἐν χώρα μᾶ, ὅπου τὸ πλάτος μυρίους σταδίους

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BOOK VI

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I

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

¹ The time is incredibly short. The error may be accounted for by the mistaken ideas of the ancients as to the relative positions of Spain and the British Isles. See Tacitus, Agr. 24.
APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK VI

CAP. ἀριθμοῦσι, καὶ ἔστων αὐτῇ τὸ πλάτος ἀντί μῆκος.

1. έθνη τε πολλὰ καὶ πολυώνυμα αὐτήν οἰκεῖ, καὶ ποταμοὶ πολλοὶ ῥέουσι ναυσίποροι.

2. Οἱ τινες δ' αὐτήν οἰκήσας πρῶτοι νοµίζονται, καὶ οἱ μετ' ἐκείνους κατέσχον, οὐ πάνυ μοι ταῦτα φροντίζειν ἄρεσκει, μόνα τὰ Ῥωμαῖων συγγράφουτι, πλην ὅτι Κελτοὶ μοι δοκοῦσί ποτε, τὴν Πυρῆνην ὑπερβάντες, αὐτοῖς συνοικήσαι, ὥθεν ἄρα καὶ τὸ Κελτιβήρων ὄνομα ἑρρύῃ. δοκοῦσι δὲ μοι καὶ Φοίνικες, ἐς Ἰβηρίαν ἐκ πολλοῦ θαμνᾶ ἐπ' ἐμπορία διαπλέοντες, οἰκήσαν τίνα τῆς Ἰβηρίας, Ἐλληνές τε ὁμοίως, ἐς Ταρτησσοῦ καὶ Ἀργανθωνίου Ταρτησσοῦ βασιλέα πλέοντες, ἐμμεῖναι καὶ τῶν δὲ τινως ἐν Ἰβηρία ἡ γὰρ Ἀργανθωνίου βασιλεία ἐν Ἰβηρίαν ἦν. καὶ Ταρτησσὸς μοι δοκεῖ τότε εἶναι πόλεις ἐπὶ θαλάσσης, ἥ νῦν Καρχηδόνος ὀνομάζεται. τὸ τε τοῦ Ἡρακλέως ἱερὸν τὸ ἐν στήλαις Φοίνικες μοι δοκοῦσιν ἱδρύσασθαι, καὶ θρησκεύεται νῦν ἐτὶ φοινικικῶς, ὂ τε θεὸς αὐτοῖς οὐχ ὁ Θηβαῖος ἐστιν ἀλλ' ὁ Τυρίων. ταῦτα μὲν ἡ τοῖς παλαιολογοῦσι μεθείσθω.

3. Τὴν δὲ γῆν τῆν ἐνδαίμονα οὕσαν καὶ μεγάλων ἀγαθῶν γέμουσαν Καρχηδόνοι πρὸ Ῥωμαίων ἑρξαντο πολυπραγμονεῖν, καὶ μέρος αὐτῆς τὸ μὲν εἶχον ἤδη, τὸ δ' ἐπόρθουν, μέχρι Ῥωμαίων σφᾶς ἐκβαλόντες, ἀ μὲν εἰχον οἱ Καρχηδόνοι τῆς Ἰβηρίας, ἐχον αὐτίκα, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ σὺν χρόνῳ πολλῷ καὶ πόνῳ λαμβανόμενα τε ὑπὸ σφῶν καὶ πολλάκις ἀφιστάμενα χειρωσάμενοι διέλθουν ἐς τρία, καὶ στρατηγοὺς ἐς αὐτὰ πέμπουσι τρεῖς. ὅπως δ' εἴλον ἕκαστα, καὶ ὅπως Καρχηδόνοις τε περι αὐτῶν καὶ μετὰ Καρχηδόνοις Ἰβηρσι

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

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

3. This favoured land, abounding in all good things, the Carthaginians began to exploit before the Romans. A part of it they already occupied and another part they plundered, until the Romans expelled them from the part they held, and immediately occupied it themselves. The remainder the Romans acquired with much toil, extending over a long period of time, and in spite of frequent revolts they eventually subdued it and divided it into three parts and appointed a praetor over each. How they subdued each one, and how they contended with the Carthaginians for the possession of them, and after-
CAP. καὶ Κελτίβησσαν ἔπολέμησαν, δηλώσει τόδε τὸ βιβλίον, μοίραν μὲν ἐς Καρχηδονίους τὴν πρώτην ἔχον ὅτι δὲ καὶ τούτο περὶ Ἰβηρίας ἦν, ἀνάγκη μοι συνενεγκεῖν ἐς τὴν Ἰβηρικήν συγγραφὴν ἐγένετο, ὥς λόγῳ καὶ τὰ περὶ Σικελίας Ῥωμαίοις καὶ Καρχηδονίοις ἐς ἀλλήλους γενόμενα, ἀρξάμενα Ῥωμαίοις τῆς ἐς Σικελίαν παρόδον τε καὶ ἀρχῆς ἐς τὴν Σικελικήν συνενήμερεται γραφήν.

4. Πρὸς γὰρ δὴ Καρχηδονίους Ῥωμαίοις πρῶτος ἐγένετο πόλεμος ἐκδήμος περὶ Σικελίας ἐν αὐτῇ Σικελία, καὶ δεύτερος ὅδε περὶ Ἰβηρίας ἐν Ἰβηρία, ἐν φῳ καὶ ἐς τὴν ἀλλήλων μεγάλων στρατοὺς διαπλέοντες οἱ μὲν τὴν Ἰταλίαν, οἱ δὲ τὴν Διβύνην ἐπόρθουν. ἦρξαντο δὲ αὐτοῦ μεθ’ ἐκατόν καὶ τεσσαράκοντα ὀλυμπιάδας μάλιστα, ὅτε τὰς σπουδὰς ἔλυσαν αὐτὶ ἐπὶ τῷ Σικελικῷ πολέμῳ σφίσαν ἦσαν γενόμεναι. ἔλυσαν δ’ ἐκ τοιάσθεν προφάσεως.

Ἄμφιχαρ ὁ Βάρκας ἐπίκλησιν, ὅτε περ ἐν Σικελία Καρχηδονίων ἐστρατήγει, Κελτοῖς τότε μισθοφοροῦσιν οἱ καὶ Διβύων τοῖς συμμαχοῦσι πολλὰς δωρεὰς ὑπέσχετο δῶσειν, ἃς, ἐπειδὴ ἐπανῆλθεν ἐς Διβύνην, ἀπαιτοῦντων ἐκείνων τὸ Διβύκως Καρχηδονίους ἔξησεν πόλεμος, ἐν γὰρ πολλὰ μὲν πρὸς αὐτῶν Διβύων ἔπαθον οἱ Καρχηδονίοι, Σαρδόνα δὲ Ῥωμαίοις ἔδωσαν ποινήν ὅν ἐς τοὺς ἐμπόρους αὐτῶν ἠμαρτήκεσαν ἐν τῷ δὲ τῷ Διβύκῳ πολέμῳ. ὑπαγόντων οὖν ἐπὶ τοῖσδε τῶν Βάρκαν τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐσὶ κρίσιν ὡς αὐτίον τῇ πατρίδι τοσῶν δυσμορῶν γενόμενον, θεραπεύσας ὁ Βάρκας τοὺς πολεμομένους, ἀν ἴνα δημοκρατικώτατος Ἀσδρούβας ὁ τὴν αὐτοῦ Βάρκα θυγατέρα

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wards with the Iberians and Celtiberians, this book will show, the first part containing matters relating to the Carthaginians, since it was necessary for me to introduce their relations with Spain in my Spanish history. For the same reason the relations between the Romans and Carthaginians in respect to Sicily from the beginning of the Roman invasion and rule of that island are embraced in the Sicilian history.

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

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

5. Πανομένου δὲ τοῦ πολέμου, καὶ Ἀννωνος ἐπὶ διαβολαῖς ἐς Καρχηδόνα μεταπέμπτων γενομένου, μόνος ὄν ἐπὶ στρατη γαλού, καὶ τὸν κηδεσθὴν Ἀσδρούβαν ἔχων οἱ συνόντα, διήλθεν ἐπὶ Γάδειρα, καὶ τὸν πορθμὸν ἐς Ἰβηρίαν περάσας ἐλεηλάτει τὰ Ἰβηρῶν οὐδὲν ἀδικοῦντων, ἀφορμὴν αὐτῷ ποιούμενος ἀποδημίας τε καὶ ἔργων καὶ δημοκρίσιας (ὅσα γὰρ λάβοι διήρει, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐς τὸν στρατὸν ἀνάλισκεν, ἵνα προθυμότερον αὐτῷ συναδικοίην, τὰ δὲ ἐς αὐτὴν ἐπεμπτε Καρχηδόνα, τὰ δὲ τοὺς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ πολιτευμένους διεδίδου), μέχρι Ἰβηρῶν αὐτῶν οὐ τε βασιλεῖς συστάντες οἱ κατὰ μέρος, καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι δυνατοὶ, κτείνουσιν ὥδε. ξύλων ἀμάξας ἀγοντες, αἰς βοῶς ὑπο-έξενθαν, εὔποντο ταῖς ἀμάξαις ὑπλισμένοι. τοῖς δὲ Δίβυσιν ἱδουσίν εὐθὺς μὲν ἐνέπεπτε γέλως, οὐ συνεισι τοῦ στρατηγόματος ὡς δὲ ἐν χερσῖν ἐγένοντο, οἱ μὲν Ἰβηρεῖς αὐτῶν βουσὶν ἔξηψαν τὰς ἀμάξας καὶ ἔξωτρυναν ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους, τὸ δὲ πῦρ σκιδναμένων τῶν βοῶν πάντῃ φερόμενον ἐτάρασσε τοὺς Δίβυς. καὶ τῆς τάξεως διαλυθείσης, οἱ Ἰβηρεῖς αὐτοῖς ἐπιδραμόντες αὐτῶν τε τὸν Βάρκαν καὶ πολὺ πλῆθος ἀμυνομένων ἐπὶ αὐτῶ διέφθειραν.
disturbance with the Numidians broke out, secured the command of the Carthaginian forces in conjunction with Hanno the Great, although he had not yet rendered an account of his former generalship.

5. At the end of this war, Hanno was recalled to answer certain charges against him in Carthage, and Hamilcar was left in sole command of the army. He associated his son-in-law Hasdrubal with him, crossed the straits to Gades and began to plunder the territory of the Spaniards, although they had done him no wrong. Thus he made for himself an occasion for being away from home, and also for performing exploits and acquiring popularity. For whatever property he took he divided, giving one part to the soldiers, to stimulate their zeal for future plundering with him. Another part he sent to the treasury of Carthage, and a third he distributed to the chiefs of his own faction there. This continued until certain Spanish kings and other chieftains gradually united and put him to death in the following manner. Taking a number of wagons loaded with wood, they yoked oxen to them, and themselves followed in arms. When the Africans saw this they fell to laughing, not perceiving the stratagem. But when they came to close quarters the Spaniards set fire to the wagons, with the oxen still yoked to them, and drove them against the enemy. The fire, being carried in every direction by the fleeing oxen, threw the Africans into confusion. Their ranks being thus broken the Spaniards dashed among them and killed Hamilcar himself and a great many others who came to his aid.
6. Οι δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι τοὺς κέρδεσιν ἤδη τοὺς ἔξι Ἰβηρίας ἀρεσκόμενοι, στρατιῶν ἄλλην ἐπεμπόν ἐστὶ Ιβηρίαν, καὶ στρατηγὸν ἀπάντων ἀπέφηναν Ἀσδρούβαλ τὸν τοῦ Βάρκα κηδεστὴν, ὅτα ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ. ὁ δὲ Ἀννίβας τὸν ὅπου πολὺ ὑστερον ἀοίδιμον ἐπὶ στρατηγίας, παῖδα τῆς ὑπεροχῆς τοῦ Βάρκα καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς οἱ γυνόμενοι ἀδελφὸν ἔχουν ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ, νέου ὅτα καὶ φιλοτέλωμον καὶ ἄρεσκοντα τῷ στρατῷ ὕποστράτηγον ἀπέφηνεν. καὶ τῆς τῇ Ἰβηρίας τὰ πολλὰ πειθοὶ προσήγετο, πιθανὸν δὲν ὁμιλῆσαι, ἐς τὰ τά βίας δεόμενα τῷ μειρακίῳ κρόμμος προῆλθεν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐσπέριος θαλάσσης ἐς τὸ μεσόγειον ἐπὶ Ἰβηρα ποταμόν, δὲς μέσην που μάλιστα τέμνων τὴν Ἰβηρίαν, καὶ τῆς Πυρήνης ἀφεστὸς ὅδεν ἡμερῶν πέντε, ἐξήσην ἐς τὸν βόρειον ὀκεανόν.

7. Ζακανθαίοι δὲ, ἀποικοὶ Ζακυνθίων, ἐν μέσῳ τῆς τῆς Πυρήνης καὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ Ἰβηρος ὄντες, καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι ἔλληνες περί τε τὸ καλοὔμενον Ἐμπόριον καὶ εἰ τῇ τῆς Ἰβηρίας οἶκον ἄλαχού, δείχνοντες ὑπὲρ σφῶν ἔπρεσβευον ἐς Ῥώμην, καὶ ἡ σύγκλητος οὐκ ἠθέλουσα τὰ Καρχηδονίων ἑπαίρεσθαι, πρέσβεις ἐς Καρχηδόνα ἐπεμπετερώσαν καὶ συνέβησαν ἀμφότεροι ὅρον εἶναι Καρχηδονίως τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς Ἰβηρίας τοῦ Ἰβηρα ποταμοῦ, καὶ καθ' Ῥωμαίους τοὺς πέραν τούτων τοῦ ποταμοῦ πόλεμον ἐκφέρειν, Καρχηδονίων ὑπη...
6. The Carthaginians, enjoying the gains they had received from Spain, sent another army thither and appointed Hasdrubal, the son-in-law of Hamilcar, who was still in Spain, commander of all their forces there. He had with him in Spain Hannibal, the son of Hamilcar and brother of his own wife, a young man zealous in war, beloved by the army, and destined soon after to become famous for his military exploits. Him he appointed his lieutenant-general. Hasdrubal won over most of the Spanish tribes by persuasion, for he had a winning manner, and where force was needed he made use of the young man. In this way he pushed forward from the Western ocean to the interior as far as the river Ebro, which divides Spain about in the centre, and flows into the Northern ocean at a distance of five days' journey from the Pyrenees.

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

¹ A curious error. Saguntum is considerably south of the Ebro.
κόσις οὖσι, μήτε Καρχηδονίους ἐπὶ πολέμῳ τὸν Ἰβηρα διαβαίνειν, Ζακανθαίους δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐν Ἰβηρία Ἐλληνας αὐτονόμους καὶ ἑλευθέρους εἶναι. καὶ τάδε ταῖς συνθήκαις ταῖς Ῥωμαίων καὶ Καρχηδονίων προσεγγίσῃ.

8. Ἀσδροῦβαν δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦτο Ἰβηρίαν τὴν ὑπὸ Καρχηδονίων καθιστάμενον ἀνήρ δοῦλος, οὗ τὸν δεσπότην ἀμώμος διεφθάρκει, λαθὼν ἐν κυνηγεσίοις ἀναιρεῖ. καὶ τῶν μὲν Ἀννίβας ἐλεγχθέντα δεινῶς αἰκισάμενος διέθειρεν ἡ στρατιὰ δὲ τὸν Ἀννίβαν, καίπερ δυτικοὶ κομιδῆ νέου, ἀρέσκοντα δὲ ἱσχυρῶς, στρατηγὸν ἀπέδειξαν αὐτὸν καὶ ἡ Καρχηδονίων βουλὴ συνέθετο. ὅσον δὲ τοῦ Βάρκα διαπολίται τὴν Βάρκα τε καὶ Ἀσδροῦβα δύναμιν ἑδεδούκεσαν, ὡς ἔμαθον αὐτοῦς τεθνεῶς, Ἀννίβα κατεφρώνων ὡς νέου, καὶ τοὺς ἐκείνων φίλους τε καὶ στασίσωτας ἐδίωκον ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐκείνων ἐγκλήμασιν. ὃ τε δήμος ἀμα τοῖς κατηγοροῦσιν ἐγκατετειλλαμένοι τῆς βαρύτητος τῆς Ἐπὶ Βάρκα τε καὶ Ἀσδροῦβα καὶ τὰς δωρεὰς ἐκέλευον αὐτούς, ὀσας μεγάλας Ἀσδροῦβας τε καὶ Βάρκας αὐτοῖς ἐπετόμφεσαν, ἐς τοὺς κοινοὺς ἐσενεγκείων ὡς ἐκ τῶν πολεμιῶν πεπορισμένας. οἱ δὲ ἐπέστελλον τῷ Ἀννίβα, σφίσι τε ἑπικουρεῖν δεόμενοι, καὶ διδάσκοντες στὶς καὶ αὐτὸς ἐσούτο τοὺς πατρίδος ἐχθροῖς εὐκαταφρόνητος, εἰ τοὺς ἐν τῇ πατρίδι συνεργεῖν αὑτῷ δυναμέονος ὑπερίδοι. 9. "Ο δὲ καὶ ταύτα προεώρα, καὶ τὰς ἐκείνων δίκας ἀρχὴν ἐφ’ ἐαυτῶν οὖσαν ἐπιβουλής· οὐδ’ ἤξιον τὴν ἐχθραν, ὡσπερ ὁ πατὴρ καὶ ὁ κηδεστῆς, ἐσαι καὶ μετὰ φόβου διαφέρειν, οὐδ’ ἐπὶ τῷ
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Carthaginians cross it in arms; and that the Saguntines and the other Greeks in Spain should remain free and autonomous. And these agreements were added to the treaties between Rome and Carthage.

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

9. He had foreseen all this and he knew that the prosecution of his friends was the beginning of a plot against himself. He determined that he would not endure this enmity as a perpetual menace, as his father and brother-in-law had done, nor for ever be
Καρχηδονίων κουφών μέχρι παντὸς εἶναι, ῥαδίως ἐς εὐεργέτας πρὸς ἀχαριστίαν τρεπομένων. Ἐλέγετο δὲ καὶ παῖς ὅν ἔτι ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ὀρκωθήναι ἐπὶ ἐμπύρων ἀσπειστός ἐχθρὸς ἐσεθαὶ Ὀρωμαίοις, ὅτε ἐς πολιτείαν παρέλθοι. διὰ δὴ ταῦτ’ ἐπενόει μεγάλους καὶ χρονίος πράγμασι τὴν πατρίδα περιβαλὼν, καὶ καταστήσας ἐς ἀσχολίας καὶ φόβους, τὸ ἐαυτοῦ καὶ τὰ τῶν φίλων ἐν ἄδεια θέσθαι. Διεθύνε μὲν οὖν εὐσταθοῦσαν ἑώρα, καὶ Ἰβήρων ὅσα ὑπήκοα ἦν εἰ δὲ πρὸς Ὀρωμαίους πόλεμον αὖθις ἀναρριπθεῖεν, οὐ μάλιστα ἐπεθύμει, ἐδόκει Καρχηδονίων μὲν ἐν φροντίσει καὶ φόβους ἐσεθαὶ μακροῖς, αὐτὸς δὲ, ἐτέ κατορθώσει, ἐπὶ κλέους ἀθανάτου γενησθεῖαι, τὴν πατρίδα τῆς οἰκουμένης γῆς ἀρχοῦσαν ἀποφήμας (οὐ γὰρ εἶναι τινας ἀντιμάχους αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ Ὀρωμαίοις), εἶτε καὶ πταίσειε, μεγάλην καὶ ὅς τὸ ἐγχείρημα αὐτῷ δόξαν ὀίσειν.

10. Ἀρχὴν δὲ ὑπολαμβάνων ἐσεθαὶ λαμπρὰν εἰ τὸν Ἰβηρα διαβαίη, Τορβολῆτας, οἳ γεῖτονες εἰσὶ Zakavthaiōn, ἀνέπεισε τῶν Zakavthaiōn παρὰ οἱ καταβοῦν ὡς τὴν τε ὑφανν αὐτῶν ἐπιτρεχόντων καὶ πολλὰ σφαῖς ἄλλα ἀδικοῦτων, οἱ δὲ ἐπείθοντο. καὶ πρέσβεις αὐτῶν ὁ Ἀννίβας ἐς Καρχηδόνα ἐπέμπετο, αὐτὸς τε ἐν ἀπορρήτους ἔγραφε Ὀρωμαίοις τὴν ὑπὸ Καρχηδονίων Ἰβηρίαν ἀναπείθειν ἀπὸ Καρχηδονίων ἀφίστασθαι, καὶ Zakavthaiōn Ὀρωμαίους ταῦτα συμπράσσειν. ὅλως τε τῆς ἀπάτης οὐ μεθίει, πολλὰ τοιαῦτα ἐπιστέλλων, ἔως ἡ βουλὴ προσέταξεν αὐτῷ πράσσειν ἐς Zakavthaiōn ὅ τι δοκιμάσειεν. ὡ δὲ
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at the mercy of the sickness of the Carthaginians, who without scruple repaid benefits with ingratitude. It was said also that when he was a boy he had taken an oath upon the altar, at his father's instance, that when he should arrive at man's estate he would be the implacable enemy of Rome. For these reasons he thought that, if he could involve his country in arduous and protracted undertakings and plunge it into embarrassments and fears, he would place himself and his friends in a secure position. He beheld Africa, however, and the subject parts of Spain at peace. But if he could stir up a fresh war with Rome, which he strongly desired, he thought that the Carthaginians would have enough to think about and to be afraid of, and that if he should be successful, he would reap immortal glory by gaining for his country the empire of the world (for when the Romans were conquered there would be no other rivals), and even if he should fail, the attempt itself would bring him glory.

10. Considering then that to cross the Ebro would constitute a brilliant beginning, he persuaded the Turbuletes, who are neighbours of the Saguntines, to make complaints to him that the latter were overrunning their country and doing them many other wrongs. They made this complaint. Then Hannibal sent their ambassadors to Carthage, and wrote private letters saying that the Romans were inciting Carthaginian Spain to revolt, and that the Saguntines were cooperating with the Romans for this purpose. Nor did he desist from this deception, but kept sending messages of this kind, until the Carthaginian Senate authorized him to deal with the Saguntines as he saw fit. And when he got the
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CAP. II. ἐπεὶ τῆς ἀφορμῆς ἐλάβετο, Τορβολήτας αὖθις ἔπραξεν ἐντυχείν οἱ κατὰ τῶν Ζακανθαίων, καὶ μετεπέμπτετο πρέσβεις. οἱ δὲ ἀφίκοντο μὲν, κελεύοντος δὲ τοῦ 'Ἀννίβου λέγειν ἐκατέρους ἐφ' ἕαυτον περὶ δὲν διαφέρονται, Ὀρμαιοὶ ἔφασαν ἐπιτρέψειν τὴν δίκην. οὐ μὲν δὴ ταύτ' εἰπόντας ἀπέπεμπεν ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου, καὶ τῆς ἐπιούσις νυκτὸς παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ τὸν Ἰβηρὰ διαβὰς τὴν χώραν ἐπόρθηκεν καὶ τῇ πόλει μηχανήματα ἐφύση. ἔλειν δ' οὐ δυνάμενος ἀπετάφρευε καὶ φρούρια πολλὰ περιβεῖς ἐκ διαστημάτων ἐπεφοίτα.

11. Ζακανθαίοι δὲ αἰφνιδίως καὶ ἀκαταγγέλτω κακῷ συμπεσόντες ἐπρέσβευος ἐς Ὁρώμην. καὶ ἡ συγκλήτως αὐτοῖς συνέπεμπε πρέσβεις, οἱ πρῶτον μὲν Ἀννίβαν ἐμελλόν ὑπομνῆσει τῶν συγκεκριμένων, οὐ πειθομένου δὲ ἐς Καρχηδόνα πλευσεῖσθαι κατ' αὐτοῦ τούτων τοῖς πρέσβεσι πλεύσασι ἐς Ἰβηρίαν, καὶ ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἀναβάινουσιν, ὁ Ἀννίβας ἀπηγόρευσε μη διασκείναι. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀπέπλευσαν ἐπὶ Καρχηδόνος σὺν τοῖς πρέσβεσι τοῖς Ζακανθαίων, καὶ τῶν συνθηκῶν ἀνεμίμησικον αὐτούς. Καρχηδόνοι δὲ ἡτίαντο τοὺς Ζακανθαίους πολλὰ τοὺς ὑπηκόους σφῶν ἄδικεῖν, καὶ Ζακανθαίων οἱ πρέσβεις ἐς δίκην αὐτοὺς προκαλοῦντο ἐπὶ Ὁρμαιων κριτῶν οἱ δ' οἱκ ἔφασαν χρήζειν δίκης, ἀμύνονται δυνάμενοι. ὡν ἐς Ὁρώμην ἀπαγγελθέντων, οἱ μὲν ἐκέλευος ἢ ἑς συμμαχείν τοῖς Ζακανθαίοις, οἱ δ' ἐπείχον ἔτι, λέγουσε οἱ συμμάχους αὐτοὺς ἐν ταῖς συνθήκαις σφῶν ἄλλ' αὐτούμονς καὶ ἐλευθέρους ἀναγεγράφας, ἐλευθέρους δ' ἔτι

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opportunity, he arranged that the Turbuletes should come again to make complaints against the Saguntines, and invited the latter to send ambassadors. On their arrival he invited both sides to state their differences in his presence; but the Saguntines replied that they should refer the matter to Rome. Hannibal thereupon ordered them out of his camp, and the next night crossed the Ebro with his whole army, laid waste the Saguntine territory, and planted engines against their city. Not being able to take it, he surrounded it with a wall and ditch, stationed numerous guards, and pushed the siege at intervals.

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

12. Ζακανθαῖοι δὲ, ἐπειδὴ τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἀπέγνωσαν καὶ ὁ λιμὸς σφάς ἐπίεζε καὶ Ἄννίβας περιεκάθη συνεχώς (ἐυδαίμονα γὰρ καὶ πολύχρυσον ἀκούν εἶναι τὴν πόλιν οὐκ ἂνεί τῆς πολυρκίας), τὸν μὲν χρυσὸν καὶ ἀργυρὸν, ὅσος ἦν δημοσίους τε καὶ ἰδιωτικός, ἀπὸ κηρύγματος ἐς τὴν ἀγοράν συνήθεικαν, καὶ μολύβδῳ καὶ χάλκῳ συνεχώς νευσαν ὡς ἀχρείον Ἄννίβα γενέσθαι, αὐτοῖς δὲ ἐν χεραῖν ἔλομενοι τι παθεῖν μάλλον ἢ υπὸ τοῦ λιμοῦ, ἐξεδραμοῦν ἐτὶ νυκτὸς ἐπὶ τὰ φρούρια τὰ τῶν Λιβύων, ἀναπαυμένων ἐτὶ καὶ οὔδεν τοιούτων ὑποοούντων. ὅθεν αὐτοῖς ἀνισταμένους τε ἔξ εὐνής καὶ σὺν θορύβῳ μόλις ὀπλιζομένους, ἐστὶ δ' οὐδὲ ἣδη καὶ μαχομένους, διέθειρον. μακρὸν δὲ τοῦ ἀγώνος γενομένου, Λιβύων μὲν ἀπόλολοντο πολλοί, Ζακανθαῖοι δὲ πάντες. αἱ δὲ γυναίκες ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους ὄρωσαν τὸ τέλος τῶν ἀνδρῶν, αἱ μὲν ἔρριπτουν ἐαυτὰς κατὰ τῶν τεχῶν, αἱ δ' ἀνήρτων, αἱ δὲ καὶ τὰ τέκνα προκατέσφαξαν. καὶ τοῦτο τέλος ἦν Ζακανθαίους, πόλει μεγάλη τε καὶ δυνατὴ γενομένη. Ἄννίβας δὲ ὡς ἔμαθε περὶ τοῦ χρυσοῦ, τοὺς μὲν ὑπολοίπους καὶ ἔτι ἡβόντας αὐτῶν αἰκιζομένους διέφθειρεν ὑπ' ὀργῆς, τὴν δὲ πόλιν ὄρων ἐπιθάλασσάν τε καὶ Καρχηδόνος οὐ μακρὰν, καὶ χώρας ἄρχουσαν ἀγαθῆς, φίλιες αὐθίς καὶ Καρχηδονίων ἀποικον ἀπέφαυς ἡν νῦν οἶμαι Καρχηδόνα καλεῖσθαι τὴν Σπαρταγενή.
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a state of siege were still free. The latter opinion chapter II prevailed.

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

1 Appian here, as elsewhere (p. 169), confuses Saguntum with New Carthage. We know from Pliny that New Carthage was called 'Spartaria' from the abundance of Esparto grass in the neighbourhood.
CAP. III

13. Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ πρέσβεις ἐς Καρχηδόνα ἔσημπτον, οἵς εἴρητο ἐξαίτειν παρὰ Καρχηδόνιοι τ' Ἀννίβαν ώς ἐς τὰς συνθῆκας ἀμαρτόταν, εἰ μὴ κοινὸν ἥγονται τὸ ἔργον ἢν δὲ μὴ διδῶσιν, εὐθέως αὐτοῖς πόλεμον προσαγορεύειν. καὶ οическое ἔρραζεν ὅτι, καὶ τὸν πόλεμον αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἔκδι-

δοῦσιν τὸν Ἀννίβαν ἐπήγαγειαν λέγεται δ' οὕτω γενέσθαι. ὁ μὲν πρεσβευτὴς αὐτοῖς γελώμενος ἔφη, τὸν κόλπου ἐπιδεικνύς, "ἐνταῦθ' ὑμῖν, ὡς Καρχηδόνιοι, καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην καὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἀπορίας ὑμεῖς δ' ὑπότερα αἴρεῖσθε λάβετε." οὐ δ' ἔφασαν, "σὺ μὲν οὖν ἄ βολει δίδου." προτει-

ναυτὸς δὲ τὸν πόλεμον, ἔξεβόησαν ὁμοῦ πάντες, "δεχόμεθα." καὶ εὐθὺς ἐπέστελλον τῷ Ἀννίβα πᾶσαν ἥδη τὴν Ἰβηρίαν ἀδεώς ἐπιτρέχειν ὡς τῶν σπουδῶν λευμένων. ὁ μὲν δὴ τὰ ἔθνη τὰ ἄγχοι πάντα ἐπιών υπῆγετο, ἡ πείθων ἡ δεδολάμαμος ἡ καταστρεφόμενος, καὶ στρατιὰν πολλὴν συνέλευσε, τὴν μὲν χρείαν οὐχ ὑποδεικνύς, ἐς δὲ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐπινοῶν ἐμβαλεῖν. Γαλάταις τε διεπρεσβεύσατο, καὶ τὰς διόδους τῶν Ἀλπιῶν ὄρων κατεσκέ-

πτετο. καὶ διήλθεν, Ἀσδρούβαν τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐν Ἰβηρία . . .

14. . . . ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ σφίσι καὶ Διβύθ τὸν πόλεμον ἔσησαν (οὐ γὰρ δὴ μὴ Διβυνᾶς ποτὲ ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐσβάλλον, οὐδ' ἐπενύσαν), Ἰβηρίοις μὲν Σεμπρῶνιον Δόγγου ἐπὶ νεῶν ἐκατὸν ἐξηκοντα-

σὺν δύο στρατοῦ τέλεσιν ἐς Διβύθην ἐξέβαλον (καὶ ὅσα Δόγγος τε καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ Ῥωμαίων 158.
III

13. The Romans now sent ambassadors to Carthage to demand that Hannibal should be delivered up to them as a violator of the treaty unless they wished to assume the responsibility. If they would not give him up, war was to be declared forthwith. The ambassadors obeyed their instructions, and when the Carthaginians refused to give up Hannibal they declared war. It is said that it was done in the following manner. The chief of the embassy, pointing to the fold of his toga and smiling, said: “Here, Carthaginians, I bring you peace or war, you may take whichever you choose.” They replied: “No: do you give us whichever you like.” Thereupon he offered them war, and they all cried out with one accord: “We accept it.” Then they wrote at once to Hannibal that he was now free to overrun all Spain, as the treaty was at an end. Accordingly he marched against all the neighbouring tribes and brought them into subjection, persuading some, terrifying others, and subduing the rest. Then he collected a large army, without disclosing his object, which was the invasion of Italy. He also sent out ambassadors among the Gauls, and caused an examination to be made of the passes of the Alps, which he traversed later, leaving his brother Hasdrubal in command in Spain.

14. [The Romans, thinking that] Spain and Africa would be the scene of the war (for they never even dreamed of an incursion of Africans into Italy), sent Tiberius Sempronius Longus with 160 ships and two legions into Africa. What Longus
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CAP. III στρατηγοὶ περὶ Λιβύην ἐπραξαν, ἐν τῇ Καρχη-δονιακῇ βιβλῳ συγγεγραπταί, Πόπλιον δὲ Κορνήλιον Σκιτίωνα ἐστελλεν ἐς Ἰβηρίαν ἐπὶ νεῶν ἐξήκοντα μετὰ πεζῶν μυρίων καὶ ἵππων ἑπτακοσίων, καὶ πρεσβευτὴν αὐτὸν συνέπεμπον Γναίῳ Κορνήλιον Σκιτίωνα τὸν ἄδελφον. τούτοις ὁ μὲν Πόπλιος παρὰ Μασσαλιωτῶν ἐμπόρων πυθόμενος Ἀννίβαν διὰ τῶν Ἀλπείων ὄρων ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ὑπερβάντα, δεῖσας μὴ ἀδοκήτως τοῖς Ἰταλιώταις ἐπιπέσοι, παραδοὺς Γναίῳ τῷ ἄδελφῳ τὴν ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ στρατιὰν διέπλευσαν ἐπὶ πεντήρους ἐς Τυρρηνίαν. καὶ ὁσα ἐπραξεν ἐν τῇ Ἰταλία ὑπό τοῦ καὶ ὅσοι μετ' αὐτῶν ἀλλοι στρατηγοὶ τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου ἐγένοντο, ἐως Ἀννίβαν ἐκκακίδεκατῳ μόλις ἔτει τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐξῆλασαν, ἡ ἤδη βιβλος ὑποδείκνυσιν, ἡ τὰ ἔργα Ἀννίβου τὰ ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ πάντα περιλαμβάνει, καὶ παρ' αὐτὸ λέγεται Ὄρωμαικῶν Ἀννίβαικη.

15. Γναῖος δὲ οὗδὲν, ὃ τι καὶ εἰπεῖν, ἐπραξεν ἐν τοῖς Ἰβηρσι, πρὶν αὐτῷ Πόπλιον τὸν ἄδελ- φὸν ἐπάνελθειν. Ὅρωμαικὸς γὰρ, ληγοῦσις τής ἀρχής τῷ Πόπλῳ, πρὸς μὲν Ἀννίβαν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν τοὺς μετὰ τὸν Πόπλιον ὑπάτους ἐξέπεμ- ψαν, αὐτὸν δὲ ἀνθύπατον ἀποφήμαντες ἐς Ἰβηρίαν αὐθίς ἐστελαν. καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦδε οἱ δύο Σκιτίωνες τὸν ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ πόλεμον διέφερον, Ἀσδρούβου σφίσιν ἀντιστρατηγοῦντος, μέχρι Καρχηδόνιοι μὲν ὑπὸ Σύφακος τοῦ τῶν Νομάδων δυνάστου πολέμουμεν τῶν Ἀσδρούβαν καὶ μέρος τῆς ὑπ' αὐτὸ στρατιᾶς μετεπέμψαντο, τῶν δὲ ὑπολοίπων οἱ Σκιτίωνες εὐμαρώς ἐκράτουν. καὶ πολλαὶ τῶν πόλεων ἐς αὐτοὺς ἐκοῦσαι μετετίθεντο, καὶ
THE WARS IN SPAIN

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

15. Gnaeus did nothing in Spain worthy of mention before his brother Publius returned thither. When the latter's term of office expired, the Romans, having despatched the new consuls against Hannibal in Italy, appointed him pro-consul, and sent him again into Spain. From this time the two Scipios carried on the war in Spain, Hasdrubal being the general opposed to them until the Carthaginians recalled him and a part of his army to ward off an attack of Syphax, the ruler of the Numidians. The Scipios easily overcame the remainder. Many towns also came over to them voluntarily, for they
CAP. III. γὰρ ἦσθην πιθανωτότω στρατηγῆσαι τε καὶ προσαγαγέσθαι.

16. Θέμενοι δ’ οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι πρὸς Σύφακα εἰρήμην, αὐθίς ἐξέσπευσαν ἐς Ἰ βηρίαν Ἀσδρούβαν μετὰ πλέονος στρατοῦ καὶ ἐλέφαντων τριάκοντα, καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ ἀλλος δύο στρατηγοὺς, Μάγωνα τε καὶ Ἀσδρούβαν ἔτερον, δὲ Γέσκωνος ἦν νῦς, καὶ χαλεπώτερος ἦν τοῖς Σκιπίωσιν ὁ πόλεμος ἀπὸ τοῦδε, ἐκράτουν δὲ καὶ ὦς. καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν τῶν Λιβύων, πολλοὶ δὲ τῶν ἐλέφαντων ἐφθάρησαν, μέχρι χειμῶνος ἐπιλαβόντος οἱ μὲν Λίβυες ἐχειμαζοῦν ἐν Τυρδιτανίᾳ, τῶν δὲ Σκιπιώνος ὁ μὲν Γναῖος ἐν Ὀρσώνι, ὁ δὲ Πόπλιος ἐν Καστολώνι. ἔνθα αὐτῷ προσιόν ὁ Ἀσδρούβας ἀπρηγκέλθη καὶ προελθὼν τῆς πόλεως μετ’ ὀλίγων ἐς κατασκοπὴν στρατοπέδου, ἤλαθε πλησιάσας τῷ Ἀσδρούβα, καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκείνος καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ πάντας ἐπιπέδον περιδραμῶν ἀπέκτεινεν. ὁ δὲ Γναῖος οὐδὲν τι προμαθῶν ἐς τὸν ἄδελφον ἐπὶ σίτον ἐπεμπε στρατιώτας, οἷς ἔτεροι Λιβύων συντυχόντες ἐμάχοντο. καὶ πυθόμενος ὁ Γναῖος ἐξέδραμεν ὡς εἰχέ μετὰ τῶν εὐζώνων ἐπ’ αὐτούς. οἱ δὲ τοὺς τε προτέρους ἀνηρήκεσαν ἢδη, καὶ τὸν Γναίον ἐδίωκον, ἦς ἐσέδραμεν ἐς τινα πύργουν. καὶ τὸν πύργον ἐνεπήρησαν οἱ Λίβυες, καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων κατεκαῦθη μετὰ τῶν συνόντων.

17. Οὕτω μὲν οἱ Σκιπίωνες ἀπέθανον ἄμφω, ἄνδρες ἐς πάντα ἁγαθοὶ γενόμενοι· καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐπέπόθησαν Ἰβηρίας, ὁσοὶ δ’ αὐτοῖς ἐς Ῥωμαίους μετέδειπτο. πυθόμενοι δ’ οἱ ἐν ἄστει βαρέως τε ἰμεγκαν, καὶ Μάρκελλον ἐκ Σικελίας ἀρτι ἀφηγήθη.
THE WARS IN SPAIN

were as persuasive in winning allies as in leading armies.

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

17. In this way the two Scipios perished, excellent men in every respect, and greatly regretted by those Spaniards who, by their labours, had been brought over to the Roman side. When the news reached Rome the people were dismayed. They sent Marcellus, who had lately come from Sicily, and
μένον, καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ Κλαύδιον, ἐπὶ νεών . . . ἐξέπεμπτον ἐς Ἰβηρίαν μετὰ χιλίων ἵππεών καὶ πεζῶν μυρίων καὶ χορηγίας ἰκανής. οὐδενὸς δὲ λαμπρὸν παρὰ τὸνδε γεγομένου, τὰ Διβύων ὑπερηφάνετο, καὶ πᾶσαν σχεδὸν Ἰβηρίαν εἰχον, ἐς βραχὺ Ῥωμαίων ἐν τοῖς ἄρεσι τοῖς Πυρηναίοις κατακεκλεισμένων. πάλιν οὖν οἱ ἐν ἀοίτει πυνθανόμενοι μᾶλλον ἐταράσσοντο καὶ φόβος ἤν μὴ Ἀννίβου πορθοῦντος τὰ πρόσω τῆς Ἰταλίας, καὶ οὐδὲ οἱ Διβύες ἐς τὰ ἔτερα αὐτῆς ἐσβάλουσι. δὴ εἰς οὐδὲ ἀποσχέσθαι τῆς Ἰβηρίας βουλομένοις αὐτοῖς δυνατόν ἦν, δέει τοῦ μὴ καὶ τὸνδε τὸν τόλμην ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐπαγαγόσθαι.
THE WARS IN SPAIN

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

IV

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

δήμον ἀνέλαβε κατεπτηχότα (χαίρουσι γὰρ ἐπαγγελίαις οἱ δεδιότες) καὶ ήρεθη στρατηγὸς ἦσ Ἰβηρίαν ὡς πράξων τι τῆς εὐτολμίας ἄξιον. οἱ πρεσβύτεροι δὲ αὐτὴν οὐκ εὐτολμίαν ἄλλα προπέτειαν ἕκαλουν. καὶ ὁ Σκιτῖων αἰσθόμενος ἐς ἐκκλησίαν αὖθις αὐτοῖς συνεκάλει τε καὶ ἐσεμνύνετο ὁμοία· καὶ τὴν ἦλικίαν εἰπὼν οὐδὲν ἐμποδῶν οἱ γενήσεσθαι, προυκαλεῖτο ὅμως, εἰ τις ἔθελοι τῶν πρεσβυτέρων τὴν ἁρχὴν παραλαβεῖν ἐκόντος αὐτοῦ παραδίδοντος. οὐδενὸς δὲ ἐλομένου, μᾶλλον ἐπαινούμενός τε καὶ θαυμαζόμενος ἐξήει μετὰ μυρίων πεζῶν καὶ ἱππέων πεντακοσίων· οὐ γὰρ ἐνεχώρει πλέονα στρατὸν ἐξέγει, Ἀννίβου δηούντος τὴν Ἰταλίαν. ἔλαβε δὲ καὶ χρήματα καὶ παρασκευήν ἄλλην καὶ ναύς μακρὰς ὁκτὼ καὶ εἰκοσὶ, μεθ' ὃν ἐς Ἰβηρίαν διέπλευσεν.

19. Παραλαβῶν τε τὴν ἐκεῖ στρατιάν, καὶ οὖς ἠγεύει εἰς ἐν συναγαγών, ἐκάθηρε, καὶ διελέξθη καὶ τοῖσδε μεγαληγόρως. δόξα τε διέδραμεν ἐς ὅλην αὐτίκα τὴν Ἰβηρίαν, βαρυμομένην τε τοὺς Λίβνας καὶ τῶν Σκιτών τὴν ἁρετὴν ἐπιποθοῦσαν, ὅτι στρατηγὸς αὐτῶν ἦκοι Σκιτῶν ὁ Σκιτῖων κατὰ θεόν. οὐ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς αἰσθανόμενος, ὑπεκρίνετο πάντα ποιεῖν πειθόμενος ἑαυτῷ. πυθανόμενος δ' ὅτι οἱ ἐχθροὶ σταθμεύσουσι μὲν ἐν τῆσαρσι στρατοπέδου, μακρὰν διεστηκότες ἀπ' ἀλλήλων, ἀνὰ δισμυρίους καὶ πεντακισχιλίους πεζῶν καὶ ἱππέας πεντακοσίως ἐπὶ δισχιλίους, τὴν δὲ παρασκευὴν τῶν τε χρημάτων καὶ σῖτου καὶ ὀπλῶν καὶ βελῶν καὶ νεῶν καὶ αἰχμαλώτων καὶ ὀμήρων τῶν ἐξ ὅλης Ἰβηρίας ἐχουσίν ἐν τῇ
THE WARS IN SPAIN

but he revived the spirits of the people (for those who are cast down are cheered by promises), and was chosen general for Spain in the expectation that he would do something worthy of his high spirit. The older men however said that this was not high spirit, but foolhardiness. When Scipio heard of this he called the assembly together again, and made another dignified speech in the same vein. He declared that his youth would be no impediment, but added that if any of his elders wished to assume the command he would willingly yield it to them. When nobody offered to take it, he was praised and admired still more, and he set forth with 10,000 foot and 500 horse. For it was impossible that he should take a larger force while Hannibal was ravaging Italy. He also received money and equipment and twenty-eight war-ships, with which he sailed to Spain.

19. Taking the forces already there, and joining them in one body with those he brought, he performed a lustration, and made the same kind of grandiloquent speech to them that he had made at Rome. The report spread immediately through all Spain, wearied of the Carthaginian rule and longing for the virtue of the Scipios, that Scipio the son of Scipio had been sent to them as general, by divine providence. When he heard of this report he pretended that everything he did was by inspiration from heaven. He learned that the enemy were quartered in four camps at considerable distances from each other, containing altogether 25,000 foot and above 2,500 horse, but that they kept their supplies of money, food, arms, missiles, and ships, besides prisoners and hostages from all
CAP. IV

πρότερον μὲν Ζακάνθη τότε δὲ ἦδη Καρχηδόνι, καὶ φοροὺς αὐτῶν ἐστὶ Μάγων μετὰ μυρίων Καρχηδονίων, ἔκρυμε πρῶτον ἐς τοὺς ἐπιδραμεῖν διά τε τὴν ὀλυγότητα τοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ μετὰ Μάγωνος καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς παρασκευῆς, καὶ ὡς ὀρμητήριον ἀσφαλεῖς ἐκ γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης ἔξω ἐπὶ ὅλην τὴν Ἰβηρίαν πόλιν ἄργυρεία καὶ χώραν εὐδαίμονα καὶ πλοῦτον πολῖν ἐχουσαν καὶ τῶν διάπλουν ἐς Διβύνην βραχύτατον.  

20. Ὁ μὲν δὲ τοσοῦτο γοναισμοῖς ἐπαιρόμενος, οὐδὲν προεπιτῶ ὅπη χαρῆσειν ἐμελλεν, ὡς σὲν δύναντος ἤγε τὴν στρατιὰν δέ ὅλης τῆς νυκτὸς ἐπὶ τὴν Καρχηδόνα. καὶ αὐτὴν ἢμα ἐφ᾽ ὃ τῶν Διβύνων καταπλαγέντων, περιταφρεύσας, ἐς τὴν ἐπισκεύαν ἠμέραν ἡτοιμάζοντο, ἀλλὰ καὶ μηχανᾶς πάντη περιτιθεῖς, χωρίς ἐνὸς μέρους, ἢ τὸ μὲν τεῖχος ἢν βραχύτατον, ἔλος δὲ αὐτῶ καὶ θάλασσα προσέκλυζε, καὶ δι᾽ αὐτὸ καὶ οἱ φύλακες ἀμελῶς εἶχον. νυκτὸς δὲ πάντα πληρώσας βελῶν καὶ λίθων, καὶ τοῖς λιμέσι τῆς πόλεως ναῦς ἐπιστήσας, ἴνα μὴ αἱ νῆς αὐτῶν αἱ τῶν πολεμίων διαφύγουσιν (ὕπο γὰρ δὴ μεγαλοψυχίας ἡπεῖξε πάντως αἰρῆσειν τὴν πόλιν), πρὸ ἔω τὴν στρατιὰν ἀνεβίβαζεν ἐπὶ τὰς μηχανὰς, τοὺς μὲν ἀνωθεν ἐγχείρειν κελεύων τοῖς πολεμίοις, τοὺς δὲ κάτω τὰς μηχανὰς ὠθεῖν ἐς τὸ πρόσω. Μάγων δὲ τοὺς μὲν μυρίους ἐπέστησε ταῖς πύλαις ὡς ἐκπεδήσωσίας, ὅτε καιρὸς εἶ, μετὰ μόνων εἴφων (οὐ γὰρ εἶναι δόρασιν ἐν στενῷ χρῆσθαι), τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἐς τὰς ἐπάλξεις ἁνήγειν, καὶ πολλὰ καὶ δὲ μηχανήματα καὶ λίθους καὶ βέλη
Spain, at the city formerly called Saguntum\(^1\) (but Chap. IV then called Carthage), and that it was in charge of Mago with 10,000 Carthaginian soldiers. He decided to attack these first, on account of the smallness of the force and the great quantity of stores, and because he believed that this city, with its silver-mines, its wealth, and its fertile territory, would afford him an impregnable base for operations against Spain by land and sea, and would secure for him the shortest passage to Africa.

20. Excited with these thoughts and communicating his intentions to no one, he led his army out at sunset and marched the whole night toward New Carthage. Arriving there the next morning he took the enemy by surprise and began to enclose the town with trenches, and planned to open the siege the following day, placing ladders and engines everywhere except at one place where the wall was lowest and where, as it was encompassed by a lagoon and the sea, the guards were careless. Having charged the machines with stones and missiles in the night, and stationed his fleet in the harbour so that the enemy's ships might not escape (for in his great-hearted courage he thought that he would certainly capture the city), before dawn he manned the engines, ordering some of his troops to assail the enemy above, while others propelled the engines against the walls below. Mago stationed his 10,000 men at the gates, to sally out at a favourable opportunity with swords alone (since spears would be of no use in such a narrow space), and sent the others to man the parapets. He, too, stationed numerous

\(^1\) See note on p. 157.
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CAP. IV καὶ καταπέλτας ἐπιστήμας εἴχετο τοῦ ἔργου προθύμως. γενομένης δὲ βοής καὶ παρακελεύσεως ἐκατέρωθεν, οὐδέτεροι μὲν ὄρμης καὶ προθυμίας ἐνέλειπον, καὶ λίθους τε καὶ βέλη καὶ ἀκόντια ἀφίέντες, οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ χειρῶν, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ μηχανῶν, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ σφευδόντης, εἶ τέ τις ἣν ἄλλη παρασκευὴ καὶ δύναμις, ἔχροντο προθύμως ἀπασίν.

21. Ἐκακοπάθει δὲ τὰ τοῦ Σκιπίωνος, καὶ οἱ μύριοι Καρχηδονίων, οἱ περὶ τὰς πύλας ἦσαν, ἐκδραμόντες σὺν τοῖς ξίφεσι γυμνοῖς ἐνεπιτυγγές τὸν τά μηχανήματα ὅθοντας, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἔδρων, οὐχ ἦσσω δ' ἀντέπασχον, μέχρι τῷ φιλοπόνῳ καὶ ταλαιπώρῳ τὰ Ρωμαίοιν ὑπανίστατο. καὶ μεταβολῆς γενομένης οἱ τε ἐπὶ τῶν τειχῶν ἐκαμμὸν ἦδη, καὶ οἱ κλίμακες αὐτοίς προσεπέλαζον. οἱ δὲ ξιφήρεις τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἐστὶ τὰς πύλας ἐσέτρεχον, καὶ ἀποκλείσαντες αὐτὰς ἀνεπῆδων ἐπὶ τὰ τείχη. καὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους αὖθις ἦν ὁ πόνος πολὺς τε καὶ χαλεπός, ἐς οὐ Σκιπίων ὁ στρατηγὸς πάντη περιβεβληκὼς τε καὶ βοῶν καὶ παγακαλὼν εἶδε περὶ μεσημβρίαν, ἣ τὸ βραχὺ τείχος ἦν καὶ τὸ ἔλος προσεκλυζε, τὴν θύλασσαν ὑποχωροῦσαν ἀμπωτίς γὰρ ἐφήμερος ἔστιν. καὶ οἱ κλύδων ἐπῆσε μὲν ἐς μαστοὺς, ὑπεχώρει δὲ ἐς μέσας κημῆς. ὅπερ ὁ Σκιπίων τότε ἱδὼν, καὶ περὶ τῆς φύσεως αὐτοῦ πυθόμενος, ὡς ἔχοι τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς ἡμέρας, πρὶν ἐπανελθεῖν τὸ πελάγος, ἐθεὶ πάντη βοῶν, „νῦν ὁ καιρός, ὁ ἄνδρες, νῦν ὁ σύμμαχός μοι θεῶς ἀφίκεται. πρόσυπε τῷ μέρει τῶδε τοῖς τείχοις. ἡ θάλασσα ἦμι ὑποκεχώρηκεν, φέρετε τὰς κλίμακας, ἐγὼ δ' ἤργησομαι.”
machines, stones, darts, and catapults, and made active preparations. There was shouting and cheering on both sides, and neither was wanting in dash and courage. Stones, darts, and javelins filled the air, some thrown by hand, some from machines, and some from slings; and every other available resource and means of attack was eagerly employed.

21. Scipio suffered severely. The 10,000 Carthaginians who were at the gates made sallies with drawn swords, and fell upon those who were working the engines. Although they did much damage, they suffered in their turn no less, until finally the perseverance and endurance of the Romans began to prevail. Then the fortune of the day turned, and those who were on the walls began to be distressed, and the ladders were put in place against them. Then the Carthaginian swordsmen ran back through the gates, closed them, and mounted the walls. This gave new and severe trouble to the Romans, until Scipio the general, who was encouraging and cheering on his men in every quarter of the field, noticed the sea retiring on the southern side, where the wall was low and washed by the lagoon. That was the daily ebb tide, for at one time of day the waves were up to one's breast; at another they were not knee high. When Scipio observed this, after ascertaining the nature of the tidal movement and that it would be low water for the rest of the day, he darted hither and thither, exclaiming: “Now, soldiers, now is our chance. Now the deity comes to my aid. Attack that part of the wall where the sea has made way for us. Bring the ladders. I will lead you.”
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CAP. IV

22. Καὶ πρώτος ἀρπάσας τινὰ τῶν κλιμάκων μετέφερε τε καὶ ἀνέβαινεν, οὖπο τινὸς ἀναβάντος ἄλλου, μέχρι περισχόντες αὐτὸν οἷ ὑπασπίσται καὶ ἡ ἄλλη στρατιὰ τόνδε μὲν ἐπέσχον, αὐτοὶ δὲ πολλὰς ὡμοὶ κλίμακας προσετίθεσαν τε καὶ ἀνεπήδων. Βοήσε δὲ καὶ ὁρμὴς ἐκατέρωθεν γενομένης, καὶ ποικίλων ἔργων καὶ παθῶν, ἑκράτησαν ὡμοὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, καὶ πύργων τινῶν ἐπέβησαν ὀλόγων, οἷς ὁ Σκιτίων σαλπικτάς καὶ βυκανιστὰς ἐπιστήμονας ἐξοτρύνειν ἐκέλευσε καὶ θορυβεῖν ὡς τῆς πόλεως εἰλημμένης ἤδη. ἔτεροι τε περιθέουντες ὡμοῖοι διετάρασσον. καὶ καθαλόμενοι τινὲς ἀνέφξαν τῷ Σκιτίων τὰς πύλας. οὗ ἔσπερialized μετὰ τῆς στρατιᾶς δρόμῳ. καὶ τῶν ἔνδον οἱ μὲν ἐς τὰς οἰκίας ἀπεδίδρασκον, οὗ δὲ Μάγων τοὺς μυρίους ἐς τὴν ἄγορὰν συνεκάλει. ταχύ δὲ καὶ τούτων κατακοπέντων, ἐς τὴν ἀκραν σὺν ὀλόγοις ἀνεγίορε. τοῦ δὲ Σκιτίων καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ἀκραν εὐθὺς ἐπιόντος, οὐδὲν ἐτὶ δρᾶν σὺν ἡττημένοις τε καὶ κατεπτηχόσιν ἐχὼν ἐνεχείρισεν ἑαυτὸν τῷ Σκιτίῳ.

23. Ὁ δὲ τόλμη καὶ τύχῃ πόλιν εὐδαίμονα καὶ δυνατὴν ἐλών ἡμέρα μιᾷ, τετάρτῃ τῆς ἐπὶ αὐτὴν ἀφίξεως, ἐπὶ ῶρτο μεγάλως, καὶ μᾶλλον ἔδοκε κατὰ θέου ἐκαστα ὁδὸν, αὐτὸς τε σὺντες ἐφρόνει καὶ σὺντος ἑλογοποίει καὶ τότε καὶ ἐς τὸν ἐπείτα βίον, ἀρξάμενος ἐς ἐκείνου. πολλάκις γοῦν ἐς τῷ Καπιτόλιον ἐσήκει μόνος, καὶ τὰς θύρας ἐπέκλεισεν ὃσπερ τι παρά τοῦ θεοῦ μανθάνων. καὶ νῦν ἔτι τὴν εἰκόνα τῆς Σκιτίωνος ἐν ταῖς πομπαῖς μόνου

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22. He was the first to seize a ladder and carry it into the lagoon, and he began to mount where nobody else had yet attempted to do so. But his armour-bearers and other soldiers surrounded him and held him back, while they brought a great number of ladders together, planted them against the wall, and themselves began to mount. Amid shouts and clamour on all sides, giving and receiving blows, the Romans finally prevailed and succeeded in occupying some of the towers, where Scipio placed trumpeters and buglers, and ordered them to sound a rousing blast as though the city were already taken. This brought others to their assistance and created consternation among the enemy. Thereupon some of the Romans jumped down and opened the gates to Scipio, who rushed in with his army. The inhabitants took refuge in their houses, but Mago drew up his 10,000 in the market-place. After most of these had been cut down, he quickly retreated with the remainder to the citadel, which Scipio immediately attacked. When Mago saw that he could do nothing with his beaten and cowering force, he surrendered.

23. Having taken this rich and powerful city by audacity and good fortune in one day (the fourth after his arrival), he was greatly elated and it seemed more than ever that he was divinely inspired in all his actions. He began to think so himself and to give it out to others, not only then, but all the rest of his life, from that time on. At all events, he frequently went into the Capitol alone and closed the doors as though he were receiving counsel from the god. Even now in public processions they bring the image of Scipio alone out of
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CAP. προφέρουσιν ἐκ τοῦ Καπιτώλιου, τῶν δ' ἄλλων ἔξω ἀγοράς φέρονται. τότε δ' εἰρημικὸν ὁμοῦ καὶ πολεμικὸν ταμιεῖον παραλαβόν, ὥσπερ τα πολλὰ ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ βέλη καὶ μηχανήματα καὶ νεωσόκιους καὶ ναῦς μακρὰς τρεῖς καὶ τριάκοντα, καὶ σῖτον καὶ ἀγορὰν ποικίλην, καὶ ἐλέφαντα καὶ χρυσὸν καὶ ἀργυρόν, τῶν μὲν ἐν σκεύεσι πεποιημένον, τῶν δὲ ἐπίσημον, τῶν δὲ ἀσήμαντον, ὁμηρὰ τῇ Ἰβηρίᾳ καὶ αἰχμάλωτα, καὶ ὅσα Ῥωμαίων αὐτῶν προεἶλητο, ἐθνε τῆς ἐπιστόμης καὶ ἔθριαμβευε, καὶ τήν στρατιὰν ἐπήνευ, καὶ τῇ πόλει μετὰ τῆς στρατιάς ἐξηγηγόρει, τῶν τε Σκιπιώνων αὐτοὺς ἀναμνήσας ἀπέλυε τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἐς τὰ ἰδία, θεραπεύων τὰς πόλεις. ἀριστεία δ' ἐδίδου τῷ μὲν ἐς τὸ τείχος ἀναβάντα πρῶτον μέγιστα, τῷ δ' ἐξής τὰ ἡμίσεια τούτων, τῷ δὲ τρίτῳ τὰ τρίτα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις κατὰ λόγον. τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ ἐς Ρώμην ἐπεμψε ἐπὶ τῶν εἰλημμένων νεῶν, ὅσα χρυσὸς ἢ ἄργυρος ἢν ἢ ἐλέφας. ἦ μὲν δὴ πόλις ἐθνεν ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἠμέρας ὡς τῆς πατρίδος ἐντυπαζόμενης ἐκ πόνου πολλῶν αὐτῶς ἀνακυπτούσης, ἡ δὲ Ἰβηρία καὶ οἱ ἐν αὐτῇ Φοίνικες κατεπεπλήγησαν τῷ μεγέθει καὶ τάχει τοῦ τολμήματος.

V

CAP. 24. ὃ δὲ φρουρὰν μὲν Καρχηδώνι ἐπέστησε, καὶ τὸ τείχος ἐκέλευσε τὸ παρὰ τὴν ἁμποτίν ἐς ὕψος ἐγείρατο. τὴν δ' ἄλλην Ἰβηρίαν αὐτὸς τε ἐπιδῶ καὶ τοὺς φίλους ἐς ἔκαστα περιπέμπων ὑπῆγετο, καὶ τὰλα τὰ ἀντέχοντα ἐβιάζετο.

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the Capitol, all the others being taken from the Forum. In the captured city he obtained great stores of goods, useful in peace and war, many arms, darts, engines, dockyards containing thirty-three war-ships, corn, and provisions of various kinds, ivory, gold, and silver, some in the form of plate, some coined and some uncoined, also Spanish hostages and prisoners, and everything that had previously been captured from the Romans themselves. On the following day he sacrificed to the gods; celebrated the victory, praised the soldiers for their bravery, and after his words to his army made a speech to the townspeople in which he admonished them not to forget the name of the Scipios. He dismissed all the prisoners to their homes in order to conciliate the towns. He gave rewards to his soldiers for bravery, the largest to the one who first scaled the wall, half as much to the next, one-third as much to the next, and to the others according to their merit. The rest of the gold, silver, and ivory he sent to Rome in the captured ships. The city held a three days' thanksgiving, because after so many trials their ancestral good fortune was showing itself once more. All Spain, and the Carthaginians who were there, were astounded at the magnitude and suddenness of this exploit.

24. Scipio placed a garrison in New Carthage and ordered that the wall should be raised to the proper height, where the ebb-tide left it bare. He then moved against the rest of Spain, sending friends to conciliate where he could, and subduing by force the places which still held out. There were two
Καρχηδονίων δ' οἱ στρατηγοὶ δύο ὄντε λοιπῶ καὶ δύο Ἀσδρούβα, ὁ μὲν τοῦ Ἀμίλχαρος πορρωτάτω παρὰ Κελτίβηρσιν ἐξενολόγη, ὁ δὲ τοῦ Γέσκωνος ἐσμὲν τὰς πόλεις τὰς ἔτει βεβαίους περιέπεμπεν, ἄξιων Καρχηδονίων ἐμμένειν ὃς στρατιὰς ἔλευσο-μένης αὐτικά ἀπέφρου τὸ πλῆθος, Μάγωνα δ' ἐπεραν ἐς τὰ πλησίον περιέπεμπε ξενολογεῖν ὁπόθεν δυνηθεὶς, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐς τὴν Λέρσα γῆν τῶν ἀφισταμένων ἐνέβαλε, καὶ τινὰ αὐτῶν πόλιν ἔμελλε πολυρκήσειν. ἐπιφανείτος δὲ αὐτῷ τοῦ Σκιπίωνος ἐς Βατύκην ὑπεχώρει, καὶ πρὸ τῆς πόλεως ἐστρατοπέδευσεν ἐνθά τῆς ἐπιούσις εὐθὺς ἄσσατο, καὶ τὸν χάρακα αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν Βατύκην ἔλαβεν ὁ Σκιπίων.

25. Ὅ δὲ τὴν στρατιὰν τὴν Καρχηδονίων τὴν ἔτι οὖσαν ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ συνέλεγεν ἐς Καρμώνην πόλιν, ὡς ὁμοί πάσιν ἀμυνούμενος τὸν Σκιπίωνα. καὶ αὐτῷ συνήλθον πολλοὶ μὲν Ἰβηρῶν, οὐς Μάγων ἤγε, πολλοὶ δὲ Νομάδων, δὲν ἰρχε Μασσανάσσης. καὶ τούτων ὁ μὲν Ἀσδρούβας μετὰ τῶν πεζῶν ὑπὸ χάρακα ἐστρατοπέδευεν, ὁ δὲ Μασσανάσσης καὶ ὁ Μάγων ἰππαρχοῦτες αὐτῷ προπυλίζοντο τοῦ στρατοπέδου. ὅτι δὲ ἔχουσιν αὐτοῖς ὁ Σκιπίων τοὺς ἱδίους ἱππεῖς ἐπιδιήρηε, καὶ Λαῖλων μὲν ἐπὶ Μάγωνα ἐπεμπεν, αὐτοῖς δ' ἐπὶ Μασ-σανασσην ἔτραπε. μέχρι μὲν οὖν τινὸς ἤν ἐν ἀγῶνι καὶ πόνῳ δυσχερεῖ, τῶν Νομάδων αὐτῶν ἀκουτιζόντων τε καὶ ὑποχροῦντων, εἰτ' αὐθίνες ἐπελαυνόντων ὡς δὲ παρῆγγελεν ὁ Σκιπίων ἀμεταστρεπτὶ διόκειν αὐτοὺς, τὰ δόρατα προ-βαλόντας, οὐκ ἔχοντες ἀναστροφήν οἱ Νομάδες κατέφυγον ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον. καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων
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Carthaginian generals still remaining, both named CHAP. Hasdrubal. One of these, the son of Hamilcar, was recruiting an army of mercenaries far away among the Celtiberians. The other, the son of Gisco, sent messengers to the towns that were still faithful, urging them to maintain their Carthaginian allegiance, because an army of countless numbers would soon come to their assistance. He sent another Mago into the neighbouring country to recruit mercenaries wherever he could, while he himself made an incursion into the territory of Lersa, which had revolted, intending to lay siege to some town there. On the approach of Scipio he retreated to Baetica and encamped before that city. On the following day he was at once defeated by Scipio, who captured his camp and Baetica also.

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

26. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐπέλευσεν αὐτὸν ἡ ἀγορά καὶ λιμὸς
ἡγητεῖ τοῦ στρατοῦ, ἀναζεύξατο οὖν εὐπρεπές
ἡγεῖτο εἶναι Σκιπίων. θυσάμενος δὲ, καὶ εὐθὺς
ἐπὶ ταῖς θυσίαις τὴν στρατιὰν ἐς ἐπήκουν ἐλάσας,
καὶ τὸ βλέμμα καὶ τὸ σχῆμα διαθεῖς πάλιν
ὡσπερ ἐνθουσ, ἐφὴ τὸ δαμόνιον ἤκειν τὸ σύνθες
αὐτῷ, καὶ καλεῖν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους. χρῆναι δὲ
θαρρεῖν θεῷ μᾶλλον ἡ πλήθει στρατοῦ καὶ γὰρ
τῶν πρὸτερον ἔργων κατὰ θεῶν, οὐ κατὰ πλήθος
κρατήσαι. ἔσ τε πίστιν τῶν λεγομένων τὰ ἱερὰ
παραφέρειν ἐς τὸ μέσον ἐκέλευε τοὺς μάντεις.
καὶ λέγων ὅρα τινὰς οἰνώνως πετομένους, οὐς μεθ' ὀρμῆς
καὶ βοῆς αὐτόθεν ἐπιστράφεις ἐδείκνυε τε,
καὶ ἔλεγεν ὅτι οἱ σύμβολα νῖκης οἱ θεοὺς καὶ τάδε
ἐπεμψαν. συνεκινεῖτο δὲ πρὸς αὐτὰ ἐνθέως ὀρῶν
καὶ βοῶν. καὶ ἡ στρατιὰ πᾶσα ἐς τὰς ἐκείνου
φαντασίας, περιφερομένου δεύρῳ κάκεισε, συνεπε-
στρέφετο, καὶ πάντες ὃς ἐπὶ νίκην ἐτοιμον
ηρεθίζοντο. οὐ δ' ἐπεὶ πᾶν εἴχευ ὅσον τι καὶ
ἐβούλετο, οὐκ ἀνέθετο, οὐδ' εἶσαε τὴν ὀρμήν
ἐκλυθῆναι, ἀλλ' ὡς ἦτο ὁν θεόληγτος, ἐφή δὲν ἔπι
τοίσδε τοῖς σημείοις εὐθὺς ἀγωνίσασθαι. καὶ
φαγόντας ἐκέλευεν ὀπλίσασθαι, καὶ ἐπήρευεν ἀδο-
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in a strong position, which he had chosen, about ten stades from the enemy. The total strength of the enemy was 70,000 foot, 5,000 horse, and thirty-six elephants. That of Scipio was not one-third of the number, and that was why he hesitated for some time, and did not offer battle, but contented himself with skirmishing.

26. When his supplies began to fail and hunger attacked his army, still Scipio considered that it would be base to retreat. Accordingly he sacrificed, and bringing the soldiers to an audience immediately after the sacrifice, and putting on again the look and aspect of one inspired, he said that the customary divine sign had appeared to him and conjured him to attack the enemy. It was better, he said, to trust in heaven than in the size of his army, because his former victories were gained by divine favour rather than by numerical strength. In order to inspire confidence in his words he commanded the priests to bring the entrails into the assembly. While he was speaking he saw some birds flying overhead. Turning suddenly round with a quick movement and a loud cry, he pointed them out and exclaimed that this was another sign of victory which the gods had sent him. He followed their movement, gazing at them and crying out like one inspired. The whole army, as it saw him turning hither and thither, imitated his actions, and all were fired with the idea of certain victory. When he had everything as he wished, he did not hesitate, nor permit their ardour to cool, but still as one inspired exclaimed: "After these signs we must fight at once." When they had taken their food he ordered them to arm themselves, and led
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CAP. κήτως τοῖς πολεμίωσις, τοὺς μὲν ἰππέας Σιλανῶ, τοὺς δὲ πεζοὺς Λαιλίω καὶ Μαρκίω παραδοῦσι. 27. Ἀσδρούβας δὲ καὶ Μάγων καὶ Μασσανάσης, ἑπιάντοις αὐτοῖς τοῦ Σκιπίωνος ἀφὼν σταδίων ὄντων ἐν μέσῳ δέκα μόνων, ἀσιτον οὐσαν ἐτί τὴν στρατιάν ἀπλιζοῦν μετὰ σπουδῆς καὶ θορύβων καὶ βοής. γενομένης δ' ὁμοῦ πεζομαχίας τε καὶ ἰππομαχίας, οἱ μὲν ἰππεῖς οἱ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐκράτουν ὑπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς μηχανῆς, ἀμεταστρεπτέ τους Νομάδας διόκοντες, ὑποχωρεῖν εἰθυσμένους καὶ ὑπελαύνειν οίς τὰ ἀκόντια διὰ τὴν ἐγκυντήτα οὐδὲν ἦν ἐτί χρῆσιμα· οἱ πεζοὶ δ' ἐπονοοῦντο ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν Διβῶν, καὶ ἤττώντο δὴ ὅλης ἡμέρας· οὐδὲ τοῦ Σκιπίωνος αὐτοῦς ἐπιθέοντος τε καὶ παρακαλοῦντος μετετίθεντο, μέχρι τὸν ἰπποῦν Σκιπίων τῷ παϊδὶ παραδοῦσι, καὶ παρά τινος ἀσπίδα λαβὼν, ἐξέδραμεν ὡς εἰχε μόνος ἐσ τὸ μεταίχμιον, κεκραγό, ἑπικουρεῖτο, δ' Ῥωμαιοὶ, κινδυνεύοντι ὑμῶν τῷ Σκιπίωνι." τότε γὰρ οἱ μὲν ἐγγὺς ὁρῶντες οἱ κινδυνόν φέρεται, οἱ δὲ πόρρω πυνθανόμενοι, καὶ πάντες ὀμοίως αἰδούμενοι τε καὶ περὶ τῷ στρατηγῷ δεδομένης, ἐσέδραμεν ὡς τοὺς πολεμίους μετ' ἀλαλαγμοῦ καὶ βίας. ἢν οὐκ ἐνεγκόντες οἱ Δίβους ἐνέδωκαν, ἐπιλειποῦσαν τής αὐτοῦ ἀμα τῆς δυνάμεως ὑπὸ τῆς ἀσιτίας περὶ ἔσπεραν καὶ πολὺς αὐτῶν δ' ὄλιγον τότε φόνος ἐγίγνετο. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τέλος ἦν Σκιπίων τῆς περὶ Καρμώνης μάχης, ἐπισφαλοῦς ἐς πολὺ γενομένης, ἀπεθανοῦν δ' ἐν αὐτῇ Ῥωμαιῶν μὲν ἐκτακόσιοι, τῶν δὲ πολεμίων μύριοι καὶ πεντακισχίλιοι.

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

27. When Scipio made this sudden advance against them, the two armies being only separated by ten stades, Hasdrubal, Mago, and Masinissa quickly armed their men amid confusion and tumult, although they had not yet taken their food. Battle being joined with both cavalry and infantry, the Roman horse prevailed over the enemy by the same tactics as before, by giving no respite to the Numidians (who were accustomed to retreat and advance by turns), thus making their darts of no effect by reason of their nearness. The infantry, however, were severely pressed by the great numbers of the Africans and were worsted by them all day long, nor could Scipio stem the tide of battle, although he was everywhere cheering them on. Finally, giving his horse in charge of a boy, and snatching a shield from a soldier, he dashed alone into the space between the two armies, shouting: "Romans, rescue your Scipio in his peril." Then, when those who were near saw, and those who were distant heard, what danger he was in, all in like manner were moved by a sense of shame and fear for their general's safety, and with a cheer charged furiously upon the enemy. The Africans, unable to resist this charge, gave way, as their strength was failing for lack of food, of which they had had none all day. Then, for a short space of time, there was a terrific slaughter. Such was the result to Scipio of the battle of Carmone, although it had been for a long time doubtful. The Roman loss was 800; that of the enemy 15,000.
CAP. 28. Μετά δὲ τούθ' οἱ μὲν Δίβυες ὑπεχώρουν ἀεὶ μετὰ σπουδῆς, ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων αὐτοῖς ἐπετεί, ἐβλάπτον τι καὶ λυπῶν ὁσάκις καταλάβοι. ὡς δ' οἱ μὲν ὄχυρον τι χωρίον προῦλαβον, ἔνθα καὶ ὑδωρ ἦν ἀφθόνοι καὶ ἀγορά, καὶ οὔδεν ἄλλο ἐποικοτεινόν αὐτοὺς ἔδει, Σκιπίωνα δ' ἦπειγον ἐτέρας κρεῖαι, Σιλανὸν μὲν ἄπελπυ τούσδε πολιορκεῖν, αὐτοῦ δ' ἐπιής τὴν ἄλλην Ἰβηρίαν καὶ ὑπήγητο. Διβύων δὲ τῶν ὑπὸ Σιλανοῦ πολιορκουμένων αὐθινὶς ὑποχωροῦντων, ἔως ἐπὶ τὸν πορθμὸν ἀφικόμενοι ἐς Γάδειρα ἐπέρασαν, οὐ Σιλανὸς, ὃσα δυνατῶν ἦν βλάψας, ἀνεξέχγουν εἰς Καρχηδόνα πρὸς Σκιπίωνα. Ἀσδρουβαῖος δὲ τὸν Ἀμίλχαρος, περὶ τὸν βόρειον ὁκεανόν στρατιῶν ἐς συνλέγοντα, ὅ ἀδελφὸς ᾽Αννίβας ἐκαλεῖ κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐσβαλεῖν. ὁ δὲ ἱνα λάθοι τοῦ Σκιπίωνα, παρὰ τὸν βόρειον ὁκεανὸν τὴν Πυρῆνην ἐς Γαλάτας ὑπερέβαινε, μεθ' ὧν ἐξενολογήκει Κελτιβήρων. καὶ ὁ μὲν ᾽Ασδρουβαῖος ὅδε ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, τῶν Ἰταλῶν ἀγοροῦντων, ἦπείγετο.

VI

CAP. 29. Λεύκιος δ' ἀπὸ Ῥώμης ἐπανίον ἐφραζέ τῷ Σκιπίωνι ὅτι αὐτὸν οἷ ἐν ἀστεῖ Ῥωμαίοι διανοοῦνται στρατηγῶν ἐς Διβύνην ἀποστέλλειν. ὁ δὲ τούδε αὐτοῦ μάλιστα ἐπιθυμῶν ἐκ πολλοῦ, καὶ ἐλπίζων ὅδε ἐσευθῆ, Δαίλιον ἐπὶ νεῶν πέντε προύπεμπεν ἐς Διβύνην πρὸς τὸν δυνάστην Σύφακα, δωρεάς τε φέροντα, καὶ τῶν Σκιπίῶνων ὑπόμνησιν τῆς ἐς

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28. After this engagement the enemy retreated with all speed, and Scipio followed, dealing blows and doing damage whenever he could overtake them. But when they had occupied a stronghold, where there was plenty of food and water, and where nothing could be done but lay siege to them, Scipio was called away on other business. He left Silanus to carry on the siege while he himself went into other parts of Spain and subdued them. The Africans who were besieged by Silanus deserted their position and retreated again until they came to the straits and passed on to Gades. Silanus, having done them all the harm he could, broke camp and rejoined Scipio at New Carthage. In the meantime Hasdrubal, the son of Hamilcar, who was still collecting troops along the Northern ocean, was called by his brother Hannibal to march in all haste to Italy. In order to deceive Scipio he moved along the northern coast, and passed over the Pyrenees into Gaul with the Celtiberian mercenaries whom he had enlisted. In this way he was hastening into Italy without the knowledge of the Italians.

VI

29. Now Lucius [his brother], having returned from Rome, told Scipio that the Romans were thinking of sending the latter as general to Africa. Scipio had strongly desired this for some time and hoped that events might take this turn. Accordingly he sent Laelius with five ships to Africa on a mission to King Syphax, to make presents to him and remind him of the friendship between himself
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CAP. αὐτὸν Σύφακα φίλιας, καὶ δέσιν Ἡρωμαίοις, ἀν ἔπιοσι, συλλαμβάνειν. ὁ δὲ υπεσχετό τε ποιήσειν, καὶ τὰ δώρα ἔλαβε καὶ ἀντέπεμψεν ἐτέρα. αἰσθό-
μενοι δὲ τούτων οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι, καὶ αὐτοὶ περὶ συμμαχίας ἐπροσβείνουσι παρὰ τὸν Σύφακα. καὶ ὁ Ἱκυπτῖον πυνθανόμενος τε, καὶ μέγα ποιούμενος ἐπὶ Καρχηδόνιοις προσλαβεῖν καὶ βεβαιωθάσαθαι Σύφακα, ἤ̃ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπὶ νεῶν δύο σὺν τῷ Δαιλίῳ.

30. Καὶ αὐτῷ καταγομένῳ οἱ πρόσβεις τῶν Καρχηδόνιων, ἐτὶ ὄντες παρὰ τῷ Σύφακι, ναυσίν αἷς εἶχον μακραῖς ἐπανήγουτο, λαθόντες τὸν Σύφακα. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἰστὶν χρῶμενος παρε-
πλευσεν αὐτούς ἄδεως καὶ κατήχη, ὁ δὲ Σύφαξ ἔζευξεν ἀμφοτέρους, καὶ τῷ Ἱκυπτίῳνυν συνθέμενος ἴδια καὶ πίστεις παρασχὼν ἀπέπεμπε, καὶ τοὺς Καρχηδόνιους ἐφεδρέωντας αὕθις αὐτῷ κατείχεν, ἔως ἐν βεβαίῳ τῆς θαλάσσης γένοιτο ὁ Ἱκυπτῖον. τὰ δὲ τὸν Σύφακος παρὰ μέν δὴ τοσοῦτον ἦλθε καὶ νάυς ὁ Ἱκυπτῖον, καταγομένως τε καὶ πλέων· λέγεται δ' ἐν Σύφακος ἐστιώμενος συγκατακλιθήναι τῷ Ἱσδρούβα, καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Ἱσδρούβας περὶ πολλῶν ἐρόμενος κατα-
πλαγήναι τῆς σεμνότητος, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς φίλους ἐπείν ὅτι μὴ μόνον πολεμῶν οὕτος ὁ ἀνήρ ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐστιώμενος φοβερὸς εἶν.

31. Τῷ δ' αὐτῷ χρόνῳ Μάγωνί τινες Κελτι-
βήρων καὶ Ἰβήρων ἔτι ἐμισθοφόρουν, δὴν αἱ πόλεις ἦσσ' Ἡρωμαίοις μετετέθειντο. καὶ ὁ Μάρκιος αὐτός ἐπιθέμενος χιλίους μὲν καὶ πεντακοσίους διέφθειρεν, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ διέφυγον αὐτὸν ἐς τὰς πόλεις. ἐτέρους δὲ ἐπτακοσίους ἰστήπας καὶ πεζοὺς ἐξακισχίλιους, Ἀνωνος αὐτῶν ἤγομμένου, 184
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and the Scipios, and to ask him to join the Romans if they should make an expedition to Africa. He promised to do so, accepted the presents, and sent others in return. When the Carthaginians discovered this they also sent envoys to Syphax to seek his alliance. Scipio heard of this, and judging that it was a matter of importance to win and confirm the alliance of Syphax against the Carthaginians, he took Laelius and went over to Africa with two ships, to see Syphax in person.

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

31. At this time certain of the Celtiberians and Spaniards from the towns which had gone over to the Romans, were still serving with Mago as mercenaries. Marcius set upon them, slew 1500, and scattered the rest of them among their towns. He hemmed in 700 horse and 6000 foot of the same force, of whom Hanno was in command, on a hill. When
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CAP. συνήθλασεν ἐς λόφου, δθεν ἀπορούντες ἀπάντων ἐπρεσβεύνω τοῖς τῶν Μάρκιον περὶ σπονδῶν. οὔ δ' ἐκέλευεν αὐτοὺς Ἄννωνα καὶ τοὺς αὐτομόλους ἐκδόντας αὐτῷ, τότε πρεσβεύειν. οἱ μὲν δ' καὶ τὸν Ἄννωνα στρατηγὸν ὅντα σφῶν συναρπάσαντες, ἔτι τῶν λεγομένων ἀκροάμενον, καὶ τοὺς αὐτομόλους παρέδοσαν· οὔ δ' Μάρκιος ἦτει καὶ τὰ αἰχμάλωτα. λαβὼν δὲ καὶ ταῦτα, ἐκέλευεν αὐτοὺς τακτὸν ὑργύριον κατενεγκείν ἀπαντας ἐς τι τοῦ πεδίου χωρίου· οὐ γὰρ ἁμόξειν τὰ ὑπερλότερα τοῖς παρακαλοῦσιν. καταβάντων δὲ ἐς τὸ πεδίον ἔφη, "ἄξια μὲν θανάτων δεδρίκατε, οἱ τὰς πατρίδας ἔχοντες ύφ' ἡμᾶν, ἐβλεπε μετὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐπτ' αὐτὰς στρατεύειν δίδωμι δ' ἡμῖν, τὰ ὅπλα καταθείσιν, ἀπαθέσιν ἀπιέναι." ἀγανακτησάντων δ' εὐθὺς ὁμοί πάντων, καὶ ἀνακραγόντων οὐκ ἀποθήσεσθαι τὰ ὅπλα, μάχη γίγνεται καρπερᾶ. καὶ τὸ μὲν ἡμῖν τῶν Κελτιβήρων, πολλὰ δρασάντων, κατεκόπη, τὸ δ' ἡμῖν πρὸς Μάγωνα διεσώθη. οὔ δ' ἄρτι μὲν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ Ἄννωνος κατεπτεπλεύκεις ναυσὶν ἐξήκοντα μακραῖς, μαθῶν δὲ τὴν Ἀννωνος συμφορὰν ἐς Γάδειρα διέπλει, καὶ λιμῷ κακοπαθὸν περιεσκόπη τὸ μέλλον.

32. Καὶ Μάγων μὲν ἐπὶ ἀργίας ἤν, Σιλανὸς δ' ἀπέσταλτο μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ Σκιπίωνος Κάστακα πόλιν προσαγαγόσθαι, πολεμικῶς δ' αὐτῷ τῶν Καστακαίων ἐχόντων παρεστρατοπέδευεν, καὶ τοῦτο ἐμήνυε τῷ Σκιπίωνι. οὔ δ' προπέμφη τινὰ παρασκευὴν πολιορκίας εὑρετον· καὶ παροδεύων ἐνέθηλεν ἐς Ἰλυργίαν πόλιν, ἢ 'Ρωμαίους μὲν ἦν ὁπε κατὰ τῶν πρῶτον Σκιπίωνα, ἀναφερθέντος 86.
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they were reduced to extremities by hunger they sent messengers to Marcius to obtain terms. He told them first to surrender Hanno and the deserters, and then he would treat. Accordingly they seized Hanno, although he was their general and was listening to the conversation, and they delivered up the deserters. Then Marcius demanded the prisoners also. When he had received these he ordered all of them to bring a specified sum of money down to a certain point in the plain, because the high ground was not a suitable place for suppliants. When they had come down to the plain, he said: "You deserve to be put to death for adhering to the enemy and waging war against us after your countries have subjected themselves to us. Nevertheless, if you will lay down your arms, I will allow you to go unpunished." At this they were very angry and exclaimed with one voice that they would not lay down their arms. A severe engagement ensued, in which about half of the Celtiberians fell, after a stubborn resistance, the other half escaping to Mago, who had arrived a little before at the camp of Hanno with sixty war-ships. When he learned of Hanno's disaster he sailed to Gades and awaited the turn of events, meanwhile suffering from want of provisions.

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

CAP. VI δ' ἐκείνου κρύφα μετετέθειτο, καὶ στρατιάν ὑπο- 
δεξαμένη Ὁρμαίων ὡς ἐτί φίλη, Καρχηδονίως 
ἐξεδέδωκε. ὃν χάριν ὁ Σκιπίων σὺν ὅργῃ τέσ- 
σαρσιν ὃραις ἐξείλεν αὐτήν, τρωθεὶς μὲν τὸν 
αὐχένα, τῆς δὲ μάχης οὐκ ἀνασχῶν ἔως ἔκράτησεν. 
καὶ ἡ στρατιὰ δὲ αὐτὸν, οὐδενός ἐπικελεύσατος, 
ὑπεριδοῦσα τῆς ἀρπαγῆς, ἐκτεινοῦν ὄμαλῶς καὶ 
παιδία καὶ γυναῖκας, μέχρι καὶ τὴν πόλιν αὐτοῖς 
ἐπικατέσκαψαν. ἀφικόμενος δ' ἐς τὴν Κάστακα 
ὁ Σκιπίων τὸν μὲν στρατὸν ἐς τρία διείλε καὶ τὴν 
πόλιν ἐφρούρει, μάχης δὲ οὐκ ἤρχε, διδοὺς εἴτ 
τοῖς Καστακαίοις μεταγύμνασι. καὶ γὰρ ἦκουν 
αὐτοὺς οὕτω φρονεῖν. οἱ δὲ τοῖς φρουροῦσι σφᾶς 
ἐμποδὸν οὐσιν ἐπιθέμενοι καὶ κρατήσαντες, ἐνε- 
χείρισαν τὴν πόλιν τῷ Σκιπίων. καὶ τοίοσο 
μὲν φρουρὰν ὁ Σκιπίων ἐπέστησε, καὶ τὴν πόλιν 
ἐπέτρεψεν ἐνὶ τῶν Καστακαίων ἐπὶ δόξης ὑπὶ 
ἀγαθῆς. αὐτὸς δ' ἐς Καρχηδόνα ἀνεξεύγυμνε, 
Σιλανὸν καὶ Μάρκιον περιπεμψας ἐπὶ τὸν πορ- 
θμόν, δηοῦν ὡς δύναιντο.

33. Ἀσταπὰ δ' ἦν πόλις Καρχηδονίως ἀεὶ 
ἐμμείνασα ὄμαλῶς· οὐ τότε τοῦ Μαρκίου σφᾶς 
περικαθημένου, συγγυγνώσκοντος ὡς Ὁρμαίοι 
λαβόντες αὐτοὺς ἀνδραποδιοῦνται, τὴν περιουσίαν 
σφῶν ἐς τὴν ἄγοραν συνήνεγκαν, καὶ ξύλα περι- 
θέντες αὐτῇ τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὰ γύναια ἐπέβησαν 
ἐπὶ τὴν ἔλη. πεντήκοντα δὲ σφῶν ὁρκωσαν 
τοὺς ἀρίστους, ὅταν ἡ πόλις ἀλισκηται, τὰ γύναια
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at his death had changed sides secretly, and having given shelter to a Roman army with the appearance of continued friendship, had delivered them up to the Carthaginians. To avenge this crime Scipio in his indignation took the place in four hours, and, although wounded in the neck, did not desist from the fight until he had conquered. The soldiers, for his sake, in their fury even forgot to plunder the town, but slew the whole population, including women and children, although nobody gave them any orders to do so, and did not desist until the whole place was razed to the ground. When he arrived at Castax, Scipio divided his army into three parts and invested the city. He did not press the siege, however, but gave the inhabitants time to repent, having heard that they were so disposed. The latter, having slain those of the garrison who objected and put down all opposition, surrendered the place to Scipio, who stationed a new garrison there and placed the town under the government of one of its own citizens, a man of high reputation. He then returned to New Carthage, and sent Silanus and Marcius to the straits to devastate the country as much as they could.

33. There was a town named Astapa which had been always and wholly of the Carthaginian party. Marcius laid siege to it, and the inhabitants foresaw that, if they were captured by the Romans, they would be reduced to slavery. Accordingly they brought all their valuables into the market-place, piled wood around them, and put their wives and children on the heap. They made fifty of their principal men take an oath that whenever they should see that the city must fall, they would kill
APPRIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK VI

CAP. VI καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἀνελείν καὶ τὸ πῦρ ἁψαί καὶ ἑαυτοὺς ἐπικατασφάξαι. οἱ μὲν δὲ μάρτυρας τῶν διερχομένων τοὺς θεοὺς, ἐξεδραμοῦν ἐπὶ τὸν Μάρκιον ὅν υφοφόρωμεν οὐδὲν, ὅθεν αὐτοῦ τους ψίλοις καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας ἐτρέψαντο. ὑπολισαμένης δὲ τῆς φάλαγγος, τὰ μὲν τῶν Ἀσταπαίων ἢν ἄριστα, ἐξ ἀπογνώσεως μαχομένων, Ὁρμαιοὶ δ' ὄμως ἐκράτουν αὐτῶν διὰ τὸ πλῆθος· οὐ γὰρ δὴ τῇ γε ἀρετῇ χείρος ἦσαν οἱ Ἀσταπαῖοι. πεσόντων δὲ ἀπάντων, οἱ πεντήκοντα τὰς γυναίκας καὶ τὰ παιδία κατέσφαξαν, καὶ τὸ πῦρ ἐγείραντες ἐμφύτως ἐπέρριψαν, ἀκριβῇ τοῖς πολέμιοι τὴν νίκην ἐργασάμενοι. ο ὅ Μάρκιος τὴν ἀρετὴν τῶν Ἀσταπαίων καταπλαγεὶς οὐκ ἐνύβρισεν ἐς τὰ οἰκόπεδα αὐτῶν.

VII

CAP. VII 34. Μετὰ δὲ τούθ', ὁ μὲν Σκιπίων ἐς ἀρρωστίαν ἐνέπεσε, καὶ ὁ Μάρκιος αὐτῷ διώκει τὸ στρατόπεδον· οὐκ δὲ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὑπ' ἀσωτίας ἀναλώκεσαν τὰ πεπορισμένα, ἤγουμένοι τῶν μὲν τῶν ὄντων ἀξίων νῦρηνθαὶ παρὰ τὸ μηδὲν ἔχειν, σφετερίζοντες δ' αὐτῶν τὰ ἔργα καὶ τὴν δόξαν Σκιπίωνα, ἀφίστατο ἀπὸ τοῦ Μαρκίου καὶ ἐφ' ἐαυτῶν ἐστρατοπέδευσον. ἐκ τε τῶν φρονίμων αὐτοῖς πολλοὶ συνέτρεξον, καὶ παρὰ Μάγωνος τοῖς ἀργύριοι φέροντες ἐπείδουν αὐτοὺς ἐς τὸν Μάγωνα μεταθέσθαι. οἱ δ' ὅ τὸ μὲν ἀργύριον ἔλαβον, στρατηγοὺς δ' ἀπὸ σφῶν ἐλώμενοι καὶ

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the women and children, set fire to the pile, and slay themselves thereon. Then calling the gods to witness what they had done, they sallied out against Marcius, who did not anticipate anything of the kind. For this reason they easily repulsed his light-armed troops and cavalry. When they became engaged with the legionaries, they still had the best of it, because they fought with desperation. But the Romans eventually overpowered them by sheer numbers, for the Astapians certainly were not inferior to them in bravery. When they had all fallen, the fifty who remained behind slew the women and children, kindled the fire, and flung themselves on it, thus leaving the enemy a barren victory. Marcius, in admiration of the bravery of the Astapians, refrained from wantonly injuring their houses.

VII

34. After this Scipio fell sick, and the command of the army devolved on Marcius. Some of the soldiers, who had squandered their means in riotous living, and who thought that because they had nothing they had found no fit compensation for their toils, but that Scipio was appropriating all the glory of their deeds, seceded from Marcius and went off and encamped by themselves. Many from the garrisons joined them. Messengers came to them from Mago, bringing money and inviting them to secede to him. They took the money, chose generals and centurions from their own number, made other arrangements to their liking, put themselves under
ταξιάρχους, καὶ τὰλλα διακοσμηθέντες, ἐφ’ ἐαυτῶν ἑτάσσοντο καὶ συνώμυνον ἄλληλοις. πυθόμενος δ’ ὁ Σκιπίων ἐπέστελλεν ἐν μέρει μὲν τοῖς ἀφεστηκόσιν ὅτι διὰ τὴν νόσον αὐτοῦς οὐκ ἀμείβατο τῶ, ἐν μέρει δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις, ἢν μεταπείθωσιν αὐτοὺς πλανωμένους, κοινῇ δ’ ἀπασιν ἐπιστολὴν ἄλλην ὡς ἢδη συνηλλαγμένους, ὅτι αὐτοὺς αὐτίκα ἀμείβεται. καὶ ἐκέλευεν εὐθὺς ἦκεν ἐπὶ σύτον ἐς Καρχηδόνα.

35. Ἀναγγειλομένως δὲ τούτων, οἱ μὲν ὑπώπτευοι, οἱ δὲ πιστεύειν ἦζον καὶ συνετήθευτο, καὶ πάντες ὁδεγοῦ ἐς τὴν Καρχηδόνα ὁμοὶ. προσεόντων δὲ αὐτῶν, ὁ Σκιπίων προσέταξε τοῖς συνοδεύσαι οἱ θεωρηταῖς ἐκαστον τῶν ἐξάρχων τινὰ τὴς στάσεως προσεταιρίσασθαι προσοίντα, καὶ ὡς ἄπτ’ εὔνοιας διορθοῦντα ὑποδέξασθαι τε καὶ δήσαι λαθόντα. προσέταξε δὲ καὶ τοῖς χιλιάρχοις τοὺς πιστοτάτους ἐκαστον ἀφανῶς ἁμα ἔφε ἀρνήτησις ἐχειν, καὶ τὰ εὕκαιρα τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐκ διαστημάτων καταλαβόντας, ἣν τις ἐπανύστηται, κατακεντεῖν καὶ κατακαίνειν αὐτίκα ἀνευ παραγγέλματος. αὐτὸς δ’ ἄρτι φανομένης ἡμέρας ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα ἐκομίζετο, καὶ τοὺς κήρυκας ἐς ἐκκλησίαν ἐπτρύνειν περιέπεμπεν. οἱ δὲ αἰφνιδίων μὲν αὐτοῖς τοῦ κηρύγματος γενομένου, αἰδούμενοι δὲ ἔτι νοσοῦντα τὸν στρατηγὸν σφῶν παρακρατεῖν, καὶ νομίζοντες ἐπὶ τὰς ἀμοιβὰς καλεῖσθαι, συνέ-
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Military discipline, and exchanged oaths with each other. When Scipio learned this, he sent word to the seceders separately that on account of his sickness he had not yet been able to remunerate them for their services. He urged the others to try to win back their erring comrades. He also sent a letter to the whole army, as though they had already been reconciled, saying that he would immediately discharge his debt to them, and ordered them to come to New Carthage at once and get their provisions.

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


*Ωδὲ μὲν τὸ στρατόπεδον καθίστατο τῷ Σκιπίων. 37. Ἰνδήβιλις δὲ, τῶν συνθεμένων τις αὐτῷ δυναστῶν, στασιαζόμενης ἔτι τὴς Ἦρωμαικῆς στρατιᾶς κατέδραμε τῇ ὑπὸ τῷ Σκιπίων γῆς. καὶ αὐτῷ τοῦ Σκιπίωνος ἐπελάπαντος, ὑπέστη μὲν τὸν ἄγονα γενναίον, καὶ χιλίους καὶ διακοσίους Ἦρωμαιῶν διέφθειρεν, ἀπολομένων δ’ αὐτῷ δισμυρίων ἐδείτο προσπέμψαι. καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων αὐτῶν χρήμασι ζημιῶσας συνηλλάσσετο. λαθῶν δὲ καὶ Μασσανάσσης Ἀσδρούβαν ἐπέρασε τὸν πορθμόν, καὶ φιλέαν τῷ Σκιπίωνι συνθέμενος.
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their swords, others dressed only in their tunics, as chap. VII
they had not even had time to put on all their clothing, by reason of their haste.

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

37. While the mutiny was going on in the Roman army, a certain Indibilis, one of the chiefs who had come to an understanding with Scipio, made an incursion into part of the territory under Scipio's sway. When Scipio marched against him he made a brave resistance and killed some 1,200 of the Romans, but having lost 20,000 of his own men he sued for peace. Scipio made him pay a fine, and then came to an agreement with him. At this time also Masinissa crossed the straits, without the knowledge of Hasdrubal, and established friendly relations with Scipio.
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όμοσε συμμαχήσειν, ἃν ἐς Λύβην στρατεύῃ. ἐπραξε δὲ τούτο ἀνὴρ ἐς πάντα βέβαιος διὰ τοιάνδε αἰτίαν. Ἀσδρούβου τού τότε οἱ συνόντος στρατηγοῦ θυγάτηρ ἐσ γάμον ἦγεύστο Μασσανάσσην. Σύφακα δ' ἄρα τὸν δυνάστην ἔρως ἐκνιζε τῆς παιδός, καὶ οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι μέγα ποιούμενοι Σύφακα ἐπὶ Ρωμαίους προσλαβεῖν, ἐδώκαν αὐτῷ τὴν παιδία, οὐδέν τοῦ Ἀσδρούβου τυθόμενοι, καὶ τῶνδε πραγμάτων ὁ μὲν Ἀσδρούβας αὐτὰ ἐπέκρυπτε, τὸν Μασσανάσσην αἰδούμενος, ὁ δὲ αἰσθόμενος συνόντε τῷ Σκιείων. Μάγων δὲ ναυαρχὸς ἀπογονὸς ἀπὸ τῶν παρόντων τὰ ἐν Ἰβηρία, πλεύσας ἐς Δύνας καὶ Κελτοὺς ἐξενολογεῖ. καὶ ὁ μὲν περὶ ταῦτα ἦν, καὶ τὰ Γάδειρα ἐκκειθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ Μάγωνος ὦ Ῥωμαῖοι παρέλαβον.

38. Στρατηγοῦς δὲ Ἰβηρίας ἐτησίους ἐς τὰ ἔθνη τὰ εἰλημμένα ἔστρεμπον ἀπὸ τοῦδε ἀρξάμενοι, μικρὸν πρὸ τῆς τετάρτης καὶ τεσσαρακοστῆς καὶ ἑκατοστῆς ὀλυμπιάδος, ἀρμοστᾶς ἡ ἐπιστάτας αὐτοῖς τῆς εἰρήνης ἐςομένους. καὶ αὐτοῖς ὁ Σκιείων ὀλγήνη στρατιῶν ὡς ἐπὶ εἰρήνη καταλιπτὼν, συνόκισε τοὺς τραυματίας ἐς τόλμων, ἢ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας Ἰταλικῆν ἐκάλεσε καὶ πατρίς ἔστι Θραίανοι τε καὶ Ἀδριανοῦ τῶν ὑστεροῦ Ρωμαίους ἀρξάντων τὴν αὐτοκράτορα ἀρχήν. αὐτὸς δὲ ἐς Ῥώμην ἐπὶ στόλου πολλοῦ διέπλει, λαμπρῶς τε κεκοσμημένου καὶ καταγέμιστος ἀἷμαλώτων ὁμοῦ καὶ χρημάτων καὶ ὄπλων καὶ λάφυρων ποικίλων, καὶ ἡ πόλις αὐτὸν ἐπιφανῶς ἐξεδέχετο μετὰ ὀξείδιμον τε καὶ παραλόγου διὰ τε νεότητα καὶ ταχυεργίαι καὶ μέγεθος εὐπραξίας. οἱ τε φθο-196
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with Scipio, and swore to join him if the war should be carried into Africa. This man remained faithful under all circumstances and for the following reason. The daughter of Hasdrubal had been betrothed to him while he was fighting under the latter's command. But King Syphax was pricked with love of the girl, and the Carthaginians, considering it a matter of great moment to secure Syphax against the Romans, gave her to him without consulting Hasdrubal. The latter, when he heard of it, concealed it from Masinissa out of regard for him. But Masinissa learned the facts and made an alliance with Scipio. And so Mago, the admiral, despairing of Carthaginian success in Spain, sailed to the country of the Ligurians and the Gauls to recruit mercenaries. While he was absent on this business the Romans took possession of Gades, which he had abandoned.

38. From this time, which was a little before the 144th Olympiad, the Romans began to send praetors to Spain yearly to the conquered nations as governors or superintendents to keep the peace. But he left them a small force suitable for a peace establishment, and settled his sick and wounded soldiers in a town which he named Italica after Italy, and this is the native place of Trajan and Hadrian who afterwards became emperors of Rome. Scipio himself sailed for Rome with a large fleet magnificently arrayed, and loaded down with captives, money, arms, and all kinds of booty. The city gave him a glorious reception, bestowing noble and unprecedented honours upon him on account of his youth and the rapidity and greatness of his exploits. Even those who
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νοῦντες αὐτῷ τὴν πάλαι κουφολογίαν ὄμολογον ἐς ἔργον ἀποβήναι. καὶ Σκιπίων μὲν θαναμαζόμενος ἐθριάμβευεν, Ἰνδίβιλως δὲ οἰχομένου τοῦ Σκιπίωνος αὐθεὶς ἀφίστατο. καὶ αὐτὸν οἱ στρατηγοὶ τῆς Ἰβηρίας, τὸν στρατὸν ἄγείραντες ὅσοι αὐτοῖς ἦν περὶ τὰ φρούρια, καὶ δύναμιν ἅλλην ἀπὸ τῶν υπηκόων συναγαγόντες, ἔκτειναν. τοὺς δ’ αὐτοὺς τῆς ἀποστάσεως ἐς κρίσιν παραγαγόντες θαυμάτως μετήλθουν, καὶ τὰ ὡντα αὐτοῖς ἐδήμευσαν. τὰ τε ἐθνικά τὰ συναράμενα αὐτῷ χρήμασιν ἐξημώσαν, καὶ τὰ ὅπλα αὐτῶν παρείλουτο, καὶ ὁμήρα ἦτταν, καὶ φρουρᾶς δυνατωτέρας αὐτοῖς ἐπέστησαν. καὶ τάδε μὲν ἦν εὐθὺς μετὰ Σκιπίωνα, καὶ ἡ πρώτη Ῥωμαίων ἐς Ἰβηρίαν πεῖρα ἐς τοῦτο ἔληγε.

VIII

CAP. VIII

39. Χρόνῳ δ’ ὑστερου, ὅτε Ῥωμαίοι Κέλτοις τε τοῖς περὶ Πάδον ἐπολέμουν καὶ Φιλίππῳ τῷ Μακεδόνι, ἐνεωτέρισαν αὐθεὶς ἐς τὴν ἀσχολίαν αὐτῶν οἱ Ἰβηρεῖς. καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐπέμφθησαν ἐκ Ῥώμης στρατηγοὶ τοῦτο τοῦ πολέμου Σεμπρώνιος τε Τοῦδιτανός καὶ Μάρκος Ἐλλούνος, μετὰ δ’ ἐκείνους Μυστικίους. καὶ ἐτὶ τούτῳ, μείξονος ἥτις κινήσεως γυγομένης, μετὰ πλέονος δυνάμεως ἐπέμφθη Κάτων, νέος μὲν ὄψιν ἔτι πάμπαν, αὐστηρός δὲ καὶ φιλόπονος, συνέσει τῇ γνώμῃ καὶ δεινότητι λόγων ἀριπρετῆς, ὡστε αὐτὸν ἐτὶ τοῖς λόγοις ἐκάλουν οἱ Ῥωμαίοι Δημοσθένη, πυθανόμενοι τὸν ἄριστον ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλησπόρου γεγενηθαι Δημοσθένη.
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envied him acknowledged that his boastful promises of long ago were realised in facts. And so, admired by all, he was awarded the honour of a triumph. But as soon as Scipio departed from Spain, Indibilis rebelled again. The generals in Spain, collecting together an army from the garrisons, and such forces as they could obtain from the subject tribes, defeated and slew him. Those who were guilty of inciting the revolt were brought to trial, and sentenced to death, and their property was confiscated. The tribes that took sides with Indibilis were fined, deprived of their arms, required to give hostages, and placed under stronger garrisons. These things happened just after Scipio's departure. And so the first war undertaken by the Romans in Spain came to an end.

VIII

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

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CAP. VIII 40. Ὡς δὲ κατέπλευσε τὴς Ἰβηρίας ἐς τὸ καλοῦμενον Ἐμπόριον ὁ Κάτων, οἱ μὲν πολέμιοι πάντοθεν ἐπ’ αὐτὸν ἐς τετρακισμυρίους ἀγγελέατό, ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν τὴν στρατιὰν ἐγύμναξεν, ὡς δ’ ἐμελλε συνενεχήσεσθαι μάχη, τὰς ναῦς ὅς ἐλέγεθεν ἐς Μασσαλίαν ἀπέτρεψε καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἐδίδασκεν ὦ τοῦτο ἐναι φοβερὸν, ὅτι πλῆθεν προύχουσιν οἱ πολέμιοι (τὴν γὰρ εὐψυχίαν ἄει τοῦ πλέονος ἐπικρατεῖν), ἀλλ’ ὡς νεών ἀποροοῦμεν, ὡς οὐκ ἔχει, εἰ μὴ κρατοῦμεν, οὐδὲ σωτηρίαν. ταῦτ’ εἰπὼν αὐτίκα συνέβαλεν, οὐκ ἐπελπίσας, ἄσπερ ἔτεροι, τὸν στρατὸν, ἀλλὰ φοβῆσας. γενομένης δ’ ἐν χερσὶ τῆς μάχης, ἐς πάντα μετεπτῆδα παρακαλῶν καὶ παροξύνων. ἀκρίτον δ’ αὐτῆς ἐς δείλην ἐσπέραν ἐτι οὐσῆς, καὶ τολλῶν πιπτόντων ἐκατέρωθεν, ἐς τινα λόφον ὑψηλὸν μετὰ τριῶν τάξεων ἐφέδρων ἀνέδραμε, τὸ ἔργον ὅμοι πὰν ἐπονόμης. ὡς δὲ εἰδε τοὺς μέσους τῶν ἱδίων μάλιστα ἐνοχλοῦμενος, ἀρμήσας ἐς αὐτοὺς προκινήσεσθαι, ἐργὸν τε καὶ βοή συνετάραξε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς, καὶ πρῶτος κατηρξε τῆς νίκης. διόξας τε νυκτὸς ὅλης ἔκρατησεν αὐτῶν τοῦ στρατοπέδου, καὶ τολλοὺς ἀπέκτεινε. ἐπαινώντι δ’ ὃς ἧγεμόνι τῆς νίκης συνήδοντο συμπλεκόμενοι. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἀνέπαυσε τὴν στρατιὰν, καὶ τὰ λάφυρα ἐπίπερασκεν.

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

41. Now envoys came to him from all sides, and he demanded further hostages, and to each of their towns he sent sealed letters, and charged the bearers that they should all deliver the letters on one and the same day, for he had fixed the day by calculating how long it would take to reach the
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CAP. VIII. ρωτάτω πόλιν ἀφίξονται. ἐκέλευε δ' ἡ γραφὴ ταῖς ἁρχαῖς τῶν πόλεων ἀπάσαις καθαιρεῖν τὰ τεῖχα σφῶν, αὐτῆς ἡμέρας ἡ τὰ γράμματα λάβονει εἰ δὲ ανάθοιτο τὴν ἡμέραν, ἀνδραποδισμοῦ ἥπειλει. οἱ δὲ ἄρτι μὲν ἠττημένοι μεγάλη μάχη, ύπὸ δὲ ἀγνοίας εἴτε μόνοις εἴθ' ἀπασὶ ταῦτα προσετάχθη, φοβούμενοι μόνοι μὲν ὡς εὐκαταφρόνητοι, μετὰ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων μὴ μόνοι βραδύνωσι, καίρον τε οὐκ ἔχοντες περιτέμφασι πρὸς ἄλλης, καὶ τοὺς στρατιῶτας τοὺς ἐλημυθότας μετὰ τῶν γραμμάτων ἐφεστώτας σφίσιν εὐλαβούμενοι, τὸ σφέτερον ἀσφαλῆς ἐκαστοί προύργου τιθέμενοι, τα τείχη καθήρουν μετὰ σπουδῆς. ἐν δ' γὰρ ἀπαξ ὑπάκουειν ἐδόκει, καὶ τὰ ταχέως εἰργάσθαι προσλαβέειν ἐφιλοτιμοῦντο. οὕτω μὲν αἱ πόλεις αἱ περὶ "Ἰβηρα ποταμοῦ μιᾶς ἡμέρας, ύφ' ἐνὸς στρατηγήματος, αὐταὶ τὰ τείχα τὰ ἑαυτῶν καθήρουν, καὶ Ῥωμαίοις ἐς τὸ μέλλον εὑροῦν γενόμεναι διέμειναι ἐς πλεῖστον ἐπὶ εἰρήνης.

42. Ὀλυμπιάσι ὁ ὥστερον τέσσαρος, ἀμφὶ τὰς πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκάτον, πολλοὶ τῶν Ἰβηρρῶν γῆς ἀποροῦντες ἀπέστησαν ἀπὸ Ῥωμαίων, ἄλλοι τε καὶ Λύσσονες, οἱ περὶ τῶν Ἰβηρρῶν ἄκημται. στρατεύσας οὖν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ὑπατος Φύλλους Φλάκκος ἐνίκη μάχης, καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν αὐτῶν κατὰ πόλεις διελύθησαν· ὅσοι δ' ἄμεσα γῆς ὑπόρουν καὶ εἴ ἄλης ἐβιότευον, ἐς Κομπλέγαν πόλιν συνεφυγοῦν, ἡ νεόκτιστος τε ἡν καὶ ὄχυρα, καὶ ἥμεστο ταχέως. ὅθεν ὀρμώμενοι τὸν Φλάκκον ἐκέλευον, καταθέντα σφίσιν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀνηρμένων.
farthest town. The letters commanded the magi-
strates of all the towns to demolish their walls on the
very day they received the order. If they postponed
the day, he threatened to sell them into slavery.
They, having been lately vanquished in a great
battle, and not knowing whether these orders had
been sent to them alone or to all, were much
perplexed, for if it were to them alone, they felt
that they were but objects of scorn, but if it were
to the others also, they feared to be the only ones
to delay. Wherefore as they had no time to send
to each other, and were apprehensive of the soldiers,
standing over them with the despatches, they each
severally decided to consult the interests of their
own safety. And so they threw down their walls
with all speed, for when they had once decided to
obey they were eager to gain credit for carrying out
the work expeditiously. Thus the towns along the
river Ebro in one day, and thanks to a single
stratagem, levelled their own walls. Being less
able to resist the Romans thereafter, they remained
longer at peace.

42. Four Olympiads later,—that is, about the 150th
Olympiad,—many Spanish tribes, having insufficient
land, including among others the Lusones, who dwelt
along the river Ebro, revolted from the Roman rule.
The consul Fulvius Flaccus attacked and defeated
them, and the greater part of them scattered among
their towns. But those who were particularly in
want of land, and lived a vagabond life, collected at
Complega, a city newly built and fortified, which had
grown rapidly. Sallying out from this place they
demanded that Flaccus should deliver to them a
cloak, a horse, and a sword as recompense for each
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CAP. VIII

ἐκάστου σάγον τε καὶ ἵππου καὶ ξίφος, ἀποτρέχειν ἐξ Ἰβηρίας πρὶν τι κακὸν παθεῖν. ὦ δὲ πολλοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐφή σάγονς οἴσειν, καὶ τοῖς πρέσβεσιν αὐτῶν ἔπομενος τῇ πόλει παρεστρατοπεδεύσειν. οἱ δ' ἀνομώτεροι ταῖς ἀπειλαῖς σφῶν αὐτίκα ἀπεδίδρασκον, καὶ τὰ τῶν ἐγγὺς βαρβάρων ἐλήφθηση. χρωται δὲ διηπούσι ἵματίοις παχέσιν, ἀντὶ χλαμύδων αὐτὰ περιπορπώμενοι, καὶ τούτο σάγον ἤγονταί.

43. Φλάκκῳ μὲν οὖν διάδοχος ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν στρατηγίαν Τιβέριος Σεμπρώνιος Γράκχος. Κάραοιν δὲ πόλιν, ἦ Ῥωμαίως ἦν φίλη, δισμύριοι Κελτεβήρων ἐπολλόρκουν καὶ ἐπίδοξος ἦν ἀλώσεσθαι, Γράκχον σφόδρα μὲν ἔπευγμομένου βοηθῆσαι τῇ πόλει, περισσότερος δὲ ἐν κύκλῳ τῶν πολεμίων, καὶ οὐκ ἔχοντος οὐδὲ μηνύσαι τῇ πόλει περὶ ἑαυτοῦ. τῶν οὖν τής ιλάρχων, Κομίνιος, ἐνθυμηθεὶς πρὸς ἑαυτὸν καὶ Γράκχῳ τὸ τόλμημα ἀνεψυχότως, ἐνεπορτήσατο σάγον Ἰβηρικῶς, καὶ λαθὼν ἀνεμίχθη τοῖς χορτολογοῦσι τῶν πολεμίων, συνεσῆλθε τε αὐτοῖς ὡς Ἰβηρ ἐσ τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ ἐσ τὴν Κάραοιν διαδραμῶν ἐμήνυσεν ὅτι Γράκχος ἐπί. οἱ μὲν δὴ διεσωθήσαν, ἔγκαρτερῆσαις τῇ πολιορκίᾳ μέχρι Γράκχος αὐτοῖς ἐπήλθε μετὰ τρίτην ἡμέραν, καὶ οἱ πολιορκοῦντες ἀπανέστησαν δισμύριοι δ' ἐκ τῆς Κομπλέγας διέτρεχον ἐς τὸ Γράκχον στρατόπεδον σὺν ἱκετηρίας, καὶ πλησιάζαντες ἀδοκήτως ἐπέθεντο αὐτῷ, καὶ συνετάραξαν. ὁ δὲ εὐμηχάνως ἐξέλιπεν αὐτοῖς τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ ὑπεκρίματο φεύγειν· εἶτα διαρράξουσιν ἐπιστραφεῖς ἐπέπεσέ τε καὶ
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of their dead in the late war, and take himself out of Spain or suffer the consequences. Flaccus replied that he would bring them plenty of cloaks, and following closely after their messengers he encamped before the city. Far from making good their threats, they took to their heels, plundering the neighbouring barbarians on the road. These people wear a thick outer garment with a double fold which they fasten with a clasp after the manner of a military cloak, and they call it the *sagum.*

43. Flaccus was succeeded in the command by Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, at which time the city of Caravis, which was in alliance with Rome, was besieged by 20,000 Celtiberians. As it was reported that the place was about to be taken Gracchus hastened all the more to relieve it. He could but circle about the besiegers, and had no means even of communicating to the town his own nearness. Cominius, a prefect of horse, having considered the matter carefully, and communicated his daring plan to Gracchus, donned a Spanish *sagum* and secretly mingled with the enemy’s foragers. In this way he gained entrance to their camp as a Spaniard, and slipped through into Caravis, and told the people that Gracchus was approaching. Wherefore they endured the siege patiently and were saved, for Gracchus arrived three days later, and the besiegers retired. About the same time the inhabitants of Coplega, to the number of 20,000, came to Gracchus’ camp in the guise of petitioners bearing olive-branches, and when they arrived they attacked him unexpectedly, and threw everything into confusion. Gracchus adroitly abandoned his camp to them and simulated flight; then suddenly turning he fell upon
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CAP. VIII

πλείστους ἐκτείνε, καὶ τῆς Κομπλέγας κατέσχε καὶ τῶν περιοίκων. τοὺς δὲ ἀπόρους συνηφίκε, καὶ γῆν αὐτοῖς διεμέτρει. καὶ πᾶσιν ἔθετο τοῖς τῇδε συνθήκας ἀκριβείς, καθ’ ἅ Ῥωμαίων ἠσοῦνται φίλοι· ὅρκους τε ὄμοσεν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἔλαβεν, ἐπὶ-ποθήτους ἐν τοῖς ύστερον πολέμοις πολλάκις γενομένους. δὴ ᾗ καὶ ἐν Ἰβηρία καὶ ἐν Ῥώμη διώνυμος ἐγένετο ο Γράκχος, καὶ ἔθριάμβευσε λαμπρῶς.

IX

CAP. IX

44. Ἐτεσὶ δ’ οὐ πολλοῖς ύστερον πόλεμος ἄλλος ἡγέρθη περὶ Ἰβηρίαν χαλεπός ἐκ τοιάσδε προ-φάσεως. Σεγήδη πόλις ἐστι Κελτιβήρων τῶν Βελλών λεγομένων μεγάλη τε καὶ δυνατή, καὶ ήσ τᾶς Σεμπρωνίου Γράκχου συνθήκας ἐνεγέγραπτο. αὐτῆ τάς βραχυτέρας πόλεις ἀνόικεν ἐν αὐτῆς, καὶ τείχος ἐς τεσσαράκοντα σταδίους κύκλῳ περιεβάλετο, Τίτθοιος τέ ὁμορον γένος ἄλλο συνηνάγακαζεν ἐς ταῦτα. ἡ δὲ σύγκλητος πυθομένη τό τε τείχος ἀπηγόρευε τειχίζειν, καὶ φόρους ἢτει τοὺς ὀρισθέντας ἐπὶ Γράκχου, στρατευόμεθαὶ τε Ῥωμαίοις προσέτασσε. καὶ γὰρ τοῦθ’ αἱ Γράκχου συνθήκαι ἐκέλευον. οἱ δὲ περὶ μὲν τοῦ τείχους ἔλεγον ἀπηγορεῦσθαι Κελτιβήρσιν υπὸ Γράκχου μὴ κτίζειν πόλεις, οὐ τειχίζειν τὰς ὑπαρχοῦσας· τῶν δὲ φόρων καὶ τῆς ξεναγίας υπ’ αὐτῶν ἔφασαν Ῥωμαίων ἀφεῖσθαι μετὰ Γράκχου. καὶ τῷ ὄντι

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them while they were plundering, killed most of them, and made himself master of Complega and those who dwelt in the neighbourhood. He gave a place in the community to the poorer classes, and apportioned land to them, and made carefully defined treaties with all the tribes, binding them to be the friends of Rome, and giving and receiving oaths to that effect. These treaties were often longed for in the subsequent wars. In this way Gracchus became celebrated both in Spain and in Rome, and was awarded a splendid triumph.

IX

44. Some years later another serious war broke out in Spain for the following reason: Segeda, a large and powerful city of a Celtiberian tribe called the Belli, was included in the treaties made by Sempronius Gracchus. It persuaded the inhabitants of the smaller towns to settle in its own borders, and then surrounded itself with a wall forty stades in circumference. It also forced the Titthi, a neighbouring tribe, to join in the undertaking. When the Senate learned this it forbade the building of the wall, demanded the tribute imposed in the time of Gracchus, and also ordered the inhabitants to furnish a contingent for the Roman army, for this too was one of the stipulations of the treaty made with Gracchus. As to the wall they replied that the Celtiberians were forbidden by Gracchus to build new cities, but not forbidden to fortify those which already existed. As to the tribute and the military contingent they said that they had been released from these requirements by the Romans themselves.
APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK VI

CAP. IX

45. Στρατηγοὺς οὖν ἐπ' αὐτῶν Νωβελίων ἐπέμπετο μετὰ στρατιᾶς οὐ πολὺ τρισμυρίων ἀνδρῶν ἀποδεούσης. ἦν ἐπειδὴ σφίσσων οἱ Σεγηδαῖοι προσιόντα ἔγνωσαν, οὐπω τὸ τεῖχος ἐκτελέσαντες ἔφευγον ἐς Ἀρουκούς μετὰ παῖδων καὶ γυναικῶν, καὶ σφός ὑποδέχεσθαί τοὺς Ἀρουκοὺς παρεκάλουν. οἱ δὲ ὑποδέχονται τε, καὶ Κάρον αὐτῶν Σεγηδαίων, πολεμικῶν ἦν ἡμιξόμενον, αἱροῦνται στρατηγοῖν. οἱ δὲ τρίτη μετὰ τὴν χειροτονίαν ἡμέρα δισμυρίων τεξόντα καὶ ἵππες πεντακισ-

χιλίων ἔς τινα λόχημα ἐνεδρεύσαντο παραδεύοντο τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐπέθετο, καὶ τῆς μάχης ἐπὶ πολὺ ἀγχωμάλου γενομένης ἐκράτει τε λαμπρῶς, καὶ Ῥωμαίων τῶν ἐξ ἄστεος ἐκτενεῖν ἐς ἑξακισχιλίων, ὡς μέγα τῇ πόλει γενέσθαι τὸ ἀτύχημα. ἀτάκτου δὲ αὐτῷ τῆς διώξεως ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῇ γενομένης, οἱ τὰ σκευοφόρα Ῥωμαίων φυλάσσοντες ἱππεῖς ἐπέδραμον, καὶ Κάρον τε αὐτῶν ἀριστεύοντα ἐκτειναν καὶ ἔτερος ἀμφ' αὐτῶν, οὐκ ἔλασσος καὶ οἶδε τῶν ἑξακισχιλίων, μέχρι νῦξ ἐπελθοῦσα διέλυσαν. ἐγινετο δὲ ταῦτ' ὅτε Ῥωμαιοί τῷ Ἡφαίστῳ τὴν ἑορτὴν ἁγιοῦσιν ὅθεν οὐδεὶς ἂν ἐκῶν ἀρξεῖν ἐξ ἐκείνων μάχῃς παρὰ τὴν ἑμέραν.

46. Ἀρουκοὶ μὲν οὖν εὐθὺς αὐτῆς νυκτὸς ἦς Νομαντίας, ἡ δυνατώτατη πόλις ἦν, συνελέγοντο, καὶ στρατηγοὺς Ἀμβωνα καὶ Δεύκωνα ἡρῴντο. Νωβελίων δ' αὐτῶν τρισὶν ἡμέραις ύστερον ἐπελθῶν παρεστρατοπέδευσεν ἀπὸ σταδίων τεσσάρων καὶ εἰκοσιν. παραγενομένων δὲ οἱ 208
subsequently. This was true, but the Senate, when granting these exemptions, always adds that they shall continue only during the pleasure of the Senate and Roman people.

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

46. Immediately, that very night, the Arevaci assembled at Numantia, which was a very strong city, and chose Ambo and Leuco as their generals. Three days later Nobilior advanced and pitched his camp twenty-four stades from the place. Here, after being joined by 300 Nomad horse, sent to him
ΑΠΠΙΑΝ’S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK VI

CAP. Νομάδων ἵππεων τριακοσίων, οὕς Μασσανάσσης ἐπετόμη, καὶ ἐλεφάντων δέκα, τήν στρατιάν ἐπῆγε τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἀγών ὅπισώ τὰ θηρία λανθάνοντα. καὶ γενομένης ἐν χεραὶ τῆς máχης οἱ μὲν ἄνδρες διέστησαν, τὰ δὲ θηρία ἐξε-φαίνετο· καὶ οἱ Κελτίβηρες αὐτοὶ τε καὶ οἱ ἵπποι σφόν ὑπὸ πρὸν ἐωρακότες ἐλέφαντας ἐν πολέμοις ἔθορυβοῦντο καὶ κατέφευγον ἐς τὴν πόλιν. ὦ δὲ καὶ τοὺς τείχεσιν αὐτοὺς ἔπηγε, καὶ ἐμάχετο γενναίως, μέχρι τῶν ἑλεφάντων τις ἐς τὴν κεφαλὴν λίθῳ μεγάλῳ καταπίπτοντι πληγεῖς ήγιμώθη τε, καὶ ἐκβόησας μέγιστον ἐς τοὺς φίλους ἐπεστρέφετο, καὶ ἀνήρει τὸν ἐν ποσίν, οὗ διακρίνων ἐτὶ φίλου ἡ πολέμων. οὐ τὰ ἄλλα ἑλέφαντες πρὸς τὴν ἑκείνου βοὴν διαταραχθέντες ὤμοια πάντες ἑδρῶν, καὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους συνεπάτων τε καὶ ἀνέτευμον καὶ ἀνερόπτουν. ὅπερ οἱ θορυβηθέντες οἱ ἑλέφαντες εἰόθασι πάσχειν, καὶ πάντας ἠγείζοι πολεμίους· καὶ τίνες διὰ τὴν ἀπιστίαν αὐτοὺς καλοῦσι κοινοὺς πολεμίους. φυγή οὖν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐγήγετο ἀτακτος· ἢν οἱ Νομαντίνοι κατιδόντες ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν ἐξέθορον, καὶ διόκουντες ἐκτεινὰν ἀνδρὰς μὲν ἐς τετρακεισὶλιον ἑλέφαντας δὲ τρεῖς, ὡπλα τε πολλὰ καὶ σημεία ἐλαβόν. Κελτίβηρων δὲ ἀπέθανον ἐς δισχίλιον.

47. Καὶ ὁ Νοββελίων μικρὸν ἐκ τῶν πταίσματος ἀναλαβὼν, ἀγορὰ μὲν τίνι τῶν πολεμίων ἐπεχείρει περί Ἀξείνιον πόλιν σεσωρεμένη, οὐδὲν δὲ ἀνύσας, ἀλλὰ κα βανταύθα πολλοὺς ἀποβαλὼν, ἐπανήλθε νυκτὸς ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον. ὦθεν Βιήσιον Ἰππαρχον ἐτὶ συμμαχίαν ἐς τῇ χειτονεύου ἔθνος ἐπεμπενε, ἰπτέων δεμενος. οἱ δὲ συνέπεμψαν
THE WARS IN SPAIN

by Masinissa, and ten elephants, he moved against the enemy, placing the animals in the rear, where they could not be seen. Then, when they came to close quarters, the army divided and brought the elephants into view. The Celtiberians and their horses, who had never seen elephants before in war, were thunderstruck and fled to the city. Nobilior took the animals right up to the city walls, and fought bravely, until one of the elephants was struck on the head with a large falling stone, when he became savage, uttered a loud cry, turned upon his friends, and began to destroy everything that came in his way, making no longer any distinction between friend and foe. The other elephants, excited by his cries, all began to do the same, trampling the Romans under foot, wounding them and tossing them this way and that. This is always the way with elephants when they are frightened. Then they take everybody for foes; wherefore some people call them the common enemy, on account of their fickleness. The Romans then took to disorderly flight. When the Numantines perceived this they sallied out and pursued them, killing about 4000 men and three elephants. They also captured many arms and standards. The loss of the Celtiberians was about 2000.

47. Nobilior, recovering a little from this disaster, made an attack upon some stores which the enemy had collected at the town of Axinium, but he accomplished nothing, and having lost many of his men there too, he returned by night to his camp. Thence he sent Biesius, a cavalry officer, to secure the alliance of a neighbouring tribe and to ask for cavalry. They gave him some, and as he was return-
APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK VI

CAP. αὐτῷ τινὰς ἱππέας, οὓς ἐρχομένους ἐλόχων οἱ Κελτίβηρες. καὶ τῆς ἐνέδρας ἐκφανείσθης οἱ μὲν σύμμαχοι διεδίδρασκον, ὁ δὲ Βιήσιος μαχόμενος αὐτός τε καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ πολλοὶ Ῥωμαίων ἀπέθανον. συνεχῶν δὲ τοιώνυμεν πταισμάτων αὐτοῖς ἐπιγυνομένων, πόλις Ὅκυλις, ἐνθα ἡ ἀγορὰ καὶ τὰ χρήματα ἢν τὰ Ῥωμαίων, μετέθετο ἐς τοὺς Κελτίβηρας. καὶ ὁ Νοβελίων ἀπιστῶν ἀπασιν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ διεχέμαζε, στεγάζας ὡς ἐδύνατο, καὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἔχουν ἐνδού, καὶ κακοπαθῶν αὐτής τε τῆς ἀγορᾶς τῇ ὑληγότητι καὶ υφετοῦ πυκνότητι καὶ κρύους χαλεπότητι, ὡστε πολλοὶ τῶν στρατωτῶν οἱ μὲν ἐν τοῖς φρυγανισμοῖς, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐνδοῦ ὑπὸ στενοχώριας καὶ κρύους ἀπώλησαν.

48. Τοῦ δ' ἐπιόντος ἐτούς Νοβελίων μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν στρατηγίαν ἀφικνεῖται διάδοχος Κλαύδιος Μárκελλος, ἄγων πεζὸν ὀκτακισχιλίους καὶ ἱππέας πεντακοσίους, λοχώτων δὲ καὶ τόνδε τῶν πολεμίων διήλθε πετυλαιμένως, καὶ σύμπαντι τῷ στρατῷ παρὰ τὴν Ὀκυλίων ἐστρατοπέδευσεν. ἐπιτυχής δὲ τὰ πολέμια ὡς τὴν πόλιν αὐτίκα παρεστήσατο, καὶ συγγυνώμην ἔδωκεν, ὑμηρά τινα καὶ ἀργυρίου τάλαντα τριάκοντα λαβὼν. Νεργόβρυγες δὲ αὐτοῦ περὶ τῇδε τῆς μετριοπαθείας πυθομένοι, πέμψαντες ἱρώτων τί ἀν πράξαντες εἰρήνης ἐπιτύχων. ὥς δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευεν ἐκατὸν ἱππέας δοῦναι συστρατεύοντας, οἱ μὲν ὑπεσχυρυντὸ δόσειν, κατὰ δ' ἄλλο μέρος τοῖς οὐραγοῦσιν ἐπετίθεντο καὶ τῶν σκευοφόρων τι περιέστων. εἰτ' ἀφίκοιτο τοὺς ἑκατὸν ἱππέας ἄγοντες ὡς δὴ κατὰ τὸ συγκείμενον, περὶ τέ τῶν
ing with them the Celtiberians laid an ambush for him. The ambush was discovered and the allies escaped, but Biesius, who engaged the enemy, was killed and many of his soldiers with him. Under the influence of such a succession of disasters to the Romans, the town of Ocilis, where their provisions and money were stored, went over to the Celtiberians. Then Nobilior in despair went into winter quarters in his camp, sheltering himself as well as he could. He suffered much from scantiness of supplies, having only what was inside the camp, and from heavy snowstorms and severe frost, so that many of his men perished while outside gathering wood, and others inside fell victims to confinement and cold.

48. The following year Claudius Marcellus succeeded Nobilior in the command, bringing with him 8000 foot and 500 horse. The enemy laid an ambush for him also, but he moved through them with circumspection and pitched his camp before Ocilis with his whole army. As he was an effective general, he brought the place to terms at once and granted it pardon, taking hostages and imposing a fine of thirty talents of silver. The Nergobriges, hearing of his moderation, sent and asked what they could do to obtain peace. In reply he ordered them to furnish him 100 horsemen as auxiliaries, and they promised to do so, but in the meantime in another quarter they were attacking the rear guard of the Romans and carrying off some of the baggage animals. They then came with the 100 horsemen, and claimed to have fulfilled their contract, explaining the attack on the rear-guard as an error committed by certain of their people who were ignorant of the agreement.
CAP. ἐπὶ τῆς οὐραγίας γενομένων ἔλεγον τινὰς ἀγνοοῦν
tας τὰ ἡμολογημένα ἀμαρτεῖν. ὥστε τοὺς μὲν ἐκατὸν ἱππεῖς ἔδησε, τοὺς δὲ ἦπτοις αὐτῶν ἀπο-
dόμενος καὶ τὸ πεδίον καταδραμὼν τὴν λείαν
dιείλε τῷ στρατῷ, καὶ τῇ πόλει παρεστρατοπέ-
dευσεν. Νεργάσματες δὲ, προσαγομένων αὐτοῖς
μηχανημάτων ἃμα μαλὰ χωμάτων, κήρυκα πέμ-
ψαντες λυκῆν ἀντὶ κηρυκεῖου περικείμενον, ἦτον
ςυγγνώμην. ὥστε οὐκ ἔφη δώσεως, εἰ μὴ πάντες
Ἀρουακόι καὶ Βελλοί καὶ Τίθοι δεθεῖεν ὅμοι.
ὅν τὰ μὲν ἔθνη πυθόμενα προθύμως ἐπρεσβεύσετο,
cαὶ τὸν Μάρκελλον ἡξίουν, ποιήμα αὐτοῖς ἐπιθέατα
μετρίαν, ἐς τὰς Γράκχους συνθήκας ἄναγαγεῖν
ἀντέλεγον δ' αὐτοῖς ἐπιχωρίοι τινες ὡς ἔκεινων
πεπολεμημένοι.

49. Καὶ ὁ Μάρκελλος ἐξ ἐκατέρων πρέσβεων ἐς
Ῥώμην ἐπεμπεν ἀντιλέξοντας ἄλληλοις, ίδίᾳ δὲ
ἐπέστελλε τῇ βουλῇ προτρέπων ἐς τὰς διαλύσεις
ἐβούλετο γὰρ ἐφ’ ἑαυτοῦ τὸν πόλεμον ἐκλυθήναι,
dόξαν οἱ χρηστὴν καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦδε νομίζων ἔσεσθαι.
tῶν δὲ πρέσβεων οἱ μὲν ἐκ τῆς φιλιάς ἐς τὴν
πόλιν ἐσελθόντες ἔξενιζοντο, οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῶν πολε-
mῶν, ὡς ἔθος ἔστιν, ἔξω τειχῶν ἐστάθμευσαν.
ἀποδοκιμάζουσα δ’ ἡ βουλὴ τὴν εἰρήνην, καὶ
χαλεπῶς φέροντα ὅτι μὴ, καθάπερ αὐτοὺς ἡξίου
Νουβελίων ὁ πρὸ Μάρκελλον, Ῥωμαῖοι αὐτοὺς
ἐπετετράφεσαν, Μάρκελλον αὐτοῖς ἐξοίσεσαν ἐφ’ ἡτὰ
dόξανα. καὶ στρατιῶν εὐθὺς ἐκλήρουν ἐς
Ἰβηρίαν τότε πρῶτον ἀντὶ καταλέξως πολλῶν
γαρ αἰτιωμένων τοὺς ὑπάτους ἄδικους ποιεῖσθαι
tὰς καταγραφὰς καὶ τινὰς ἐς τὰς κουφοτέρας
στρατείας καταλέγειν, ἔδοξεν ἀπὸ κλήρου τότε
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Marcellus then put the hundred horsemen in chains, sold their horses, devastated their country, distributed the plunder to his soldiers, and besieged the city. When the Nergobriges saw the engines advanced and the mounds thrown up against their walls they sent a herald, who wore a wolf's skin instead of bearing a herald's staff, and begged forgiveness. Marcellus replied that he would not grant it unless all the Arevaci, the Belli, and the Titthi would ask it together. When these tribes heard of this, they sent ambassadors eagerly, and begged that Marcellus would let them off with a light punishment and renew the terms of the agreement made with Gracchus. This petition was opposed by some of the other natives on whom they had made war.

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

50. Ὅ μὲν δὴ Δεύκολλος ὀδενεν, ὁ δὲ Μάρκελλος τὸν τε πόλεμον προεῖπε τοῖς Κελτίβηροι, καὶ τὰ ὃμηρα αὐτούσιν ἀπέδωκεν. τὸν δὲ Ἐρώμη τοὺς λόγους διαθέμενον ὑπὲρ τῶν Κελτίβηρων ἴδια πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀνακαλέσας ἐπὸ πολὺ διέτριβεν ὑπὲρ ὅτου δὴ καὶ ὑπωπτεύετο μὲν καὶ τότε, μᾶλλον δὲ ἐπιστόθη τοῖς ύστερον γενομένοις, ὅτι αὐτοῖς ἀνέπεθεν ἑαυτῷ τὰ κατὰ σφᾶς ἐπιτρέψαι, ἐπειγόμενος ἄρα πρὸ τοῦ Δευκόλλου τοῦ πόλεμον καταλυθήναι. μετὰ γὰρ τὴν συνουσίαν Νεργό-βρυγα μὲν Ἀρουάκων πεντακισχίλιοι κατέλαβον, Μάρκελλος δὲ ἐπὶ Νομαντίαν ἔχωρει, καὶ πέντε στάδιους ἀποσχοῦν παρεστρατοπέδευεν αὐτοῖς καὶ συνεδίωκεν ἐς τὴν πόλιν, ἔως ὅ τῶν Νομαντίων στρατηγὸς Διτένων ὑποστὰς ἐβόα βούλεσθαι Μάρκελλῳ συνεδίωκεν ἐς λόγους, καὶ συνελθὼν ἕφη Βελλὸν καὶ Τίτθων καὶ Ἀρουάκος ἑαυτοὺς ἐπιτρέπειν Μάρκελλῳ. ὁ δὲ ἀσμένος ἀκούσας ὁμηρά τε καὶ χρήματα πάντας ἔτησε, καὶ λαβὼν ἀφῆκεν ἑλευθέρους. ὁ μὲν δὴ πόλεμος ὁ Βελλὸν τε καὶ Τίτθων καὶ Ἀρουάκων ἐλήγεν οὔτω πρὸ Δευκόλλου.

51. Ὅ δὲ Δεύκολλος δόξης τε ἐπιθυμοῦν, καὶ ἐκ πενίας χρῆσιν χρηματισμοῦ, ἐς Οὐακκαιοὺς. ἔτερον γένος Κελτίβηρων, ἐνέβαλεν, οἱ γείτονες τῶν Ἀρουακῶν εἰσίν, οὔτε τινὸς αὐτοῦ ψηφίσματος γεγονότος, οὔτε Οὐακκαίων Ῥωμαίους πεπολεμή-
decided now to choose by lot. The consul Licinius Lucullus was appointed to the command, and he had for his second in command Cornelius Scipio, who was not long afterwards distinguished as the conqueror of Carthage, and later of Numantia.

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

51. Lucullus being greedy of fame and needing money, because he was in straitened circumstances, invaded the territory of the Vaccaei, another Celtiberian tribe, neighbours of the Arevaci, although he had no warrant from the Senate, nor had they
CAP. IX. κότων, οὐδὲ ἐστὶν τὸν Λεύκολλον ἀμαρτόντων. περάσας δὲ τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν καλούμενον Τάγον, ἀφίκετο πρὸς Καύκαν πόλιν καὶ παρεστρατοπέ- δευσεν. οἱ δὲ ἐπύθοντο μὲν αὐτοῦ τίνος ἦκοι δεόμενος ἢ τι πολέμου χρήζων, φήσαντο δὲ ὅτι Καρπητανώς ὑπὸ Οὐακκαίων ἄδικουμένως βοη- θοίν, τότε μὲν ἀνεχώροντι ἐς τὴν πόλιν, ξυλευμένῳ δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ χορτολογοῦντι ἐπέκειστο. καὶ κτείνουσι πολλοὺς, καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς διώκουσιν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον. γενομένης δὲ καὶ παρατάξεως, οἱ Καυκάιοι ψηλοί ἑοικότες ἐκράτουν ἐπὶ πολὺ τοῦ Λευκόλλου, μέχρι σφόν τὰ ἀκόντια πάντα ἔξανα- λώθηκαν καὶ τότε ἐφευγον οὐκ οὕτως μεμάχοι, περὶ τὰς πύλας αὐτῶν ὥθουμένῳ ἀνηρεθησάν ἀμφί τοὺς τρισχίλους.

52. Τῆς δὲ ἐπιούσις οἱ πρεσβύται, στεφανω- σάμενοι τε καὶ φέροντες ἱκανηρίας, τὸν Λεύκολλον αὖθις ἡρῴων τί ποιούντες δὲν ἐλευ φίλοι. οὐ δὲ αὐτοὺς διηρά τε ἐτει καὶ ἄργυριον τάλαντα ἐκατόν, καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας αὐτῶν ἐκέλευεν οἱ συ- στρατεύεις. ὡς δὲ πάντα ἐλαβεν, ἡξίου φρουράν ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσαγαγεν. δεξιαμένων δὲ καὶ ταῦτα τῶν Καυκαίων, ἐσήγαγε δισχίλιοι ἀριστίνδην ἐξειλεγμένους, οἷς ἐσελθοῦσιν ἐρήτῳ γίγνεσθαι περὶ τὰ τείχη. καταλαβόντων δὲ αὐτὰ τῶν δισχιλίων, ἐσήγαγε τὴν ἄλλην στρατιὰν ὁ Λεύ- κολλος, καὶ τῇ σάλπιγγι ὑπεσήμανε κτεῖνειν Καυκαίους ἀπαντασ ἡβηδόν. οἱ μὲν δὴ πίστεις τε καὶ θεοὺς ὄρκιους ἐπικαλούμενοι, καὶ Ὁρμαί- οισ ἐς ἀπιστίαν λοιδοροῦντες, διεθθείροντο ὡμῶς, ἐκ δισμυρίων ἀνδρῶν κατὰ πύλας ἀποκρήμνους.
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ever attacked the Romans, or offended Lucullus himself. Crossing the river Tagus he came to the city of Cauca, and pitched his camp near it. The citizens asked him what he had come for, and what occasion there was for war, and when he replied that he had come to aid the Carpetani, whom the Vaccaei had maltreated, they retired for the time inside their walls, but sallied out and fell upon his wood-cutters and foragers, killing many and pursuing the remainder to the camp. There was also a pitched battle, in which the Caucaei, who resembled light-armed troops, had the advantage for a long time, until they had expended all their darts. Then they fled, not being accustomed to withstand an onset, and while jostling each other at the gates about 3000 of them were slain.

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

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CAP. διαφυγόντων ὀλίγων. ο ὁ δὲ Λεύκολλος τὴν πόλιν διήρπαξε, καὶ δόξης Ῥωμαίους ἐνεπίμπλη κακῆς. οἱ δ' ἄλλοι βάρβαροι συνέθεον ἐκ τῶν πεδίων, οἱ μὲν ἐσ τὰ ἀπόκρημνα, οἱ δὲ ἐσ τὰς χυρωτέρας πόλεις, συμφέροντες ἡ δύναμιν καὶ ἐμπιπτάντες οὕτα λείποιεν, τοῦ μηδὲν ἔτι Λεύκολλον εὐρείων.

53. ὁ δὲ πολλὴν γῆν ἔρημον ὁδεύσας, ἔς τινα πόλιν Ἰντερκατίαν ἀφίκετο; ἐνθὰ πεζὶ μὲν ὑπὲρ δισμυρίους συνεπεφύγεσαν, ἵππεις δὲ δισχίλιοι. καὶ αὐτοὺς ὁ Λεύκολλος ἐς συνθήκας ὑπ' ἀνοίας προνκαλεῖτο. οἱ δ' ἐπὶ ὀνείδει τὰ Καυκαίων αὐτῷ προύφερον, καὶ ἐπυνθάνοντο εἰ ἐπὶ τὰς ἐκείνων πίστεις αὐτοὺς καλοῖς. ὁ δ', οὗν ἄπαντες οἱ ἀμαρτόντες, ἀνθ' ἐαυτοῦ τοῖς ὀνειδίζουσι χαλεπάτων, ἔκειρεν αὐτῶν τὰ πεδία, καὶ περικαθίσας κύκλῳ τὴν πόλιν χώματα ἤγειρε πολλά, καὶ συνεχῶς ἔξετασε προκαλούμενος ἕστε ἑκατέρας καὶ συνεχῶς ἔξετασε προκαλούμενος ἕστε μάχην. οἱ δ' οὔπω μὲν ἀντέξετασον, ἀλλ' ἤσαν ἀκροβολισμοὶ μόνοι, θαμνά δὲ τῆς τῶν βαρβάρων ἐξίππευεν ἐς τὸ μεταίχμιον, κεκοσμημένος ὅπλοις περιφανῶς, καὶ προνκαλεῖτο Ῥωμαίον ἐς μονομαχίαν τὸν ἔθέλοντα, οὔδενος δ' ὑπακούοντος ἐπιτωθάσας καὶ τῷ σχήματι κατορχησάμενος ἀπεχώρει. γυμνο-μένου δὲ τούτων πολλάκις, ὁ Ἐκτίων ἐτὶ νέος ὃν ὑπερήλητα τε καὶ προπηθήσας ὑπέστη τὸ μονομάχιον, εὐτυχῶς δ' ἐκράτησεν ἀνδρὸς μεγάλου μικρὸς ὄν.

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

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

54. This victory raised the spirits of the Romans, but the next night they were haunted by numerous
βαρβάρων, πρὶν ἀφικέσθαι Δεύκολλου, ἐπὶ χορτολογίαν προελπιθήσαν, οὐκ ἔχοντες ἐσελθεῖν ἐς τὴν πόλιν Δεύκολλου περικαθημένου, περιθέοντες ἐβόων καὶ συνετάρασσον καὶ συνεπήχουν οἱ ἐνδον αὐτοῖς. ὃθεν ὁ φόβος ἦν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ποικίλος. ἔκαμνον δὲ καὶ τῇ φύλακῇ δι’ ἀγρυπνιάν καὶ ἀνθειαν τροφῶν ἐπιχωρίων οὐνοῦ γὰρ οὐκ ὄντος οὐδ’ ἄλων οὐδ’ ὄξους οὐδ’ ἐλαίου, πυροῦς καὶ κριθᾶς καὶ ἐλάφων κρέα πολλὰ καὶ λαγών χωρίς ἄλων ἔψομενα σιτούμενοι κατερρήγυντο τὰς γαστέρας, καὶ πολλοὶ καὶ ἀπώλλυντο, μέχρι ποτὲ τὸ χώμα ἡγέρθη, καὶ τὰ τείχη τῶν πολεμῶν τύπτοντες μηχαναῖς μέρος μὲν τὶ κατέβαλον, καὶ ἔσεδραμον ἐς τὴν πόλιν μετὰ δ’ οὐ πολὺ βιασθέντες τε καὶ ἀναχωροῦντες ἐσπιρτουσιν ἐς τινα δεξαμενὴν ὑδατον ὑπ’ ἀγωσίας, ἐνθα οἱ πλείους ἀπώλοντο. καὶ νυκτὸς οἱ βαρβάροι τὰ πεσόντα ἀνδροδόμουν. πάνυ δ’ ἔκατέρων κακοπαθοῦντων (ὁ γὰρ ἱμὸς ἁμοὶ ἔπτετο) Σκιτίων ἀνεδέχετο τοῖς βαρβάροις οὐδέν ἔσεσθαι παράσπονδον, καὶ πιστευθεὶς κατὰ κλέος ἀρετῆς διέλυσε τὸν πόλεμον ἐπὶ τοὺς, Δεύκολλῳ δοθῆναι παρὰ τῶν Ἰντερκατίων σάγους μυρίους καὶ θρεμμάτων τι πλῆθος ὀρισμένον, καὶ πεντήκοντα ἄνδρας ἐς ὀμηρά. χρυσὸν δὲ καὶ ἄργυρον Δεύκολλος αἰτῶν, οὐ δὴ χάριν, ἡγούμενος δὴν Ἰβηρίαν πολύχρυσον εἶναι καὶ πολυάργυρον, ἐπολέμη, οὐκ ἔλαβεν οὐ γὰρ εἶχον, οὐδ’ ἐν δόξῃ ταῦτ’ ἐκεῖνοι Κελτιβήρων τίθενται.
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terrors. A body of the enemy's horse who had gone out foraging before Lucullus arrived, returned, and not finding any entrance to the city because it was surrounded by the besiegers, ran about shouting and creating disturbance, while those inside the walls shouted back. These noises caused strange terror in the Roman camp. Their soldiers were sick from watching and want of sleep, and because of the unaccustomed food which the country afforded. They had no wine, no salt, no vinegar, no oil, but lived on wheat and barley, and quantities of venison and rabbits' flesh boiled without salt, which caused dysentery, from which many died. Finally when their mound was completed and by battering the enemy's walls with their engines they had knocked down a section, they rushed into the city, but were speedily overpowered. Being compelled to retreat and being unacquainted with the ground, they fell into a reservoir where most of them perished. The following night the barbarians repaired their broken wall. As both sides were now suffering severely (for famine had fastened upon both), Scipio promised the barbarians that if they would make a treaty it should not be violated. He was believed because of his reputation for virtue, and brought the war to an end on the following terms: The Intercatii to give to Lucullus 10,000 cloaks, a certain number of cattle, and fifty hostages. As for the gold and silver which Lucullus demanded, and for the sake of which he had waged this war, thinking that all Spain abounded with gold and silver, he got none. In fact they had none, and these particular Celtiberians do not set any value on those metals.
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CAP. IX  55. Ἡ δὲ Παλλαντίαν ὃς πόλις, ἢ δόξαν τε ἀρετῆς εἴχε μείζων, καὶ πολλοὶ συνεπεφεύγεσαν ἐς αὐτὴν ὅθεν αὐτῷ συνεβούλευσώ τινες ἀποχωρεῖν πρὸ πείρας. ὁ δὲ πολυχρήματον εἶναι πυνθανόμενοι οὐκ ἀνεχόμενι, μέχρι σιτολογοῦντα αὐτὸν οἱ Παλλάντιοι συνεχῶς ὑπεύθυνον ἣνωκλοῦν τε καὶ σιτολογεῖν ἐκώλυνον. ἀπορῶν δὲ τροφῶν ὁ Λεύκολλος ἀνεξεύγυν, τετράγωνοι ἐν πλυνθῷ τῶν στρατῶν ἄγων, ἐπομένων αὐτῷ καὶ τότε τῶν Παλλαντίων μέχρι Δορίου ποταμοῦ, ὅθεν οἱ μὲν Παλλάντιοι νυκτὸς ἀνεχόρουν, ὁ δὲ ἐς τὴν Τυρδιτανῶν χώραν διελθὼν ἐχείμαζεν. καὶ τούτῳ τέλος ἦν τοῦ Οὐακκαίων πολέμου, παρὰ ψήφισμα Ῥωμαίων ὑπὸ Λευκόλλου γενομένου. καὶ ὁ Λεύκολλος ἐπὶ τόδε οὔδε ἐκρίθη.

X

CAP. X  56. Τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ χρόνου μέρος ἀλλὰ Ἰβήρων αὐτοῦ χρόνου, οἱ Δυσιτανοὶ καλοῦνται, Πουνίκων σφῶν ἡγουμένως τὰ Ῥωμαίων ὑπῆκοα ἐξήρωσεν, καὶ τοὺς στρατηγοῦντας αὐτῶν, Μανίλιων τε καὶ Καλπούρνων Πίσσων, τρεψάμενοι κτείνουσιν ἐξακισχίλιος, καὶ ἐπὶ αὐτοῖς Τερέντιον Οὐάρρωνα ταμίαν. οἷς ἐπαρθεῖς ὁ Πούνικος τὰ μέχρι ὠκεανοῦ κατέδραμε, καὶ Οὐίττανας ἐς τὴν στρατείαν προσλαβόν ἐπολιόρκει Ῥωμαίων ὑπηκόων τοὺς λεγομένους Βλαστοφόιμας, οἷς φασίν Ἀναβαν τῶν Καρχηδώνων ἐποικίσας τινάς ἐκ Δεβύης, καὶ παρὰ τούτο κληθήναι Βλαστοφοίμας.
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55. He went next to Pallantia, a city more renowned for bravery, where many refugees had congregated, for which reason he was advised by some to pass by without making an attempt upon it. But, having heard that it was a rich place, he would not go away until the Pallantian horse, by incessantly harassing his foragers, prevented him from getting supplies. Being unable to get food, Lucullus withdrew his army, marching in the form of an oblong, and still pursued by the Pallantians as far as the river Douro. From thence the Pallantians returned by night to their own country. Lucullus passed into the territory of the Turditani, and went into winter quarters. This was the end of the war with the Vaccaei, which was waged by Lucullus contrary to the authority of the Roman people, but he was never even called to account for it.

X

56. At this time another of the autonomous nations of Spain, the Lusitanians, under Punicus as leader, were ravaging the fields of the Roman subjects and having put to flight their praetors, Manilius and Calpurnius Piso, killed 6000 Romans, and among them Terentius Varro, the quaestor. Elated by this success Punicus swept the country as far as the ocean, and joining the Vettones to his army he laid siege to the people called Blastophoenicians, who were Roman subjects. It is said that Hannibal, the Carthaginian, brought among these people settlers from Africa, whence they were called Blastophoenicians. Here
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57. Μούμμως δ' ὑπολοίπους ἔχων πεντακισχιλίους ἐγύμναζεν ἐνδόν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ, δεδώσις ἀρα προελθεῖν ἐστὶ τὸ πεδίον πρὶν τοὺς ἀνδρας ἀναθαρρήσῃ. φυλάξας δὲ εἰ τι μέρος οἱ βάρβαροι τῆς ἀφηρημένης λείας παρέφθερον, ἀδοκίτως αὐτοῖς ἐπέθετο, καὶ πολλοὺς διαφθείρας ἔλαβε τὴν λείαν καὶ τὰ σημεῖα. Δυσιτανών δ' οἱ ἐπὶ θάτερα τοῦ Τάγου ποταμοῦ, κάκεινοι Ὁρμαίοις πεπολεμωμένοι, Καυκαίνου σφῶν ἠγουμένου Κουνέους ἔπορθουν, οἳ Ὁρμαίοις ἦσαν ὑπήκοοι, καὶ πόλιν αὐτῶν μεγάλην ἔλιον Κοινστοργιών. παρά τε τὰς στῆλας τὰς Ἡρακλείους τῶν ὁκεανῶν ἔπέρων, καὶ οἱ μὲν τὴν ἄλλην Διβύθην κατέτρεχον, οἳ δ' Ὁκίλην πόλιν ἐπολιοῦρκουν. Μούμμως δ' ἐπόμενος ἐννακισχίλιος πεζὸς καὶ ἰππεύσι πεντακισχίλιος ἔκτεινε τῶν μὲν δηούστων ἐς μυρίους καὶ πεντακισχίλιος, τῶν δ' ἐτέρων τίνας, καὶ τὴν πολιορκίαν δέλυσε τὴν Ὁκίλης. ἐντυχὼν δὲ καὶ τοὺς φέρουσιν ἄ ἐσεσυλήκεσαν, ἔκτεινε καὶ τούσδε πάντας, ὡς μηδ' ἀγγελον ἀπὸ τοῦ κακοῦ δια-
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Punicus was struck on the head with a stone and killed. He was succeeded by a man named Caesarus. This man joined battle with Mummius, who came from Rome with another army, was defeated and put to flight, but as Mummius was pursuing him in a disorderly way, he rallied and slew about 9000 Romans, recaptured the plunder they had taken from him as well as his own camp, and took that of the Romans also, together with many arms and standards, which the barbarians in derision carried throughout all Celtiberia.

57. Mummius took his 5000 remaining soldiers and drilled them in camp, not daring to go out into the plain until they should have recovered their courage. Having waited for the barbarians to pass by, carrying a part of the booty they had captured, he fell upon them suddenly, slew a large number, and recaptured the plunder and the standards. The Lusitanians on the other side of the Tagus, under the leadership of Caucaenus, being also incensed against the Romans, invaded the Cunei, who were Roman subjects, and captured a large city of theirs, Conistorgis, and near the Pillars of Hercules they crossed over the ocean, and some of them overran part of Africa, while others laid siege to the city of Ocilé. Mummius followed them with 9000 foot and 500 horse, and slew about 15,000 of them who were engaged in plundering, and a few of the others, and raised the siege of Ocilé. Falling in with a party who were carrying off booty, he slew all of them too, so that not one escaped to bear the tidings of the disaster. All the booty that it was possible to carry he divided among the soldiers.

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CAP. X

φυγεῖν. τὴν δὲ λείαν διαδοὺς τῷ στρατῷ τὴν δυνατὴν φέρεσθαι, τὰ λοιπὰ τοῖς θεοῖς τοῖς ἐνναλίοις ἐκαυσεν.

Καὶ Μούμμιος μὲν τάδε πράξας ἐπανήλθεν ἐς Ρώμην καὶ ἐθριάμβευσεν, 58. ἐκδέχεται δ' αὐτὸν Μάρκος Ἀτίλιος, δς Λυσιτανῶν μὲν ἐς ἐπτακοσίους ἐπιδραμῶν ἀπέκτεινε, καὶ τὴν μεγίστην τόλμην ἐξεῖλεν, η ὄνομα Ὀξθράκας, τὰ δ' ἐγγὺς καταπλη-

ξάμενοι ἀπαντα ἐπὶ συνθήκαις παρέλαβεν. καὶ τούτων ἦν ἐνια τοῦ Ὀυεττώνου ἔθνους, ὄμορο τοῖς Λυσιτανοῖς. ὡς δ' ἀνεξεύγυνε χειμάσων ὁ Ἀτίλιος, αὐτίκα πάντες μετετίθεντο καὶ τινὰς Ρωμαίοις ὑπηκόουσι ἐπολύρκοις οὓς ἐπεγόμενος ἐξελεῖν τής πολιορκίας Σέρουιος Γάλβας ὁ Ἀτίλιου διάδοχος, ἕμερα μᾶ καὶ νυκτὶ πεντακοσίους στάδιους διελθὼν ἐπιφαίνεται τοῖς Λυσιτανοῖς, καὶ εὐθὺς ἐς μάχην ἐξέτασσε, κατάκοπτον τὸν στρατὸν ἔχων. τρεφάμενος δ' εὐνυχῶς τοὺς πολέμιους, ἐπέκειτο φεύγονσιν ἀπειροπολέμως. ὅθεν ἀσθενοῦς αὐτὸ καὶ ἀσυντάκτου τῆς διώξεως οὕς διὰ κόπον, οἱ βάρβαροι κατιδότες αὐτοὺς διεσπασμένους τε καὶ ἀναπαυομένους κατὰ μέρη συνελθότες ἐπέθετο, καὶ κτείνοντσιν ἐς ἐπτακοσ-

χίλιους. ο ὁ Γάλβας μετὰ τῶν ἄμφι αὐτῶν ἱππῶν κατέφυγεν ἐς Καρμώνην πόλιν, ἐνθὰ τοὺς διαψυγνώτας ἀνελάμβανε, καὶ συμμάχους ἄθροί-

ςαι ἔς δυσμυρίους διήλθεν ἐς Κουνεώς, καὶ παραχείμαζεν ἐν Κουνστόργει.

59. Δεύκολλος δὲ ὁ τοῖς Οὐακκάλοις ἀνευ ψηφί-

σματος πολεμήσας ἐν Τυρίτιανια τότε χειμάζων ξέθετο Λυσιτανῶν ἐς τὰ πλησίον ἐμβαλούντων, καὶ περιπέμψας τούς ἀρίστους τῶν ἠγεμόνων,
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The rest he devoted to the gods of war and burned. \( \text{CHAP X} \)

Having accomplished these results, Mummius returned to Rome and was awarded a triumph.

58. He was succeeded in the command by Marcus \( \text{B.C. 152} \) Atilius, who made an incursion among the Lusitanians and killed about 700 of them and took their largest city, called Oxthracae. This so terrified the neighbouring tribes that they all made terms of surrender. Among these were some of the Vettones, a nation adjoining the Lusitanians. But when he went away into winter quarters they all forthwith revolted and besieged some of the Roman subjects. Servius Galba, the successor of Atilius, hastened to relieve them. Having marched 500 stades in one day and night, he came in sight of the Lusitanians and sent his tired army into battle instantly. Fortunately he broke the enemy’s ranks, but he imprudently followed the fugitives, the pursuit being feeble and disorderly on account of the fatigue of his men. When the barbarians saw them scattered, and by turns stopping to rest, they rallied and fell upon them and killed about 7000. Galba, with the cavalry he had about him, fled to the city of Carmone. There he recovered the fugitives, and having collected allies to the number of 20,000 he moved to the territory of the Cunei, and wintered at Conistorgis.

59. Lucullus, who had made war on the Vaccaei \( \text{B.C. 151} \) without authority, was then wintering in Turditania. When he discovered that the Lusitanians were making incursions in his neighbourhood he sent out his best lieutenants and slew about 4000 of them.
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60. Οἱ μὲν δὴ τάδε προσδοκῶντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἴδιων ἀνίσταντο, καὶ συνήσαν ὁ προσέτασσεν ὁ Γάλβας: ὁ δὲ αὐτοῦ· ἐστὶ τρία διήρει, καὶ πεδίον ἐκάστοις τι ὑποδείξας ἐκέλευεν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ περιμένειν, μέχρι πολίσειν αὐτοὺς ἐπελθῶν. ὡς δ' ἤκεν ἐπὶ τοὺς πρώτους, ἐκέλευεν ὡς φίλους θέσθαι τὰ ὅπλα, θεμένους δ' ἀπετάφρευε τε, καὶ μετὰ ξιφῶν τινὰς ἐσπέμψας ἀνείλεν ἀπαντάς, ὁδυρομένους τε καὶ θεῶν ὅνοματα καὶ πίστεως ἀνακαλοῦντας. τῷ δ' αὐτῷ τρόπῳ καὶ τοὺς δευτέρους καὶ τρίτους ἐπειχθεὶς ἀνείλεν, ἀγνοοῦντας ἐτὶ τὰ πάθη τὰ τῶν προτέρων, ἀπιστία μὲν ἄρα ἀπιστίαν μετιόν, οὐκ ἄξιος δὲ Ἡρωμαῖων μμοῦμενος βαρβάρους. ὁλίγοι δ' αὐτῶν διέφυγον, ὡς ἦν Οὐρίατθος, δι' αὐτὸ οὖν
THE WARS IN SPAIN

He killed about 1500 others while they were crossing the straits near Gades. The remainder took refuge on a hill, and he drew a line of circumvallation around it, and captured an immense number of them. Then he invaded Lusitania and gradually devastated it. Galba did the same on the other side. When some of their ambassadors came to him desiring to renew the very treaty which they had made with Atilius, his predecessor in the command, and then transgressed, he received them favourably, and made a truce and pretended even to sympathise with them because they had been compelled by poverty to rob, make war, and break treaties. "For," said he, "poorness of soil and penury force you to do these things. But I will give my poor friends good land, and settle them in a fertile country, in three divisions."

60. Beguiled by these promises they left their own habitations and came together at the place appointed by Galba. He divided them into three parts, and showing to each division a certain plain, he commanded them to remain in this open country, until he should come and assign them their places. When he came to the first division he told them as friends to lay down their arms. When they had done so he surrounded them with a ditch and sent in soldiers with swords who slew them all, lamenting and invoking the names of the gods, and the pledges which they had received. In like manner he hastened to the second and third divisions and destroyed them while they were still ignorant of the fate of the first. Thus he avenged treachery with treachery, imitating barbarians in a way unworthy of a Roman. A few escaped, among them Viriathus,
APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK VI

61. Οὐ πολὺ δὲ ἔστερον, ὅσοι διέφυγον ἐκ τῆς Λευκόλλου καὶ Γάλβα παρανομήσεως, ἀλλισθέντες ἐστὶ μυρίους τὴν Τυρδυτανίαν κατέτρεχον. καὶ αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ ᾿Ρώμης ἐπελθὼν Γάιος Οὐετίλλος, ἀγων τε τινα στρατὸν ἀλλὸν καὶ τοὺς ἐν ᾿Ιβηρίᾳ προσλαβῶν, ἀπαντας ἔχων ἐστὶ μυρίους, ἐπέτρεπε προνομεύουσι, καὶ πολλοὺς ἀνελὼν συνέωσε τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐστὶ χωρίον, οἱ κινδυνεύειν τε μένοντας ἔχοιν ὑπὸ λιμοῦ καὶ ἀπόντας ὑπὸ ῾Ρωμαίων ὥδε γὰρ εἶχε δυσχωρίας. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πρέσβεις ἐστὶν Οὐετίλλον ἐπέμπον σὺν ίκετηρίαις, γῆν ἐστὶ συνοικισμὸν αὐτούντες ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦτο ἐσόμενοι ῾Ρωμαῖων ἐστὶ πάντα κατήκουν. ὁ δὲ ὑπισχεῖτο δῶσειν, καὶ συνετίθετο ἔδη. Οὐρίατθος δ’ ὁ ἐκ τῆς Γάλβα παρανομίαις ἔκφυγον, τότε συνὸν.
THE WARS IN SPAIN

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

XI

61. Not long afterward those who had escaped the villainy of Lucullus and Galba, having collected together to the number of 10,000, overran Turditania. Gaius Vetilius marched against them, bringing a new army from Rome and taking also the soldiers already in Spain, so that he had in all about 10,000 men. He fell upon their foragers, killed many of them, and forced the rest into a place where, if they stayed, they were in danger of famine, and if they came out, of falling into the hands of the Romans. So difficult was the position in which they were placed. They therefore sent messengers to Vetilius with olive-branches asking land for a dwelling-place, and agreeing from that time on to obey the Romans in all things. He promised to give them the land, and an agreement was being made to that effect when Viriathus, who had escaped the perfidy of Galba and was then among them, reminded them...
CAP. XI ἀυτοῖς, ὑπεμίμησε τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀπιστίας, ὡσάκις τε αὐτοῖς ὁμόσαντες ἐπιθύμητο, καὶ ὡς ὁδε πᾶς ὁ στρατὸς ἐκ τοῦ θυμὸν Γάλβα καὶ Δευκόλλον διαφύγομεν. οὐδ' ἀπορείν ἔφη σωτηρίας ἀπὸ τοῦ τοῦ χωρίου, ἀν ἔθελωσι πείθεσθαι.

62. Ἐρεθισθέντων δ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἐν ἐπισίγ γενομένων, ἡρέθη τε στρατηγός, καὶ πάντας ἐκτάξας ἐς μέτωπον ὡς ἐπὶ μάχη, τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἐκέλευσεν, ὅταν αὐτὸς ἐπιβή τοῦ ἱπποῦ, διαφερθέντας ἐς μέρη πολλὰ φεύγειν, ὡς δύνανται, κατ' ἄλλας καὶ ἄλλας ὁδοὺς ἐς Τριβόλαν πόλιν, ἐνθα αὐτὸν περιμένειν, χιλίους δὲ μόνους ἐπιλεξάμενος ἐκέλευσεν αὐτῷ συνίστασθαι. καὶ γιγνομένων τούτων οἱ μὲν εὑρίσχεν ἐμφυγοῦσα, ἐπειδὴ οὐ Οὐριάτθος τὸν ἱπποῦ ἀνέβη, ὁ δὲ Οὐστίλλος αὐτοὺς δείσας διώκειν ἐς πολλὰ διηρήμενον, ἐπὶ τὸν Οὐριάτθον ἐστῶτα καὶ ἐφεδρεύοντα τῷ γενησομένῳ τραπεῖς ἐμάχετο. ὁ δ' ὠκυτάτοις ἱπποῖς αὐτῶν ἐνοχλῶν, καὶ ὑποφεύγων καὶ πάλιν ἱστάμενος καὶ ἐπιών, ἐκείνην τε τὴν ἡμέραν ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ πεδίῳ καὶ τὴν ἔπνιγον ὅλην διέτριψε περιθέων. ὡς δ' εἰκόσει ἀσφαλῶς ἔχειν τῆς φυγῆς τοὺς ἐτέρους, τότε νυκτὸς ὀρμήσας δι' ὁδὸν ἄτριβῶν κοιφοτάτοις ἱπποῖς ἀπεδραμεν ἐς Τριβόλαν, Ῥωμαίων αὐτῶν διάκειν ὦμοιώς οὐ δυναμένων διὰ τις βάρος ὁπλῶν καὶ ἀπερίαν ὁδῶν καὶ ἱππῶν ἀνομοιότητα. ὁδὲ μὲν ἔξ ἄλλην στρατὸν ἀπογυγνώσκοντα αὐτοῦ περιέσωσε, καὶ τὸ στρατήγημα τόδε περιφερόμενον ἐς 234.
of the bad faith of the Romans, and how often the latter had set upon them in violation of oaths, and how this whole army was composed of men who had escaped from the perjuries of Galba and Lucullus. If they would obey him, he said, they should not fail of an escape from the place.

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

CAP. τούς τήδε βαρβάρους ἐξήρεν αὐτόν, καὶ πολλοὶ πανταχόθεν αὐτῷ προσεχώρουν. ὦ δὲ ἐς ὁκτὼ ἦτη Ῥωμαίοις ἐπολέμει.

63. Καὶ μοι δοκεῖ τῶν Οὐριάτθου πόλεμον, σφόδρα τε ἐνοχλήσαντα Ῥωμαίοις καὶ δυσεργό- τατον αὐτοῖς γενόμενον, συναγαγείν, ἀναθέμενον εἰ τι τοῦ αὐτοῦ χρόνου περὶ Ἰβηρίαν ἀλλο ἐγίγνετο.

Οὐετίλιος μὲν δὴ αὐτῶν διάκων ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν Τριβόλαν, ὁ δ' Οὐρίατθος ἐν λόχμαις ἐνέδραν ἐπικρύψας ἔφυγε, μέχρι τὰς λόχμας ὑπερελθόντος τοῦ Οὐετίλιου αὐτὸς τε ἐπεστρέφοτο καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῆς ἐνέδρας ἀνεπτήδων, καὶ Ῥωμαίοις ἑκατέρωθεν ἐκτεινόν τε καὶ ἐξόγρουν καὶ ἐς τὰς φάραγγας ἐδοθοὺν. ἔξωμηθ' ὑπάρχει δὲ καὶ ὁ Οὐετίλιος· καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ λαβῶν ἄγνωστον, γέροντα ὑπέρπαχνον ὄρῳ, ἐκτει- νεν ὡς οὐδενὸς ἄξιον. Ῥωμαίοι δὲ μόλις ἐκ μυρίων ἐξακισχίλιοι διέδρασαν ἐς Καρπησσόν, ἐπὶ θαλάσση πόλιν, ἦν ἐγὼ νομίζω πρὸς Ἑλλη- νων πάλαι Ταρτησσόν ὀνομάζεσθαι, καὶ Ἀργαν- θώνιοι αὐτής βασιλεύουσι, ὅν ἐς πεντήκοντα καὶ ἐκατὸν ἔτη ἀφίκεσθαι φασίν. τοὺς μὲν οὖν ἐς τὴν Καρπησσόν διαφυγόντας ὁ ταμίας, δς εὕπετο τῷ Οὐετίλῳ, συνέτατον ἐπὶ τειχῶν δεδώτας- παρὰ δὲ Βελλῶν καὶ Τίτθων αὐτής πεντακισ- χιλίους συμμάχοις, καὶ λαβῶν, προὑπερμέφεν ἐπὶ τοῦ Οὐρίατθου. ὁ δὲ πάντας ἐκτεινεν, ὡς μηδ' ἀγγελοῦ διαφυγείν· καὶ ὁ ταμίας ἡσύχαξεν ἐν τῇ πόλει, περιμένων τινὰ βοήθειαν ἀπὸ Ῥώμης.

64. Οὐρίατθος δὲ τὴν Καρπησσίαν, εὐδαίμονα χώραν, ἐπιῶν ἀδεῶς ἑληλατεῖ, ἐως ἦκεν ἐκ 236
tribes of that vicinity, brought him fame and many reinforcements from different quarters and enabled him to wage war against the Romans for eight years.

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

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

64. Viriathus overran the fruitful country of Carpetania in security, and ravaged it until Caius
APPLEN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK VI

CAP. XI
'Ρόμης Γάιος Πλαύτιος ἄγων πεζός μυρίος καὶ ἰπτέας χιλίους ἐπὶ τριακοσίοις. τότε δ' αὐθίς ὑπεκρίνατο φεύγειν ὁ Οὐρίατθος, καὶ ὁ Πλαύτιος αὐτὸν ἔπεμψε διώκειν ἐστερακισκήλους, οὕς ἐπιστραφεῖς ὁ Οὐρίατθος ἔκτεινε χώρας ὦλην. καὶ τὸν Τάγον ποταμὸν διαβὰς ἐστρατοπέδευεν ἐν ὅρει περιφύτῳ μὲν ἐλάαις, Ἀφροδίτης δ' ἐπωνύμω, ἕνθα ὁ Πλαύτιος καταλαβὼν, καὶ τὸ πταῖσμα ἀναλαβὲν ἔπευγόμενος, συνεβαλεν. ἦττηθείς δὲ φόνου πολλοῦ γενομένου διέφυγαν ἀκοσμαὶ ἐς τὰς πόλεις, καὶ ἐκ μέσου θέρους ἔχειμαζον, οὐθαρρῶν οὐδαμοὶ προϊέναι. ὁ δ' Οὐρίατθος τὴν χώραν ἄδεως περιῶν ἦτει τοὺς κεκτημένους τιμὴν τοῦ ἐπικειμένου καρποῦ, καὶ παρ' ὅν μὴ λάβοι διέφθειρεν.

65. Ὀμνὶ ὦν ἂν ἄστει Ὡρμαῖοι πυνθανόμενοι Φάβιον Μάξιμον Αἰμιλιανόν, Αἰμιλίου Παύλου τοῦ Περσέα τοῦ Μακεδόνων βασιλέα ἀνελόντος νύν, ἐπεμπον ἕως Ἰβηρίαν, καὶ στρατιὰν ἐαυτὸ καταγράφειν ἐπέτρεπτον. ὁ δὲ, Ὡρμαῖων ἄρτι, Καρχηδόνα καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἠλόντων καὶ τὸν τρίτον ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ πόλεμον κατωρθούκότων, φειδὸς τῶν ἄνδρων τῶν ἐκείθεν ἐληλυθότων κατέλεγε πρωθήκας, οὐ πρὶν πόλεμον πεπειραμένους, ἐς δύο τέλη. καὶ παρὰ τῶν συμμάχων στρατοῦ ἄλλου αἰτήσας ἦκεν ὡς Ὀρσόνα τῆς Ἰβηρίας σύμπαντας ἔχον πεζῶς μυρίους καὶ πεντακισχιλίους καὶ ἰπτέας ἐς δισχιλίους. οἵθεν ouden μάχης ἄρχον, μέχρι τὴν στρατιὰν γεμώσαντας, ἐς Γάδειρα διέπλευσε τὸν πορθμόν, Ἡρακλεὶ θύσων. ὁ δὲ Οὐρίατθος αὐτοῦ τῶν ξυλευομένων τισὶ ἐπιπεσὼν ἔκτεινε πολλοὺς 238.
THE WARS IN SPAIN

Plautius came from Rome bringing 10,000 foot and 1300 horse. Then Viriathus again feigned flight and Plautius sent about 4000 men to pursue him, but he turned upon them and killed all except a few. Then he crossed the river Tagus and encamped on a mountain covered with olive-trees, called Venus' mountain. There Plautius overtook him, and eager to retrieve his misfortune, joined battle with him, but was defeated with great slaughter, and fled in disorder to the towns, and went into winter quarters in midsummer not daring to show himself anywhere. Accordingly, Viriathus overran the whole country without check and required the owners of the growing crops to pay him the value thereof, or if they would not, he destroyed the crops.

65. When these facts became known at Rome, they sent Fabius Maximus Aemilianus, the son of Aemilius Paulus (who had conquered Perseus, the king of Macedonia), to Spain, having given him power to levy an army for himself. As Carthage and Greece had been but recently conquered, and the third Macedonian war brought to a successful end, in order that he might spare the soldiers who had just returned from those places, he chose young men who had never been engaged in war before, to the number of two legions. He asked for additional forces from the allies and arrived at Orso, a city of Spain, having altogether 15,000 foot and about 2000 horse. As he did not wish to engage the enemy until his forces were well disciplined, he made a voyage through the straits to Gades in order to sacrifice to Hercules. In the meantime Viriathus fell upon some of his wood-cutters, killed many, and
καὶ ἔφοβησε τοὺς λοιποὺς. τοῦ δ’ ὑποστρατήγουν
συντάξαντος αὐτοὺς αὖθις ὁ Οὐρίατθος ἐκράτει
καὶ πολλὴν λείαν περιεσύρατο. ἀφικομένου τε
τοῦ Μαξίμου συνεχῶς ἐξέτασε προκαλούμενος.
ὁ δὲ δὴρ μὲν οὐ συνεμίσγετο τῷ στρατῷ, γυμ-
νάζων αὐτοὺς ἔτι, κατὰ δὲ μέρη πολλάκις ἢκρο-
βολίζετο, πειράν τε ποιούμενος τῶν πολεμῶν καὶ
toῖς ἰδίοις ἐντιθεὶς θάρσος. χορτολογῶν τε
ἐνόπλους ἂεὶ τοῖς γυμνοῖς περιίστη, καὶ περιέ-
τρεχε μεθ’ ἑπτέοις αὐτός, οὐδ’ Παύλῳ τῷ πατρὶ
συστρατευόμενος ἐν Μακεδόσιν ἑώρα. μετὰ δὲ
χειμῶνα γεγυμνασμένῳ τῷ στρατῷ τρέπεται
dεύτερος ὡθεὶν τὸν Οὐρίατθον καλὸς ἄγωνισάμενον
καὶ πόλεις αὐτοῦ δύο τὴν μὲν διήρπασε τὴν δὲ
ἐπέτρησεν, αὐτὸν τε, φεύγοντα ἐς χωρίον ὧν
ὁμοία ἢν Βαἰκόρ, διόκων ἔκτενε πολλοὺς. καὶ
ἐχείμαζεν ἐν Κορδύβῃ, δεύτερον ἔτος ἥδη στρα-
tηγῶν τούτη τοῦ πολέμου. καὶ τάδε μὲν ὁ
Αἰμηλιανὸς ἐργασάμενος ἐς Ἡρώμην ἀπήρε, δια-
δεξαμένου τὴν ἄρχην Κοίντου Πομπηίου τοῦ
Αὔλου.

66. Ἐφ’ οἷς ὁ Οὐρίατθος οὐχ ὀμοίως ἔτι κατα-
φρουνών, Ἀρουακοῦς καὶ Τίτθους καὶ Βελλοῦς,
ἐθνη μαχιμώτατα, ἀπέστησεν ἀπὸ Ἡρωαίων.
καὶ πολέμοιν ἄλλον οἶδε ἐφ’ ἑαυτῶν ἐπολέμονοι,
ὅτι ἐκ πόλεως αὐτῶν μιᾶς ὁμοντινὸν ἦγούνται,
μακρὸν τε καὶ ἔπλησαν Ἡρωαῖοι γενόμενοι. καὶ
συνάξω καὶ τόυτο ἐς ἐν μετ’ Οὐριατθὸν. Οὐρί-
ατθὸς ἐν ἐπὶ θάτερα τῆς Ἰθηρίας ἔτερφ
THE WARS IN SPAIN

struck terror into the rest. His lieutenant coming out to fight, Viriathus defeated him also and captured much booty. When Maximus returned, Viriathus drew out his forces repeatedly and offered battle. Maximus declined an engagement with the whole army and continued to exercise his men, but he skirmished frequently with part of his forces, making trial of the enemy's strength, and inspiring his own men with courage. When he sent out foragers he always placed a cordon of legionaries around the unarmed men and himself rode about the region with his cavalry, as he had seen his father Paulus do, when serving with him in the Macedonian war. Winter being ended, and his army well disciplined, he attacked Viriathus and was the second Roman general to put him to flight (although he fought valiantly), capturing two of his cities, of which he plundered one and burned the other. He pursued Viriathus to a place called Baecor, and killed many of his men, after which he wintered at Corduba, this being already the second year of his command in this war. Having performed these labours, Aemilianus returned to Rome and was succeeded in the command by Quintus Pompeius Aulus.

66. After this Viriathus, no longer despising the enemy as he had before, detached the Arevaci, Titthi, and Belli, very warlike peoples, from their allegiance to the Romans, and these began to wage another war on their own account which was long and tedious to the Romans, and which was called the Numantine war after one of their cities. I shall include this war also as a sequel to the war with Viriathus. The latter coming to an engagement in the further part of Spain with Quintius, another
ΑΡΓΙΑΝ'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK VI

ΧΑΡ. XI στρατηγῷ Ἁρμαίῳν Κοιντίῳ συνεπλέκετο, καὶ ἕσσωμενος ἦς τὸ Ἀφροδίσιον ὄρος ἀνέστρεφεν. ὅσον ἐπιστραφεῖς ἐκτεινε τῶν Κοιντίου ἐς χιλίους, καὶ σημεία τινα ἦρπασε· τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἦς τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτῶν συνεδώξε· καὶ τὴν ἐν Ἰτύκχη φρουρᾶν ἐξῆλθε, καὶ τὴν Βαστιτανῶν χώραν ἐλήξετο, Κοιντίου διὰ δειλίαν καὶ ἀπειρίαν οὐκ ἐπιβοσθοῦντος, ἀλλ' ἐν Κορδύβη χειμάζοντος ἐκ μέσου μετοπώρου, καὶ Γάιον Μάρκιον θαμνᾶ ἐπιπέμποντος αὐτῷ, ἀνδρα Ἰβηρα ἐκ πόλεως Ἰταλικῆς.

ΧΑΡ. XII

67. Τοῦ δ' ἐπίστατος ἦτος Κοιντίῳ μὲ ν ὁ ἀδελφὸς Αἰμυλανοῦ, Φάβιος Μάξιμος Σερούλιανος, ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν στρατηγίαν διάδοχος, δύο ἄλλα τέλη Ἁρμαίων ἄγων καὶ συμμάχους τινὰς, ἀπαντᾶς ἐς μνήμιοι καὶ ὀκτακισχιλίους πεζοὺς καὶ ἵππεας ἑξακοσίους ἐπὶ χιλίους. ἐπιστείλας δὲ καὶ Μικήψη τὸ Νομάδων βασιλεῖ πέμψανι οἱ τάχιστα ἐλέφαντας, ἐς Ἰτύκχην ἡπείγετο, τὴν στρατιὰν ἄγων κατὰ μέρος· καὶ τὸν Οὐριάτθου ἑξακισχιλίους ἀνδράσιν ἐπίσταν οἱ μετὰ τε κραυγῆς καὶ θρύβου βαρβαρικοῦ καὶ κόμης μακρᾶς, ἦν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ἐπισείουσιν τοῖς ἔχθροῖς, οὔτε ἕποτε ἡττᾶς ὑπέστη τις γενναίως καὶ ἀπεσώκον ἀπρακτόν. ὡς δὲ οἱ καὶ τὸ ἄλλο πλῆθος ἀφίκετο, καὶ ἐκ Λεβύης ἐλέφαντες δέκα σὺν ἵππευσι τριακοσίοις, στρατόπεδον ὑχῦρον μέγα, καὶ προσπεχεῖρε τὸ Οὐριάτθῳ, καὶ τρεψάμενος αὐτὸν ἐδώκεν. ἁτάκτου δὲ τῆς διώξεως γενομένης, ἵδον ἐν τῇ φυγῇ τούτῳ ο ὁ 242.
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Roman general, and being worsted, returned to the Venus mountain. From this he sallied, and slew about 1000 of Quintius' men and captured some standards from them and drove the rest into their camp. He also drove out the garrison of Ituca and ravaged the country of the Bastitani. Quintius did not render them aid by reason of his timidity and inexperience, but went into winter quarters at Corduba in the middle of autumn, and frequently sent Caius Marcius, a Spaniard from the city of Italica, against him.

67. At the end of the year, Fabius Maximus Servilianus, the brother of Aemilianus, came to succeed Quintius in the command, bringing two new legions from Rome and some allies, so that his forces altogether amounted to about 18,000 foot and 1600 horse. He wrote to Micipsa, king of the Numidians, to send him some elephants as speedily as possible. As he was hastening to Ituca with his army in divisions, Viriathus, at the head of 6000 troops, attacked him with loud shouts and barbaric clamour, his men wearing the long hair which in battles they are accustomed to shake in order to terrify their enemies, but he was not dismayed. He stood his ground bravely, and the enemy was driven off without accomplishing anything. When the rest of his army arrived, together with ten elephants and 300 horse from Africa, he established a large camp, advanced against Viriathus, defeated and pursued him. The pursuit became disorderly, and when Viriathus...
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CAP. Οὐριάτθος ἐπανηλθε, καὶ κτένας ἐς τρυσκόλους τοὺς λοιποὺς συνήλασεν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ προσέβαλε καὶ τάδε, ὅλγων μόναι αὐτῶν υφισταμένων περὶ τὰς πύλας, τῶν δὲ πλεόνων ἐς τὰς σκηνὰς καταδύντων ὑπὸ δέους καὶ μόλις ὑπὸ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ καὶ τῶν χιλιάρχων ἐξαγομένων. τότε μὲν οὖν Φάνιος τε, ὁ Δαλίου κηδεστὴς, λαμπρῶς ἠρίστευε, καὶ νῦς ἐπελθοῦσα Ῥωμαιῶν περιέσωσεν· ο ὁ Ὁυριάτθος ἢ νυκτὸς ἢ καύματος ἠράθημα νά ἐπίων, καὶ οὐ τινα καὶρον ἀδόκητον ἐκλείπων, ψυλλοὶς ἀνδράσι καὶ ἵππως ταχυτάτους ἰνάχυλοι τοῖς πολεμίοις μέχρι τοῦ Σερουιλιανοῦ ἐς Ἰτύκκην ἁναστήσαται.

68. Τότε δὲ ἤδη τροφὸν τε ἀπορῶν ὁ Οὐριάτθος καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἔχων ἐλάττω, νυκτὸς ἐμπρήσας τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐς Λυσίταιναν ἀνεχόμεν. καὶ αὐτῶν ὁ Σερουιλιανὸς οὐ καταλαβὼν ἐς Βαιτουρίαν ἐνέβαλε, καὶ πέντε πόλεις διήρπαζεν, αἱ τῷ Ὁὐριάτθῳ συνεπεπράχθησαν. μετὰ δὲ τούτῳ ἐστράτευν εἰς Κουνέοις, ὅθεν ἐς Λυσίταινος ἐπὶ τὸν Οὐριάτθον αὐθίς ἤπειγοτο. καὶ αὐτῷ παροδεύοντι δύο λῆσταρχοι μετὰ μυρίων ἀνδρῶν ἐπιθέμενοι, Κοῦριος τε καὶ Ἀπουλίμος, ἔθορυβησαν καὶ τὴν λείαν ἀφείλοντο. καὶ Κοῦριος μὲν ἐν τῷ ἀγῶνι ἔπεσεν, ὁ δὲ Σερουιλιανὸς τὴν τε λείαν μετ' ὦν πολὺ ἄνελαβε, καὶ πόλεις ἑλευ Εὐσκαδίαν τε καὶ Γέμελλαν καὶ Ὀβόλκολαν, φρουρουμένας ὑπὸ τῶν Οὐριάτθου, καὶ διήρπαζεν ἐτέρας, καὶ συνεγίγνωσκεν ἄλλας· αἰχμάλωτα δ' ἔχουν ἀμφὶ τὰ μύρια, πεντακοσίων μὲν ἀπέτεμε τὰς κεφαλὰς, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἀπέδοτο. καὶ Κοῦνοβαν μὲν τινα λῆσταρχον ἐαυτὸν ἐγχειρίσαντα λαβὼν, καὶ

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observed this as he fled he rallied, slew about 3000 of the Romans, and drove the rest to their camp. He attacked the camp also, where only a few made a stand about the gates, the greater part hiding under their tents from fear, and being with difficulty brought back to their duty by the general and the tribunes. Here Fannius, the brother-in-law of Laelius, showed splendid bravery, and the Romans were saved by the approach of darkness. But Viriathus continued to make frequent incursions by night or in the heat of the day, appearing at every unexpected time with his light-armed troops and his swift horses to annoy the enemy, until he forced Servilianus back to Itucca.

68. Then at length Viriathus, being in want of provisions, and his army much reduced, burnt his camp in the night and returned to Lusitania. Servilianus did not overtake him, but fell upon the country of Baeturia and plundered five towns which had sided with Viriathus. After this he marched against the Cunei, and thence to Lusitania once more against Viriathus. While he was on the march two captains of robbers, Curius and Apuleius, with 10,000 men, attacked the Romans, threw them into confusion, and captured their booty. Curius was killed in the fight, and Servilianus not long afterward recovered the booty and took the towns of Escadia, Gemella, and Obolcola, which had been garrisoned by Viriathus. Others he plundered and still others he spared. Having captured about 10,000 prisoners, he beheaded 500 of them and sold the rest as slaves. Having received the surrender of a captain of robbers, named Connoba, he spared him alone, but cut off the hands of all of his men.
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ΚΑΠ. ΙΧΠ ΦΕΙΣΆΜΕΝΟΣ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΜΟΝΩΝ, 69. ΤΟΥΣ ΣΥΝ ΑΥΤΩ ΠΆΝΤΑΣ ΕΧΕΙΡΟΚΟΠΉΣΕΝ, ΟΥΡΙΆΤΘΟΝ ΔΕ ΔΙΩΚΩΝ ΕΡΙΣΆΝΗΝ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΠΟΛΙΝ ΑΠΕΤΆΦΡΕΝΕΝ, ΕΣ ΉΝ ὁ ΟΥΡΙΆΤΘΟΣ ΕΣΘΡΑΜΔΩΝ ΝΥΚΤΟΣ ΑΜΑ ΕΡ ΤΟΙΣ ΕΡΓΑΞΟΜΕΝΟΙΣ ἘΠΈΚΕΙΤΟ, ΜΕΧΡΙ ΤΑ ΣΚΑΦΕΙΑ ΡΙΨΑΝΤΕΣ ἘΦΕΥΓΟΝ. ΤΗΝ ΤΕ ΑΛΛΗΝ ΣΤΡΑΤΙΑΝ, ἘΚΤΑΧΘΕΙΣΑΝ ὙΠΟ ΤΟΥ ΣΕΡΟΥΛΙΑΝΟΥ, ΤΡΕΨΆΜΕΝΟΣ ΟΜΟΙΩΣ ΟΥΡΙΆΤΘΟΣ ἘΔΙΩΚΕ, ΚΑΙ ΣΥΝΗΛΑΣΕΝ ΕΣ ΚΡΗΜΝΟΥΣ, ΘΕΝ ΟΥΚ ἩΝ ΤΟΙΣ ῬΩΜΑΙΟΙΣ ΔΙΑΦΥΓΕΙΝ. ΟΥΡΙΆΤΘΟΣ ΔΕ ΕΣ ΤΗΝ ΕΥΤΥΧΙΑΝ ΟΥΧ ὙΒΡΙΣΕΝ, ἈΛΛΑ ΝΟΜΙΣΑΣ ΕΝ ΚΑΛῊ ΘΗΣΕΣΘΑΙ ΤΟΝ ΠΟΛΕΜΟΝ ἘΠΙ ΧΆΡΙΤΙ ΛΑΜΠΡΆ, ΣΥΝΕΠΩΤΕΤΟ ῬΩΜΑΙΟΙΣ, ΚΑΙ ΤΑΣ ΣΥΝΘΗΚΕΣ Ο ΔΗΜΟΣ ἘΠΕΚΥΡΩΣΕΝ. ΟΥΡΙΆΤΘΟΝ ΕΙΝΑΙ ῬΩΜΑΙΟΝ ΦΙΛΟΝ, ΚΑΙ ΤΟΙΣ ὙΠΟ ΑΥΤΩ ΠΆΝΤΑΣ ᾽Η ΞΧΟΥΝΤΟ ΓΗΣ ΑΡΧΕΙΝ. ὩΔΕ ΜΕΝ ὁ ΟΥΡΙΑΤΘΟΝ ΠΟΛΕΜΟΣ ἘΔΟΚΕΙ ΠΕΝΑΙΘΑΙ, ΧΑΛΕΠΩΤΑΤΟΣ ΤΕ ῬΩΜΑΙΟΙΣ ΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΟΣ ΚΑΙ ἘΠΙ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΣΙΑ ΚΑΤΑΛΥΘΕΙΣ. 70. ΟΥ ΜΗΝ ἘΤΕΜΕΕΝΟΝ ΟΥΔῊ ΕΣ ΒΡΑΧΥ ΤΑ ΣΥΝΚΕΙΜΕΝΑ: ὁ ΓΑΡ ΆΔΕΛΦΟΣ ΣΕΡΟΥΛΙΑΝΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΤΑῦΤΑ ΣΥΝΘΕΜΕΝΟΥ, ΚΑΙΠΙΩΝ, ΔΙΑΔΟΧΟΣ ΑΥΤῊ ΤΗΣ ΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΙΑΣ ΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΟΣ ΔΙΕΒΑΛΛΕ ΤΑΣ ΣΥΝΘΗΚΕΣ, ΚΑΙ ἘΠΕΣΤΕΛΛΕ ῬΩΜΑΙΟΙΣ ἍΠΡΕΠΕΣΤΑΤΑΣ ΕΙΝΑΙ. ΚΑΙ Ἡ ΒΟΥΛΗ ΤΟ ΜΕΝ ΠΡΩΤΟΝ ΑΥΤῊ ΣΥΝΕΧΩΡΕΙ ΚΡΥΦΑ ΛΥΠΕΙΝ ΤΟΝ ΟΥΡΙΑΤΘΟΝ ΩΣ ΤΙ ΔΟΚΙΜΑΣΕΙΝ ὩΣ ΔῊ ΑΘΙΣ ΗΝΩΧΛΕΙ ΚΑΙ ΣΥΝΕΧΟΣ ἘΠΕΣΤΕΛΛΕΝ, ἘΚΡΙΝΕ ΛΥΣΑΙ ΤΕ ΤΑΣ ΨΟΥΝΔΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΦΑΝΕΡΩΣ ΠΟΛΕΜΕΙΝ ΑΘΙΣ ΟΥΡΙΑΤΘΟΡ. ΕΠΙΣΡΕΜΕΝΟΝ ΔΗ ΣΑΦΩΣ, ὁ ΚΑΙΠΙΩΝ ἈΡΣΑΝ ΤΕ ΠΟΛΙΝ ἘΚΛΗΠΤΟΝ ΤΟΣ ΟΥΡΙΑΤΘΟΝ ΠΑΡΕΛΑΒΕ, ΚΑΙ ΑΥΤῊΝ ΟΥΡΙΑΤΘΟΝ ΦΕΥΓΟΝΤΑ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΤΑ ΕΝ ΠΑΡΟΔῊ ΦΘΕΙΡΟΝΤΑ ΠΕΡΙ ΚΑΡΠΗΝΑΙΑΝ ΚΑΤΕΛΑΒΕ, ΠΟΛῊ ΠΛΕΙΟΝΑΣ ΞΧΟΥΝ. 246
69. While following Viriathus, he invested Erisana, one of his towns. Viriathus entered the town by night, and at daybreak fell upon those who were working in the trenches, compelling them to throw away their spades and run. In like manner he defeated the rest of the army, which was drawn up in order of battle by Servilianus, pursued it, and drove the Romans against some cliffs, from whence there was no chance of escape. Viriathus was not arrogant in the hour of victory, but considering this a favourable opportunity of bringing the war to an end by a conspicuous act of generosity, he made an agreement with them, which was ratified by the Roman people. Viriathus was declared to be a friend of the Roman nation, and it was decreed that all of his followers should have the land which they then occupied. Thus the Viriathic war, which had been so extremely tedious to the Romans, seemed to have been brought to an end by this act of generosity.

70. The peace however did not last, even for a short time, for Caepio, brother of Servilianus who had concluded it, being his successor in the command complained of the treaty, and wrote home that it was most unworthy of the dignity of the Roman people. The Senate at first authorized him to annoy Viriathus according to his own discretion, provided it were done secretly, and, when he made further agitations, and continually sent letters, it decided to break off the treaty, and again declare open war against Viriathus. When war was definitely declared, Caepio took the town of Arsa, which Viriathus abandoned, and overtook Viriathus himself (who fled and destroyed everything in his path) in Carpetania, the Roman forces being much stronger than his.
οθεν ὁ Ὄυριάτθος οὐ δοκιμάζων αὐτῷ συμπλέκεσθαι διὰ τὴν ὀλγότητα, κατὰ μὲν τινα φάραγγα ἀφαίη τὸ πλέον τοῦ στρατοῦ περιέπεμψεν ἀπίέναι, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν αὐτὸς ἐκτάξας ἐπὶ λόφου δόξαν παρείχε πολεμήσοντος. ὡς δὲ ἥσθεν τῶν προαπασταλμένων ἐν ἀσφαλεὶ γεγονότων, ἔξειπνευσεν ἵς αὐτοὺς μετὰ καταφρονήσεως, ὥσεως οὖτως ὡς μηδε αἰσθήσαθαι τοὺς διώκοντας ὅποι διέδραμεν. ὁ δὲ Καυπίων ἐς Οὐέττωνας καὶ Καλλαῖκους τραπεῖς τὰ ἐκεῖναν ἔδω.  

71. Καὶ ξύλῳ τῶν ἐργῶν Ὄυριάτθου τὴν Δυσιτάνιαν ληστήρια πολλὰ ἀλλὰ ἐπιτρέχοντα ἐπόρθει. Σέξτος δὲ Ἰούνιος Βρούτος ἐπὶ ταῦτα πεμφθεὶς ἀπέγρω μὲν αὐτὰ διώκειν διὰ χώρας μακρὰς, ὅσην ὁ Τάγος τε καὶ Δήθης καὶ Δόριος καὶ Βαύτις ποταμοὶ ναυσίποροι περιέχουσιν, ὥσεως, οίδα δὴ ληστήρια, μεθυσταμένους δυσεργεῖς ἡγούμενοι εἶναι καταλαβεῖν, καὶ αἰσχρὸν οὐ καταλαβόντι, καὶ νικήσαντι τὸ ἐργὸν οὐ λαμπρὸν· ἐστὶ δὲ τὰς πόλεις αὐτῶν ἐτράπετο, δίκην τε λήψεσθαι προσδοκῶν, καὶ τῇ στρατιᾷ πολὺ κέρδος περιέσχομαι, καὶ τοὺς ληστὰς ἐς ἐκάστην ὡς πατρίδα κινδυνεύουσαν διαλυθήσεσθαι. ὁ μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' ἐνθυμούμενος ἔδησον τὰ ἐν ποσὶν ἀπάντα, συμμαχομένων τοῖς ἀνδράσι τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ συναιρομένων, καὶ οὐ τινα φωνὴν οὐδὲ ἐν ταῖς σφαγαῖς ἁφεισάν. εἰσὶ δὲ οἳ καὶ ἐς τὰ ὅρη μεθ' ὅνω ἐδύναντο ἀνεπήδων καὶ αὐτοῖς δεομένους συνεγήγωσκέν ὁ Βρούτος, καὶ τὰ ὅντα ἐμερίζετο.  

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Viriathus, therefore, deeming it unwise to engage in battle, on account of the smallness of his army, ordered the greater part of it to retreat through a hidden defile, while he drew up the remainder on a hill as though he intended to fight. When he judged that those who had been sent before had reached a place of safety, he darted after them with such disregard of the enemy and such swiftness that his pursuers did not know whither he had gone. Caepio turned against the Vettones and the Callaici and wasted their fields.

71. Emulating the example of Viriathus many other guerilla bands made incursions into Lusitania and ravaged it. Sextus Junius Brutus, who was sent against them, despaired of following them through the extensive country bounded by the navigable rivers Tagus, Lethe, Durius, and Baetis, because he considered it extremely difficult to overtake them while they moved swiftly from place to place as freebooters do, and yet disgraceful to fail in doing so, while it was no very glorious task even if he should conquer them. He therefore turned against their towns, thinking that thus he should take vengeance on them, and at the same time secure a quantity of plunder for his army, and that the robbers would scatter, each to his own place, when their homes were threatened. With this design he began destroying everything that came in his way, the women fighting and perishing in company with the men, and dying without a cry. Some, however, of the inhabitants fled to the mountains with what they could carry, and to these, when they asked pardon, Brutus granted it, portioning out their goods.
Καὶ τὸν Δόριον περάσας πολλὰ μὲν πολέμῳ κατέδραμε, πολλὰ δὲ παρὰ τῶν αὐτοῦς ἐνδιδόντων ὄμηρα αἰτήσας ἐπὶ Δήθην μετῆει, πρῶτος ὦδε Ῥωμαιῶν ἐπινοῦ τῶν ποταμῶν τόνδε διαβῆναι. περάσας δὲ καὶ τόνδε, καὶ μέχρι Νίμιος ἔτερον ποταμὸν προελθὼν, Βρακάρων αὐτῷ φερομένην ἀγορὰν ἀρπασάντων ἐστράτευεν ἐπὶ τοὺς Βρακάρους, οἳ εἰσὶν ἔθνος μαχιμῶτατον, καὶ ἀμα ταῖς γυναιξίν ὀπλισμέναις καὶ οἴδε ἐμάχοντο, καὶ προθύμως ἔθυνον, οὐκ ἐπιστρέφομενος αὐτῶν οἰδεῖς, οὐδὲ τὰ νῶτα δεικνύς, οὐδὲ φωνὴν ἀφιέντες. ὅσαι δὲ κατήγοντο τῶν γυναικῶν, αἱ μὲν αὐτὰς διεχρώντο, αἴδεκαὶ τῶν τέκνων αὐτόχειρας ἐγίνοντο, καὶ ῥώσαντο τῷ θανάτῳ μᾶλλον τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας. εἰσὶ δὲ τινες τῶν πόλεων αἱ τότε μὲν τῷ Βρούτῳ προσετίθεντο, οὐ πολὺ δ᾽ ύστερον ἄφισταντο. καὶ αὐτὰς ὁ Βρούτος κατεστρέφετο αὐθίς.

Επὶ δὲ Ταλάβριγα πόλιν ἐληθῶν, ἥ πολλάκις μὲν αὐτῷ συνετέθειτο, πολλάκις δὲ ἀποστάσα ἤνωχεί, παρακαλοῦντων αὐτὸν καὶ τότε τῶν Ταλάβριγος καὶ διδόντων αὐτοῦς ἡς ὁ τι χρῆι, πρῶτα μὲν τοὺς αὐτομόλους Ῥωμαῖων ἤτει καὶ τὰ αἰχμάλωτα, καὶ ὅπλα ὅσα εἶχον, καὶ ὄμηρα ἐπὶ πόλεως, εἰτ αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευε σὺν παῖσι καὶ γυναιξίν ἐκλιπτεῖν τὴν πόλιν. ὡς δὲ καὶ τοῦθ' ὑπέστησαν, τὴν στρατιὰν αὐτῶς περιστήσας ἐδημηγόρει, καταλέγων ὅσας ἀποστάσαι καὶ ὅσοι πολέμους πολεμήσειαν αὐτῷ. φόβον δὲ καὶ δόξαν ἐμφήνας ἐργασομένου τῷ δεινῷ, ἐπὶ τῶν οὐείδων ἔληξε, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ὑποὺς αὐτῶν καὶ τὸν σίτον καὶ χρήματα ὅσα κοινὰ ἦν, ἥ εἰ τις ἀλλη δημοσία παρασκευή.
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72. He then crossed the river Durius, carrying war far and wide and demanding many hostages from those who surrendered, until he came to the river Lethe, being the first of the Romans to think of crossing that stream. Passing over this he advanced to another river called the Nimis, where he attacked the Bracari because they had plundered his provision train. They are a very warlike people, and among them too the women bore arms with the men, who died with a will, not a man of them showing his back, or uttering a cry. Of the women who were captured some killed themselves, others slew their children also with their own hands, considering death preferable to captivity. There were some towns that surrendered to Brutus at the time, but soon afterwards revolted. These he reduced to subjection again.

73. One of the towns that often submitted and as often rebelled and gave him trouble was Talabriga. When Brutus moved against it the inhabitants, as usual, begged pardon and offered to surrender at discretion. He first demanded of them all the deserters, the prisoners, and the arms they had, and hostages in addition, and then he ordered them to vacate the town with their wives and children. When they had obeyed this order as well, he surrounded them with his army and made a speech to them, telling them how often they had revolted and renewed the war against him. Having inspired them with fear and with the belief that he was about to inflict some terrible punishment on them, he let the matter end in reproaches. Having deprived them of their horses, provisions, public money, and other general resources, he gave them back their
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74. Ὄψιοι τοῖς πιστοτάτοις αὐτῷ φίλους ἐπέπεμπεν, Αὐδάκα καὶ Διάλκωνα καὶ Μίνουρον, οἱ διαφθαρέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ Καπιώνος δῷος τε μεγάλοις καὶ ὑποσχέσει πολλαῖς ὑπέστησαν αὐτῷ κτενεῖν τὸν Ὅμηρατον. καὶ ἔκτειναν ὅδε. ὠνοματοτάτοις ἤν διὰ φροντίδα καὶ πόνος ὁ Ὅμηρατος, καὶ τὰ πολλὰ ἐνπλοὶ ἀνεπαύετο, ὡν ἐσχάρομεν εὐθὺς ἐς πάντα ἔτοιμος εἴη. τοῖς οὖν φίλοις ἔζην καὶ νυκτερεύοντες ἑνυπαχάνει. ὃς ἦν καὶ τότε ἔθει οἱ περὶ τοῦ Αὐδάκα φυλάξαντες αὐτῶν, ἀρχομένου ὑπὸ παρῆλθον ἐς τὴν σκηνήν ὡς δὴ τίνος ἐπείγοντος, καὶ κεντοῦσιν ὡπλισμένον ἐς τὴν σφαγήν, οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἄλλοθι. οὐδεμιὸς δ' αἰσθήσεως γενομένης διὰ τὴν τῆς πληγής εὐκαιρίαν, διέδρασαν ἐς Καπιώνα καὶ τὰς δωρεὰς ὑτουν. ὃς ἐν αὐτικὰ μὲν αὐτοῖς ἔδωκεν ἀδεῶς ἔχειν ὡς ἔχουσι, περὶ δὲ ὡν ἦτουν, ἐς Ὅμηρατον αὐτοὺς ἔπεμπεν. οἱ δὲ θεραπευτῆρες Ὅμηρατον καὶ ἡ ἄλλη στρατιά, γενομένης ἡμέρας, ἀναπαύσαν νομίζοντες αὐτῶν ἐθαύμαζον διὰ τὴν ἀνθείαν, μέχρι τινὲς ἐμαθον ὅτι νεκρὸς κέντο ἐνπλοῖς. καὶ εὐθὺς ἦν οἰμωγή τε καὶ πένθος ἄνα τὸ στρατόπεδον, ἀλαούτων τε ἐπὶ ἐκείνῳ καὶ περὶ σφῶν ἰδιότων, καὶ ἐνθυμοῦ.
THE WARS IN SPAIN

town to dwell in, contrary to their expectation. CHAP. X11
Having accomplished these results, Brutus returned to Rome. I have united these events with the history of Viriathus, because they were undertaken by other guerilla bands at the same time, and in emulation of him.

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

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μένων ἐν οἷς εἰσὶ κινδύνοις καὶ οἷον στρατηγοῦ στεροῦνται. μάλιστα δὲ αὐτοὺς, ὅτι τοὺς δράσαντας οὐχ ἥμισυκον, ὑπερῆλθεν.

75. Οὐρίατθον μὲν δὴ λαμπρότατα κοσμήσαντες ἐπὶ ψυχλοτάτης πυρᾶς ἔκαιον, ιερείᾳ τε πολλὰ ἐπέσφατον αὐτῷ, καὶ κατὰ ἰδίας οὐ τε πεζοὶ καὶ οἱ ἱππεῖς ἐν κύκλῳ περιβένοντες αὐτὸν ἐνοπλοὶ βαρβαρικῶς ἐπῆμον, μέχρι τε σβεσθῆναι τὸ πῦρ παρεκάθηντο πάντες ἀμφ' αὐτό. καὶ τῆς ταφῆς ἐκτελεσθείσης, ἀγώνα μονομάχων ἀνδρῶν ἦγαγον ἐπὶ τοῦ τάφου. τοσοῦτον αὐτοῦ πόθον κατέλυσεν Οὐρίατθος, ἀρχικότατος μὲν ὡς ἐν βαρβάρωις γενόμενος, φιλοκινδυνώτατος δ' ἐστὶν ἀπαντα πρὸ ἀπάντων, καὶ ἱσομοιοτάτος ἐν τοῖς κέρδεσιν. οὐ γάρ ποτὲ πλέον ὑπεστή λαβεῖν, ἀεὶ παρακαλοῦντων δ' δὲ καὶ λάβοι, τοῖς ἀριστεύσαις ἐδίδου. δὲν αὐτῷ, δυσχερέστατον ἔργον καὶ οὐδὲν πιὸ στρατηγῶν εὐμαρῶς ἐγγενόμενον, ἔτεσιν ὅκτῳ τοῦτο τοῦ πολέμου παρμνηγῆς στρατὸς ἀστασίαστος ἢν καὶ κατήκουσε αἰεὶ καὶ ἐστὶν κινδύνους ἡμῖν τῶν κατηκών ἐξύποτο. τότε δὲ σφῶν Τάνταλον ἐλόμενοι στρατηγεῖν, ἐπὶ Ζάκανθαν ἐφέροντο, ἤν 'Αννίβας καθελὼν ἔκτισε καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτοῦ πατρίδος Καρχηδόνα προσεῖπεν. ἀποκρουσθεὶς δ' αὐτοῖς ἔκειθεν, καὶ τὸν Βαύτιν ποταμὸν περῴσων, ὁ Καιπίων ἐπέκειτο, μέχρι κάμινον ὁ Τάνταλος αὐτὸν τε καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν τῷ Καιπίωνι.
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dangers they were in, and of what a general they had been bereft. And what pained them most of all was that they could not find the perpetrators of the crime.

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

1 See note on p. 157.

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CAP. XI

παρέδωκεν ὡς ὑπηκόοις χρήσθαι. ὁ δὲ διπλα τε
αὐτοῦς ἀφεῖλετο ἅπαντα, καὶ γῆν ἔδωκεν ἵκανήν,
ίνα μὴ ληστεύοντες ἔξ ἀπορίας.

XIII

CAP. XIII

76. Ἐπάνεισι δ' ἐς τὸν Ἀρουακῶν καὶ Νομαντίνων
πόλεμον ἡ γραφή, οὕτως Οὐρίατθος μὲν ἰρέθισεν ἐς
ἀπόστασιν, Καικύλλιος δ' αὐτοῖς Μέτελλος ἀπὸ
Ῥώμης ἐπιπεμφθεῖς μετὰ πλέονος στρατοῦ Ἀρουα-
κοὺς μὲν ἑχειρώσατο, σὺν ἐκπλήξει καὶ τάχει
θερίζουσιν ἐμπάπτουν, Τερμεντία δ' αὐτῷ καὶ
Νομαντία ἐτί ἔλειπον. ἢν δ' ἡ Νομαντία ποτα-
μοῖς δύο καὶ φάραγξιν ἀπόκρημνος, ὅλα τε αὐτῇ
πυκναὶ περιέκειτο, καὶ μᾶ ἐκάθοδος ἢν ἐς τὸ
πεδίον, ἢ τάφρων ἐπεπλήρωτο καὶ στηλῶν. αὐτοὶ
δ' ἴσαν ἄριστοι μὲν ἰππείς τε καὶ πεζοί, πάντες δ' ἅ-
μφι τοὺς ὀκτακισχίλους. καὶ τοσοῦτο ἄντε
ἐμως ὑπ' ἀρετῆς ἐς μέγα ἡνώχλησαν τὰ Ῥωμαίων.
Μέτελλος μὲν δὴ μετὰ χειμῶνα τὴν στρατιὰν
Κοίνῳ Πομπήῳ [Αὐλφ] διαδόχῳ τῆς στρατηγίας
οἱ γενομένῳ παρέδωκε, τρισμυρίους πεζοὺς καὶ
dισχίλιους ἰππέας ἄριστα γεγυμνωσμένους, ὁ
δὲ Πομπήιος τῇ Νομαντίᾳ παραστρατοπεδεύων
ὡχετὸ ποι, καὶ ἰππέας αὐτοῦ μεταθέωντας αὐτὸν
οἱ Νομαντίνοι καταβάντες ἐκτεινάν. ἐπανελθὼν
οὔν παρέτασσεν ἐς τὸ πεδίον, καὶ οἱ Νομαντίνοι
catabaantes ῥυχώρουν κατ' ὁλίγον οἷα φεύγοντες,
μέχρι ταῖς στήλαις καὶ φάραγξιν ὁ Πομπήιος . . .

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

XIII

76. Our history returns to the war against the Arevaci and the Numantines, whom Viriathus stirred up to revolt. Caecilius Metellus was sent against them from Rome with a larger army, and he subdued the Arevaci, falling upon them with alarming suddenness while they were gathering their crops. There still remained the two towns of Termantia and Numantia to engage his attention. Numantia was difficult of access by reason of the two rivers and the ravines and dense woods that surrounded it. There was only one road to the open country and that had been blocked by ditches and palisades. The men were first-rate soldiers, both horse and foot, although their numbers in all were only about 8000. Although so few, they gave the Romans great trouble by their bravery. At the end of winter Metellus surrendered to his successor, Quintus Pompeius Aulus, the command of the army, consisting of 30,000 foot and 2000 horse, all admirably trained. While encamped against Numantia, Pompeius had occasion to go away somewhere. The Numantines made a sally against a body of his horse that was ranging after him and destroyed them. He therefore returned and drew up his army in the plain. The Numantines came down to meet him, but retired slowly as though intending flight, until they had drawn Pompeius to the ditches and palisades.
77. Καὶ καθ’ ἡμέραν ἐν ταῖς ἀκροβολίαις ἐλασσούμενος ὑπ’ ἀνδρῶν πολὺ ἐλασσόνων, μετέβαινεν ἐπὶ Τερμεντίαν ὡς εὐχερέστερον ἔργον. ὡς δὲ καὶ τῇ δε συμβαλλόν ἐπτακσίσους τε ἀπώλεσε, καὶ τὸν τὴν ἀγορὰν αὐτῷ φέροντα χιλίαρχον οἱ Τερμεντεῖος ἔτρεψαντο, καὶ τρίτη πείρα κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἡμέραν ἐς ἀπόκρημνα τοὺς Ῥωμαίους συνελάσαντες πολλοὺς αὐτῶν πεζοὺς τε καὶ ἱππεάς αὐτοῖς ἅπαντας κατέωσαν ἐς τὰ ἀπόκρημνα, περιφόβως ἔχοντες οἱ λοιποί διευκτέρευον ἐνοπλοῦ, καὶ ἅμα ἔρ προσιώντων τῶν πολεμίων ἐκταξάμενοι τὴν ἡμέραν ὅλην ἡγούσιοντο ἀγχωμάλως, καὶ διεκρίθησαν ὑπὸ νυκτός. ὅθεν ὁ Πομπήιος ἐπὶ πολίχνης Μαλίας ἦλασεν, ἢν ἐφρούρουν οἱ Νομαντίνοι. καὶ οἱ Μαλεῖς τοὺς φρουροὺς ἀνελόντες ἐκ ἐνέδρας, παρέδοσαν τὸ πολίχνιον τῷ Πομπηίῳ. ὁ δὲ τὰ τε ὑπλα αὐτοὺς καὶ ὁμηρὰ αἰτήσας, μετῆλθεν ἐπὶ Σηθηνίαν, ἢν ἐδόθη λήσταρχος ὅνομα Ταγγίνος· καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Πομπήιος ἐνίκα, καὶ πολλοὺς ἔλαβεν αἴχμαλωτοὺς. τοσοῦτον δ’ ἦν φρονήματος ἐν τοῖς λήσταις ὡστε τῶν αἴχμαλωτῶν οὐδεὶς ὑπέμεινεν δουλεύειν, ἀλλ’ οἱ μὲν αὐτοὺς οἱ δὲ τοὺς πριαμένους ἀνήρον, οἱ δὲ τὰς ναῦς ἐν τῷ διάπλω διείτριαν.

78. Ὅ δὲ Πομπήιος αὖθις ἐλάσας ἐπὶ Νομαντίαν, ποταμὸν τινα μετωχέτευεν ἐς τὸ πεδίον ὡς λιμῷ πιέσων τὴν πόλιν. οἱ δὲ ἐργαζόμενοι τε ἐπέκειντο, καὶ σαλπικτῶν χωρὶς ἐκτρέχοντες ἀθρόοι τοὺς ὀχτεύοντας ἦμοχλουν. ἐβάλλου δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄπο τοῦ χάρακος ἐπίβοηθοῦντας, ἦς κατέκλεισαν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον. καὶ σιτολογοῦσιν ἔτεροις ἐπὶ-
THE WARS IN SPAIN

77. When he saw his forces defeated day by day in skirmishes with an enemy much inferior in numbers, he moved against Termantia as being an easier task. Here too he engaged the enemy and lost 700 men; and one of his tribunes, who was bringing provisions to his army, was put to flight by the Termantines. In a third engagement the same day they drove the Romans into a rocky place where many of their infantry and cavalry with their horses were forced down a precipice. The remainder, panic-stricken, passed the night under arms. At daybreak the enemy came out and a regular battle was fought which lasted all day with equal fortune. Night put an end to the conflict. Thence Pompeius marched against a small town named Malia, which was garrisoned by Numantines. The inhabitants slew the garrison by treachery and delivered the town to Pompeius. He required them to surrender their arms and give hostages, after which he moved to Sedetania, which a robber chief named Tanginus was plundering. Pompeius overcame him and took many of his men prisoners. So high-spirited were these robbers that none of the captives would endure servitude. Some killed themselves, others killed those who had bought them, and others scuttled the ships that carried them away.

78. Pompeius, coming back to the siege of Numantia, endeavoured to turn the course of a certain river into the plain in order to reduce the city by famine. But the inhabitants harassed him while he was doing his work. They rushed out in crowds without any trumpet signal, and assaulted those who were working on the river, and even hurled darts at those who came to their assistance.
APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK VI

CAP. XIII

δραμόντες καὶ τῶν δε πολλοὺς διέφθειραν, Ὅππιών τε χιλιάρχον ἔπ' αὐτοῖς ἀνείλον. καὶ κατ' ἄλλο μέρος τάφρον ὄρυσον Ρωμαίοις ἐπιδραμόντες ἐκτειναν ἐς τετρακοσίους, καὶ τὸν ἤγομένου αὐτῶν. ἐφ' οίς τῷ τε Πομπήῳ σύμβουλοι παρήγαν ἐκ Ρώμης, καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας (ἐξ γὰρ ἔτη διεληλύθει στρατευομένοις) διάδοχοι νεοκατάγραφοι τε καὶ ἔτι ἀγύμναστοι καὶ ἀπειροπόλεμοι. μεθ' ὄν οἱ Πομπήῖοι αἰδοῦμενοι τε τὰ ἑπταειμένα, καὶ ἐπενυγόμενοι τὴν αἰσχυνὴν ἀναλαβὲν, ἐπέμενεν χειμῶνος ἐν τῷ στρατόπεδῳ. καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται κρύοις τε ὄντος ἐν ἄστιγμα σταθμεύοντες, καὶ πτρώτον ἄρτι πειράμενοι τοῦ περὶ τὴν χώραν ὑδατὸς τε καὶ ὠρός, κατὰ γαστέρα ἐκαμνὸν, καὶ διεφθείροντο ἐννοιο. μέρους δὲ ἔπλα σῖτον οἰχομένου, κρύψαντες ἐνέδραν οἱ Νομαντῖνοι παρ' αὐτό τὸ Ῥωμαϊῶν στρατόπεδον ἥκροβολίζοντο ἐρεβίζοντες, ἡς ὦι οἱ μὲν οὐ φέροντες ἐσεῖςαν, οἱ δ' ἐκ τῆς ἐνέδρας ἀνίσταντο καὶ Ῥωμαίοι πολλοὶ μὲν ἐκ τοῦ πλήθους, πολλοὶ δὲ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἀπέθανον οἱ δὲ Νομαντῖνοι καὶ τοὺς τὸν σῖτον φέρουσιν ἀπαντήσαντες ἐκτειναν καὶ τῶν δε πολλοὺς.

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

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

καπ. ΧΠΙII

παρὰ προσδοκίαις γεγονότος, ἐπρέσβευον ἐς Πομπηίον. ὀ δὲ ἐς μὲν τὸ φανερὸν ἐκέλευεν αὐτοὺς Ὀμαϊόν ἐπιτρέπειν (οὐ γὰρ εἰδέναι σύνθηκας ἐτέρας Ὀμαϊῶν ἁξίας), λάθρα δ’ ὑπε- σχείτο ἄ ἐμελλε ποιήσειν. καὶ συνθεμένων ἐκείνων καὶ ἐπιτρέψαντων ἑαυτούς, ὁμορά τε καὶ αὐχμάλωτα ἦτησε καὶ τοὺς αὐτομόλους, καὶ πάντα ἔλαβεν. ἦτησε δὲ καὶ ἀργυρίῳ τάλαντα τριάκοντα· ὅν μέρος αὐτίκα ἔδοσαν οἱ Νομαντῖνοι, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ὁ Πομπηῖος ἀνέμενεν, παρα- γενομένου δ’ αὐτῷ διαδόχου Μάρκου Ποπίλιον Δαῖνα, οἱ μὲν ἐφεροῦν τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν χρημάτων, ὃ δ’ ἀπηλλαγμένος μὲν τού περὶ τοῦ πολέμου δέος τῷ παρείναι τοῖς διάδοχοιν, τὰς δὲ συνθήκας εἰδὼς αἰσχρὰς τε καὶ άνευ Ὀμαϊῶν γεγομένας, ἥρωειτο μή συνθέσαι τοῖς Νομαντῖνοι. καὶ οἱ μὲν αὐτὸν ἠλεγχοῦν ἐπὶ μάρτυρι τοῖς τότε παρατυχοῦσιν ἀπό τε βουλῆς καὶ ἱππάρχους καὶ χηλιάρχους αὐτοῦ Πομπηίου, ὃ δὲ Ποπίλιος αὐτοὺς ἐς Ὀμηρί κέμεπτε δικασομένους τῷ Πομπηίῳ. κρίσισις δ’ ἐν τῇ βουλῇ γεγομένης, Νομαντῖνοι μὲν καὶ Πομ- πηῖος ἐς ἀντιλογίαν ἦλθον, τῇ βουλῇ δ’ ἔδοξε πολεμεῖν Νομαντῖνος. καὶ ὁ Ποπίλιος ἐνέβαλεν ἐς τοὺς γειτόνας αὐτῶν Δοὺσονας, οὐδὲν δ’ ἐργασάμενος (ἡκε γὰρ αὐτῷ διάδοχος ἑπὶ τὴν στρατηγίαν Ὀστίλιος Μαγκίνοις) ἀνέζευξεν ἐς Ὀμηρί.

80. ὁ δὲ Μαγκίνοις τοῖς Νομαντῖνοις συμβαλὼν ἤττατό τε πολλάκις, καὶ τέλος ἀναιρεμένων πολλῶν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἔφυγεν. λόγου δὲ φευγόν τοσὸ καὶ βοηθοῦντες Κάνταβροι τε καὶ Οὐάκκαίοι, δείσας

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

80. Mancinus had frequent encounters with the Numantines in which he was worsted, and finally, after great loss, took refuge in his camp. On a false rumour that the Cantabri and Vaccaei were
APPRIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK VI

81. Κατέλαβον δ' αυτούς ἀπὸ Ὀρωμᾶς πρέσβεις Κύννας τε καὶ Κακίλιος, οἱ τὴν βουλὴν ἐφασαν ἀπορεῖν εἰ τοσοῦτο πταισμάτων σφίζων ἐν Ἰβηρία γενομένων ὁ Αἰμίλιος πόλεμον ἔτερον ἀρείται, καὶ ψήφισμα ἐπέδωσαν αὐτῷ προσαγορεῖον Αἰμίλιον Ὀυακκαίοις μὴ πολεμεῖν. οὐ δὲ ἀρξάμενος τε ἢδη
THE WARS IN SPAIN

coming to the aid of the Numantines, he became alarmed, extinguished his fires, and spent the whole night in darkness, fleeing to a desert place where Nobilior once had his camp. Being shut up in this place at daybreak without preparation or fortification, and surrounded by Numantines, who threatened all with death unless he made peace, he agreed to do so on terms of equality between the Romans and Numantines. To this agreement he bound himself by an oath. But when these things were known at Rome there was great indignation at this most ignominious treaty, and the other consul, Aemilius Lepidus, was sent to Spain, Mancinus being called home to stand trial. Numantine ambassadors followed him thither; but Aemilius, becoming tired of idleness while he too awaited the decision from Rome (for some men took the command, not for the advantage of the city, but for glory, or gain, or the honour of a triumph), falsely accused the Vaccaei of supplying the Numantines with provisions during the war. Accordingly he ravaged their country and laid siege to their principal city, Pallantia, which had in no way violated the treaty, and he persuaded Brutus, his kinsman by marriage, who had been sent to Farther Spain (as I have before related), to join him in this undertaking.

81. Here they were overtaken by Cinna and Caecilius, messengers from Rome, who said that the Senate was at a loss to know why, after so many disasters had befallen them in Spain, Aemilius should be seeking a new war, and they placed in his hands a decree warning him not to attack the Vaccaei. But he, having actually begun the war,
APPRIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK VI

CAP. XIII

tou polému, kai tìn boulhìn tout' aneroeîn ekoumenos, aneroeîn òti kai Broutos autòi synepilambânèi kai siton kai xrhmatà kai stratián Oúvekkaïoi tois Nomantínous paréchoun, ësesthai dé kai tìn anazëvein tou polému phoberan ñtopolabôn, kai skedôn 'Ibhrías ñlès diálusin, èi katafrónhsein av ñs dediòston, tous ñmun ñmûl tout Kínnav, õpraktous âptéluse, kai táde avta ëpë- stelëa tì boullhì, avtòs dé ñxyrósamènos phroû- rion, mëxhanës ën avtòi synepëghunto kai siton suñferev. Êlaikkos ñ autòi sítologôn, ènèdras ekkaneisës, vûmèkánìs ëdièdokèn òti Pallantían eësëiven Aîmîlìos, kai tou stratóu suñaalál- xantos òs ëpì nikh, puðhënèi touton ëi bárberoi kai ìnlë ñnëòcantes âpèxhron. Êlaikkos mun ðè tìn ágoràn kívuthenousan ñde períeswze.

82. Mákras dé tìs ëpì tì Pallantíà poliørkias ouìsì ëi trofoî 'Rwmaïous ëpèlépnon, kai límòs ñtteto autòn, kai tà upozûmìa pánta ëfðarto, kai polloî tout ñvthrôpon ëz upôrias ñpèthenkòn. Ïi stratègì oî dé, Aîmîlìos te kai Broutos, ès mën polû dièkartérion, ñsywmenoi ñ ñpî tout kàkou nuktòs ñfîw peri ëxhàtën ñvlatìkh ëkëleuôn anazëvenûn, xhilìarchoi te ëi lochagòl períbè- ountes ëpèspèudon âpantas ës toutò prò ëw. Ïi ðè sîn thoroîbh tû te ìlla pánta kai toutòs traumà- tìas kai toutòs vòsoûntas âpèlîoton, sumpelèkomë- vous te sfìsi kai deòmënov. Ïi autòis ì âtákton kai thorübóðous tìs anaxárhëseos gnîmòmënh kai 266
THE WARS IN SPAIN

thought that the Senate was ignorant of that, and of the fact that Brutus was co-operating with him, and that the Vaccaei had aided the Numantines with provisions, money, and men. Further, he considered that to abandon the war would in itself be dangerous, and would practically involve the breaking away of all Spain, if the Spaniards despised the Romans for cowards. He therefore sent Cinna's party home without having accomplished their errand, and wrote almost in the above words to the Senate. After this he began to construct engines and to collect provisions in a place which he fortified. While he was thus engaged, Flaccus, who had been sent out on a foraging expedition, found himself in an ambuscade, but adroitly spread a rumour among his men that Aemilius had captured Pallantia. The soldiers raised a shout of victory. The barbarians, hearing it and thinking that the report was true, withdrew. In this way Flaccus rescued his convoy from danger.

82. The siege of Pallantia being long protracted, the food supply of the Romans failed, and they began to suffer from hunger. All their animals perished and many of the men died of want. The generals, Aemilius and Brutus, kept heart for a long time, but being compelled to yield at last, they gave an order suddenly one night, about the last watch, to retreat. The tribunes and centurions ran hither and thither to hasten the movement, so as to get them all away before daylight. Such was the confusion that they left even the sick and wounded behind everything, and besought them not to abandon them. Their retreat was disorderly and much like a flight,
CAP. άπυρον τὴν νύκτα διήγαγεν γων ἔσ ἔρημον τὸ Νοββελίου καὶ μεθ’ ἡμέραν ἔσ αὐτὸ συνέκευσαν οὐτε ὤχυρον αὐτὸν τῶν Νομαντίνων, καὶ ἀπειλοῦντων εἰ μὴ συνθοί ἐπὶ ὑση καὶ ὅμως Ἄρωμαν καὶ ο μὲν ἐπὶ τούτων ὄμνυν δὲ ἐν ἄστει πυθόμενοι χαλότοι μιχώ παντὸς πονδαίς ὕπατον Αἰμώλου Λέπιδου καὶ Μαγκίνου δ’ ἀνεκάλουν ἐς κράτος ἄστατο πρέσβεις Νομαντίνων ἀναμένοντο καὶ οδε πᾶς ἐκ Ῥόδου τὴν ἄργιαν νῦν φέρων (ὅς ἦπο τῇ θριάμβῳ φιλοτιμίαν ἐξ ἑαυτῆς στρατηγίας, οὐκ ἐπὶ τῷ τῷ Οὐάκκαλῳ κατεφυεύδετο όσ τὸ πολέμῳ Νομαντίνως παραστὰ ἀντὶ αὐτῶν κατέτρηξε, Παλλαντίνα γίστῃ Οὐάκκαλων ἐστίν, οὐδὲ τὰ συγκείμενα ἐπολύωρκει, καὶ τῆς Ἰβηρίας ἀπεσταλμένων, ὁ κηδεστὴν ὅτα οἱ τοῦτο κατεστείσιν.

81. Κατέλαβον δ’ αὐτὸν ἀπὸ Κάννας τε καὶ Κακίλλας, οὖ τῇ ἀπορείᾳ ἐλεύθερον πολεμικὴ γενομένῳ Κακίλλας πολεμικῇ ἐστὶ πρός ἄρητος ὁπερείᾳ οὐκ ἀμφίθρον οὐκ ἀνεκάλουν.
THE WARS IN SPAIN

...hanging on their flanks and rear, and from early dawn till evening. The Romans, hungry and exhaused themselves on the ground in groups, were, and the Pallatines, moved by reproposition, went back to their own... This was what happened to Aemilius. These things were known at Rome, where the consul returned to Rome as a private citizen back... The dispute before the Mancinus and the Numantine was going on. The latter exhibited a similar case... The latter exhibited a similar case to which Pompeius himself had made a similar remarks. Consequently the war was not decided by omens, for it had been said that the violation of these agreements was equally incensed against Pompeius... on the ground that he had offended long before. However Mancinus to the Senate repudiates the treaty of Mancinus... The peaceful treaty without the example of the Samnites was not a similar treaty, and... Taken to Spain by the... Mancinuses, but... Piso was... did not even...
ΚΑΠ. ΧΙΙΙ

φυγῇ μάλιστα ὁμοίας, οἱ Πολλάντιοι πανταχόθεν ἐπικείμενοι πολλὰ ἐβλαπτοῦν ἐξ ἣν ἦσσος ἔπλεσσεν ὑπὲρ ἅλεον δὲ ἐπιλαβοῦσας Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν ἐσ τὰ πεδία ἔαυτους ἐρρύπτουν ἀνὰ μέρος, ὡς τύχοιεν, ἀσίτοι τε καὶ κατάκοποι, οἱ δὲ Πολλάντιοι θεοῦ σφᾶς ἀποτρέποντος ἁνεχώρουν. καὶ τάδε μὲν ἐνεῖ περὶ Αἰμήλιον.

83. Ῥωμαῖοι δ' αὐτὰ πυθόμενοι τὸν μὲν Αἰμήλιον/ παρέλυσαν τῆς στρατηγίας τε καὶ ὑπατείας, καὶ ἰδιώτης ἐς Ῥόμην ὑπὲστρεφε, καὶ χρήμασιν ἐπεξή- μοῦτο Μαγκίνῳ δ' ἐδίκαζον καὶ τοῖς πρόσβεσι τοῖς Νομαντῖνοι. οἱ μὲν δὴ τὰς συνθήκας, ὡς ἐπεποίητο πρὸς Μαγκίνῳ, ἐπεδείκυσον ὦ δ' τὴν αἰτίαν αὐτῶν ἡς Πομπήιος ἀνέφερε τὸν πρὸ αὐτοῦ γενόμενον στρατηγὸν, ὡς ἀργὸν καὶ ἄπορον τὸν στρατὸν ἐγχειρίσαστα οἱ, καὶ δ' αὐτὸ κάκεινον ἑσσημένον τε πολλάκις καὶ συνθήκας ὁμοίας αὐτῷ θέμενον πρὸς τοὺς Νομαντῖνους· ὅθεν ἐφη καὶ τὸν πόλεμον τόνδε, παρὰ τὰς συνθήκας ἑκείνας ὑπὸ Ῥω- μαίων ἐγνησίμενον, ἀπαίσιον αὐτοῦς γεγονέναι. οἱ δ' ἐχάλεσαν μὲν ἀμφοτέρους ὁμοίας, ἀπέφυγε δ' ὁμοίς Πομπήιος ὡς περὶ τὸνδε κρίθης καὶ πάλαι. Μαγκίνῳ δ' ἐγνωσαν ἐκδοῦναι τοῖς Νομαντῖνοι, ἄνεν σφῶν αἰχμάς συνθήκας πεποιημένον, ὁ λόγῳ καὶ Σαυνίταις οἱ πατέρες, ὁμοία χωρίς αὐτῶν συνθεμένους, ἠγεμόνας εἰκοσίν ἐξεδδώκεσαν. Μαγκίνῳ μὲν δὴ Φούριος ἄγαγος ἐς Ἰβηρίαν γυμνὸν πυρείδου τοῖς Νομαντῖνοι· οἱ δὲ ὦκ ἐδέξαντο. στρατηγὸς δὲ ἐπὶ αὐτῶς αἴρεθες Καλ- τούριος Πίσιον ὅδ' ἔλασεν ἐπὶ Νομαντίαν, ἀλλ' 268
the Pallantines hanging on their flanks and rear and doing great damage from early dawn till evening. When night came the Romans, hungry and exhausted, threw themselves on the ground in groups, wherever they were, and the Pallantines, moved by some divine interposition, went back to their own country. And this was what happened to Aemilius.

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

CAP. XIII ἐς τὴν Παλλαντίων γῆν ἐσβαλὼν, καὶ μικρὰ δηώσας, ἕχειμαξεν ἐν Καρπητανίᾳ τὸ ἐπίλοιπον τῆς ἀρχῆς.

—XIV

CAP. XIV 84. Ἐν δὲ Ἄρωμη κάμνων ὁ δῆμος ἐπὶ τοῖς Νομαντίοις, μακρῷ καὶ δυσχερῷ τοῦ πολέμου σφίσει παρὰ προσδοκίαν γεγονότος, ἦροῦντο Κορνήλιον Σκιπίων τὸν Καρχηδόνα ἐλώνα αὐθίς ὑπατεύειν, ὡς μόνον ἐπικρατήσαι τὸν Νομαντίων δυνάμενον, ὁ δὲ καὶ τὸτε ἦν ἐτὶ νεώτερος τῆς νεομιμησμένης τοῖς ὑπατεύουσιν ἥλικίας. ὥς οὖν Βουλή πάλιν, ὃσπερ ἐπὶ Καρχηδονίως αὐτῶν χειροτετουσώμενον Σκιπίωνος, ἐψηφίσατο τοὺς δημάρχους λύσαι τὸν περὶ τῆς ἥλικιας νόμον, καὶ τοῦ ἐπιόντος ἑτοὺς αὐθίς θέσθαι. οὕτω μὲν ὁ Σκιπίων αὐθίς ὑπατεύων ἐς Νομαντίαν ἔπειγετο, στρατιῶν δὲ ἐκ καταλόγου μὲν οὐκ ἔλαβε πολλῶν τε πολέμων ὄντων καὶ πολλῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ, ἑθελοντάς δὲ τινας, ἐκ τε πόλεως καὶ βασιλέως ἐς χάριν ἰδίαιν πεμφθέντας αὐτῷ, συγχωρούσης τῆς Βουλῆς ἐπηγαγετο, καὶ πελάτας ἐκ Ἄρωμης καὶ φίλους πεντακοσίους, οὕς ἐς Ἰληνα καταλέξας ἐκάλει φίλων ἰλην. πάντας δὲ ἐς τετρακισχιλίους γενομένους παραδοὺς ἄγειν ἀδελφίδω Βουτεών, σὺν ὀλίγοις αὐτῶς προεξώρμησεν ἐς Ἰβηρίαν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον, πυνθαυνόμενος αὐτὸ γέμειν ἀργίας καὶ στάσεων καὶ τρυφῆς, εὐ εἴδος ὅτι μὴ κρατήσει πολεμίων πρὶν κατασχεῖν τῶν ἰδίων ἐγκρατῶς.
THE WARS IN SPAIN

march against Numantia. He made an incursion into the territory of Pallantia, and having collected a small amount of plunder, spent the rest of his term of office in winter quarters in Carpetania.

XIV

84. The Roman people being tired of this Numantine war, which was protracted and severe beyond expectation, elected Cornelius Scipio, the conqueror of Carthage, consul again, believing that he was the only man who could subdue the Numantines. As he was still under the consular age the Senate voted, as was done when this same Scipio was appointed general against the Carthaginians, that the tribunes of the people should repeal the law respecting the age limit, and reenact it the following year. Thus Scipio was made consul a second time and hastened to Numantia. He did not take any army from the active-service-list, because many wars were being waged at the time, and because there were plenty of soldiers in Spain; but with the Senate’s consent he took a certain number of volunteers sent to him by cities and kings on the score of private friendship. To these were added 500 of his clients and friends, whom he joined in one body and called it the troop of friends. All these, about 4000 in number, he put under marching orders in charge of Buteo, his nephew, while he himself went in advance with a small escort to the army in Spain, having heard that it was full of idleness, discord, and luxury, and well knowing that he could never overcome the enemy unless he should first bring his own men under strict discipline.
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CAP. XIV 85. Ἐξῆλθον δὲ εμπόροις τε πάντας ἐξῆλθαν καὶ ἔταυρες καὶ μάντεις καὶ θύτας, οἷς διὰ τὰς δυσπραξίας οἱ στρατιώται περιδεέις γεγονότες ἔχρωντο συνεχώς. ἦς τὸ μέλλον ἀπείπη μηδὲν ἐσφέρεσθαι τῶν περισσῶν, μηδὲ ἵερεῖον ἐς μαντείαν πεποιημένον. ἐκέλευσε δὲ καὶ τὰς ἀμάξας καὶ τὰ περίσσα τῶν ἐς αὐτὰς τιθεμένων καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια, χωρὶς ὅν αὐτῶς ὑπελείποτο, πραθήκας. καὶ σκέυος ὅν ἔξην ἐς δίαίταν ἔχειν ὑδεία πλην ὅξελοῦ καὶ χύτρας χαλκῆς καὶ ἐκτόματός ἐνός. τὰ τε σιτία αὐτοῖς ὀριστὸ κρέα ἔστα καὶ ὀπτὰ εἶναι. κλίνας τε ἀπείπεν ἔχειν, καὶ πρῶτος ἐπὶ στιβάδων ἀνεπαύστο. ἀπείπε δὲ καὶ ὀδύνοντας ἡμῶν ἐπὶ-καθέξεθαί: τί γὰρ ἐν πολέμῳ προσδοκάν ἐφη παρ’ ἀνδρῶς οὐδὲ βαδίζειν δυναμένου; καὶ τοῖς ἀλέιμασι καὶ λουτροῖς ἐαυτοὺς ἥλειφον, ἐπισκώπτοντος τοῦ Σκιπίωνος ὡς αἱ ἡμῶν χεῖρας οὐκ ἔχουσαι χρήξουσι τρεθόντων. οὐτὼ μὲν αὐτοῦς ἐς σωφροσύνην μετέβαλλεν ἀδρόως, εἰθιζε δὲ καὶ ἐς αἰδῶ καὶ φόβον, δυσπρόσιτος ὅν καὶ δυσχερῆς ἐς τὰς χάριτας, καὶ μάλιστα τὰς παρανομοὺς. ἔλεγε τε πολλάκις τοὺς μὲν αὐστηροὺς καὶ ἐννόμους τῶν στρατιῶν τοῖς οἰκείοις, τοὺς δὲ εὐχερεῖς καὶ φιλοδώρους τοῖς πολέμοις εἶναι χρησίμους· τὰ γὰρ στρατόπεδα τοῖς μὲν εἶναι κεχαρισμένα τε καὶ καταφρονητικά, τοῖς δὲ σκυθρωπὰ μὲν εὐπειθή δὲ καὶ πάσιν ἐτοιμά.

86. Οὐ μὴν οὖν ὅσοι ἐτόλμα πολεμεῖν πρὶν αὐτοὺς γιμνύσαι πόνοις πολλοῖς. τα οὖν ἐγχο- τάτω πεδία πάντω περισσών, ἐκάστης ἡμέρας, 272
THE WARS IN SPAIN

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

86. In spite of all this he did not venture to engage the enemy until he had trained his men by many laborious exercises. He traversed all the
APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK VI

CAP. XIV ἄλλο μετ' ἄλλο στρατόπεδον ἦγειρέ τε καὶ καθῆρε, καὶ τάφρους ὁρυσσε βαθυτάτας καὶ ἐνεπίμπλη, τείχη τε μεγάλα φικοδόμει καὶ κατέφερεν, αὐτὸς ἐξ ἥοὺς ἐς ἐστέραν ἀπαντα ἐφορῶν. τὰς δὲ ὁδοιπορίας, ἵνα μὴ τὶς ὡς πάλαι διασκεδάζοτο, ἤγεν ἐν πλυνθίους ἅε, καὶ τὴν δεδομένην ἐκάστῳ τάξιν οὐκ ἦν ἐναλλάξας. περιων τε τὴν ὁδοιπορίαν, καὶ τὰ πολλὰ οὐραγῶν, τοὺς μὲν ἀρρω- στούντας ἐπὶ τοὺς ἱππους ἀνεβίβαζεν αὐτὶ τῶν ἱππέων, τὰ δὲ βαροῦντα τὰς ἱμόνους ἐς τοὺς πεζοὺς διεμέριζεν. εἰ δὲ σταθμεύοι, τοὺς μὲν προφύλακας τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκ τῆς ὁδοιπορίας ἐδει περὶ τὸν χάρακα ἱστασθαι, καὶ ἱππέων ἐτέραν Ἰλην περιτρέχειν οἱ δ' ἄλλοι τὰ ἔργα διήρησαν, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ταφρεύειν ἐτέτακτο, τοὺς δὲ τειχίζειν, τοῖς δὲ σκηνοποιεῖν, χρόνου τε μῆκος ὁρίζετο αὐτῶς καὶ διεμετρεῖτο.

87."Οτε δ' εἴκασεν ὅζυ καὶ εὐπειθὲς αὐτῶ καὶ φερέπονυν γεγονέναι τὸ στράτευμα, μετέβαινεν ἀγχοῦ τῶν Νομαντίνων. προφυλακὼς δὲ, ὡσπερ τινες, ἐπὶ φροντίδων ὡς ἐποιείτο: οὐδὲ διήρευ τοῦ στρατῷ ὅλως, τοῦ μὴ τινὸς ἐν ἀρχῇ γενο- μένου πταίσματος εὐκαταφρονητὸ τοῖς πολεμίους αὐτῶν γενέσθαι, καὶ τέως καταφρονοῦσιν. οὐδ' ἐπεχείρει τοὺς ἐχθροῖς, ἐτι περισκοπῶν αὐτῶν τε τὸν πόλεμον καὶ τὸν καιρὸν αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν τῶν Νομαντίνων ὀρμήν, ἐς ὁ τι τρέψωντο. τὰ δὲ ὅπως τοῦ στρατοπέδου πάντα ἑχορτολόγησεν, καὶ τὸν σῖτον ἐκειρεν ἐτι χλωρῶν. ὡς δ' αὐτῶ ταύτα
neighbouring plains and daily fortified new camps one after another, and then demolished them, dug deep trenches and filled them up again, constructed high walls and overthrew them, personally overlooking the work from morning till night. In order to prevent the men from straggling while on the march, as heretofore, he always moved in the form of oblongs, and no one was allowed to change the place assigned to him. Moving around the line of march he often visited the rear and caused horsemen to dismount and give their places to the sick, and when the mules were overburdened he made the foot soldiers carry a part of the load. When he pitched camp he required those who had formed the vanguard during the day to deploy after the march around the camping-place, and a body of horse to scour the country, while the rest performed their allotted tasks, some digging the trench, others building the rampart, and others pitching the tents. He also fixed and mapped out the time within which these tasks must be finished.

87. When he judged that the army was alert, obedient to himself, and patient in labour, he moved his camp near to Numantia. He did not place advance guards in fortified stations, as some do, nor, in fact, did he divide his army in any way, lest he should meet some disaster at the outset and gain the contempt of the enemy, who already despised the Romans. Nor did he attack the enemy, because he was still studying the nature of this war, watching the opportunities which it offered, and trying to discover the plans of the Numantines. In the meantime he foraged through all the fields behind his camp and cut down the still unripe grain.
APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK VI

CAP. XIV ἔξετεθέριστο καὶ ἐς τὸ πρόσθεν ἐδει βαδίζειν, ὅδος μὲν ἦν παρὰ τὴν Νομαντίαν ἐπὶ τὰ πεδία σύντομος, καὶ πολλοὶ συνεβούλευσον ἐς αὐτὴν τραπέσθαι. ὁ δ' ἐφη τὴν ἐπάνοδον δεδέναι, κοῦφων μὲν τὸ τῶν πολεμιῶν ὄντων, καὶ ἐκ πόλεως ὀρμωμένων καὶ ἐς πόλιν ἀφορμώντων "οἱ δ' ἡμέτεροι βαρεῖς ἐπανάσαι ὡς ἀπὸ σιτολογίας καὶ κατάκοποι, καὶ κτήνῃ καὶ ἀμάξας καὶ φορτία ἄγουσιν. δυσχερῆς τε ὀλος καὶ ἀνόμοιος ὁ ἄγων ἡσσωμένοις μὲν γὰρ πολὺς ὁ κίνδυνος, νικῶσι δὲ οὐ μέγα τὸ ἔργον, οὐδὲ ἐπικερδές." εἶναι δ' ἀλόγων κινδυνεύειν ἐπὶ ὀλίγοις, καὶ στρατηγῷ ἀμελῇ τῶν ἁγωνιζόμενων πρὸ τῆς χρείας, ἀγαθὸν δὲ τὸν ἐν μόναις παρακινδυνεύοντα ταῖς ἀνάγκαις. συγκρίνων δ' ἐφη καὶ τοὺς ιατροὺς μὴ χρήσθαι τομαίς μηδὲ καύσεαι πρὸ φαρμάκων. ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἐκέλευε τοῖς ἡγεμόσι τὴν μακροτέραν περιάγειν. καὶ συνεξῆκε τότε μὲν ἐς τὸ πέραν τοῦ στρατοπέδου, ὑστερον δὲ ἐς τὰ Οὐακκαίων, ὅθεν οἱ Νομαντίνους τὰς τροφὰς ἑωυνύτο, κείρων ἀπαντά, καὶ τὰ χρήσμα ἐς τὰς ἑαυτοῦ τροφὰς συλλέγων, τὰ δὲ περιττὰ σωρεύων τε καὶ κατακαίων.

88. Ἐν δὲ των πεδίων τῆς Παλλαντίας, ὑσμα Κοπλανίω, πολλοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν ὄρων ὑπὸ λόφοις ἐκρυψαν οἱ Παλλάντιοι, καὶ ἐτέροις ἐς τὸ φανερὸν τοὺς σιτολογοῦντας ἁγίοις. ὁ δὲ Ρουτίλιος Ῥοῦφο, συνηγραφεῖ τῶν ἐς τῶν ἔργων, τότε χιλιαρχοῦντα, ἐκέλευσε τέσσαρας ἀπεῖν ἔλας λαβόντα ἀναστείλαι τοὺς ἐνοχλοῦντας. Ῥοῦφος 276
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When those fields had been harvested and it was necessary to move forward, many advised him to take a short cut, which led past Numantia to the plains. "But," he said, "what I fear is the coming back, when the enemy will be unencumbered, and will have their town to start from and retreat to, while our troops will return from their foraging laden and tired, bringing with them animals and wagons and burdens. For this reason the fighting will be severe and unequal. If we are beaten the danger will be serious, and if victorious, neither the glory nor the gain will be great. It is foolish to incur danger for small results. He must be considered a reckless general who would fight before there is any need, while a good one takes risks only in cases of necessity." He added by way of simile that physicians do not cut and burn their patients till they have first tried drugs. Having spoken thus, he ordered his officers to take the longer road. He himself joined the excursion beyond the camp, and later advanced into the territory of the Vaccaei, from whom the Numantines bought their food supplies, cutting down everything, taking for himself what was useful as food, and piling the rest in heaps and burning it.

88. In a certain plain in the Pallantian territory called Complanium the Pallantians had concealed a large force just below the brow of a hill, while others openly annoyed the Roman foragers. Scipio ordered Rutilius Rufus, a military tribune (who afterwards wrote a history of these transactions), to take four troops of horse and drive back the assailants. Rufus followed them too sharply when they retreated, and darted up the hill with the fugitives.
APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK VI

CAP. XIV

μὲν οὖν ὑποχωροῦν αὐτοῖς ἀμέτρως εἶπετο, καὶ
φεύγονσιν ἐς τὸν λόφον συνανεπῆδα, ἐνθα τῆς
ἐνέδρας ἐκφανείσης ἐκέλευε τοὺς ἰππέας μήτε
dιώκειν μήτε ἐπιχειρεῖν ἔτι, ἀλλ' ἐν προβολῇ τὰ
dόρατα θεμένους ἐστάναι καὶ ἐπιοῦντος ἀμύνεσθαι
μόνον. ὦ δὲ Σκιπίων εὐθὺ ἀνατρέχοντος αὐτοῦ
παρὰ τὸ πρόσταγμα δείσας εἰπετο κατὰ σπουδὴν,
καὶ ὡς ηὐρε τὴν ἐνέδραν, ἐς δύο διεῖλε τοὺς ἰππέας,
cαὶ προσέταξεν αὐτῶν ἐκατέρως παρὰ μέρος
ἐμπηδάν τοῖς πολεμίοις, καὶ ἀκοντίσαντας ὑμέν
πάντας εὐθὺς ἀναχωρεῖν, οὐκ ἐσ τὸν αὐτὸν τόπον,
ἀλλ' ἄει κατ' ὀλγον προστιθέντας ὑπίσω καὶ
ὑποχωροῦντας. οὕτω μὲν τοὺς ἰππέας ἐς τὸ
πεδίον περιέσωσεν ἀναζευγνύοντι ὁ αὐτῷ καὶ
ἀναχωροῦντι ποταμὸς ἡν ἐν μέσῳ δύσπορος τε καὶ
ἰλυώδης, καὶ παρ' αὐτὸν ἐνήδρευον οἱ πολέμουιν.
ὅ
δὲ μαθὼν ἐξεκλίνε τῆς ὄδοι, καὶ μακροτέραν ἦγε
καὶ δυσενέδρευτον, νυκτὸς ὁ ὑδεύων διὰ τὸ δήπο
καὶ φρέατα ὁρύσσων, ἄν τὰ πλέονα πικρὰ
ηὐρίσκετο, τοὺς μὲν οὖν ἀνδρὰς ἐπιμόχθως
περιέσωσεν, ἵπποι δὲ τινες αὐτοῦ καὶ ὑποξύγων
ὑπὸ τῆς δίψης ἀπώλοντο.

89. Καὶ Καυκάιοις δὲ παραδεύων, ἐς οὓς παρε-
σπόνδησεν Λεύκολλος, ἐκήρυξε Καυκάιος ἐπὶ τὰ
ἐαντὼν ἢκινδύνως κατέχεσθαι. καὶ παρῆλθεν ἐς
τὴν Νοματίνην χειμάσων, ἐνθα αὐτῷ καὶ Ἰογόρ-
θας ἔκ Λιβύν ἄφικετο, ὁ Μασσανάσσου νιώθος,
ἀγὼν ἐλέφαντας δυναῖδεκα καὶ τοὺς συντασσομέ-
νους αὐτοῖς τοξότας τε καὶ σφενδονίτας. ἀεὶ δὲ
τῷ δῆλῳ, καὶ τὰ περικείμενα πορθῶν, ἐλαθεν περὶ
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When he discovered the ambush he ordered his troops not to pursue or attack the enemy further, but to stand on the defensive with their spears presented to the enemy and merely ward off their attack. Directly Scipio saw Rufus running up the hill, contrary to his orders, he was alarmed and followed with all haste. When he discovered the ambush he divided his horse into two bodies, and ordered them to charge the enemy on either side alternately, hurling their javelins all together and then retiring, not to the same spot from which they had advanced, but a little further back each time. In this way the horsemen were brought in safety to the plain. As he was shifting quarters and retiring again, he had to cross a river which was difficult to ford and muddy, and here the enemy had laid an ambush for him. Having learned this fact, he turned aside and took a route that was longer and less exposed to ambushes. Here he marched by night on account of the heat and thirst, and dug wells which yielded for the most part only bitter water. He saved his men with extreme difficulty, but some of his horses and pack animals perished of thirst.

89. While passing through the territory of the Caucaei, whose treaty with the Romans Lucullus had violated, he made proclamation that they might return in safety to their own homes. Thence he came again to the Numantine territory and went into winter quarters. Here Jugurtha, the grandson of Masinissa, joined him from Africa with twelve elephants and the body of archers and slingers who usually accompanied them in war. While Scipio was constantly ravaging and plundering the neighbouring country, the enemy
APPIAN’S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK VI

CAP. XIV
κόμην ἐνεδρευθεὶς, ἢν ἐκ τοῦ πλέονος τέλμα
πηλοῦ περιέχειν, ἐπὶ δὲ θάτερα φάραγξ ἦν, καὶ
ἀφανῆς ἐν ἐκείνῃ λόχος ὑπεκρύπτετο. τῆς οὖν
στρατιῶς τῷ Σκιπίωνι διηρημένης, οἱ μὲν τὴν
κόμην ἐπάρθουν ἑσελθόντες, τὰ σημεία ἔξω κατα-
λιπόντες, οἱ δὲ περιππευοῦν οὐ πολλοί. τούτοις
οὐν ἐμπίπτουσιν οἱ λοχώντες. καὶ οἱ μὲν αὐτοὺς
ἀπεμάχοντο, ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων (ἐτυχε γὰρ πρὸ τῆς
κόμης παρὰ τὰ σημεῖα ἐστώς) ἀνεκάλει τῇ
σάλπγγι τοὺς ἐνδον, καὶ πρὶν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι
χιλίους, τοῖς ἵππευσιν ἐνοχλουμένοις ἐπεβοήθει.
τοῦ δὲ στρατοῦ τοῦ πλέονος ἐκ τῆς κόμης ἐκδρα-
μόντος, ἐτρέψατο μὲν ἐς φυγὴν τοὺς πολεμίους,
οὐ μὴν ἐδίωκε φεύγοντας, ἀλλ’ ἐς τὸν χάρακα
ἀνεχῶρει πεσόντων ἐκατέρωθεν ὀλίγον.

XV

CAP. XV
90. Μετ’ οὖν πολὺ δὲ ἀγχοτάτω τῆς Νομαντίας
dύο στρατόπεδα θέμενος, τῷ μὲν ἐπέστησε τὸν
ἀδελφὸν Μάξιμον, τοῦ δὲ αὐτὸς ἤγεῖτο. Νομαν-
tίνων δὲ θαμινὰ ἐκτασσόντων καὶ προκαλουμένων
αὐτῶν ἐς μάχην ὑπερεώρα, οὗ δοκιμάζων ἀνδράσιν
ἐξ ἀπογνώσεως μαχομένοις συμπλέκεσθαι μᾶλλον
ἡ συγκλείσας αὐτοὺς ἐλεῖν λεμφ. φρούρια
δ’ ἐπὶ περιθείς, πολυρκίαν . . . ἐπιγράψας
ἐκάστοις οὕς ἔδει πέμπειν. ως δὲ ἠλθοῦν, ἐς μέρη
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THE WARS IN SPAIN

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

90. Not long afterwards he established two camps very near to Numantia and placed his brother Maximus in charge of one, while he himself commanded the other. The Numantines came out in large numbers and offered battle, but he disregarded their challenge, not thinking it wise to engage in battle with men who were fighting in sheer desperation, but rather to shut them up and reduce them by famine. Placing seven forts around the city, he began the siege and wrote letters to each of the <allied tribes>, telling them what forces he desired them to send. When they came he divided
APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK VI

CAP. XV. πολλά διείλεν αὐτούς, καὶ τὴν ἕαυτοῦ στρατιῶν ἐπιδιείλεν. εἰ δὲ ἦγεμόνας ἐπιστήσας ἐκάστῳ μέρει προσέταξε περιταφρεύειν καὶ περικρακωκὸν τὴν πόλιν. ἦν δὲ ἡ περίοδος ἢ μὲν αὐτῆς Νομαντίας τέσσαρες καὶ εἰκοσὶ στάδιοι, ἢ δὲ τοῦ χαρακώματος ύπὲρ τὸ διπλάσιον. καὶ τοῦτο διήρητο πᾶν οἳ κατὰ μέρος ἐκαστὸς. καὶ προείρητο, εἰ τι ἐνοχλοῦειν οἱ πολέμου, σημεῖον ἐξαίρεως, ἡμέρας μὲν φοινικίδα ἐπὶ δόρατος ἴσηλου, νυκτὸς δὲ πῦρ, ἤν τοῖς δεοµένοις ἐπιθέετος αὐτὸς τε καὶ Μάξιμος ἀμύνοιεν. ὥσ ὁ ἔξειργαστο πάντα ἀυτῷ, καὶ τοὺς καλύμνας εἰχεν ἱκανοὺς ἀπομάχεσθαι, ἔτεραν τάφρον ὀρυσσεν οὐ μακράν ύπὲρ ἑκείνην, καὶ σταυροὺς αὐτῆς περιεπήγαν, καὶ τείχος φικοδόμει, οὐ τὸ μὲν πάχος ἢ τὸ ὅκτω, τὸ δὲ ύψος δέκα χωρίς τῶν ἐπάλξων. πῦργοι τε πανταχόθεν αὐτῷ διὰ πλέθρου περιέκειντο. καὶ λίμυνν συνάπτουσαν οὐκ ἐνοθε περιτείχισαι, χῶμα αὐτῆς περιέθηκεν ἵσον τῷ τείχει καὶ τὸ βάθος καὶ τὸ ύψος, ὥς ἀν εἰπεν καὶ τόδε άντι τείχος.

91. Οὕτω μὲν ὁ Σκιπίων ὁδὲ πρῶτος, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, περιετείχισε πόλιν οὐ φυγομαχοῦσαν τὸν τε Δόριον ποταμὸν, συμφέρομεν τῷ περιτείχισμαι καὶ πολλὰ τοῖς Νομαντίνοις χρήσιμον ἐς τὰ ἀγοράς κομιδὴν καὶ διαπομήν ἄνδρῶν, ὅσοι κατ’ αὐτῶν κολυμβηται τε καὶ σκάφεις μικροὺς ἔλαβαντο, ἢ ἰστίοις, ὅτε λάβρον εἰπὴ τὸ πνεύμα, ἐβιάζοντο, ἢ κόψαις κατὰ τὸ ρέμα, ἐνδέξα τοὺς οὐκ ἐδύνατο πλατύν ὄντα καὶ πάντα ροώδη, φρούρια δὲ αντὶ γεφύρας αὐτῷ δύο περιθεῖς ἀπήρτησε καλράιες δοκούς μακρὰς ἐξ ἐκατέρου

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THE WARS IN SPAIN

them into several parts, and also subdivided his own army. Then he appointed a commander for each division and ordered them to surround the city with a ditch and palisade. The circumference of Numantia itself was twenty-four stades, that of the enclosing works more than twice as great. All of this space was allotted to the several divisions, and he had given orders that if the enemy should harass them anywhere they should signal to him by raising a red flag on a tall spear in the daytime or by a fire at night, so that he and Maximus might hasten to the aid of those who needed it. When this work was completed and he could effectually repel any assaults, he dug another ditch not far behind this one and fortified it with palisades, and built a wall eight feet wide and ten feet high, exclusive of the parapets. He built towers along the whole of this wall at intervals of 100 feet. As it was not possible to carry the wall around the adjoining marsh he threw an embankment around it of the same height and thickness as the wall, to serve in place of it.

91. Thus Scipio was the first general, as I think, to throw a wall around a city which did not shun a battle in the open field. The river Durius, which took its course along the fortifications, was very useful to the Numantines for bringing provisions and sending men back and forth, some diving or concealing themselves in small boats, some breaking through with sailing-boats when a strong wind was blowing, or with oars aided by the current. As he was not able to span it on account of its breadth and swiftness, Scipio built a tower on each side in place of a bridge. To each of these towers he moored large timbers with ropes and set them

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APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK VI

CAP. XV

φρούριον, καὶ ἐς τὸ πλάτος τοῦ ποταμοῦ μεθῆκεν,
ἐχώσας ἐμπεπηρήτα πυκνὰ ξίφη τε καὶ ἀκόντια.
αἱ δὲ υπὸ τοῦ βου, τοῖς ξίφεσι καὶ τοῖς ἀκοντίοις
ἐμπίπτοντος, ἀεὶ περιστρεφόμεναι ὡς διανηχο-
μένους οὕτη ἐπιπλέοντας οὕτε ὑποδύοντας εἰών
λαθείν. τοῦτο δ' ἦν οὐ μάλιστα ο Σκιτίων ἐπεθύμει,
μηδὲνος αὐτοῖς ἐπιμυγγυμένου μηδὲ
ἐσιόντος ἁγνοεῖν αὐτοὺς ὃ τι γίγνοιτο ἐξω· οὕτω
γὰρ ἀπορρήσειν ἁγορᾶς τε καὶ μηχανῆς πάσης.

92. Ὡς δ' ἠτοίμαστο πάντα, καὶ καταπέλται
μὲν ἐπέκειντο τοῖς πύργοις ἀξυβελεῖς τε καὶ
νιθοβόλοι, τὰς δ' ἐπάλξει αὐτῇ παρεκείντο κήθοι
καὶ βέλη καὶ ἀκόντια, τὰ δὲ φρούρια τοξόται καὶ
σφενσουρται κατείχον, ἀγγέλους μὲν ἐπέστησε
πυκνῶς κατὰ τὸ ἐπιτείχισμα πάν, οὖ νυκτός τε
καὶ ἡμέρας ἐμελλον ἄλλοι παρ' ἄλλου τὸν λόγον
ἐκδέχομενοι μηνύσεων αὐτῷ τὰ γιγνόμενα, κατὰ
dὲ πύργον ἐκέλευσεν, εἰ τι γίγνοιτο, σημείον ἐκ
πρῶτον τοῦ πυροῦ τοῦ αἴρεσθαι, καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ
πάντας ἑπάρειν όταν τὸν ἄρξαμενον θεᾶσθαι,
ίνα τὸ μὲν κίνημα παρὰ τοῦ σημείου θάσσον
ἐπιγιγνώσκοι, τὸ δὲ ἀκριβές παρὰ τῶν ἁγγέλων.
τῆς δὲ στρατιάς οὐσίας σὺν τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις ἐς
ἐξακισμυρίους, τὸ μὲν ἡμισι διετέκτακτο αὐτῷ
τειχοφυλακεῖν, καὶ ἐς τὰ ἀναγκαία, εἰ πη δεη-
σειε, μεταχωρεῖν, δυσμύριοι δὲ τειχομαχήσειν
ἐμελλον, ὅτε χρεία γένοιτο, καὶ τούτως ἐφεδρέυειν
ἐτεροί μῦριοι. χωρίον δὲ καὶ τούτων ἐκάστοις
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floating across the river. The timbers were stuck full of knives and spear-heads, and were kept constantly in motion by the force of the stream dashing against them, so that the enemy were prevented from passing covertly, either by swimming, or diving, or sailing in boats. Thus was accomplished what Scipio especially desired, namely, that nobody could have any dealings with them, nobody could come in, and they could have no knowledge of what was going on outside. Thus they would be in want of provisions and apparatus of every kind.

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

CAP. XV διετέτακτον καὶ μεταπηδᾶν, εἰ μὴ κελεύσειν, οὐκ ἔχονι. ἐς δὲ τὸ τεταγμένον εὐθὺς ἀνεπῆδον, ὅτε τι σημεῖον ἐπιχειρήσεως ἔπαρθεν.

Ὅτως μὲν τὰ Σκιπίων πάντα ἀκριβῶς διετέ
tακτον 93. οἱ δὲ Νομαντίνοι πολλάκις μὲν τοῖς
φιλάσσουσιν ἐπεχείρουν, ἀλλοτε ἄλλη κατὰ μέρη,
tαχεία δ' αὐτίκα καὶ καταπληκτικὴ τῶν ἀμυνο-
μένων ἡ ὁψίς ἦν, σημεῖον τε υψηλῶν πανταχόθεν
αιρομένων καὶ ἀγγέλων διαθεόντων, καὶ τῶν
τειχομάχων ἀθρόως ἀναπηδώντων ἐς τὰ τείχη,
σαλπικτῶν τε κατὰ πάντα πύργον ἔξωτρυνόντων,
ὡστε τὸν κύκλον ὄλον εὐθὺς ἀπασίων εἶναι φοβερῶ-
tατον, ἐς πεντήκοντα στάδιος ἐπέχοντα ἐν
περίοδῳ, καὶ τόυτο τὸν κύκλον ὁ Σκιπίων ἐκάστης ἡμέρας τε καὶ νυκτὸς ἐπισκοπῶν περιήγη.

Ο μὲν δὴ τοὺς πολεμόνας ὁδὲ συγκλείσας οὐκ ἐς
πολὺ ἀρκέσειν ἐνόμισεν, οὔτε τροφῆς ἐτέ προ-
σιούσης σφίσιν οὔτε ὅπλων οὔτε ἔπικουρίας 94.

Ῥητογένης δὲ, ἀνὴρ Νομαντίνος, ὁ Καραύνιως ἐπί-
κλησις ἦν, ἀριστὸς ἐς ἀρετὴν Νομαντίνων, πέντε
πείσας φίλους, σὺν παισίν ἄλλους τοσοῦδε καὶ
ἵππους τοσοῦδε ἐν νυκτὶ συννεφεὶ διήλθε λαθῶν
τὸ μεταίχμιον, κλίμακα φέρων πτυχήν, καὶ φθά-
σας ἐς τὸ περιτεῖχισμα ἀνεπήδησαν αὐτὸς τε καὶ
οἱ φίλοι, καὶ τοὺς ἐκατέρωθεν φιλακας ἀνελόντες
τοὺς μὲν θεράπουντα ὑπέπεμπτον ὁπίσω, τοὺς δ' ἵ-
ἵππους διὰ τῆς κλίμακος ἀναγαγόντες ἐξίπτυσαν
ἐς τὰς Ἀρουακῶν πόλεις σὺν ἱεκτηρίας, δεόμενοι
Νομαντίνοις συγγενεσίων οὖσιν ἐπικουρεῖν. τοὺς δ' Ἀρουακῶν οἱ μὲν οὐδ' ὑπήκουοι αὐτῶν, ἄλλ' εὐθὺς
ἀπέπεμπτον δεδίστε. Διούτι δὲ τὸλς ἦν εὐδαίμων,
τριακόσιοι στάδιοι ἀφεστῶσα ἀπὸ Νομαντίνων,
THE WARS IN SPAIN

spring to the place assigned to him when any signal of an attack was given. So carefully was everything arranged by Scipio.

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

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

CAP. XV

ής οἱ μὲν νέοι περὶ τοὺς Νομαντίνους ἐσπουδᾷκεσαν καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐς συμμαχίαν ἔνθηγον, οἱ πρεσβύτεροι δὲ ἐμήνυσαν κρύφα τῷ Σκιπίωνι. καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων ὁγδόνης ὄρας πυθόμενος ἔξηλαυνεν αὐτίκα σὺν εὐξώνοις ὅτι πλείστοις, καὶ ἀμα ἔστρεψε τὴν Δούτιαν οὐραρά \πειρασθῆναι τῷς ἐξάρχον τῶν νεών. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐξωρμηκέναι τῆς πόλεως αὐτοῦς ἔλεγον, ἐκήρυξε διαρπάζον τὴν πόλιν, εἰ μὴ τοὺς ἄνδρας παραλάβοι. οἱ μὲν δὲ δεῖσαντες προσῆγησαν αὐτούς, ἐς τετρακοσίως γενομένους: ὁ δὲ τὰς χείρας αὐτῶν ἔκτεμπων ἀνέστησε τὴν οὐραράν, καὶ διαδραμὼν αὖθις ἀμ’ ἔστρεψε τῆς ἐπιούσῃς παρῆν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον.

95. Νομαντίνου δὲ κἀκεφος ὑπὸ λιμῶν πέντε ἄνδρας ἐπεμπὸν ἐς τὸν Σκιπίωνα, οἶς εἴρητο μαθεῖν εἰ μετρισθῶσι σφίσι χρήσεται παραδοῦσιν αὐτοῖς. Αὔαρος δ’ αὐτῶν ἡγούμενος πολλὰ μὲν περὶ τῆς προαίρεσεως καὶ ἄνδρειας τῶν Νομαντίνων ἔσευνολόγησε, καὶ ἐπείπεν ὡς οὐδὲ νῦν ἀμάρτοιεν, ὑπὲρ παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ ἑλευσθείας πατρίου κακοπαθοῦντες ἐς τοσοῦδε κακοῦ. “διὸ καὶ μάλιστα,” εἶπεν, “ὁ Σκιπίων, ἄξιόν ἐστι σὲ, τοσῷτε ἄρετῆς γέμωτα, φείσαισθαι γένους εὐγένχω τε καὶ ἄνδρικον, καὶ προτεῖναι τὰ φιλανθρωπότερα τῶν κακῶν ἥμιν, ἃ καὶ δυνησόμεθα ἐνεγκεῖν, ἃρτε πειρώμενοι μεταβολῆς. ὡς οὐκ ἐφ’ ἥμιν ἔτι ἑστίν, ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ σοί, τὴν πόλιν ἢ παραλαβεῖν, εἴ τα μέτρια κελεύοις, ἢ μαχομένην ὑπεριδεῖν ἀπολέσθαι.” ὁ μὲν Αὔαρος ὅδε εἶπεν, ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων (ἢθετο γὰρ παρὰ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων τὰ ἐνδον) ἐφ’ ἐδών αὐτοὺς ἐγχειρίσατι τὰ κατὰ

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

95. The Numantines, being oppressed by hunger, sent five men to Scipio to ask whether he would treat them with moderation if they would surrender. Their leader, Avarus, discoursed much about the policy and bravery of the Numantines, and added that even now they had done no wrong, but had fallen into their present misery for the sake of their wives and children, and for the freedom of their country. "Therefore above all, Scipio," he said, "it is worthy of you, a man renowned for virtue, to spare a brave and manly race and to extend to us, as a choice between evils, the humaner terms, terms which we shall be able to bear, now that we have at last experienced a change of fortune. It rests now not with us but with you whether you receive the surrender of our city by offering us fair terms, or allow it to perish in a last struggle." When Avarus had thus spoken, Scipio (who knew from prisoners the state of affairs inside) said merely that they must
APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK VI

CAP. XV σφᾶς καὶ σὺν ὑπὸς παραδοῦναι τὴν πόλιν. ὧν ἀπαγγέλθεντος οἱ Νομαντῖνοι, χαλεποὶ καὶ τέως ὄντες ὅργην ὑπ’ ἐλευθερίας ἀκράτου καὶ ἀπεθείας ἐπηθαγµάτων, τότε καὶ μᾶλλον ὑπὸ τῶν συμφορῶν ἡγισωµένοι τε καὶ ἀλλόκοτοι γεγονότες τὸν Δίαρον καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ πέντε πρέσβεις ἀπέκτειναν ὡς κακῶν ἀνγέλους καὶ τὸ σφέτερον ἀσφαλές ἵσως διεκθηµένους παρὰ τῷ Σκιτίωνι.

96. Μετὰ δ' οὐ πολὺ πάντων αὐτῶν τῶν ἐδεστῶν ἐπιλιπόντων, οὐ καρπὸν ἔχοντες, οὐ πρόβατων, οὐ πόνων, πρῶτα μὲν, ὥσπερ τινές ἐν τολέµων ἀνάγκαις, δέρματα ἔψοντες ἐλιχµῶντο, ἐπιλιπόντων δ' αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν δερμάτων ἐσαρκοφάγους ἔψοντες τὰ ἀνθρώπεια, πρῶτα μὲν τὰ τῶν ἀποθησακώντων κοπτόµενα ἐν μαγειρείοις, ἐπὶ δ' ἐκείνους τῶν νοσούντων κατεφρόνουν, καὶ τοὺς ἀσθενεστέρους ἐβιάζοντο οἱ δυνατώτεροι. κακῶν τε οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς ἄπην, ἡγισωµένοις μὲν τὰς ψυχὰς ὑπὸ τῶν τροφῶν, τεθηρωµένοις δὲ τὰ σῶµατα ὑπὸ λιµοῦ καὶ λοιµοῦ καὶ κόµης καὶ χρόνου. οὕτω δ' ἔχοντες αὐτοὺς ἐπέτρεπτον τῷ Σκιτίωνι. ὁ δ' ἐκέλευν αὐτοὺς τῆς μὲν ἡµέρας ἐκείνης συνενεγκείν τὰ ὑπὸ την ἐνθα συνέταξε, τῆς δ' ἐπιούσης προσελθεῖν ἐς ἐτερον χωρίον. οἱ δ' ὑπερεβάλοντο τὴν ἡµέραν, ὁµολογήσαντες ὅτι πολλοὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἐτί ἔχονται καὶ ἔθελον αὐτοὺς ἐξαγαγεῖν τοῦ βίου. τὴν οὖν ἡµέραν ἤτον ἐς τοῦ θανάτου τὴν διάσειν.

97. Τοσοῦτοι ἔρως ἐλευθερίας καὶ ἀνδραγαθίας ἤν ἐν πόλει βαρβάρῳ τε καὶ σμικρᾷ. έσ γαρ
surrender their arms and place themselves and their city in his hands. When this answer was made known, the Numantines, who were previously savage in temper because of their absolute freedom and quite unaccustomed to obey the orders of others, and were now wilder than ever and beside themselves by reason of their hardships, slew Avarus and the five ambassadors who had accompanied him, as bearers of evil tidings and thinking that perhaps they had made private terms for themselves with Scipio.

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

97. Such was the love of liberty and of valour which existed in this small barbarian town. With
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CAP. XV ὀκτακισχιλίους ἐπ’ εἰρήνης γενόμενοι οὐα μὲν καὶ ὡς Ρωμαίους ἔδρασαν, οὐας δὲ συνθῆκας αὐτοῖς ἔθεντο ἐπὶ ἱση καὶ ὅμοια, οὐδέσι ταῦτα συνθέσθαι Ρωμαίων ὑποστάντων, οἷον δ’ ὄντα τῶν τελευταίων στρατηγῶν, ἐξ μυριάσιν αὐτοὺς περικαθήμενον, προκαλέσαντο πολλάκις ἐς μάχην. ὁ δὲ ἦν ἄρα στρατηγικότερος αὐτῶν, ἐς χείρας οὐκ ἰὼν θηρίως, ἀλλὰ τῷ λιμῷ σφάς κατεργαζόμενος, ἀμάχῳ κακῷ, ὃ δὴ καὶ μόνῳ ληφθῆναι τε δυνατόν ἦν ἄρα Νομαντίνως, καὶ ἐλήφθησαν μόνῳ.

Ἐμοὶ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα περὶ Νομαντίνων εἴπειν ἐπήλθεν, ἐς τὴν ὀλυγότητα αὐτῶν καὶ φερεπονίαν ἀφορῶντι, καὶ ἐργὰ πολλὰ, καὶ χρόνον ὅσον διεκαρτέρησαν, οἱ δὲ πρῶτα μὲν αὐτοὺς, οἱ βουλόμενοι, διεχρώντω, ἔτερος ἔτερως: οἱ λοιποὶ δ’ ἔξεσαν τρίτης ἡμέρας ἐς τὸ δεδομένον χαρόν, δυσόρατοι τε καὶ ἀλλόκοτοι πάμπαν ὁφθήναι, οἷς τὰ μὲν σώματα ἦν ἀκάθαρτα καὶ τριχῶν καὶ ὀνύχων καὶ ῥύπον μεστὰ, ὀδώδεσαν δὲ χαλεπώτατον, καὶ ἐσθῆς αὐτοῖς ἐπέκειτο πιναρὰ καὶ ἦδε καὶ οὐχ ἦσον δυσώδης. ἐφαίνοντο δὲ τοῖς πολέμοις ἐλεεινοὶ μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν, φοβερὸν δ’ ἀπὸ τῶν βλεμμάτων ἔτι γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐνεώρων ἐκ τε ὀργῆς καὶ λύπης καὶ πόνου καὶ συνείδοτος ἀλληλοφαγίας.

98. Ἐπιλεξάμενος δ’ αὐτῶν πεντήκοντα ὁ Σκιπίων ἔσ τριάμβου, τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀπέδοτο, καὶ τὴν πόλιν κατέσκαψε, δύο μὲν τάσις πόλεως δυσμαχοτάτας ἐλὸν στρατηγὸς δὲ Ρωμαίων, Καρχηδόνα μὲν αὐτῶν Ρωμαίων ψηφισμένον

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only 8000 fighting men before the war began, how many and what terrible reverses did they bring upon the Romans! What treaties did they make on equal terms with the Romans, which the latter would not consent to make with any other people! How often did they challenge to open battle the last general sent against them, who had invested them with an army of 60,000 men! But he showed himself more experienced in war than themselves, by refusing to join battle with wild beasts when he could reduce them by that invincible enemy, hunger. In this way alone was it possible to capture the Numantines, and in this way alone were they captured.

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

98. Having chosen fifty of them for his triumph, Scipio sold the rest and razed the city to the ground. So this Roman general overthrew two most powerful cities,—Carthage, by decree of the Senate, on account of its greatness as a city and as an imperial power,
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CAP. XV díα μέγεθος πόλεως τε καὶ ἀρχῆς καὶ εὐκαιρίαν γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης, Νομαντίαν ὑπέρ σμικράν τε καὶ ὀλυγάνθρωπον, οὕτω τι Ἦωμαιον περὶ αὐτῆς ἐγνωκότων, αὐτός, εἶτε συμφέρειν Ἦωμαιοι ἡγούμενος, εἰτε ἀκρός ὄν ὄργην καὶ φιλόνεικος ἐστὶ λαμβανόμενα, εἰθ' ὡς ἦνοι νομίζονσι, τὴν δόξαν ἡγούμενον διώνυμον ἐπὶ τοῖς μεγάλοις γίγνεσθαι κακοῖς, καλοῦσι γοῦν αὐτὸν ὅτι Ἦωμαιοι μέχρι γύν, ἀπὸ τῶν συμφόρων ὅσ' ἐπέθηκε ταῖς πόλεσιν, Ἁφρικανὸν τε καὶ Νομαντίων. τότε δὲ τὴν γῆν τὴν Νομαντίνων τοῖς ἐγγύς οἰκοῦσι διελών, καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσι χρημάτισας, καὶ εἰ τι ἦν ὑποπτον, ἐπιτιθῆκας τε καὶ ἴχμωσας χρήμασιν, ἀπέπλευσεν ἐπὶ οἴκου.

XVI

CAP. XVI 99. Ἦωμαιοι δὲ, ὡς ἔθος, ἐσ τὰ προσελημμένα τῆς Ἰβηρίας ἐπεμψαν ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἄνδρας δέκα τούς καταστησομένους αὐτὰ ἐς εἰρήνην, ὅσα Σκιπίων τε ἔλαβε καὶ Βροῦτος πρὸ τοῦ Σκιπίωνος ὑπηγάγετο ἢ ἐχειρώσατο. χρόνοι δ' ὑστερον, ἀποστάσεων ἄλλων ἐν Ἰβηρία γενομένων, Καλπούριος Πίσων στρατηγὸς ἴρεθη. καὶ αὐτῶν διεδέχετο μὲν Σέρονιος Γάλβας, Κύμβρων δ' ἐπιστρατεύσατο τῇ Ἱταλίᾳ, καὶ Σικελίας πολεμομένης τὸν δεύτερον δουλικὸν πόλεμον, στρατιῶν μὲν ἢ Ἰβηρίαν οὐκ ἐρεμεῖον ὑπ' ἀσχολίας, πρέσβεις δὲ ἀπεστέλλουν, οἴ τον πόλεμον ἔμελλον ὑπ' ἀναμίν ἑκατησθεῖς, Κύμβρων δὲ ἔξελαθέντων, Τίτος Δείδιος ἐπελθὼν Ἀρουακῶν μὲν 294
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and its advantages by land and sea; Numantia, small and with a sparse population, on his own responsibility, the Romans knowing nothing about the transaction as yet. He destroyed it either because he thought that it would be for the advantage of the Romans, or because he was a man of passionate nature and vindictive towards captives, or, some hold, because he thought that great calamities are the foundation of great glory. At any rate, the Romans to this day call him Africanus and Numantinus from the ruin he brought upon those two places. Having divided the territory of the Numantines among their near neighbours and transacted certain business in the other cities, censuring or fining any whom he suspected, he sailed for home.

XVI

99. The Romans, according to their custom, sent ten senators to the newly acquired provinces of Spain, which Scipio, or Brutus before him, had received in surrender, or had taken by force, to settle their affairs on a peace basis. At a later time, other revolts having taken place in Spain, Calpurnius Piso was chosen as commander. He was succeeded by Servius Galba. When the Cimbri invaded Italy, and Sicily was torn by the second servile war, the Romans were too much preoccupied to send soldiers to Spain, but sent legates to settle the war as best they could. When the Cimbri were driven out Titus Didius was sent to Spain, and he slew about 20,000 of the Arevaci. He also removed
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CAP. ἐκτεινεν ἐς δισμυρίους; Τερμησὸν δὲ, μεγάλην πόλιν ἀεὶ δυσπεθῇ Ἄρωμαίοις γενομένην, εἰς ἐρυμνοῦ κατήγαγεν ἐς τὸ πεδίον, καὶ ἐκέλευσεν οἴκειω ἀτείχίστους. Κολένδαν δὲ προσκαθίσας ἐνάτῳ μηνὶ παρέλαβεν ἐγχειρίσασαν ἐαυτὴν, καὶ τοὺς Κολενδέας ἀπαντάς μετὰ παίδων καὶ γυναι-
κῶν ἀπέδοτο.

100. Πόλιν δ’ εἶτεραν τῆς Κολένδης πλησίον φικοῦν μεγάδες Κελτιβήρων, οὗς Μᾶρκος Μάριος συμμαχήσαντας αὐτῷ κατὰ Λυσιτανῶν, τῆς βουλῆς ἐπιτρεπτοῦσας, φικίκει πρὸ πέντε ἐναυτῶν. ἐλήστευν δ’ ἐξ ἀπορίας οὗτοι καὶ κρίναν αὐτοὺς ὁ Δείδιος ἀνελείν, συνθεμένων αὐτῶν τῶν δέκα πρέσβεων ἐτε παρόντων, ἐφ’ ὑπὸς ἐπιφανέσιν αὐτῶν ἐθέλειν τὴν Κολενδέαν χώραν αὐτοῖς προσορίσαι πενομένοις. ἀσπαζόμενος δὲ ὅρῳν ἐκέλευε, τῷ δήμῳ ταῦτα μετενεγκόντας, ήκειν μετὰ γυναικῶν καὶ παίδων τὴν χώραν μεριου-
μένους. ἐπεὶ δ’ ἀφίκοντο, προσέταξε τοὺς στρα-
τιώτας ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος ἐξελθεῖν καὶ τοὺς ἐνεδρευ-
μένους ἐσώ παρελθεῖν ὡς ἀπογραφόμενος αὐτῶν ἐνδον τὸ πλῆθος, ἐν μέρει μὲν ἀνδρῶν ἐν μέρει δὲ παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν, ἵνα ἐπιγνοθῇ πόσην χώραν αὐτοῖς δέοι διελεῖν. ὡς δὲ παρῆλθον ἐς τὴν τάφρον καὶ τὸ χαράκωμα, περιστήσας αὐτοῖς τὸν στρατὸν ὁ Δείδιος ἐκτεινε πάντας. καὶ ἔπει τοῦτο δεὶ Δείδιος μὲν καὶ ἐθριάμβευσε, πάλιν δὲ τῶν Κελτιβήρων ἀποστάντων Φλάκκος ἐπιτεμ-
ϕθεῖς ἐκτεινε δυσμυρίους. ἐν δὲ Βελγήδη πόλει ὁ μὲν δῆμος ἐς ἀπόστασιν ὅρμῳ τὴν βουλὴν ἠνα.
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Terms, a large city always insubordinate to the Romans, from its strong position into the plain, and ordered the inhabitants to live without walls. He also besieged the city of Colenda and captured it eight months after he had invested it, and sold all the inhabitants with their wives and children.

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

CAP. XVI

101. Τοσάδε μὲν ἡδον ἅξια λόγου Ῥωμαίοις ἐς τότε πρὸς Ἰβηρίας αὐτοὺς γενόμενα χρόνῳ δ' οὕστερον στασιαζόντων ἐν Ῥώμη Σύλλα τε καὶ Κίννα, καὶ ἐς ἐμφυλίους πολέμους καὶ στρατόπεδα κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος διηρημένων, Κώνιος Σερτώριος, ἐκ τῆς Κίννα στάσεως αἱρεθεὶς τῆς Ἰβηρίας ἄρχειν, Ἰβηρίαν τε αὐτὴν ἐπανέστησε Ῥωμαίοις, καὶ πολὺν στρατὸν ἀγείρας, καὶ βουλήν τῶν ἱδίων φίλων ἐς μέμημα τῆς συγκλήτου καταλέξας, ἤλαυνε ἐς Ῥώμην ἐπὶ τόλμης καὶ φρονήματος λαμπροῦ, καὶ τάλλα δὲν ἐς θρασύττητα περιόνυμος, ὡστε τὴν βουλήν δεῖσασαν ἐλέσθαι τοὺς παρὰ σφίσιν ἐπὶ μεγίστης τότε δόξῃς στρατηγοῦς, Κακίλων τε Μέτελλον μετὰ πολλοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ Γναῖον Πομπήιον ἐπὶ ἐκείνῳ μεθ' ἑτέρου στρατοῦ, ἴνα τὸν πόλεμον, ὡς ἰδιαίτερῳ, ἐξωθοῖε ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐν διχοστασίᾳ τότε μάλιστα οὐσίας. ἀλλὰ Σερτώριον μὲν τῶν στασιωτῶν τῆς αὐτοῦ Περσέρνας ἀνελὼν ἐαυτὸν ἐπὶ Σερτώριῳ στρατηγῷ ἀπέφηνε τῆς ἀποστάσεως, Περσέρναν δ' ἐκτείνε μάχη Πομπῆιος, καὶ ὁ πόλεμος ὄδη, θορυβήσας δὴ τῷ φόβῳ μάλιστα Ῥωμαίους, διελύθη. τὸ δὲ ἀκριβὲς αὐτοῦ δηλώσει τὰ περὶ Σύλλα ἐμφύλια.

102. Μετὰ δὲ τὸν Σύλλα θάνατον Γάιος Καῖσαρ αἱρεθεὶς Ἰβηρίας στρατηγεῖν, ὡστε καὶ πολεμεῖν ὅσι δεησεῖν, ὡς τῶν Ἰβήρων ἐσαλευτοῦ ἡ Ῥωμαίοις ἐτὶ ἐλειπτε, πολέμῳ συνηνάγκασε πάντα υπακούειν, καὶ τινὰ αὐθεὶς ἀφιστάμενα Ὀκταούνος.

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Flaccus arrived there he put the authors of this crime to death.

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

102. After the death of Sulla, Gaius Caesar was sent as praetor into Spain with power to make war wherever it was needful. All of those Spaniards who were doubtful in their allegiance, or had not yet submitted to the Romans, he brought under subjection by force of arms. Some, who afterwards rebelled, were subdued by his adopted son.
Καίσαρ ὁ τοῦ Γάιου παῖς, ὁ Ἀφραδάτος ἐπίκλημα, ἐχειρώσατο. καὶ ἐξ ἐκείνου μοι δοκούσι Ρωμαῖοι τὴν Ἰβηρίαν, ἦν δὴ νῦν Ἰσπανίαν καλοῦσιν, ἐς τρία διαίρεῖν καὶ στρατηγοὺς ἐπιτίθεμεν, ἐτησίους μὲν ἐς τὰ δύο ἡ βουλή, τὸν δὲ τρίτον βασιλέως ἐφ᾿ ὃσον δοκιμάσειν.
THE WARS IN SPAIN

Octavius Caesar, surnamed Augustus. From that time it appears that the Romans have divided Iberia (which they now call Hispania) into three parts and sent a governor to govern each, two being chosen annually by the Senate, and the third by the emperor to hold office during his pleasure.

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

THE HANNIBALIC WAR
Η'

ANNIBAIKH

I

CAP. 1. "Οσα δὲ Ἀννίβας ὁ Καρχηδόνιος ἐξ Ἰβηρίας ἐσ Ἰταλίαν ἐς βαλόν, ἐκεῖδεκα ἐτεσίω ὡς ἐπέμεινε πολεμών, ἐδράσε τε καὶ ἐπάθεν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων, ἔως αὐτὸν Καρχηδόνιοι τε κινδυνεύοντες περὶ τῆς πόλει ἐπὶ τὰ σφέτερα μετεπέμψαντο καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐξήλασαν, ἢδε ἡ γραφὴ δηλοῖ. ἢ τις δὲ τῷ Ἀννίβα γέγονε τῆς ἐσβολῆς αἰτία τε ἁλήθης καὶ πρόφασις ἐσ τὸ φανερόν, ἀκριβέστατα μὲν ἐν τῇ Ἰβηρικῇ συγγραφῇ δεδηλωται, συγγράφω δὲ καὶ νῦν ὅσον ἐς ἀνάμνησιν.

2. Ἀμίλχαρ ὁ Βάρκας ἐπίκλησις ἦν, Ἀννίβου τούδε πατήρ, ἐστρατήγει Καρχηδονίων ἐν Σικελία, ὅτε Ῥωμαίοι καὶ Καρχηδόνιοι περὶ αὐτῆς ἀλλήλοις ἐπολέμουν. δόξαι δὲ πρᾶξει κακῶς ὑπὸ τῶν ἔχθρῶν ἐδιώκετο, καὶ δεδιοὶ ἔπραξεν ἐς τοὺς Νομάδας αἰρεθήναι στρατηγὸς πρὸ τῶν εὐθυνῶν. γενόμενος δὲ χρήσιμος ἐν τῶδε, καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν θεραπεύοσας ἀρπαγαίς καὶ δωρεαῖς, ἤγαγεν ἄνευ τοῦ κοινοῦ Καρχηδονίων ἐπὶ Γάδειρα, καὶ ἐπέρασε τὸν πορθμὸν ἐς Ἰβηρίαν, ὅθεν λάφυρα πολλά
BOOK VII

THE HANNIBALIC WAR

I

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

2. Hamilcar, surnamed Barca, the father of this Hannibal, was the commander of the Carthaginian forces in Sicily when they contended with the Romans for the possession of that island. Being prosecuted by his enemies on a charge of maladministration, and fearing a conviction, he managed to get himself chosen general against the Numidians before the time of rendering his accounts. Having proved useful in this war and having secured the favour of the army by plunder and largesses, he passed over the straits into Spain and made an expedition against Gades without the authority of Carthage. From
CAP. διεσπεροῦσα ἐς Καρχηδόνα, θεραπεύον τὸ πλήθος, εἰ δύναιτο μὴ χαλεπαίνειν αὐτῷ τῆς στρατηγίας τῆς ἐν Σικελίᾳ, χώραν δ' αὐτοῦ κατακτομένου πολλὴν κλέος τε μέγα ὢν, καὶ Καρχηδονίους ἐπιθυμία πάσης Ἰβηρίας ὡς εὐμαρόους ἔρχου. Ζακανθαῖοι δὲ, καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι Ἑλληνες ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ, καταφεύγουσιν ἐπὶ Ρωμαίους, καὶ γίγνεται Καρχη-
δονίους ὅρος Ἰβηρίας, μὴ διαβάλειν τὸν Ἰβηρα ποταμὸν καὶ τὸ ὅδε ταῖς Ῥωμαίων καὶ Καρχη-
δονίων σπουδαῖς ἐνεγράφη. ἔπτε δὲ τούτῳ Βάρκας μὲν τὴν ὑπὸ Καρχηδονίους Ἰβηρίαν καθιστάμενος ἐν τινὶ μάχῃ πεσὼν ἀποθνῄσκει, καὶ στρατηγὸς Ἀσδρούβας ἐπ' αὐτῷ γίγνεται, δὲ ἐκήδευε τῷ Βάρκα. καὶ τόνδε μὲν κτείνει θεράτων ἐν κυκ-
νησίαις, οὐ τὸν δεσπότην ἀνηρρηκεί.

3. Τρίτος δὲ ἐπὶ τοίςδε στρατηγὸς Ἰβηρών ὑπὸ τῆς στρατιᾶς ὑποδείκνυται, φιλοπόλεμος καὶ σύνετος εἶναι δοκῶν, Ἀννίβας δε, Βάρκα μὲν νῦν ὅν, Ἀσδρούβου δὲ τῆς γυναικὸς ἀδελφῶς, νέος δὲ κομιδῆ, καὶ ὡς μειράκιον ἔτι τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ κηδεστῇ συνόν, καὶ ὁ δήμος ὁ Καρχηδονίων αὐτῷ τὴν στρατηγίαν ἐπεψήφισεν. οὕτω μὲν Ἀννίβας, περὶ οὗ τάδε συγγράφῳ, γίγνεται στρατηγὸς Καρχηδονίων ἐπ' Ἰβηρών· τῶν δ' ἐχθρῶν τῶν Βάρκα τε καὶ Ἀσδρούβου τοῦς φίλους τοὺς ἐκεῖνοι διωκόντων, καὶ Ἀννίβου τούτῳ καταφρονοῦντων ὡς ἔτι νέου, ἄρχην εἶναι τοῦθ' ὁ Ἀννίβας ἐφ' ἐαυτὸν ἡγοῦμενος, καὶ νομίζων οἱ τὸ ἀσφαλὲς ἐκ τῶν τῆς πατρίδος φόβων περιέστεθαι, ἐς πόλεμον αὐτοὺς
thence he sent much booty to Carthage in order to win the favour of the multitude, so that if possible he might ward off censure on account of his command in Sicily. Having gained much territory he acquired a great reputation, and the Carthaginians were filled with a desire to possess the whole of Spain, thinking that it would be an easy task. Thereupon the Saguntines and other Greeks who were settled in Spain had recourse to the Romans, and a boundary was fixed to the Carthaginian possessions in that country, namely, that they should not cross the river Ebro, and a clause to this effect was inserted in the treaty between the Romans and the Carthaginians. After this, Hamilcar, while settling the affairs of Carthaginian Spain, was killed in battle, and Hasdrubal, his son-in-law, succeeded him as general. The latter while hunting was killed by a slave whose master he had put to death.

3. After them this Hannibal was chosen by the army as the third commander in Spain because he seemed to have great aptitude and fondness for war. He was the son of Hamilcar and the brother of Hasdrubal's wife, a very young man whose early years had naturally been passed in the company of his father and his brother-in-law. The people of Carthage confirmed his election as general. In this way Hannibal, whose history I am about to write, became the commander of the Carthaginians against the Spaniards. But the enemies of Hamilcar and Hasdrubal in Carthage persecuted the friends of those men, despising Hannibal on account of his youth, and he, believing that this persecution was originally directed against himself and that he might secure his own safety by means of his country's fears, began
οιρ. μέγαν ἐμβαλεῖν ἔπενόει. ὑπολαβὼν δ’, ὡσπερ ἦν, τὸ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐπιχειρήσατε χρόνιον τὸ Καρχηδονίους ἔστεθαι, καὶ μεγάλην αὐτῶδες δόξαν, εἰ καὶ τόχοι πταίσας, τὸ γε ἐγχείρημα οἴσειν, λεγόμενος δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπὶ βωμῶν ἐτὶ παῖς ὀρκωθῆναι Ῥωμαίοις ἐπιβουλεύουν οὐ ποτ’ ἐκλείψειν, ἐπενόει παρὰ τὰς σπονδάς τὸν Ἰβηρία διαβῆναι, καὶ παρεσκεύαζέ τινας ἐς πρόφασιν κατηγορεῖν Ζακανθαίων. γράφων τε ταῦτα συνεχῶς ἐς Καρχηδόνα, καὶ προστιθέεις ὅτι Ῥωμαιοὶ κρύφα τὴν Ἰβηρίαν αὐτῶν ἀφιστάσων, ἔτυχε παρὰ Καρχηδονίων πράσσειν ὅ τι δοκιμάσειεν. οἷς ἡ τὸν Ἰβηρία διαβᾶς τὴν Ζακανθαίων πόλιν ἤβηδον διεφθειρε, Ῥωμαῖος δὲ καὶ Καρχηδονίους ἐπὶ τρίδε ἐλένυτο αἰ σπονδαὶ αἰ γενόμεναι αὐτοῖς μετὰ τὸν πόλεμον τὸν ἐν Σικελίᾳ.

4. Ἀναίθας δὲ ὅσα μὲν αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ μετ’ αὐτῶν ἄλλοι Καρχηδονίων τε καὶ Ῥωμαῖων στρατηγοῖ, περὶ Ἰβηρίαν ἐπραξαν, ἡ Ἰβηρικὴ γραφή δηλοῖ, ἐπιλεξάμενος δὲ Κελτιβήρων τε καὶ Λιβύων καὶ ἑτέρων ἐθνῶν ὅτι πλείστους, καὶ τὰ ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ παραδόους Ἀσδροῦβα τῷ ἀδελφῷ, τὰ Πυρηναϊά ὅρη διέβαινεν ἐς τὴν Κελτικὴν τὴν ψιλὸν λεγομένην Γαλατίαν, ἀγῶν πεζοῦ ἐνακισμῶριος καὶ ἰππεάς ἐς δισχίλιους ἐπὶ μυρίων καὶ ἐλέφαντας ἐπτὰ καὶ τρικόντα. Γαλατῶν δὲ τοὺς μὲν ὁνομάζοντο, τοὺς δὲ πείθοντο, τοὺς δὲ καὶ διαξόμενος, διώκει τὴν χώραν. ἔλθον δὲ ἐτὶ τὰ Ἁλπεῖα ὅρη, καὶ μεθε-μίαν μήτε δίδουν μήτε ἀφόδων εὐράν (ἀπόκρημμα γὰρ ἐστὶν ἰσχυρὸν), ἐπείδημαι καλείνοις ὑπὸ τὸλ-
THE HANNIBALIC WAR

to think about involving it in a great war. Believing, upon
as was the fact, that a war between the Romans and
Carthaginians, once begun, would last a long time,
and that the undertaking in itself would bring great
honour to himself, even if he should fail (it was said,
also, that he had been sworn on the altar by his
father, while yet a boy, that he would be an eternal
enemy of Rome), he resolved to cross the Ebro in
defiance of the treaty. For a pretext, he procured cer-
tain persons to make accusations against the
Saguntines. By continually forwarding these accusa-
tions to Carthage, and by also accusing the Romans of
secretly inciting the Spaniards to revolt, he obtained
permission from Carthage to take such steps as he
should think fit. Thereupon he crossed the Ebro
and destroyed the city of Saguntum with all the
inhabitants of military age. Thus the treaty, made
between the Romans and the Carthaginians, after
the war in Sicily, was broken.

4. What Hannibal himself and what the other
Carthaginian and Roman generals after him did in
Spain. I have related in the Spanish history how,
being collected a large army of Carthaginian, Iberian,
and other nationalities and put the command of
Spain in the hands of two brothers. Hannibal then
crossed over the Pyrenees and the countries of the
Celts, which is now called Gaul, with about 12,000
horse, and 87 elephants. He passed through the
country of the Gauls, overcoming some with money
and some by force. When he was on the Alps and
found no road through;
(since they are exceedingly
thick), he boldly began to climb them,
ΑΠΠΙΑΝ'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK VII

οαρ. μέγαν ἐμβαλεῖν ἐπενόει. ὑπολαβῶν δ', ἀσπερ ἦν, τὸ Ῥωμαίοις ἐπιχειρῆσαι χρὸνίων τε Καρχηδονίως ἔσεσθαι, καὶ μεγάλην αὐτῷ δόξαν, εἰ καὶ τούτων πταίσας, τὸ γε ἐγχείρημα οὖσειν, λεγόμενος δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἑπὶ βωμῶν ἔτι παις ὁρκωθῆναι Ῥωμαίοις ἐπιβουλεύων οὐ ποτ' ἐκλείψειν, ἐπενόει παρὰ τὰς σπονδὰς τὸν Ἰβηρα διαβῆναι, καὶ παρεσκεύαζε τινὰς ἐς πρόφασιν καθηγορεῖν Ζακανθαίων. ἢ γράφων τε ταῦτα συνεχῶς ἐς Καρχηδόνα, καὶ προστιθεὶς ὅτι Ῥωμαιοὶ κρύφα τὴν Ἰβηρίαν αὐτῶν ἀφιστᾶσιν, ἐτυχε παρὰ Καρχηδονίων πράσσειν ὦ τι δοκιμάσειν. ὁ μὲν δὲ τὸν Ἰβηρα διαβᾶς τὴν Ζακανθαίων πόλιν ἡβηδὸν διέφθιερε, Ῥωμαίοις δὲ καὶ Καρχηδονίοις ἑπὶ τὸ χεῖρε ἐξελυντο αἱ σπονδαὶ αἱ γενόμεναι αὐτοῖς μετὰ τὸν πόλεμον τὸν ἐν Σικελίᾳ.

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to think about involving it in a great war. Believing, chap. 1 as was the fact, that a war between the Romans and Carthaginians, once begun, would last a long time, and that the undertaking in itself would bring great glory to himself, even if he should fail (it was said, also, that he had been sworn on the altar by his father, while yet a boy, that he would be an eternal enemy of Rome), he resolved to cross the Ebro in defiance of the treaty. For a pretext, he procured certain persons to make accusations against the Saguntines. By continually forwarding these accusations to Carthage, and by also accusing the Romans of secretly inciting the Spaniards to revolt, he obtained permission from Carthage to take such steps as he should think fit. Thereupon he crossed the Ebro and destroyed the city of Saguntum with all the inhabitants of military age. Thus the treaty, made between the Romans and the Carthaginians after the war in Sicily, was broken.

4. What Hannibal himself and what the other Carthaginian and Roman generals after him did in Spain, I have related in the Spanish history. Having collected a large army of Celtiberians, Africans, and other nationalities, and put the command of Spain in the hands of his brother Hasdrubal, he crossed over the Pyrenees into the country of the Celts, which is now called Gaul, with 90,000 foot, about 12,000 horse, and 37 elephants. He passed through the country of the Gauls, conciliating some with money and some by persuasion, and overcoming others by force. When he came to the Alps and found no road (for they are exceedingly precipitous), he nevertheless boldly began to climb the Alps and march over them, suffering greatly
CAP. μησ, κακοπαθῶν χιόνος τε πολλῆς οὐσίας καὶ κρύ-
ους, τὴν μὲν ὑλὴν τέμνων τε καὶ κατακαίων, τὴν
dὲ τέφραν σβενυός ὕδατι καὶ ὀξεί, καὶ τὴν πέτραν
ἐκ τούτῳ ψαφαραίς γεγομένης σφούρας σιδηραῖς
θραύσων, καὶ ὄδον ποιῶν ὦ καὶ νῦν ἔστιν ἐπὶ τῶν
ὀρῶν ἐντριβής καὶ καλεῖται δίοδος Ἀννίβου. τῶν
dὲ τροφῶν αὐτῶν ἐπιλειποῦσών ἦπειγετο μὲν, ἔτι
λανθάνων ὧτι καὶ πάρεστιν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν,
ἐκτὸς δὲ μόνως ἀπὸ τῆς ἐξ Ἰβηρίων ἀναστάσεως
μηνί, πλείστους ἀποβαλῶν, ἐς τὸ πεδίον ἐκ τῶν
ὀρῶν κατέβαινε.
THE HANNIBALIC WAR

from the cold and the deep snow. He cut down and burned wood, quenching the ashes with water and vinegar. Having thus rendered the rocks brittle he shattered them with iron hammers and opened a passage which is still in use over the mountains and is called Hannibal's pass. As his supplies began to fail he pressed forward, the Romans remaining in ignorance even after he had actually arrived in Italy. With great difficulty, six months after leaving Spain, and after suffering heavy losses, he descended from the mountains to the plain.

II

5. After a brief pause he attacked Taurasia, a Gallic town, took it by storm, and put the prisoners to death, in order to strike terror into the rest of the Gauls. Then he advanced to the river Eridanus, now called the Po, where the Romans were at war with the Gallic tribe called the Boii, and pitched his camp. The Roman consul, Publius Cornelius Scipio, was at that time contending with the Carthaginians in Spain. When he learned of Hannibal's incursion into Italy, he, like Hannibal, left his brother, Gnaeus Cornelius Scipio, in charge of affairs in Spain and sailed for Etruria. Marching thence, and collecting as many allies as possible, he came before Hannibal to the Po. He sent Manlius and Atilius, who were conducting the war against the Boii, back to Rome, on the ground that they had no right to command when a consul was present, and taking their forces drew them up for battle
CAP. II μάχην ἔξέτασσε πρὸς Ἀννίβαν. καὶ γενομένης ἀκροβολίας τε καὶ ἱππομαχίας, οἱ Ῥωμαιοὶ κυκλωθέντες ύπὸ τῶν Διβύων ἐφευγον ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ νυκτὸς ἐπιγενομένης ἐς Πλακεντίαν ἀνεχώρουν ἀσφαλῶς τετειχισμένην, τὸν Πάδου ἐπὶ γεφυρῶν περάσαντές τε καὶ λύσαντες τὰς γεφύρας. τὸν μὲν οὖν ποταμὸν καὶ ὁ Ἀννίβας ξεύξας ἐπέρα, (6) τὸ δ′ ἔργον εὐθὺς τὸδε, πρῶτον ἡ δεύτερον ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν Ἀλπείων ὅροιν διαβάσει, παρὰ τοὺς ἐπέκεινα Κελτοῖς ἐξῆρε τὸν Ἀννίβαν ὡς ἀμαχον στρατηγὸν καὶ τῇ χρή λαμπρὰ χρώμενον, ὁ δὲ, ὡς ἐν βαρβάροις τε καὶ τεθητόσιν αὐτόν, καὶ διὰ ἄμφως δυναμένοις ἀπατᾶσθαι, τὴν ἐσθήτα καὶ τὴν κόμην ἑνήλασε συννεχῶς ἐσκεφτασμέναις ἐπινοίαις καὶ αὐτὸν οἱ Κελτοὶ περιόντα τὰ ἐθνή πρεσβύτην ὀρῶντες, εἶτα νέον, εἶτα μεσαιώνοιν, καὶ συννεχῶς ἐτερον ἐξ ἐτέρου, θαυμάζοντες ἔδοκον θειοτέρας φύσεως λαχείν.

Σεμπρόνιος δ′ ὁ ἐτερος ὑπατος, ἐν Σικελία τότε ὅν καὶ πυθόμενος, διέπλευσε πρὸς τὸν Σκίθωνα, καὶ τεσσαράκοντα σταδίους αὐτὸν διασχῶν ἐστρατοπέδευσεν. καὶ τῆς ἐπιούσης ἐμελλον ἄπαντες ἐς μάχην ἠξειν. ποταμὸς δ′ ἦν ἐν μέσῳ Τρεβίας, ὃν Ῥωμαιοὶ πρὸ ὄξω, χειμερίον τε τῆς τροπῆς ὀύσης καὶ ὑστοῦ καὶ κρύου, ἐπέραν βρεχόμενοι μέχρι τῶν μαστῶν. Ἀννίβας δὲ καὶ ἐς δευτέραν ὀρῶν ἀνέπαυσε τὴν στρατιὰν, καὶ τότε ἔξηγεν.

7. Παράταξε δ′ ἦν ἑκατέρων ἐκῃ κέρατα κατεύχων, ἀμφὶ τὴν φάλαγγα τῶν πεζῶν. Ἀννίβας δὲ τοῖς μὲν ἐππεύσων ἀντέταξε τοὺς ἑλέφαντας,
THE HANNIBALIC WAR

with Hannibal. After a skirmish and a cavalry engagement, the Romans were surrounded by the Africans and fled to their camp. Night coming on, they took refuge in Placentia, a place strongly fortified, crossing the Po by bridges which they afterwards demolished. Nevertheless Hannibal made a new bridge and crossed the river.

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

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

7. The order of battle on each side was <as follows. The Roman cavalry> were posted on the wings in order to protect the infantry. Hannibal ranged his elephants opposite the Roman horse and his foot-
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CAP. II. τῇ δὲ φάλαγγι τοὺς πεζοὺς τοὺς δὲ ἵππεας ἐκέλευσεν ὁ πίσω τῶν ἐλεφάντων ἀτρεμείν ἐως αὐτὸς τι σημῆνη. γενομένων δὲ ἐν χερσὶ πάντων, οἱ μὲν Ρωμαίων ἱπποί τοὺς ἐλεφάντας, οὐ φέροντες αὐτῶν οὔτε τὴν ὄψιν οὔτε τὴν ὀδὴν, ἐφευγον οἱ δὲ πεζοί, καὶ περ ὑπὸ τοῦ κόρνου καὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τῆς ἀγρυπνίας τετρυμένοι τε καὶ μαλακοὶ ὄντες, ὁμοὶ ὑπὸ τὸλμης τοῖς θηρίοις ἐπεπήδουν καὶ ἐγίνοσκον αὐτά, καὶ τινῶν καὶ τὰ νεῦρα ὑπέκοπτον, καὶ τοὺς πεζοὺς ἐνέκλυσον ἡδη. θεασάμενος δ' ἦσσε ἐσήμην τὴν ἱππον κυκλούσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους. ἐκειδασμένων δ' ἄρτι τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν ἱππέων διὰ τὰ θηρία καὶ τῶν πεζῶν μόνων τις ὄντων καὶ κακοπαθοῦντων καὶ δεδιότων τῆς περικύκλωσις, φυγὴ πανταχόθεν ἦν ἐς τὰ στρατόπεδα. καὶ ἀπώλλυτο οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἱππέων καταλαμβανόντων ἀτε πεζοὺς, οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ παραφέροντος, τοῦ γὰρ ἠλίου τῆς χιώνας τῆς αὐτοῦ ὁ ποταμὸς ἐρρύει μέγας, καὶ οὔτε στῆναι διὰ τὸ βάθος οὔτε νεῖν διὰ τὰ ὄπλα ἐδύναυτο. Ἐκπλήθων δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐπόμενοι καὶ παρακαλῶν θλίψαν μὲν ἐξῆσθε τρωθείς διαφθαρήναι, μόλις δ' ἐσε Κρεμώνα διεσώθη φερόμενος. ἐπίνειον δὲ ἦν τῷ βραχὺ Πλακεντίας, δ' ἐπὶ Περεπάνω οὖν Ἀννίβας ἀπόλλεσε τετρακοσίους καὶ αὐτὸς ἐτρώθη. καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦτο πάντες ἐχειμάζον, Σκιπίων μὲν ἐν Κρεμώνι καὶ Πλακεντία, Ἀννίβας δὲ περὶ Πάδουν.

8. Οἱ δ' ἐν ἀστεὶ Ῥωμαϊοὶ πυθόμενοι, καὶ τρίτων ἡδη πταίοντες περὶ Πάδουν (ἡττημεν ἀρ τῇ καὶ ὑπὸ Βοῦν πρὸ Ἀννίβου), στρατιάν τε παρ' αὐτῶν ἄλλην κατέλεγον, σὺν τοῖς οὖσι περὶ τῶν Πάδουν ὡς εἶναι τρισκαίδεκα τέλη, καὶ τοῖς
soldiers against the legions, and he ordered his own cavalry to remain quiet behind the elephants until he should give the signal. When battle was joined the horses of the Romans, terrified by the sight and smell of the elephants, broke and fled. The foot-soldiers, although suffering much and weakened by cold, wet clothes and want of sleep, nevertheless boldly attacked these beasts, wounded them, and cut the hamstrings of some, and were already pushing back the enemy’s infantry. Hannibal, observing this, gave the signal to his horse to outflank the enemy. The Roman horse having been just dispersed by fear of the elephants, the foot-soldiers were left without protection, and were now in difficulties. Fearing lest they should be surrounded, they everywhere broke in flight to their own camp. Many were cut off by the enemy’s horse, who naturally overtook foot-soldiers, and many perished in the swift stream, for the river was now swollen with melting snow so that they could not wade, on account of its depth, nor could they swim, on account of the weight of their armour. Scipio, who followed trying to rally them, was wounded and almost killed, and was with difficulty rescued and carried to Cremona. There was a small arsenal near Placentia to which Hannibal laid siege, where he lost 400 men and was himself wounded. And now they all went into winter quarters, Scipio in Cremona and Placentia, and Hannibal on the Po.

8. When the Romans in the city learned of this third defeat on the Po (for they had in fact been beaten by the Boii before Hannibal arrived), they levied a new army of their own citizens which, with those already on the Po, amounted to thirteen
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CAP. II  συμμάχους ἐτέραν διπλασίονα ταύτης ἐπήγγελλον. ἢδη δὲ αὐτοῖς τὸ τέλος εἶχε πεζοὺς πεντακισχίλιους καὶ ἵππεας τριακοσίους. καὶ τούτων τοὺς μὲν ἐς Ἰβηρίαν ἔπεμπον, τοὺς δὲ ἐς Σαρδόνα κἀκεῖνην πολεμομένην, τοὺς δὲ ἐς Σικελίαν. τὰ πλέον δὴ ἦγον ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀννίβαν οἱ μετὰ Σκιπίωνα καὶ Σεμπρῶνιον αἵρεσίνες ὑπατοι, Σερούλιος τε Γναίου καὶ Γάιος Φλαμίνιος. ὥν ὁ μὲν Σερούλιος ἐπὶ τὸν Πάδον ἐπείχθεις τὴν στρατηγικὴν ἐκδέχεται παρὰ τοῦ Σκιπίωνος (ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων ἄνθυπατος αἵρεθεὶς ἐς Ἰβηρίαν διέπλευσε), Φλαμίνιος δὲ τρισμυρίοις τε πεζοῖς καὶ τρισχίλιοι ἵππεύσι τὴν ἐντὸς Ἀπεννίνων ὀρῶν Ἰταλίαν ἐφύλασσεν, ἢν καὶ μόνγιν ἀν τις εἰποὶ κυρίως Ἰταλίαν. τὰ γὰρ Ἀπεννίνα κατέρχεται μὲν ἐκ μέσων τῶν Ἀλπείων ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, ἐστὶ δὲ αὐτῶν τὰ μὲν ἐπὶ δεξιὰ πάντα καθαρῶς Ἰταλία, τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ θάτερα ἐς τὸν Ἰόνιον φθάνοντα νῦν μὲν ἐστὶ καὶ ταύτα Ἰταλία, ὅτι καὶ Τυρρηνία νῦν Ἰταλία, οἰκοῦσι δὲ αὐτῶν τὰ μὲν Ἑλληνες, ἀμφὶ τὴν Ἰόνιον ἀκτὴν, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ Ὀλυμπί, ὅσοι τῇ Ρώμῃ τὸ πρῶτον ἐπιθέμενοι τὴν πόλιν ἐνέπτρεψαν. ὅτε γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐξελάφων Κάμμιλλος ἐδώκει μέχρι τῶν Ἀπεννίνων ὀρῶν, ἐμοὶ δοκοῦσιν ὑπερβάντες αὐτῶν, ἀντὶ ἠθῶν τῶν ἱδίων, παρὰ τὸν Ἰόνιον οἰκήσας καὶ τὸ μέρος τῆς χώρας ἐτὶ νῦν οὕτω καλοῦσιν, Ἰταλίαν Ταλατίκην.

9. Ἡ Ῥωμαίοι μὲν δὴ μεγάλοις στρατοῖς ἐς πολλὰ ὅμοι διήρημοι. Ἀννίβας δὲ τούτων αἰσθόμενος, ἀμα τῷ ἢρι, τοὺς ἄλλους λαθῶν ἐδήν τῇ Τυρρηνίᾳ καὶ προὐβαινειν ἐς τὸ μέρος τὸ ἐπὶ Ῥώμης. οἱ δὲ πλησιάζοντος αὐτοῦ πάνω ἐδείσαν, οὐ
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legions, and they called for double that number from the allies. At this time the legion consisted of 5000 foot and 300 horse. Some of these they sent to Spain, some to Sardinia (for they were at war there also), and some to Sicily. The greater part were dispatched against Hannibal under Cn. Servilius and Gaius Flaminius, who had succeeded Scipio and Sempronius as consuls. Servilius hastened to the Po, where he received the command from Scipio, and the latter, having been chosen proconsul, sailed for Spain. Flaminius, with 30,000 foot and 3000 horse, guarded Italy within the Apennines, which alone can be properly called Italy. The Apennines extend from the centre of the Alpine range to the sea. The country on the right-hand side of the Apennines is Italy proper. The other side, extending to the Adriatic, is now called Italy also, just as Etruria is now called Italy, but is inhabited by people of Greek descent, along the Adriatic shore, the remainder being occupied by Gauls, the same people who at an early period attacked and burned Rome, When Camillus drove them out and pursued them to the Apennines, it is my opinion that they crossed over these mountains and made a settlement near the Adriatic instead of their former abode. Hence this part of the country is still called Gallic Italy.

9. Thus had the Romans divided their large armies at this juncture for many campaigns. Hannibal, learning this fact, moved secretly in the early spring, devastated Etruria, and advanced towards the neighbourhood of Rome. The citizens became greatly alarmed as he drew near, for they had no
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11. παρούσης σφίσιν ἀξιομάχου δυνάμεως. ἔστρατευν δὲ ὄμως ἐκ τῶν ὑπολοίπων ὀκτακισχιλίους, καὶ Κεντήμον αὐτοῖς τινὰ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἰδιωτῶν, οὐδεμᾶς ἀρχῆς παρούσης, ἐπέστησαν τε καὶ ἐξέσπευσαν ἐστὶν Ἐμβρικοῦς ἐς τὴν Πλειστήνην λίμνην, τὰ στενὰ προληψάμενον, ἢ συντομωτάτον ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τὴν Ρώμην. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ καὶ Φλαμίνιος ὁ τοῖς τρισμυρίοις τὴν ἐντὸς Ἰταλίαν φυλάσσων, αἰσθόμενος τῆς σπουδῆς Ἀννίβου, μετέβαινεν ὄξεως, οὐ διαναπαύον τὴν στρατιῶν. Ἰδεῖ τε περὶ τῆς πόλεως, καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ ἄπειροπόλεμος τε καὶ ἐς τὴν ἀρχήν ἀπὸ δημοκρατίας ἠρμηνεύον, ἢπείγετο Ἀννίβα συμπληκτήναι.

10. Ὁ δὲ αἰσθόμενος αὐτοῖς τῆς τε ὀρμῆς καὶ ἀπειρίας, ὅρος μέν τι καὶ λίμνην προβάλετο πρὸ ἑαυτοῦ, ψυλοὺς δὲ καὶ ἵππεις ἢς φάραγγα ἄποκρύψεις ἐστρατοπέδευεν. καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Φλαμίνιος κατιδὼν ἀμα ἐφ σμικρὸν μὲν τι διέτριψε, τὸν στρατὸν ἀναπαύον ἢς ὀδόισορίας καὶ χαρακτοποιοῦμενος, μετὰ δὲ τούτῳ ἐξῆγεν εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην αὐτοὺς ὄντας ὑπ' ἀγνωσίας καὶ κόπου. τῆς δ' ἐνέδρας ἐκφανείσης ἐν μέσῳ λήθειας τοῦ τε ὅρου καὶ τῆς λίμνης καὶ τῶν ἐχθρῶν αὐτοῖς τὴ ἀνηρέθη καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ δυσμύριοι. τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἔτι μυρίους, ἐς τινα κωμῆν ὄχυραν συμφυγόντας, Μαάρβαλ ὁ υποστράτηγος Ἀννίβου, μεγίστην καὶ ὃδε ἐπὶ στρατηγίας δόξαν ἔχων, οὐ δυνάμενος ἐλεῖν εὐχερῶς, οὐδὲ ἄξιοι ἀπεγνωκόσι μάχεσθαι, ἔπεισε τὰ ὅπλα ἀποθέσθαι, συνθέμενος ἀπολύσειν ὃπῃ
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force at hand fit for battle. Nevertheless, they enrolled an army of 8000 out of those who were left, over whom Centenius, one of the patricians, although a private citizen, was appointed commander, there being no regular officer present, and sent into Umbria to the Plestine marshes to occupy the narrow passages which offered the shortest way to Rome. In the meantime Flaminius also, who guarded the interior of Italy with 30,000 men, learning of the rapidity of Hannibal's movement, changed his position hastily, giving his army no chance to rest. Fearing for the safety of the city and being inexperienced in war (for he had won his way to office by demagogue's tricks), he hastened to engage with Hannibal.

10. The latter, well aware of his eagerness and inexperience, adopted a position with a mountain and a lake [Thrasimenum] before him, concealing his light-armed troops and his cavalry in a ravine. Flaminius, seeing the enemy's camp in the early morning, delayed a little, to let his men rest from their toilsome march and to fortify his camp, after which he led them straightway to battle, although they were still weary with night-watches and hard labour. When the ambush revealed itself, he was caught between the mountain and the lake and the enemy, and was killed, with 20,000 of his men. The remaining 10,000 escaped to a village strongly fortified by nature. Maharbal, Hannibal's lieutenant, who had himself acquired very great renown in war, not being able to take them easily and thinking it unwise to fight with desperate men, persuaded them to lay down their arms, agreeing that they should go free wherever they pleased.
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CAP. II. Θέλοιεν. ὡς δὲ ἀπέθεντο, λαβὼν ἤγεν αὐτοὺς πρὸς τὸν Ἀννίβαν γυμνούς. ὅ δ' οὐ φάμενος εἶναι κύριον χωρίς αὐτοῦ ταύτα συνθέσαι τὸν Μαάρβαλ, τοὺς μὲν ἐκ τῶν συμμάχων φιλανθρωπευσάμενος ἀπέλυσεν ἐς τὰ ἑαυτών, θηρεύων τῇ φιλανθρωπίᾳ τὰς πόλεις, ὡσοι δὲ Ρωμαίων ἦσαν, ἐξε δήσας. τὴν δὲ λείαν τοῖς συστρατεύουσι Κελτοῖς ἀποδόμενος, ἵνα καὶ τούσδε θεραπεύσει τῷ κέρδει, προύβασεν ἐς τὸ πρόσθεν, αἰσθομένου μὲν ἡδὸν τῶν γυνομένων τοῦ περὶ Πάδου στρατηγοῦ Σερούλιον, καὶ τετρακισμισίως ἐπὶ Τυρρηνίας ἐπενεγμένου, Κεντηνίου δὲ ἡδὴ τοῖς ὀκτακισχιλίοις τὰ στενὰ προειληφότος.

11. Ἀννίβας δὲ ἐπειδὴ τὴν τε λύμνην εἶδε τὴν Πλειστίνην καὶ τὸ ὄρος τὸ ὑπὲρ αὐτὴν, καὶ τὸν Κεντηνίου ἐν μέσῳ κρατοῦντα τῆς διόδου, τοὺς ἴσομονας τῶν ὄδων ἐξήταζεν εἰ τις εἰς περίοδος οὐδεμιᾶν δὲ φαμένων εἶναι τρίβον, ἀλλὰ ἀπόκρημνα πάντα καὶ φαραγωγὴ, δι' αὐτῶν ὀμως ἔπεμπτε τοὺς ψεύδων νύκτορ τὸ ὄρος περιέναι, καὶ Μαάρβαλ μετ' αὐτῶν. τεκμηράμενος δ' ὅτε δύναντο περιέλθειν, προσέβαλε τῷ Κεντηνίῳ κατὰ μέσαν. καὶ συνεστώτας ἐκατέρω, πάνω προθύμως ὁ Μαάρβαλ ἐκ κορυφῆς ἀνωθεν ὄψην τε καὶ ἤλαλαξεν. Ῥωμαίων δ' εὐθὺς ἦν φυγή καὶ φόνος κεκυκλωμένων, καὶ τρισχίλιοι μὲν ἐπεσον ὀκτακόσιοι δ' ἐλήφθησαν οἱ δὲ λαυτοὶ μόλις διάφυγον. πυθόμενοι δὲ οἱ ἐν ἄστει, καὶ δείσαντες μὴ εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὴν τόλμην ὁ Ἀννίβας ἔλθει, τὸ τε ἐπιθεός ἐπιθρόουν λίθων καὶ τοὺς γέροντας ὃπληξον, ὁπλῶν μὲν ἀποροῦντες, τὰ δὲ λάφυρα ἐκ τῶν
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When they had complied with this agreement he brought them disarmed to Hannibal. The latter, denying that Maharbal had authority to make such an agreement without his consent, nevertheless treated the Roman allies with kindness and sent them home without ransom, in order to conciliate their towns. But he kept all the Romans prisoners. He gave the booty to the Gauls who were serving with him, in order to attach them to him by the hope of gain, and then marched forward. Servilius, the general on the Po, had already heard what had happened, and was hastening to Etruria with 40,000 men, while Centenius, with his 8000, had already occupied the narrow passage previously mentioned.

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

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CAP. ίερων καταφέροντες, δ' ἐκ πολέμων ἄλλων κόσμος
αὐτοῖς περεύειτο· δικτάτορά τε, ὡς ἐν κινδύνῳ,
Φάβιον εἶλοντο Μάξιμον.

III

CAP. 12. Ἄννίβας δὲ, θεοῦ παράγοντος αὐτὸν, ἐπὶ τῶν
Ἰώνιων αὖθις ἑτράτη, καὶ τὴν παράλιον ὁδεύων
ἐπόρθει, λείαν τε περιήλαυνε πολλήν. Σεροὺλίος
δ' ὑπατος ἀντιπαριὼν αὐτῷ κατήρεν ἐς Ἀρίμινον,
ἀπέχων Ἀννίβου μίαν ἡμέραν· εὔθα τὴν στρατιὰν
συνεῖχε καὶ τοὺς ἐτὶ φίλους Κελτῶν ἀπεθάρρυνεν,
ἐξοι ἀφικόμενος Φάβιος Μάξιμος ὁ δικτάτωρ
Σεροὺλίον μὲν ἐς Ρώμην ἐπεμπεῖν ὡς οὐτὲ ὑπατον
οὔτε στρατηγὸν ἐτὶ ὄντα δικτάτορος ἡμέραν,
αὐτὸς δὲ τῷ Ἀννίβα παρακολουθῶν ἐς μὲν χεῖρας
οὐκ ἦν, πολλάκις ἐκεῖνον προκαλοῦμένου, πολι-
ορκεῖν δ' οὔδένα εἶα, παραφυλάσσων καὶ ἐπικεί-
μενος. δ' ἐκ, τῆς χώρας ἐξαναλωμένης, τροφῶν
ἠπόρει, καὶ αὐτὴν αὖθις περιῴων ἐκάστης ἡμέρας
ἐξέτασε, προκαλοῦμένος ἐς μάχην. Φάβιος δ' ὁ
συνεπλέκετο, καταγιγνώσκοντος αὐτοῦ Μινου-
κίου Ῥούφου, ὃς ἱππαρχὸς μὲν ἦν αὐτῷ, ἔγραφε
δ' ἐς Ρώμην τοῖς φίλοις ὡς ὀκνοῖ Ἀννίβος ὑπὸ
δειλίας. διαδραμόντος δ' ἐς Ρώμην ἐπὶ θυσίας
τινὰς τοῦ Φάβιον, ὁ Μινουκίος ἠγούμενος τοῦ
στρατοῦ συνεπλέκη τινὰ μάχην τῷ Ἀννίβα, καὶ
dόξας πλέον ἔχειν θρασύτερον ἐς Ρώμην ἐπέ-
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want of arms they took down from the temples those that had been hung there as trophies of former wars, and, as was customary in times of great danger, they chose a dictator, Fabius Maximus.

III

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

13. Οἱ μὲν δὴ μερισάμενοι τὴν στρατιάν πλησίον ἀλλήλων ἐστρατοπέδευον, καὶ τῆς γνώμης ἐκάτερος εἶχοντο τῆς ἑαυτοῦ, Φάβιος μὲν ἐκτρώχειν Ἀννίβαν τῷ χρόνῳ καὶ πειρᾶσθαι μηδὲν ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ παθεῖν, ὁ δὲ Μινούκιος μάχη διακριθήναι. συνιόντος δὲ ἐς μάχην τοῦ Μινούκιον, Φάβιος τὸ μέλλον ἔσεσθαι προσφῶν ἐν μέσῳ τῆς στρατιάς ἀτρεμοῦσαν ἐστησε τὴν ἑαυτοῦ, καὶ τοὺς τοῦ Μινούκιον τραπέντας ἀνελάμβανε, τοὺς δ’ Ἀννίβαν διώκοντας ἀπεκρούετο. καὶ Φάβιος μὲν ἀδίκες τὴν συμφορὰν ἐπεκούφισε τῷ Μινούκιῳ, οὐδὲν ἐπιμηρίσας τῆς διαβολῆς· ὁ δὲ Μινούκιος αὐτοῦ καταγνώσας ἀπειρίαν ἀπέθετο τὴν ἀρχήν, καὶ τὸ μέρος τοῦ στρατοῦ παρέδωκε τῷ Φαβίῳ, ἠγουμένῳ πρὸς ἄνδρα τεχνίτην μάχης ἕνα καίρον εἶναι τὴν ἀνάγκην. οὐ δὴ καὶ ὁ Σεβαστὸς ύστερον πολλάκις ἐμέμνητο, οὐκ ὅτι εὐχερῆς οὐδ’ οὕτως ἐς μάχας μᾶλλον τόλμῃ ἢ τέχνῃ χρῆσαι. Φάβιος μὲν οὖν αὖθις ὁμοίως ἐφύλασε τὸν Ἀννίβαν, καὶ τὴν χώραν πορθεῖν ἔκώλυνε, οὐ συμπλεκόμενος αὐτοῦ τῷ στρατῷ παντὶ, τοῖς δ’ ἀποσκιδναμένοις μόνοις ἐπιτίθεμενοι, καὶ σαφῶς εἰδὼς ἀπορρήσονται τροφῶν αὐτίκα τῶν Ἀννίβαν.

14. Στενῆς δὲ διόδου πλησιαζούσης, ὁ μὲν Ἀννίβας αὐτὴν οὐ προείδετο, Φάβιος δὲ προπέμψας τετρακισχιλίους κατέλαβε, καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς αὐτὸς ἐπὶ θάτερα ἐστρατοπέδευεν ἐπὶ λόφου καρτεροῦ. ὁ δὲ Ἀννίβας ὡς ἵσθητο ληφθεὶς ἐν
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Senate accusing Fabius of not wanting to win; and the Senate, when Fabius had returned to the camp, voted that his master of horse should share the command equally with him.

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

14. They were now approaching a narrow pass of which Hannibal was ignorant, but Fabius sent forward 4000 men to occupy it, while he himself encamped with the rest of his forces on a strong hill on the other side of Hannibal. When Hannibal

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μέσω Φαβίου τε καὶ τῶν στενῶν φυλασσομένων, ἔδεισε μὲν ὡς οὐ ποτὲ πρότερον οὐ γὰρ εἰχε διέξοδον, ἀλλὰ πάντα ἐκ ἀπόκρημνα καὶ δύσβατα, οὐδ’ ἤλπιζε Φάβιον ἢ τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν στενῶν βιάσεσθαι διὰ τὴν τῶν χωρίων ὀχυρότητα. ὡς δ’ ἔχον ἀπορίας τοὺς μὲν αἰχμαλωτοὺς ἐς πεντακισχίλιους ὄντας κατέσφαξεν, ἵνα μὴ ἐν τῷ κινδύνῳ νεωτέρεσθεν, βοῦς δὲ ὅσας ἔχειν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ (πολὺ δὲ πλῆθος ἦν), τοὺς κέρασιν αὐτῶν δάδας περιέθηκε, καὶ νυκτὸς ἐπιγενομένης τὰς δάδας ἔξαψε τὸ λοιπὸν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ πῦρ ἐσβεσε, καὶ σιγὴν βαθεῖαν ἔχειν παρῆγγειλε, τοὺς δὲ εὐτολμοτάτους τῶν νέων ἐκέλευσε τὰς βοῦς ἐλαύνειν μετὰ σπουδῆς ἀνω πρὸς τὰ ἀπόκρημνα, ἢ ἶν ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ τε Φαβίου καὶ τῶν στενῶν. αἱ δ’ ὑπὸ τε τῶν ἐλαυνόντων ἐπειγόμεναι, καὶ τοῦ πυρὸς ἐκκαίοντος αὐτάς, ἀνεπήδων ἐπὶ τοὺς κρημνοὺς ἀρείδως καὶ βιαῖως, εἶτα κατέπιπτον καὶ αὐθίς ἀνεπήδων.

15. Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ οἱ ἐκατέρωθεν, ὅροιτες ἐν μὲν τῷ Ἀννίβου στρατοπέδῳ σιγὴν καὶ σκότου, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ὀρεσί πῦρ πολὺ καὶ ποικίλον, οὐκ ἔχοντες ὡς ἐν νυκτί τὸ γεγυμνοῦν ἀκρίβως ἐπιγόνθαι, ὁ μὲν Φάβιος εἰκαζεν εἰναὶ τι στρατήγημα τοῦτο Ἀννίβου, καὶ συνεῖναι μὴ δυνάμενος άτρέμα συνεῖχε τὴν στρατιάν, τὴν νύκτα ὑφορῶμενος· οἱ δὲ ἐν τοῖς στενοῖς ὑπέλαβον, ἀπεκέκλειον ὁ Ἀννίβας, φεύγειν αὐτὸν ὡς ἐν ἀπόροις, ἀνω δὲ τῶν κρημνῶν βιαξόμενον, καὶ μετεπήδησαν ἐπὶ τὴν φαντασίαν τοῦ πυρὸς καταθέντες· οἱ δὲ ἑώς ἐλήματος καταβάντες αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῶν στενῶν, διεδραμεν ἐς
discovered that he had been caught between Fabius and the defended pass he was more alarmed than he had ever been before, for there was no way of escape, but he was surrounded by insurmountable precipices; nor could he hope to overcome Fabius, or those defending the pass, on account of the strength of their position. In this desperate situation he put to death his prisoners, who numbered about 5000, lest they should turn upon him in the hour of danger. Then he tied torches to the horns of all the cattle he had in the camp (and there were many), and when night came he lighted the torches, extinguished all the camp fires, and commanded the strictest silence. Then he ordered the most courageous of his young men to drive the cattle quickly up the rocky places between Fabius and the pass. These, urged on by their drivers and burned by the torches, ran recklessly and furiously up the mountain side, falling down, and springing to their feet again.

15. The Romans on either side, when they observed the silence and darkness in Hannibal's camp and the many and various lights on the mountain side, could not exactly make out what was taking place, because it was night. Fabius, indeed, suspected that it was some stratagem of Hannibal's, but not being sure he kept his army in its position on account of the darkness. But those who held the pass imagined, just as Hannibal wished, that in his extremity he was trying to escape by scaling the cliffs above. So they hastened away to the place where they saw the lights, thinking that there they would catch Hannibal in difficulties. But he, when he saw them coming down from the pass, made for it
CAP. III. αὐτὰ τοῖς ταχυτάτοις ἀνευ φωτὸς μετὰ σιωπῆς, ἵνα διαλάθω, καταλαβῶν δὲ αὐτὰ καὶ κρατυνα-
μενος ἐσήμανε τῇ σάλπιγγι· καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀντεβόσεσαν αὐτῷ, καὶ πῦρ αἰφνίδιον ἐξέβηναν.
Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν δὴ τότε ἦσθοντο τῆς ἅπατης, ο ὁ δὲ στρατὸς ὁ ἄλλος Ἀννίβοι καὶ οἱ τὰς βοῦς ἔλαυ-
νοντες ἐπὶ τὰ στενὰ ἀδεῶς διέδραμον. καὶ αὐτοὺς συναγαγὼν ἀπήρευ εἰς τὸ πρόσω. οὔτω μὲν ἐξ
ἀέλπτου τότε ὁ Ἀννίβας αὐτὸς τε περιήν καὶ τὸν στρατὸν περίεσοζε, καὶ ἐς Γερωνίαν τῆς Ἰατυγίας
ἐπεικῆς, ἢ σίτου πλῆρης ἦν, ἐξεὶλεν αὐτήν, καὶ
ἐν ἀφθόνοις ἀδεῶς ἐχεῖμαζεν.

16. ο ὁ δὲ Φάβιος καὶ τότε τῆς αὐτῆς γνώμης
ἐχόμενοι εἶπετο, καὶ τῆς Γερωνίας ἀποσχῶν δέκα
σταδίους ἐστρατοπέδευεν, λαβὼν ἐν μέσῳ ποταμῶν
Ἀφίδουν. ληγόντων δὲ αὐτῷ τῶν ἐξ μηνῶν ἐφ’ οὐς
αἱρόνται Ῥωμαίοι τοὺς δικτάτορας, οἱ μὲν ὑπάτοι
Σερουλίλους τε καὶ Ἀτίλους ἐπὶ τὰς ἑαυτῶν ἄρχας
ἐπανήσαν, καὶ ἱλθον ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ ὁ
Φάβιος ἐς Ρόμην ἀπήλι, γύνονται δὲ τινες ἐν
τῷ τῷ χειμῶν Ἀννίβα καὶ Ῥωμαίοις ἀκρο-
βολισμοὶ συνεχεῖς ἢ ἀλλήλους· καὶ τὰ Ῥωμαίων
ἐπικυκλώσεται καὶ εὐθαρσέστερα ἦν. ὁ δ’ Ἀννίβας
ἐπέστελλε μὲν ἄει τὰ γυνόμενα Καρχηδονίους
ὑπερπαίρουν, τότε δὲ ἀπολολότων αὐτῷ πολλῶν
ἡτόει, καὶ στρατιὰν ἦτει καὶ χρήματα. οἱ δὲ
ἐχθροὶ πάντα ἐπισκόπητον τὰ Ἀννίβου, καὶ
τότε ὑπεκρίνοντο ἀπορεῖν ὅτι, τῶν νικῶντος οὐκ
αἰτούντων χρήματα ἀλλὰ πεμπόντων ἢς τὰς
πατρίδας, ὁ Ἀννίβας αἰτοῖς, λέγων νικᾶν. οἷς
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with a flying detachment, in dead silence and without light, in order to conceal the movement. Having seized the pass and strengthened his position he made a signal by trumpet, and the army in camp answered him with a shout and immediately lighted a fire. Then the Romans saw that they had been deceived, but the remainder of Hannibal’s army and those who drove the cattle advanced to the pass without fear, and when he had brought them all together he moved forward. Thus did Hannibal beyond expectation rescue himself and his army from danger. Thence he advanced hastily to Geronia, a city of Iapygia, which was well stored with provisions, captured the town, and wintered there in safety and abundance.

16. Fabius, still pursuing the same policy as before, followed and encamped at a distance of ten stades from Geronia, with the river Aufidus flowing between them. But the six months which limited the terms of dictators among the Romans having now expired, the consuls Servilius and Atilius resumed their office and came to the camp, and Fabius returned to Rome. During the winter frequent skirmishes took place between Hannibal and the Romans, in which the latter were generally successful, and showed greater courage. Hannibal, although in his despatches to the Carthaginians he invariably exaggerated his achievements, now, having lost many men and being in want of assistance, asked them to send him soldiers and money. But his enemies, who jeered at all his doings, now too replied that they could not understand how Hannibal should be asking for help when he said he was winning victories, since victorious generals did not ask for money but sent it
APPRIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK VII

CAP. III. οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι πεισθέντες ούτε στρατιών ἐπεμπον οὔτε χρήματα. καὶ ὁ Ἀνυίβας ταύτ᾽ ὀδυρόμενος ἐγραφεὶ ἐς 'Ἰθηρίαν Ἀσδρούβα τῷ ἄδελφῳ, παρακαλών αὐτὸν ἀρχομένου θέρους μεθ᾽ ὅσης δύνατο στρατιῶς καὶ χρημάτων ἐσβαλεῖν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, καὶ πορθεῖν αὐτῆς τὰ ἐπέκεινα, ἵνα δῆφος πᾶσα καὶ Ἡρωμαῖοι κάμνοιεν ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν ἐκατέρωθεν.

17. Καὶ τάδε μὲν ὣς περὶ Ἀνυίβας, Ἡρωμαῖοι δὲ τῷ τε μεγέθει τῆς ἴτης τῆς Φλαμῳνίου καὶ Κεντηνίου περιαλγοῦντες ὡς ἀνάξια σφῶν καὶ παράλογα καὶ ἀθρόα παθόντες, καὶ τὸν πόλεμον ὅλως ὥς φέροντες ἔνδον ὡστα παρ᾽ ἑαυτοῖς, ἄλλα τε κατέλεγον ἐκ Ῥώμης τελὴ στρατιωτῶν τέσσαρα μετ᾽ ὁργῆς ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀνυίβας, καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους πανταχόθεν ἤγειρον ἐς Ἱαπυγίαν. ὑπάτους τε αἰροῦνται ἐκ μὲν δόξης πολεμικῆς Δεύκιον Αἰμίλιον τὸν Ἰλιρικοῖς πολεμήσαντα, ἐκ δὲ δημοκρατίας Θερέντιον Οὐάρρωνα, πολλὰ αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῆς συνήθεους δοξοκρατίας ὑπισχυόμενου. καὶ αὐτοὺς παραπέμπουσιν ἔξοντας ἐδέωτο κρίναι τὸν πόλεμον μάχῃ, καὶ μὴ τὴν πόλιν ἐκτρύχωσε χρόνῳ τε καὶ στρατείας συνεχέσι καὶ ἐσφοραῖς καὶ λιμῷ καὶ ἀργίᾳ τῆς γῆς δημομένης. οἱ δὲ τὴν στρατιῶν τὴν ἐν Ἱαπυγία προσλαβόντες, καὶ τὸ σύμπαν ἔχοντες πεζοὺς μὲν ἐπτακισμοῦροι ἐπτέας ὁ ἐξακυπτέος, ἐστρατοπέδεον ὕμβι κόμη των καλομένης Κάνναις. καὶ ὁ Ἀνυίβας αὐτῶς ἀντεστρατοπέδευεν. φύσει δὲ ὡς Φιλοπόλεμος ὁ Ἀνυίβας καὶ οὐ ποτὲ φέρων ἀργίαν, τότε μάλιστα τῆς ἀπορίας αὐτῶν ἐνοχλοῦσης ἐξέτασσε συνεχῶς.
THE HANNIBALIC WAR

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

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

CAP. III

ës mákhn, dedwós ìì òi mústofróri metáthwto diá tìn ìmúsothía ò skédasaśethi'é ëpì sullughìn ágorâs. kai ó mév óutò pròukaleütò tòuq polémíous. 18. ñnómnì ðè tòw ùpátòw ìù, Áimumíou mév ùpoménein èktrúkhoutas 'Auníbaun òù díñngsméneun ántéchein ëpì pólì diá tìn áporíâns, méndì diá ñxéiròs ërkhsebaí ñegummasmènew połémíous kai èntuxìaòs ándrò kai stráțfì, Terevntìoù ðì, òìa ðhììkìpou, múnhmuneíì òw ò ðììòs ëxióùsqì èntéllleto, kaiKrìnai tìn máchòn ðzèwos. toótnou Áimumíw ììv pròstètèto Séroúllios ò pórunùsqì ùpatoò ëtì paròw, Terevntìfì ðè ðsòi te ìtò ñbòlìhs kai tòw kaloumènovn ìptèwò ñgòwntò tìs stratiáòs. ántexòntow ðì ëtì tòw ìtérwò, ó 'Auníbas tòwv ñhótolugúswv ávtòw ò ñxleuomènew ètpitìdèmènovò ùpèkrìntò ñttasììhaì, kai perì èsçátnì òtòtè fylakìnì ëkìne tò plèðhos òs ãnaxèngynìs. ó dè Terevntìoù ìdòwì ëxììgì tìn stratiáòw òs ëpì fèn-

youta tòwv 'Auníbaun, ðpágorofèiòntos ávtò kai tòtò tòu Áimumíou. òs dè ðìì ëtèìðèn, ðiwìììòtò ó Áimumíwò èfì èantòwì, kaháptar eìwòthasì, kai ðèmpìsws ðdeùntì ììì tòw Terevntìw tìn ìmèrâw ðpáìsìì ëleýèn eìnì. ó dì èpàñhìì ììì, àidòumènov ñwìììò ðpeùðhìì, tás dè kómas èn òfèì tìs stratiáòs ëtìllleto kai ñalépòw ëfèrewn òs tìn nìì ñfììmènovò ùpò ññlòtopììas tòu súavnòì, kai tò plèðhos ávtò sùnhgàntàtì.
also lest his mercenaries should desert him, as they had not received their pay, or disperse through the country in search of food. For this reason he kept challenging the enemy.

18. The opinions of the consuls were diverse. Aemilius thought that it was best to exhaust Hannibal by delay, as he could not hold out long for want of provisions, rather than come to an engagement with a general and army schooled by successful war. But Varro, like the demagogue he was, reminded his colleague of the charge which the people had laid upon them at their departure, and wished to bring matters to a speedy decision by battle. Servilius, the consul of the previous year, who was still present, supported the opinion of Aemilius, but all the senators and so-called knights who were officers in the army agreed with Varro. While they were still disputing, Hannibal set upon some detachments of theirs that were collecting wood and forage, and pretended to be defeated, and about the last watch put the bulk of his army in motion as if in retreat. Varro, seeing this, led out the army with the thought of pursuing Hannibal in his flight. Aemilius even then protested, and as Varro did not obey he consulted the omens, according to the Roman custom, by himself, and sent word to Varro, just as he was starting, that the day was unpropitious. The latter thereupon came back, not venturing to disregard the omen, but he tore his hair in the sight of the whole army, and cried out that victory had been snatched from him by the envy of his colleague; and the troops shared his indignation.
19. Ἄννίβου δ', ἐπεὶ τῆς πείρας ἐξέπηπτεν, αὐτικὰ ἐσ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐπανελθόντος καὶ τὴν ὑπόκρισιν ἐκφήναντος, οὐδὲ τούτῳ ἐδίδασκε τὸν Τερέντιον πάνθυ ὑπονοεῖν τὰ Ἄννίβου, ἀλλ' ὡς εἶχεν, ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἐσ τὸ στρατηγικὸν ἔσδραμὼν, παρὸντος ἐτι τῶν τε ἀπὸ Βουλής καὶ ταξιάρχων καὶ χιλιάρχων, ἦττατο περὶ τῶν οἰωνῶν τῶν Αἰμίλιων προφασίσασθαι καὶ νίκην φανερὰν ἀφελέσθαι τὴν πόλιν, ὁκνοῦντα ὑπὸ δειλίας, ᾧ ὁι φθονοῦντα διὰ ξηλοτυπίαν. οὔτω δ' αὐτοῦ βοῶντος ὑπ' ὁργῆς ἡ στρατιὰ περιεστώσα τὴν σκηνήν ἐπῆκου, καὶ τὸν Αἰμίλιον ἐβλασφήμουν. ὦ δὲ πολλὰ μὲν εἰπε τοῖς ἐνδον συμφέροντα μάτην, Τερέντιῳ δέ, πλὴν Σερούλιον, τῶν ἄλλων συντιθεμένων εἶχεν. καὶ τῆς ἐπιούσης ἐξετασσὲν αὐτὸς ἤγομενος· παρεξῆρε γὰρ ὁ Τερέντιος. Ἄννίβας δ' ὑσθετο, καὶ τότε μὲν οὐκ ἐπεξῆλθεν (οὐ γὰρ πω πρὸς μάχην διετέκτο), τῇ δ' ἐπιούσῃ κατέβασεν ἐς τὸ πεδίον ἐκάτεροι, Ρωμαῖοι μὲν ἐς τρία τεταγμένοι, μικρὸν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων διεστῶτες, καὶ μέρος ἐκαστὸν αὐτῶν εἴχε τοὺς πεζοὺς ἐν μέσῳ, τοὺς δὲ ψιλοὺς καὶ ἰππέας ἐκατέρωθησαν στρατηγοὶ δ' ἐφειστήκασαν τῷ μέσῳ μὲν Αἰμίλιος, τῷ δὲ λαϊῷ Σερούλιος, Τερέντιος δὲ τοὺς ἐπὶ δεξιὰ, χιλίους ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἐκαστος ἐχὼν ἰππέας ἐπειλεγμένους, ἐπικουρεῖν ὅτι τι πονοίη. οὔτω μὲν ἐτάξαντο Ρωμαῖοι. 20. ὦ δ' Ἄννίβας πρῶτα μὲν, εἶδος περὶ μεσημβρίαν εὗρον ζοφώδη τὸν χώρον εξ ἔθους ἐπιπνεοῦντα,
19. Hannibal, when his scheme failed, returned forthwith to his camp, thus showing that his retreat was feigned, but even this did not teach Varro to suspect every movement of Hannibal. Hurrying armed as he was to the praetorium, he complained in the presence of the senators, centurions, and tribunes that Aemilius had made a pretence about the omen in order to snatch a sure victory from the city, either hesitating from cowardice or moved by jealousy towards himself. While he was thus venting his wrath the soldiers standing around the tent overheard him and joined in the censure of Aemilius. The latter nevertheless continued to give good advice to those within, but in vain. When all the others, Servilius alone excepted, sided with Varro, he yielded, and on the following day himself drew up the army in order of battle as commander, for Varro yielded to him that position. Hannibal perceived the movement but did not come out of his camp because he was not yet ready for battle. On the next day both armies came down to the open field. The Romans were drawn up in three lines with a small interval between them, each part having infantry in the centre, with light-armed troops and cavalry on the wings. Aemilius commanded the centre, Servilius the left wing, and Varro the right. Each had a thousand picked horse at hand to carry aid wherever it should be needed. Such was the Roman formation.

20. Hannibal first of all, knowing that a stormy east wind began to blow in that region regularly...
ΑΠΠΙΑΝ’S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK VII

CAP. IV. προύλαβεν ὅτη κατὰ νότου τὸ πνεῦμα ἐμελλεν ἐξειν ἑπείτα ἐς ὅρος περίφυτον καὶ φαραγγώδεις ἱππέας προενδρευσε καὶ ψιλούς, οἷς εἴρητο, ὅταν αἱ φαλάγγες ἐργων ἔχωνται καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα ἑπίη, κατόπιν γίγνεσθαι τῶν πολεμίων. ἀνδρας τε πεντακοσίους Κελτίβηρας ἐπὶ τοὺς μακροῖς ξίφεσιν ὕπο τοὺς χιτῶνις ἀλλὰ ξίφη βραχύτερα περιέξοσεν, οἷς ἐμελλεν αὐτῶς ὅτε δὲοι χρῄσθαι σημανεῖν. σύμπασαν δὲ τὴν στρατιᾶν κάκεινος ἐς τρία διήρει, καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας τοῖς κέρασιν ἐπέτασασεν ἐκ μεγάλων διαστημάτων, εἰ δύναιμο κυκλώσασθαι τοὺς πολεμίους. ἐπέστησε δὲ τῷ μὲν δεξιῷ Μάγωνα τὸν ἀδελφόν, τῷ δὲ ἐτέρῳ τῶν ἀδελφίδων Ἀνωνα: τὸ δὲ μέσον αὐτῶς ἔχε κατὰ δόξαν Αἰμιλίον τῆς ἐμπειρίας. δισχίλιοι τὲ ἱππεῖς ἑπήλεκτοι παρέθεον αὐτῷ, καὶ Μαάρβαλ ἐτέρους ἐχῶν χιλίους ἐφήδρευεν ὅπη τι πονούμενον ἤδιοι. καὶ τάδε πράσσον ἐς δευτέραν παρέτεινεν ὀραν, ὡς τὸ πνεῦμα θάσσοιν ἐπέλθοι.
THE HANNIBALIC WAR

about noon, chose a position where he would have the wind at his back. Then on a wooded hill cut by ravines he placed some cavalry and light-armed troops in ambush, to whom he gave orders that when the battle was joined and the wind had risen, they should fall upon the enemy's rear. He also armed 500 Celtiberians with daggers under their clothes (in addition to their long swords) which they were to use at a signal from himself. He too divided his whole army into three lines of battle and extended his horse at long distances on the wings in order to outflank the enemy if possible. He gave the command of the right wing to his brother Mago, and of the left to his nephew Hanno, retaining the centre for himself on account of Aemilius' reputation as an experienced commander. He had 2000 picked horse, and Maharbal had 1000 others, in reserve for emergencies. In making these arrangements he protracted the time till about the second hour so that the wind might come to his aid the sooner.

21. When all was in readiness on either side the commanders rode up and down the ranks encouraging their soldiers. The Romans were exhorted to remember their parents, wives, and children, and the defeat which they had suffered. They were admonished that in this battle they would be fighting for existence. Hannibal reminded his men of their former exploits and their victories over these same enemies, and said that it would be shameful to be vanquished now by the vanquished. When the trumpets sounded the foot-soldiers raised a shout and the archers, slingers, and stone-throwers advanced and began the battle. After them the
CAP. toùtous aí fúlagnètes exóforon épi tò érgon, fónos te kai plōnos hèn polús ekthúmws ágwniçoménωn ekatérontωn. én hè sméiai néi o Ἀννίβας toîs ípseîs kuklousai tâ kérata tôn éxhron, oî de tôn Ῥωμαίων ípseis òllywòteroi tôn polèmów òntes àntiparòghon autòi, kal tìn táxèn íksteînentes épi lepton hègwnízontos òmws ùpò pròthymías, kal mónhòs oî tò lâwōn éxontes épi tì thalássai. Ἀννίβας de kai Μαμάρβαλ ómòu toûs perî sfâs épíghen krayngì ãplètô kai barbîriki, nómísaántes ékplhízein toûs ènasteiôn, oî de kai toûtous èustathôs kai àkataplèktôs ùpémênôv.

22. Διαπιπτούσης de kai tìs tìs peíras, o Ἀννίβας toû sýmeiôn épíhe tois Keltíbhrioi toûs peantakosious. oî de tìs táxèws ékdrámaîntes és toûs Ῥωμαίous metetîthentō, kal tâs àstipídas autòis kai tâ dorâta kai tâ bêfì thà fânerâ òrhegon ðsper autòmolônntes. kai o Šerouîllos autòus épainésas tâ mêi òplâ autòn autíka parîlían, èn de mónois, òs ñeto, toûs ùtísws ëstísews òpìsw oû gar àðokîmaçe kataldeîn autòmòloûs en òfhe polèmów, ouðè épôpëtein en ùtísws mónois òròn, ouðè karòs hèn èn tòsoôn èpòph. ñpetírâ dì êterai Dìbûnous prospetîsasuto phëugên ìko tòw òròw, synalalàsasai méga. súmbolîn dì hè bê toûs èn tâs fáragiç kijkroménoûs ànastófei en toûs diókountas. kai eûthôs oui te ñiloî kai ípseîs èk tìs ènèdrás ëxeòaîntos, kal to pnevûma katêbaîne polû kai òsfôdes, ès tâs Ῥωμαίow òfheis méta koînôrtou fërômewn. d kai mállesta autòus èkôlûve purorhôn toûs polèmîou. tâ te bêlê Ῥωμαîois mên pánta àmblûterêa dià.
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legions took up the work. Now began a great slaughter and a great struggle, each side fighting furiously. Meanwhile Hannibal gave the signal to his horse to surround the enemy's wings. The Roman horse, although inferior in number, advanced against them, and extending their line of battle to a dangerous thinness, nevertheless fought valiantly, especially those on the left toward the sea. Hannibal and Maharbal together now led against them the cavalry they had kept around their own persons, with loud barbarian shouts, thinking to terrify their enemies. Yet the Romans received their onslaught also without flinching and without fear.

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

τὴν ἀντίπτοιαν ἣν, τοῖς δὲ ἐχθροῖς ἐπιτυχὴς, τοῦ πνεύματος τῆς βολῆς συνωθοῦντος. οἱ δὲ οὕτε ἐκκλίνειν αὐτὰ προορῶντες οὖτ᾿ ἀφιέναι καλῶς δυνάμενοι, σφίζον τε αὐτοῖς περιπταίοντες, ἤδη ποικίλως ἔθορυβοῦντο.

23. Τότε δὴ τῶν καιρῶν ὅρωντες τὸν ἐπηγγελμένον σφίζον οἱ πεντακόσιοι, τὰ ξίφη τὰ βραχύτερα ἐκ τῶν κόλπων ἐπιστάντας πρῶτοι ἀνήρροιν ὃν ἦσαν ὅπισώ, μετὰ δὲ ἔκειόνοις, ἀρπάσαντες αὐτῶν τὰ ξίφη τὰ μείζον καὶ τὰς ἀσπίδας καὶ τὰ δόρατα, πάσιν ἐνέπιπτον καὶ μετεπήδῳ ἀφειδῶς καὶ φῶνον εἰργάζοντο πλείστων οὕτωι μάλιστα, ἀτε πάντων ὄντες ὅπισώ. τὸ τε κακὸν ἦδη πολὺ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις καὶ ποικίλον ἦν, πονομένοις μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐναντίων, κεκυκλωμένοις δ᾽ ὑπὸ τῆς ἐνέδρας, ἀναρρομένοις δ᾽ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀναμεμγμένων. οὐδ᾽ ἐπιστρέψατο πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐδύναντο διὰ τούς ἐπικειμένους σφίζον ἕκατον τῷ πολεμών οὐδ᾽ ἐπεγίγνωσκον ἐτὶ αὐτοὺς εὐμαρῶς, Ῥωμαῖοις ἀσπίδας ἔχοντας. ὕπερ ἀπαντὰ δ᾽ αὐτοῖς ὁ κονομοτὸς ἡγώκλει, καὶ οὐκ ἔχον οὐδ᾽ εἰκάσατο τὸ συμβαίνον, ἀλλ᾽ ὁδὸν ἐν θορύβῳ καὶ φόβῳ, πάντα πλεῖον νομίζοντες εἶναι, καὶ τὰς ἐνέδρας οὐ τοσαύτα, οὔτε τοὺς πεντακόσιοις εἰδότες ὅτι ἦσαν πεντακόσιοι, ἀλλ᾽ ὅλον σφῶν τὸ στρατόπεδον ὑπὸ ἰππέων καὶ αὐτομόλων ἔχοντες κεκλώθαι, τραπέντες ἐφευγον ἀκόσμως, πρῶτοι μὲν οὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ δεξιοῦ, καὶ ὁ Τερέντιος αὐτοῖς ἔξηκε τῆς φυγῆς, μετὰ δὲ ἔκειόνοις οἱ τὸ λαιὸν ἔχοντες, ὃν ὁ Σερούλλιος ἔγουμενος πρὸς τὸν Αἰμίλιον

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was lessened by the opposing wind, while that of the enemy's was increased and their aim made surer. The Romans, not being able to see and avoid the enemy's weapons nor to take good aim with their own, stumbled against each other and soon fell into disorder of various kinds.

23. At this juncture the 500 Celtiberians, seeing that the promised opportunity had come, drew their daggers from their bosoms and first slew those who were just in front of them, then, seizing the swords, shields, and spears of the dead, made an onslaught on the whole line, darting from one to another indiscriminately, and they accomplished a very great slaughter, inasmuch as they were in the rear of all. The Romans were now in great and manifold trouble, assailed by the enemy in front, by ambuscades in flank, and butchered by foes amid their own ranks. They could not turn upon these last on account of the pressure of the enemy in front, and because it was no longer easy to distinguish these assailants, since they had possessed themselves of Roman shields. Most of all were they harassed by the dust, which prevented them from even guessing what was taking place. But (as usually happens in cases of disorder and panic) they considered their condition worse than it was, and the ambuscades more numerous than they were. They did not even know that the 500 were 500, but thought that their whole army was surrounded by cavalry and deserters. So they turned and broke into headlong flight, first those on the right wing, where Varro himself led the retreat, and after them the left wing, whose commander, Servilius, however, went to the assistance of Aemilius. Around these the bravest of
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24. Καταθορύντες δ' ἀπὸ τῶν ἱππῶν οἱ στρατηγοὶ, καὶ μετ' αὐτοὺς ὅσοι ἦσαν ἐπὶ ἱππῶν, ἐπεξομάχον τοὺς ἱππεύσαι τοὺς Ἀννίβου κεκυκλωμένου. καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἐξ ἐμπειρίας σὺν εὐπυχίᾳ καὶ ἀπονοίᾳ λαμπρὰ ἐξῆλθαν, ἐμπίπτοντες σὺν ὀργῇ τοῖς πολεμίοις, πανταχόθεν δὲ ἀνηρόυντο, περιτρέχοντος αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ἀννίβου, καὶ τοὺς ἰδίους ὅτε μὲν ἐξοτρύνοντο καὶ παρακαλοῦντος τὸ λείψανον τῆς νίκης ἐκπονήσαι, ὅτε δ' ἐπιπλήσσοντος τε καὶ ὅνειδιζόντος, εἰ τὸ πλῆθος νεώκηκότες ὀλίγων οὐ περιέσχονταί. Ῥωμαίοι δ', ἔσως μὲν αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἀἰμῖλιος καὶ ὁ Σερούλιος περίσχα, πολλὰ δρόμοις τε καὶ πάσχοντες ὅμως ὑπὲμενον ἐν τάξει· ἐπεὶ δ' ἔπεσον αὐτῶν οἱ στρατηγοὶ, διὰ μέσων βιαζόμενοι τῶν ἐχθρῶν μᾶλα καρτερῶς κατὰ μέρη διέφευγον, οἱ μὲν, ἔνθαπερ οἱ πρὸ αὐτῶν ἐπεφεύγεσαν, ἐς τὰ στρατόπεδα δύο ὄντα· καὶ σύμπαντες οἶδε ἐγένοντο ἢμφι τοὺς μυρίους καὶ πεντακισχιλίους, οἷς ὁ Ἀννίβας φυλακὴν ἐπέστησεν· οἳ δ' ἐς Κάννας, περὶ δισχίλιοις, καὶ παρέδωκαν ἑαυτοὺς οἶδε οἱ δισχίλιοι τῷ Ἀννίβᾳ, ὀλίγοι δ' ἐς Κανύσιον διέδρασαν, καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ κατὰ μέρος ἐσκεδάζθησαν ἀνὰ τὰς υλὰς.

25. Τούτῳ τέλος ἦν τῆς ἔπτι Κάνναι Ἀννίβου τε καὶ Ῥωμαιῶν μάχης, ἀρξαμένης μὲν ὑπὲρ ὀραν δευτέραν, ληξάσθη δὲ πρὸ δύο τῆς υμνητῶν ὁρῶν, οὗτος δ' ἐτί νῦν ἀοιδίμον Ῥωμαιῶς ἔπι συμφορᾷ ἀπέθανον γὰρ αὐτῶν ἐν ταῖς τοῖς ὁραίς πεντακισχιλίοις, καὶ ζῶντων ἐλήφθης πολὺ πλῆθος ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς πολλοὶ παρόντες ἐπελεύθησαν, καὶ
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the horse and foot rallied, to the number of about Chap. IV
10,000.

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

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

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CAP. IV

ἐπ’ αυτοῖς ταξιαρχοί τε πάντες καὶ λογαγοὶ καὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν αὐτῶν οἱ ἀριστοὶ δύο. ὁ δὲ φαυλότατος τε καὶ τῶν συμφορῶν αἵτις ἀρχομένης τῆς τροπῆς ἐπεφεύγει. καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι δύο ἔτεσιν ἦδη περὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν Ἀννίβα πολεμοῦντες ἀπωλωλέκεισαν ἄνδρων ὁδίων τε καὶ συμμάχων ἐς δέκα μυριάδας.

26. Ἀννίβας δὲ νίκην ἀρίστην τε καὶ στρατηγὸν ἐξενεγκάμενος ἡμέρας μᾶς στρατηγήμασι τέσσαρις, τού τε πνεύματος τῇ φορᾷ καὶ τοῖς ὑποκριθείσιν αὐτομολεῖν καὶ τοῖς προσποιηθεῖσιν φεύγειν καὶ τοῖς ἐν μέσας ταῖς φάραγξι κεκρυμμένοις, εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἑργοῦ τοὺς πεσόντας ἐπῆκε, θεώμενος δὲ τῶν φίλων τοὺς ἀρίστους ἀνήρικους φιλοξει, καὶ δακρύσας εἰπεν ὅποιοι χρῆσιν ἔτερας τούσδε νίκης. ὁ καὶ Πύρρον φασίν εἶπεν πρὸ αὐτοῦ, τὸν Ἡπείρου βασιλέα, Ῥωμαίοι κάκεινον ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ κρατοῦντα σὺν ὁμοία ξημίᾳ. τῶν δὲ φυγόντων ἐκ τῆς μάχης οἱ μὲν ἐν τῷ μείζων στρατοπέδῳ στρατηγὸν αὐτῶν ἐσπέρας ἔλαμενοι Πόπλιον Σεμπρώνιον, ἐβιάσαντο τοὺς Ἀννίβου φύλακας ὑπνοῦν καὶ κόπου πλήρεις ὄντας, καὶ διέδραμον ἐς Κανύσιον περὶ μέσας νύκτας, ἀμφὶ τοὺς μυρίους, οἱ δὲ ἐν τῷ βραχυτέρῳ πεντακύκλῳ τῆς ἐπιούσις ἡμέρας ἐλήφθησαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀννίβου. Τερέντιος δὲ στρατὸν ἄγειρας τοὺς διερρυμένους ἐπειρᾶτο παραθαρρύνειν, καὶ στρατηγὸν αὐτοῦ ἐπιστήσας τῶν χιλιάρχων τινὰ Σκιτίωνα ἐς Ρώμην διέδραμεν.

V

CAP. V

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

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

V

27. When the disaster was announced in the city, CHAP. the men thronged the streets, uttering lamentations V
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CAP. V

ἀνακαλοῦντες, καὶ σφᾶς ὡς αὐτίκα ἀλωσομένους ὀλοφύροντο, αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες ἰκέτευνον ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς μετὰ τῶν τέκνων λήξαί ποτὲ τὰς συμφορὰς τῇ πόλει, οἱ δὲ ἄρχοντες θυσίαις τε καὶ εὐχαῖς ἱλάσκοντο τοὺς θεούς, εἰ τι μήμια ἐνοχλεῖ, κορεσθήναι τοῖς γεγονόσιν. ἦ δὲ βουλή Κώντων μὲν Φάβιον, τὸν συγγραφέα τῶν τῶν ἔργων, ἐς Δελφοὺς ἐστεμπεῖ χρησόμενον περὶ τῶν παρόντων, δούλους δὲ ἐς ὁκτακισχιλίους τῶν δεσποτῶν ἐπιδόντων ἠλευθέρου, ὅπλα τε καὶ τόξα τοὺς ἐν ἀστει πάντας ἐργάζεσθαι παρεσκεύαζε, καὶ συμμάχους, καὶ ὡς, τινὰς συνέλεγεν. Κλαύδιον τε Μάρκελλον μέλλοντα πλεῖν ἐς Σικελίαν, ἐς τὸν Ἀννίβου πόλεμον μετέφερεν. ὁ δὲ τὸν μὲν στόλον ἐμερίσατο τῷ συνάρχῳ Φουρίῳ, καὶ τὸ μέρος ἐσπερχευεν ἐς τὴν Σικελίαν, αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς δούλους ἄγων καὶ ὅσους ἄλλους ἑδύνατο τῶν πολιτῶν ἡ συμμάχοις, γενομένων ἀπαντας ἐς μυρίους πεζοὺς καὶ δισχιλίους ἰππεάς, ἐς τὸ Τεανὸν παρῆλθε, καὶ ὁ τι πράξειν ὁ Ἀννίβας μέλλοι παρεσφύλασσεν.

28. Ἀννίβου δὲ δόντος τοῖς αἱκυμαλάτοις ἦς Ἡρώμην προσβεβεύσαθαι περὶ σφῶν, εἰ θέλοιεν αὐτοῖς ὡς ἐν ἀστεί λύσασθαι χρημάτων, καὶ τοὺς αἱρεθέντας ὡς αὐτῶν τρεῖς, ὁ ἥγετο Γναῖος Σεμπρώνιος, ὄρκωσαντος ἐς αὐτὸν ἐπανῆξειν, οἱ μὲν oἰκεῖοι τῶν ἁλόντων, περιστάντες τὸ βουλευτήριον, ἐπηγγέλλοντο λύσεσθαι τοὺς oἰκείους ἐκαστὸς ἰδίους χρήμασι, καὶ παρεκάλουν τὴν βουλὴν τοῦτο 346
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for their relatives and calling on them by name, and bewailing their own fate as being soon to fall into the enemy's hands. The women prayed in the temples with their children that there might sometime be an end to the calamities of the city. The magistrates besought the gods by sacrifices and prayers that if they had any cause of anger they would be satisfied with what had already happened. The Senate sent Quintus Fabius (the same who wrote a history of these events) to the temple of Delphi to seek an oracle concerning the present position of affairs. They freed about 8000 slaves with the masters' consent, and ordered everybody in the city to go to work making arms and projectiles. They also, in spite of the situation, collected a certain number of allies. Further they changed the destination of Claudius Marcellus, who was about to sail to Sicily, and sent him to fight against Hannibal. Marcellus divided the fleet with his colleague Furius and sent a part of it to Sicily, while he himself took the manumitted slaves and as many citizens and allies as he could collect, amounting altogether to 10,000 foot and 2,000 horse, and marched to Teanum where he waited to see what Hannibal would do next.

28. Hannibal allowed his captives to send messengers to Rome in their own behalf, to see if the citizens would ransom them with money. Three were chosen by them, of whom Gn. Sempronius was the leader, and Hannibal exacted an oath from them that they would return to him. The relatives of the prisoners, collecting around the senate-house, declared their readiness to redeem their friends severally with their own money and begged the
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CAP. V. σφίζων ἐπιτρέψαι, καὶ δὴμος αὐτῶις συνεδάκρυνε καὶ συνεδεῖτο· τῶν δὲ βουλευτῶν οἱ μὲν οὐκ ἥξιον ἐπὶ τοσαίσδε συμφοράς ἄλλους τοσοῦσδε βλαβήναι τὴν πόλιν, οὐδὲ δούλους μὲν ἐλευθεροῦν τοὺς δὲ ἐλευθέρους ὑπερομαίνοντας, οἱ δὲ οὐκ ὄντο δεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐθίζειν τὸ δὲ ἐλέφ φεύγειν, ἀλλὰ η νικᾶν μαχομένους ἢ ἀποθνησκεῖν ὡς οὐκ ὄντοι ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκείων ἐλεεῖσθαι τὸν φυγόντα. πολλῶν δὲ παραδειγμάτων ἐς έκάτερα λεχθέντων, οὐκ ἐπέτρεπεν ἡ βουλή τοῖς συγγενεῖσι λύσασθαι τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους, ἤγουμένη, πολλῶν σφίζων ἔτι κινδύνων ἐπόντων, οὐ συνοίσιν ές τὸ μέλλον τὴν ἐν τῷ παρόντι φιλανθρωπίαν, τὸ δ᾽ ἀπάνθρωπον, εἶ καὶ σκυθρωπὸν εἴη, πρός τε τὰ μέλλοντα χρήσιμον ἐσεσθαι καὶ εν τῷ παρόντι καταπλῆξειν Ἀννίβαν τῷ τολμῆσαι. Σεμπρόνιος οὖν καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ δύο τῶν αἰχμαλῶτων πρὸς Ἀννίβαν ἐπανῆσαν. οὐ δὲ ἐστὶ μὲν οὐς ἀπέδοτο τῶν αἰχ- μαλῶτων, ἐστὶ δ᾽ οὐς ὑπὸ ὑργίας ἀνήρει, καὶ τοῖς σώμασι τὸν ποταμὸν ἐγεφύρου καὶ ἐπέρα. ὁσοὶ δ᾽ ἦσαν ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἡ ἄλλως ἐπιφανεῖς, μονομαχεῖν αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ θεατῶι τοὺς Δίβυσιν ἦνάγκασε, πατέρας τε νεῖκος καὶ ἀδελφοὺς ἀδελφοῖς, οὐδὲν ἐκλεπτῶν ὑπερψίας ὠμῆς.

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

29. Hannibal next turned his arms against the territory of the Roman allies and, having devastated it, laid siege to Petilia. The inhabitants, although few in number, made courageous sallies against him (their women joining in the fight) and performed many noble deeds of daring. They burned his siege engines unceasingly, and in these enterprises the
CAP. ὁλαγάτεροι δὲ γιγνόμενοι καθ’ ἐκαστον ἔργον ἐκακοπάθουν μάλιστα ὑπὸ λυμοῦ· καὶ ὁ Ἀννίβας αἰσθανόμενος περιετείχισεν αὐτούς, καὶ Ἀννωνα ἐπέστησε τῇ πολιορκίᾳ. οἱ δ’, ἐπιτείνυσαν αὐτοὺς τοῦ κακοῦ, πρῶτα μὲν τοὺς ἄχρειον σφῶν ἡς μάχας ἐξέβαλον ἐς τὸ μεσοτέιχιον, καὶ κτυπώ-

méους ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀννωνος ἐφεώρων ἀλύτως ὡς εὐμοιρότερον ἀποθνησκοῦντας. τῷ δ’ αὐτῷ λόγῳ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ πάμπαν ἀποροῦντες ἐξέδραμον ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν καὶ γενναία καὶ τότε ἔδρασαν, ὑπὸ δὲ ἀτροφίας καὶ ἀσθενείας σωμάτων οὐδ’ ὑποστρέφαι δυνάμενοι διεφθάρησαν ἀπαντεῖ ὑπὸ τῶν Λεβύων. καὶ τὴν πόλιν εἶλεν ὁ Ἀννων, ἐκφυγόντων καὶ ὅς ἀπ’ αὐτῆς ὁλίγων τῶν δραμεῖν δυνηθέντων. τούτους διερρήμενοι οἱ Ῥωμαίοι σπουδὴ συνήγον, καὶ γενομένους ἐς ὀκτακοσίους καθήγαγόν τε καὶ συνώκισαν μετὰ τόυδε τῶν πόλεμον αὖθις ἐς τὴν πατρίδα, ἀγάμενοι τῆς τε περὶ σφάς εὐνοίας καὶ τοῦ παραδόξου τῆς προθυμίας.

30. Τῶν δὲ Κελτιβήρων ὑπότεων, οἱ ἐμισθοφόροιν ὁ Ἀννίβα, λαμπρῶς ἀγωνιζομένων, ὅσοι Ῥωμαῖοι ἐστρατήγησαν ἐν Ἰβηρία, τοσοῦτος ἐτέρους τὰς πόλεις τὰς ὑπὸ σφίσισιν αὐτήσαντες ἐς ἀντίπαλον ἐκείνων ἐπέμψαν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, οὐ τοῖς ὅμοθενεῖ-

σιν, ὑπὸ πλησίον Ἀννίβου στρατοπεδεύοις, ἀναμιγνύμενοι μετέπειθοιν αὐτούς. καὶ πολλῶν ὑποτιθεμένων τε καὶ αὐτομολούντων ἢ ἀποδιδρα-

σκόπων οὐδὲ τὸ λοιπὸν ἤν ἐτὶ τῷ Ἀννίβα πιστοῖν, ὑποπτεύομενον τε ὑπ’ ἑκείνου καὶ ὑποπτεύοντες αὐτῶν. κάκιον οὖν ἐπράσσεν ὁ Ἀννίβας τὸ ἀπὸ τούδε.
women were no less manly than the men. But their numbers were reduced by each assault, and they began to suffer the pangs of hunger. When Hannibal perceived this he drew a line of circumvallation around them and left Hanno to finish the siege. As their sufferings increased they first thrust outside the walls all those who were incapable of fighting and looked on without grieving while Hanno slew them, considering that theirs was the happier lot; for which reason the remainder, when reduced to the last extremity, made a sally against the enemy, and after again performing many splendid acts of bravery, being unable in their starved and exhausted condition even to return, they were all slain by the Africans. Hanno possessed himself of the town, but even so a few escaped from it, who had sufficient strength to run. These wanderers the Romans carefully collected, to the number of about 800, and replaced them in their own country after the war, admiring their loyalty to Rome and their astonishing zeal.

30. As the Celtiberian horse, who were serving with Hannibal as mercenaries, were seen to be splendid fighters, the Roman generals in Spain obtained an equal number from the towns under their charge and sent them to Italy to counteract the others. These, whenever encamped near Hannibal, mingled with their fellow-countrymen and sought to win them over. Thus it came about that many of them went over to the Romans and others deserted or ran away, while even the remainder were no longer trusted by Hannibal, as he suspected them and they him. Hannibal's fortunes therefore began to decline from this point.
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CAP. V
31. Ἀργύριππα δ' ἐστὶ πόλις ἐν τῇ Δαυνίᾳ, ἴνα Διομήδης ὁ Ἀργείος λέγεται κτίσαι. καὶ τις ἐγγονός εἶναι τοῦ Διομήδους νομιζόμενος, Δάσιος, ἀνήρ εὐμετάβολός τε τὸ φρόνημα καὶ οὐ Διομήδους ἀξίως, Ἐρωμαῖων περὶ Κάννας τὴν μεγάλην ἤτταν ἤττημένων ἀπέστησε τὴν πατρίδα πρὸς τοὺς Δῖβνας ἀπὸ Ἐρωμαίων. τότε δ' αὖ δυσπραγοῦντος Ἀννίβου ἔλαθεν ἐς Ὁρμην διυππεύσας, καὶ ἔπλε τὴν βουλὴν ἐπαχθεὶς ἐφη δύνασθαι τὸ ἀμάρτημα ἰάσασθαι καὶ μεταβαλεῖν αὐθὲς ἐς Ἐρωμαῖοι τὴν πόλιν. οἱ δ' ὠλίγον μὲν αὐτὸν καὶ διέφθειραν, ἐξεβαλον δ' εύθὶς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως. οὗ δὲ καὶ τούσδε καὶ τὸν Ἀννίβαν δεδιώκετο ἠλάτῳ ἀνὰ τὴν χώραν, καὶ οὐ μὲν Ἀννίβας αὐτοῦ τὴν γυναίκα καὶ τὰ τέκνα ξώντας ἐκαυσε, τἀ δὲ Ἀργύριππα ἐτέρων ἐνδόντων ἐλε Φάβιος Μάξιμος νυκτός, καὶ κτείνας ὅσους ἴπρε Δἰβύων, φρουραῖ ἐπέστησε τῇ πόλει.

VI

CAP. VI
32. Τάραντα δὲ φρουρουμένην ὑπὸ Ὁρωμαίων Κονωνεὺς ὡδε προύσωκεν. κυνηγητεῖν εἰδίστο ὁ Κονωνεύς, καὶ φέρων ἀεὶ τῷ φρουράρχῳ Διούσι συνήθης ἐκ τοῦδε ἐγεγένητο. ὡς δὲ ἐν πολεμομενής χώρα, νυκτὸς ἐφι δεῖν κυνηγητεῖν καὶ νυκτὸς φέρειν τὰ λαμβανόμενα. νυκτὸς οὖν αὐτῷ τῶν πυλῶν ἀνοιγμένων, συνθέμενος Ἀννίβα καὶ στρατιῶτας λαβὼν, τοὺς μὲν ἔκρυψεν ἐν λόχῃ τινὶ τιλησίων, τοὺς δὲ ἐπακολουθεῖν ἐκέλευσεν ἑαυτῷ δὲ ὠλίγον, τοὺς δὲ σὺν αὐτῷ προσεῖναι,
THE HANNIBALIC WAR

31. There is a city called Arpi in Daunia which is said to have been founded by Diomedes, the Argive. Here a certain Dasius, who was said to be a descendant of Diomedes, a very fickle-minded person, quite unworthy of such an ancestor, after the terrible defeat of the Romans at Cannae drew his people over to the Carthaginian side. But now when Hannibal was suffering reverses, he rode secretly to Rome, and being introduced to the Senate, said that he could bring the city back to the Roman allegiance and thus atone for his error. The Romans very nearly killed him and drove him from the city forthwith. Then, being in equal fear of them and of Hannibal, he became a wanderer through the country. Hannibal burned his wife and children alive. Arpi was betrayed by others to Fabius Maximus, who captured it by night, and having put to death all the Carthaginians he found there, established a Roman garrison in the city.

VI

32. Tarentum, which was held by a Roman garrison, was betrayed by Cononeus in the following manner. Being in the habit of hunting and always bringing a present of game to Livius, the commander of the garrison, he became very familiar with him. As war was raging in the country he said that it was necessary to hunt and bring in his game by night. For this reason the gates were opened to him by night, and he then made an arrangement with Hannibal in pursuance of which he took a body of soldiers, some of whom he concealed in a thicket near the town, while others he ordered to follow at no great
CAP. θώρακας ἐνδοθεν ὑπεξωσμένους καὶ ξύφη, τὰ δ’ ἐκτὸς ὡς ἂν ἐς κυνηγέτας ἐσκενασμένους. κάπρου τε αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ ξύλων ἐπιθεῖς ἦκε νυκτὸς ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας. καὶ τῶν φυλάκων, ὡσπερ ἔθος ἦν, ἀνοιξάντων, οἱ μὲν συνεσελθόντες αὐτῷ τοὺς ἀνοιξάντας αὐτίκα διεχρώντο, οἱ δ’ ἐπόμενοι κατὰ σπουδὴν συνεσέπιπτον ἐκείνοις, καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς λόχμης ἐδέχοντο, καὶ τὰς πύλας ἀνεφγυνον τῷ Ἀννίβα. ὦ δὲ ἔσω παρελθὼν τῆς μὲν ἄλλης πόλεως εὐθὺς ἐκράτει, καὶ τοὺς Ταρακτίνους ἑταρισάμενος τὴν ἄκραν ἐτὶ φρουρομένην ἐπολυ-όρκει.

33. Ὡδὲ μὲν Κομωνεὺς Τάραντα προύδωκε· Ρωμαίοι δ’ ὅσοι τὴν ἀκρόπολιν εἴχον, ἐς μὲν πεντακισχίλιους ἤσαν, καὶ αὐτοῖς Ταρακτίνων τὲ τινὲς προσέχορουν, καὶ ὁ τῆς ἐν Μεταποντίῳ φρουρᾶς ἡγεμών τὸ ἡμισυ τῆς φρουρᾶς ἔχων ἤλθε, βελών τε καὶ ὄργανον πολλῶν ἑυπόρουν, ὡς ἀπὸ τείχους εὐμαρόθες ἀμύνεσθαι τῶν Ἀννίβαν. ἄντι όρει δὲ καὶ ὁ Ἀννίβας. πύργους τε ὅσι καὶ καταπέλτας ἐπάγων καὶ χελώνας ἕνα διέσειε, καὶ δρέπανοις ἀπὸ κάλων ἐπάλξεις τε κατέστρεφε καὶ τὸ τείχος ἀπεγύμνου. οἱ δὲ λίθους μὲν ἐπὶ τὰς μηχανὰς ἀφίεντες πολλὰ συνετριβοῦν, βρόχους δὲ τὰ δρέπανα περιέστων, καὶ πολλάκις ἐκθέοντες ἀφινω συν-ετάρασσον ἀεὶ τι καὶ κτείναντες ἐπανήσαν. ὡς δὲ καὶ πνεῦμά ποτὲ λάβρον ἑδεάσαντο, οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους Δάδας ἡμένας καὶ στύππιον καὶ πάσαν αὐτοῦ τοῖς μηχανήμασιν ἐπερρήπτουν, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐκδραμόντες ὑπέθηκαν. ἀπογνοὺς οὖν ὁ Ἀννίβας τῇς τῆς πεῖρας περιετέχισε τὴν πόλιν,
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distance, and still others to go with him, clad outwardly in hunting garments but girded with breastplates and swords underneath. Then he set a wild boar on poles, and came by night to the gates. When the guards had opened the gates as usual, those who came with him entered and slew the gate-men immediately. Those following behind burst in with their comrades, admitted the detachment from the thicket, and opened the gates to Hannibal. When the latter was once inside he speedily possessed himself of the remainder of the town, and having conciliated the Tarentines laid siege to the citadel, which was still held by the Romans. In this way was Tarentum betrayed by Cononeus.

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

34. Διμένες δ' εἰσὶν τοῖς Ταραντίνοις πρὸς βορρᾶν ἀνέμου ἐκ πελάγους ἐσπλέοντι διὰ ἱσθμοῦ, καὶ τὸν ἱσθμὸν ἀπέκλειον γεφύρας, ὃν τότε κρατοῦντες οἱ 'Ῥωμαίων φρουροὶ σφίζοι μὲν ἐδέχοντο τὴν ἁγορὰν ἐκ θαλάσσης, Ταραντίνοις δ' ἐκώλυνον ἑσκομίζεσθαι. ὅθεν ἦπορον ἁγορᾶς οἱ Ταραντίνοι, ἔως ἐπελθὼν αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἅννιβας ἐδίδαξε λεωφόρον ὁδὸν, ἣ διὰ μέσης τῆς πόλεως ἐφερεν ἀπὸ τῶν λιμένων ἐπὶ τὴν νότιον θάλασσαν, ἡφίξαντας, ἱσθμὸν ἐτερὸν ποιήσασθαι. καὶ οἱ μὲν οὕτω πράξαντες εἰρήνη τῆς ἁγορᾶς, καὶ τριήρεις τούς 'Ῥωμαίων φρουροὺς ναῖς οὐκ ἔχοντας ὑπὸ τὸ τείχος ἔβλαπτον, ὅτε μὴ χειμῶν εἰς μάλιστα, καὶ τὴν ἁγορὰν τὴν καταπλέουσαν ἐκεῖνος ἀφηροῦντο· οἵ δ' ἦπορον. καὶ νυκτὸς αὐτοῖς Ὁουρίων σείτον τε ναυσὶ πεμπόντων καὶ τριήρεις ἐς φυλακὴν τῶν νεών, οἱ Ταραντίνοι καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτοῖς Λίβνες πυθόμενοι καὶ λοχήσαντες ἔλαβον αὐτῷ τε σίτῳ καὶ αὐτοῖς ἄνδρασιν ἀπάσας. προσβεβομένοι δὲ θαμινὰ τῶν Ὁουρίων, καὶ ἄξιοντων λύσασθαι τοὺς εἰλημμένους, οἱ Ταραντίνοι τοὺς φοιτῶντας αὐτῶν μετέπειθον ἐς Ἀννίβαν. καὶ ὁ Ἅννιβας ὅσοις εἰς Ὁουρίων αἰχμαλώτους, εὐθὺς ἀπέλευν. οἱ δὲ τοὺς οἰκείους σφῶν βιασάμενοι, τὰς πύλας Ἀννωνι ἀνέφεξαν. καὶ Ὁουρίῳ μὲν 'Ῥωμαίοις Τάραντα περιποιούμενοι ἔλαβον οὕτως ὑπὸ Καρχεδονίοις αὐτοῖς ἀνεβόμενοι· ἥ δ' ἐν τῇ πόλει 356
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threw a wall around the city except on the sea side, where it was not possible to do so. Then entrusting the siege to Hanno he withdrew into Iapygia.

34. The port of Tarentum is on the north side as one sails in from the sea through a narrow passage. This passage was closed by bridges which were now under the control of the Roman garrison, by which means they brought in their own provisions by sea and prevented the Tarentines from supplying themselves. For this reason the latter began to suffer from want, until Hannibal came back and suggested the making of another passage by excavating the public highway, which ran through the midst of the city from the harbour to the sea on the south. When this was done they had provisions in plenty, and with their triremes they harassed the Roman garrison, who had no ships, even coming close to the walls, especially in calm weather, and intercepting the supply ships coming to them. Thus the Romans in turn began to suffer from want. When the people of Thurii sent them some ships laden with corn by night, under a convoy of triremes, the Tarentines and the Carthaginians in league with them, getting wind of the affair, laid a trap for them and captured them all, including the corn and the crews. The Thurians sent numerous messengers to negotiate the ransoming of the captives, and the Tarentines won the negotiators over to Hannibal, who thereupon released all the Thurian prisoners he held. These, when they came home, forced their relatives to open the gates to Hanno. Thus the Thurians, while endeavouring to save Tarentum for the Romans, unexpectedly themselves fell into the power of the

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CAP. VI

ϕρουρᾶ Ἐρωμαῖων ἐστὶν Ἑρωτέσιον λαθοῦσα διέ-
πλευσεν.

35. Μεταποντίνων δ', ἐξ οὐ σφῶν ὁ φρούραρχος
τὸ ἦμισυ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀγών ἐστὶν Τάραντα ὄχετο,
τοὺς λοιποὺς ὀλίγους γενομένους ἀπέκτειναν καὶ
'Αννίβα προςέδεντο. προσέθετο δὲ καὶ ἡ μεταξὺ
Μεταποντίνων τε καὶ Θουρίων Ἡράκλεια, δὲ εἰ
μᾶλλον ἡ γνώμη, καὶ πάλιν ἦν ἐπικυδέστερα τὰ
'Αννίβου, τοῦ δ' ἐξής ἔτους καὶ Λευκανῶν
τινες ἀπέστησαν ἀπὸ Ῥωμαίων οἷς Σεμπρῶνοι
Γράχχος ἀνθύπατος ἐπελθὼν ἐπολέμει. Λευκανὸς
δὲ τις ἐκ τῶν ἐτὶ Ῥωμαίως ἐμμενόντων Φλάουνος,
φίλος ὃν καὶ ξένος Γράχχος, προδίδοις αὐτὸν
ἐπείσεν ἐς τι χωρίων ἐλθόντα συνθέσθαι Λευκανῶν
τοῖς στρατηγοῖς ὃς μετανοοῦσι, καὶ δοῦναι καὶ
λαβεῖν πίστεις. ὁ δ' οὐδὲν ὑποτοπήσας εὕτετο
μεθ' ἱππέων τριάκοντα. Νομάδων δὲ πολλῶν
αὐτὸν ἐξ ἐνέδρας κυκλωσαμένων, ὃ μὲν Φλάουνος
ἐξίππυρευσέν ἐς ἐκεῖνους, ὁ δὲ Γράχχος συνεῖς τῆς
προδοσίας καθῆλατο μετὰ τῶν ἱππέων, καὶ πολλὰ
καὶ γενναία δρῶν κατεκόπτη μετὰ πάντων πλῆ
τριῶν, οὕς μόνους ἔλεγεν ὁ Ἀννίβας, πολλὴν ποιη-
σάμενος σπουδὴν λαβεῖν ξόντα Ῥωμαίων τὸν
ἀνθύπατον. αἰσχρῶς δ' αὐτὸν ἐνδρευμένον ἀγά-
μενος ὃμως τῆς τελευταίας ἀρετῆς ἔθαψε, καὶ τὰ
ὀστὰ Ῥωμαίως ἐπεμψε.

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

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

36. The Romans decided to attack the Capuans,
Καπναίως ἐγνωκότων ἔπεμπεν "Ἀννωνα μετὰ χιλίων πεζῶν καὶ χιλίων ἵππων ἐσδραμεῖν υπὸ τὸν Καπνήν. καὶ οὐ μὲν ἐσέδραμε Ῥωμαίοις λαθῶν, οὐ δὲ ἡμέρας γενομένης, ὡς πλέονας εἶδον ἐπὶ τῶν τειχῶν, τὸ συμβαῦν ἐγνωσαν, καὶ τῆς μὲν πόλεως εὑρὼς ἀνεχόμον, τὰ δὲ θέρη τὰ Καπναίν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Καμπανῶν προκατελάμβανοι. ὡστε-μένοις δὲ περὶ τούδε τοῖς Καμπανῶις ἄννοβας ἐφή πολὺν ἐχειν σίτων ἐν Ἰατυγίᾳ, καὶ πέμπτονας ἐκέλευε λαμβάνειν ὁσάκις θέλοιεν. οὐ δὲ νῦν ὑποτίμα μένου ὑπὸ ἄνδρας, ἀλλὰ καὶ γύναις καὶ παιδία ἐπεμπόν ἀχθοφορῆσοντα τούτοις σίτων καὶ γάρ ἐθέρρασαν τῇ διόδῳ, μετελθόντος ἐς αὐτήν ἐς Ἰατυγίων ἄννοβας, καὶ παρὰ τῶν Κάλωρα ποταμῶν στρατοπεδεύοντος, πλησίον Ἐνεβεσοῦνθων, οὓς μένους ἐδεδοκίσαβαν Ῥωμαίοις ἐτι συμμάχους ὑπότας. τότε δὲ ἄννοβας παρόντος ἀπάντων κατεφρόνων.

37. Συνέβη δὲ ἄννοβας μέν, καλοῦντος αὐτὸν Ἀννονος, ἐς Λευκανῶι διέθειεν, τὰ πολλὰ τῆς κατασκευῆς ἐν τῷ περὶ Βενεβετῶν στρατοπέδῳ μετ’ ὥλης φρουρᾶς καταλιπόντα, δυνῶν δὲ Ῥωμαίοις στρατηγοῦντοι ὑπάτους, Φουλιοῦν τοὺς Φλάκκον καὶ Κλαυδίον Ἀππίου, τὸν ἐτερὸν αὐτοῖς πυθόμενον ἐπιδραμεῖν τοῖς Καμπανῶις διαφέρουσι τὰ θέρη, καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν οἶα ἀπαρα-σκεύους διαφθείρατο, καὶ τὸν σίτων Βενεβενδεῦσι δούναι, λαβεῖν δὲ καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἄννοβου, καὶ τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ παρασκευήν ἀρπάσαι, καὶ Καπνῆν ἐτι ὑπὸς ἐν Λευκανῶι ἄννοβου περιταφρεύσατο καὶ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς τάφρῳ περιτειχίσατο πᾶσαν ἐν κύκλῳ. καὶ τούδε τοῦ περιτειχίσματός ἐκτὸς ἄλλο ποιήθηκεν.
and Hannibal sent Hanno with 1000 foot and as many horse to enter Capua by night. This he did without the knowledge of the Romans. At daylight the Romans discovered what had taken place by observing greater numbers of men on the walls. So they turned back from the city forthwith and began hurriedly to reap the harvest of the Capuans and the other inhabitants of Campania. When the Campanians bewailed their losses Hannibal said to them that he had plenty of corn in Iapygia, and he gave an order that they should send and get it as often as they wished. Accordingly they sent not only their pack animals and men, but also their women and children, to bring loads of corn. They had no fear of danger on the way because Hannibal had transferred his headquarters from Iapygia to Campania and was encamped on the river Calor near the country of the Beneventines, whom alone they feared, because the Beneventines were still in alliance with Rome. But at this time, owing to the presence of Hannibal, they despised everybody.

37. It happened, however, that Hannibal was called by Hanno into Lucania, leaving the greater part of his baggage under a small guard in the camp near Beneventum. One of the two Roman consuls who were in command there (Fulvius Flaccus and Appius Claudius), learning of this, fell upon the Campanians who were bringing corn and slew many, as they were unprepared for an attack, and gave the corn to the Beneventines. He also took Hannibal’s camp and plundered his baggage, and, while Hannibal was still in Lucania, dug a trench round Capua, and surrounded the entire city with a wall. Then the two consuls built another wall outside of
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CAP. σαντες οἱ στρατηγοὶ τὸ μέσον ἔχουν ἀντὶ στρατο-πέδου. ἐπάλξεις δὲ ἦσαν αὐτοῖς αἱ μὲν ἐς Καπναῖον πολυρκουμένους αἱ δὲ ἐς τοὺς ἕξωθεν ἐπιόντας ἐπεστραμμέναι, ἢ τε ὅψις ἢν πόλεως μεγάλης σμικροτέραν ἐχούσης ἐν μέσῳ. τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ περιτειχίσματος ἕε τὴν Καπνὴν διάστημα διστάδιον ἦν μάλιστα. ἐν δὲ πολλαὶ ἐγγύνωτο πεῖραι καὶ συμβολαὶ καθ’ ἐκάστην ἡμέραν, πολλὰ δ’ ὡς ἐν θεάτρῳ μεσοτείχῳ μονομάχια, προκαλοῦ-μένων ἄλληλοι τῶν ἀριστῶν. καὶ τὶς Καπναῖοι, Ταυρέας, Ἦρωμαῖον ἐν μονομάχῳ Κλαύδιον Ἀσελλον περιφεύγον ὑπεχώρει, μέχρι τοῖς Καπναῖων τείχεσιν ὁ Ἀσέλλος ἑγκύρσας καὶ τῶν ἔππον οὐ δυνάμενος ἐκ τῆς ρύμης ἐπιστρέψας διὰ τῶν πολεμίων πυλῶν ἐς τὴν Καπνὴν ἐσήλατο σὺν ὀρμῇ, καὶ διυππεύσας τὴν πόλιν ὅλην κατὰ τὰς ἐτέρας ἐξέσκαμεν ἐς τοὺς ἑπὶ θάτερα Ἦρωμαίους.

38. Καὶ ὁ μὲν οὗτο παραβόλως διεισόζετο, Ἀννίβας δὲ τῆς χρείας ψευσθείς ἐφ’ ἥν ἐς Δευκα-νοῦς μετεκέκλητο, ἀνέστρεφεν ἐς Καπνὴν, μέγα ποιούμενος μὴ περιείρειν πόλιν μεγάλην καὶ εὐκαίριον ὑπὸ Ἦρωμαίος γενομένην. προσβαλὼν δὲ τῷ περιτειχίσματι καὶ μηδὲν δυνηθείς, μηδ’ ἐπινοοῦν ὅπως ἂν ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσπέρμησεν ἡ σῖτον ἡ στρατιάν, οὐδενὸς οὐδ’ ἀπ’ ἐκείνων αὐτῶν συμβαλέιν δυναμένοι διὰ τὴν ἐπιτείχισιν πάντη περιλαμβά-νονσαν, ἐπὶ τὴν Ἦρωμην ἡπείγετο παλτὶ τῷ στρατῷ, πυνθανόμενος μὲν κάκειν υπὸ λιμοῦ πιέεσθαι, ἔλπιζον δὲ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς αὐτῶν ἀπὸ Καπνῆς ἀναστήσειν, ἢ αὐτὸς τὴν Καπνῆς μεῖζον ἐργάσεσθαι. συντόνω δὲ σπουδὴ διελθὼν ἐθνῆ πολλὰ καὶ πολέμια, τῶν μὲν οὐ δυνηθέντων αὐτῶν ἐπισχεῖν,
this and used the space between the two walls as a camp. They erected battlements also, some toward the besieged Capuans and others toward the enemy outside, and the appearance was that of a great city enclosing a smaller one. The space between the enclosing wall and Capua was about two stades, and in it many enterprises and encounters took place each day and many single combats, as in a theatre surrounded by walls, for the bravest were continually challenging each other. A certain Capuan named Taureas had a single combat with the Roman Claudius Asellus, and seeking to escape, retreated, Asellus pursuing till he came to the walls of Capua. The latter not being able to turn his horse dashed at full speed through the gate into Capua, and galloping through the whole city, rode out at the opposite gate and joined the Romans on the further side, and was thus marvellously saved.

38. Hannibal, having failed in the task that called him to Lucania, turned back to Capua, considering it very important to prevent so large and important a city from falling into the Romans’ hands. He accordingly attacked their enclosing wall, but as he accomplished nothing and could devise no way to introduce either provisions or soldiers into the city, and as none of them could communicate with him on account of walls which completely surrounded them, he hastened towards Rome with his whole army, having learned that the Romans also were hard pressed by famine and hoping thus to draw their generals away from Capua, or to accomplish something himself more important than Capua. Moving with the greatest celerity through many hostile peoples, some of whom were not able to hinder him, while others
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CAP VI
tōn dē oudē ēs peirai evtheiν ὑποστάντων, ἀπὸ δύο καὶ τριάκοντα σταδίων τῆς Ῥώμης ἐστρατο-
πέδευσεν ἐπί τοῦ Ἀνιήνοις ποταμοῦ.

39. Καὶ ἡ πόλις ἐθορυβήθη θόρυβον οἶον οὐ
πρότερον, οὐκεῖον μὲν οὐδὲν ἔχοντες ἰκανόν (δ' ἡγὰρ
εἶχον, ἐν Καμπανίᾳ τότε ἦν), πολεμίον δὲ στρατοῦ
τοσοῦτο σφίσιν ἐπιστάντος ἄφων, καὶ στρατηγοῦ
δ' ἀρετήν καὶ εὐτυχίαν ἀμάχον. οἷος δὲ ἐκ τῶν
παρόντων οἱ μὲν δυνάμενοι φέρειν ὑπ' ὅλα τὰς πύλας
ἐφύλασσον, οἱ δὲ γέροντες ἐς τὸ τείχος ἀνεπήδων,
γύναι καὶ παιδία λίθους καὶ βέλη παρέφερον.
οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν συνέθεον ἐς τὸ ἄστυ δρόμων
βοῶς δὲ παμμυγόος καὶ θρήνος καὶ εὐχῶν καὶ
παρακελεύσεων πρὸς ἄλληλους πάντα μεστὰ ἦν.
εἰσὶ δ' αὐτῶν οί τὴν γέφυραν τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἀνιήνοις
ἐκδραμόντες ἐκποτοῦ. μικρὸν δὲ τι πολίχνων
Ῥωμαίων ποτε ἐπιστείχιζοντες Ἀικανοῖς "Ἀλβην
ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῶν μητροπόλεως ἐκάλεσαν· σὺν χρόνῳ
δ' ἐπισύροντες ἡ διαφθείροντες, ἢ ἐς τὴν Ἀλβανῶν
σύγκρισιν, Ἀλβησέας αὐτοῦς καλοῦσιν. τούτων
tοτε τῶν Ἀλβησέων ἐς Ῥώμην δισχίλιοι δρόμῳ
dιέθεον, τοῦ κινδύνου μετασχεῖν, καὶ ἁμα ἄφι-
κυνύντο καὶ ὡπλίζοντο καὶ τᾶς πύλας ἐφφούρουν.
tοσῇ δε προθυμίᾳ βραχὺ πολίχνων ἐκ τοσῶν ἄποικῶν ἐχρήσατο μονή, οἰον τι καὶ Ἀθηναίους
εἰς Μαραθῶνα μικρὰ πόλις η Πλαταιεῖων ἔδραμε
τοῦ τότε κινδύνου μετασχεῖν.

40. Τῶν δὲ στρατηγῶν "Ἀππιοῦς μὲν Καπίτη
παρέμενε, κἀκεῖνος ἡγούμενος ἐλείν Καπίτην,
Φουλούςιον δὲ Φλάκκος ἐτέραις οἴδαι ἐπειγχεῖς
ἀλῆκτῳ τάχει ἀντεστρατοπέδευσε τῷ Ἀνιήβα,
μέσον ἔχον τῶν Ἀνιήνα. τῷ δ' Ἀνιήβα τῆν
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dared not even try, he encamped at the river Anio, two and thirty stades from Rome.

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

40. Appius, one of the Roman generals, remained at Capua, as he too believed that he could capture the place. Fulvius Flaccus, the other, marched with unresting haste by other roads and encamped opposite Hannibal, with the river Anio flowing

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CAP. VI  γέφυραν εὑρόντι λελυμένην καὶ τὸν Φούλονιον ἀντικαθήμενον, ἔδοξε τὰς πηγὰς τοῦ ποταμοῦ περιοδεύσαι. καὶ οἱ μὲν Φούλονιος ἀντιπαρώδενεν, ὁ δὲ καὶ ὁς ἐνήδρευε, Νομάδας ἱππέας ὑπολυπών, οἱ τῶν στρατῶν ἀναστάντων τὸν Ἀυήνα ἐπέρασαν καὶ τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἔδησουν, μέχρι παρὰ τὴν πόλιν αὐτὴν γενόμενοι καὶ φοβησάντες ἐπέστρεφαν ἐς Ἀυήναν οὕτω γὰρ αὐτοῖς παρῆγγέλτο. αὐτὸς δὲ ἔπει τὰς τε πηγὰς τοῦ ποταμοῦ περιήλθε, καὶ ὁδὸς ἦν ἐς τὸ ἁστυ οὐ πολλῆς, λέγεται μὲν νυκτὸς σὺν τρισὶν ὑπασπιστάις λαθῶν κατασκέψασθαι τὸ ἁστυ, καὶ τὴν τῆς δυνάμεως ἐρμίαν καὶ θώρυβον τὸν ἐπέχοντα ἱδεῖν, ἀναστρέψαι δὲ ἐς Κατύνη, εἴτε θεοῦ παράγοντος αὐτὸν αἰεὶ ὡς καὶ τότε, εἴτε τὴν τῆς πόλεως ἀρετὴν καὶ τύχην δεῖσας, εἴτε, ὡς αὐτὸς τοῖς ἐσβαλεῖν προτρέπουσιν ἔλεγεν, οὐκ ἐθέλων τὸν πόλεμον ἐκλύσαι δεῖ Καρχηδώνιοι, ἢν μὴ καὶ τὴν στρατηγίαν αὐτὸς ἀποδοῖτο. οὐ γὰρ δ’ γε σὺν Φούλονιῳ στρατὸς ἦν αὐτὸς πάμπαν ἀξιόμαχος. οὐ δὲ Φούλονιος ἀναστρέψοντι παρεῖπετο, κολύσων τε προνομεύειν καὶ φυλασσόμενος μηδὲν ἐξ ἐνέδρας παθεῖν.

VII

CAP. VII  41. Ὅ δ’ ἐπιτηρήσας νύκτα ἀσέληνον, καὶ χωρίον ἐν φ’ Φούλονιος ἐσπέρας τεῖχος μὲν οὐκ ἐφθανεν ἐγείραι, τάφρον δ’ ὀρυζέμενος καὶ διαστήματα 366
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between them. When Hannibal found that the bridge had been destroyed and that Fulvius was occupying the opposite bank, he decided to go around by the sources of the stream. Fulvius moved parallel with him on the other side, but even so Hannibal laid a trap for him. He left some Numidian horse behind, who, as soon as the armies had moved off, crossed the Anio and ravaged the Roman territory until they had come very near to the city itself, and had carried consternation into it, when they rejoined Hannibal according to their orders. The latter, when he had passed around the sources of the stream, whence the road to Rome was not long, is said to have reconnoitred the city with a bodyguard of three men secretly by night, and to have observed the lack of forces and the confusion prevailing. Nevertheless he went back to Capua, either because divine Providence turned him aside this time as in other instances, or because he was intimidated by the valour and fortune of the city, or because, as he said to those who urged him to attack it, he did not wish to bring the war to an end, lest the Carthaginians should deprive him of his command. At any rate, the army under Fulvius was by no means a match for him. Fulvius, however, followed him as he retreated, preventing him from foraging and taking care not to fall into any traps.

VII

41. Hannibal, having waited for a moonless night, and a position where Fulvius, at the close of day, had not had time to throw up a wall, but had ceased
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CAP. VII

'ΑΝΤΙ ΠΥΛΩΝ ΚΑΤΑΛΙΠΤΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΟ ΧΟΜΑ ΠΡΟΒΑΛΩΝ, 'ΑΝΤΙ ΤΕΙΧΟΥΣ ἩΣΥΧΑΖΕΝ, ἘΣ ΤΕ ΛΟΦΟΝ ὝΠΕΡΚΕΙΜΕΝΟΝ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΚΑΡΤΕΡΟΝ ἘΠΕΜΨΕ ΛΑΘΩΝ ἩΠΤΕΑΣ, ΟΙΣ ΕἾΡΗΤΟ ἩΣΥΧΑΖΕΙΝ ἘΩΣ ΟΙ 'ΡΩΜΑΙΟΙ ΤΟΝ ΛΟΦΟΝ ὩΣ ΕΡΗΜΟΝ ἍΥΡΩΝ ΚΑΤΑΛΑΜΒΑΝΩΣΙ, ΤΟΪΣ Δ' ἘΛΕΦΑΣΙ ΤΟΙΣ ἩΝΔΟΥΣ ἘΠΙΒΗΣΑΣ ΕΚΕΛΕΥΣΕΝ ἘΣ ΤΟ ΤΟΥ ΦΟΥΛΟΥΟΝ ΣΤΡΑΤΟΠΕΔΟΝ ἘΣΒΙΑΖΕΘΑΙ ΔΙΑ ΤΕ ΤΩΝ ΔΙΑΣΤΗΜΑΤΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΑ ΤΩΝ ΧΩΜΑΤΩΝ, ὩΣ ΔΥΝΑΙΝΤΟ. ΣΑΛΠΙΚΤΑΣ ΔΈ ΑΥΤΟΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΒΥΚΑΝΗΤΑΣ ΤΙΝΑΣ ΔΈ ΘΛΙΓΟΝ ΔΙΑΣΤΗΜΑΤΟΣ ἘΠΕΣΘΑΙ ΚΕΛΕΥΣΑΣ, ΠΡΟΣΕΤΑΞΕΝ, ΟΤΑΝ ΕΝΔΟΝ ΓΕΝΟΝΤΑΙ, ΤΟΙΣ ΜΕΝ ΘΡΟΥΒΟΝ ΠΟΛΥΝ ἘΓΕΙΡΕΙΝ ΠΕΡΙΘΕΟΝΤΑΣ, ίΝΑ ΠΟΛΛΟΙ ΔΟΞΩΣΙΝ ΕΙΝΑΙ, ΤΟΙΣ ΔΕ ΡΩΜΑΙΞΟΝΤΑΣ ΒΟΗΝ ὌΤΙ ΦΟΥΛΟΥΟΣ ὍΡΩΜΑΙΩΝ ΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΟΣ ΚΕΛΕΥΕΙ, ΤΟ ΣΤΡΑΤΟΠΕΔΟΝ ΕΚΚΛΙΠΟΝΤΑΣ, ἘΠΙ ΤΟΝ ἘΓΓΥΣ ΛΟΦΟΝ ἈΝΑΠΗΔΑΝ. ΤΟΔΕ ΜΕΝ ἸΝ ΤΟ ΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΗΜΑ ΤΟΥ 'ΑΝΝΙΒΟΥ, ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥΤΩΝ ΤΑ ΜΕΝ ΠΡΩΤΑ ΠΑΝΤΑ ΚΑΤΑ ΝΟΥΝ ἈΠΗΝΤΗΣΕΝ. ΟΙ ΤΕ ΓΑΡ ΕΛΕΦΑΝΤΕΣ ἘΣΗΛΘΟΥΝ ΤΟΙΣ ΦΥΛΑΚΑΙΣ ΚΑΤΑΠΑΤΗΣΑΝΤΕΣ, ΚΑΙ ΟΙ ΣΑΛΠΙΚΤΑΙ ΤΟ ΑΥΤΩΝ ἘΠΟΙΟΝ, ΚΑΙ Ο ΘΡΟΥΒΟΣ 'ΡΩΜΑΙΟΙ ΕΞ ΕΥΝΗΣ ΑΝΙΣΤΑΜΕΝΟΙ ΕΝ ΜΕΛΑΙΝΗ ΝΥΚΤΙ ΑΔΩΚΗΤΟΣ ἘΜΠΕΣΩΝ ἘΠΙΡΟΒΟΤΑΤΟΣ ἸΝ, ΤΟΝ ΤΕ ΡΩΜΑΙΞΟΝΤΩΝ ἈΚΟΥΟΝΤΕΣ ὍΤΙ ΠΑΡΗΓΓΕΛΕΙΤΑΙ ΦΕΥΓΕΙΝ ΕΣ ΤΟΝ ΛΟΦΟΝ, ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥΤ' ἘΓΓΥΝΟΝΤΟ.

42. ΦΟΥΛΟΥΟΙ ΔΈ ΑΕΙ ΤΙΝΑ ΠΡΟΣΦΙΚΩΝ ἘΝΕΔΡΑΝ, ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥΤΟ ὝΠΟΠΤΕΥΔΟΝ ΕΝ ἈΠΑΣΙ ΤΟΙΣ 'ΑΝΝΙΒΟΥ, ΕΙΘ' ΥΠ' ΟΙΚΕΙΑΣ ΤΟΤΕ ΣΥΝΕΣΕΩΣ, ΕἸΤΕ ΘΕΟΛΗΠΤΩ ΓΝΩΜΗ ΠΡΟΣΠΕΣΩΝ, ΕἸΤΕ ΠΑΡ' ΑΙΧΜΑΛΩΤΟΝ ΤΑ ἈΚΡΙΒΕΣΤΑΤΑ ΜΑΘΩΝ, ΤΟΥΣ ΧΙΛΑΡΧΟΥΣ ΌΞΕΩΝ ἘΠΕΣΤΗΣΕ ΤΑΙΣ ΕΣ ΤΟ ΛΟΦΟΝ ἈΓΟΥΣΑΙΣ ΟΔΟΙΣ, ΚΩΛΥΕΙΝ ΤΟΥΣ ΔΙ' ΑΥΤΩΝ ΦΕΡΟΜΕΝΟΥΣ, ΚΑΙ ΜΕΤΑΔΙΔΙΣΚΕΙΝ ὩΤΙ ΤΟΥΤ' ΟΥΧ Ὅ ΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΟΣ 'ΡΩΜΑΙΩΝ ἈΛΛ'
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operations after merely digging a ditch with certain spaces in lieu of gates, and the earth thrown outward instead of a wall, quietly sent a body of cavalry to a fortified hill overlooking Fulvius' camp, and ordered them to keep silence until the Romans should attempt to occupy the hill, believing it to be deserted. Then he ordered his Indians to mount their elephants and break into the camp of Fulvius through the open spaces, and over the piles of earth, in any way they could. He also directed a number of trumpeters and horn-blowers to follow at a short distance. When the Indians should be inside the entrenchments some of them were ordered to run around and raise a great tumult so that they might seem to be very numerous, while others, speaking Latin, should call out that Fulvius, the Roman general, ordered the evacuation of the camp and the seizure of the neighbouring hill. Such was Hannibal's stratagem, and at first all went according to his intention. The elephants broke into the camp, trampling down the guards, and the trumpeters did as they were ordered. The unexpected clamour striking the ears of the Romans as they started out of bed in the pitch-dark night appalled them, and when they heard orders given in Latin directing them to take refuge on the hill, they proceeded to do so.

42. But Fulvius, who was always looking out for some stratagem and suspecting one in everything that Hannibal did, being guided either by his own intelligence or by divine inspiration, or having learned the facts from some prisoner, quickly stationed his military tribunes in the roads leading to the hill to stop those who were rushing that way, and to tell them that it was not the Roman general
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CAP. VII

'Αννίβας ἐκήρυξεν ἐνεδρεύων. αὐτὸς δὲ τοῖς χώμασι φυλακᾶς ἀκριβεῖς ἐπιστήμα, μὴ τις ἐφοδος ἐξωθεὶν ἀλλὰ γένοιτο, ἐβοηθῶμει μεθ' ἔτέρων ἀνὰ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀπαντᾷ ἐχεῖν ἀ-σφάλως, καὶ ὅλης τοὺς μετὰ τῶν ἐλεφάντων ἐσελθόντας εἶναι. δὰδας τε ἦπτε καὶ πῦρ παντα-χόθεν ἤγειρε, καὶ καταφανῆς ἦν ἡ τῶν ἐσελθόντων ὀλιγότητα, ὥστε αὐτῶν πάνω καταφρονήσαντες οἱ Ρωμαίοι, ἐς ὄργην ἐκ τοῦ πρὶν δέους μεταβα-λόντες, εὐμαρῶς οί θεοὶ καὶ ὅλης διε-θειραν. οἱ δὲ ἐλεφάντες οὖκ ἔχοντες εὐρύχωρον ὀυδὲν ἐς ἀναστροφήν, εἰλούμενοι περὶ σκηνᾶς καὶ φάτνας, ἐβάλλουσαν πρὸς ἀπάντων ἐπιτυχῶς διὰ τὴν στενότητα τοῦ χρόνου καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν σωμάτων, μέχρι περιαλγοῦντες τε καὶ ἀγανακ-τοῦντες, καὶ ἐπιδραμεῖν ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους οὖκ ἔχοντες, τοὺς ἐπιβάτας σφῶν ἀπεσείουτο καὶ κατεπάτων σὺν ὀργῇ καὶ βοή πάνυ ἡγριωμένοι, καὶ ἐξεπήδων ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου. Φοῦλουος μὲν δὴ Ἡλίκως εὐσταθῶς καὶ εὐμηχάνως αἰφνιδίῳ συνενεχθεῖς ἐνέδρα περὶ τοῦ 'Αννίβου, καὶ τὸν στρατὸν περιέσωζεν ἀεὶ πεφρικότα τὰς Ἀννίβου μηχανὰς.

43. Ο δ’ Ἀννίβας ἐπεὶ τῆς πείρας ἀπέτυχεν, ἐς Δευκάνους διελθὼν ἐχεῖμαζε, καὶ ἔπι τρυφῆς ἦν οὐ συνήθεις, ἐρωμένη τε εἰς ἄχροι ἀνήρ. καὶ εὐθὺς αὐτῷ κατ’ ὅλην ἐτρέπετο πάντα. Φοῦλουος δ’ ἔς Καπύν πρὸς τὸν συστράτηγον ἐπανῄει, καὶ τοῖς Καπναίοις προσέβαλλον ἄμφως καρτερῶς, ἐπειγό-μενοι χειμῶνοι ἔλειν τὴν πόλιν; ἔως Ἀννίβας ἠρεμεῖ. Καπναίοι δὲ, τῶν τροφῶν σφᾶς ἐπίλειτο-πουσών καὶ οὐδαμόθεν ἄλλων ἐπεισαγομένων,
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but Hannibal who had given the command in order to lead them into an ambush. He himself stationed strong guards on the mounds to repel any new attack from without, and with others passed rapidly through the camp, exclaiming that there was no danger and that those who had broken in with the elephants were but few. Torches were lighted and fires kindled on all sides. Then the smallness of the attacking force was so manifest that the Romans utterly despised them, and, turning from fear to wrath, slew them easily since they were few in number and light-armed. The elephants not having room to turn round, and being entangled among the tents and huts, furnished an excellent mark for darts by reason of the narrowness of the place and the size of their bodies, until, enraged with pain and unable to reach their enemies, they shook off their riders, trampled them under foot with fury and savage outcries, and broke out of the camp. Thus did Fulvius Flaccus by his constancy and skill bring to naught this unexpected ambush, frustrate Hannibal, and save his army, which had always been in terror of Hannibal's stratagems.

43. When his scheme had failed, Hannibal moved his army to Lucania and went into winter quarters, and here this fierce warrior gave himself up to unaccustomed luxury and the delights of love. From this time, little by little, his fortune changed. Fulvius returned to his colleague at Capua and both of them pressed the siege vigorously, hastening to take the city during the winter while Hannibal remained quiet. The Capuans, their supplies being exhausted and no more being obtainable from any quarter, surrendered themselves to the Roman

Capua surrenders to Rome
44. 'Εν δὲ Βρεττίοις, οὗ μέρος εἰσὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας, ἀνὴρ ἐκ πόλεως Τισίας φουρουμένης ὑπὸ τῶν Διβύων, ἐθίσας ἀεὶ τὴν λήξεσθαι καὶ φέρειν τῷ φουράρχῳ, καὶ παρὰ τοῦτο ἄυτῷ συνῆθης ἐς πάντα γεγονός καὶ σχεδὸν συστράτηγος, ἔληγε τῶν φουρῶν ἐς τὴν πατρίδα ύβριζόντων. συνθέμενος οὖν τῷ Ἄρμαίῳ στρατηγῷ, καὶ πιστά δοὺς καὶ λαβὼν, ἕκαστοτε τινὰς ὡς αἰχμαλώτους ἐσῆγεν ἐς τὴν ἀκραν, καὶ τὰ ὅπλα αὐτῶν ἐσεῖρεν ὡς σκῦλα. ἐπεὶ δὲ πλέονες ἐγένοντο, ἐξέλυσεν αὐτοὺς καὶ ὠπλίσε, καὶ τὴν Διβύων φουράν ἀνείλε, καὶ παρὰ Ἄρμαίῳ ἀλλην ἐσηγάγετο. Ἀννίβοι δὲ οὗ πολὺ ύστερον παροδεύοντος αὐτούς, οἱ μὲν φουροὶ καταπλαγέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ δέους ἐξέβυγον ἐς Ῥήγιον, οἱ δὲ Τισίαται παρέδωκαν αὐτοὺς τῷ Ἀννίβα. καὶ ὁ
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generals, together with the Carthaginian garrison and their two commanders, another Hanno and Bostar. The Romans stationed a garrison in the city and cut off the hands of all the deserters they found there. They sent the Carthaginian nobles to Rome and the rest they sold as slaves. Of the Capuans themselves they put to death those who had been chiefly responsible for the defection of the city, while from the others they only took away their land. All the country round about Capua is very fertile corn-land, being a plain. So Capua was once more restored to the Romans and the principal advantage possessed by the Carthaginians in Italy was taken from them.

44. In Bruttium, which is a part of Italy, there was a man of the town of Tisia (which was garrisoned by the Carthaginians) who was in the habit of plundering and sharing his booty with the commander of the garrison, and who had by this means so ingratiated himself with the latter that he almost shared the command with him. This man was incensed at the arrogant behaviour of the garrison toward his country. Accordingly, by an arrangement with the Roman general, with whom he exchanged pledges, he brought in a few soldiers each day as prisoners and lodged them in the citadel, to which place he took their arms also as spoils. When he had introduced a sufficient number he released and armed them, and destroyed the Carthaginian garrison, after which he brought in another garrison from the Roman forces. But as Hannibal passed that way not long afterwards, the guards fled in terror to R hegium, and the inhabitants of Tisia delivered themselves up to Hannibal, who burned
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Ἀννίβας τοὺς μὲν αἴτιος τῆς ἀποστάσεως ἔκαυσε, τῇ δὲ πόλει φρουρὰν ἐπέστησεν ἄλλην.

45. Ἰαπύγων δ' ἐν πόλει Σαλατία, Διβύων ὑπηκόω, δύο ἄστην ἄνδρε τῶν μὲν ἄλλων γένει καὶ πλούτῳ καὶ δυνάμει διαφέροντε, ἀλλήλου δ' ἐκ πολλοῦ διαφόρῳ. τούτου Δάσιος μὲν τὰ Διβύων ἥρειτο, Βλάτιος δὲ τὰ Ῥωμαίων. ἔσω μὲν οὖν ἦκμαξε τὰ Ἀννίβου, ἐφ' ἤσυχίας ἦν ὁ Βλάτιος· ἔπει δὲ ἤγειρετο τοῦ Ῥωμαίων καὶ τὰ πολλὰ τῆς ἐσφετερισμένης ἀρχῆς ἀνελάμβανον, ἐπείθεν ὁ Βλάτιος τῶν ἐχθρῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος αὐτῶ συμφρονῆσαι μόνης, μη τι πάθοι, Ῥωμαίων αὐτὴν βιά λαβόντων, ἀνήκεστον. ὁ δ' ὑποκρυνόμενος συντίθεσθαι, κατεμήνυε τούτο Ἀννίβα. καὶ ἐδίκαζεν αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἀννίβας, Δασίοι μὲν κατηγοροῦντο, Βλατίων δ' ἀπολογουμένου καὶ συκοφαντεῖσθαι διὰ τὴν ἐχθραν λέγοντος· δ' καὶ τέως ἀρα προορῶν ἐτόλμησεν ἐχθρῷ προσενεγκεῖν λόγου τοιόῦτε, ὡς ἀπίστῳ κατηγόρῳ διὰ τὴν ἐχθραν ἐσομένης. Ἀννίβας δ' οὔτε ἀπορρίψαι τὸ ἔργον οὔτε τῷ παρ' ἐχθροῦ πιστεύσαι ῥαδίως ἄξιων, μεθίστατο αὐτοὺς ὡς σκεφήμενος ἐπ' ἐαυτοῦ. στενῆς δὲ τῆς ἔξοδου πάμπαν οὕσης, ὁ Βλάτιος ἔφη τῷ Δασίῳ, τοὺς ἄλλους λαθὼν, "οὐ σώσεις, ὦ ἁγαθε, τὴν πατρίδα;" ὁ δὲ καὶ τούτ' εὐθὺς ἐκβοήσας ἐμήνεν.

46. Καὶ ὁ Βλάτιος οἰκτισάμενος τότε μάλιστα ἀξιοπίστως εἶπεν ὡς ἐπιβουλεύοιτο ὑπ' ἐχθροῦ τεχνίτου. "τοῦτο δ', ἐφ' 'τὸ νῦν ἐπιβουλεύμα 374
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those who had been guilty of the defection and placed another garrison in the town.

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

46. Then in a piteous tone Blatius cried out with much appearance of credibility that his cunning enemy had made a plot against him. "This present
καὶ τῆς πρώτης ἀμφιλογίας, εἰ τις ἦν, ρύσεται με. τίς γὰρ ἂν ἡ πρότερον ἐχθρὸ περὶ τοῦ ὁδόδε διεπίστευσεν, ἢ νῦν, εἰ καὶ τέως ἐπεπλάνητο, ἀπίστῳ καὶ κατηγόρῳ περὶ ἐκείνα γεγενημένω, κινδυνεύον ἐτὶ καὶ κρινόμενος καὶ ἀρνόμενος, αὐθίς ἂν τὰ δεύτερα ταῦτ' ἐθάρρησεν εἰπεῖν, καὶ μάλιστ' ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ, πολλῶν μὲν ἀκούσαι δυναμένων, τοῦ δὲ κατηγόρου καὶ τόθε μέλλοντος εὐθὺς ὁμολόγος ἔρειν; εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ ἐγεγένητο,” ἔφη, “χρηστὸς ἐξαιρέτω καὶ φίλος, τί μοι συλλαβεῖν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ἐτὶ δυνατὸς ἦν; τί δ' ἂν ἐδεόμην ἐγὼ μηδὲν ἐπικουρεῖν δυναμένου;” ἀ μοι δοκεῖ προϊδὼν πάλιν ὁ Βλάτιος ψιθύρως ἐντυχείν τῷ Δασίῳ, καὶ ἐς ἀπιστίαν αὐτὸν ἐμβαλεῖν μείζονα, ἐπαγαγόσθαι δ' ἐκ τοῦδε καὶ 'Αννίβαν ἐς ἀπιστίαν τῶν πρότερον εἰρημένων. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ἐκφυγὼν τὴν δίκην ὁ Βλάτιος ἀφίστατο μὴ μεταπείθειν τὸν ἐχθρόν, καταφρονῶν ἄρα ὡς ἐς πάντα γεγονότος ἀπίστου. ὁ δὲ αὕθις ὑπεκρίνετο συντίθεσθαι, καὶ τὴν ἐπίνοιαν τῆς ἀποστάσεως ἦτε μαθείν. ὁ δὲ οὐδὲν ὁκνήσας ἔφη, “διαδραμοῦμαι μὲν ἐπὶ τὶ τῶν στρατοπέδων ἐγὼ τῶν Ῥωμαίων (μηνύσας αὐτῷ τὸ πάνυ πορρωτάτω) καὶ στρατιῶν ἄξω λαβὼν· ἐστὶ γὰρ μοι φίλος ὁ στρατηγὸς ἐκείνου τοῦ στρατοῦ· σὺ δ' ὑπομένειν μοι δεῦρο, καὶ τὰ ἐνδοὺ ἐπιτηρεῖν.”

47. Ὁ μὲν εἰπεῖν οὐτος, καὶ εὐθὺς ἐξέδραμε, λαθῶν Δάσιον, οὐκ ἐς ἐκείνο τοῦ στρατόπεδον ἄλλ' ἐς Ῥώμην, ὅδον ἐλάσσονα. καὶ δοὺς τῇ βουλῇ

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scheme,” he said, “will relieve me also from all former suspicion, if there was any. For who would either previously have made a confidant of an enemy in such matters, or, if he had been so thoughtless before, would now, while still in danger and under trial and denying the charge against him, dare to speak thus again to one who was his betrayer and accuser in the first case, and especially in the judgment-hall where many can hear his words and where his accuser stands ready to repeat his words again as before? Even supposing the accuser had suddenly become friendly and well-disposed, how would he be able to co-operate with me in saving the country after what has happened? And why should I ask the aid of one who is not able to give any?” I think that Blatius foresaw all this when he whispered again to Dasius, and that by this course he brought his enemy into greater discredit, and even persuaded Hannibal to disbelieve the former accusations. Nor did Blatius, even after he had been acquitted, desist from persuading his enemy to change sides, for he despised him now as a person utterly untrustworthy. Dasius again pretended to agree with him and sought to learn the plan of the revolt. Blasius replied without hesitation: “I will ride to one of the Roman camps (indicating the one that was furthest distant) the commander of which is my particular friend, and obtain a force which I will bring thither. You will remain here and keep watch upon affairs in the city.”

47. Having spoken thus he immediately rode away, without the knowledge of Dasius, not to the camp he had named but to Rome, a shorter journey, and having given his son as a hostage to the Senate,
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τὸν νῦν ὁμηρον, ὑπέεις ἦτει χιλίους, μεθ' ὧν ἦπειγετο κατὰ σπουδήν, τὸ μέλλον ἔσεσθαι προ-
ορώμενος. ὦ δὲ Δάσιος ταῖς ἐπισύσαις ἠμέραις
τὸν ἐχθρὸν οὐχ ὄρων, εἰκασεν αὐτὸν ἐγχειρεῖν τοῖς
ἐγερμένοις ὡς ἦδη πιστεύοντα αυτῷ. νομίσας
οὖν ἐς ἐκεῖνο τῷ ὦντι τὸ πορρωτέρῳ στρατόπεδον
αὐτὸν ὀψεσθαι, διεδραμε πρὸς Ἀννίβαν, κατα-
φρονῶν ὧτι φθάσει ἐκεῖνον ἐπανελθόν, καὶ "νῦν
μὲν," ἐφι, "παραδόσω σοι τὸν Βλάτιον ἐπ' αὐτο-
φώρῳ στρατιάν ἐπάγωντα τῇ πόλει." καὶ τὸ
γεγονός ἐκθέμενος, καὶ λαβών τινας, ἐπανήγειν ἐς
τὴν πατρίδα μετὰ σπουδῆς ὡς οὕτω τοῦ Βλατίου
πλησιάζοντος. ὦ δ' ἐνδον τῇ ἡν ἄρτι, καὶ τὴν
φρουρὰν τὴν Διβυὸν ὀλίγην οὕτων ἄνελὼν ἐφύ-
λασσε μηδένα παρελθεῖν, καὶ τύλας τὰς μὲν
ἀλλὰς ἐκεκλείκει, τὰς δ' ἐς τὴν ἐπάνων Δασίου
μόνας εἰάσεν ἀνεφχθαι. καὶ τὸ κατ' ἐκεῖνας
μέρος ἀπαν ἐλξεν ἀνυπόπτως· τὰ δ' ἐντὸς ἐξετε-
tάφρευτο καὶ διεῖληπτο, ὡς μὴ δύνασθαι τοὺς
ἐμπεσόντας ἐς ὅλην διαδραμεῖν. Δάσιος δὲ ἐπεὶ
tὰς τύλας εἶδεν ἀνεφρεμένας, ἤσθη νομίσας προ-
λαβεῖν τὸν ἐχθρόν, καὶ ἐσήλατο γεγηθός. ὦ δ'
ἐπικελείσας διέφθειρεν αὐτὸν τε καὶ τοὺς ἐσδραμ-
όντας, ὀθομένους ἐν στεφῷ καὶ διαδρομὴν διὰ τὰς
tάφρους οὐκ ἔχοντας. ὀλίγον δ' αὐτῶν διὰ τοῦ
teίχους ἐξαλόμενοι διέφυγον.
he asked for a thousand horse, with which he hastened back with all speed, anticipating what would be the result. Dasius not seeing his enemy during the next few days thought that he had taken in hand the business they had agreed upon, as at last having confidence in him. Supposing, therefore, that Blatius had in fact gone to the more distant camp he rode to Hannibal, not doubting that he should get back before Blatius. "And now," said he to Hannibal, "I will deliver Blatius to you in the very act of bringing a hostile force into the city." Having exposed the affair and having received a military force, he hastened back to the town, not imagining that Blatius was yet anywhere near. But the latter was already inside, having slain the Carthaginian garrison, which was small, and taken care to prevent anybody from going out. He had also closed all the gates except that by which Dasius was expected to return. On that side there was nothing to excite suspicion, but the ground inside was intersected by ditches so that an attacking force should not be able to make its way through the whole town. Dasius was delighted when he saw the gates open, thinking that he had anticipated his enemy, and he entered the town rejoicing. Then Blatius shut the gate and slew him and his companions, who were squeezed together in a narrow place and had no way of passage through the ditches. A few of them escaped by leaping from the walls. Thus did Blatius overcome Dasius, for the third time meeting plot with counterplot.
48. Καὶ Βλάτιος μὲν οὖτω περὶ Ἰασίου, τρὶς ἀντευεδρεύων, Φούλους δὲ Ὁρμαίων ὑπάτος Ἐρδονίαν ἐπολυόρκει καὶ αὐτὸν Ἀννίβας ἔλαθεν ἐσπέρας ἐγγὺς γενόμενος, καὶ ἀπείπε πυρὰ μὴ καίειν, καὶ σιωπήν παρῆγγειλεν. περὶ δὲ ἔως, γενομένης ὀμοῦ τι καὶ ὀμίχλης, τοὺς μὲν ἰππέας ἐπέμψεν ἐπιχειρεῖν τῷ Ὁρμαίων στρατοπέδῳ, καὶ αὐτοὺς ἧμῖνοντο ἐκεῖνοι, σὺν θορύβῳ μὲν ὡς ἀπ' εὐνῆς, σὺν θάρσει δὲ οίᾳ διόγνοις ποθὲν αὐτοῖς ἐπιφανέντας. ὁ δ' Ἀννίβας ἐπὶ θάτερα τῷ πεζῷ τὴν πόλιν περιῆλθεν, κατασκεπτόμενος ἀμα καὶ τοὺς ἐνδον ἐπελπίζον, ἔως ἐπῆλθε τοῖς Ὁρμαίοις ἐν τῇ περιόδῳ, εἰτε προιδόμενοι εἰτε κατὰ συντυχίαν, κυκλοφόρων αὐτοῖς. οἱ δ' ἐπιτυγγόν ἡδη λάβρως καὶ ἀθρόως, ἀμφίβολοι γεγονότες· καὶ ἀπέθανον αὐτῶν ἐς ὀκτακισχίλιους, καὶ ὁ ὑπάτος αὐτὸς ὁ Φούλους. οἱ λοιποὶ δ' ἐς τὸν χῶμα πρὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἀναδορῶντες αὐτὸ τε διέσωσαν, γενναίως ἀμνόμενοι, καὶ τὸν Ἀννίβαν ἐκώλυσαν λαβεῖν τὸ στρατόπεδον.

49. Μετὰ δὲ τούτῳ Ὁρμαίοι μὲν τὴν Ἰασίγων ἀποστάντων ἐδόντω, Ἀννίβας δὲ τὴν Καμπανῶν, ἐς Ὁρμαίοις μεταθεμένων χωρὶς Ἀτέλλης μόνης, καὶ Ἀτελλαίους μετοφίκειν ἐς Θουρίους, ἵνα μὴ τῷ Βρεττίῳ καὶ Δευκάνων καὶ Ἰασίγων ἐνόχλησην πολέμῳ. καὶ Ὁρμαίοι τοὺς ἐκ Νουκερίας ἐκπεσόντας ἐν Ἀτέλλῃ μετοφίκεον ἐς τῇ Αννίβου ἐπὶ ὑπήκουν ἐς βαλλόντες, Αὐλωνίαν τε
48. While Fulvius, the Roman consul, was besieging Herdonia, Hannibal approached him quietly one evening, having given orders that no fires should be lighted and that strict silence should be observed. Early in the morning, which happened to be foggy, he sent his cavalry to attack the Roman camp. The Romans hurried from their beds and defended themselves, in disorder, naturally, but with boldness, for they believed the enemy to be a few men who had come on the scene from somewhere or other. Meanwhile, Hannibal, with the infantry, was marching round to the other side of the town, in order to reconnoitre, and at the same time to encourage the people inside, when he fell in with the Romans in the course of his circuit, either by chance or by design, and surrounded them. Being attacked on both sides they fell confusedly and in heaps. About 8000 of them were killed, including the consul Fulvius himself. The remainder jumped up on to a mound in front of their camp, and by fighting bravely preserved it and prevented Hannibal from taking the camp.

49. After this, the Romans ravaged the country of the revolted Iapygians, and Hannibal that of the Campanians, all of whom had returned to the Roman allegiance except the Atellaei. The latter he settled in Thurii in order that they might not suffer by the war that was raging in Bruttium, Lucania, and Iapygia. The Romans settled the exiles of Nuceria in Atella and then, invading the territory still subject to Hannibal, they took Aulonia and overran n.c. 209.
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CAP. VIII

εἶλον καὶ τὴν Βρεττίων γῆν ἐπέτρεχον, καὶ Τάραντα φρουρομένην ὑπὸ Καρθάλωνος ἐκ γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης ἐπολιόρκουν. ὁ δὲ Καρθάλων, ὁλόγων Καρχηδονίων παρόντων, Βρεττίους ἐς τὴν φρουρὰν προσέλαβεν. τῶν δὲ Βρεττίων ὁ φρούραρχος ἦρα γυναικός, ἵς ἀδελφὸς ὑπὸ Ρωμαίοις στρατευόμενος ἔπραξε διὰ τῆς ἀδελφῆς τῶν φρούραρχον ἐνδοῦναι ῥωμαίοις, ἐπέγονσε τάς µηχανὰς ἢ τοῦ τείχους αὐτὸς ἐφρούρει. Τάραντα µὲν δὴ ῥωµαίοι τόνδε τὸν τρόπον ἀνέλαβον, εὐκαίρον ἐς πολέµους χωρίον καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν.

50. 'Αννίβας δὲ ἐπενεγόμενος ἐς αὐτὴν, ὡς ἔµαθεν εἰληµµένην, παρῆλθεν ἀχθόμενος ἐς Θουρίων κἀκεῖθεν ἐς Οὐνεπούσιαν, ἐνθὰ αὐτῷ Κλαυδίος τε Μάρκελλος ὁ Σικελίαν ἐλὼν, πέµπτων ὑπατεύων τότε, καὶ Τίτος Κριστίνος ἀντιστρατευόµενος οὐκ ἐτὸλµὼν ἄρχειν μάχης. λείαν δὲ τινὰ ὑπὸ Νοµάδων ἁγοµένην Μάρκελλος ἑδὼν, καὶ δόξας ὀλίγος εἶναι τοὺς ἄγονας, ἐπέδραµεν αὐτοῖς μετὰ τρικασίων ἱππέων σὺν καταφρονήσει, καὶ πρῶτος ἤγειτο, θυµικὸς ὅν ἐς μάχας καὶ παρακυνδυναµικὸς ἀεὶ. ἄφνω δὲ πολλῶν τῶν Διβύων φαντώτων καὶ πανταχόθεν αὐτῷ προσπεσόντων, οἱ μὲν σιµαριγούντες ῥωµαίοι πρῶτοι φυγῆς ἤρχον, ὁ δὲ Μάρκελλος, ὡς ἐποµένους αὐτῶν, ἐμάχετο γενναίως, μέχρι κατακουσθείς ἀπέθανεν. καὶ αὐτοῦ τῷ σώµατι ο Ἀννίβας ἐπιστάς, ὡς εἶδε τὰ τραύματα πάντα ἐπὶ τῶν στέρνων, ἐπήνευσε μὲν ὡς στρατιώτην, ἐπέσκωψε δὲ ὡς στρατηγόν. καὶ τὸν δακτύλιον αὐτοῦ περιέλων, τὸ μὲν σῶµα
THE HANNIBALIC WAR

the territory of the Bruttians. They also laid siege by land and sea to Tarentum, which was under the command of Carthalo. The latter, as he had few Carthaginian soldiers present, had taken Bruttians into his service. The captain of these Bruttians was in love with a woman whose brother was serving with the Romans, and the latter managed, by means of his sister, that this captain should surrender to the Romans, who brought their engines up to the part of the wall where he was in command. In this way the Romans again got possession of Tarentum, a place admirably situated for the purposes of war both by land and by sea.

50. Hannibal was hastening to its relief when he learned of its capture. He turned aside to Thurii greatly disappointed, and proceeded thence to Venusia. There Claudius Marcellus, who had conquered Sicily and was now consul for the fifth time, and Titus Crispinus, took the field against him, not venturing, however, to offer battle. But Marcellus, happening to see a party of Numidians carrying off plunder, and thinking that they were only a few, attacked them confidently with three hundred horse. He led the attack in person, being a man of daring courage in battle and ever despising danger. Suddenly, a large body of Africans appeared and attacked him on all sides. Those Romans who were in the rear at once took to flight, but Marcellus, who thought that they were following him, fought valiantly until he was thrust through with a dart and killed. When Hannibal stood over his body and saw the wounds all on his breast, he praised him as a soldier but ridiculed him as a general. He took off his ring, burned his body with dis-
CAP. VIII

51. Σαλαπίνοις δὲ μηνίων εὐθὺς ἐτύπωσεν ἐπιστολὴν τῇ σφραγίδι Μαρκέλλου, πρὶν αἰσθε-σθαι πολλοὺς περὶ τοῦ θανάτου, καὶ αὐτόμολον ἀνδρα Ῥωμαιόν ἐπεμψε φέρειν, δηλοῦντα ὅτι στρατιὰ Μαρκέλλου κατόπιν ἔρχοτο, καὶ ὁ Μάρ-κελλος αὐτὴν ὑποδέξασθαι κελεύοι. Ἀρτι δὲ εἰλῆ-φεσαν Κριστίνου γράμματα, περιπέμψαντος ἕς ἀπαντας ὅτι τῆς Μαρκέλλου σφραγίδος Ἀννίβας κεκρατήκοι. τὸν οὖν ἀγγελοῦ, ἵνα μὴ παραμένων ἐπιγροφὴ ἡ γιγνόμενα, ἀπέπεμψαν ὑποσχόμενοι τὰ προστασάμενα ποιήσειν, αὐτοὶ δὲ ὁπλισάμενοι τὴν ἐνέδραν ἐπὶ τῶν τειχῶν ἀνέμενοι, καὶ προσ-κόντος τοῦ Ἀννίβου μετὰ Νομάδων, οὓς Ῥωμαικοὶς ὀπλοὺς ἐσκεύασε, τὰς μὲν πυλὰς ἐκ μηχανήματος ἀνέστασαν ὡς δὴ Μαρκέλλου προσώπον ἀσμενίζοντες, ἐσδεξάμενοι δὲ ὅσων εὐμαρῶς κρατήσειν ἐμελλόν, αὖθις ἐκ τοῦ μηχανήματος αὐτὰς ἐπικα-θήκαν, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐσελθόντας ἐκτείναν, τοὺς δὲ ἔξω τῶν τειχῶν ἐπὶ περιεστῶτας ἀνώθεν ἐξαλ-λόν τε καὶ κατετίρωσκον. καὶ δευτέρας τῆς ἀπερας ὦ Ἀννίβας ἐπὶ τῇ πόλει σφαλεῖς ἀπεχώρει.

52. Ἔν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ Ἀσδρούβας ὁ ἄδελφος Ἀννίβου, τὴν στρατιὰν ἤν ἐξενάγησεν ἐν τοῖς Κελτίβηρσιν ἔχων, διέβανεν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, καὶ Κελτῶν φιλίως αὐτῶν δεχομένων τὰ Ἀλπεια ὤρη, ὀδοποιήμενα πρότερον ὕπο Ἀννίβου, διώδειεν δύο μησίν, ὅσα τέως Ἀννίβας ἦ διήλθεν. ἐσέβαλε 384
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... distinguished honours, and sent his bones to his son in the Roman camp.

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

52. In the meantime his brother Hasdrubal, with the army he had enlisted in Celtiberia, marched to Italy. Being received in a friendly way by the Gauls he passed over the Alps by the road that Hannibal had opened, accomplishing in two months the journey which had previously taken Hannibal...
CAP. viii

Τε ἐσσ Τυρρηνίαν ἄγων πέζοις μὲν τετρακισμυρίους ἐπὶ ὀκτακισχιλίοις, ἱππεῖς δὲ ὀκτακισχιλίους καὶ ἐλέφαντας πεντεκαίδεκα. καὶ γράμματα πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐπεμπε, δηλών ὅτι παρείη. τούτων τῶν γραμμάτων ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἀλόντων, οἱ ὑπατοὶ Σαλινάτωρ καὶ Νέρων μαθόντες αὐτὸν τὸ πλήθος τῆς στρατιᾶς ἀπὸ τῶν γραμμάτων, συνήλθον ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ πάσας ταῖς δυνάμεσι, καὶ ἀντιστρατο-πέδευσαν αὐτὸ περὶ πόλιν Σήνας. ὅ δ᾿ οὔπω μάχε-σθαι κεκρικός, ἀλλὰ τῷ ἀδελφῷ συνελθεῖν ἐπει-γόμενος, ὑπεχώρει. καὶ νυκτὸς ἀναξέυξας περὶ ἐλη καὶ τέλματα καὶ ποταμῶν ὁυκ εὔπορον ἠλῶτο, μέχρι φανείσης ἡμέρας οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι καταλαβόντες αὐτοὺς διερρήμενους τε καὶ κεκμηκότας ὑπὸ ἁγρυπνίας καὶ κόπου, πλείστους μὲν αὐτῶν ἁμα τοῖς ταξιάρ-χοις συντασσόμενοι ἑτὶ καὶ συνιόντας διέφθειραν, καὶ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ ἐκείνους Ἀσδροῦβαν, πλείστους δὲ αἰχμαλώτους ἔλαβον, καὶ μεγάλον δέον ἄπηλ- λαξαν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ, ἀμάχου ἀν σφίσι τοῦ Ἀννίβου γενομένου, εἰ καὶ τήνδε τῆς στρατιᾶς προσέλαβεν.

53. Θεὸς δὲ μοι δοκεῖ τόδε Ῥωμαίοις ἀντιδοῦναι τῆς ἐπὶ Κάννας ἀτυχίας, οὐ πόρρῳ τε ἐπὶ ἐκείνη καὶ ἱσοστάσιον ποὺς ἐκείνη γενόμενον στρατηγὸς τε γὰρ οἱ ἐκατέρων ἀπόλοντο, καὶ στρατοῦ πλῆθος ἐγγυ- 

τατο μάλιστα ἐπ᾿ ἱσης, καὶ τὰ αἰχμάλωτα πολλὰ γενέσαι καὶ τοῖς κάκεινοι συνηχέθη, στρατο- 

πέδων τε καὶ παρασκευῇς τῆς ἄλλης ὅμως μασίλοις ἐκράτουν ἐκάτεροι. οὐτω παραλλαξὶ ἡ πόλις 

eὐτυχὶ καὶ συμφορῶν ἐρειπτότο. Κελτιβήρου 

δ᾿ ὅσοι διέφυγον ἐκ τοῦ κακοῦ, οἱ μὲν ἐς τὰ οἰκεῖα 

οἱ δ᾿ ἐς Ἀννίβαν ἐχώρουν.
THE HANNIBALIC WAR

six. He debouched in Etruria with 48,000 foot, 8,000 horse, and fifteen elephants, and sent letters to his brother announcing his arrival. These letters were intercepted by the Romans, and the consuls, Salinator and Nero, learning the number of his forces, combined their own troops in one body, moved against him, and encamped opposite him near the town of Sena. He did not intend to fight yet, but was anxious to join his brother. So he retreated, broke camp at nightfall, and wandered among swamps and pools and along an unfordable river, until at daybreak the Romans came up with them, while they were scattered about and wearied with toil and want of sleep, and slew most of them with their officers, while they were still assembling and getting themselves in order of battle. Hasdrubal himself was slain with them. Many of them were taken prisoners. Thus was Italy delivered from a great fear, since Hannibal could never have been conquered if he had received this addition to his forces.

53. It seems to me that God gave this victory to the Romans as a compensation for the disaster of Cannae, as it came not long afterward and was in a way parallel to it. In both cases the commanding generals lost their lives, and an approximately equal number of men. In both cases the number of prisoners taken was large, and each side also captured the other's camp and a vast quantity of war material. Thus did Rome taste good and bad fortune alternately. Of the Celtiberians who escaped the slaughter, some made their way to their own country and some to Hannibal.
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CAP. VIII 54. Ὅ δ’ ἐπὶ τὸ ἀδελφῷ καὶ στραταὶ τοσῷδε δι’ ἀπειρίαν ὥδὸν αἰφνίδιον ἀπολωλυία δυσφόρῶν, καὶ τεσσαρεσκαίδεκατον ἔτος ἔχων ἐν πόλις ἀτρύτως ἐξ οὐ Ὁρμαίων ἐν Ἱταλίᾳ διεπολέμει, πάντων τε ὧν εἰλήφει πρότερον ἐκπεττωκός, ἐς Βρεττίους, ὅπερ αὐτῷ λοιπὸν ἔθνος ὑπήκοον ἦν, ἀνεχόμεθα, καὶ ἵσυχαζεν ὡς ἑτέρας δυνάμεως ἀφυβρομένης ἀπὸ Καρχηδόνος. οὐ δ’ ἐπέμαγαν μὲν αὐτῷ νὰ λεῖκαν ἐκατόν στρογγυλᾶς, ἐφ’ ὧν σιτός τε ἦν καὶ στρατιὰ καὶ χρήματα, οὔδενος δ’ ἐρετικὸν παραπέμποντος αὐτάς ἀνεμος ἐς Σαρδόνα κατήγγειλε, καὶ ὁ τῆς Σαρδόνος στρατηγὸς ἐπιπλεύσας μακραῖς ναυσί κατέδυσε μὲν αὐτῶν εἰκοσίν, ἐξήκοντα δ’ ἔλαβεν αἱ δ’ ὅπερ γειτονοί πολλαί ἡρακλῖαν. καὶ ὁ Ἀννίβας ἐτὶ μᾶλλον ἀπορομένος τε καὶ τὰ παρὰ Καρχηδονίων ἀπεργωκός, οὐδὲ Μάγωνος αὐτῷ τι, τοῦ ξενολογοῦντος ἐν Κελτοῖς καὶ Λίγυσιν, ἐπιπέμποντος, ἀλλὰ τὸ μέλλον ἐρεθθαὶ περισχομένου, συνεχὸν ὅτι μένειν ἐπὶ πλεῖον ὧν δυνήσεται, αὐτῶν ἡ Ὑβερτίων ἐς ἀλλοτρίων ὅσον ὑπὸ ἐγερσομένων κατεφρύτει, καὶ ἐσφοράς ἐπέβαλλεν αὐτοῖς πᾶν πολλάς, τὰς τε ὀχυρὰς τῶν πόλεων μετάφθησαν ἐς τὰ πεδινὰ ὡς βουλευοῦσας ἀπόστασιν, πολλοῖς τε τῶν ἀνδρῶν αἰτιώμενοι διέθθειρεν, ἵνα τὰς περιουσίας αὐτῶν σφετερίζοιτο.

IX

CAP. IX 55. Καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐν τούτοις ἦν, ἐν δὲ Ρώμη γίγνεται μὲν ὑπαιτοὶ Δικήνης τε Κράσσος καὶ Πόπλιος Σκιπίων ὁ λαβὼν Ἰβηρίαν, τούτων δὲ 388
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54. Hannibal was greatly depressed by the loss of his brother and of so great an army, destroyed suddenly through ignorance of the roads. Deprived of all that he had gained by the untiring labours of fourteen years, during which he had fought with the Romans in Italy, he withdrew to the Bruttians, the only people that remained subject to him. Here he remained quiet, awaiting new forces from Carthage. They sent him 100 merchant ships laden with supplies, soldiers, and money, but as they had no rowers they were driven by the wind to Sardinia. The praetor of Sardinia attacked them with his warships, sank twenty and captured sixty of them, while the remainder escaped to Carthage. Thus was Hannibal still further straitened and he despaired of assistance from the Carthaginians. Nor did Mago, who was collecting mercenaries in Gaul and Liguria, send him any aid, but waited to see what turn affairs would take. Perceiving that he could not stay there long, Hannibal now began to despise the Bruttians themselves as men who would soon be strangers to him, and he loaded them with taxes. He transferred their strong towns to the plains on the ground that they were planning a revolt, and despoiled many of their men, bringing accusations against them in order that he might confiscate their property. Such was his situation.

IX

55. In Rome the consuls at this time were Licinius Crassus and Publius Scipio, the conqueror of Spain. Of these Crassus confronted Hannibal in Apulia,
Κράσσος μὲν ἀντεστρατοπέδευσεν Ἀννίβα περὶ Ἰαπυγίαν, Σκιτῶν δὲ τὸν δῆμον ἐδίδασκεν οὗτος Ἀννίβαν ἀποστήσαται σφίσιν ἐνοχλοῦντας ἀμφὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν, εἰ μὴ Ὁρμαῖων στρατὸς ἐς Διβύνην διέλθοι καὶ κύνδυνον αὐτοῖς ἐπιστήσειεν οὐκείον. Λιπαρότας τε πάνω καρτέρως καὶ πείσας ὁκνοῦντας ἡρέθη στρατηγὸς αὐτὸς ἐς Διβύνην καὶ διέπλευσεν εὐθὺς ἐς Σικελίαν. Ἐνθα στρατὸν ἀγείρας τε καὶ γυμνᾶς ἐπέπλευσε Δοκροῖς ἄφινω τοῖς ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ, φρουρουμένοις ὑπὸ Ἀννίβου καὶ τὴν φρουρὰν κατασφάξας τε καὶ παραδοὺς Πλημμύρῳ τὴν πόλιν, αὐτὸς ἐς Διβύνην διέπλευσεν. Πλημμύρος δὲ οὐδεμίαν ὑβρίν ἢ ἀσέλγειαν ἢ ὁμότητα ἐς τοὺς Δοκρούς ἐκλιπὼν, ἐσύλησε λήγων καὶ τὸ τῆς Φερσεφόνης ἱερόν καὶ τόνδε μὲν Ὁρμαῖοι μετὰ τῶν συναμαρτώντων αὐτῷ φίλων διεφθείραν ἐν τῷ δεσμοφυρίῳ, καὶ τὰς περιουσίας αὐτῶν ἔδωσαν Δοκροῖς ἐς τὸν θησαυρὸν τῆς θεοῦ φέρειν ὁσα τῇ ἄλλῃ ἐδύναντο τῶν ἄπολωλότων ἀνευρόντες, τὸ λείπον ἐκ τοῦ κοινοῦ σφῶν ταμείου τῇ θεῷ προσέθεσαν.

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

56. During the same time Crassus detached Consentia, a large town of Bruttium, and six others, from Hannibal. As certain direful prodigies sent by Jupiter\(^1\) had appeared in Rome, the decemviri who consulted the Sybilline books said that something would soon fall from heaven at Pessinus in Phrygia (where the Mother of the Gods is worshipped by the Phrygians), which ought to be brought to Rome.

\(^1\) Probably equivalent to “portents in the sky.” Jupiter was a sky-god.
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...CAP. ἐνεχθήναι. μετ' οὖ πολύ δὲ πεσεῖν τε προσηγγέλθη καὶ ἐς Ῥώμην ἐκομίσθη τὸ βρέτας. καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐφόρτασοι καὶ νῦν μητρὶ θεών, ἃ τότε ἐκομίσθη. λέγεται δὲ τὴν ναύν, ἢ ἐφερεν αὐτὸ, ἢ λύν τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ Τιβέριος ἐνσχέθησαν οὔδεμιὰ μηχανὴ σαλεύσθαι, μέχρι, τῶν μάντεων προειπόντων ἐψεῦζαν μόνως εἰ γυνὴ καθαρεύουσα ξένων ἀνδρῶν ἐλκύσει, Κλαυδίαν Κώνταν, μοιχείας ἐγκλήμα ἐχουσαν ἐτὶ ἄκριτον, καὶ δι' ἀσωτίαν ἐς αὐτὸ πιθανωτάτην οὖσαν, ἐπιθειάσας τε πολλὰ περὶ τῆς ἀναμαρτησίας, καὶ ἀναδησάσθαι τῇ μίτῳ τὸ σκάφος. καὶ ἡ θεός ἐσπετο. Κλαυδία μὲν δὴ ἡ ἐξ αἰσχρότες δόξης ἐς ἀρίστην μετέβαλε, Ῥωμαίοις δὲ καὶ πρὸ τῆς Κλαυδίας ἐκέλευ τὰ Σιβύλλεια διὰ τοῦ παρὰ σφίσων ἀρίστον τὸ βρέτας ἐκ Φρυγίας μεταγαγεῖν, καὶ τὸν ἀρίστον ἐν τῷ τότε σφίς δοκοῦντα εἶναι. Σκιπίωνα τὸΝ Νασικὰν ἐπίκλην, ἐπετόμφεσαν, νῦν μὲν ὡντα Γναίου Σκιπίωνος τοῦ στρατηγήσαντος ἐν Ἰβηρία καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ πεσόντος, ἀνεψιδιὸν δὲ Σκιπίωνος τοῦ Καρχηδονίος ἀφελομένου τὴν ἡγεμονίαν καὶ πρῶτον κληθέντος Ἀφρικανοῦ. ὡδὲ μὲν ἡ θεός ἐς Ῥώμην δὴ ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν ἀρίστων ἀφικνεῖτο.

57. Ἔν δὲ Λιβύη Καρχηδονίων συνεχῶς ὑπὸ τοῦδε τοῦ Σκιπίωνος ἤττωμένων, ὅσιοι Ἱπποτὶς ταῦτ' ἐγώνωσκον, ἀφισταντο ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀννίβου, καὶ τὰς φρουρὰς οἱ μὲν ἐκείνους, οἱ δὲ ἐξεβάλλον. οἱ δὲ οὐδέτερα τούτων δυνάμενοι λάθρα πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον ἐπρέσβευον, τὴν μὲν ἀνάγκην αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν προάρσειν ὑποδεικνύσας. Ἀννίβας δὲ ἐς μὲν Πετηλίαν ἐνοπλοὺς παρῆλθεν, οὐκέτι Πετηλίων
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Not long after, the news came that it had fallen, and the image of the Goddess was brought to Rome, and still to this day they keep holy to the Mother of the Gods the day on which it arrived. It is said that the ship which bore it stuck in the mud of the river Tiber, and could by no means be moved until the soothsayers proclaimed that it would follow only when drawn by a woman who had never committed adultery. Claudia Quintia, who was under accusation of that kind but had not yet been tried (being suspected of it on account of her profligate life), vehemently called the gods to witness her innocence, and fastened her girdle to the ship, whereupon the goddess followed. Thus Claudia acquired the greatest fame in place of her previous bad reputation. But before this affair of Claudia the Romans had been admonished by the Sibyline books to send “their best man” to bring the image from Phrygia. Scipio Nasica, son of Gn. Scipio, who had been general in Spain and had lost his life there, and cousin of Scipio Africanus the elder, who deprived the Carthaginians of their supremacy, was judged to be their best man, and sent. In this way was the goddess brought to Rome by the best of their men and women.

57. When the Carthaginians were continually beaten by Scipio in Africa those of the Bruttians who heard of it revolted from Hannibal, some of them slaying their garrisons and others expelling them. Those who were not able to do either of these things sent messengers to the Senate secretly to explain the necessity under which they had acted and to declare their goodwill. Hannibal came with his army to Petelia, which was not now occupied by Hannibal’s troubles in Bruttium
ΚΑΠ. ΙΧ. εὔχοντων αὐτήν: ἐκβαλλὼν γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐδεδώκει Βρεττίους. ἦτιάτο δ’ ὅτι ἔπρεσβευσαν ἐς Ρώμην, ἀρνομένων δ’ ἐκείνων ὑπεκρίνετο πιστεύειν. “ἲνα δ’,” ἔφη, “μηδ’ ὑπονοήσθε,” τοὺς μὲν δυνατοὺς παρέδωκε τοῖς Νομάσι, κεχωρισμένως τηρεῖν αὐτῶν ἑκάστον, τοῦ δὲ πλήθους τὰ ὄπλα παρεῖλετο, τοὺς δὲ δούλους καθοπλίσας ἔπέστησε τῇ πόλει φύλακας. καὶ τούτοις ὑμιᾶ τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις ἐπιδῶν ἐποίει. Ἐθυρίων δὲ τρισχιλίων Καρχηδονίως μᾶλστα εὐνοοῦσα ἐξελόμενος, καὶ πεντακοσίως ἄλλους ἀπὸ τῶν ἀγρῶν, τὰ λοιπὰ τῇ στρατιᾷ διαρράξειν ἐδώκειν. καὶ τῆς πόλεως ἐγκρατὴ φηρούραν καταληκτών, ἐς Κρότωνα τοὺς τρισχιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους ημεσίκει, τὴν πόλιν εὐκαιρὸν ἥγουμενος εἶναι, καὶ ταμείῳ αὐτὴν ἐαυτῷ καὶ ὀρμητήριον ἐπὶ τὰς ἄλλας τιθέμενοι.

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

58. When the Carthaginians summoned him to hasten to the aid of his own country, which was in danger from Scipio, and sent Hasdrubal, their admiral, to him that there might be no delay, he lamented the perfidious and ungrateful conduct of the Carthaginians toward their generals, of which he had had long experience. Moreover, he feared that he should be charged with having caused so great a war by his original attack on the Romans in Spain. Nevertheless, he determined to obey, as necessity compelled him, and accordingly he built a large fleet, for which Italy supplied abundant timber. Despising the cities still allied to him as foreigners, he resolved to plunder them all, and thus, by enriching his army, render himself secure against his calum-
CAP. 

εὖνον ἐς τὰς ἐν Καρχηδόνι συμφαντίας ἔπαγα-
egóthai. αἰδοῦμένοι τε αὐτὸς παρασπονδεῖν, Ἀσ-
dρούβας τὸν ναύαρχον ἐπὶ προφάσει περιέπεμπε,
tούς φρουροῦντας ὑψόμενον. ὃ δὲ ἐς ἑκάστην πόλιν
ἐσιῶν ἐκέλευσε τοῖς ἐνοικοῦσιν, αὐτοῦς τε καὶ
dούλους αὐτῶν, ὅσα δύνατο ναβάντας, ἐκ τῶν
πόλεων μεθιστάσθαι, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ διήρπαξεν.
tούτων ἔνοι πυθανόμενοι, πρὶν τὸν Ἀσδρούβαν
ἐκείν, τοῖς φρουροῖς ἐπετίθεντο, καὶ συνέβαινεν
ὅπως μὲν κρατεῖν τὰς πόλεις ὅπου δὲ τοὺς
φρουροὺς, σφαγῆ τε ποικῆς καὶ γυναικῶν ὑβρις
καὶ παρθένων ἀπαγωγαὶ, καὶ πάντα ὅσα ἐν
πόλεσιν ἑαυκυνίαις, ἐγίνοντο.

59. Αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Ἀννίβας τοὺς συστρατευομένους
οἱ τῶν Ἰταλῶν εἶδος εὐ γεγυμνασμένους, ἐπειδὲ
πολλαῖς ὑποσχέσεσιν ἐς τὴν Διβύθην αὐτῷ συστρα-
teύσαι. καὶ τούτων οἱ μὲν τὰ ἡμαρτημένα σφίσιν
ἐς τὰς πατρίδας δεδιότες ἐπέντο, φεύγοντες τὴν
οἰκεῖαν ἑκάντες, οἱ δὲ οὕδεν ἁμαρτόντες ὄκυνοι.
ἀθροίσας οὖν τοὺσ ὑπομένειν ἄξιοντας ὡς
δὴ τὶ λέξων αὐτοῖς ἡ χαρισμένοις τῶν γεγονότων
ἡ περὶ τοῦ μέλλουσι ἐπισκῆψιν, περιέστησε τὴν
στρατιάν ὁπλισμένην ἄφνω, καὶ προσέταξε τοῖς
ἰδίοις ἀνδράποδα ἐξ αὐτῶν ὅσα θῆλον ἐπιλέξα-
sthai. ὡς δὲ οἱ μὲν ἐπελεξαντο, οἱ δὲ ἢδοντο συ-
istriatwtais polla syneiphrasmεnous sfisian anδra-
podisasthai, tois loipous katykɔntisev apantas,
tou μη toioυde anδras pote Ἄρωμαιοι γενέσθαι
χρησίμους. ἐπικατέσφαξε δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ ἤππους
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niators in Carthage. But being ashamed to commit such a breach of faith himself, he sent Hasdrubal, the admiral, about, on pretence of inspecting the garrisons. The latter, as he entered each city, ordered the inhabitants to take what things they and their slaves could carry, and move away. Then he plundered the rest. Some of them, learning of these proceedings before Hasdrubal came, attacked the garrisons, overcoming them in some places and being overcome by them in others. Indiscriminate slaughter ensued, accompanied by the violation of wives and the abduction of virgins, and all the horrors that usually take place when cities are captured.

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

60. Μετὰ δὲ τούτῳ ἐστὶν ὅτι τὸ πλήθος ἐμπιστεύεται τῷ πνεύμα ἀνέμενεν, ὁλίγους ἐστὶν φυλακὴν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καταλιπτῶν. οἱ δὲ Πετηλιῶν καὶ σὺν αὐτῶν ἔτεροι Ἰταλικοὶ ἐπέθεσαν, καὶ τινὰς αὐτῶν κατασφάξαντες ἀπέδρασαν. Ἀννίβας δὲ ἐπὶ Διβύης ἀνήγαγεν, ἐκκαίδεκα ἔτεσιν ὁμαλῶς πορθήσας τε τὴν Ἰταλίαν, καὶ τοὺς ἁγίους ἐμπλήσας κακῶν μυρίων καὶ ἐσκότωσεν ἐσχατον πολλάκις συναγαγόν, τοῖς τὲ ὑπηκόοισιν αὐτοῦ καὶ συμμάχοις ἐνυβρίας ὡς πολεμίοις. ἀτε γὰρ καὶ τέως αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἐπὶ εὐνοία μάλλον ἡ χρεία χρώμενος, οὐδὲν ἔχων ἐτὶ πρὸς αὐτῶν ὥφελε ἢσθαί κατεφρόνησεν ὡς πολεμίων.

61. Ἀννίβου δ’ ἀποπλεύσαντος ἡ βουλὴ τοῖς μὲν ἀλλοῖς ἔθεσε τῆς Ἰταλίας, ὅσοι μετέθεντο πρὸς ἐκεῖνον, συνέγιν τῶν γεγονότων καὶ ἁμηστίαν ἐγκυβίσατο, Βρεττίων δὲ μόνων, οἱ μέχρι τελοῦσαν αὐτῶ προθυμότατοι ἐγεγονότα, χώραν τὲ πολλὴν ἄφειλεν καὶ ὁπλα, εἴ τινα ἤν ἔτι χωρίς ὁμ.’Ἀννίβας ἀφήγητο· ἦσ τὸ μέλλον ἀπείπεν αὐτοῖς μὴ στρατεύσασθαι ὡς οὐδὲ ἐλευθεροῖς οὕσιν, ὑπηρέτας δὲ τοῖς τὲ ὑπάτοις καὶ στρατηγοῖς τοῖς ἐστὶ τῶν ἠθόνῃ γημονίας ἀποδοθὲν ὡς τὰς δημοσίας ὑπηρεσίας, οἵα θεράπουτας, ἀκολουθεῖν. τοῦτο τὸ τέλος ἦν Ἀννίβου τῆς ἦς τὴν Ἰταλίαν γενομένης ἔσβολής.
THE HANNIBALIC WAR

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

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

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

THE PUNIC WARS
1. Καρχηδόνα τήν ἐν Διβύῃ Φοινικές φίλησαν ἔτεσι πεντήκοντα πρὸ ἀλώσεως Ἰλίου, οἰκίσαντες ἀντὶς ἐγένοντο Ζώρος τε καὶ Καρχηδών, ὡς δὲ Ρωμαῖοι καὶ αὐτοὶ Καρχηδόνιοι νομίζοντες, Διδώ γυνὴ Τυρία, ἂς τῶν ἁπάντων κατακαίνει Πυγμαλίων Τύρου τυράννευόν, κοινὸν ἐπεκρυπτεν. ἡ δὲ ἔξ ἐνυπνίαν τὸν φόνον ἐπέγνω, καὶ μετὰ χρημάτων πολλῶν καὶ ἀνδρῶν, ὅσοι Πυγμαλίων τυράννοι ἐφευγον, ἀφικνεῖται πλέουσα Διβύης ἐνθα νῦν ἔστι Καρχηδών. ἔξωθομένοι δ' ὕπτ' τῶν Διβύων ἐδέωντο χωρίον ἐς συνοικισμὸν ἐλθεῖν, ὅσον ἄν βύρσα ταύρου περιλάβοι. τοῖς δὲ ἐνεπιπτέτο μέν τι καὶ ἡλώτος ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν Φοινίκων μικρολογία, καὶ ἱδοῦντο ἀντεπείδειν περὶ οὕτω βραχυτάτον μάλιστα δ' ἡπόρουν ὅπως ἄν πόλεις ἐν τῇ λικούτῳ διαστήματι γένοντο, καὶ ποθοῦντες ἰδεῖν ὅ τι ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς τοῦτο τὸ σοφόν, συνέθετον ἰδώσειν καὶ ἐπώμοσαν. οἱ δὲ τὸ δέρμα περιτεμώντες ἐς ἱμάντα ἐνα στενώτατον, περιέθηκαν ἐνθὰ νῦν ἐστίν ἡ Καρχηδονίων ἀκρόπολις καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦτο Βύρσα ὄνομαζεται.
BOOK VIII—PART I

THE PUNIC WARS

1. The Phoenicians founded Carthage, in Africa, fifty years before the capture of Troy. Its founders were either Zorus and Carchedon, or, as the Romans and the Carthaginians themselves think, Dido, a Tyrian woman, whose husband had been slain clandestinely by Pygmalion, the ruler of Tyre. The murder being revealed to her in a dream, she embarked for Africa with her property and a number of men who desired to escape from the tyranny of Pygmalion, and arrived at that part of Africa where Carthage now stands. Being repelled by the inhabitants, they asked for as much land for a dwelling-place as an ox-hide would encompass. The Africans laughed at the paltriness of the Phoenicians' request, and were ashamed to deny so small a favour. Besides, they could not imagine how a town could be built in so narrow a space, and wishing to unravel the subtlety they agreed to give it, and confirmed the promise by an oath. The Phoenicians, cutting the hide round and round into one very narrow strip, enclosed the place where the citadel of Carthage now stands, which from this affair was called Byrsa (a hide).
CAP. 2. Χρόνος δ’, ἐντεύθεν ὁρμώμενοι καὶ τῶν περι-σκιώματος ἀμείνως ὄντες ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν, ναυσὶ τε χρώμενοι καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν οί Φοίνικες ἐγκαθέ-σομεν, τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἔξω τῇ Βύρσῃ περιέθηκαν. καὶ δυναστέουσας ἦσσος Διβύθης ἐκράτουν καὶ πολλῆς ἀνασάχης, ἐκδήμους τε πολέμους ἐστα-τευν ἐς Σικελίαν καὶ Σαρδῶν καὶ νήσους ἄλλας ὅσα τήσε τῆς ἀνασάχης εἰσί, καὶ ἐς Ἰβηρίαν. πολλαχῇ δὲ καὶ ἀποικίας ἐξήπεμυν. ἦ τε ἀρχὴ 

αὐτοῖς ἐγένετο δυνάμει μὲν ἀξιόμαχος τῇ Ἑλλη-

νικῇ, περιουσίᾳ δὲ μετὰ τὴν Περσικήν. ἐπτα-

κοσίως δ’ αὐτοὺς ἔτεσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ συνοικισμοῦ �(-( 

Ῥωμαίοι Σικελίαν ἀφείλοντο, καὶ Σαρδῶν μετὰ 

Σικελίαν, δευτέρῳ δὲ πολέμῳ καὶ Ἰβηρίαν. ὃς τε 

τὴν ἀλλήλων ἐμβαλόντες μεγάλοις στρατοῖς, 

οἱ μὲν Ἀννίβους σφῶν ἥγουμεν τὴν Ἰταλίαν 

ἐπόρθουν ἐκκαθεσκέα ἔτεσιν ἔξης, οἱ δὲ Διβύθην 

Κορυμhibition Σκιπίωνος τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου σφῶν 

στρατηγοῦντος, μέχρι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν Καρχηδονίου 

ἀφείλοντο καὶ ναῦς καὶ ἔλεφαντας, καὶ χρήματα 

σφώς ἐπέταξαν ἐσενεγκεῖν ἐν χρόνῳ. δεύτερᾳ 

τε σπονδαί Ῥωμαίοι καὶ Καρχηδονίοις αἰθὲ 

διέμειναν ἐς ἔτη πεντήκοντα, μέχρι λύσαντε 

αὐτῶν τρίτων πόλεμων καὶ τελευταίων ἀλλήλων 

ἐπολέμησαν, ὃς Καρχηδόνα Ῥωμαίοι κατέσκα-

ψαν Σκιπίωνος τοῦ νεωτέρου σφῶν στρατηγοῦντος, 

cαὶ ἐπάρατον ἐγνωσαν. αὐθές δ’ ἔκφεσεν ἰδίοις 

ἀνδρασὶν, ἀγχωτάτῳ μάλιστα τῆς προτέρας, 

εὐκαιρον ἐπὶ Διβύθῃ χωρίον. τούτων τα μὲν ἄνε 

Σικελίαν ᾗ Σικελίκη γραφῇ δηλοῖ, τὰ δ’ ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ 

gενόμενα ᾗ Ἰβηρικῆ, καὶ ὅσα Ἀννίβας ἐς Ἰταλία 

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2. Later on, using this as a base and getting the upper hand of their neighbours in war, and engaging in traffic by sea, like all Phoenicians, they built the outer city round Byrsa. Gradually acquiring strength they mastered Africa and a great part of the Mediterranean, carried war abroad into Sicily and Sardinia and the other islands of that sea, and also into Spain, while they sent out numerous colonies. They became a match for the Greeks in power, and next to the Persians in wealth. But about 700 years after the foundation of the city the Romans took Sicily and Sardinia away from them, and in a second war Spain also. Then, each invading the other's territory with immense armies, the Carthaginians, under Hannibal, ravaged Italy for sixteen years in succession, while the Romans, under the leadership of Cornelius Scipio the elder, carried the war into Africa until they deprived the Carthaginians of their hegemony, their navy and their elephants, and required them to pay an indemnity within a certain time. This second treaty between the Romans and the Carthaginians lasted fifty years, until, upon an infraction of it, the third and last war broke out between them, in which the Romans under Scipio the younger razed Carthage to the ground and decreed that it should be accursed. But they subsequently occupied a spot very near the former one with colonists of their own, because the position is a convenient one for governing Africa. Of these matters the Sicilian part is shown in my Sicilian history, the Spanish in the Spanish history, and what
CAP 1

eschalwv eptrafev, h 'Anvibaikev tâ d' ev Libh
gevomeva âp' arhês ãde surnagei.

3. Ἡ ἴρξαντο δ' αὐτῶν ἄμφι τὸν Σικελικὸν πόλε-
μον οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, ναυσὶ πεντήκοντα καὶ τριακοσίας
ἐπιπλέοντες ἐς Λιβύην, καὶ πόλεις τινὰς
ἐλώντες, καὶ στρατηγὸν ἐπὶ τῇ δυνάμει καταλα-
πόντες 'Ατίλλον Ῥήγλου, ὡς ἄλλας τε πόλεις
diakosías proselabev, αἱ Ἀρχηγονιῶν ἔχθει
πρὸς αὐτὸν μετετίθεντο, καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐπίων
ἐπόρθει. Ἀρχηγονιῶν δὲ Δακεδαιμονίως στρατη-
γοῦ ἦτον, οὐκέμενοι δὲ ἀναρχίαν κακοπραγεῖν.
οἱ μὲν δὴ Ξάνθιππον αὐτῶς ἐπεμποῦν, ὃ δὲ 'Ατίλλος
ἀμφὶ λίμην στρατοπεδεύων ὁρᾶ καύματος περι-
ῶδενε τὴν λίμην ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, ὅπλων τε
βάρει καὶ πνύγει καὶ δίψει καὶ ὀδυτορίᾳ κακο-
páthων, καὶ βαλλόμενοι ἀπὸ κρησμῶν ἀνωθεν.
ὡς δὲ ἐπιθησίας περὶ ἐστέραν καὶ ποταμὸς αὐτοῦς
dieýrgeν, ὁ μὲν εὐθὺς ἐπέρα τῶν ποταμῶν ὡς καὶ
τῶν τὸν Ξάνθιππον ἐκπλήξων, ὃ δὲ συντεταγ-
μένη τὴν στρατιὰν ἔπαφησι διὰ τῶν πυλῶν,
ἐπισάς κεκμηκότος καὶ κακοπαθοῦντος περιέ-
σεσθαι, καὶ τὴν νύκτα πρὸς τῶν νυκτῶν ἔσσεσθαι.
τῆς ἄρα μὲν οὖν τῆς ἐλπίδος οἱ Ξάνθιππος οὐκ
ἀπέτυχεν: ἀπὸ γάρ τρισμυρίων ἀνδρῶν οὖς ὃ
'Ατίλλος ἤγεν, ὡς τὸ οὐλομαί τῶν αὐτῶν ἐς Ἀσπίδα
πόλιν διέδρασαν, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ πάντες οἱ μὲν ἀπώ-
λουτοι οἱ δ' ἔξωγηρθήσαν. καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν ὁ
στρατηγὸς 'Ατίλλος, ὑπατος γεγονὼς, αἰχμάλω-
τος ἦν.

4. Τόνδε μὲν δὴ μετ' οὐ πολὺ κάμψετες οἱ
Ἀρχηγονιῶν σὺν οἵκελοις πρέσβεσιν ἐπέμψαν ἐς
Ῥωμην, ἐργασόμενον σφίσι διαλαγᾶς ἢ ἐπανή-
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Hannibal did in his Italian campaigns in the Hannibal history. This book comprises the operations in Africa from the earliest period.

3. The events begin with the Sicilian war, when b.c. 256 the Romans sent 350 ships to Africa, captured a number of towns, and left in command of the army Atilius Regulus, who took some 200 more towns, which gave themselves up to him on account of their hatred of the Carthaginians; and continually advancing he ravaged the territory. Thereupon the Carthaginians, considering that their misfortunes were due to the lack of a leader, asked the Lacedaemonians to send them a commander. The Lacedaemonians sent them Xanthippus. Regulus, being encamped in the hot season alongside a lake, marched around it to engage the enemy, his soldiers suffering greatly from the weight of their arms, from heat, thirst, and fatigue, and exposed to missiles from the neighbouring heights. Toward evening he came to a river which separated the two armies. This he crossed at once, thinking in this way too to terrify Xanthippus, but the latter, anticipating an easy victory over an enemy thus harassed and exhausted, and thinking that night would be on the side of the conquerors, drew up his forces and made a sudden sally from his camp. The expectations of Xanthippus were not disappointed. Of the 30,000 men led by Regulus, only a few escaped with difficulty to the city of Aspis. All the rest were either killed or taken prisoners, and among the latter was the consul Regulus himself.

4. Not long afterward the Carthaginians, weary of fighting, sent him, in company with their own ambassadors, to Rome to obtain peace or to return if it
CAP. Ι

ξοντα· καὶ ὁ Ἀτύλος Ῥήγλος ἐν ὠπορρήτῳ τοῖς τέλεσι Ῥωμαίων ἐπισκήψας ἐγκρατῶς ἐχεσθαί τοῦ πολέμου, ἐπανήλθεν ἐς λύμην ἔτοιμον, καὶ αὐτὸν οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι καθείρξαντες ἐν γαλαεάγρα κέντρα πάντοθεν ἐχοῦσθη διέφθειραν. Ξανθίππωρ δὲ τὸ εὐτύχημα συμφορῶν ἦρξε· Καρχηδόνιοι γὰρ αὐτὸν, ἵνα μὴ δοκοῖ Λακεδαιμονίων ἔργον εἶναι τοσοῦτον, ὕποκρινάμενοι τιμᾶν δωρεάς πολλὰς καὶ προπέμπειν ἐπὶ τρήρων ἐς Λακεδαιμονία, τοῖς τριηράρχοις ἐνετείλαντο μετὰ τῶν συμπλεόντων Δακώνων καταποντίσαι. ὁ μὲν δὴ δίκην ἐδωκε τὴν ἐνπραξίας, καὶ τάδε ἦν τοῦ πρώτου πολέμου Ῥωμαίοις περὶ Λιβύην ἐνπραγματεύματα τε καὶ ἀντιχήματα, μέχρι Καρχηδόνιοι Σικελίας Ῥωμαίους ἀπέστησαν. ὅπως δὲ ἀπέστησαν, ἐν τῇ Σικελικῇ γραφῇ δεδηλωταί.

5. Μετὰ δὲ τούτῳ Ῥωμαίοις μὲν καὶ Καρχηδόνιοι εἰρήναι ἦν ἐς ἄλληλους, Λίβνες, δ’ ὅσοι Καρχηδόνιων οὔτε ὑπήκοοι συνεμεμαχήκεσαν αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ Σικελίαν, καὶ Κελτῶν οὔσοι ἐμεμισθοφορήκεσαν, ἐγκλήματα τινα μισθῶν καὶ ὑποσχέσεως ἐς τοὺς Καρχηδόνιους ἔχοντες ἐπολέμουν αὐτοῖς μάλα καρτέρως. οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαίοις ἐς συμμαχίαν ὡς φίλους ἐκάλουν, καὶ αὐτοῖς οἱ Ῥωμαίοι ξενολογεῖν ἐς μόνον τόνδε τὸν πόλεμον ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐφήκαν· ἀπείρῳ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς σπουδαῖς καὶ τόδε. ἔπεμψαν δὲ καὶ διαλλακτήρας, οἶς οἱ Λίβνες οὐχ ὑπήκοον, ἀλλὰ τὰς πόλεις ἐδήλωσαν ἑπτακόοις εἶναι Ῥωμαίον, εἰ θέλοιεν· οἱ δ’ οὐκ ἐδέξαντο. Καρχηδόνιοι δὲ ναυτικῷ πολλῷ ταῖς

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were not granted. Yet Regulus in private urged the chief magistrates of Rome to continue the war with energy, and then went back to certain torture; for the Carthaginians shut him up in a cage stuck full of spikes and thus put him to death. Xanthippos' success was the beginning of his ruin, for the Carthaginians, in order that the credit of such an exploit might not seem to be due to the Lacedemonians, pretended to honour him with splendid gifts, and sent galleys to convey him back to Lacedemon, but enjoined upon the captains of the ships to throw him and his Lacedemonian comrades overboard. In this way he paid the penalty for his successes. Such were the results, good and bad, of the first war of the Romans in Africa, until the Carthaginians surrendered Sicily to them. How this came about has been shown in my Sicilian history.

5. After this there was peace between the Romans and the Carthaginians, but the Africans, who were subject to the latter and had served them as auxiliaries in the Sicilian war, and certain Celtic mercenaries who complained that their pay had been withheld and that the promises made to them had not been kept, made war against the Carthaginians in a very formidable manner. The latter appealed to the Romans for aid on the score of friendship, and the Romans allowed them for this war only to hire mercenaries in Italy, for even that had been forbidden in the treaty. They also sent men to act as mediators. The Africans, however, refused the mediation, but said that the cities would become subject to the Romans if they would take them, but the Romans refused. Then the Carthaginians blockaded the towns with a great
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CAP. I. πόλεων ἐφεδρεύοντες τὴν ἀγορὰν αὐτῶν ἀφηροῦντο τὴν ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης, ἀστόρου δὲ καὶ τῆς γῆς ὡς ἐν πολέμῳ γενομένης, Διοβύνων μὲν διὰ τὸν λιμὸν ἕκρατον, ἐμπόρους δ', ὡς το παρέπιπεο, ἐλήστευον ἐξ ἀπορίας τοὺς δὲ Ἡρωμαῖοι καὶ κτείνοντες ἔβαλλον ἐς τὸ πέλαγος, ἵνα λανθάνοιεν. καὶ διέλαβον ἐπὶ πολύν. γνωσθέντος δὲ τοῦ γιγνομένου, ποιήν ἀυτούμενοι διωθοῦντο, μέχρι Ἡρωμαίων ἐπιστρατεύειν αὐτοῖς ψηφισμένων Σαρδῶν ποινὴν ἔδωκαν. καὶ τόδε ταῖς προτέραις συνθήκαις ἐγεγράφη.

II

CAP. II. 6. Οὐ πολὺ δὲ ὑστερον οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι στρατεύοντος ἐς Ἡβηρίαν, καὶ αὐτὴν κατὰ μέρος ἴππηγοντο, μέχρι Ζακανθαίων ἐπὶ Ἡρωμαίως καταφυγόντων Καρχηδονίως ὅρος ἐν Ἡβηρίᾳ γίγνεται, μὴ διαβαίνειν τὸν Ἡβηρὰ ποταμόν. καὶ τάσδε αὐτὸ τὰς σπονδὰς ἔλυσαν Καρχηδόνιοι, περάσαντες Ἀννίββου σφῶν ἠγομένου. διαβάντες δὲ, ὁ μὲν Ἀννίβας διαστρατηγεῖν ἑτέρους τὰ ἐν Ἡβηρίᾳ καταλιπών ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐσέβαλε στρατηγοῖ δὲ Ἡρωμαῖον ἐν Ἡβηρίᾳ, Πόπλιος τε Κορνήλιος Σκιπίων καὶ Γναίος Κορνήλιος Σκιπίων, ἀλλὰς φῶς ἀδελφὸν, λαμπρὰ ἔργα ἀποδεικνυμένου θυρήκοντο ἀμφότερος τῶν πολεμῶν. καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτούς στρατηγοὶ καὶ ἐμποτιστοί, μέχρι Σκιπίων ὁ Ποπλίος Σκιπίωνος τούδε τοῦ περὶ Ἡβηρίαν ἀναιρεθέντος νῦν ἐπιπλεύσας, καὶ δόξαν ἀπασίω ἐμβαλῶν ὡς ἦκοι κατὰ θεὸν καὶ δαμούσι χρόνο
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fle, and cut off their supplies from the sea, and as the land was untilled in consequence of the war they overcame the Africans by famine, but were driven by want to rob the merchants who sailed by, even killing those who were Romans, and throwing them overboard to conceal the crime. This escaped notice for a long time. When the facts became known and the Carthaginians were called to account they put off the day of reckoning until the Romans voted to make war against them, when they surrendered Sardinia by way of compensation. And this clause was added to the former treaty of peace.

II

6. Not long afterwards the Carthaginians invaded Spain and were gradually subduing it, when the Saguntines appealed to Rome and a boundary was fixed to the Carthaginian advance by an agreement that they should not cross the river Ebro. The Carthaginians, under the lead of Hannibal, violated this treaty also by crossing this stream, and having done so Hannibal marched against Italy, leaving the command in Spain in the hands of others. The Roman generals in Spain, Publius Cornelius Scipio and Gnaeus Cornelius Scipio, two brothers, after having performed some brilliant exploits were both slain by the enemy. The generals who succeeded them fared badly until Scipio, the son of this Publius Scipio who was killed in Spain, set sail thither, and making all believe that he was come by a divine mission and
CAP. II συμβούλω περὶ ἀπάντην, ἐκράτει τε λαμπρῶς,
καὶ ἐπὶ δύσης ἐκ τοῦ δὲ πολλῆς γενόμενος τὴν μὲν
στρατηγίαν τοὺς ἐς διαδοχὴν ἐπιτεμφθεῖσί παρέ-
δωκεν, ἐς δὲ Ῥώμην ἐπανελθῶν ἥξιον πεμφθῆναι
στρατηγὸς ἐς Διβύην ὡς ἀναστήσων 'Αννίβαν ἐξ
'Italyías καὶ Καρχηδονίοις δίκην ἐπιθήσων ἐν
τῇ πατρίδι.

7. Τῶν δὲ πολιτευομένων οἱ μὲν ἀντέλεγον οὐ
χρὴναι, κεκενωμένης ἀρτὶ τῆς 'Italyías τοσοῦτοι
πολέμοις καὶ πορθομένης ἐτί πρὸς Ἀννίβου, καὶ
Μάγωνος ἐν πλευραῖς ἐπ' αὐτὴν Διγνάς τε καὶ
Κελτοὺς ξενολογοῦντος, ἐς Διβύην στρατεύειν,
οὐδὲ τὴν ἀλλοτρίαν χειροῦσαν πρὶν τὴν οἰκείαν
ἀπαλλάξαι τῶν παρόντων οἱ δὲ φίλοι Καρχη-
δονίους νῦν μὲν ἀδεεῖς ὅντας ἐφεδρεύειν τῇ 'Italyία,
οὐδὲν ἐνοχλομένους οἶκοι, πολέμοι δὲ οἰκείου
σφίσι γενομένου καὶ Ἀννίβαν μεταπέμψεσθαι.
οὐτω μὲν ἐκράτησε πέμπτειν ἐς Διβύην Σκιπίων,
οὐ μὴν συνεχώρησαν αὐτῷ καταλέγειν στράτον
ἐξ 'Italyίας πονουμένης ἔτι πρὸς Ἀννίβου ἐθε-
λοῦσας δὲ, εἰ τινὲς εἰεν, ἐπέτρεψαν ἐπάγεσθαι, καὶ
τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὴν Σκικελίαν ἔτι οὕσιν χρῆσθαι. τριήρεις
τε ἐδοσαν αὐτῷ κατασκευάσθαι δέκα, καὶ
πληρώματα αὐταῖς λαβεῖν, ἐπισκευάσας δὲ καὶ
τὰς ἐν Σκικελίᾳ. καὶ χρήματα οὐκ ἐδωκαν, πλὴν
εἰ τις ἔθελοι τῷ Σκιπίωνι κατὰ φιλίαν συμφέρειν.
οὕτως ἀμελῶς ἦπτοντο τοῦ δὲ πολέμου τὰ
πρῶτα, μεγίστου σφίσι καὶ ἁξιοτιμοτάτου μετ'
ὀλίγων γενομένου.

8. 'O δὲ Σκιπίων ἔνθος ὃν ἐπὶ Καρχηδόνι ἐκ
πολλοῦ, καὶ τινάς ἑπτεὰς τε καὶ πεζοῦς, ἐς
ἐπτακισχιλίους μάλιστα, ἢθροίσας, διέπλευσεν ἐς
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had divine counsel in all things, prevailed brilliantly, and achieving great glory by this success, gave over his command to those sent to succeed him, returned to Rome, and asked to be sent with an army to Africa so as to draw Hannibal out of Italy and to bring retribution upon the Carthaginians in their own country.

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

8. Scipio, who seemed to be divinely inspired from long ago against Carthage, having collected about 7000 soldiers, cavalry and infantry, sailed for Sicily,
Καπ. Η. Σικελίαν ἔχων ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἀρτιγενεῖος ἐπιλέκτος τριακοσίους, οἷς εἰρήτῳ χωρίς ὅπλων ἐπεσθαί. Σικελών δ' αὐτοὶ τριακοσίους καταγράφας εὐδαίμονας ἐκέλευσεν ἥκειν ἐσ ἡμέραν ῥήτην, ἐσκευασμένους ὅπλοις τε καὶ ἱπποῖς ὕτι δύναιτο καλλίστοις. ὥσ δὲ ἀφίκοντο, προύθηκεν εἰ τις οὗτοι θέλοι τὸν στρατευσόμενον ἀντιδοῦναι. δεξαμένων δὲ πάντων, ἤγαγεν ἐς μέσον τούς τριακοσίους τοὺς ὅπλων ἔρημους, καὶ ἐς τούσδε ἐκεῖνος προσέταξε μετασκευάσασθαι. οἱ δ' ἐκώντες παρεδίδοσαν ὅπλα καὶ ἱπποῖς. καὶ περὶ τῷ Σκιπίων τριακοσίους νέους Ἰταλιώτας ἔχειν αὐτὶ Σικελωτῶν, κάλλιστα ἱπποῖς καὶ ὅπλοις ἀλλοτρίοις ἐσκευασμένους, καὶ χάριν εὐθύς ἐπὶ τὸν ἐιδότας: οἷς δὴ καὶ προθυμοτάτοις ἐς πάντα χρόμενος διετέλει.

9. Καρχηδόνιοι δὲ ταῦτα πυθανόμενοι Ἑσυρέφπαν μὲν τὸν Γέσκωνος ἐπὶ τὴν ἔλεφανταν ἐξεπεμποὺ. Μάγωνι δ' ἀμφὶ τὴν Λυγυστίνην ἤναγοντι πεζοὺς ἀπέστελλον ἐς ἑξακισχίλιοι καὶ ἱππεὰς ὁκτακισχίλιοι καὶ ἐλέφαντας ἑπτά, καὶ προσέτασαν αὐτῷ μὲθ' ὅσον δύναιτο ἀλλὰν ἐσβαλεῖν ἐς Τυρρηνίαν, ἵνα τὸν Σκιπίωνα περιστάσειεν ἐκ Λιβυᾶς. Μάγων μὲν δὴ καὶ τότε ἐβράδυνεν, Ἀννίβα τε συνελθεῖν οὐ δυνάμενοι πολύ διεστῶτι, καὶ τὸ μέλλον ἅπει περιορώμενος. Ἑσυρέφπας δ' ἀπὸ τῆς θήρας ἐπανελθὼν κατέλεγε Καρχηδονίων τε καὶ Λιβυῶν ἐς ἑξακισχίλιοι πεζοὺς ἐκτέρων καὶ ἱππεὰς ἑξακισχίλιοι, δουλοὺς τε ἡγόραξε πεντακισχίλιοι, τὸ ναυτικὸν ἔρεσσεν, καὶ παρὰ τῶν Νομάδων ἐλαβε δισχίλιοι ἱππεὰς, καὶ ξένους.
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taking as a bodyguard 300 chosen youths whom he ordered to accompany him without arms. He then chose 300 wealthy Sicilians by conscription and ordered them to come on a certain day, provided with the best possible arms and horses. When they came he told them that they might furnish substitutes for the war if they preferred. As they all accepted this offer he brought forward his 300 unarmed youths and directed the others to supply them with arms and horses, and this they did willingly. So it came about that Scipio had in place of 300 Sicilians, 300 Italian youths admirably equipped at other people's expense, who at once were indebted to him for this favour and ever afterward rendered him excellent service.

9. When the Carthaginians learned these things they sent Hasdrubal, the son of Gisco, to hunt elephants, and they despatched to Mago, who was enlisting Ligurian mercenaries, about 6000 foot, 800 horse, and seven elephants, and commanded him to attack Etruria with these and such other forces as he could collect, in order to draw Scipio from Africa. But Mago delayed even then because he could not join Hannibal at such a distance and because he was always of a hesitating disposition. Hasdrubal, on his return from the elephant hunt, levied about 6000 foot and 600 horse from both the Carthaginian and the African population, and bought 5000 slaves as oarsmen for the ships. He also obtained 2000 horse from the Numidians and hired
-emisodhúto, kai pántas égýmnaže, diakosíous sta-
dións áposthôn apò Karxhénos.

10. Nomádovn dè tōn en Líbýn dynástai mev
hsan kata méria polloi, Súfaξ d' úper ápantaş,
kal tiḿhn eîche prep tōn állwv épifaníh. Mas-
sulíōn d' aú, gérous álkiμou, paîs ἤn ton
basilewv Mαssassanássth, ðs etébrapto mev en
Karxhdn kai épetaidenvo, ñnti d' autô kai to
sôma kalw kai ton tróton årístov 'Asdroúbas
ò Géskównos, ouðenôs Karxhdndwv déuterôs,
γyñste tì ònagatéra, käiπer ñnti Nomádi, Kar-
xhndnów ἤn. òs d' γyñýsev, épñgeto ês 'Iβn-
ian stratçgôn tò meirákion. Súfaξ dè kvxó-
menos ùp' érwto stì tì pайд tì Karxhdndwv
éleplátei, kai Skiptíoun diapleñanta prep autôn
èx 'Iβnrias synétheto summacíssein ëtì Karxh-
ndwv ñnti, aïsthómenoi d' ñ Karxhndwv
kai méga poioûmenoi ës tòn prep 'Rwmânous
pólemov Súfaka prepôlabêin, èxedosan autô tìn
parçênov anagogûntov kai ñntov en 'Iβnria A-
droûbou tè kai Mαssassanássth. ef' oí Mαss-
sanássth àptetalwv synetíthetai kai ÿ̄dè en
'Iβnria tòt Skiptíoun, lanthánon, òs ðeto,
'Asdroúban. ó d' aïsthómenos barèwos mev èferen
Ùpèr toû meirakíov kai tῆ ònagatôs, ùbri-
sényov ìnphiôn, ÷nýtò d' ðmòs tì patrîdi sum-
fèrein èkprodwv Mαssassanássth poùsasbachai,
kai èpainônti ês Líbýn èx 'Iβnrias èppthe tòt
patròs synètpempte prepômpous îppéas, ois eîrhto
ìfânôs épiboulêneîn autô kai kteîneîn òptô
ðynânto.
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mercenaries and exercised them all in a camp at a distance of two hundred stades from Carthage.

10. There were many chieftains in Numidia who had separate dominions. Syphax occupied the highest place among them and was held in special honour by the others. There was also a certain Masinissa, son of the king of the Massylians, a powerful tribe. He had been brought up and educated at Carthage and being a handsome man, of noble character, Hasdrubal, the son of Gisco, who was second in rank to nobody in Carthage, betrothed his daughter to him although he was a Numidian and Hasdrubal a Carthaginian, and after the betrothal took the young man with him to the war in Spain. Syphax, who was also pricked with love of the girl, began to pillage the Carthaginian territory, and proposed to Scipio (who sailed over from Spain to meet him) that they should make a joint attack on Carthage. The Carthaginians, learning this and knowing how great service Syphax could render them in the war against the Romans, gave the girl to him without the knowledge of Hasdrubal or Masinissa, since they were in Spain. The latter, being greatly exasperated, in his turn made an alliance with Scipio in Spain, concealing it from Hasdrubal, as he supposed. But Hasdrubal detected it, and although he was grieved at the outrage put upon the young man and his daughter, nevertheless thought that it would be an advantage to his country to make away with Masinissa. So when the latter returned from Spain to Africa at the death of his father, he sent a cavalry escort with him and told them to put him to death secretly in whatever way they could.
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CAP. 11. Ὅδ' αἰσθόμενος ἐξέφυγε τε, καὶ τὴν πάτριαν ἀρχὴν ἐκρατύνετο, ἵππεας ἀθροίζων, οἷς ἡμέρας τε καὶ νυκτὸς ἦν ἔργου ἀκούτιοις πολλοῖς χρωμένους ἐπελαύνειν ἂεὶ καὶ ἀναχωρεῖν καὶ αὖθις ἐπελαύνειν. καὶ ὅλως ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς ἡ μάχη φυγή καὶ δίωξις. ἦσασι δὲ καὶ λυμὸν ἑρείοι Νομάδες οἶδε, καὶ πόσα χρῆσθαι πολλάκις ἀντὶ σίτου· καὶ τὸ πάμπαν ὑδροποτός. ὁ τε ἵππος αὐτοῖς κριθής μὲν οὐδ' ὅλως γεύεται, ποθαγώγων ἂεὶ, πίνει δὲ διὰ πολλῶν τιτουτοῦ ὁ Μασσανάσσης ἐς δισμυρίους συναγαγὼν ἐξήγευε ὕπ τηρας ἡ λεπασίας ἐτέρων ἔθνων ἀπερ ἕτεο καὶ ἔργα καὶ γυμνάσια εἶναι. Καρχηδόνιοι δὲ καὶ Σύφαξ νομίζοντες ἐπὶ σφᾶς εἶναι τὴν παρασκευὴν τοῦ μειρακίου (οὐ γὰρ ἦγορον ἅ ἐλευθερίασαν αὐτοῦ), ἔκριναν προτέρῳ τὰ δέ τολμεῖν ἐστε καθέλωσι, καὶ τὸτε Ῥωμαῖοι ἀπαντῶν.

12. Σύφαξ μὲν οὖν καὶ Καρχηδόνιοι πλείους ἦσαν παρὰ πολύ, μετὰ δὲ ἀμαξῶν καὶ παρασκευῆς βαρείας καὶ τρυφῆς ἐστρατεύοντο. Μασσανάσσης δὲ πόνων τε πᾶσιν ἐξήρχε, καὶ ἅπικον μόνον εἶχε καὶ ὑποζύγιον οὐδὲν, οὐδὲ ἀγοράν. οἳ τε ῥαδίως ὑπέφευγε τε καὶ ἐπεχείρει καὶ ἐς τὰ ὄχυρα ἀνεπίδα. πολλάκις τε καὶ καταλαμβανόμενος διεσκίδη τὸ στράτευμα, ὅτι δυνηθεῖν ἀποφεύγειν κατὰ μέρη. καὶ σὺν ὧλοις αὐτῶς ὑπεκρύπτετο ποι, μέχρι συνελθοίν αὐτῷ νυκτὸς ἡ μεθ' ἰμέραν ἐς τὸ συγκείμενον. τρίτος δὲ ποτε ἐν σπηλαίῳ κρυπτόμενος ἔλαθε, τῶν πολεμίων περὶ 418
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11. Masinissa, getting wind of this plot, managed to escape, and made his inherited power stronger by collecting a body of cavalry who were trained day and night to hurl showers of javelins, advancing and retreating and again advancing. These, in fact, are the tactics which they always employ, alternate flight and pursuit. These Numidians also know how to endure hunger. They often subsist on herbs in place of bread, and they drink nothing but water. Their horses never even taste grain; they feed on grass alone and drink but rarely. Such were the troops of whom Masinissa collected about 20,000, and kept leading them out on hunts and pillaging expeditions against other tribes, considering such things useful both in themselves and for the training which they afforded. The Carthaginians and Syphax, thinking that these preparations of the young man were made against them (for they were conscious of the affront they had put upon him), decided to make war on him first, and after crushing him to march against the Romans.

12. Syphax and the Carthaginians were much the more numerous, but they marched with wagons and a great load of luggage and luxuries. On the other hand, Masinissa was an example in every toil and hardship, and had only cavalry, no pack animals and no provisions. Thus he was able easily to retreat, to attack, and to take refuge in strongholds. Even when he was overtaken, he often divided his forces so that they might scatter as best they could, concealing himself with a handful until they should all come together again, by day or by night, at an appointed rendezvous. Once he was one of three who lay concealed in a cave around which his
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CAP. τὸ σπήλαιον στρατοπεδεύοντων. ούδ' ἔστιν οἴτε ἐστάθμευεν ἐν στρατοπέδῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ μᾶλλον ἐστρατίζετο λαύθανεν ὅποι ποτε εἰη. ὃθεν οὐκ εἴχον αὐτῷ συνεχῶς προεπιχειρεῖν οἱ πολέμωι, ἀλλ' ἡμύνοντο ἐπιγύντα. ἀγορὰ δ' ἦν αὐτῷ καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν, ὅ τι περὶ ἔσπεραν καταλάβοι χωρίον ἢ κόμην ἢ πόλιν, ληξομένῳ τε πάντα καὶ διαρπάζοντι καὶ μεριζομένῳ τοὺς συνοῦσιν. ὃθεν αὐτῷ πολλοὶ τῶν Νομάδων ἐπεφοίταν, μησθοῦν μὲν οὐ διδόντι τεταγμένους, τὰς δ' ὦφελείας πολὺ πλείονας ἔχοντες.

III

CAP. 13. Καὶ Μασσανάσσης μὲν Καρχηδονίοις οὕτως ἔτολέμει, ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων, ἔπει οἱ πάντα εὐτρεπὴ ἐγεγένητο ἐν Σικελίᾳ, ἔθυε Διὶ καὶ Ποσειδώνι, καὶ ἐς Λιβύην ἀνήγετο ἐπὶ νεῶν μακρῶν μὲν δύο καὶ πεντήκοντα φορτίδων δὲ τετρακοσίων κέλητές τε καὶ λέμβοι πολλοὶ συνείποντο αὐτῷ. καὶ στρατιών ἦγε πεζοὺς μὲν ἐξακισχιλίους ἐπὶ μυρίων, ἵππεας δὲ χιλίους καὶ ἐξακισχιλίους. ἐπήγετο δὲ καὶ βέλη καὶ ὁπλα καὶ μηχανήματα ποικίλα καὶ ἀγορὰν πολλὴν. καὶ Σκιπίων μὲν ὦδε διέπλει, Καρχηδόνιοι δὲ καὶ Σύφαξς πυνθανόμενοι ἔγνωσαν ἐν τῷ παρόντι ὑποκρίνασθαι τε Μασσανάσσησσι καὶ ἐς φιλίαν ὑπαγαγόσθαι, μέχρι ὅτου Σκιπίωνος ἐπικρατήσαεν. ὥδ' οὖν ἠγείρει μὲν ἐξαπατώμενος, ἀντενεδρέων δὲ, καὶ μηνύών πάντα τῷ Σκιπίωνι, ᾧκε πρὸς τὸν Ἀσδροῦβαν ὡς συνηλλαγμένος μετὰ τῶν ἱδίων ἵππεών. καὶ ἐστρατοπεδεύον ὁυ μακρῶν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων Ἀσδροῦβας τε καὶ Σύφαξ

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enemies were encamped. He never had any fixed camping-place, but his generalship consisted especially in concealing his position. Thus his enemies never could make a regular assault upon him, but were always warding off his attacks. His provisions were obtained each day from whatever place he came upon toward evening, whether village or city. He seized and carried off everything and divided the plunder with his men, for which reason many Numidians flocked to him, although he did not give regular pay, for the sake of the booty, which was better.

III

13. In this way Masinissa was making war on the Carthaginians. In the meantime Scipio, having completed his preparations in Sicily, and sacrificed to Jupiter and Neptune, set sail for Africa with fifty-two warships and 400 transports, with a great number of smaller craft following behind. His army consisted of 16,000 foot and 1600 horse. He carried also projectiles, arms, and engines of various kinds, and a plentiful supply of provisions. Thus Scipio was sailing to Africa, but when the Carthaginians and Syphax learned of this they decided to pretend to make terms with Masinissa for the present, until they should overcome Scipio. Masinissa, however, was not deceived by this scheme, and in order to dupe them in turn he marched to Hasdrubal with his cavalry as though he were reconciled to him, fully advising Scipio beforehand. Hasdrubal, Syphax, and Masinissa
APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK VIII

καὶ Μασσανάσσης περὶ Ἰτύκην πόλιν, ἐς ἥν ὁ Σκιτίων καταχθείς ὑπ᾽ ἀνέμων καὶ αὐτῶς ἐστρατοπέδευσε περὶ αὐτὴν. οὐ πολὺ δ᾽ ἀπείχεν ὁ Ἀσδρούβας αὐτοῖ, στρατιὰν ἔχων ἐς δισθυρίους πεζοὺς καὶ ἵππεας ἐπτακισχίλιον καὶ ἐλέφαντας ἐκατὸν ἐπὶ τεσσαράκοντα.

14. Σύφαξ μὲν οὖν, εἶτε δείσας εἶτε ἀπίστος ἐς ἐκατέρως γυγνόμενος παρὰ μέρος, ἐσκήψατο τι λυπεῖν τὴν ἀρχήν αὐτοῦ τοὺς ὁμόρους βαρβάρους, καὶ ἀνεξεύγυνε ἐς τὰ οἰκεῖα. Σκιτίων δὲ κατ᾽ ὀλίγους ἐπεμπεὶν ἐπιχειρεῖν τῷ Ἀσδρούβα, καὶ τινὲς αὐτῷ καὶ τῶν πόλεων προσεχώρουν. νυκτὸς δὲ λαθὼν ὁ Μασσανάσσης ἤκει ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον τοῦ Σκιτίωνος, καὶ δεξιωσάμενος αὐτὸν ἐδίδασκε τῆς ἐπιούσης ἐς τὶς χωρίοις ἀπὸ τριάκοντα σταδίων Ἰτύκης, ἐνθα πύργος ἐστιν Ἀγαθοκλέους ἔργων τοῦ Συρακουσίων τυράννου, μῆ πλείους πεντακισχίλιον ἐνεδρέσασι. ἀμα δ᾽ ἡμέρα τῶν Ἀσδρούβαν ἐπειθεὶ τὸν ὑπαρχοῦν Ἀτύνωνα πέμψει τὸ ἐπὶ πλῆθος τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐπισκεψόμενον καὶ ἐς Ἰτύκην ἐσκαμιούμενον, μὴ τὶ πλησιαζόντων πολεμίων νικηθείσιν καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπηχυέτο, εἰ κελεύσω, ἐφεστήκα τοὺς Ἀνων ἐνθα θυγήν ἐπιλέκτους ἀπέπεμας Καρχηδονίους καὶ Διβύων τὶ πλῆθος, Μασσανάσσης δὲ Ἡμάδας τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ ὡς δ᾽ ἐπὶ τὸν πῦργον ἀφίκοντο καὶ ὁ Ἀνων ἐξεπευτεῖς ἐς τὴν Ἰτύκην σὺν ὀλίγοις, μέρος τὶ τῆς ἐνέδρας ἐξεφαίνετο, καὶ ὁ Μασσανάσσης ἐκέλευσε τὸν τεταγμένον ἐπὶ τοῦ ἱππεύοντο λείπον ἀλώγοις. καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκ βραχείος εἰπετο ὡς ἐπιβοῦθησων. ἐν μέσῳ δὲ τῶν Διβύων γενομένων, ἢ τε πλείων 422.
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encamped not far from each other near the city of Utica, to which Scipio had been driven by the winds, and he also was encamped hard by. Not far from him was Hasdrubal with an army of about 20,000 foot, 7000 horse, and 140 elephants.

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

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Διονύση κατεφαίνετο, καὶ συνηκόντισαν αὐτοὺς ἐκατέρωθεν οὐ τε Ῥωμαίοι καὶ ὁ Μασσανάσσης, πλὴν τετρακοσίων, οἱ ἐλήφθησαν αἰχμαλώτοι. Μασσανάσσης δ', ἐπεὶ τούτῳ ἐξετετέλεστο, ἀπήντα τῷ Ἀννων κατὰ στουδήν ὡς φίλος ἐπαινότι, καὶ συνιλαβῶν αὐτὸν ἀπήγγεν ἐς τὸ τοῦ Σκυπίδωνος στρατόπεδον, καὶ ἀντέδωκεν Ἀσδρούβα τῆς μητρὸς τῆς ἑαυτοῦ.

15. Σκυπίδων δὲ καὶ Μασσανάσσης τὴν χώραν ἐπόρθουν, καὶ Ῥωμαίων ἕξελυνον ὅσοι δεθέντες ἐσκαπτόν εν τοῖς ἄγροις, εξ Ἰβηρίας ἢ Σικελίας ἢ ἀπ' αὐτῆς τῆς Ἰταλίας πεμφθέντες ὑπὸ Ἀφρικῆς πολιορκοῦσι δ' ἀυτοῖς πόλιν μεγάλην ἢ ὅνομα ἦν Δόχα, καὶ πολλὰ δεινὰ πάσχοσιν, οἱ μὲν Δοχαῖοι προστιθεμένοι τῶν κλημάκων ἐπεκηρυκεύοντο ἐκλείψειν τὴν πόλιν ὑπόσποιοι, καὶ ὁ Σκυπίδων ἄνεκάλει τῇ σάλπηγγι τῆς στρατιάς· ἢ δ' ὅχῳ ὑπήκουεν ὑπ' ὀργής ὃν ἐπετόθεσαν, ἀλλ' ἐπιβάνοντες τὸν τείχεσι καὶ γύναια καὶ παιδία κατέσφατον· ὁ δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἔτι οὖν οἱ Δοχαῖοι ἀφῆκεν ἀπαθεῖς, τὴν δὲ στρατιὰν τὴν λείαν ἀφείλετο, καὶ τοὺς λοχαγοὺς, ὅσοι συνεξήμαρτον, ἐκλήρωσεν ἐν τῷ μέσῳ, καὶ τρεῖς τοὺς λαχώνας ἐκόλασε βανάτῳ, καὶ τάδε πράξας αὐθίς ἐλεηλάτει. Ἀσδρούβας δ' αὐτοὺς ἐνήδρευε, Μάγγωνα μὲν τὸν Ἰππαρχον ἐπιτέμψας ἢκ μετώπου, αὐτὸς δὲ ὑποθείνει ἐπιών, οἱ δ' ἐν μέσῳ γενόμενοι τὸ ἔργον ἐμερίσαντο, καὶ ἐς ἱκατέρους αὐτῶν ἐκάτερος ἐπιστραφεῖς πεντακυκλίους τῶν Διβύων ἀπέκτειναν, καὶ χιλίους καὶ ὅκτακοσίους ἐλαβον αἰχμαλώτους, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἐς ταῖς πέτρας κατηράζαν.
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rounded the Africans; and the Romans and Masinissa Chap. together shot at them on all sides and slew all except 400, who were taken prisoners. After he had accomplished this, Masinissa, as though a friend, hastened to meet Hanno, who was returning, seized him and carried him to Scipio's camp, and exchanged him for his own mother, who was in Hasdrubal's hands.

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

16. Καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τούσδε προσέβαλεν Ἰτύκη κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν, δύο μὲν πεντήρεσιν ἐξευγμέναις πύργον ἐπιθεῖς, οἶκεν τριπτήχη βέλη καὶ λίθους μεγάλους ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους ἤφιε, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἐλύπει πολλὰ δ' ἀντέτασχε θραυμαμένων τῶν νεῶν, χώματα δ' ἐπαίρων μέγιστα, καὶ κριώσ τὸ τείχος, ὦτε προσπελάσειε, τύπτων, δρεπάνως τε περιστῶν ὅσα βύρωσκε περὶ αὐτὸ καὶ ἄλλα σκεπαστήρια ἦν. οἳ δὲ τὰ μὲν χῶματα ὑπετάφρευν, καὶ τὰ δρέπανα βρόχους παρῆγον, καὶ τοὺς κριῶς τῆς ὀρμής ἔξελυν, ἐπιβάλλοντες ἐπικαρσίας δοκοῦσι; ἐς δὲ τὰς μηχανὰς ἐξεπέτηδων μετὰ πυρὸς, ὦτε πυεῦμα φυλάξειαν ἐς αὐτὰς ἐπίφορον. ὥθεν ὁ Σκιπίων ἀπογνώσεις οὕτως αἰρήσειν τὴν πόλιν, ἐς πολιορκίαν αὐτῆς καθιστο.  

17. Σύφαξ δὲ τῶν γιγνομένων πυρσανόμενος ἦκε μετὰ τοῦ στρατοῦ, καὶ οὐ μακρὰν ἐστάθμευεν ἀπὸ Ἁσδρούβου. ἔτι δ' ὑποκρισάμενος εἶναι φίλος ἐκάτερος, καὶ τρίβειν τὸν πόλεμον ἐγνωκῶς μέχρι νῆς τε ἐτεραν ναυπηγοῦμενα πρὸς τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἐπιγένομεντο καὶ μυσθοφόροι τινὲς Κέλτῳ καὶ Λιγύου ἐπέλθοιεν, ἐπιχεῖρε διαιτάν διαλύσεις, καὶ ἔδικαίοις μήτε Ῥωμαίοις Διβύνῃς μήτε Καρχηδονίως Ἰταλίας ἐπιβάινεν ἐπὶ πολέμω, ἔχειν δὲ Ῥωμαίοις Σικελίαν καὶ Σαρδῶ καὶ εἰ τινὰς ἄλλας νῆσους ἔχουσι, καὶ Ἰβηρίαν. ἢν δὲ τις ἀπείθη, τοὺς πειθομένους ἐφι συμμαχήσεις. ἀμα δὲ ταύτ' ἔπρασσε, καὶ Μασσανάσσην ἐπείρα μεταβέβαισθαι πρὸς αὐτῶν, τὴν τε Μασσυλίων ἄρχην αὐτῷ βεβαιώσειν ὑπισχυούμενος, καὶ τῶν θυγατέρων.
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16. Soon afterward Scipio besieged Utica by land and sea. He built a tower on two galleys joined together, from which he hurled missiles three cubits long, and also great stones, at the enemy. He inflicted much damage and also suffered much, the ships being badly shattered. On the landward side he built great mounds, battered the wall with rams whenever he could get up to it, and tore off with hooks what hides and other coverings were on it. The enemy, on the other hand, undermined the mounds, turned the hooks aside with slip-knots, and deadened the force of the rams by dropping beams upon them crosswise. They also made sallies against the machines with fire whenever the wind was blowing toward them. Whereupon Scipio, despairing of the capture of the city by this means, established a close siege around it.

17. Syphax, when he learned how things were going, came back with his army and encamped not far from Hasdrubal. Pretending still to be the friend of both parties, and thinking to protract the war until the new ships which were building for the Carthaginians, were ready, and certain Celtic and Ligurian mercenaries arrived, he endeavoured to arrange a settlement. His claim was that the Romans should not set foot in Africa under arms, nor the Carthaginians in Italy, and that the Romans should retain Sicily, Sardinia, and whatever other islands they now held, and also Spain. He said that if either party should refuse these terms he would join forces with the one which agreed. While he was doing this he attempted to draw Masinissa to himself by promising to establish him firmly in the kingdom of the Massylians, and to give him in marriage which-
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18. Σύφαξ δ' ου προσδοκών ἔτι λήσειν, φανερῶς τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις συνεμάχει, πόλιν τε ἐν μεσογείῳ Θολοῦντα, Ἐρωμαίων παρασκευὴν καὶ σιτίου πολὴν ἔχουσαν, ἐκ προδοσίας εἰλε, καὶ τοὺς φρουροῦντας αὐτὴν ἔκτεινεν οὐκ ἐθελήσαντας ἀπελθεῖν ὑποστόδους, συμμαχίαν τε ἀλλήν πολλὴν Νομάδων μετεπέμπτεν. καὶ οἱ μισθοφόροι παρῆσαν αὐτοῖς ἡδή, καὶ νῆς εὐτρεπῶς εἰχον, ὡστε ἠγνωστο πολεμεῖν Σύφακα μὲν ὀρμώμενον ἐπὶ τοὺς πολιορκοῦντας Ἰτύκην, Ἀσδρούβαν δ' ἐπὶ τὸ Σκιπίωνος στρατόπεδον. τὰς δὲ ναῦς ἔδει ταῖς ναυσὶν ἐπιτείλειν, καὶ γίγνεσθαι ταῦτα τῆς ἐπιούσης ἡμέρας ἀπαντὰ ὀμοῦ, ἦν μὴ διαρκέσειαν αὐτοῖς οἱ Ἐρωμαῖοι διὰ τὴν ὀλιγότητα.

IV

19. Ἡν ἦδη νυκτὸς οὔσης ὁ Μασσανάσσης παρὰ τινῶν Νομάδων πυθόμενος μετέδωκε τῷ Σκιπίωνι. ὁ δὲ ἔδεισε, καὶ ἦπορει μὴ ἐς πολλὰ αὐτῷ διαιροῦμενος ὁ στρατὸς ἀσθενέστερος ἐς πάντα γίγνηται. τοὺς οὖν ἡγεμόνας αὐτίκα νυκτὸς ἐπὶ τὴν σκέψιν ἐκάλει, καὶ ἀπορουῦντων ἀπάντων ἐπὶ πολὺ σύν.
ever of his three daughters he should choose. The person who delivered this message brought gold also, in order that, if he could not persuade Masinissa, he might bribe one of his servants to kill him. As he did not succeed, he paid the money to one of them to murder him. The servant took the money to Masinissa and exposed the giver.

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

IV

19. Masinissa learned of these plans during the night from certain Numidians, and communicated them to Scipio. The latter was perplexed, being apprehensive lest his army, divided into so many parts, should everywhere be too weak. He therefore forthwith called his officers to a council at night. Finding that they were all at a loss what to do, and after meditating for a long time himself,
APPRIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK VIII

CAP. IV νους γενόμενος εἶπε: "τόλμησ καὶ ταχυτήτως ἢμιν, ὃ φίλοι, δεί, καὶ μάχης ἐξ ἀπογνώσεως. φθάσας-
μεν ἐπελθόντες τοῖς πολεμίοις, ὅσα δ' ἐν τῷ δὲ πληξὶν ἀκόκτων τῆς ἐφόδου καὶ τὸ παράδοξον του ἔργου, τῶν ὀλγωτέρων προεπιχειρούντων ἥμεις δ' οὐκ ἐς πολλὰ διηρημένη τῇ στρατιᾷ
χρησόμεθα ἀλλ' ἄθροα, οὐδ' ἐπάξωμεν αὐτὴν ἀπασί τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἀλλ' οἰς ἂν ἐπιλεξόμεθα πρώτοις. σταθμεύονσι δ' ἐφ' έαυτῶν ἐκαστοι, καὶ ἐσμὲν αὐτοῖς κατὰ μέρος ἱσόμαχοι, τόλμη δὲ καὶ εὐτυχία προύχομεν. καὶ ἢν ὁ θεὸς δοὺ τῶν πρώτων ἐπικρατήσατο, τῶν ἄλλων καταφρονήσομεν. οἰς δ' ἐπιχειρητέον ἐστὶ πρώτοις, καὶ τίς ὁ καίρος ἡ τρόπος ἐσται τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως, ἢν ἀρέσκη, τὰ τῆς ἱμώμης ἐρώτ.

20. Συνθεμένων δὲ πάντων, "ὁ μὲν καίρος,”
eἶπεν, "ἐνθὺς ἐπιχειρεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦτο τοῦ συλλόγου, νυκτὸς ἐτὶ οὖσης, ὅτε καὶ τὸ ἔργον ἐστὶ φοβε-
ρωτερον καὶ ἀνέτοιμα τὰ ἐκείνων, καὶ οὐδὲς τῶν συμμάχων αὐτοῖς δύναται βοηθεῖν ἐν σκότῳ.
φθασομέν τε οὕτως αὐτῶν τὰ βουλεύματα μόνως, ἐγνωκότων ἢμιν τῆς ἐπιούσης ἡμέρας ἐπιθέσοται. τριῶν δὲ αὐτοῖς δυνῶν στρατοπέδων, αἱ μὲν νῆσες
eἰσι πόρρω, καὶ οὐκ ἐστὶ ναυσὶ νυκτὸς ἐπιχειρεῖν, Ὀσδρούβασ δὲ καὶ Σύφαξ οὐ μακρὰν ἀπ' ἄλληλων.
καὶ τούτων Ὀσδρούβασ μὲν ἔστι τοῦ τοῦ πολέμου κεφάλαιοιο, Σύφαξ δὲ οὐκ ἂν νυκτὸς ἐπιτολμήσει
tὸ τόνω, βάρβαρος ἄνηρ καὶ τρυφῆς γέμων καὶ
dεός. φέρε οὖν, ἥμεις μὲν ἐπὶ Ὀσδρούβαν μετὰ
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he said: "Daring and swiftness, friends, are what we need, and to fight animated by despair. We must anticipate the enemy in making the attack. Just see what we shall gain by it. The unexpectedness of the attack and the very strangeness of the thing—that those who are inferior in numbers should be the aggressors—will terrify them. Further, we shall employ our strength not divided into several detachments, but all together, and we shall not bring it to bear on all of our enemies at once, but on those we choose to attack first. They are in separate camps, and we are their equals in strength when we take them in detail, while in courage and good fortune we are their superiors. If heaven shall give us victory over the first, we may despise the others. Upon whom the assault shall be made first, and what shall be the time and manner of delivering it, if you please, I will now tell you my opinion."

20. As they all agreed, he continued: "The time to strike is immediately after this meeting ends, while it is still night, when the blow will be the more terrifying and the enemy will be unprepared, and none of their allies will be able to give them aid in the darkness. Thus alone we shall anticipate their intention of attacking us to-morrow. They have three stations; that of the ships is at a distance, and it is not possible to attack ships by night. But Hasdrubal and Syphax are not far from each other. Of these, Hasdrubal is the very head and front of the war, while Syphax will not dare to do anything at night; he is a barbarian, a mass of effeminacy and cowardice. Come, then, let us ourselves attack Hasdrubal with all our force,
APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK VIII

CAP. IV. παντὸς ἦμεν τοῦ στρατοῦ, Μασσανάσσην δὲ τόνδε ἐπιτάξωμεν ἐφεδρεύειν τῷ Σύφακι, ἵνα ἀρα καὶ παρὰ δῶξαν ἐξίη τοῦ στρατοπέδου. πεζοὶ δὲ χωρῶμεν ἐπὶ τὸν χάρακα τοῦ Ἀσδρούβου, καὶ περιστάντες ἐπιχειρῶμεν ἐκ παντὸς μέρους σὺν ἐλπίδι τε χορητῆς καὶ τόλμη θρασυτάτης τούτων γὰρ τὰ παρόντα δεῖται μάλιστα. τοὺς δὲ ἵππεας (οὐ γὰρ ἔστων αὐτοῖς χρῆσθαι νυκτὸς ἔτι οὖσις) προπέμψῳ πορρωτέρῳ κυκλούσθαι τὸ στρατόπεδον τῶν πολεμίων, ἦν οἱ μὲν βιασθεῖμεν, ὑποδεχομένῳ ἡμᾶς καὶ ἐς φίλους καταφεύγομεν, εἰ δὲ ἐπικρατοῦμεν, ἐκφεύγοντας ἐκεῖνος διὰκοιεν καὶ διαχωρῶμον.

21. Ταῦτ' εἴπον, καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ἐκπέμψας ὀπλίοισι τῶν στρατῶν, αὐτὸς ἐθύετο Τόλμη καὶ Φόβῳ, μηδὲν ός ἐν νυκτὶ παινοῦν οἱ γενέσθαι, ἀλλὰ τὸν στρατὸν αὐτῷ θρασύτατον μάλιστα ὁφθῆναι. τρίτης δὲ ἦδη φυλακῆς ἡρέμα τῇ σάλπιγγι ὑπεσήμαινε, καὶ μετὰ σιγῆς βαθύτατης στρατοῦ τοσοῦτος ἐβάδιζεν, ἐως οἱ μὲν ἰππεῖς περιεύθησαν ἐν κύκλῳ τῶν πολεμίων, οἱ πεζοὶ δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν τάφρον αὐτῶν ἀφίκοντο. βοή δὲ τότε παμμεγεῖ καὶ σάλπιγξιν ἀθρώας καὶ βυκανήμασιν ἐς κατάπληξιν χρώμενοι τοὺς μὲν φυλακὰς ἐξέσωσαν ἕκ τῶν φυλακτηρίων, τὴν δὲ τάφρον ἔχον καὶ τὰ σταυρώματα διέστησαν. οἱ δὲ εὐτολμότατοι προδραμόντες ἐνέπρησαν τινας σκηνας. καὶ οἱ Δέβνες μετὰ ἐκπλήξεως ἀνεπήδον τε ἐξ ὑπνου, καὶ τὰ ὄπλα μετελάμβαναν, καὶ ἐς τὰς τάξεις ἀτάκτως ἐφέροντο, καὶ τῶν παραγγελλόμενων διὰ τὸν θόρυβον οὐ κατήκουν, οὐδὲ αὐτοῦ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τὸ ἀκρίβες τῶν γεγονόμενων εἰδότος. ἀναπη-
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entrusting to Masinissa here the task of watching Syphax, in case, contrary to expectation, he should move out of his camp. Let us advance with our infantry against Hasdrubal's defences, surround and storm them on every side, with high hope and resolute courage, for these are the things most needed now. As the cavalry are of no use in the night, I will send them to surround the enemy's camp a little farther off, so that if we are overpowered we may have friends to receive us and cover our retreat, and if we are victorious they may pursue the fugitives and destroy them."

21. Having spoken thus he sent the officers to arm the troops, and himself offered sacrifice to Courage and Fear in order that no panic should overtake them in the night, but that the army should show itself absolutely intrepid. At the third watch the trumpet sounded lightly and all that great army moved in profound silence until the cavalry had completely surrounded the enemy and the infantry had arrived at the trenches. Then, with confused shouts mingled with the blast of all the trumpets and horns for the purpose of striking terror into the enemy, they swept the guards away from the outposts, filled up the ditch, and tore down the palisades. The boldest, pushing forward, set some of the huts on fire. The Africans, starting in consternation out of sleep, caught up their arms and tried confusedly to get into order of battle, but on account of the noise could not hear the orders of their officers, nor did their general himself know

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CAP. IV: δόντας οὖν αὐτοὺς οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ ὁπλιζομένους ἐτι καὶ ταρασσομένους κατελάμβανον, καὶ σκηνὰς πλέονας ἐνεπίμπρασαν, καὶ τοὺς ἐν ποσὶν ἀνή-ρουν. τοὺς δ᾽ ἦν ἢ τε βοή τῶν ἔχθρων καὶ ἡ ὄψις καὶ τὰ ἔργα φοβερῶτατα ὡς ἐν νυκτὶ καὶ ἀγνοοία τοῦ γεγομένου κακοῦ. ἤγομενοι τε εἰλήφθαι τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ τὸ πῦρ τῶν ἐμπεπρησμένων σκηνῶν δεδότες, ἐξέπτυσσον ἐκόντες ἐξ αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐς τὸ πεδίον ὡς ἀσφαλέστερον ἐσωθοῦντο. ὥθεν κατὰ μέρος, ὅπη τῦχοιεν, ἀκόσμως διεδίδρασκον, καὶ ἐς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἵππεας, οὐ κύκλῳ περι-εστήκεσαν, ἐμπίττοντες ἀπέθυνσκον.

22. Σύφαξ δὲ νυκτὸς μὲν ἐτὶ, τῆς βοῆς αἰσθό-μενος καὶ τὸ πῦρ ὅρῶν, οὐκ ἐπεξήλθεν, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἰππεῶν τινὰς ἐπικουρεῖν ἐπέμεινεν Ἀσδρούβα, οἰς ὁ Μασσανάσσης ἐπιπεσῶν ἄφων πολὺν ἐργα-ζεται φόνον. ἀμα δ᾽ ἡμέρα μαθῶν ὁ Σύφαξ Ἀσδρούβαν μὲν ἡδὴ φυγόντα, τῆς δὲ στρατίας αὐτοῦ μὲν ἀπολολότας, τοὺς δ᾽ εἰλημμένους ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων, τοὺς δὲ διερρημένους, καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτῇ παρασκευὴ Ῥωμαίους ἤχοντας, ἀνεξεύγυνεε φεύγων ἐς τὰ μεσόγεια μετὰ θορύβου, πάντα καταλιπόντως, οἰόμενος εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τῆς Καρ-χυδονίων διαξέως αὐτῷ τὸν Σκιπίωνα ἐπανίόντα ἐπιστήσεσθαι. ὥθεν καὶ τοῦδε τὸν χάρακα καὶ τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ παρασκευὴν εἶλε Μασσανάσσης.

23. Καὶ Ῥωμαιοὶ διὰ τόλμης μιᾶς, ἐν ὦλῳ μέρει νυκτὸς, δύο στρατοπέδων καὶ δύο στρατῶν πολὺ μειξόνων ἐκράτησαν ὅμοι. ἀπέθανον δὲ Ῥωμαίων μὲν ἀμφὶ τοὺς ἐκατὸν ἀνδράς, τῶν δ᾽ ἔχθρων ὦλῳ ἔδοντες τρισμύραις καὶ αἰχμάλωτοι ἐγένοντο δισχίλιοι καὶ τετρακόσιοι. τῶν δὲ
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exactly what was happening. The Romans caught them as they were starting up and trying to arm themselves, with confusion on every hand. They fired more huts and slew those whom they met. The Africans were terrified by the cries of the enemy, by their appearance and by their actions, especially in the midst of darkness and uncertainty as to the nature of the disaster. Thinking that the camp had been taken, and being afraid of the fire of the burning huts, they were glad to get out of them; and they pushed on to the plain as a safer place. Thus they hurried helter-skelter, in any direction at random, ran into the Roman horse, which had been placed round them, and were cut down.

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

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

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CAP. IV Ἰππέων ἐξακόσιοι ἐπανύντι τῷ Σκιπίωνι έαυτούς παρέδοσαν. καὶ τῶν ἐλεφάντων οἱ μὲν ἀνήρηντο, οἱ δὲ ἐτέτρωντο. Σκιπίων δὲ ὁπλῶν τε καὶ χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργυροῦ καὶ ἐλέφαντος πολλοῦ καὶ ἑπτῶν ἀλλων τε καὶ Νομαδικῶν κεκρατηκώς, καὶ διὰ μᾶς τῆς νίκης, λαμπροτάτης δὴ γενομένης, ἐς γόνυ τὰ Καρχηδονίων καταβαλών ἀπαντά, ἀριστεία τῷ στρατῷ διεδίδον, καὶ τῶν λαφύρων τὰ ἀξιολογώτατα ἐς 'Ῥώμην ἐπέμπετο. καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἐγύμναζε φιλοτόνως, προσδοκόνων 'Ἀννίβαν τε αὐτίκα ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας καὶ Μάγγωνα ἀπὸ Διογνίτων ἐπελεύσεσθαι.

24. Καὶ Σκιπίων μὲν περὶ ταῦτα ἦν, 'Ἀσδρούβας δὲ, ὁ στρατηγὸς ὁ Καρχηδόνιων, ἐν μὲν τῇ νυκτικῳμαχίᾳ μεθ' ἤπεόν πεντακοσίων, τετρωμένος, ἐς Ἀνδαν κατέφυγεν, ἐνθα μισθοφόροις τῇ τινας ἐκ τῆς μάχης ἐκπεσόντας καὶ Νομάδας συνέλεγε, καὶ δοῦλοις ἐς ἐλευθερίαν συνεκάλει πυθόμενος δ' ὅτι Καρχηδόνιοι θάνατον αὐτοῦ κατέγνωσαν ὡς κακῶς ἐστρατηγικότος, καὶ Ἄνωνα τὸν Βουμίλχαρος ἐκλυόντο στρατηγεῖν, ἵδιον αὐτοῦ τὸν στρατὸν ἐποίει, καὶ κακούργους προσελμάβαν, καὶ ἐλήξετο ἐς τὰς τροφὰς, καὶ ἐγύμναζεν οὕς εἶχεν, ἀμφὶ τρισχελίοις ἤπεος, πεξους δὲ ὀκτακυκλίοις, ὡς ἐν μόνῳ τῷ μάχεσθαι τὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχον. ὡς μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ποιῶν Ῥωμαίοις ὁμοί καὶ Καρχηδονίους ἔπι πολὺ ἑλάνθανε, Σκιπίων δ' ἐπήγειν αὐτῇ Καρχηδόνι τὸν στρατὸν ὀπλισμένον, καὶ σοβαρῶς ἐς μάχην προνικαλεῖτο, οὐδενὸς ἐξώντος. Ἀμίλχαρ δὲ ὁ ναύαρχος ναυσίν ἐκατὸν ἐσπευσμένως ἐς τὸν ναῦσταθμὸν ἀνήγετο τοῦ Σκιπίωνος, ἐπίπλος αὐτὸν τε φθάσεων ἐπανύντα, 436
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Scipio on his return. Some of the elephants were killed and some wounded. Scipio, having gained a great store of arms, gold, silver, ivory, and horses, Numidian and other, and having prostrated the whole power of Carthage by this one splendid victory, distributed prizes of valour to the army and sent the richest of the spoils to Rome. Then he began drilling the army diligently, expecting the arrival of Hannibal forthwith from Italy, and of Mago from Liguria.

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

καὶ τὰς οὖσας ἐκεῖ Ῥωμαίων εἶκοσι τριήμερας ῥαδίως ταῖς ἑκατὸν αἱρήσειν.

25. Καὶ ὁ Σκιτίων ἱδὼν αὐτοῦ τὸν ἀπόπλουν, προὐπεμπτε τινὰς τὸν ἐσπλουν τοῦ λιμένος ἐμφράξαε στρογγύλοις πλοῖοις ἐπ’ ἀγκυρῷν ἐκ διαστήματος, ἵνα ὡς διὰ πυλῶν αἱ τριήμερες ἐκθέοιεν ὅτε καυρός ἐη, καὶ τὰ πλοῖα τοῖς κέρασι συνδήσατε καὶ ἀρμόσαι πρὸς ἄλληλα, ἵνα ἀντὶ τεῖχος ἦ Καταλαβὼν δὲ τὸ ἔργον, ἔπτετο τοῦ πόλου. καὶ βαλλομένοι τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἀπὸ τε τῶν πλοίων καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ τεῖχους, αἱ νῆσε ἑθραύσαντο, καὶ καμούσα εἰς εἰς ἐπέραιρ ἀπέπλευσαν. ἄποιουσας δ’ αὕταις ἦ Ῥωμαίων ἐπέκειντο, ἐκθέουσας τε διὰ τῶν διαστήματων, καὶ ὥτε βιάζοντο, ὑποχωροῦσαν. μίαν δὲ καὶ ἀνεδήσαντο κενὴν ἀνδρῶν, καὶ πρὸς τὸν Σκιπίωνα ἀνήγαγον. μετὰ δὲ τούτου ἐχείμαζον ἄμφω. καὶ Ῥωμαίων μὲν ἦν ἐκ βαλάσσης ἄγορα δαψιλῆς, Ἰτυκαίοι δὲ καὶ Καρχηδόνιοι λυμώττοντες ἐλήστευσαν τοὺς ἐμπόρους, μέχρι Ῥωμαίων νῆσε ἄλλαι, πεμφθέσαι τῷ Σκιπίωνι, ἐφώρουσαν τοῖς πολεμίως καὶ τὰς ληστρικὰς ἐκώλυσαν. οἱ δ’ ἔκαμμον ἡ ἴδῃ σφόδρα τῷ λιμῷ.

V

CAP. V

26. Τοῦ δ’ αὐτοῦ χειμῶνος, ἐγγὺς δὸντος Σύφακος, Μασσανάσσης ἤτησεν ἐπὶ τῇ ἱδίᾳ στρατιά

1 The text is almost certainly corrupt, and there is possibly a lacuna after ἔργον. The translation given follows Schw.'s Latin version, and is probably the best rendering of the words as they stand.
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destroy the twenty Roman ships there with his chap. IV hundred.

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

V

26. This same winter, Syphax being near them, chap. V Masinissa asked of Scipio a third part of the Roman
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CAP. V. τὸ τρίτον τῆς Ῥωμαικῆς παρὰ Σκιπίωνος, καὶ λαβὼν ἠγουμένου τῶν Ῥωμαίων Δαιλίου, τῶν Σύφακα ἐδώκεν. ὁ δὲ ὑπέφευγε, μέχρι καθορω-μενος περὶ τινὶ ποταμῷ συνετάσσετο ἐς μάχην. οἱ μὲν οὖν Νομάδες ἐκατέρωθεν, ὅστερ ἔθος αὐτοῖς, πολλὰ καὶ ἀθρώα ἦφιεσαν ἐπ᾿ ἄλληλοις, οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαίοι προβαλλόμενοι τὰς ἀσπίδας ἐπή-εσαν. Σύφαξ δὲ Μασσανάσσην ἴδων, ἔτο τὴν ἑπὶ αὐτὸν ὑπὶ ὁργῆς· ὁ δὲ ἀντεπήλασε γεγηθῶς. καὶ ἀγώνος πολλοῦ περὶ ἀμφῶ γενομένου, τραπέντες οἱ τοῦ Σύφακος ἐς φυγήν τὸν ποταμὸν ἐπέρων, ἐνθα τις αὐτῶν Σύφακος τὸν ἱππὸν ἔβαλεν· ὁ δὲ ἀπεσέσατο τὸν δεσπότην, καὶ ὁ Μασσανάσσης ἐπὶ βραχίονες ἔτεκε αὐτὸν τῇ Σύφακα καὶ τὸν ἐτερούν αὐτὸν τῶν νιῶν. καὶ τούσδε μὲν εὐθὺς ἔπεμπε Σκιπίωνι, ἀπέθανον δὲ ἐν τῇ μάχῃ Σύφακος μὲν ἐς μυρίους ἄνδρας, Ῥωμαίων δὲ πέντε καὶ ἐβδο- μήκοντα, Μασσανάσσου δὲ τριακόσιοι. καὶ αὐχ-μάλωτοι Σύφακος ἐγένοντο τετρακισχίλιοι. τού- των ἦσαν Μασσύλλωι δισκίλιοι καὶ πεντακόσιοι, τῶν ἐς Σύφακα ἀπὸ Μασσανάσσου μεταστάντων καὶ αὐτοὺς ὁ Μασσανάσσης ἐπὶ τὰ ἠπτῆσε παρὰ Δαιλίου, καὶ λαβὼν κατέσφαξεν.

27. Μετὰ δὲ τούτῳ Μασσυλίοις καὶ τήν χώραν τῆς Σύφακος ἐπῆσαν, τοὺς μὲν αὖθις ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν Μασσανάσσου καθιστάμενοι, τοὺς δὲ προσποιοῦμενοι τε καὶ τοὺς ἀπειθοῦντας αὐτῶν καταστρέφομεν. ἀφίκοντο δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐκ Κύρτης πρέσβεις, τὰ βασίλεια τοῦ Σύφακος παραδιδόντες, ἱδίᾳ δὲ πρὸς Μασσανάσσην ἐτεροὺ παρὰ Σοφωνίβας τῆς Σύφακος γυναικὸς, τὴν ἀνάγκην τοῦ γάμου διηγοῦμενοι. Σοφωνίβαν.

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army as a reinforcement to his own, and with this force under the command of Laelius, he set out in pursuit of him. Syphax retreated until he was sighted near a certain river, where he gave battle. The Numidians on both sides, as is their custom, discharged volleys of missiles at each other while the Romans advanced, holding their shields in front of them. Syphax, seeing Masinissa, dashed upon him with rage. Masinissa encountered him with joy. The battle raged fiercely around the two, and Syphax's men turned in flight and began to cross the river. Here someone wounded Syphax's own horse, which threw its rider, and Masinissa, running up, captured Syphax himself and also one of his sons, and sent them forthwith to Scipio. In this battle 10,000 of Syphax's men were killed. The Roman loss was seventy-five and Masinissa's 300. Four thousand of Syphax's men also were taken prisoners, of whom 2500 were Massylians who had deserted from Masinissa to Syphax. These therefore Masinissa asked Laelius to surrender to him, and having received them he put them to the sword.

27. After this they entered the country of the Massylians and the territory of Syphax, bringing the one again under Masinissa's rule, and winning over the other by persuasion, or, where persuasion failed, by force. Ambassadors also came to them from Cirta offering them the palace of Syphax, and others came specially to Masinissa from Sophonisba, the wife of Syphax, to make explanations about her forced marriage. Masinissa accepted her explanations gladly.
CAP. V. μὲν οὖν ἄσμενος εἰχὲ λαβὼν ὁ Μασσανάσσης· καὶ αὐτὴν, ἐπανειδικῶς πρὸς Σκιπίωνα αὐτὸς, ἐν Κήρτῃ κατέλιπε, προορώμενος ἀρα τὸ μέλλον. Σκιπίων δὲ ἦρετο Σύφακα. ὡς σε δαίμον ἔβλαψε, φίλου δυνα μοι καὶ ἐπὶ Λιβύην ἐλθεῖν προτρέψαντα, ψεύσασθαι μὲν θεοὺς οὐς ὄμοσας, ψεύσασθαι δὲ μετὰ τῶν θεῶν Ρωμαίους, καὶ μετὰ Καρχηδονίων ἀντὶ Ρωμαίων ἐλέσθαι πολεμεῖν, τῶν ἐπὶ Καρχηδονίους οὐ πρὸς πολλοῦ σοι βεβοηθηκότων; „ο δὲ εἶπε, „Σοφωνίβα Ἀσδρούβαθα θυγάτηρ, ἡς ἐγὼ ἡρων ἐπ' ἐμῷ κακῷ. φιλόπατρος δ' ἐστίν ἰσχυρός, καὶ ἰκανὴ ἀπαντᾷ τινα πείσαι πρὸς ἡ βουλεύει. αὐτὴ μὲ καὶ ἐκ τῆς ύμετέρας φιλίας ἐστὶν ἀετῆ μετέθηκε πατρίδα, καὶ ἐς τὸν συμφόρος ἐκ τοσότερο εὐδαιμονίας κατέβαλεν. σοὶ δὲ παραίνω (χρῆ γάρ, ύμετέρον γενόμενον καὶ Σοφωνίβας ἀπηλλαγμένον, νῦν γε ὑμῖν εἶναι βέβαιον); φύλασσε Σοφωνίβαν, μὴ Μασσανάσσην ἐς ἡ βουλεύει μεταλάτῃ. οὐ γὰρ δὴ, μὴ τὸ γύναιόν ποτε ἐλητταί τὰ Ρωμαίων ἐπι-ζεῖν αξίου· οὕτως ἐστίν ἰσχυρός φιλόπολις." 28. Ταῦθ' ο μὲν ἔλεγεν, εἰτ' ἀληθείᾳ εἶτε ξηλοτυπούμενος καὶ Μασσανάσσην ἐς τὰ μέγιστα βλάπτων· ο δὲ Σκιπίων Σύφακα μὲν, συνετῶν τε φαινόμενον καὶ τῆς χώρας ἐμπειρῶν, ἐπὶ τὰ κοινὰ ἐπηγεῖτο, καὶ γνώμησ καὶ συμβουλῆς μετεδίδου, οἶνον τι καὶ Κροίσῳ τῷ Λυδῷ Κύρος ἔχρητο, Δαιλίου δ' ἀφικομένον, καὶ ταῦτα περὶ τῆς Σοφωνίβας τυθέσθαι παρὰ πολλῶν λέγοντος, ἐκέλευσε τὸν Μασσανάσσην τὴν Σύφακος γυναῖκα παραδοῦναι. παρατουμένου δ' ἐκείνου, καὶ τὰ περὶ αὐτῆς ἄνωθεν ὡς ἐγένετο διηγομένου, 442
and married her; but when he returned to Scipio he left her at Cirta, foreseeing apparently what would happen. Scipio asked Syphax: "What evil genius misled you, after inviting me as your friend to come to Africa, and caused you to break your faith to the gods by whom you swore and to the Roman people, and to join the Carthaginians in making war against us, when not long before we were helping you against the Carthaginians?" Syphax replied: "Sophonisba, the daughter of Hasdrubal, with whom I fell in love to my hurt, is passionately attached to her country, and she is able to make everybody subservient to her wishes. She turned me away from your friendship to that of her own country, and plunged me from that state of good fortune into my present misery. I advise you (for now, being on your side and rid of Sophonisba, I must be faithful to you) to beware of Sophonisba lest she draw Masinissa over to her designs, for it is not to be expected that this woman will ever espouse the Roman side, so strongly is she attached to her own country."

28. So he spake, but whether he was telling the truth or was moved by jealousy and a desire to hurt Masinissa as much as possible, is not known. But Scipio called Syphax to the council, as he had shown himself sagacious and was acquainted with the country, and took counsel with him as Cyrus did with Croesus, king of Lydia. Laelius having returned and told him that he had heard the same about Sophonisba from many others, he commanded Masinissa to deliver up the wife of Syphax. When the latter remonstrated and related what had happened in the past with regard to her, Scipio
CAP. τραχύτερον ὁ Σκιπίων ἐκέλευεν αὐτὸν μηδὲν ἀφαιρεῖσθαι βία τῶν Ῥωμαίων λαφύρων, ἀλλ’ ἐς τὸ μέσον καταθέντα αἰτεῖν, καὶ πείθειν, εἰ δύνατο. χέκτισεν οὖν ὁ Μασσανάσσης μετὰ τινῶν Ῥωμαίων, παραδώσων αὐτοῖς τὴν Σοφωνίβαν. κρύφα δὲ αὐτῆς φέρον φάρμακον πρῶτος ἐνέτυχε, καὶ τὰ παρόντα προῄηκεν, ἢ πιεῖν ἢ Ῥωμαίοις δουλεύειν ἐκουσάν. οὐδέν τε εἰπὼν ἐτι ἐξήλασε τὸν ἵππον. ἦ δὲ τῇ τροφῇ δείξασα τὴν κύλικα, καὶ δεθείσα μηδὲν ὀδύρασθαι καλῶς ἀποθανοῦσαι, ἐπί τοῦ φαρμάκου. καὶ αὐτὴν ὁ Μασσανάσσης τοῖς ἤκουσιν Ῥωμαίοις ἐπιδείξας, καὶ θάψας βασιλικᾶς, ὑπέστρεφε πρὸς Σκιπίων. ὦ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐπαινέσας τε, καὶ παρηγορήσας ὅτι πονηρᾶς γυναικὸς ἀπηλλάγη, ἐστεφάνωσε τῆς ἑφόδου τῆς ἐπὶ Σύφακα καὶ ἐδωρήσατο πολλοῖς. ἀχθέντος δ’ ἐς τῇ Ῥώμην τοῦ Σύφακος, οἱ μὲν ἦξιον περισσότεροι ἄνδρα ἐν Ἰβηρία φίλοι καὶ σύμμαχοι αὐτοῖς γενόμενοι, οἱ δὲ κολάζειν, ὅτι τοὺς φίλους ἐπολέμησεν. ὦ δὲ ύπο λύπης νοσῶν ἀπέθανεν.

29. Ἀσδρούβας δὲ ἐπειδὴ καλῶς τοὺς συνόντας ἐγώνασεν, ἐπεμπῆ τινα πρὸς Ἀνυώνα τὸν στρατηγὸν τῶν Καρχηδονίων, ἄξιον αὐτῷ τὸν Ἀνυώνα κοινωνήσαι τὴν στρατηγίαν, καὶ υποδείκνυς ὅτι πολλοὶ Σκιπίων σύνεισιν Ἰβηριῴς ἠκοντε, οὐς ἐὰν τις χρυσὸν καὶ υποχέσσεις διαφθείρῃ, τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐμπρήσουσι τὸ Σκιπίώνος. ἔφη δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς, εἰ προμάθοι τὸν καυρόν, ἤξειν ἐπὶ τὸ ἔργον. ταῦτα μὲν Ἀσδρούβας, ὁ δὲ Ἀνυών ἐς μὲν τῷ Ἀσδρούβαν ἐπανύργη, τοῦ δ’ ἐγχειρήματος οὐκ ἀπήλπισεν, ἀλλ’ ἄνδρα πιστὸν μετὰ χρυσίου, καθάπερ αὐτόμολον, ἐς τῷ Σκιπίώνος.
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ordered him more sharply not to try to possess him-CHAP. by force of any of the Roman spoils of victory,
but to ask for her after she was delivered up and obtain her if he could. Accordingly Masinissa went with a Roman detachment to fetch Sophonisba, but he went ahead secretly and brought her a dose of poison, explaining the circumstances and telling her that she must either drink it or go into voluntary captivity to the Romans. Without another word he rode away. She shewed the cup to her nurse, told her not to weep for her, since she died gloriously, and drank the poison. Masinissa shewed her dead body to those of the Romans who had now come up, and then gave her a royal funeral; after which he returned to Scipio. The latter praised him, saying, to console him, that he was well quit of a worthless woman, crowned him for his successful attack upon Syphax, and gave him many presents. When Syphax arrived in Rome, some of the authorities thought that he ought to be spared because he had been their friend and ally in Spain, others, that he ought to be punished for fighting against his friends. In the meantime he sickened of grief and died.

29. When Hasdrubal had his forces well drilled he sent word to Hanno, the Carthaginian general, proposing to share the command with him, and intimating that there were many Spanish soldiers serving with Scipio under compulsion, who might be bribed with gold and promises to set fire to Scipio's camp. He said that he himself would lend a hand if he were informed of the time before. Hanno, although he intended to cheat Hasdrubal, did not neglect the suggestion. He sent a trusty man, in the guise of a deserter, with gold to Scipio's camp,

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στρατόπεδου κατέπεμψαν, δις πιθανός δυν έντυχειν ἐκάστῳ διεφθείρε πολλούς, ἥμεραν τε συνθέμενοι αὐτοὶς ἐπανῆλθεν. καὶ τὴν ἥμέραν ὁ Ἀννων τῷ Ἀσδρούβα μετέφερεν. Σκιπίωνι δὲ θυμομένῳ κίνδυνον τὰ ίερὰ ἔδηλου ἐμπρησμοῦ καὶ πεπέμψας ἐς ἀπαν τὸ στρατόπεδον, εἶ ποὺ τι λάβρων ἡρίσκε πῦρ, κατέπανεν. καὶ αὐθίς ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας ἠθυετο. ὡς δ᾿ οὐκ ἀνίει τὰ ίερὰ τὸν ἐμπρησμὸν ὑποδεικνύοντα, ὁ μὲν ἔβαρυϑύμει καὶ μεταστρατοπεδεύοις διεγνώκει, 30. ἰππέως δὲ Ῥωμαίοι θεράπων Ἰβηρ, ὑπονόησας τι περὶ τῶν συνθεμένων, ὑπεκρίνατο συνειδέναι, ἔως τὸ πᾶν ἐμαθε, καὶ ἐμήνυσε τῷ δεσπότῃ, ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐς τὸν Σκιπίωνα ἤγαγε, καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἠλέγχετο. καὶ πάντας ὁ Σκιπίων ἐκτεινε καὶ ἐξέρρηψε πρὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου. αὐτής ὁ δ᾿ Ἰν Ἀννωνι μὲν ὧξεια πλησίον ὄντι, καὶ οὐκ ἤλθεν ἐπὶ τὸ συγκείμενον, Ἀσδρούβας δὲ ἄνειν ἀφίκετο. ὡς δὲ τὸ πλῆθος εἴδε τῶν νεκρῶν, εἰκασε τὸ συμβαν καὶ ἀνεχώρει. καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀννων ἐς τὸ πλῆθος διεβαλλεν, ὡς ἀφίκοιτο Σκιπίωνι διδοὺς ἑαυτὸν, ὃ δὲ οὐ λάβοι. Ἀσδρούβας μὲν δὴ καὶ ἐκ τούτῳ τοῖς Ἐρχηδονίοις ἤν μᾶλλον διὰ μίσους ὑπὸ δὲ τὸν αὐτῶν καιρὸν Ἀμίλιχαρ μὲν ἄφων ταῖς Ῥωμαίων ναυσὶν ἐπιπλεύσας μίαν ἔλαβε τρήρη καὶ φορτίδας ἐξ. Ἀννων δὲ ἐπιθέμενοι τοῖς πολιορκούσιν Ἰτύκην ἀπεκρούσθη. Σκιπίων δὲ, χρονίῳ τῆς πολιορκίας ὀύσης, ταῦτα μὲν διέλυσεν οὐδέν ἀνύων, τὰς δὲ μηχανὰς ἐς Ἰππώνα πόλιν μετετίθει. καὶ οὐδενὸς οὖν ἐνταῦθα προκόπτοντος αὐτῷ, κατακαύσας

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who, insinuating himself in a seductive manner, corrupted many, and having fixed a day for the execution of the plot, disappeared. Hanno communicated the date to Hasdrubal. Meantime, while Scipio was sacrificing, the victims revealed to him that there was danger from fire. Accordingly he sent orders all around the camp if any blazing fires were found to put them out. He continued sacrificing several days, and as the victims still indicated danger from fire he became anxious and determined to shift his camp.

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

VI

CAP. VI. 31. Καρχηδόνιοι δ' ἐπὶ ταῖς κακοπραγίαις δυσφοροῦντες αἱροῦνται στρατηγὸν αὐτοκράτορα Ἀννίβαν, τὸν δὲ ναυαρχὸν ἔπεμπον ἐπὶ νεῶν, ἐπισπέρχειν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν διάβασιν. ἀμα δὲ ταύτ' ἐπρασσον, καὶ ἐς τὸν Σκιπίωνα περὶ εἰρήνης ἐπρεσβεύοντο, ἡγούμενοι τούτων πάντως ἄν ἐνὸς τυχεῖν, ἢ τὴν εἰρήνην ἔξειν, ἢ χρόνον διατρίψειν ἕως ἄφικοτο ὁ Ἀννίβας. Σκιπίων μὲν οὖν αὐτοὶς ἀνοχάς τε ἔδωκε, καὶ τῇ δαπάνῃ τοῦ στρατοῦ λαβὼν πρεσβεύειν ἐφήκεν ἐς 'Ρώμην οἱ δὲ ἐπρεσβευον, καὶ τεῖχῶν ἐκτὸς ἑστάθμην οὕς ἐτι πολέμιοι, ἀχθέντες τε ἐπὶ τὴν βουλήν ἐδέοντο συγγνώμης τυχεῖν. τῶν δὲ βουλευτῶν οἱ μὲν τῆς Καρχηδονίων ἀπιστίας ὑπεμίμησκοι, ὅσαις συνθῆκον καὶ παραβαίνειν, ὡσα τοί 'Ἀννίβας δράσεις δεινὰ Ἐρωμάιοι καὶ τοὺς Ἐρωμαίων συμμάχους ἐν τῇ Ἱβηρίᾳ καὶ Ἰταλίᾳ· οἱ δὲ τῇ τῆς εἰρήνης χρήσιμον οὐ Καρχηδονίωις μᾶλλον ἢ σφίσιν ὑπεδείκνυν ἔσεθαι, τῆς Ἰταλίας τοσοῦτοι πολέμων ἐκτετραχωμένης, τὸ τε τοῦ μελλόντος περιδέος ἐπεξήγεαν, ἐπιπλευσομένων ἐπὶ τὸν Σκιπίωνα αὐτίκα σὺν μεγάλοις στρατοῖς Ἀννίβου τε ἔξ Ἰταλίας καὶ Μάγων ἐκ Δυνών καὶ Ἀννών ἀπὸ Καρχηδόνος.

32. Ἐφ' οἷς ἀποροῦσα ἡ βουλή συμβούλους ἐπεμψε τῷ Σκιπίωνι, μεθ' ὧν ἐμελλε κρινεῖν τε 448
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either he burned his engines as useless, and overran the country, making allies of some and pillaging others.

VI

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

32. The Senate therefore could not decide what to do, but sent counsellors to Scipio with whom he

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καὶ πράξειν ὁ τί δοκιμάσεις συνοίσεις, ὁ δὲ ἐς τὴν εἰρήνην τοὺς Καρχηδονίους ἐπὶ τοίς ἑπόκειται συνέβη, Μάγγονα μὲν ἀποπλεῖν ἐκ Διγύων αὐτίκα, καὶ τοῦ λουποῦ Καρχηδονίους μὴ ἔσοδον, μηδὲ ναῦς ἔχειν μακρὰς πλείους τριάκοντα, μηδὲ πολυπραγμονεῖν τι πέρα ὃν ἔχουσιν ἐντὸς τῶν λευκομένων Φασικίδων τάφρων, ἀποδοῦναι δὲ Ῥώμαιοι ὅσους αἰχμαλώτους αὐτῶν ἔχουσι καὶ αὐτομόλους, ἀργυρίον τε αὐτοῖς τάλαντα χίλια καὶ ἀξίας ἐσενεγκεῖν ἐν χρόνῳ, ἔχειν δὲ Μασσανάςσην Μασσυλίους τε καὶ τῆς Σύφακος ἀρχῆς ὅσα δύνατο. τάδε μὲν συνέθεντο ἄλληλοις, καὶ πρέσβεις διέπλεον, οἱ μὲν ἐς Ῥώμην, τοὺς ὑπάτους ὀρκιοῦντες, οἱ δ' ἀπὸ Ῥώμης ἐς Καρχηδόνα, καὶ τὰ τέλη τῶν Καρχηδονίων αὐτοῖς ὀμνυεῖ. Μασσανάσση δὲ Ῥώμαιοι χαριστήρια τῆς συμμαχίας στέφανον τε ἀπὸ χρυσοῦ καὶ σφραγίδα χρυσῆν ἔπεμπον, καὶ ἐλεφάντινου δίφρον καὶ πορφύραν καὶ στολῆν Ῥωμαίικην καὶ ἵππου χρυσοφάλαρον καὶ πανοπλίαν.

33. Γυγομένων δ' ἔτι τούτων ὁ Ἀναβάς ἄκων ἐς Καρχηδόνα ἐπλεί, τὴν ἐς τοὺς ἀρχοντας ἀπιστίας τοῦ δήμου καὶ ταχυερίαν υφορόμενος, ἀπιστῶν δ' ἔτι τὰς σπουδὰς ἔσεσθαι, καὶ εἰ γένοιτο, εὖ εἰδὼς οὐκ ἐς πολὺ βεβαίος ἐσομένας, ἐς Ἀδρυμητὸν Λεβύης κατήγετο τόλιν, καὶ σῖτον συνέλεγεν, ἐπὶ τε ὑπὸν ἵππων περίπεμπτε, καὶ τὸν δυναστὴν τῶν Νομάδων τῶν καλουμένων Ἀρεακίδων ἐς φιλίαν ὑπήγετο, καὶ τετρακισχίλιοι ἵππεαι αὐτομόλους αὐτῷ προσφυγόντας, οἱ Σύφακος ὄντες τότε ἐγγύνυντο Μασσανάσσασσον, κατηκόντισεν ἱπποτεύσας· τοὺς δ' ἵππους διέδωκε 450.
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should advise, and then do whatever he should deem CHAP. VI best. Scipio made peace with the Carthaginians on these terms: That Mago should depart from Liguria forthwith, and that hereafter the Carthaginians should hire no mercenaries; that they should not keep more than thirty ships of war; that they should restrict themselves to the territory within the so-called "Phoenician trenches"; that they should surrender to the Romans all captives and deserters, and that they should pay 1600 talents of silver within a certain time; also that Masinissa should have the kingdom of the Massylians and as much of the dominion of Syphax as he could take. Having made this agreement, ambassadors on both sides set sail, some to Rome to take the oaths of the consuls, and others from Rome to Carthage to receive those of the Carthaginian magistrates. The Romans sent to Masinissa, as a reward for his alliance, a crown of gold, a signet ring of gold, a chair of ivory, a purple robe, a Roman dress, a horse with gold trappings, and a suit of armour.

33. In the meantime Hannibal set sail for Africa against his will, suspecting the faithlessness of the people to their rulers, and their hastiness. Further, he did not believe that a treaty would be made, and if made he well knew that it would not long remain valid. He landed at the city of Hadrumetum, in Africa, and began to collect corn and buy horses, while he made an alliance with the chief of a Numidian tribe called the Areacidae. He also shot down 4000 horsemen who had come to him as deserters, because having formerly been Syphax's men they had afterwards joined Masinissa, and he suspected them. Their horses he distributed

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CAP. VI τὸ στρατῆ. ἦλθε δὲ καὶ Μεσότυλος αὐτῷ δυνᾶστης ἕτερος μετὰ χιλίων ὑπεέων, καὶ Οὐερμινᾶς Σύφακος υἱὸς ἕτερος, ἔτι τῶν πλεόνων τῆς πατρίδος ἀρχῆς ἐπικρατῶν. πόλεις θε Μασσανάσσου τὰς μὲν ὑπήγετο, τὰς δ’ ἔβιαξε. Νάρκης δ’ ἐνήδρευσεν ὡδε. ἀγορὰ χρώμενος ἐσέπεμπεν ὡς ἐς φίλους. ὅτε δ’ ἐδοξεν ἐπιθέσθαι, πλείους ἐπεμπε πρόφθεια ἐπικρύπτουτας, οἷς εἰρῆτο τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν ἐς τοὺς πιτράσκοντας μέχρι σαλπίγγων ἀκούσειν, τότε δ’ ἐπιχειρεῖν τοῖς ἐντυχοῦσι καὶ τᾶς πύλαις οἱ φυλάσσειν.
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among his own troops. Mesostylus, another chief-CHAP. VI
tain, came to him with 1000 horse; also Vermina,
another son of Syphax, who still ruled the greater
part of his father’s dominions. He gained some of
Masinissa’s towns by surrender and some by force,
and took the town of Narce by stratagem in this way.
Dealing in their market he sent to them as to friends,
and when he thought the time had come to attack
them, he sent in a large number of men carrying
concealed daggers, and ordered them not to do any
harm to the traders until the trumpet should sound,
and then to set upon all they met, and hold the
gates for him. In this way was Narce taken.

34. The common people of Carthage, although
the treaty had been so lately concluded, and Scipio
was still there, and their own ambassadors had not
yet returned from Rome, plundered some of Scipio’s
stores that had been driven into the port of Carthage
by a storm, and put the carriers in chains, in spite of
the threats of their own council, who admonished
them not to violate a treaty so recently made.
But the people found fault with the treaty itself,
saying that it had been unfairly made, and that
hunger was more unpleasant than treaty-breaking.
Scipio did not deem it wise to begin war after the
treaty, but he demanded reparation as from friends
who were in the wrong. The people even attempted
to seize his messengers, intending to hold them until
their own ambassadors should return from Rome, but
Hanno the Great and Hasdrubal Eriphus [the Kid]
rescued them from the mob and escorted them with
two galleys. Some others, however, persuaded
Hasdrubal, the admiral, who was moored near the
promontory of Apollo, to attack Scipio’s envoys when

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35. 'Oin ois ev astei Rwmiaioi puvómenoi tois prēsbeis tois Karχhodovn, ois perî tês eirhnh s eítai parhshan, ekéleou apotpleiv aúthka òs polêmious. Kai ois mén epeplow, kai upo tois xheimównois eis to toio Skitipivos stratopéidon kathgouitò. Skitipivos dé tov namanex, puvòmenon perí aúthn o te déoi poilein, ònúden òmouin, efh, taís Karχhodovn aústías, alll aútopempe aúthathès. Madoúsa dé h gerosiá tov òhmou ònveidize té syneggreive, kai syneboulive kai vín deuthnai Skitipivos ta mén synkeúmena phulíssein, dikas dé tov hmarthmenou parà Karχhodovn labevein. Oi dé kai aúth té gerosiá dunexeráenontes ek polloù diá tên kakopragías, ós ouk ev tâ syḿféronta proorwméni, kai up anérhnoi dhmokopón érethjómenoi te kai ès ilógyous elptídas epairómenoi, toin 'Anvibav ékáloin meb hès eche stratías.

36. 'O de órho to mégeðos tov polélou, 'Asdroubetai aútous ekéléve sún tē paroúsh dynámei kaltein. 'Asdroubetai mev dé tēs katadikhs aúth lýtheias paréidhou tōn stratōn 'Anviba, kai ouî òs epifainesthai tois Karχhodovn eðárrei, all ékruppeto éin tē pólein. Skitipivos dé vàis tē Karχhodovn episthá̄s eírygen aútous ágoras átopo thalássth, ouk eúporoúntas ouî apò tēs nhis

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the escort left them. This he did, and some of them were killed with arrows. The others were wounded, but by using their oars got just in time into the harbour of their own camp and sprang from the ship when it was just being seized. So narrowly did they escape being taken prisoners.

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

36. Hannibal, in view of the magnitude of the war, asked them to call in Hasdrubal and the force he had in hand. Hasdrubal accordingly had his sentence repealed, and delivered his army over to Hannibal. Yet he did not even then dare to show himself to the Carthaginians, but concealed himself in the city. Scipio then blockaded Carthage with his fleet and cut off their supplies by sea, while they were poorly supplied from the land, which was un-
37. Ὅδε Ἀννίβας ἔσχατον ἀφιγμένος ἀπορίας, καὶ τὸ παρὸν ἐπινοῦν ὅπως δύνατο διαθέσαι, πρέσβεις ἐς Μασσανάσσην ἐπεμπεῖ, ὑπομνήμασκὼν τῇ ἑν Καρχηδόνι διατριβής καὶ παιδευσεως, καὶ παρακαλῶν ἐτί οἱ συναίγαγεῖν ἐσυνθήκας Σκιπίωνα: τὰ γὰρ πρότερα τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῶν ἀνοπτοτέρων τοῦ δήμου ἀμαρτήματα γενέσθαι. ὁ δὲ τῶ ὅντε τεθραμμένος τε καὶ τεπαιδευμένος ἐν Καρχηδόνι, καὶ τὸ ἀξίωμα τῆς πόλεως ἀιδούμενος τε καὶ φίλος ὅν ἔτι πολλοῖς ἐκείθεν, ἐδείξα τῷ Σκιπίωνος, καὶ συνήγαγεν αὐτοῦς αὐθίς ἐς τοιάσθεν συνθήκας ὅστε Καρχηδόνιους τὰς τε ναῦς καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας, οὓς ἔλαβον Ἦμωμοις ἀγορὰν φέροντας, ἀποδοῦναι, καὶ τὰ ἠρπασμένα ἅπαντα, ἡ τῶν ἀπολωλότων τιμῆν ἢν ἀν ὀρίσῃ Σκιπίων, ποιήσα τοῦ ἀδικήματος χῆλια ἀλαντα ἑσενεγκεῖν, τάδε μὲν ἢ τὰ συγκείμενα, καὶ γενομένων ἀνοχῶν μέχρι αὐτὰ μάθωσε Καρχηδόνιοι, ὁ μὲν Ἀννίβας ἐξ ἀελπτον περιεσώζετο,
THE PUNIC WARS

sown owing to the war. About this time there was a cavalry engagement between the forces of Hannibal and those of Scipio near Zama, in which the latter had the advantage. On the succeeding days they had sundry skirmishes until Scipio, learning that Hannibal was very short of supplies and was expecting a convoy, sent the military tribune, Thermus, by night to attack the supply train. Thermus took a position on the crest of a hill at a narrow pass, where he killed about 4000 Africans, took as many more prisoners, and brought the supplies to Scipio.

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

38. Καρχηδονίων δ' ή μὲν βουλὴ τὰ συμβάντα ὑπερηψάζετο, καὶ παρεκάλει τὸν δήμον ἐμμείναι τοῖς ἐγνωσμένοις, τὴν τε κακοπραγίαν σφῶν τὴν ἐς ἀπαντα διηγουμένη καὶ τὴν παροῦσαν ἀπορίαν στρατοῦ τε καὶ χρημάτων καὶ ἀγορᾶς. οἱ δὲ, οἷον χλος, ἀφρόνως ἡγούντο τοὺς στρατηγοὺς σφῶν δὲ ἐαυτοὺς ταῦτα 'Ῥωμαίοις συντίθεσθαι, ἵνα δὲ ἐκείνου δυναστεύσωσι τῆς πατρίδος· ὁ καὶ Ἀνώβαν νῦν καὶ Ἀσδρούβαν οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ ποιῆσαι τε, καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον νυκτὸς ἐγχειρίσαντα τοῖς πολεμίοις, μετ' ὅλγον καὶ ἐαυτὸν ἔθελησαι τῷ Σκυπίδωνι ἐνδοῦναι ἐπὶ τᾶς προσπελάσαντα, κρύπτεσθαι τε νῦν ἐν τῇ πόλει. Βοῆς δ' ἐπὶ τούτῳ καὶ θορύβου γενομένου. τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τινὲς καταλιπόντες ἐξῆτον Ἀσδρούβαν περιμόντες. ὁ δ' ἐφθάσε μὲν ἐς τὸν τοῦ πατρὸς τάφον καταφυγὸν καὶ φαρμάκῳ διαχρησάμενος αὐτὸν οἶ δὲ κάκειθεν αὐτοῦ τὸν νέκον ἐξελώντες, καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ ἀποτεμόντες περιέφερον ἐπὶ δόρατος ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν. Ἀσδρούβας μὲν δὴ καὶ τὸ πρῶτον ἄδίκως ἐξεπεπτώκει, καὶ τὸ δεύτερον ψευδῶς διεβέβλητο ὑπὸ Ἀνώβους, καὶ τότε πρὸς Καρχηδονίων οὕτως ἀνήρητο καὶ οὕτως ἀποθανοῦν ὑβρίζετο.

39. Καρχηδονίων δ' ἐπέστελλον Ἀνώβα λύσαι τὰς ἀνοχὰς καὶ πολεμεῖν Σκυπίωνι, κρίνατο δ' ὅτι τάχιστα τὸν πόλεμον μάχη διὰ τὴν ἀπορίαν. ὁ μὲν δὴ πέμψας ἐλυσε τὰς ἀνοχὰς, καὶ Σκυπίων Πάρθον τε, μεγάλην πόλιν, αὐτίκα προσπεσών εἶλε, καὶ 458
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VII

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

39. Then the Carthaginians ordered Hannibal to break the truce and begin war against Scipio, and to decide the war by a battle as soon as possible on account of the scarcity of provisions. Accordingly he sent word that the truce was at an end. Scipio at once attacked and took the great city of Parthus.
APPRIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK VIII

CAP. VII. Πλησίον Ἀννίβου μετεστρατοπέδευεν. ὁ δὲ ἀνεξεύγνυε, τρεῖς τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις κατασκόπους ἐπιπέμψας, οὐς ὁ Σκιπίων ἔλαβε τε καὶ οὐκ ἔκτεινε, ὅσπερ ἔθος τοὺς κατασκόπους κτείνειν, ἀλλ' ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ τὰς ὁπλοθήκας καὶ τὰ μηχανῆματα περιαχθῆναι κελεύσας, καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν γυμναζομένην ἱδεῖν, ἀπέλυσε φράζειν Ἀννίβα περὶ ἐκάστων. ὁ δὲ ἤξιωσεν ἔτι συνελθεῖν ἐς λόγους Σκιπίων, καὶ συνελθὼν ἔλεγεν Καρχηδονίοις ἀγανακτῆσαι τῇ πρότερον εἰρήνη διὰ τὰ χρήματα, καὶ εἰ τούτο ἐκλυθείσῃ, Σικελίας δὲ μόνον ἄξιοτοι οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ Ἱβηρίας καὶ νῆσων οὐσών ἁρχοντες κρατεῖν, ἔσσεθαι τὰς συνθήκες βεβαιῶσε. ὁ δὲ "πολύ," ἐφη, "κέρδος Ἀννίβα τῆς φυγῆς ἐσται τῆς ἐξ Ἰταλίας, εἰ ταῦτα προσλάβοι παρὰ Σκιπίων." καὶ ἀπηγόρευεν πέμπτους ἐτὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν. διαπειλησάμενοι τε ἄλληλοις ἀνεξεύγνυνοι ἐκάστερος ἐς τὸ αὐτοῦ στρατόπεδον.

40. Πόλις δ' ἐγγύς ἦν Κίλλα, καὶ παρ' αὐτὴν λόφος εὐφυῆς ἐς στρατοπεδείαν, δυν ἐπισωδὸν ὁ Ἀννίβας προλαβεῖν, ἐπεμπτε τινας διαγράφειν τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ εὐθὺς ἀναστήσεις ἐβάδιζεν ὡς ἔχων τὸν λόφον. Σκιπίων δ' αὐτὸν φθάσαντός τε καὶ προλαβόντος, ἀποληφθεῖς ἐν πεδίῳ μέσῳ καὶ ἀνύδρῳ διετέλει τὴν νύκτα πᾶσαν ὀρύσσων φρέατα, καὶ ὁ στράτος αὐτῷ διαμόμενος τὴν ψάμμον ὀλύγον καὶ θολερον ἐπισωδὸν ἐπιμόχθως, ἀθεράπευτοι τε καὶ ἁσίτοι, καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὁπλοῖς. 469
and encamped near Hannibal. The latter moved off, having sent three spies into the Roman camp. Scipio captured them, and did not put them to death, according to the custom of dealing with spies, but ordered that they should be taken around and shown the camp, the arsenals, the engines, and the army being drilled. He then set them free so that they might inform Hannibal concerning all these things. The latter asked for a further parley with Scipio, and when it was granted said that the Carthaginians were discontented with the former treaty on account of the money indemnity. If he would remit that, and if the Romans would content themselves with Sicily, Spain, and the islands they now held, the agreement would be lasting. "Hannibal's escape from Italy would be a great gain to him," said the other, "if he could in addition obtain these terms from Scipio." He then forbade Hannibal to send any more messages to him. After indulging in some mutual threats they departed, each to his own camp.

40. The town of Cilla was in the neighbourhood and near it was a hill well adapted for a camp. Hannibal, conceived the idea of seizing this hill, sent a detachment forward to mark out his camp, and at once started to march forward as though he were already in possession of it. But Scipio having anticipated him and seized it beforehand, he was cut off in the midst of a plain without water and was engaged all night digging wells. His army, by toiling in the sand, with great difficulty obtained a little muddy water to drink, and so they passed the night without food, without care for their bodies, and some of them without
APPRIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK VIII

CAP. VII

ἐνιοι, διενυκτέρευσαν. ὡν ὁ Σκιπίων αἰσθανόμενος προσέβαλεν ἀμα ἔφο κεκμηκόσιν ἐξ ὁδοῦ καὶ ἀγρυπνίας καὶ ἀνυδρίας. Ἀννίβας δ' ἦχθετο μέν, οὐχ ὅτε βούλωτο συνιὼν ἐς μάχην, ἑώρα δὲ ὡς εἴτε μένοι κατὰ χώραν, κακοπαθήσων ὑπὸ τῆς ἀνυδρίας, εἴτε φεύγοι, τὰ φρονήματα τῶν ἐγχθρῶν ἀναστήσων καὶ πολλὰ πεισόμενοι ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐπικειμένων. ὅθεν ἀναγκαῖον ἦν αὐτῷ μάχεσθαι. καὶ παρέτασσεν αὐτίκα ἄνδρας μὲν ἐς πεντακισ-μυρίων, ἐλέφαντας δὲ όγδοικουντα. ἦσθη δὲ πρώτοις μὲν τοὺς ἐλέφαντας, ἐκ διαστημάτων, ἐφ' ὅλου τοῦ μετώπου, φοιβορώτατα σκευάσας. καὶ ὑπ' αὐτοῖς ἦν τὸ τρίτον τῆς στρατιᾶς, Κελτοὶ καὶ Λίγυνες, τοξόται τε αὐτοῖς ἀνεμεμίχατο πάντη καὶ σφενδονύται Μαυρούσιοι τε καὶ Γυμνήσιοι. τού-των δ' ὁπισθεν ἡ δευτέρα τάξις ἦν, Καρχηδόνιοι τε καὶ Λίβυνες. τρίτοι δ' ὁσοὶ ἐξ Ἰταλίας εἴποντο αὐτῷ. οἷς δὴ καὶ μάλιστα, ὡς πλέον δεδίοσιν, ἐθάρρει. ἢ δ' ὅππος περὶ τὰ κέρατα ἦν.

41. Οὕτω μὲν Ἀννίβας ἐξέτασσε, Σκιπίων δὲ ἦσαν ἀμφὶ τοὺς διαμυρίους καὶ τρισχιλίους, ἱππεῖς δ' Ἰταλῶν καὶ Ῥωμαίων χίλιοι καὶ πεντα-κόσιοι. συνεμάχει δὲ Μασσανάσσης ἱππεύς Νομάσι πολλοῖς, καὶ Δακάμας έτερος δυνάστης ἱππεύς ἐξακοσίοις. τὸ μὲν οὖν πεζὸν ἔς τρεῖς καὶ ὅλω τάξεις ἐπέταττεν ὁμοίως Ἀννίβα. λόχους δ' ὅρθιοις ἐποιεῖτο πάντας, ἵνα δὲ αὐτῶν οἱ ἱππεῖς εὐχέρως διαθέοιεν. ἐφίστη δ' ἐκάστῳ λόχῳ προ-μάχους κατὰ μέτωπον, οἱ ξυλά παχεὰ διπήχη μάλιστα, πυκνὰ καὶ τὰ πολλὰ αὐτῶν σεσιδηρω-μένα, ἐμελλον ὡς καταπέλτας ἐκ χειρὸς ἐς τοὺς

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

41. Scipio had about 23,000 foot and 1500 Italian and Roman horse. He had as allies Masinissa with a large number of Numidian horse, and another prince, named Dacamas, with 600 horse. He drew up his infantry, like those of Hannibal, in three lines, and placed all his cohorts lengthwise, so that the cavalry might easily pass between them. In front of each cohort he stationed men armed with heavy stakes about two cubits long, mostly shod with iron, to throw at the oncoming elephants by hand,
APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK VIII

CAP. VII

έλέφαντας ἐπιόντας ἄφήσειν. παρήγγειλτο δ' αὐτοῖς τε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις πεζοῖς ἐκκλίνειν τὴν ὀρμὴν τῶν θηρίων, καὶ περιβένοντας ἀκουντίζειν ἐς αὐτὰ συνεχῶς, καὶ προσπελάξοντας, ὅτε δύναντο, ὑποτέμενε τὰ νεῦρα. οὕτω μὲν οἱ πεζοὶ διετάχατο τῷ Ἑκταίρῳ: τοὺς δ' ἰππέας τοὺς μὲν Νομαδικοὺς ἐπέστησε τοῖς κέρασιν, εἰδισμένους τὴν τῶν ἐλεφάντων ὄψιν καὶ ὀδυμήν φέρειν, τοὺς δὲ Ἰταλικοὺς διὰ τὸ ἀνθέσεις ὁπίσω πάντων, ἐτοίμους ἐπελθεῖν διὰ τῶν διαστημάτων, ὅτε τὴν πρώτην τῶν ἐλεφάντων ὀρμὴν ὑπομείνειν οἱ πεζοὶ. παρ' ἐκαστὸν δὲ τῶν ἰππέων τῶν ὑπηρέτης ἦν πολλὰ ἀκόντια φέρων, οἷς ἐπενοεῖ τὰ θηρία ἀμώνεσθαι. οὕτω μὲν αὐτῷ καὶ ἡ ἰππος εἶχε, παρεδίδου δὲ τὸ μὲν δεξίον Δαιλίῳ, τὸ δὲ λαίον Ὀκτανίῳ. ἐν δὲ τοῖς μέσοις ἦσπερ αὐτὸς τε καὶ Ἀννίβας, κατὰ δόξαν ἀλλήλων, ἔχοντες ἁμφ' αὐτοὺς ἰππέας, ἐπικουρεῖν ὅπη τι πονούμενον ἱδοιεν, ὁ μὲν Ἀννίβας τετρακισχιλίους, ὁ δὲ Ἑκταίρῳ δισχιλίους, καὶ τοὺς τριακοσίους Ἰταλοὺς οὗς αὐτὸς ὁπλίσεν ἐν Σικελίᾳ.

42. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐτοίμα ἦν αὐτοῖς, ἐπέτρεψε τοὺς ἰδίους ἐπιστέρχων ἐκάτερος, ὁ μὲν Ἑκταίρῳ τοὺς θεοὺς κατακαλῶν ἐν ὑψεῖ τῶν στρατευμένων, ἐς οὓς τὰς Καρχηδόνιοι παρεσπονδήκεσαν ὁσάκις ἔλυσι τὰ συγκείμενα, καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν ἄξιον μή ἐς τὸ πλήθος τῶν πολεμίων ὑφόραν, ἀλλ' ἐς τὴν ἀρετὴν αὐτῶν, ἦ καὶ πρότερον τῶν ἐξήραν πλείων ὄντων ἐπεκράτησαν ἐν τῇ τῇ γῇ. εἰ δ' ἔστι καὶ τοῖς νικήσασιν ἐπὶ τῷ μέλλοντι φόβος ἢ δέος ἢ ἀμφιβολία, τόσοι ταῦτα τοῖς νευκηκμένοις πλεονάζειν ἀνάγκη. οὕτω μὲν οἱ Ἑκταίρων ἡρέθιζε
like catapult bolts. He ordered these and the other foot-soldiers to avoid the impetus of these beasts, and to run round and continually hurl javelins at them, and to get near them and hamstring them whenever they could. In this way Scipio disposed his infantry; but his Numidian horse he stationed on his wings because they were accustomed to the sight and smell of elephants. And as the Italian horse were not so, he placed them in the extreme rear, ready to charge through the intervals of the foot-soldiers when the latter should have checked the first onset of the elephants. To each horseman was assigned an attendant armed with plenty of darts with which to ward off the attack of these beasts. In this way was his cavalry disposed, Laelius commanding the right wing, and Octavius the left, while both he and Hannibal took their stations in the centre, out of respect for each other, having a body of horse with them, in order to send reinforcements wherever they might be needed. Of these Hannibal had 4000 and Scipio 2000, besides the 300 Italians whom he had himself armed in Sicily.

42. When everything was ready each general rode up and down encouraging his soldiers. Scipio, in the sight of his army, invoked the gods, whom the Carthaginians had offended every time they violated the treaties. He told the soldiers not to think of the numbers of the enemy but of their own valour, by which aforetime these same enemies, in even greater numbers, had been overcome in this same country. If fear, anxiety, and doubt oppress those who have hitherto been victorious, how much more, he said, must these feelings weigh upon the vanquished. Thus did Scipio encourage his forces.
CAP. VII

te kai parēgōreis tēs θλυγότητος. Ὅ δὲ Ἀννίβας
tōn te ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ γεγονότων ἐργῶν ὑπεμιμησκέν
αυτούς, ὡς λαμπρὰ καὶ μεγάλα πράξειαν, οὐκ ἐπὶ
Νομάδων ἄλλα ἐπὶ πᾶσιν Ἰταλοῖς κατὰ τὴν
Ἰταλίαν, καὶ τὴν θλυγότητα τῶν ἔχθρων αὐτοθέν
ἐστὼς ἐπεδείκνυε, καὶ παρεκάλει μὴ χείρος
θλυγοτέρων ἐν οἰκείᾳ γῇ πλέονας οὕτως ὀφθήναι.
tὸν δὲ κίνδυνον τοῦ παρόντος ἀγώνος καὶ τὸ
μέγεθος ἐκάτερος τοῖς ἰδίοις ὑπερετήρει, Ἀννίβας
μὲν ὁ Ἰαρχείδα καὶ Διῆν ἀπασαν ὁ ἀγῶν
ὡς κρινεῖ, ἢ δούλην εὐθὺς ἡσσωμένων εἶναι, ἢ ἐσ-
tὸ ἐπειτα ἀρχεῖν ἀπάντων ὃν ἐπεκράτουν, Σκιτίων
δ' ὁ νικομένωις μὲν οὐδ' ἀναχώρησις ἔστω
ἀσφαλῆς, ἐπικρατοῦσι δὲ ἀρχὴ μεγάλη προ-
γήγεται καὶ ἀνάπαυλα πόνων τῶν παρόντων καὶ
ἐσ τὸ οἰκεία ἀπόπλους καὶ ἐς τὸ μέλλον εὐκλεια.

43. Οὗτοι παροξύναν τοὺς ἰδίους ἐκάτερος ἐς τὸν
ἀγώνα συνήσαν, Ἀννίβας μὲν σαλπίγγων
κατάρξας, Σκιτίων δ' ἀντιχεῖν κελεύσας. συνιῶ-
tων δ' αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν ἐλέφαντες κατήρχον τῆς
μάχης, ἐς τὸ φοβερῶτατον ἐσκευασμένοι καὶ τοῖς
κέντροις ἐξοτρυνόμενοι πρὸς τῶν ἐπικαθημένων
περιβέβοντες δ' αὐτοὺς ὁ Νομάδες ἰππεῖς ἐση-
κοί τιξον ἄθροώς, μέχρι τρωθέντας τε καὶ φεύγο-
τας καὶ δυσπειθῶς ἡ ἑκοντας ἀπήγαγον ἐκ τῆς
μάχης οἱ ἐπιβάται. καὶ τάδε μὲν ὡς περὶ τοὺς
ἀμφὶ τὰ κέρατα ἐλέφαντας δ' ἐν μέσῃ τῇ
φάλαγγι τούς Ῥωμαίων πεζῶν κατεπάτουν,
ἀπείροισκε τῇ μάχῃ τοίοσκο ἄντας καὶ βαρεῖς ὑπὸ
tῆς ὁπλίσεως, καὶ παρ' αὐτῷ φεύγειν εὐκόλως ἢ
dιάκειν οὖ ὑνναμένους, ἐως ὁ Σκιτίων τοὺς
ἰππέας τοὺς Ἰταλικοὺς, ὁπίσω τεταγμένους καὶ
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and console them for their inferiority in numbers. Chap. VII Hannibal reminded his men of what they had done in Italy, and of their great and brilliant victories won, not over Numidians, but over armies composed entirely of Italians, and throughout Italy. He pointed out, from where he stood, the smallness of the enemy’s force, and exhorted them not to show themselves inferior to a less numerous body in their own country. Each general magnified to his own men the consequences of the coming engagement. Hannibal said that the battle would decide the fate of Carthage and all Africa; if vanquished, they would be enslaved forthwith, if victorious, they would for ever rule over all the vanquished. Scipio said that there was not even any safe refuge for his men if they were vanquished, but if victorious there would be a great increase of the Roman power, a rest from their present labours, a speedy return home, and glory forever after.

43. Having thus exhorted their men they joined battle. Hannibal first ordered the trumpets to sound, and Scipio responded in like manner. The elephants began the fight decked out in fearful panoply and urged on with goads by their riders. But the Numidian horse flying around them incessantly thrust darts into them, until being wounded and put to flight and having become unmanageable, their riders took them out of the combat. This is what happened to the elephants on both wings; but those in the centre trampled down the Roman infantry, who were not accustomed to that kind of fighting and were not able to avoid or to pursue them easily on account of their heavy armour, until Scipio brought up the Italian cavalry, who were

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APPOLIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK VIII

CAP. VII.

κοφότερον ἐσκευασμένοις, ἐπαγαγών ἀποβήναι τῶν ἵππων τραγασσεμένων ἐκέλευσε, καὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας περιθέουτας ἐσακοντίζειν. πρώτος τε αὐτῶς ἀποβάς ἔτρωσε τὸν προπηδῶντα τῶν ἐλέφαντων. θερησάντων δὲ τῶν ἄλλων, καὶ τυρρισκόντων ἤδη πανταχόθεν αὐτοῖς, καὶ οἴδε ὑπεχώρουν.

44. Καὶ γενομένης τῆς μάχης καθαρὰς θηρίων, ὁ ἀγών ἐγίγνετο μόνων ἄνδρῶν τε καὶ ἱππῶν. τὸ μὲν οὖν δεξίον τὸ Ῥωμαίων, οὐ Δαιλός ἐπεστάτει, τρέπεται τοὺς ἐναντίον Νομάδας. Μασσανάσσου βαλόντος αὐτῶν τὸν δυνάστην Μασσάθην οξέως δὲ αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἀννίβας ἐπι- δραμὼν συνέτασε τὴν μάχην. τὸ δὲ λαιόν, ἐνθα Ῥωμαίων μὲν Ὀκτάουοι ἐπεστάτει, τῶν δὲ πολεμίων Κέλτων καὶ Λίγνως ἦσαν, ἐπόνει μᾶλα καρτερῶς ἐκατέρως. καὶ Σκιπίων μὲν ἔσπεμπτε Θέρμον τὸν χιλιάρχου ἐπικουρεῖν μετ' ἐπιλέκτων ὁ Ἀννίβας δὲ ἐπεί τὸ λαιόν συνέστησεν, ἐς τοὺς Λίγνας καὶ Κέλτους μεθίππευεν, ἐπάγων ἀμα τὴν δευτέραν τάξιν Καρχηδονίων τε καὶ Λιβύων. κατ- ἰδὼν δὲ αὐτῶν ὁ Σκιπίων ἀντιπαρῆγε μεθ' ἐτέρου στίφους. δύο δὲ στρατηγῶν ἀρίστων ἐς ἀγώνα συνιόντων ἔριν ἐν τῶν ὑφ᾽ ἐκατέρρει λαμπρὰ καὶ δέος, καὶ προθυμίας οὐδετέροις τι ἐνέλπε, σφοδροῦ καὶ οξέος ὄντος πόνον τε καὶ παρακελεύεσως.

45. Μακράς δὲ καὶ ἄκριτου τῆς μάχης οὐσης, οἱ στρατηγοὶ τοὺς κάμυντας ἐλευντές ὄρμων ἐπὶ ἄλληλους ὡς ἐν σφίσι τῆς κρίσεως ταχυτέρας ἐσομένης. καὶ ἠκόντισαν ὁμοί, Σκυπίων μὲν Ἄννι- βου τὴν ἀσπίδα, δὲ Ἄννιβας ἔτυχε τοῦ ἱπποῦ.
THE PUNIC WARS

in the rear and more lightly armed, and ordered them to dismount from their frightened horses, and run round and shoot at the elephants. He was himself the first to dismount and wound the foremost elephant. The others were encouraged by his example, and inflicted wounds upon the elephants from all sides, so that these also withdrew.

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

45. As the battle was long and undecided, the two generals had compassion on their tired soldiers and rushed upon each other in order by personal combat to bring it to a more speedy decision. They threw their javelins at the same time, and Scipio pierced Hannibal’s shield, while Hannibal hit Scipio’s
καὶ ὁ Ἰππὸς ὑπὸ τῆς πλήγης ἐξέφερεν ὅπισώ τοῦ Σκιπίωνα, μέχρι περιβαλεῖ έτερον ἵππον αὖθις ἐς τὸν Ἀννίβαν ἠκόντισεν. ἀλλ' ἀπέτυχεν αὐτοῦ καὶ τότε, τὸν δὲ ἰππέα τὸν ἐγκύος ἔβαλεν. ἦκε δ' ἐν τούτῳ καὶ Μασσανάσσης πυθόμενος. καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὸν στρατηγὸν ὁρῶντες στρατιωτικῶς σφῶν ὑπερμαχόμενον, καρτερώτερεν τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐνέπεσον καὶ ἐτέρψαντο καὶ φεύγοντας ἐδίωκον οὐδὲ παριππεύοντο αὐτοῖς τοῦ Ἀννίβου καὶ δεομένου στῆναι καὶ τῆς μάχης αὖθις ἐς πείραν ἠλθείν ἐτι ἐπείδθοντο. ἀπογνώσαν οὖν αὐτῶν ὁ Ἀννίβας τοὺς ἐξ Ἰταλίας οἱ συνελθόντας, ἐφεδρεύοντας ἐτὶ καὶ ἀτρεμοῦντας, ἤγεν ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην, ἐλπίζας Ῥωμαίοις ἀτε διώκοντον ἀσυντακτοτέροις ἐπιπεσεῖσθαι. οἱ δὲ τὸ ἐνθύμημα αὐτοῦ θεασάμενοι, μετὰ σπουδῆς ἀλλήλους ἐκ τῆς διώξεως ἀνεκάλουν, καὶ συνενάσσοντο αὖθις ἐς μάχην. οὕτε δὲ ἰππῶν σφίσσει παρόντων οὔτε ἀκοντίων ἐτι ὄντων, ξίφεσιν ἐς ἀλλήλους ἔχρωντο καὶ συνεπλέκοντο. φόνος τε ἦν πολὺς ἐνθάδε μάλιστα καὶ τραύματα μέγιστα, καὶ πιπτόντων στόνος καὶ ἀναιροῦντων μεγαλαυχία, μέχρι ποτὲ καὶ τούσδε ἐτέρψαντο οἱ Ιταλοὶ καὶ φεύγονσιν εἶποντο, κρίσις τε ἦν λαμπρὰ τοῦ πολέμου. 46. Καὶ ὁ Ἀννίβας ἐν τῇ φυγῇ θεασάμενος ἰππέων Νομάδων πλῆθος συνεστώς, προσδραμῶν ἤξιον μὴ προλυπεῖν αὐτόν, καὶ πέσας ἐπῆγε τοῖς διώκονσιν, ἐλπίζας ἐργάσεσθαι τινα παλινδίωξιν. τρώτοις δὲ Μασσυλίοις ἐντυχῶν ἐμάχετο, καὶ μόνος ἦν ἐτι οὗτος ὁ ἀγὼν Μασσανάσσου καὶ
horse. The horse, smarting from the wound, carried Scipio towards the rear, until, mounting another, he again hurled a dart at Hannibal, but missed him a second time and struck the horseman next him. At this junction, Masinissa, hearing of the crisis, came up, and the Romans seeing their general fighting as a common soldier, fell upon the enemy more vehemently than before, routed them, and pursued them in flight. Nor could Hannibal, who rode by the side of his men and besought them to make a stand and renew the battle, prevail upon them to do so. Therefore, despairing of these, he turned to the Italians who had come with him, and who were still in reserve and had not been moved, and led them into the fight, hoping to fall upon the Romans, who were pursuing in disorder. But they perceived his intention, and speedily called one another back from the pursuit and restored the line of battle. As, however, their horse were no longer with them and they were destitute of missiles, they now fought sword in hand in close combat. There especially great slaughter ensued and terrible wounds were received, accompanied by the vaunts of the slayers and the groans of the dying, until, finally, the Italians routed these also and followed them in their flight, and in this brilliant manner the war was decided.

46. Hannibal in his flight seeing a mass of Numidian horse collected together, ran up and besought them not to desert him. Having secured their promise, he led them against the pursuers, hoping still to turn the tide of battle. The first whom he encountered were the Massylians, and now a single combat between Masinissa and Hannibal
CAP. VII

'Αννίβαν συνεστώτων. φερομένων δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ ἀλλήλους ὑπὸ προθυμίας, ἐς μὲν τὴν ἀσπίδα ὁ Μασσανάσσης ἥκοντισε βαλῶν, ὁ δὲ 'Αννίβας καὶ τότε ἔτυχε τοῦ ἱπποῦ. καὶ ὁ Μασσανάσσης ἐκπεσὼν πεζὸς ἐπὶ τὸν 'Αννίβαν ὄμως, τὸν τε ἐπελαύνοντά τι πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἱππεά βαλῶν ἀπέκτεινεν. καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν τὰ ἁκοντια ἐς τὸν ἑλεφαντιστὴν ἐκδεχόμενος, ἐν τῶν ἐμπεπηγώτων ἐξεῖλε, καὶ ἁκοντίσας ἐς τὸν 'Αννίβαν αὐθίς οὐδ’ ὅς ἐπετύγχανεν, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἐγγὺς ἱππεά καὶ ὅδε ἀπέκτεινεν. ἔτερον δ’ ἐξέλκων ἐς τῶν βραχίων ἐτρόμη, καὶ ὑπεχώρησεν ἐκ τῆς μάχης ἐπὶ ὁλίγων. Σκιπίων δὲ πυθόμενος ἐδείσε περὶ τῷ Μασσανάσσης, καὶ ἐς τὸ ἔργον ἦπειγατον καὶ ἴπτε τῷ Μασσανάσσην ἐς τὴν μάχην αὐθίς ἐπὶ ἱπποῦ φερόμενον ἔτερον, τὸ τραύμα ἐπιδήσαντα. ὁ τε ἀγὼν ἂν ἰσος αὐθίς αὐτῷ καὶ πάνω καρτέρος, αἰδουμένων τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἐκατέρων, ἔως ὁ 'Αννίβας ἐπὶ τοῦ λόφου θεασάμενος Ἡβηρας καὶ Κελτοῦς συνεστῶτας ἐξίππευσεν ὅσ κακείνους ἑτάξων. τότε γὰρ οἱ μαχόμενοι, τῆς μὲν αἰτίας οὐ συνιέντες, τὴν δ’ ἀποχώρησιν αὐτοῦ φυγήν ὑπολαβόντες εἰναι, τὸν ἄγωνα μεθήκαν ἐκόντες καὶ ἐφυγὼν ἀκόσμως, οὐχ ἂπερ ἑώρων 'Αννίβαν, ἀλλ’ ὅτη τύχοιεν ἐκαστοί. καὶ οἱ μὲν οὕτω διελύθησαν, 'Ῥωμαίοι δ’ αὐτοῦ, ὡς τετελεσμένης τῆς μάχης, ἐδίωκον ἀτάκτως, οὐδ’ αὐτοὶ τῆς 'Αννίβου προαρέσεως συνιέντες.

47. ὁ δ’ ἐπανῆνες πεφραγμένος Ἡβηρας καὶ Κελτοῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ λόφου. καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων αὐθίς ἐκ τῆς διώξεως τοὺς 'Ῥωμαίους ἀνεκάλει μετὰ σπουδῆς, καὶ παρέτασσε πολὺ πλείονας τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ
THE PUNIC WARS

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

47. Presently Hannibal returned protected by the Spanish and Celtic troops from the hill. Scipio hastened to recall the Romans from the pursuit, and formed a new line of battle which considerably out-
ΑΠΙΑΝΟΣ ΡΩΜΑΙΚΟΣ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑ, ΒΟΟΚ ΨΙΩ

CAP. VII λόφον καταβεβηκότων ὁδεν αὐτῶν οὐ δυσχερώς περιεγέγυμετο. Ἀνύβασι δὲ καὶ τῆς τῆς πειρας τελευταίας γενομένης ἀποτυχών, ἐφευγεν ἢδη σαφῶς ἀπογνοὺς ἄπαντα. καὶ αὐτὸν ἐδώκον ἵππεις ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ καὶ Μασσαπάσης, περιώδυνος ὁν ἐκ τοῦ τραύματος, ἀεὶ τε πλησιάζων, καὶ μέγα ποιούμενος αἰχμάλωτον Ἀνύβαν ἀγαγεῖν Σκιπίων. τὸν δὲ νυὲ ἐρρύσατο, καὶ σκότιος μετ’ εἰκοσιν ἵππεων, τὸν δυνηθέντων συν αὐτῷ συνανύσαι τὸν δρόμον, ἐς πόλιν κατέφυγεν ἡ δομα Θών, ἐνθα Βρεττίων ἐγνω καὶ Ἰβήρων ἵππεας πολλοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς ήττης συμπεφευγότας. δείσας οὖν περὶ μὲν τῶν Ἰβήρων ὡς βαρβάρων ταχυέργων, περὶ δὲ Βρεττίων ὡς Ἰταλών ὁμοεθνῶν Σκιπίων, μὴ ἐς συγγρόμων ὁν ἐξήμαρτον ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, προσαγάγωσιν αὐτὸν τῷ Σκιπίων, λαθὼν ἐξέφυγε μεθ’ ἐνος ἱππεῶς, ὃ μάλιστ’ ἐπίστευεν. σταδίους δ’ ἀνύσας ἐς τρισχιλίους δύο νυὲ τε καὶ ἡμέραις, ἤκου ἐς πόλιν ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃς Ἀδρυμητοῦν, ἐνθα τι μέρος ὑν αὐτῷ στρατιάς σιτοφυλακοῦν. περιπέμπτων δ’ ἔς τὰ πλησίον, καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῆς μάχης διαφυγόντας ἀναλαμβάνων, ὅπλα καὶ μηχανήματα εἰργάζετο.

VIII

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

VIII

48. Now Scipio, having gained this splendid victory, girded himself for sacrifice, and burned with his own hands, as is the custom of the Roman generals, the less valuable spoils of the enemy. He sent to Rome ten talents of gold, 2500 talents of silver, a quantity of carved ivory,
μένον καὶ τοὺς ἐπιφανεῖς τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἔπεμπε, καὶ Δαίλιον ἐξαγγελοῦντα περὶ τῆς νίκης, ἐπὶ
νέων . . , τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ ἀποδόμενος τὴν τιμήν ἐπιδιείλε τῷ στρατῷ, καὶ δώρα τοῖς ἀριστεύσασιν
ἐδίδον, καὶ Μασσανάσσαν ἐστεφάνως καὶ τότε.
καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἐπὶ τῶν ἔχειροντο. τὸ μὲν δὴ τέλος
τῆς Ἀννίβου τε καὶ Σκιτίων ἐν Διβύῃ μάχης,
tότε πρῶτον ἀλλήλους ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθόντων, τούτῳ
ἡ, ἀπέθανον δὲ Ρωμαίων μὲν δισχίλιοι καὶ
πεντακόσιοι, Μασσανάσσου δὲ ἐς πλείονες, καὶ
τῶν πολεμίων δισμύριοι καὶ πεντακισχίλιοι,
ἀιχμάλωτοι δὲ ἐλήφθησαν ὀκτακισχίλιοι καὶ
πεντακόσιοι, καὶ Ἰβηρες ἦτομόλησαν πρὸς
Σκιτίωνα τρικόσιοι, καὶ Νομάδες πρὸς Μασ-
σανάσσην ὀκτακόσιοι.

49. Οὕτω δὲ οὕτε Καρχηδόνιοι τῶνδε οὐτέ
Ῥωμαίοι πυθόμενοι, οἱ μὲν ἐπέστελλον Μάγωνι,
ξενολογοῦντι ἢ τι Κελτούς, ἐσβαλεῖν ἐς τὴν
Ἰταλίαν, εἰ δύνατο, ἢ ἐς Λιβύην μετὰ τῶν
μυσθοφόρων καταπλεύσαι, οἱ δὲ, τῶνδε τῶν
γραμμάτων ἀλόντων καὶ ἐς Ρώμην κομμηθέντων,
στρατιὰν ἄλλην καὶ ἱπποὺς καὶ ναῦς καὶ χρῆ-
ματα ἐπέμπον τῷ Σκιτίωνι. ὁ δὲ ἦδη τῇ Καρ-
χηδόνι κατὰ μὲν τὴν γῆν ἐπέπεμπεν Ὀκτάουνον,
tαῖς δὲ ναυσὶν αὐτὸς ἐπέπλει. καὶ οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι
tὴν ἡσσάν Ἀννίβου πυθόμενοι, πρέσβεις ἐπὶ
κελητίου προσέπεμπον τῷ Σκιτίωνι, ὃν ἦγουντο
Ἀνναν τῶν ἐς μέγας λεγόμενος καὶ Ἀσδρούβας ὁ
ἔριφος. οὐ τὸ κηρύκειον ὄψηλον ἐστησαν ἐπὶ τῆς
πρόφας, καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ὀρεγον ἔς τὸν Σκιτίωνα
ἰκετῶν τρόπον. ὁ δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευσεν ἥκειν ἐς
τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ ἐλθοῦσαν ἐφ' ὄψηλον προκαθ-
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and the most distinguished of the captives in ships, and Laelius to carry news of the victory. The remainder of the spoils he sold, and divided the proceeds among the troops. He also made presents for distinguished valour, and crowned Masinissa again. He also visited the cities and received their submission. Such was the result of the engagement between Hannibal and Scipio, who here met in combat for the first time. The Roman loss was 2500 men, that of Masinissa still more. That of the enemy was 25,000 killed, and 8500 taken prisoners. Three hundred Spaniards deserted to Scipio, and 800 Numidians to Masinissa.

49. Before the news reached either Carthage or Rome, the former sent word to Mago, who was still collecting Gallic mercenaries, to invade Italy if possible, and if not, to set sail with his mercenaries for Africa. These letters being intercepted and brought to Rome, another army, together with horses, ships, and money, was despatched to Scipio. He had already sent Octavius by the land route to Carthage, and was going thither himself with his fleet. When the Carthaginians learned of Hannibal's defeat they sent ambassadors to Scipio on a small fast-sailing ship, of whom the leaders were Hanno the Great and Hasdrubal Eriphus, who bore the herald's staff aloft on the prow and stretched out their hands toward Scipio in the manner of suppliants. He directed them to come to the camp, and when they had arrived he attended to their
APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK VIII

CAP. VIII

ήμενος ἔχρηματιζεν. οἱ δὲ μετ' οὐμωγῆς ἔναυτος ἔρριπτον ἐσ τὸ ἔδαφος, καὶ τῶν ὑπηρετῶν ἀνιστάντων καὶ λέγειν κελεύντων ὁ τι θέλοιεν, Ἆσδρούβας ὁ ἔριφος εἶπεν. 50. "ἐμοὶ μὲν ἔστιν, ὡς Ῥωμαῖοι, καὶ Ἀνων τῷθε, καὶ ὅσοι Καρχηδονίων ἐμφρονεῖς, καθαρεύεις ἀμαρτημάτων ἡμῶν ἔπικαλεῖτε τοὺς γὰρ πρόσβεις ὑμῶν, ἐστὶ δὲ ἔξημαρτεν ἡ πατρὶς ἀκοῦσα ὑπὸ λιμοῦ, περιεσώζομεν καὶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐπέμπομεν. χρῆ δ' ὑμᾶς μηδὲ Καρχηδονίων καταγιγνώσκειν ἀπάντων, οὗ γε τὴν εἰρήνην καὶ πρότερον ἦττησαν καὶ λαβόντες προθύμως ὑμνοῦν. εἰςδ' αἲ πόλεις ἐπὶ τὸ χείρον εὐπεπίστρεψον, καὶ τὸ πρὸς χίριν ἄρι παρὰ τοῖς πλήθεσιν ἐπικρατεῖ. ἀ καὶ ἡμῖς ἐπάθομεν, οὕτε πείσατι δυνηθέντες τὸ πλῆθος οὐτ' ἐπισχεῖν διὰ τοὺς ἔκει μὲν διαβάλλοντας ἡμᾶς, παρὰ δὲ ὑμῖν τὴν παρρησίαν ἡφηρημένους. μὴ δὴ ἀπὸ τῆς ὑμετέρας εὐπεθείας ἡ εὐβουλίας, ὡς Ῥωμαῖοι, τὰ παρ' ὑμῖν κρίνετε, ἀλλ' εἰ τῷ καὶ τὸ πεισθῆναι τοῖς ἐπιτρίβουσιν ἀδίκημα εἶναι δοκεῖ, τῶν λιμῶν ἐπίδεσθε, καὶ τὴν ἀνάγκην ἡ γέγονεν ἡμῶν ὑπὸ τῶν πάθους. οὐ γὰρ δὴ τῶν αὐτῶν ἔρχον ἐκούσιν ὑπὸ ἀρτὶ μὲν περὶ εἰρήνης παρακαλεῖν, καὶ χρῆματα τοσαῦτα διδόναι, καὶ τῶν νεῶν τῶν μακρῶν πλὴν ὀλίγων ἄφιστασθαι, καὶ τὸ πολὺ τῆς ἀρχῆς ὑμῶν παρίεναι, καὶ περὶ τῶν ὁμόν τῶν ἡμετέρων πρόσβεσιν παρ' ὑμῖν ἐκόντας ἀμαρτεῖν. ἀλλὰ μάλιστα μὲν θεῶν τις ἐβλάφη, καὶ ὁ χειμῶν ὁ τὴν ἄγοραν ὑμῶν ἔστιν Καρχηδόνα καταγαγών· ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ χειμῶν ὁ
THE PUNIC WARS

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

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

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CAP. VIII λιμής ἡμᾶς ὑφείλετο μὴ καλῶς ύπερ τῶν ἄλλο-
τρίων φρονήσαι, πάντων ἐυδεεις ὄντας. οὐδὲ
λογισμόν αἰτεῖν ἀξίων παρὰ πλῆθους ἀσυντάκτου
καὶ ἄνυχούντος.

51. Εἰ δὲ καὶ διὰ ἄδικειν ὕμιν δοκοῦμεν, οὐκ
ἀτυχεῖν, ὁμολογοῦμεν, καὶ δὴ αὐτὸ καὶ παρακα-
λοῦμεν. ἔστε δὲ τῶν μὲν οὐδὲν ἀμαρτόντων
δικαιολογία, τῶν δὲ ἀμαρτόντων παράκλησις.
ἐφ' ἢ ταχύτερος ἐστιν ὁ τῶν εὐτυχοῦντων ἔλεος,
τὰ ἀνθρωπεία ὑφορμένων, ὅταν αἰσθηνται διὰ
τὰς αἰφνιδίους μεταβολὰς παρακαλοῦντας τοὺς
ἐχθὲς ἄδικειν δυναμένους. οἷα καὶ Ἡ Καρχηδονίων
πόλις, ἡ τῆς Διβύης μεγίστη καὶ δυνατώτατη
ναυσὶ καὶ χρήσιν ὁμοῦ καὶ ἐλέφασι καὶ
στρατῷ πεζῷ τε καὶ ἵππικῷ, καὶ υπηκόους
πολλοὺς, ἐπτακοσίους ἔστειν ἀνθήσασα, καὶ
Διβύης πάσης καὶ ἄλλων ἐθνῶν καὶ νήσων καὶ
θαλάσσης τοσῆς δραχα, καὶ ὕμιν αὐτοῖς ἐς
ἀμφίριστον ἐπὶ πλείστου ἐλθοῦσα, νῦν οὐκ ἐν
τῇ θαλάσσῃ καὶ ταῖς ναυσίν, οὐδὲ ἐν τοῖς ἐλέφασι
καὶ ὕπποις, οὐδὲ ἐν τοῖς ὑπηκόοις, ὁποῖοι πάντων ὑμῖν
ἀφίσταται, τὴν ἐπιδίᾳ τῆς σωτηρίας, ἀλλ' ἐν
αὐτοῖς ὕμιν ἔχει τοὺς προπεπονθοῦσι κακῶς.
ἀ
χρὴ διορθωθῆναι ὑμᾶς, καὶ τὴν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς νέμεσιν
φυλασσομένους, μετριοπαθῶς χρῆσθαι ταῖς εὐ-
πραξίαις, καὶ τῆς σφετέρας αὐτῶν, ὁ Ῥωμαῖοι,
megaloφροσύνης καὶ τῆς Καρχηδονίων ποτὲ
tύχης ἀξία πράσσειν, τάς τε τοῦ δαμοῦν μετα-
βολὰς ἀνεπιφθόνως ἐν ταῖς ἡμετέραις συμφοραῖς
diατίθεσθαι, ἵνα καὶ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς ἀναμαρτήτα
ἡ τὰ ὑμέτερα ὑμῖν, καὶ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους ἄξιε-
paina πάντας.

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

51. "But if even so you consider us guilty, not unfortunate, we confess our fault and for this very reason entreat you. Justification belongs to the innocent, entreaty to those who have offended. Entreaty makes the fortunate more ready to extend pity to others, when they observe the mutability of human affairs, and see people craving mercy to-day who yesterday were powerful enough to wrong others. Such is the condition of Carthage, the greatest and most powerful city of Africa in ships and money, in elephants, in infantry and cavalry, and in subject peoples, which has flourished 700 years and held sway over all Africa and so many other nations, islands, and seas, standing for a very long time on an equality with yourselves, but which now places her hope of safety not in her dominion of the sea, her ships, her elephants, her horses, her subjects, all of which she surrenders to you, but in yourselves, whom we have heretofore shamefully treated. Contemplating these facts, Romans, it is fit that you should beware of the Nemesis which presides over them, and should use your good fortune mercifully, to do deeds worthy of your own magnanimity and of the former fortunes of Carthage, and to deal with the changes which Providence has ordered in our affairs without reproach, so that your conduct may both be blameless before the gods and also win the praises of all mankind.

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CAP. VIII

52. Οὐ γὰρ δὴ μὴ μετάθωνται γε καὶ νῦν οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι δέος ἕστιν, οἳ τοσόνδε μετάνοιαν καὶ δίκην τῆς πρὶν ἀγνωμοσύνης ύφιστανται. ἐστὶ δ' ἀναμαρτησίας τοῖς μὲν σώφροσιν ἡ εὐβουλία φυλακή, τοῖς δ' ἀμαρτοῦσι τὸ προπαθεῖν καὶ μεταγνώναι. βεβαιοτέρον τε εἰκὸς ἑστὶ τοὺς νενοθετημένους εἶναι τῶν ἀπειράτων. οὐδ' ἄξιον Καρχηδόνιοι ύμᾶς ὃμότητα καὶ ἀμαρτίαι ἐπίκαλοῦντας ταῦτα μιμεῖσθαι τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἀνυχοῦσιν ἐτέρων ἀμαρτημάτων ἀρχούσιν ὑπὸ τῆς ἀπορίας αἱ συμφοραί, τοῖς δ' εὖ πράσσοντος καὶ ἐξονοσία τὸ φιλάνθρωπον ἐστιν. οὐδὲ εὐκλεῖς, οὐδὲ συμφέρον ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν ύμῶν ἐστὶ πόλιν τοσοῦτος καθαρεῖν μᾶλλον ἡ περισσότερος ἐστὶ δὲ ἀμείνους μὲν ύμῶν τῶν ὑμέτερων συμφερόντων κριταί, ἡμεῖς δ' ύμῖν ἐς τὴν έαυτῶν σωτηρίαν δύο ταῦτα μάλιστα φέρομεν ἐκ πάντων, τὸ τῆς Καρχηδόνιοι ποτὲ ἄξιον ἁρχής, καὶ τὴν υμετέρων αὐτῶν ἐς πάντα μετριοπάθειαν, ἡ μετατῶν ὁπλῶν ἐς τοσοῦτον ύμᾶς ἐπήρεην ἁρχῆς καὶ δυνάμεως. τίς δὲ συνθήκαις, ἃν ἄρα διδώτε τῇ εἰρήνῃ, χρησίμεθα περὶ αὐτῆς, περισσοῦ λέγεω τοῦ ἐφ' ύμῖν τὰ έαυτῶν τιθέμενος.

53. Τοσαύτ' εἰπὼν ὁ ἔριφος ἐπέκλαυσεν. ὃς δὲ Σκυτῶν μεταστησάμενος αὐτοὺς ἐβουλεύετο μετὰ τῶν ἁριστῶν ἐπὶ πολὺ. ὡς δ' ἐκρινε, ἐσκαλέσα αὐτοὺς ἐλεγεν ὡδε. "ἔστε μὲν οὖδεμιᾶς συγγνώμη ἄξιοι, πολλάκις ἐς σπουδὰς ἡμῶν ὑβρίσαντες, καὶ τὰ τελευταῖα νῦν καὶ ἐς πρεσβείας ἀμαρτοῦν οὕτω φανερῶς καὶ άθεμίτως ὦς μήτε ἔξαρχεισθή.

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52. "There need be no fear that the Carthaginians will change their minds again, after being subjected to such repentance and punishment for their past folly. Wise men are prevented from wrong-doing by their prudence, the wicked by their suffering and repentance. It is reasonable to suppose that those who have been chastised will be more trusty than those who have not had such experience. Be careful that you do not imitate the cruelty and the sinfulness that you lay at the door of the Carthaginians. For the misfortunes of the miserable are the source of fresh transgressions arising from helplessness, while to the fortunate the opportunity for clemency exists in the abundance of their means. It will be neither to the glory nor to the advantage of your government to destroy so great a city as ours, instead of preserving it. You are the better judges of your own interests, but we, with regard to our preservation, remind you of two things above all, the ancient dignity of the empire of Carthage and your own universal moderation, which, together with your arms, has raised you to so great dominion and power. As for the terms, if after all you grant us peace, it is superfluous for us to discuss them, since we place ourselves entirely in your hands."

53. At the conclusion of his speech Eriphus burst into tears. Then Scipio dismissed them and consulted with his officers a long time. After he had come to a decision, he called the Carthaginian envoys back and addressed them thus: "You do not deserve any pardon, you who have so often violated your treaties with us, and now finally even abused our envoys in such a public and lawless manner that you cannot deny or dispute that you are worthy of..."
μήτε ἀντιλέγειν ὅτι μὴ τῆς ἐσχάτης ἐστὲ τιμωρίας ἄξιοι. τί δὲ δεὶ κατηγορεῖν τῶν ὁμολογοῦντων; ἐς ἱκεσίας καταφεύγετε οἱ μὴ δόνμα Ρωμαίων ὑπολπόντες ἄν, εἰ ἤμεῖς ἐκατηγορήσατε. ἀλλ’ ἤμεῖς μὲν οὐδὲ ποθ’ ὑμῖν ὁμοία ποιήσομεν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τοὺς πρέσβεις ὑμῶν, ἔτι ἄντας ἐν Ὁρμή, παρεσπονδικότων ὑμῶν καὶ ἐς πρέσβεις ἀμαρτότων, ἥ τε πόλεις ἀπέλυσε, καὶ γὰρ καταχέντας ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἦδη πολεμοῦντας ἀπέτεμψα ἀπαθεῖς. χρῆ δ’ ὑμᾶς καταγγείωσκοντας αὐτῶν, ὃ τι ἄν λάβῃτε, κέρδος ἢγεῖσθαι. λέξω δ’ ἂ μοι δοκεῖ, καὶ ἡ σύγκλητος ἐπιψηφίζει ἃ ἄν δοκιμάζῃ.

54. Δίδομεν ὑμῖν καὶ ἔτι τῷ εἰρήνῃ, ὦ Καρχηδόνι, ἣν τάς τε ναύς τάς μακρὰς παραδίδωτε Ῥωμαίοις χωρίς δέκα μόνων, καὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας ὄσους ἔχετε, καὶ ὅσα ἤρπασατε πρόπην, ἢ τῶν ἀπολωλότων τιμην, ἐμοῦ τὰ ἀμφίβολα κρίνοντος, καὶ αἰχμαλώτα πάντα καὶ αὐτομόλον, καὶ ὅσους Ἀννίβας ἐξ Ἰταλίας ἤγαγεν. ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τριάκοντα ἡμέραις ἀφ’ ὧν ἄν τῷ εἰρήνῃ κρίθη, ἐν δ’ ἔξηκοντα ἡμέραις Μάγνωνα χρῆ Διγύων ἀποστῆναι, καὶ τὰς φροῦρας ὑμᾶς ἔσοχαν ἐκ τῶν πόλεων ὅσιο τῶν Φοινικίδων τάφρων ἕκτῳ εἰσὶ, καὶ ὅσα αὐτῶν ἔχετε ὅμηρα, ἀποδύναι, καὶ ἐς Ὁρμῆν ἐκάστου ἕτους ἀναφέρειν Εὐβοικὰ τάλαντα διακόσια ἐπὶ πεντήκοντα ἐνιαυτοὺς. καὶ μήτε ἔσοχαν ἐκ τῶν Φοινικίδων τάφρων ἐκτὸς εἰσὶ, καὶ ὅσα αὐτῶν ἔχετε ὅμηρα, ἀποδύναι, καὶ ἐς Ὁρμῆν ἐκάστου ἕτους ἔσοχαν ἐκ τῶν Φοινικίδων τάφρων ἐχεῖμα ἐμοῦ διαπλέοντος ἐς Διβυῖν. Ῥωμαίων τε εἶναι.
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the severest punishment. But what is the use of accusing those who confess? You take refuge in prayers, you who would have wiped out the very name of Rome if you had conquered. But we will never imitate your bad example. When your ambassadors were at Rome, although you had violated the agreement and maltreated our envoys, the city allowed them to go free, and when they were driven into my camp, although the war had been recommenced, I sent them back to you unharmed. You ought, condemning yourselves, to consider whatever terms are granted to you in the light of a gain. I will tell you what my views are, and our Senate will vote upon them as it shall think best.

54. "We will yet grant you peace, Carthaginians, on condition that you surrender to the Romans all your warships except ten, all your elephants, the plunder you have lately taken from us, or the value of what has been lost, of which I shall be the judge in case of doubt, all prisoners and deserters and those whom Hannibal led from Italy. These conditions shall be fulfilled within thirty days after peace is declared. Within sixty, Mago shall evacuate Liguria, and your garrisons shall be withdrawn from all cities beyond the Phoenician trenches and their hostages shall be surrendered. You shall pay to Rome the sum of 250 Euboic talents a year for fifty years. You shall not recruit mercenaries from the Celts or the Ligurians, nor wage war against Masinissa or any other friend of Rome, nor permit any Carthaginians to serve against them with consent of your people. You shall retain your city and as much territory inside the Phoenician trenches as you had when I sailed for Africa. You shall remain friends of

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CAP. VIII. φίλους καὶ συμμάχους κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν, ἣν ἀρέσκη ταῦτα τῇ βουλῇ. ἀρεσάνων δὲ, Ῥωμαίους ἀναχωρεῖν ἐκ Διβύθης πεντήκοντα καὶ ἐκατὸν ἥμεραις. ἀνοχὰς δὲ ἦν ἐθέλητε λαβεῖν ἐστε πρεσβεύσητε ἐς Ῥώμην, δῶσετε μὲν ἥμιν αὐτίκα ὁμηρα πεντῆκοντα καὶ ἐκατὸν παιδας, οὐς ἄν αὐτὸς ἐπιλέξωμαι, δῶσετε δὲ ἐς δαπάνην τῇ στρατιᾷ ἀλλὰ τάλαντα χίλια καὶ ἄγοράν. καὶ γενομένων τῶν σπουδῶν ἀπολήψεσθε τὰ ὁμηρα.”

IX

CAP. IX. 55. Ταῦτα τοῦ Σκιπίωνος εἰπόντος οἱ μὲν πρέσβεις ἔφερον ἐς Καρχηδόνα τοὺς λόγους, συνίοντος δὲ τοῦ πλῆθους ἐς ἐκκλησίαν ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἥμερας, τοῖς μὲν ἀρίστοις ἐδόκει τὰ προτεινόμενα δέξασθαι καὶ μὴ περὶ τινῶν ἀπειθοῦντας κινδυνεύειν περὶ ἀπάντων, τὸ δ' ἄγοραῖον πλῆθος οὐ τὸ παρὸν δεινὸν ἐκλογιζόμενοι μᾶλλον ἡ τὴν ἀφαιρεσιν ὡν ἔχουσι, τοσόνδε οὕσαν, ἤπείθουν, καὶ ἤγανάκτουν εἰ ἐν λιμῷ τὸν σιτὸν οἱ ἄρχοντες αἱροῦνται Ῥωμαίοις ἀντὶ τῶν πολιτῶν ἐς τὰς ἀνοχὰς παρασχεῖν, ἐφ' ἐκατόν τε αὐτῶν συνιστάμενοι πᾶσιν ἤπείλουν τὰς οἰκίας αὐτῶν διαρπάσειν καὶ καταπρῆσειν. τέλος δ' ἐγνωσαν Ἀννίβαν, ἔχοντα μὲν ἴδῃ πεξοὺς ἐξακισχίλιος ἱππεᾶς δὲ πεντακοσίους, σταθμεύοντα δ' ἐν πόλει Μαρθαμά, σύμβουλον ἐπὶ τοῖς παροῦσι καλεῖν. ὁ δ' ἦκε, καὶ τῶν μετρίων δεδίοτων μὴ φιλοπόλεμος ἀνήρ ἐπιτρήψῃ τὸ πλῆθος, πάνυ σεμνὸς ἐκέλευε τὴν εἰρήνην δέχεσθαι. ὁ δὲ δήμος καὶ 486
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Rome and be her allies on land and sea. All this, if the Senate please, in which case the Romans will evacuate Africa within 150 days. If you desire an armistice until you can send ambassadors to Rome, you shall forthwith give us 150 of your children as hostages, whomever I shall choose. You shall also give 1000 talents in addition for the pay of my army, and provisions likewise. When the treaty is ratified we will release your hostages."

IX

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

tόνδε ὑπ’ ὄργης μανιώδους ἐβλασφήμει καὶ πάσιν ἦτελεῖ, μέχρι τῶν γνωρίμων τοὺς μὲν ἐς Μασσανάσσην καταφυγεῖν, τοὺς δὲ ἐς αὐτοὺς Ῥωμαίους αὐτομολῆσαι, τῆς πόλεως ἀπογινότας.

56. Οἱ δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι πυθόμενοι σίτον πολὺν ἐς ἐμπόριον τι ὑπὸ ’Αννίβου σεσωρεύσθαι, ὀλκάδας ἐν’ αὐτὸν ἐξέπεμπον καὶ ναῦς μακράς, ἐγνωκότες, εἰ τὸν σίτον λάβοιεν, ἐκστρατεύσαν καὶ ὑπομείναν πάν ὁ τι ἀν ἡ τύχῃ κρίνῃ, μᾶλλον ἡ Ῥωμαίος δουλεύειν ἐκόμε. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνεμός τε καὶ χειμῶν τὰς ναύς συνέτριψαν, ἀπογινότας ἀπάντων ἐμέμφουτο τοῖς θεοῖς ὡς ἐπιβουλεύσαν, καὶ συνετέθευσεν τῷ Σκιτῶι, καὶ ἐπερεβεύσετο ἐς Ῥώμην. καὶ ὁ Σκιτῶι ἔστησε τοὺς συμβουλεύσοντας κυροῦν τὰ συγκεῖμενα. λέγεται δὲ τοῦτο ἐσηγησασθαί τῇ τε πόλει συμφέρειν ὑπολαβῶν, καὶ πυθόμενος Γναίον Κορνήλιον Δέντλον τὸν ὑπατόν ἐφεδρεύειν αὐτοῦ τῇ στρατηγίᾳ, τὴν δόξαν οὐκ ἔθελον ἐτέρου γενέσθαι. προσέταξε γοὺς λέγειν ἀπίουσιν ὅτι βραδυνόντων Ῥωμαίων αὐτὸς ἐφ’ ἐαυτοῦ συνθήσεται.

57. Οἱ δὲ πάνυ μὲν ἤδουντο κεκρατηκότες πόλεως τοσαύτης, ἡ πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ πρότερον αὐτοὺς ἐδεδράκει, καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς δευτέραν ἡ τρίτην εἶχεν ἡγεμονίαν: οἱ σύμβουλοι δ’ ἐστάσιαξον, οἱ μὲν ἐτι σὺν ὄργῃ χαλεπαίνουντες τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις, οἱ δὲ ἐλεύντες αὐτοὺς ἡδη, καὶ ἠξιοῦντες ἐν ταῖς ἀλλοτρίαις συμφοραῖς τὸ σφέτερον εὐπρεπῶς διατίθεσθαι. ὕπαναστὰς δὲ τις τῶν 488.
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mad with rage, reviled him also, and threatened everybody, until some of the notables, despairing of the city, took refuge with Masinissa, and others with the Romans themselves.

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

57. There was great rejoicing at Rome that this mighty city, which had brought so many calamities upon them in the past, and had been the second or third in the leadership of the world, had been completely vanquished. But the senators differed as to what should be done. Some were still exceedingly bitter toward the Carthaginians, while others now had pity on them, wishing to behave nobly themselves in the hour of another's misfortune. One of Scipio's
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CAP. IX

Σκυπίωνος φίλων εἶπεν· "οὐ περὶ τῆς Καρχηδονίας σωτηρίας ἐστὶν ἢμῖν ἢ φροντίς, ὥς ἄνδρες, ἀλλὰ περὶ τῆς Ρωμαίων ἐς τέθεισος πίστεως καὶ πρὸς ἄνδρῶν εὐφημίας, μὴ Καρχηδονίων αὐτῶν ὀμότερα πράξης, οὔ Καρχηδονίως ὀμότητα ἐπικαλοῦμεν, καὶ μετριοπαθείας αἰεὶ φροντίσαντες ἐπὶ τῶν βραχυτέρων, ἀμελήσωμεν ἐν τοῖς μείζοσιν ἀ μηδὲ λαθεῖν ἔνεστι διὰ τὸ μέγεθος, ἀλλ' ἐς ἀπασάν γην περιελεύσεται καὶ νῦν καὶ ύστερον, ἂν πόλιν περιώνυμον καὶ θαλασσοκράτορα ἀνέλωμεν, ἢ καὶ νήσων ἔρξε πολλῶν καὶ θαλάσσης ὅλης καὶ Διβύς ὑπὲρ ἡμισυ, ἐν τε τοῖς πρὸς ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀγώσα πολλὰ καὶ τύχης καὶ δυνάμεως ἔργα ἐπεδείξατο, οἷς ἐτι μὲν φιλονεικοῦσιν ἐρίζειν ἔδει, πεσόντων δὲ φείδεσθαι, καθα καὶ τῶν ἀθλητῶν οὔδεις τὸν πεσόντα ἐτι τύπτει, καὶ τῶν θηρίων τὰ πολλὰ φείδεται τῶν καταπεσόντων. καλὸν δ' ἐν τοῖς εὐνυχήμασι νέμεσιν θεῶν φυλάσσεσθαι καὶ ἀνθρώπων φθόνον. εἰ δ' τις, ὅσα ἔδρασαν ἡμᾶς, ἀκριβῶς ἐκλογίζεται, αὐτὸ μάλιστα ἐστι τοῦτο τῆς τύχης τὸ φοβερῶτατον, εἰ περὶ μόνης ἄρτι σωτηρίας παρακαλοῦσιν οὓ πόσα καὶ πηλίκα δεδυνημένοι δράσαι καὶ οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ περὶ τε Σικελίας καὶ Ἰβηρίας καλῶς ἀγωνισάμενοι. ἀλλ' ἐκείνων μὲν δίκαις ἔδοσαν, τῶν δὲ τελευταῖων παραβάσεων λιμῶν αἰτιῶνται, κακῶν ἀνθρώποις ἐπίπονωτατον, δ' πάντας ἔξαρείν δύναται λογισμοῦ.

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friends rose and said: "Gentlemen, this is not so much a question of saving Carthage as of preserving our faith with the gods and our reputation among men—lest it be said that we, who charge the Carthaginians with cruelty, behave with greater cruelty than they, and while always exercising moderation in small matters neglect it in large ones, which, on account of their very magnitude, cannot even escape notice. The deed will be sounded through all the earth, now and hereafter, if we destroy this famous city, former mistress of the seas, ruler of so many islands, and of the whole expanse of water, and more than half of Africa, a city which in contests with ourselves has exhibited such wonderful success and power. While they were combative it was necessary to contend against them; now that they have fallen they should be spared, just as athletes refrain from striking a fallen antagonist, and as most wild beasts spare fallen bodies. It is fitting, in the hour of success, to beware of the indignation of the Gods and of the envy of mankind. If we consider closely what they have done to us, it is in itself the most fearful example of the fickleness of fortune, that they are now asking us simply to save them from destruction, they who have been able to inflict so many and so great evils upon us, and not long ago were fighting gloriously for the possession of Sicily and Spain. But for these things they have already been punished. For their later transgressions they blame the pangs of hunger, the most painful suffering that can afflict mankind, a thing capable of depriving man of all his rational faculties.
58. Ἐγὼ δ' οὐκ ἔρω μὲν οὐδὲν ὑπὲρ Καρχηδονίων (οὐ γὰρ ἄξιον), οὐδ' ἄγνω καὶ πρότερον αὐτούς ἄλλας συνθήκας πρὸ τώντε παραβῆναι· ἀ δ' ἐπὶ τοὺς τοιούτους ποιοῦντε οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν ἐς τὸ δε τύχῃς προῆλθον, εἰδότας ὡμᾶς ἀναμνήσω. τῶν γὰρ γευτόνων ἡμῖν τῶντε πάντων ἐν κύκλῳ πολλάκις ἀποστάντων καὶ σπουδᾶς συνεχῶς λυσάντων οὐ κατεφρονησάν, οὐ Δατίνων, οὐ Τυρρηνῶν, οὐ Σαβίνων. τούς τε αὖ μετ' ἐκεῖνους περιοικοῦντας ἡμῖν Ἀἰκανοὺς καὶ Οὐολούσκους καὶ Καμπανοὺς, καὶ ὁσα ἄλλα τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐς σπουδᾶς ὑβρισεν, εὐσταθῶς ἔθερον. καὶ τὸ Σαυντῶν γένος τρίς μὲν φιλίας καὶ συνθήκων καταφρονῆσαν, ἔτεσι δ' ὁγδοῆκοντα μεγίστους ἡμῖν πολέμους πεπολεμηκός οὐκ ἀνέστησαν, οὐδὲ τοὺς ἄλλους ὅσοι Πύρρον προσηγάγοντο κατὰ τῆς Ἰταλίας. οὐδ' ἡμεῖς, τὰ ἐναγχος ταῦτα, τοὺς Ἰταλῶν Ἀννίβα προσθεμένοις διεφθείραμεν, οὐδὲ Βρεττίους, οἱ μέχρι τέλους αὐτῷ συνηγονισαντο, ἀλλὰ γῆ μόνη ξημωσαντες εἰάσαμεν ἔχειν τὰ ὑπόλοιπα, ὡς εὐσεβεῖς ὤμοι καὶ ἐς εὐτυχίαν ἡμῖν χρήσιμον, μὴ ἀφανίζειν ἀνθρώπων γένη μᾶλλον ἢ γονηθεῖν.

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

59. "Why, in dealing with the Carthaginians, should we change our nature, in the possession of which we have until now so greatly prospered? Is it because their city is large? That is the very reason why it ought to be spared. Is it because they have often violated their treaties with us? So have other nations, almost all of them. Is it because they are now to be subjected to a light punishment?"
dekà paraiprōnτai, kai tou̱s élēphantas, ois ἵσχυοντο, paraadióasai, kai táλαντα Εὐβοϊκά μύρια τελοῦσι, kai póleous ἀπασῶν ἀφιστανται kai χώρας ὅσης ἄρχουσιν ἐκτὸς τῶν Φοινικίδων τάφρων, kai stratoloγεῖν αὐτοῖς ἀπηγόρευται, kai ὅσα λιμώττουτες ἦρπασαν ἀποδιδόασιν ἐτὶ λιμώττουτες, kai τῶν ἀμφιλόγων ἐστίν αὐτοῖς Σκιτίων ὁ πολεμήσας κριτής. ἔγω μὲν καὶ τοῦ μεγέθους τῶν καὶ τοῦ πλῆθους ἐπαινῶ τῶν Σκιτίωνα, καὶ ὑμᾶς ἄξιον χείσασθαι διὰ τὸν φθόνον καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀνθρωπείων μεταβολῆν, ὅσα εἰσὶν ἐτὶ νῆς, πρὶν συντρώμεθα, πολλαὶ καὶ πλῆθος ἐλεφάντων, καὶ Ἀννίβας στρατηγικŏτατος ἄνήρ ἠδη στρατιῶν ἔχει, καὶ Μάγων ἐκ Κελτῶν καὶ Διγύων ἐτέρους ἄγει πολλοὺς, καὶ Οὐερμνᾶς ὁ Σύφακος αὐτοῖς συμμαχεῖ καὶ ἄλλα Νομάδων ἐθνη, δουλοὺς τε ἔχουσι πολλοὺς. καὶ ἕν ἀπογνώσι τὰ παρ’ ἡμῶν, ἀφειδὼς ἀπασὶ χρῆσται. χαλεπώτερον ὁ οὐδὲν ἀφειδίας ἐν μάχαις, ἐν αἷσ καὶ τὸ δαίμονον ἀνόμαλον καὶ ἐπίφθονὸν ἐστὶν.

60. Ἄ καὶ Σκιτίων ἔοικεν ὕφορώμενος ἐπιστείλαι μὲν ἡμῖν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γνώμην, ἐπειτείκιν ὁ ὅστι καὶ βραδυνῶντον συνθήσεται. εἰκός ὅ ἐκείνων καὶ τάδε ἀμεινον ἡμῶν ἐκλογίξεσθαι καὶ πλέων τι συνορᾶν, ὅτα ἐπὶ τῶν ἐργῶν. λυπησομένοι τε, ἀκυροῦντες αὐτοῦ τὴν παράνεσιν, ἄνδρα φιλόπολιν καὶ στρατηγὸν ἐξαίρετον, ὅς οὐδ’ ἐσ’ Διβύνην ἡμᾶς ὀρμωμένους παρῴζει τε, καὶ 494
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They are to lose all their ships but ten. They are to give up their elephants, which constitute so large a part of their strength. They are to pay 10,000 Euboic talents. They are to yield all the cities and territories outside of the Phoenician trenches, and they are forbidden to enlist soldiers. What they took from us when pressed by hunger they are to restore, although they are still hungry. As to all doubtful matters, Scipio, the man who fought against them, is the judge. I myself praise Scipio for the magnitude and multitude of these things, and you I ask to spare them considering the enviousness of heaven and the mutability of human affairs. They still have (until the treaty is ratified) an abundance of ships and elephants. Hannibal, that most skilful captain, still has an army; Mago is leading another considerable force from the Celts and Ligurians; Vermina, the son of Syphax, is allied with them, and other Numidian tribes; and they have also a great many slaves. If they despair of pardon from you they will use all these assurances recklessly. And nothing is more dangerous than recklessness in battles, in which also the divine will is both uncertain and jealous.

60. "It seems that Scipio too was apprehensive of these things when he communicated his own opinion to us, adding that if we delayed he would conclude peace himself. It is reasonable to suppose that in these matters too his judgment is better than ours, and that, being on the spot, he sees more than we. If we reject his advice we shall give pain to that ardent patriot, that unique general, who urged us to carry the war into Africa when we were not in favour of that either; and when he could not obtain

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CAP. IX στρατιάν οὐ λαβὼν αὐτῷ συνεστήσατο, καὶ τὰ ἐκεῖ προήγαγεν ἡμῖν ἐς ὅσον οὐκ ἠλπίζομεν. ὦ καὶ θαυμάζειν ἄξιον, ὅτι ραθύμως ἔχοντες ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦτο τὸ πολέμου νῦν ἔχετε φιλονείκως καὶ ἀμέτρως. εἰ δὲ τις ταύτα μὲν ἤγειται καλῶς ἔχειν, δέδε ἤ καὶ νῦν τὰς σπονδὰς παραβῶσιν οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι, μάλιστα μὲν εἰκὸς αὐτῶς ἡδή σπονδῶν φυλακῆς αἰσθάνεσθαι, πολλὰ ἐκ τῶν παραβάσεων παθόντας, καὶ τὴν εὐσέβειαν ἐς τὸ μέλλον ποιήσεσθαι περὶ πολλοῦ, ἢ ἄσσεβείας ἐς γόνις πεσόντας, οὐκ ἔστι δὲ τῶν αὐτῶν συμβούλων ἄρτι μὲν καταφρονεῖν τῶν Καρχηδόνιων ὡς οὐδὲν ἔτι ἰσχυόντων, δεδείναι δ’ αὕθες ὡς ἀποστήναι δυναμένους. ἡμῖν δὲ τὸ φυλάσσειν αὐτοὺς ἐς τὸ μὴ πάλιν αὔξεσθαι τοῦ νῦν ἀνελεῖν εὐχερέστερον ἐστὶν ὑπὲρ μὲν γὰρ ἢ ἀπογνώσεως μαχοῦται, ὑστερον δ’ ἂεὶ δεδομένας τηρήσομεν. ἄλις δὲ κακῶν ἔξουσι καὶ χωρίς ἡμῶν, οὐ δὲ τε περίοικοι πάντες ἐπικείσονται δυσμεναίνοντες τῆς ποτὲ βίας, καὶ Μασσανάσσης, ἀνὴρ πιστότατος ἡμῖν, ἐφεδρεύσει παρὼν ἂεὶ.

61. Εἰ δ’ ἄρα τις καὶ τῶν πάντων καταφρονεῖ, ὅπως δ’ αὐτὸς ἐκδέχεται τὴν Σκιπίωνος ἀρχήν, τὸ ἐαυτοῦ μοῦν σκοπεῖ, καὶ πιστεύει καὶ τὰ τῆς τύχης αὐτὸς ἐς τέλος ἀπαντήσειν, τί καὶ χρησομέθα τῇ πόλει λαβόντες αὐτήν, ἢν καὶ λάβωμεν; ἀνελούμεν ἄρδην, ὅτι σίτον ἦμῶν καὶ ναις ἦρπασαν; ἃ μετὰ πολλῶν ἄλλων ἄξιούσιν ἀποδοῦναι. ἦ τούτο μὲν οὐ πράξομεν, νέμεσιν.
THE PUNIC WARS

an army from us, raised it himself, and there achieved chap. IX for us a success far beyond our expectations. And it is this which is so astonishing, that you who entered upon this war so sluggishly in the beginning, should now prosecute it so fiercely and to such extremity. If any one agrees to this, but fears lest the Carthaginians should break faith again, I answer that it is more likely that they now perceive the necessity of keeping their agreements because they have suffered so much from former violations of them, and that they will observe the claims of conscience all the more since their lack of conscience has brought about their fall. It is not consistent to despise the Carthaginians as being powerless, and in the same breath to fear lest they should have power to rebel. It will be easier for us to keep watch over them, that they do not become too great hereafter, than to destroy them now. Now they will fight with desperation, but hereafter they will always be held in check by their fears. Besides, they will have plenty of troubles without us, for all their neighbours, angered by their former tyranny, will press upon them, and Masinissa, our most faithful ally, will always be there to watch over them.

61. "If any one is disposed to treat all these considerations lightly, and is only thinking how he may succeed to Scipio's command and turn it to his own advantage, trusting that even the favours of fortune will attend him to the end, what are we going to do with the city after we have taken it—supposing we do take it? Shall we destroy it utterly because they seized some of our corn and ships, which they are ready to give back, together with many other things? If we do not do this (having
CAP. IX

62. 'Ο μὲν οὕτως εἶπε, Πόπλιος δὲ Κορνήλιος, Κορνήλιον Δέντλου συγγενῆς τοῦ τότε άντος· ὑπάτου καὶ τῶν Σκιτίωνα διαδεξέσθαι προσ-

Δοκώτος, αὐτέλεγεν οὕτως: "τὸ μὲν συμφέρον

ἐστι μόνον ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις, ὃ ἀνδρεῖς, χρήσιμον·

καὶ ὅσον δυνατήν ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἀποφαίνουσιν οὕτω

τὴν πόλιν, φυλάξασθαι χρῆ τὴν ἀπιστίαν αὐτῆς

μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως, καὶ τὴν ἱσχὺν προανελεῖν,

ἐπεὶ μή τὴν ἀπιστίαν δυνάμεθα. οὐδεὶς δ’ ἡμῖν

καίρος ἐστὶ τὸ λύσαι τὸν ἀπὸ Κάρχιςδονίων φόβον

ἐπιτηδείστερός ἐστι τοῦ παρόντος, ἐν ὧν πάντων

εἰςω ἀσθενεῖς καὶ ἄποροι, πρὶν αὕτης αὐτῶν ἐς

ἐκάτερον αὐξηθῆναι. οὐ μέντοι καὶ τὸν τοῦ δικαίου

λογισμοῦ ἂν περιφύγοιμι, οὐδ’ ἀμετρίας μοι
THE PUNIC WARS

regard to the indignation of the gods and the censures of men) shall we give it to Masinissa? Although he is our friend, it is best not to make him inordinately strong, but it should rather be considered a public advantage to the Romans that the two should be at strife with each other. Shall we collect rent from their land? The expense of military protection would eat up the rent, for we shall need a strong force, being surrounded by numerous tribes, all of them barbarians. Are we going to plant colonies in the midst of such a host of Numidians? If the barbarians are too strong for them, they will have no peace, while if they overpower them, they will hereafter become objects of fear and jealousy to us, possessing a country so great and so much more fruitful than ours. These are the very things, it seems to me, which Scipio clearly discerned when he advised us to yield to the prayers of the Carthaginians. Let us then grant their request and that of our general.”

62. When he had thus spoken, Publius Cornelius, a relative of Cornelius Lentulus, who was then consul and who expected to be Scipio’s successor, replied thus: “In war, gentlemen, that which is expedient is alone advantageous. We are told that this city is still powerful. So much the more ought we to be on our guard against treachery joined to power, and to crush the power in time since we cannot extinguish the treachery. No time can be better chosen to free ourselves from all fear of the Carthaginians than the present, when they are weak and poor, and before they again accumulate strength and resources. Not that I would evade the claims of justice, but I do not think that we can be accused of
CAP. IX

63. Οὕτω Ζακανθαίους, πόλιν Ἰβηρίας ἐπιφανῆ, σφίσαι τε αὐτοῖς ἐνσπονδοῦν καὶ φίλην ἡμῖν, ἤβηδον ἐκτειναν οὐδὲν ἁδικοῦντας. οὕτω Νουκερίας ὑπή-
κουν ἡμῶν ἐπὶ συνθήκης λαβόντες, καὶ ὡμόςαντες σὺν δύο ἱματίοις ἐκαστὸν ἀπολύσωσιν, τὴν μὲν
βουλὴν αὐτῶν ἐσ τὰ βαλανεία συνέκλεισαν καὶ ὑποκαίοντες τὰ βαλανεία ἀπέτυνξαν, τὸν δὲ δήμον
ἀπίόντα κατηκώντισαν. Ἀχέρανδων δὲ τὴν βουλὴν
ἐν σπονδαῖς ἐσ τὰ φρέατα ἐνέβαλον, καὶ τὰ φρέατα
ἐπέχωσαν. Μάρκον τε Κορνύλιον ὑπατον ἡμέ-
tερον ὥρκοις ἀπατήσαντες ἡγαγον μὲν ώς ἐπισκε-
ψόμενον αὐτῶν τὸν στρατηγὸν ἄρρωστοῦντα,
συναρτάσαντες δὲ ἀπήγαγον ἐσ Λιβύην ἐκ Σικε-
THE PUNIC WARS

want of moderation toward the Carthaginians, who in their days of prosperity are unjust and insolent to everybody, but are suppliants in adversity, and then, if successful, break treaties as soon as they are made. They have neither respect for treaties nor regard for their oaths—these people whom this gentleman thinks we ought to spare, in order that we may avoid the indignation of the Gods and the censures of men. I think that the Gods themselves have brought Carthage into this plight in order to punish at last for their former impiety those who in Sicily, in Spain, in Italy, and in Africa itself, in dealing with us and with all others, were always making covenants and breaking oaths, and committing outrageous and savage acts. Of these things I will give you some foreign examples before I speak of those that concern ourselves, in order that you may know that all men will rejoice over the Carthaginians if they are brought to condign punishment.

63. "The people of Saguntum, a noble city of Spain, in league with themselves and friendly to us, they slaughtered to the last man, although they had given no offence. Those of Nuceria, a town subject to us, surrendered to them under a sworn agreement that they might depart with two garments each. They shut the senators of Nuceria up in a bath-room and suffocated them with heat. Then they shot the common people with arrows as they were going away. After entering into a treaty with the Senate of Acerra they threw them into wells and then filled up the wells with earth. Our consul, Marcus Cornelius, they lured by false oaths to an interview with their general, who pretended to be sick, and then seized and carried him prisoner from Sicily into Africa.
ΑΠΙΑΝΟΣ ΡΩΜΑΙΟΣ ΗΙΣΤΟΡΙΑ, ΘΕΛΕΝΟΙΟΧΟΝ ΨΗΒΟΥ ΕΙΝΑ ΚΑΙ ΕΙΝΑΙΟΙ ΝΕΩΝ. ΕΚΤΕΙ-

ναν δέ καὶ Ρήγλον αἰκισάμενοι, στρατηγοῦν ἐστεροῖν ἡμῶν, ὑπ' εὐορκίας ἐπανελθόντα πρὸς αὐτούς.

δοι' Ἀννίβας ἧ πολεμῶν ἡ ἐνδερεύων ἡ παρ-

ορκῶν ἐς τε πόλεις καὶ στρατόπεδα ἡμῶν καὶ

λήγων ἐς τοὺς συμμάχους ἔδρασε τοὺς αὐτοῦ, τὰς

tε πόλεις πορθῶν καὶ τοὺς αὐτῶν συστρατευσαμέ-

νους κατακαίνων, μακρῶν ἄν εὖ καταλέγειν. πλὴν

ὅτι τετρακοσία ἡμῶν ἀνέστησεν ἁστή. τοὺς δ' ἄι

χιμαλώτους ἡμῶν τοὺς μὲν ἐς τάφρους καὶ ποτα-

μους ἐμβαλόντες ὡς γεφύρας ἐπέβαλον, τοὺς δὲ

toῖς εἰλέφοις ὑπέβαλλον, τοὺς δ' ἀλλήλους μονο-

μαχεῖν ἐκέλευν, ἀδελφοὺς ἀδελφοῖς συνιστάντες

cαὶ πατέρας νῦν. τὰ δ' ἔναγχος ταῦτα, περὶ

eἰρήνης ἐπρέσβευν ἐνταῦθα καὶ παρεκάλουν καὶ

ὁμιλοῦν, καὶ οἱ πρέσβεις αὐτῶν ἔτι παρῆσαν, ἐν

dὲ Διβύθη τὰς ναὸς ἡμῶν διήρταξον καὶ τοὺς

στρατιώτας κατέδεου. τοσοῦτον αὐτοῦς καὶ ἀνοίας

diὰ τὴν ὁμότητα περιέστων.

64. Τούτους οὖν τὸς ἐστὶν ἔλεος ἡ μετριοπάθεια

παρ' ἐπέρων, τοὺς οὐδὲν μέτριον οὐδ' ἕμερον ἐς

οὐδένας εἰργασμένοις; τοῖς, ᾧσπερ ἐφε Σκηιτῶν,

eἰ ἐλάβοις ἡμῶν, οὖν ἀν δομα Ἄρματων ὑπο-

λιποῦς; ἀλλὰ πίστις ἐστὶ λέβασος ἡ δεξιὰ

ποία; τὶς σπονδή, τὶς ὅρκους ὅν οὐκ ἐπάτησαν;

tὶς δὲ συνθήκη καὶ χάρις ἐς ἣν οὐκ ὑβρίσαν; μὴ

μιμησώμεθα, φίλοι, αὐτοῖς. τίνα γὰρ συνθήκην

ἡμεῖς ζύμην ὁ μήπω τι συνθέμενοι; ἀλλὰ τὴν

ὁμότητα, φιλίαν, αὐτῶν μὴ μιμησώμεθα. φίλους

οὖν καὶ συμμάχους ποιησόμεθα τοὺς ὁμοτάτους;

οὔδετερα τούτων ἄξια. ἀλλ' ἐπιτρεψάτωσαν ἡμῖν
THE PUNIC WARS

with twenty-two of our ships. They put another Chap. general of ours, Regulus, to death with torture after he had gone back to them in accordance with his oath. The acts perpetrated by Hannibal himself in war, by stratagem and by perjury, against our cities and armies, and at last against his own allies, destroying their cities and slaughtering their soldiers serving with him, it would take too long to enumerate. In a word, 400 of our towns were depopulated by him. They cast our men, whom they had taken prisoners, into ditches and rivers, making bridges of their bodies to pass over. They had them trodden under foot by elephants. They made them fight with each other, brothers against brothers and fathers against sons. And just now, while they were here treating for peace, and beseeching us, and taking oaths, and while their ambassadors were still among us, they seized our ships in Africa and put our men in chains. To such a pitch of madness have they been brought by the practice of cruelty.

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

CAP. IX

αὐτοὺς νόμῳ νευκικημένων, ὡς πολλοὶ σφᾶς ἐπέ-τρεψαν, σκεψόμεθα δ' ἡμεῖς. καὶ δ' τι ἂν δῶμεν,
εἴσονται χάριν, οὐχὶ συνηθήκην νομίζοντες εἶναι.
διαφέρει δὲ τούτων ἐκάτερον ὁδὲ. μέχρι μὲν
συντίθενται, παραβήσονται καθάπερ καὶ πάλαι,
πρόφασιν ἂεί τινα τῶν συνθηκῶν φέροντες ὡς ἐν
αὐταῖς ἡλαττωμένοι τὰ δ' ἀμφίλογα εὐπρο-
φάσιστα. οὕτως δὲ παραδώσωσιν αὐτούς, καὶ τὰ
ὁπλα παρελώμεθα, καὶ τὰ σώματα ἐφ' ἡμῖν
γένηται, καὶ πεισθῶσιν ὅτι μηδὲν αὐτῶς ἐστὶν
ἴδιον, τὰ μὲν φρονήματα αὐτῶν καταβήσεται,
ἀγαπήσουσι δ' ὃ τι ἂν παρ' ἡμῶν λάβωσιν ὡς
ἀλλότριον. εἰ μὲν οὖν Σκιπίων ἑτέρῳς δοκεῖ, τὰς
gνώμας ἔχετε συγκρίνειν εἰ δὲ συνθήσεται
Καρχηδονίους χωρίς ὑμῶν, τί καὶ ἐπέστελλεν
ὑμῖν; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ, ὡς ὑμῖν κυρίος οὗτος περὶ
tῶνδε κρίναι, τὴν γνώμην εἶπον, ἡν ἴνομίζω
συνοίσειν τῇ πόλει.

65. Τοιαῦτα μὲν καὶ ὁ Πόπλιος εἴπεν ἢ δὲ
βουλή κατ' ἄνδρα παρ' ἐκάστου ψήφων ἔτει, καὶ
ἐς τὴν Σκιπίωνος γνώμην αἱ πλείουσι συνέδραμον.
ἐγένοντο όνομα νύν ἡ συνήθηκαι, τρίται αἳδε, Ῥωμαίοις
καὶ Καρχηδονίοις πρὸς ἄλληλους. καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων
ἐς αὐτὸς ἐδόκει μάλιστα τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐνσαγα-
γέσθαι, εἴτε τῶν εἰρημένων οὖν ἐκεῖ ἡ λογισμὸν, εἴτε
ὡς ἄρκον Ῥωμαίοις ἐς εὐτυχίαν τὸ μόνην ἀφε-
λέσθαι Καρχηδονίους τὴν ἡγεμονίαν εἰς γὰρ οἷ
καὶ τόδε νομίζουσιν, αὐτὸν ἔς Ῥωμαίων σωφρονι-
σμὸν ἐθελήσαι γείτονα καὶ ἀντίπαλον αὐτοῦς
φόβον ἐς ἀεὶ καταλιπεῖν, ἢν μὴ ποτὲ ἐξυβρίσειαν

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custom of the vanquished, and as many others have CHAP.
surrendered to us, and then we will see what we will IX
do. Whatever we accord to them they will then take in the light of a favour and not of a bargain. There is this difference between the two plans. As long as we treat with them they will violate the treaties as they have heretofore, always making some excuse that they were overreached, for doubtful points always provide plausible grounds for dispute. But when they surrender at discretion, and we take away their arms, and when their persons are in our possession and they see that there is nothing they can call their own, their spirits will be tamed and they will welcome whatever we allow them to have, as a gift bestowed upon them by us. If Scipio thinks differently you have the two opinions to choose from. If he is going to make peace with the Carthaginians without you, why did he send word to you at all? For my part, I have given to you, as to judges who are really going to exercise a judgment on the matter in hand, the opinion which I think will be for the advantage of the city."

65. After Publius had spoken, the Senate took a vote on the question, and the majority agreed with Scipio. Thus a third treaty was made between the Romans and the Carthaginians. Scipio was thought to have urged this policy upon the Romans, either for the reasons mentioned above, or because he considered it a sufficient success for Rome to have taken the supremacy away from Carthage. There are some who think that in order to preserve the Roman discipline he wished to keep a neighbour and rival as a perpetual menace, so that they might never become intoxicated with success and careless

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66. Καὶ ὁ τρόπος, ὃ καὶ νῦν ἔτη χρόνενοι διατελόσθησι, ἑστὶ τοιόσδε. ἐστεφάνωνται μὲν ἀπαντεῖς, ἡγοῦνται δὲ σαλπικταί τε καὶ λαφύρων ἀμάξων, πῦργοι τε παραφέρονται μομῆματα τῶν εἰλημμένων πόλεων, καὶ γραφαί καὶ σχῆματα τῶν γεγονότων, εἶτα χρυσὸς καὶ ἄργυρος ἀσῆμαντός τε καὶ σεσημασμένος καὶ εἰ τί τοιοῦτότροπον ἄλλο, καὶ στέφανοι ὅσοι τῶν στρατηγῶν ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα ἀναδοὺσιν ἡ πόλεις ἢ σύμμαχοι ἢ τὰ ὑπ’ αὐτῶ στρατόπεδα. Ὑπὸ δ’ ἐπὶ τοίσδε λευκοῖ, καὶ ἐλέφαντες ἰσαν ἐπὶ τοῖς βουσί, καὶ Καρχηδονίων αὐτῶν καὶ Νομάδων ὅσοι τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἐλήφθησαν. αὐτῶν δ’ ἡγοῦνται τοῦ στρατηγοῦ ῥαβδοῦχου φωικοῦς χιτῶνας ἐνδεδυκότες, καὶ χορὸς κιθαριστῶν τε καὶ τιτυριστῶν, ἐς μήμα Τυρρηνικῆς πομπῆς, περιεξωσμένοι καὶ στεφάνη τῆς χρυσῆς ἐπικείμενοι. Ἰσα τε βαίνουσιν ἐν τάξει μετὰ φίλδης καὶ μετ’ ὀργήσεως. Λυδοῦς αὐτοὺς καλοῦσιν, ὅτι (οἴμαι) Τυρρηνοὶ Λυδῶν ἄποικοι. τούτων δὲ τις ἐν μέσῳ, πορφύρας ποδήρη περικείμενος καὶ ψέλια καὶ στρεπτὰ ἀπὸ χρυσοῦ, σχηματίζεται ποικίλως ἐς γέλωτα ὡς ἐπορχούμενος τοῖς πολεμίοις. ἐπί δ’ αὐτῶς θυματηρῶν πλῆθος, καὶ ὁ στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τοῖς θυμήμασιν, ἐφ’ ἀρμάτος καταγεγραμμένου ποικίλως, ἐστεπταὶ μὲν ἀπὸ
by reason of the greatness of their prosperity. That chap.
Scipio had this feeling, Cato, not long after, publicly
declared to the Romans when he reproached them
for undue severity towards the Rhodians. When
Scipio had concluded the treaty, he sailed from
Africa to Italy with his whole army, and made a
triumphal entry into Rome far more splendid than
that of any of his predecessors.

66. The form of the triumph (which the Romans
still continue to employ) was as follows: All who were
in the procession wore crowns. Trumpeters led the
advance and wagons laden with spoils. Towers were
borne along representing the captured cities, and
pictures showing the exploits of the war; then gold
and silver coin and bullion, and whatever else they
had captured of that kind: then came the crowns
that had been given to the general as a reward for
his bravery by cities, by allies, or by the army itself.
White oxen came next, and after them elephants
and the captive Carthaginian and Numidian chiefs.
Lictors clad in purple tunics preceded the general;
also a chorus of harpists and pipers, in imitation of
an Etruscan procession, wearing belts and golden
crowns, and they march in regular order, keeping
step with song and dance. They are called Lydi
because, as I think, the Etruscans were a Lydian
colony. One of these, in the middle of the pro-
cession, wearing a purple cloak reaching to the
feet and golden bracelets and necklace, caused
laughter by making various gesticulations, as though
he were dancing in triumph over the enemy. Next
came a number of incense-bearers, and after them
the general himself on a chariot embellished with
various designs, wearing a crown of gold and precious
CAP. IX

χρυσοῦ καὶ λίθων πολυτίμων, ἔσταλται δ’ ἐς τὸν πάτριον τρόπον, πορφύραν, ἀστέρων χρυσῶν ἐνυφασμένου, καὶ σκῆπτρον ἐξ ἐλεφαντος φέρει, καὶ δάφνην, ἢν ἀεὶ Ῥωμαίοι νομίζουσι νίκης σύμβολον. ἐπιβαίνουσι δ’ αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τὸ ἄρμα παιδές τε καὶ παρθένοι, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν παρηγόρων ἐκατέρωθεν ἥθει συγγενεῖς καὶ παρέπνευσαν ὅσοι παρὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἦσαν αὐτῶ γραμματεῖς τε καὶ ὑπηρέται καὶ ὑπασπισταὶ. καὶ μετ’ ἐκείνους ἡ στρατιά κατὰ τὸ Ἑλλάς καὶ τάξεις, ἐστεφανωμένη πάσα καὶ δαφνηφοροῦσα: οἱ δὲ ἀριστεῖς καὶ τὰ ἀριστεία ἐπίκεινται. καὶ τῶν ἰρχόντων οὓς μὲν ἐπαυνύσαν, οὓς δὲ σκωπτοῦσιν, οὓς δὲ ψέγουσιν ἀφελής γὰρ ὁ θρίαμβος, καὶ ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ λέγειν ὅ τι θέλοιν. ἀφικόμενος δὲ ἐς τὸ Καπιτόλιον ὁ Σκυπίων τὴν μὲν πομπὴν κατέπαυσεν, εἰστὶ δὲ τοὺς φίλους, ὥσπερ ἔθος ἔστιν, ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν.

CAP. X

67. Καὶ τέλος εἰρήκε Ῥωμαίοις ὁ δεύτερος πρὸς Καρχηδονίους πόλεμος, ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ Ἰβηρίας, λήξας δ’ ἐν Λιβύῃ ἐς τάσδε τὰς περὶ αὐτῆς Καρχηδόνος σπουδᾶς. καὶ ὀλυμπιάδες ἐν τοῖς Ἐλλησὶν ἦσαν ἀμφι τὰς ἑκατόν καὶ τεσσάρακον χιλιάδας. Μασσανάσσης δὲ Καρχηδονίος τε μηνίων καὶ Ῥωμαίοις θαρρῶν ἐπεθηκεν γῇ πολλῇ τῶν Καρχηδονίων ὡς γενομένη ποτὲ ἑκατόν. καὶ ὁι Καρχηδόνοι Ῥωμαίοις παρεκάλουσιν σφύσι Μασσανάσσης συναλλάξαι. οἱ δ’ ἐπεμπτον διαλλακτάς, οἷς εἰρήτω συμπράσ-
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stones, and dressed, according to the fashion of the country, in a purple toga inwoven with golden stars. He bore a sceptre of ivory, and a laurel branch, which is always the Roman symbol of victory. Riding in the same chariot with him were boys and girls, and on the trace-horses on either side of him young men, his own relatives. Then followed those who had served him in the war as secretaries, aids, and armour-bearers. After these came the army arranged in squadrons and cohorts, all of them crowned and carrying laurel branches, the bravest of them bearing their military prizes. They praised some of their captains, derided others, and reproached others; for in a triumph everybody is free, and is allowed to say what he pleases. When Scipio arrived at the Capitol the procession came to an end, and he entertained his friends at a banquet in the temple, according to custom.

X

67. Thus the second war between the Romans and the Carthaginians, which began in Spain and terminated in Africa with the aforesaid treaty concerning Carthage itself, came to an end. This was about the 144th Olympiad according to the Greek reckoning. Presently Masinissa, being incensed against the Carthaginians and relying on the friendship of the Romans, seized a considerable part of the territory belonging to the former on the ground that it had once belonged to himself. The Carthaginians appealed to the Romans to bring Masinissa to terms. The Romans accordingly sent
ΚΑΠ. σειν ὅσα δύναντο Μασσανάσση. οὔτω μὲν τὴν γῆν ἀπετέμετο Καρχηδόνιοι ο Μασσανάσσης, καὶ συναφὲι καὶ Καρχηδόνιοι καὶ πρὸς τόνδε ἐγένοντο, αἳ διέμειναν ἐς ἔτη πεντήκοντα, ἐν ὅις μάλιστα ἡ Καρχηδών εἰρηνεύσασθα ὁμαλῶς ἐς μέγα δυνάμεως καὶ εὐανδρίας ἦλθεν ἐκ τε πεδίων εὐκρατίας καὶ θαλάσσης εὐκαιρίας.

68. Καὶ εὐθὺς, οἶνον ἐν ταῖς εὐτυχίαις γύγνεται, οἱ μὲν ἐρρωξμαίοι, οἱ δὲ ἐδημοκράτιζον, οἷς δ’ ἦσσε κατὰ Μασσανάσσης. ἤγοντο δ’ ἐκάστων οἱ καὶ δόξῃ καὶ ἄρετῇ προῦχοντες, τῶν μὲν ῥωμαίιζοντων ὁ μέγας Ἄννων, τῶν δ’ αἱρουμένων τὰ Μασσανάσσου Ἀννίβας ὁ ἄρα ἐπικαλούμενος, τῶν δὲ δημοκρατιζόντων Ἀμίλχαρ, ὃ Σαυνίτης ἐπώνυμον ἦν, καὶ Καρθάλων, οἱ φυλάξαντες Ῥωμαίους τε Κελτίβηρσι πολεμοῦντας καὶ Μασσανάσσην ἐπικουροῦντα υἱῷ πρὸς ἔτερον Ἰβήρων συγκεκλεισμένῳ, πεἶθουσι τὸν Καρθάλωνα βοηθαρχοῦν ὀντα, καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ τῇ ἀρχῇ τὴν χώραν περιόντα, ἐπιθέσθαι τοὺς Μασσανάσσου σχημομένους ἐν ἀμφίλογῳ γῆ. ο δὲ καὶ ἐκτεινὲ τινας αὐτῶν καὶ λείαν περιήλασε, καὶ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς Λίβνας ἐπὶ τοὺς Νομάδας ἤγειρεν. ἀλλὰ τε πολλὰ αὐτοῖς ἔργα πολέμου ἐς ἀλλήλους γίγνεται, μέχρι Ῥωμάιων ἐπερχοῦτο πρόσβεις ἐπὶ καὶ διαλύεσις, οἷς ὁμοίως έφητο Μασσανάσση βοηθεῖν ἀδήλως. καὶ ἐβεβαιώσαν οὕτω οἱ Μασσανάσση ὡς προειληφεὶ, μετὰ τέχνης, ὃδε. εἰπὼν μὲν οὐδὲν ὁδε ἠκουσαν, ἵνα μὴ τι ὡς ἐν δίκη Μασσανάσσης ἐλαττωθῶ, ἐν μέσῳ δ’ ἀμφίων γενόμενοι τὰς χεῖρας
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arbitrators, but told them to favour Masinissa as much as they could. Thus Masinissa appropriated a part of the territory of the Carthaginians, and they made a treaty with him also which lasted about fifty years, during which Carthage, blessed with unbroken peace, advanced greatly in population and power by reason of the fertility of her soil and her advantageous position on the coast.

68. Very soon (as frequently happens in periods of prosperity) factions arose. There was a Roman party, a democratic party, and a party which favoured Masinissa. Each had leaders of eminent reputation and bravery. Hanno the Great was the leader of the Romanizing faction; Hannibal, surnamed the Starling, was the chief of those who favoured Masinissa; and Hamilcar surnamed the Samnite, and Carthalo, of the democrats. The latter party, watching their opportunity while the Romans were at war with the Celtiberians, and Masinissa was marching to the aid of his son, who was surrounded by other Spanish forces, persuaded Carthalo (the commander of auxiliaries and in discharge of that office going about the country), to attack the subjects of Masinissa, who were encamped on disputed territory. Accordingly he slew some of them, carried off booty, and incited the rural Africans against the Numidians.

Many other hostile acts took place on both sides, until the Romans again sent envoys to restore peace, telling them as before to help Masinissa secretly. They artfully confirmed Masinissa in the possession of what he had taken before, in this way. They would neither say anything nor listen to anything, so that Masinissa might not be worsted in the controversy, but they stood between the two litigants and
CAP. διέστησαν καὶ τοῦτο ἦν αὐτοῖς κέλευσμα πρὸς ἀμφοτέρους ἐσ διαλύσεις. οὐ πολὺ δ’ ὑστερον ὁ Μασσανάσσης ἴμμισβήτει καὶ τῶν λεγομένων μεγάλων πεδίων καὶ χώρας πεντήκοντα πόλεων, ἦν Τύσκαν προσαγορεύουσιν. ἐφ’ οἷς πάλιν οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι κατέφυγον ἐπὶ Ρωμαίους. οἱ δ’ ὑπέσχοντο μὲν αὐτοῖς καὶ τότε πρέσβεις πέμψεις ἐς δίαιταν, διέτριψαν δὲ ἐως εἰκάσαν πολλὰ τῶν Καρχηδόνων διεφθάρθαι.

69. Καὶ τότε πρέσβεις ἐπεμπὸν ἔτερος τε καὶ Κάτωνα, οἱ ἐς τὴν ἀμφίλογον γῆν ἀφικόμενοι ἥξιον σφίσιν ἀμφοτέρους περὶ ἄπαντων ἐπιτρέπειν. Μασσανάσσης μὲν οὖν, οἷα πλεονεκτῶν καὶ Ρωμαίοις ἀεὶ θαρρῶν, ἐπέτρεπεν, οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι δ’ ὑπώπτευον, ἑπεὶ καὶ τοὺς πρότερον ἔδεσαν οὐκ εὗ δικάσαντας. ἔφασαν οὖν τὰς συνθήκας τὰς ἐπὶ Σκιτίωνος οὐδὲν χρήζειν δικῶν οὐδὲ διορθώσεως, ὡσα μὴ ἐξ αὐτῶν παραβαίνεται μόνα. οἱ δ’ οὐκ ἀνασχόμενοι περὶ μέρους δικάζειν ἐπανήσαν, καὶ τὴν χώραν περιεσκόπουν, ἀκρίβως τε εἰργασμένην καὶ κατασκευάσας μεγάλας ἐχουσαν. εἶδον δὲ καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐσπελθόντες, ὡσθ’ ἐς τὴν δύναμιν ἤν, καὶ πλῆθος ὡςον ηὗτο ἐκ τῆς οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ κατὰ Σκιτίωνα διαφθορᾶς. ἐπανελθόντες τε ἐς ὅγον, ἔφραξαν οὖ ἔλεγεν μᾶλλον ἢ φόβου γέμειν αὐτοῖς τὰ Καρχηδονῖον, πόλεως δυσμενοῖς τοσίσθε καὶ γείτονος εὐχερῶς οὕτως αὐξανομένης. καὶ ὁ Κάτων μάλιστα ἔλεγεν οὐ ποτὲ Ρωμαίοις βέβαιοι οὐδὲ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἐσεῖσαν πρὶν ἔξελειν Καρχηδόνα. ὅπερ ἡ βουλὴ

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stretched out their hands, and this was their way of commanding both to keep the peace. Not long afterward Masinissa raised a dispute about the land known as the "big fields" and the country belonging to fifty towns, which is called Tysca. Again the Carthaginians had recourse to the Romans. Again the latter promised to send envoys to arbitrate the matter, but they delayed until they conjectured that the Carthaginian interests were almost entirely ruined.

69. They then sent the envoys, and among others Cato. These went to the disputed territories and asked that both parties should submit all their differences to them. Masinissa, who was seizing more than his share and who always had confidence in the Romans, consented; but the Carthaginians were suspicious, because they knew that the former ambassadors had given unfair decisions. They said therefore that there was no need to have a dispute and a correction of the treaty made with Scipio, and that they only complained about transgressions of it. As the envoys would not consent to arbitrate on the controversy in parts, they returned home. But they carefully observed the country; they saw how diligently it was cultivated, and what valuable resources it possessed. They entered the city too and saw how greatly it had increased in power and population since its overthrow by Scipio not long before; and when they returned to Rome they declared that Carthage was to them an object of apprehension rather than of jealousy, a great and hostile city, near at hand, and growing thus easily. Cato especially said that even the liberty of Rome would never be secure until Carthage was destroyed.

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CAP. X

πυνθανομένη ἐκρινε μὲν πολεμεῖν, ἐτὶ δ' ἔχρηζε προφάσεων, καὶ τὴν κρίσιν ἀπόρρητον εἶχον. Κάτωνα δ' ἐξ ἐκείνου φασίν ἐν τῇ βουλῇ συνεχεί γνώμη λέγειν, Καρχηδόνα μὴ ἐἶναι, Σκιπίωνα δὲ τὸν Νασικάν τὰ ἐναντία ἀξίον, Καρχηδόνα έαν, ἐς φόβον ἀρα καὶ τόνδε Ἱωμαίων ἐκδιαίωμενον ἦδη.

70. Καρχηδόνινων δ' οἱ δημοκρατίζοντες τοὺς τὰ Μασσανάσσου φρονοῦντας ἐξέβαλον, ἐς τεσσαράκοντα μάλιστα ὄντας, καὶ ψήφου ἐπήνεγκαν φυγῆς, καὶ τὸν δήμον ὄρκωσαν μὴτε καταδέξεσθαι ποτε μὴτε ἀνέξεσθαι τῶν λεγόντων καταδέχεσθαι. οἱ δ' ἐξελαθέντες ἐπὶ τὸν Μασσανάσσην κατέφυγον, καὶ ἐξώτρυνον ἐς πόλεμον. ὁ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς οὕτως ἔχων ἔπεμπτε τῶν παίδων ἐς Καρχηδόνα Γολόσσην τε καὶ Μεκίψαν, ἀξίων καταδέχεσθαι τοὺς δι' αὐτῶν ἐξεληλμένους. τούτοις προσευξάτας πολλὰς ὁ βοηθάρχος ἀπέκλεισε, δείσας μὴ τόν δήμον οἱ συγγενεῖς τῶν φευγόντων καταδικύσειν. Γολόσση δὲ καὶ ἐπανύόντες Ἀμίλχαρ ὁ Σανώττης ἐπέθετο, καὶ τινὰς μὲν ἔκτεινε, αὐτὸν δὲ ἐθορύβησεν, ἐφ' οἷς ὁ Μασσανάσσης προφάσεις τάσσει ποιούμενος ἐπολῖρκε πόλιν Ὀρόσκοπα. καὶ τῆς δὲ παρὰ τὰς συνθήκας ἐφιέμενος. οἱ δὲ Καρχηδόνοι πεζοῖς μὲν δισμυρίως καὶ πεντακυκλίως, ἱππεύοντες δὲ πολιτικοῖς τετρακοσίως, Ἀσδρούβα τοῦ τούτο σφόν βοηθάρχου στρατηγοῦντος, ἐπὶ τὸν Μασσανάσσην ἐστράτευον. καὶ πλησιάσασιν αὐτοῖς "Ασσαίς τε καὶ Σοῦβας ταξίαρχοι τοῦ Μασσανάσσου, διενεχθέντες τοῖς παισί Μασσανάσσου, προσέδραμον ἐς αὐτομολλάν ἱππεὰς ἀγοντες ἐξακισχίλιοις, οἷς ἐπαρθεῖς 514
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When the Senate learned these things it resolved upon war, but still needed a pretext, and meanwhile concealed its determination. It is said that Cato, from that time, continually expressed the opinion in the Senate that Carthage must not exist. Scipio Nasica held the contrary opinion, that Carthage ought to be spared so that the Roman discipline, which was already relaxing, might be preserved through fear of her.

70. The democratic faction in Carthage drove out the leaders of the party favouring Masinissa, to the number of about forty, and also carried a vote of banishment, and made the people swear that they should never be taken back, and that the question of taking them back should never be discussed. The banished men took refuge with Masinissa and urged him to declare war. He, nothing loath, sent two of his sons, Gulussa and Micipsa, to Carthage to demand that those who had been expelled on his account should be taken back. When they came to the city gates the captain of auxiliaries shut them out, fearing lest the relatives of the exiles should prevail with the multitude by their tears. As Gulussa was returning Hamilcar the Samnite set upon him, killed some of his attendants, and thoroughly frightened him. Thereupon Masinissa, making this an excuse, laid siege to the town of Oroscopa, which he desired to possess contrary to the treaty. The Carthaginians with 25,000 foot and 400 city horse under Hasdrubal, who was then their captain of auxiliaries, marched against Masinissa. At their approach, Asasis and Suba, Masinissa's lieutenants, on account of some difference with his sons, deserted with 6000 horse. Encouraged by this
APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK VIII

Χ

CAP. ὁ Ἀσδρούβας μετεστρατοπέδευεν ἐγγυτέρω τοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἀκροβολίαις ἐπὶ κρεισσούνων ἦν. ὁ δὲ Μασσανάσσης ἐνεδρεῖτο ἀυτὸν ὑπεχώρει κατ’ ὦλυγον οἰα φεύγων, ἐως προσήγαγεν ἐς πεδίον μέγα καὶ ἔρημον, οὐ πανταχόθεν ἦσαν λόφοι καὶ ἀπόκριμα καὶ ἀγοράς ἀπορία. τότε δ’ ἐπιστρέψας ἐστρατοπέδευεν ἐν τοῖς πεδίοις. ὁ δὲ Ἀσδρούβας ἐς τοὺς λόφους ὡς ὀχυρωτέρους ἀνέδραμεν.

71. Καὶ οἱ μὲν τῆς ἐπιουσίας ἔμελλον ἐς χεῖρας ἔξειν, Σκιπίων δὲ ὁ νεώτερος, ὁ τὴν Καρχηδόνα ὑστερον ἐλών, ὑποστρατευόμενος τότε Δευκόλλω Κελτίβηροι πολεμοῦντε, ἐς τοὺς Μασσανάσσην ἀφικνεῖτο πεμφθεὶς ἑλέφαντας αἰτῆσαι. καὶ ἀυτῷ Μασσανάσσης, τοῦ σώματος ὡς ἐς μάχην ἑπιμελούμενος, ἱππεᾶς ἀπαντῶ ἐπεμψε, καὶ τῶν παῖδων τισιν ἐκέλευεν ἑλθόντα ὑποδέξασθαι. αὐτὸς δ’ ἀμὴ ἐν τοῖς στρατοῖς ἐξέτασεν, ὅγιον κοίτα μὲν καὶ ὄκτω γεγονὼς ἐτη, ἱππεῦν δ’ ἔτι καρτερῶς καὶ γυμνῶν τὸν ὑπὸν ἀναβαίνων, ὡς ἔθσε ἐστὶ Νομίων, καὶ στρατηγῶν καὶ μαχόμενος. εἰσὶ γὰρ Διβύων οἱ Νομάδες εὐρωστάτοι, καὶ μακροβίων ὅντων μακροβιῶται. αὐτὸν δὲ ἱσως ὁ τε χειμών οὐ πολὺ κρύος ἔχων, [ὕφ’ οὐ φθέρεται πάντα,] καὶ τὸ θέρος οὐ κατακαίνων ὀσπερ Αἰθιοπάς τε καὶ Ἰνδούς. διὸ καὶ τῶν θηρίων τὰ δυνατώτατα ἤδε ἡ γῆ φέρει, καὶ οἱ άνδρες ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ καὶ τόνως εἰσίν αὐτί. ὄλυνος τε οὐ οἶνος αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἡ τροφὴ πᾶσιν ἀπλὴ τε καὶ εὐτελής. ο μὲν δὴ Μασσανάσσης ἐτίβας ὑπὲρ τινὰς διεκόσμει τῶν στρατῶν, καὶ Ἀσδρούβας ἀντεξῆγε τὸν ἱδίον αὐτῷ, πολὺ πλήθος. ἦδη γὰρ καὶ τόδε πολλοὶ προσελη-
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accession, Hasdrubal moved his forces nearer to the king and in some skirmishes gained the advantage. But Masinissa, laying a trap for him, retired little by little as if in flight, until he had drawn him into a great desert surrounded by hills and crags, and destitute of provisions. Then turning about he pitched his camp in the open plain, but Hasdrubal drew up among the hills as being a stronger position.

71. They were to fight the following day. Scipio the younger, who afterwards captured Carthage, and who was then serving under Lucullus in the war against the Celtiberians, came to Masinissa's camp, having been sent thither to procure elephants. Masinissa, as he was preparing his own person for battle, sent a body of horse to meet him, and charged some of his sons to receive him when he should arrive. At daylight he put his army in order of battle in person, for although he was eighty-eight years old he was still a vigorous horseman and rode bareback, as is the Numidian custom, both when fighting and when performing the duties of a general. Indeed, the Numidians are the most robust of all the African peoples and are the longest-lived of all those long-lived nations. The reason probably is that their winter is not cold enough to do them much harm and their summer is not so extremely hot as that of Ethiopia and India; for which reason also this country produces the most powerful wild beasts, and the men are always working and in the open air, while they drink very little wine and their food is simple and frugal. When Masinissa, upon his charger, drew up his army Hasdrubal drew up his in opposition, its numbers being great, since on his side also many recruits had flocked in from the

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καπ. λύθεσαν ἐκ τῆς χώρας. ο ἰ Σκιπίων ἐθεάτο τὴν μάχην ἀφ' ὕψηλον καθάπερ ἐκ θεάτρου. ἐλεγέ τε πολλὰκις ὑστερον, ἀγώσι συνενεχθεῖς ποικίλοις, οὐποτε ὅδε ἱσθήμαι μόνον γὰρ ἐφι τόν πόνον ἀφροντίς ἰδεῖν, μυριάδας ἀνδρῶν συνισώσας ἐς μάχην ἐνδεκα. ἐλεγέ τε σεμνώνων δύο πρὸ αὐτοῦ τὴν τοιάνδε θέαν ἰδεῖν ἐν τῷ Τρωικῷ πολέμῳ, τὸν Δία ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰδης καὶ τὸν Ποσειδῶνα ἐκ Σαμοθράκης.

72. Γενομένης δὲ τῆς μάχης ἐς νύκτα ἀπ' ἥοὺς, καὶ πολλῶν πεσόντων ἐκατέρωθεν, ἐδοξεῖν ἐπὶ κρεισσόνων ὁ Μασσανάσσης γενέσθαι. καὶ αὐτῷ ὑποστρέφουτι ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔργου ὁ Σκιπίων ὁφθη. ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν ὁλὰ φίλον ἐκ πάππου περεῖπτε θεραπεύων. ὅπερ οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι μαθόντες, ἐδέοντο τοῦ Σκιπίωνος πρὸς Μασσανάσσην σφᾶς συναλλάξαι. ὁ δὲ συνήγαγε μὲν αὐτοῦς, γιγνομένων δὲ προκλήσεων οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι τῷ Μασσανάσσῃ τὴν μὲν περὶ τὸ Ἐμπόριον γῆν ἐλεγον μεθῆσειν, καὶ ἀργυρίου τάλαντα δώσειν διακόσια αὐτίκα καὶ ὀκτακόσια σὺν χρόνῳ, τοὺς δ' αὐτομόλους αἰτοῦντος οὐχ ὑπέστησαν οὔτ' ἀκοῦσαί, ἀλλ' ἀπρακτο ὄικερίθησαν. καὶ Σκιπίων μὲν ἐς Ἰβηρίαν ἔχων τοὺς ἔλεφαντας ἐπανῆ, Μασσανάσσης δὲ τὸν λόφον τῶν πολεμίων περιταφρεύσας, ἐφύλασσε μυθεμένῳ αὐτοῖς ἀγορὰν ἐσφέρεσθαι. οὔτ' ἀλλ' ἐγνώ ἢν ὁδῆν, ἐπεὶ καὶ αὐτῷ μόλις ἐκ μαχρὸς ἄνθρωπος ἐπιμόχθως ἐφέρετο ὀλύγης. Ἀσδρούβας δ' εὐθὺς μὲν ἐδόκει δύνασθαι διεκπαίσαι τοὺς πολεμίους ἐρρωμένους ἐστὶ καὶ ἀπαθεῖ τῷ στρατῷ.
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country. Scipio witnessed this battle from a height, as one views a spectacle in a theatre. He often said afterwards that he had been present at many contests, but never enjoyed any other so much, for here only had he seen at his ease 110,000 men join battle. He added with an air of solemnity that only two before him had seen such a spectacle: Jupiter from Mount Ida, and Neptune from Samothrace, in the Trojan war.

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

CAP. ἄναρχον δ’ ἔχον Μασσανάσσου πλείονα προκα- λείσθαι τὸν Μασσανάσσου ἐνόμιζε, καὶ παρέμενε, πυθανόμενος ἀμα καὶ Ῥωμαίοις ἐπιέναι πρέσβεις ἐς διαλύσεις. οἱ δ’ ἠλθοῦν μὲν, εἴρητο δ’ αὐτοῖς, εἰ Μασσανάσσους ἐλασσοῖτο, λυσαὶ τὴν διατορὰν, εἰ δ’ ἐπὶ κρισθῶν εἶν, καὶ παροξύναι.

73. Οἱ μὲν δὴ τὸ εαυτῶν ἐπετράξαν, ὁ δὲ λμῶς τὸν Ἀσδροῦβαν καὶ τοὺς Καρχηδονίους ἐξέτριβε· καὶ τοὺς σώμασι πάντα ἔχουσε ἀσθενῶς, βιάζασθαι μὲν οὐκέτι τοὺς πολεμόνιος ἐδύναντο, τὰ δ’ ὑποκύ- για πρῶτον, εἰτὰ τοὺς ἤππους ἐπὶ τοὺς ὑποζυγίοις ἔθουν, καὶ ἴμαντας ἠφούντες ἔσθον. καὶ νόσων αὐτοὺς ἰδεῖα πᾶσαι κατελάμβανον ἐκ τε πονηρίας τροφῶν καὶ ἀκινησίας ἔργων καὶ ὕρας ἐτοὺς· συνεκέκλειστο γὰρ ἐς ὑν χωρίον καὶ στενὸν στρατο- τόπεδον ὅχλος ἀνθρώπων ἐν Διβύνη θέρους. τῶν τε ἔνων αὐτοὺς ἐς τὴν ἔχουσιν ἐπιλυπόντων τὰ ὅπλα κατεκαίουν. καὶ τῶν ἀποπυθησκόντων σύνεδροις οὐτ’ ἐξεφέρετο, Μασσανάσσου τὴν φυλακὴν οὐκ ἀνίεντος, οὐτ’ ἐξεκαίετο ἔνων ἄπορια. ὁ οὖν φθόρος αὐτοῖς ἦν πολύς τε καὶ περιώδυνος, συν- ὀδεις ὃδω σοὶ καὶ σηπομένους σώμασιν. τὸ τε πλείστον ἤδη τοῦ στρατοῦ διέφαρστο· καὶ τὸ ὑπολοιπὸν σύνεδρον σφίσει ἠλπίδα σωτηρίας ἀρνώντος, τοὺς αὐτομόλους ὑπέστησαν ἐκδοῦναι τῷ Μασσανάσσῃ, καὶ πεντάκυσθιλία ἄργυρίον τάλαντα πεντήκοντα ἔτεσιν ἔσευσεν, τοὺς τε φυγάδας σφῶν καταδέξασθαι παρὰ τὸ ὅρκιον, καὶ αὐτοὶ διὰ μᾶς πῦλης τοὺς ἔχθροὺς καθ’ ἔνα διεξελθεῖν σὺν χιτονίσκοι μόνῳ. Γολόσσης δ’ αὐτοῖς ἀπιοῦσι, χαλεπαίνων τῆς οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ διώξεως, εἶτε συνειδώτος τοῦ πατρὸς εἴτε δ’
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than Masinissa he supposed that the latter would offer battle. So he waited near him, hearing also at the same time that ambassadors were on their way from Rome to negotiate a peace. By and bye they came, having instructions if Masinissa were beaten to put an end to the strife, but if he were successful, to spur him on. And they carried out their orders.

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

XI

CAP. 74. Τοιόσοδε μὲν ὁ Μασσανάσσου καὶ Καρχηδόνων πόλεμος ἦν, ἐκδέχεται δ’ αὐτῶν ὁ τρίτος ἐν Διβύῃ καὶ τελευταίος Ἦρωμαίων, καὶ Καρχηδόνωι τῷ Μασσανάσσου πταίσματι συμπεσόντες, ἁσθενεύσατας ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ τῆς πόλεως γενομένης, αὐτῶν τε Μασσανάσσου ἐδεδοίκεσαν ἐγγύς ἐτὶ ὄντα μετὰ πολλοῦ στρατοῦ, καὶ Ἦρωμαίους δυσμεναίνοντας ἀεὶ σφίσα καὶ πρόφασιν θησαμένους τὰ ἐς τὸν Μασσανάσσου γενόμενα. ὃν οὐδέτερον κακῶς ὑπενόνυν αὐτίκα γὰρ οἱ Ἤρωμαιοι πυθόμενοι στρατὸν ἐπηγγέλλον ἢς ὀλην τὴν Ἰταλίαν, τὴν μὲν χρείαιν οὐ λέγοντες, ὡς ὃν ὀξέως ἔχοις ἢς τὰ παραγγελλόμενα χρήσθαι, καὶ οἱ Καρχηδόνωι νομίζοντες ἐκλύσειν τὴν πρόφασιν, ἐπεκήρυσσον Ἀσδρούβα τε τῷ στρατηγήσαντι τοῦδε τοῦ πρὸς Μασσανάσσου πολέμου καὶ Καρθάλωνι τῷ βοηθάρχῳ, καὶ εἰ τις ἄλλος ἐφήπτο τοῦ ἔργου, θάνατο, ἐς ἐκείνους τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ πολέμου περιφέροντες, ἐς τῇ Ἦρωμην πρέσβεις ἐπεμπόν, οἱ κατηγόρουν μὲν αὐτοῖς Μασσανάσσου, κατηγόρουν δὲ καὶ τῶν τῶν ἄνδρῶν ὡς ἀμυναμένων αὐτῶν

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own motion, sent against them a body of Numidian cavalry as they were going out. Having neither arms to resist nor strength to fly, the defenceless men were slain. So, out of 58,000 men composing the army only a few returned safe to Carthage, among them Hasdrubal, the general, and others of the nobility.

XI

74. Such was the war between Masinissa and the Carthaginians. The third and last Punic war of the Romans in Africa followed it. The Carthaginians having suffered this calamity at the hands of Masinissa, and the city being much weakened by it, they began to be apprehensive of the king himself, who was still near them with a large army, and also of the Romans, who were always harbouring ill-will toward them and would make the affairs of Masinissa an excuse for it. They were not wrong in either particular. The Romans, when they learned the foregoing facts, straightway began to collect an army throughout all Italy, not saying for what it was intended but in order, they said, to have it ready for emergencies. The Carthaginians, thinking to put an end to the excuse, condemned Hasdrubal, who had conducted the campaign against Masinissa, and Carthalo, the captain of auxiliaries, and any others who were concerned in the matter, to death, putting the whole blame of the war upon them. They then sent ambassadors to Rome to complain of Masinissa, and at the same time to accuse these men of taking up arms against him too hastily and rashly, and of
CAP. XI ἰδέως τε καὶ προπετῶς καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἔς πρόφασιν ἔχθρας ἐμβαλόντων. ὡς δὲ τις τῶν βουλευτῶν τοὺς πρέσβεις ἤρετο ὅπως οὖν ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ πολέμου τοὺς αὐτούς, ἀλλὰ μετὰ τὴν ἡσσαν ἔξεκήρυξαν, καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς οὐ πρότερον ἀλλὰ νῦν προσβεύσαθε, οἱ μὲν ἀποκρίσεως ἦπόρουν, ἡ δὲ βουλή πάλαι διεγνωκυία πολεμήσαι καὶ προφάσεις ἐρεχθηλούσα ὑπὲρ ἀπεκρίνατο, Καρχηδονίους οὖν Ἰωμαίοις ἰκανοὺς ἀπολογήσασθαι. πάλιν οὖν ἀγωνιώντες ἡρώτων, εἰ δοκοῦσιν ἄμαρτειν, τί παθόντες ἀπολύσονται τὸ ἐγκλημα. οἱ δὲ οὕτως ἔφασαν τῷ ρήματι, “εἰ τὸ ἰκανὸν ποιήσετε Ἰωμαίοις.” ξητούντων δ᾽ ἐκείνων ὅ τι εἴη τὸ ἰκανόν, οἱ μὲν γὰρ Ημαίους ἐθέλειν τοῖς χρήμασι προσεπτιθεῖναι τοῖς ἐπὶ Σκιπίωνος ὀρισμένοις, οἱ δὲ Μασσανάσση τῆς ἀμφιλόγου γῆς μεταστήναι. ἀποροῦντες οὖν πάλιν ἔς Ἰουμην ἐπέμπον, καὶ παρεκάλουν γνώσατε σαφῶς ὅ τι ἐστίν αὐτῶς τὸ ἰκανόν. οἱ δὲ αὕτις ἔφασαν εἰδέναι Καρχηδονίους καλῶς, καὶ εἰπόντες ἀπέπεμψαν.

75. Οἱ μὲν δὴ φόβου καὶ ἀπορίας ἦσαν ἐν τούτῳ, Ἰτύκη δὲ, ἡ Λιβύης μεγίστη μετὰ Καρχηδόνα πόλις, λιμένας τε ἐχοῦσα εὐόρμους καὶ στρατοπέδων καταγωγὰς δαφυλεῖς, ἔξηκοντα σταδίους ἀπὸ Καρχηδόνος ἀφεστῶσα καὶ καλῶς ἐς πόλεμον αὐτῶς ἐπικειμένην, τὰ Καρχηδονίων ἀρα καὶ αὕτη τότε ἀπογνοῦσα καὶ τὸ πάλαι μίσος ἐς αὐτοὺς ἐκφέρουσα ἐν καιρῷ, πρέσβεις ἐς Ἰουμην ἐπέμψαν, οὐ τὴν Ἰτύκην Ἰωμαίοις ἐπέτρεπον. ἡ δὲ βουλή.
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furnishing an occasion for an imputation of hostility on the part of their city. When one of the senators asked the ambassadors why they did not condemn their officers at the beginning of the war instead of waiting till they were beaten, and why they did not send their embassy before, instead of postponing it till now, they could not give any answer. The Senate, which had previously resolved upon war and was only seeking some petty excuse, answered that the defence so far offered by the Carthaginians was not satisfactory. The latter, much disturbed, asked again, if they had done wrong, how they could atone for it. The answer was given in a word: "You must satisfy the Roman people." When they inquired amongst themselves what satisfaction meant, some thought that the Romans would like to have something added to the pecuniary fine imposed by Scipio; others, that the disputed territory should be given up to Masinissa. Being therefore again at a loss what to do they sent another embassy to Rome, and asked to know exactly what satisfaction was required. The Romans replied that the Carthaginians knew perfectly well, and having given this answer dismissed them.

75. While they were in this state of fear and perplexity, the city of Utica (the largest in Africa after Carthage itself, having harbours with good anchorage and numerous landing-places for disembarking armies, at a distance of sixty stades from Carthage and well situated as a base of operations against it), observing the plight the Carthaginians were in, and recalling their ancient animosity toward them at this critical moment, sent an embassy to Rome offering to give themselves up to the Romans.
καὶ τέως ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ὀρμῶσά τε καὶ παρασκευαζομένη, πόλεως όχυρᾶς οὕτω καὶ ἐπικαίρου προσγενομένης ἐξέφηνε τε τὴν γνώμην, καί ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον, οὗτρ εἰσόθασι περὶ πολέμου σκοπείν, συνελθοῦσα ἐψηφίσατο Καρχηδονίοις πολεμεῖν. στρατηγοὺς τε τοὺς ὑπάτους αὐτίκα ἐξεπεμπον, ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦ πεζοῦ Μάνιων Μανίλου, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ στόλου Λεύκιου Μάρκιου Κηνσωρίνου, οἷς ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ ἐλέεικτο μὴ ἀνασχεῖν τοῦ πολέμου πρὶν Καρχηδόνα κατασκάψαι. οἱ μὲν δὴ θύσαντες ἐς Σικελιάν ἔπλεον ὡς ἔκειθεν ἐς τὴν Ἰτύκην διαβαλοῦντες, ναυσὶ δ’ ἐφέροντο πεντήκοντα μὲν πεντήκρεον, ἑκατὸν δ’ ἡμιολίας, ἀφράκτους δὲ καὶ κερκούρους καὶ στρογγυλοὺς πολλοὺς. καὶ στρατὸν ἤγγον ὀκτακισμύριος πεζοὺς καὶ ἵππες ἐς τετρακισίλιους, ἀρίστους ἄπαντας· ὡς γὰρ ἐς ἐπιφανῆ στρατεύαν καὶ προὔπτον ἑλπίδα πᾶς τῶν ἀστῶν καὶ συμμάχων ὀρμα, καὶ πολλοὶ καὶ ἔθελοντα παρήγγελλον ἐς τὸν κατάλογον.

76. Καρχηδονίοις δὲ προσέπεσεν ὡς τε κρίσις τοῦ πολέμου καὶ τὸ ἔργον ὑμοῦ δ’ ἐνὸς ἀγγέλου· ὁ γὰρ αὐτός ἐφερεὶ τῷ ψήφισμα τοῦ πολέμου, καὶ τὰς ναῦς ἐδήλου πλεῖν ἐπὶ σφᾶς. ἐκπλαγέντες οὕν ἀπεγίγνοσκαν αὐτῶν ἀπορία τε νεῶν καὶ ἀπολεία προσφάτῳ τοστὶς νεότητος, οὐ συμμάχους ἔχοντες, οὐ μισθοφόρους ἐτούμον, οὐ σῖτον ὑπὲρ πολυρκίαν συνεννυμένου, οὐκ ἄλλο οὐδὲν, ὡς ἐν ἀκριμάτῳ καὶ ταχεῖ πολέμῳ, οὐδ’ αὐτοὶ διαρκείν δυνάμενοι Ῥωμαίοις τε καὶ Μασσανάσση. πρέσβεις οὐν ἔτερους ἐς Ῥώμην ἐπεμπόν αὐτοκράτορας, δὴν δύναμτο τὰ παρόντα.
THE PUNIC WARS

The Senate, which had been previously eager and prepared for war, having gained the accession of a city so strong and so conveniently placed, now disclosed its purpose. Assembling in the Capitol (where they are accustomed to deliberate on the subject of war), the senators voted to declare war against Carthage. They immediately despatched the consuls in command of the forces, M. Manilius having charge of the foot soldiers and L. Marcius Censorinus of the fleet, and they gave them secret orders not to desist from the war until Carthage was razed to the ground. After offering sacrifice they sailed for Sicily, intending to cross over thence to Utica. They were conveyed in 50 quinqueremes and 100 hemioli, besides many open boats, light ships and merchantmen. The army consisted of 80,000 infantry and about 4000 cavalry, all the very best. There was a general rush of citizens and allies to join this splendid expedition, and absolute confidence in the result, and many volunteers offered themselves for enrolment.

76. The declaration of war and the fact that it had begun reached the Carthaginians by the same messenger, who brought both the vote of the Senate and the news that the fleet had already sailed. They were astounded, and in despair owing to want of ships and the recent loss of so many young men. They had neither allies, nor mercenaries, nor supplies for enduring a siege, nor anything else in readiness for this sudden and unheralded war, while by themselves they could not prevail against the Romans and Masinissa combined. They therefore sent another embassy to Rome with full powers to settle the difficulty on any

1 A light vessel with one and a half banks of oars.
ΑΠΠΙΑΝ’S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK VIII

CAP. XI

diαθέσθαι. τὰς ἡ σύγκλητος εἰπεν, ἐάν τοῖς ὑπάτοις ἐτὶ οὖσιν ἐν Σικελίᾳ, τριάκοντα ἡμερῶν τῶν, οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι τριακοσίους τοὺς ἐνδοξοτά-
tous σφῶν παῖδας ἐς ὀμηρείαν παράσχωσι καὶ τάλλα κατακούσωσιν αὐτῶν, ἔξειν Καρχηδόνα ἐλευθέραν τε καὶ αὐτόνομου, καὶ γῆν ὅσην ἔχουσιν ἐν Διβύῃ. ταύτα μὲν ἐς τὸ φανερὸν ἐψηφίσαντο, καὶ τοῖς πρόσβεσιν ἔδωκαν ἐς Καρχηδόνα φέρειν τὸ σῶμα· ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ δὲ τοῖς ὑπάτοις ἐπέστειλαν ἐχεσθαί τῶν ἰδία σφίσιν ἐντεταλμένων.

77. Οἱ δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι τὴν μὲν γνώμην ὑπώ-
πτευον, οὐκ ἐπὶ συνθήκη βεβαιὰ τὰ ὁμηρα παρέ-
χοντες· οἷα δ’ ἐν κινδύνῳ τοσοῦτο, τάς ἐλπίδας ἐν
φ’ μηδὲν ἐκλείψουσι τιθέμενοι, σπουδὴ προλα-
βόντες τὴν προθεσμίαν, τοὺς παῖδας ἤγουν ἐς
Σικελίαν, γονέων τε αὐτοῖς ἐπικλαίοντων καὶ
οἰκείων, καὶ μάλιστα τῶν μητέρων, αἱ σὺν
ὀλολυγῇ μανιῶδει τῶν τέκνων ἐξηπτυντο καὶ
νεῶν τῶν φεροῦσών αὐτὰ καὶ στρατηγῶν τῶν
ἀγώντων, ἀγκυρῶν τε ἐπελαμβάνοντο καὶ καλώδια
diέστων καὶ ναύταις συνεπλέκοντο καὶ τῶν πλοίων
eκάλυναν. εἰσ’ δ’ αἱ καὶ μέχρι πολλοῦ τῆς
θαλάσσης παρένευον, δεδακρυμέναι τε καὶ ἐς τὰ
tέκνα ἀφορωσαί. αἱ δ’ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς τὰς κόμας
ἐπιλύοντο καὶ τὰ στέρνα ἐκοπτοῦν ὡς ἐπὶ πένθει,
ἐδόκουν γὰρ ὄνομα μὲν ἐς εὑρήσειαν εἶναι τὴν
ὀμηρείαν, ἔργῳ δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἔκδοσιν, ἐπ’
οὐδεμία συνθήκῃ τῶν, καὶ πολλαὶ καὶ τοῦτο ἐν ταῖς ὀλίσθαις κατε-
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terms they could. The Senate was convened, and CHAP. XI

told them that if, within thirty days, the Cartha-
ginians would give to the consuls, who were still in
Sicily, 300 children of their noblest families as
hostages, and would obey their orders in other
respects, the freedom and autonomy of Carthage
should be preserved and they should retain their
lands in Africa. This was voted in public, and
they gave the resolution to the ambassadors to
carry to Carthage; but they sent word privately to
the consuls that they should carry out their secret
instructions.

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

78. Διαπλεύσαντες τε ἐς αὐτὴν ἐστατοπέδευσαν, ὁ μὲν πεζὸς ἔνθα πάλαι τὸ Σκιπίωνος ἦν στρατόπεδον, αἱ δὲ νῆες ἐν τοῖς λιμένει τοῖς Ἰτυκαίων. ἀφικομένων δὲ κάκει πρέσβεων ἐκ Καρχηδόνος, οἱ μὲν ὑπατοὶ προκαθήντο ἐπί βήματος ύψηλοι, ἡγεμόνων τε σφίς καὶ χιλιάρχων πάρεστών, ἡ στρατιά δὲ ἐκατέρωθεν ἐπὶ μῆκος πολὺ ὄπλως τε ἐπισήμως ἐσκεύαστο, καὶ τὰ σημεῖα ἐφερον ὀρθά, ἵνα οἱ πρέσβεις τὸ πλῆθος ἐκ τούτων συμβάλοιεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ μὲν ὑπατοὶ τῷ σαλπικτῇ προσέταξαν ὑποσημήναι σωπῶν, ὁ δὲ κήρυξ ἀνεῖπε τοὺς Καρχηδόνιους πρέσβεις προσίερειν, οἱ μὲν ἐσήγοντο διὰ στρατοπέδου μακροῦ, καὶ τοῦ βήματος οὐ προσεπέλαζον, ἄλλα περισχοίνισμα ἦν ἐν μέσῳ, οἱ δὲ ὑπατοὶ λέγειν αὐτῶς ἐκέλευον ὁ τι χρήζοιεν. καὶ οἱ πρέσβεις ἔλεγον ἔλεειαν πολλὰ καὶ ποικίλα, συνθηκῶν τε πέρι τῶν σφίσα πρὸς Ῥωμαίους γενομένων, καὶ Καρχηδόνος αὐτῆς χρόνου καὶ πλῆθους καὶ δυνάμεως καὶ ἀρχῆς τῆς ἐς πολὺ μεγίστης ἐν γῇ καὶ θαλάσσῃ γενομένης. οὐκ ἐπὶ σεμνολογία δὲ ἔφασαν λέγειν· οὐ γὰρ εἶναι καρπὸν ἐν συμφοραῖς σεμνολογίας, ἀλλ’ ἐς σωφρόνισμα ύμῖν, ὁ Ῥωμαῖοι, καὶ μετριοπάθειαν ἡ τῆς ἡμετέρας μεταβολῆς οὕτως ἔστο. κράτιστοι δὲ, ὅσοι τοὺς πταίσαντας ἔλεοῦντες τὸ σφέτερον εὔελπὶ ποιοῦνται τῷ μηδὲν ἐς ἄλλας.
THE PUNIC WARS

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

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

79. Εἰ δὲ καὶ ἀνημέρων ἐτετυχήκειμεν ἔχθρῶν, κόρος ἐστιν ἀτυχήματων ὅσα πεποίησαμεν; οὐ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τῆς τε γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης ἀφηρήμεθα, καὶ τὰς ναίς ὑμῖν παρεδόκακας, καὶ ἄλλας οὐκ ἐπικτώμεθα, καὶ θήρας καὶ κτήσεως ἐλεφάντων ἀπέστημεν, καὶ ὁμηρὰ τὰ κράτιστα καὶ πάλαι καὶ νῦν παρεδόκακας, καὶ φόρους τελούμεν εὐτάκτως οἱ παρ' ἑτέρων ἀεὶ λαμβάνοντες. καὶ τάδε ἦρκεσε τοῖς πατράσιν ὑμῶν, οἷς ἐπολεμήσαμεν καὶ συνθήκας ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἐγράφατο ἡμῶν ὡς φίλους τε καὶ συμμάχους, καὶ ὄρκος ἐστιν ἐν ταῖς συνθήκαις ἀμφοῖν ὅμοιος. κάκεινοι μὲν ἡμῖν, οἷς ἐπολεμήσαμεν, πιστοὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐγένοντο ὑμεῖς δὲ, οἷς οὐδ' ἐσθεῖρας ἠλθομεν, τί τώνδε τῶν συνθηκῶν αἰτιώμενοι παραβεβάσθαι, τῶν πόλεμοι τῶν δέξεως σύτως ἐψηφίσασθε τε καὶ ἀκηρύκτως ἐτηγάγητε ἡμῶν; πότερον οὐ δίδομεν τοὺς φόρους; ή ναίς ἔχομεν, ἡ τοὺς ἐπιφθόνους ἑλέφανται; ή οὗ πιστοὶ πάρος άμας εξ ἐκείνου όγγόναμεν; ή οὐκ ἀλεσαν τῶν πέντε μυριάδων τῶν χθές ἀπελομένων ὑπὸ λιμοῦ; ἀλλὰ Μασσανάσσησ πεπολεμήκαμεν πολλὰ γε πλεονεκτοῦντες καὶ πάντα δι' ὑμᾶς ἐφέρομεν. ἀπαύγατος δ' ἔχομεν καὶ ἀθεμίστως ἢς ἡμᾶς καὶ τὸ ἔδαφος ἐν οὐ καὶ ἐτράφη καὶ ἐπαιδεύθη, γην ἄλλην ἡμῶν ἀπέστα περὶ τὸ Ἐμπόριον καὶ λαβὼν καὶ τήνδε ἐπέβαινεν ἑτέρας, μέχρι τὰς συνθήκαις ἡμῶν.
THE PUNIC WARS

on the consciousness of never having wronged others. CHAP. XI
Such a course will be worthy of you, Romans, and of that morality in which you claim to be pre-eminent.

79. "But even if we had met ruthless enemies, the cup of our misfortunes is already full. Our leadership on land and sea has been taken from us; we delivered our ships to you, and have not built others; we have abstained from the hunting and possession of elephants. We have given you, both before and now, our noblest hostages, and have paid tribute to you regularly, we who had always been accustomed to receive it from others. These things were satisfactory to your fathers, with whom we had been at war. They entered into a treaty with us that we should be friends and allies, and we took the same oath together to observe it. And they, with whom we had been at war, thereafter kept faith towards us. But you, with whom we have not even come to blows, what part of the treaty do you accuse us of violating, that you vote for war so suddenly, and march against us without even declaring it? Have we not paid the tribute? Have we any ships, or any of the elephants which you grudge us? Have we not been faithful to you from that time to this? Are we not to be pitied for the recent loss of 50,000 men by hunger? But we have fought against Masinissa, you say. Yes, but he was always seizing our property, and we endured all things on your account. Treating with unceasing injustice ourselves and the very ground on which he was nurtured and educated, he seized other lands of ours around Emporium, and after taking them he invaded still others, until he brought our treaty with
ΑΠΠΙΑΝ’S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK VIII

САР. XI τὰς πρὸς ύμᾶς συνέχεεν· εἰ τοῦτ᾿ ἐστὶν ἡ τούδε τοῦ πολέμου πρόφασις, ἦμεις δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἁμυναμένους αὐτὸν ἐξεκηρύξαμεν, καὶ πρὸς ύμᾶς πρέσβεις ἐπέμψαμεν οἱ περὶ τούτων ἀπελογούντο, καὶ ἐτέρους αὐτοκράτορας ὅπη θελεῖ ναυθέσθαι. τὰς τι τιν ἐδει νεῶν καὶ στόλου καὶ στρατοῦ πρὸς ἄνδρας οὐχ ὁμολογοῦντας μὲν ἀμαρτεῖν, ἐαυτοὺς δὲ ύμῖν ἔπιπτέρποντας; ὅτι δὲ οὐκ ἀπατώντες ὑμᾶς, οὐδὲ μικρολογούμενοι παθεῖν ὁ τί ἡ ἐξιμίωτε, ταῦτα προτείνομεν, ἐπιδείκνυει σαφῶς. ὅτε τοὺς ἄριστους παῖδας ἐς ἡμεῖς οἴκων αὐτοὺς ὑμῖν εὐθύς, ὡς τὸ δόγμα ἐκέλευσε, τὰς τριάκοντα προλαβόντες ἥμερας, ἀπεστείλαμεν. τοῦ δ’ αὐτοῦ δόγματος ἐστίν, ἢν παράσχωμεν ύμῖν τὰ δήμαρ, τὴν Καρχηδόνα ἐλευθέραν ἐὰν καὶ αὐτόνομον, κεκτημένην ἃ ἔχομεν.”

ΧΙΙ

САР. XII 80. Οἱ μὲν δὴ πρέσβεις τοσαῦτα εἶπον, Κηνσωμῖνος δ᾿ ὑπαναστᾶς αὐτέλεξεν ὁδὲ. “τὰς μὲν αἰτίας τοῦ πολέμου τί δεὶ λέγειν ύμῖν, ὁ Καρχηδόνιοι, προσβεύσασιν ἐς Ἡρόην καὶ παρὰ τῆς συγκλήτου μαθοῦσιν; ὁ δὲ ἐγεύσασθε περὶ ἡμῶν, τοῦθ’ ύμᾶς ἔλεγξος. καὶ γὰρ τὸ δόγμα δηλοῖ, καὶ ἦμεις ύμῖν ἐν Σικελίᾳ προείπομεν τὰ δήμαρ παραλαμβάνοντες, τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν δοξάντων ἐπικελεύσειν ἐν Ἰτύκῃ. τῶν μὲν οὖν ὁμήρων τής τε ταχυτήτος καὶ τῆς ἐπιλέξεως ἐπαινοῦμεν ύμᾶς.”

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

XII

80. So spake the ambassadors. Then Censorinus rose and replied as follows: "Why is it necessary that I should tell you the causes of the war, Carthaginians, when your ambassadors have been at Rome and have learned them from the Senate? But what you have stated falsely about us, that I will refute. The decree itself declared, and we gave you notice in Sicily when we received the hostages, that the rest of the conditions would be made known to you at Utica. For your promptness in sending the hostages and your care in selecting them, you are entitled to praise. But if you are sincerely desirous

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CAP. XII τί δέ ὅπλων δεὶ τοῖς εἰρημεύοντι καθαρῶς; φέρετε·
pάντα ὡσα δημόσια τε καὶ ἱδια ἐκαστος ύμων
ἐχει, βέλη τε καὶ καταπέλτας, ἥμιν παράδοτε.“
ὁ μὲν οὕτως εἶπεν, οἱ δὲ πρόσβεις ἔφασαν ἐθέλειν
μὲν καὶ τοὺς ὑπακοῦσαι, ἀπορεῖν δὲ ὅπως
Ἀσδρούβαν, ὣς θάνατον ἐπεκήρυξαν, δύο μυριάδας
ἂνδρῶν ἠδη συναγαγόντα καὶ αὐτῇ Καρχηδόνι
παραστρατοπεδεύοντα ἀμυνοῦνται. εἰπόντων δὲ
τῶν ὑπάτων ὅτι Ρωμαίοι τοὺς ἐπιμελήσονται,
οἱ μὲν καὶ ταῦτα δόσειν ὑπέσχοντο, καὶ συμπεμ-
φθέντες αὐτοῖς Κορνήλιος τοις Σκιπίῳ, ὁ Νάσικᾶς
καὶ Γναίος Κορνήλιος ὁ Ἰππανός ἐπικλήσειν παρ-
elάμβανον εἰκοσι μυριάδας πανοπλιῶν, καὶ Βελῶν
cαὶ ἀκουσίων πλῆθος ἀπειρον, καὶ καταπέλτας
ἐξεβελεῖς τε καὶ λιθοβόλους ἐς δισθελοὺς· καὶ
φερομένων αὐτῶν ὁ μὲν ὄψις ἢν λαμπρὰ καὶ
παράλογος, ἀμαξῶν τοσοῦτον ὑπ’ αὐτῶν τῶν τολε-
mῶν ἀγομένων, οἱ δὲ πρόσβεις εἰπόντο αὐτοῖς,
cαὶ ὅσοι τῆς γερουσίας ἢ τῆς ἄλλης πόλεως
ἀριστοὶ ἢ ιερεῖς ἢ ἄλλως ἐπιφανεῖς ἔμελλον τοῖς
ὑπάτως ἢ ἐνυποτήν ἢ ἔλεος ἀξεῖν. ἐσαχθέντες
dε αὐτῷ κόσμῳ τοῖς ὑπάτως παράστησαν. καὶ ὁ
Κρυσσόνος (ὅν γὰρ εἰπεῖν ἰκανότερον τοῦ συν-
άρχου) ἀναστὰς καὶ τότε, καὶ σκυθροπάσας ἐπὶ
πολύ, ἔλεγεν ὅτι
81. “Τῆς μὲν εὐπειθεῖαις ὑμᾶς, ὁ Καρχηδόνιοι,
καὶ προθυμίας τῆς μέχρι τὰ ὅπλα ἐπαυσοῦμεν, χρὴ ὅ
ἐν τοῖς ἀναγκαίοις
gενναίοις τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς
ἐκστητε τῆς Καρχηδόνος
ὅτη θέλετε τῆς ὑμετέρας,
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of peace why do you need any arms? Come, CHAP. XII surrender to us all your weapons and engines of war, both public and private.” When he had thus spoken the ambassadors said that they would comply with this order also, but that they did not know how they could defend themselves against Hasdrubal, whom they had condemned to death, and who had already collected 20,000 men and was encamped outside the very walls of Carthage. When the consuls said that the Romans would see to this, they promised to deliver up their arms. Thereupon Cornelius Scipio Nasica and Cnaeus Cornelius Hispanus were sent with the ambassadors, and received complete armour for 200,000 men, besides innumerable javelins and darts, and about 2000 catapults for throwing pointed missiles and stones. When they came back it was a remarkable and unparalleled spectacle to behold the vast number of loaded wagons which the enemy themselves brought in. The ambassadors accompanied them, together with leading senators and citizens, priests and other distinguished persons, who hoped to inspire the consuls with respect or pity for them. They were brought in and stood in their robes before the consuls. Again Censorinus (who was a better speaker than his colleague) rose, and after long contemplating them with a frown spake as follows:--

81. “Your ready obedience up to this point, Carthaginians, in the matter of the hostages and the arms, is worthy of all praise. But in cases of necessity, we must not multiply words. Bear bravely the remaining command of the Senate. Yield Carthage to us, and betake yourselves where you like within your own territory at a distance of at least ten miles from
ΑΠΙΑΝ'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK VIII

CAP. ουδοθεύντα σταδίους ἀπὸ θαλάσσης: τήνδε γάρ
ἡμῖν ἐγνωσται κατασκάψαι." οἱ δ' ἔτι λέγοντος
αὐτοῦ τὰς χείρας ἐς τὸν υφανῆν ἀνέσχον μετὰ
βοῆς, καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ὡς ἦπατημένοι κατεκάλουν,
pολλὰ τε καὶ δυσχερῇ κατὰ Ῥωμαίοις ἐβλασ-
φήμουν, ἢ θανατώντες ἢ ἐκφρονεῖς ὄντες, ἢ τοὺς
Ῥωμαίους ἐς μύσους πρέσβεων διερθίζοντες. ἔς
τε τὴν γῆν σφᾶς ἐρρύπτουν, καὶ χερσὶ καὶ κε-
φαλαῖς αὐτὴν ἐτύπτουν: οἱ δὲ καὶ τὰς ἐσθῆτὰς
ἐπερρηγμυντο, καὶ τοὺς σῶματος τοὺς ἑαυτῶν
ἐνύβριζον ὡς ὑπὸ ἄνοιας ἐνηδρευμένοι. ἔπει δὲ
ποτε αὐτοῖς ὁ οἰστρος ἐλήξε, σωτῆ πολλῆ καὶ
κατήφεια ἢν ὁλης νεκρῶν κειμένων. Ῥωμαίοι δ' ἐξεπλή-
σσοντο, καὶ οἱ υπατοὶ φέρειν αὐτοὺς ἐγνω-
κέων ὡς ἐπὶ ἀλλοκότῳ κελεύσματι, μέχρι παύ-
σαιτο ἄγανακτοιν, καλῶς εἰδότες ὅτι τὰ
μέγιστα δεινὰ αὐτίκα μὲν ἐσθαφύτητα ἐκ-
τλήσσει, σὺν χρόνῳ δὲ καταδουλοῦν τὴν τόλμαν
ἡ ἀνάγκη. δ' οὐ καὶ τότε ἔπαθον οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι,
παρὰ γὰρ τὴν σιωπὴν ἀπτομένου σφῶν τοῦ κακοῦ
μᾶλλον, ἄγανακτεῖν μὲν ἔτι ἐπαύσαντο, ἀνέκλαιον
δὲ καὶ κατεθηρίων ἑαυτοὺς τε καὶ παῖδας καὶ
γυναῖκας ἢ ὀνομάτων, καὶ τὴν πατρίδα αὐτὴν,
ὡς ἐς ἄνθρωπον ἀκούουσαν λέγοντες οἰκτρὰ καὶ
πολλὰ. οἱ δὲ ἱερεῖς καὶ καὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐτοῖς θεοὺς
καὶ κακείνους προφέροντες
παμμυγής καὶ ἑλεεινὸς
τά τε κοινά καὶ τὰ ἰδία, μέχρι καὶ Ῥωμαίους
αὐτοῖς ἐπιδιακρύσαι.
the sea, for we are resolved to raze your city to the ground." While he was yet speaking, the Carthaginians lifted their hands toward heaven with loud cries, and called on the gods as avengers of violated faith. Repeatedly and virulently they cursed the Romans, either because they wished to die, or because they were out of their minds, or because they were determined to provoke the Romans to sacrilegious violence to ambassadors. They flung themselves on the ground and beat it with their hands and heads. Some of them even tore their clothes and lacerated their flesh as though they were absolutely bereft of their senses. When at last the frenzy was past they lay there, crushed and silent, like dead men. The Romans were struck with amazement, and the consuls thought it best to bear with men who were overwhelmed at an appalling command until their indignation should subside, for they well knew that great dangers often bring desperate courage on the instant, which time and necessity gradually subdue. This was the case with the Carthaginians; for when during the interval of silence the sense of their calamity came over them, they ceased their reproaches and began to bewail, with fresh lamentations, their own fate and that of their wives and children, calling them by name, and also that of their country, as though she could hear their pitiful and incessant cries like a human being. The priests also invoked their temples, and the gods within them, as though they too were present, accusing them of being the cause of their destruction. So pitiable was this mingling together of public and private grief, that it drew tears from the Romans themselves.
82. Τοὺς δὲ ὑπάτους ἐσῆι μὲν οἰκτος ἀνθρωπινὸς μεταβολῆς, σκυθρωποὶ δὲ ἀνέμενον καὶ τούτων κόρον αὐτοῖς ἐγγενέσθαι. ὡς δὲ καὶ ὄдрυμῶν ἔληξαν, αὕθεις ἦν σιωπή. καὶ λόγον αὐτοῖς διδόντες ὡς ἦ μὲν πόλις ἐστὶν ἀνοπλὸς ἔρημος, οὐ ναϊν, οὐ καταπέλτην, οὐ βέλος, οὐ ξίφος ἔχουσα, οὐκ ἀνδρας οἰκείους ἴκανους ἀπομάχεσθαι πέντε μυριάδων ἔναγχος διεφθαρμένων, ἔτεικόν δὲ οὐδὲν ἔστιν ἢ φίλος ἢ σύμμαχος ἢ καιρὸς ἢ ταύτα, ἔχουσι δὲ αὐτοῖς οἱ πολέμιοι καὶ τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὰ ὁπλα καὶ τὴν χώραν, καὶ περικάθηται τὸ ἄστυ ἐνοπλοὶ ναυαὶ καὶ πεζῷ καὶ μηχανήμασι καὶ ῥηποῖς, Μασσαμάσσης δὲ ἕχθρὸς ἔτερος ἐν πλευραῖς, θερίζουσ καὶ ἀγανακτήσεως ἐπέσχον ὡς οὐδὲν ἐν παῖς συμφοραῖς ὀφελοῦντων, ἐς δὲ λόγους αὐθεὶς ἐπόπτως. καὶ Ἄλκινων, οὐ Τιγκίλλας ἐπόνυμον ἦν, ἑπιφανέστατος δὲν ἐν τοῖς τότε παροῦσιν, αἰτήσας εἰπεῖν ἔλεξεν.

83. "Εἰ μὲν ἔστι καὶ τῶν πρῶτον εἰρημένων ἔτι πρὸς ύμᾶς, ὁ Ῥωμαῖοι, λόγος, ἐροῦμεν, οὐχ ὡς δίκαια προφέρουστε (οὐ γὰρ ἔστων ἐν καιρῷ τοῖς ἀτυχούσιν ἀντιλογία), ἀλλ' ἵνα μάθητε ὡς οὐκ ἀπροφάσιστος ἐστὶν ύμῖν ὁ ἔλεος ὁ ἐφ' ἡμῖν, οὐδὲ ἠλογος. ἡμεῖς γὰρ Διβύθης ἀρχοῦσε καὶ θαλάσσης ὑπελήσιν, περὶ ἰδεμονίας ύμίν ἐπολεμήσαμεν καὶ ταύτης ἀπεστήμησεν ἐπὶ Σκιπίωνος, ὅτε τὰς ναίς ὑμῖν παρέδομεν καὶ ἐλέφαντας ὅσους ἔχομεν, καὶ φόρους ἐπαξάμεθα δύσεως καὶ δίδομεν ἐν καιρῷ. πρὸς οὖν θεῶν τῶν τότε ὁμομαθημάτων, φειδεῖσθε μὲν ἡμῖν, φειδεῖσθε δὲ τῶν Σκιπίωνος ὄρκων, ὁμόσουλος ἔσθε οἱ Ῥωμαίοις.
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82. The consuls, although moved to pity by this exhibition of the mutability of human affairs, waited with stern countenances till they should weary of lamentations. When their outcries ceased there was another interval of silence in which they reflected that their city was without arms, that it was empty of defenders, that it had not a ship, not a catapult, not a javelin, not a sword, nor a sufficient number of fighting men at home, having lost 50,000 a short time ago. Nor had they mercenaries, nor friends, nor allies, nor time to procure any. Their enemies were in possession of their children, their arms, and their territory. Their city was besieged by foes provided with ships, infantry, cavalry, and engines, while Masinissa, another enemy, was on their flank. Seeing the uselessness of noisy reproaches they desisted from them, and again turned to argument. Banno, surnamed Tigillas, the most distinguished man among them, having obtained permission to speak, said:—

83. "If you still have any respect for what we have said to you before, Romans, we will speak, not as though we were contending for right (since disputa-
tion is never timely for the unfortunate), but that you may perceive that pity on your part toward us is not without excuse and not without reason. We were once the rulers of Africa and of the greater part of the sea, and contended with yourselves for empire. We desisted from this in the time of Scipio, when we gave up to you all the ships and elephants we had. We agreed to pay you tribute and we pay it at the appointed time. Now, in the name of the gods who witnessed the oaths, spare us, respect the oath sworn by Scipio that the Romans
Καρχηδονίωις συμμάχους καὶ φίλους. οὐδὲ ἔστιν ἐς ταυθὶ ὁ τι ἡμάρτομεν. οὐ ναῦς ἔχομεν, οὐκ ἔλεφαντας, οὐ τοὺς φόρους ἐκλείπομεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ συνεμαχήσαμεν ὑμῖν ἐπὶ τρεῖς βασιλεῖς. μηδὲ τῷ παραστῇ καταγγυγὸςκεῖν, εἰ ταῦτα καὶ πρόφην εἶπομεν, ὅτε τὰ ὅπλα ἦτειτε· αἱ τε γὰρ συμφορᾶ ποιοῦσι μακρολόγους, καὶ ἀμα συνθηκῶν οὐδὲν ἐν ταῖς ἱκεσίαις δυνατότερον, οὐδὲ ἔχομεν ἐν οὐδὲν ἔτερον ἀντὶ λόγων καταφυγεῖν, οἱ τὴν δύναμιν ὑμῖν ἀπασαν ἐξέδομεν, τὰ μὲν δὴ πρότερα τοιαῦτα, ὅν ὁ Σκιπίων ἔστιν ἡμῖν, ὁ Ῥωμαίοι, βεβαιωτὴς· τῶν δὲ παρόντων ὑμεῖς, ὃ ὑπατοὺ, δημιουργοὶ καὶ μάρτυρες ἐστε ἡμῖν. ὅμηρα ἦτησατε, καὶ τὰ κρατίστα ἡγάγομεν ὑμῖν. ὅπλα ἦτησατε, καὶ πάντα ἐλάβετε, ἃν οὐδὲ οἱ ληφθέντες ἐν ταῖς πολυρκίαις ἐκάντες μεθέλενται. ἐπιστεύσαμεν δὲ ἡμεῖς τῷ Ῥωμαίοιν ἦθει καὶ τρόπῳ καὶ γὰρ ἡ σύγκλητος ἡμῖν ἐπέστειλε, καὶ ὑμεῖς, τὰ ὅμηρα αἴτουντες, ἔφατε τὴν Καρχηδόνα αὐτόνομον ἐάσειν, εἰ λάβοντε. εἰ δὲ προσέκειτο καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ὑμῶν ἀνέξεσθαι κελευόντων, οὐκ εἰκὸς ἢν ὑμᾶς ἐπὶ μὲν τοὺς ὀμήροις, αἰτήματι σοφεῖ, τὴν πόλιν αὐτόνομον ἐσεσθαι προαιρεῦσαι, ἐν δὲ προσθήκη τῶν ὀμήρων ποιεῖσθαι τὴν Καρχηδόνος αὐτῆς κατασκήνην, ἢν εἰ θέμις ὑμῖν ἐστὶ ἀνελεῖν, πὼς ἐλευθέραν ἔτι ἀφήσετε ἢ αὐτόνομον, ὥς ἐλέγετε; 84. Τάδε μὲν εἴχομεν εἴπειν καὶ περὶ τῶν προτέρων συνθηκῶν καὶ περὶ τῶν πρὸς ὑμᾶς γενομένων. εἰ δὲ καὶ τούτων οὐκ ἀνέξεσθε, παρίσεμεν ἀπαντα, καὶ ὁ τούς ἀτυχοῦσίν ἐστὶ λοιπὸν, ὀδυρο...
and Carthaginians should be allies and friends. We have not violated the treaty. We have no ships, no elephants. The tribute is not in default. On the contrary, we have fought on your side against three kings. You must not take offence at this recital, although we made it before when you demanded our arms. Calamities make men verbose, and nothing gives more force to an appeal than the terms of a treaty. Nor can we take refuge in anything else than words, since we have given all other power over to you. Such, Romans, were the former conditions, for which Scipio is our surety. Of the present ones you, consuls, are yourselves the authors and the witnesses. You asked hostages, and we gave you our best. You asked for our arms, and you have received them all, which even captured cities do not willingly give up. We had confidence in the Romans' habits and character. Your Senate sent us word, and you confirmed it, when the hostages were demanded, that if they were delivered, Carthage should be left free and autonomous. If it was added that we should endure your further commands it was not to be expected that in the matter of the hostages you would, in your distinct demand, promise that the city should be independent, and then besides the hostages would make a further demand that Carthage itself be destroyed. If it is right for you to destroy it, how can you leave it free and autonomous as you said you would?

84. "This is what we have to say concerning the former treaties and those made with yourselves. If you refuse to hear even about the latter, then we abandon all else and have recourse to prayers and tears, the last refuge of the unfortunate, for which
CAP. XIII μεθα καὶ δεόμεθα. πολλὴ δ’ ἡ ἱκεσία δι’ ἀφθονίαν κακῶν· ὑπέρ τε γὰρ πόλεως παρακαλοῦμεν ἀρ-χαίας, χρησμοῖς μετὰ θεῶν συνωκισμένης, καὶ ὑπέρ δόξης ἐπὶ μέγα προελθούσης, καὶ ὄντομας ἐπιφοιτήσαντος ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ὅλην, ὑπέρ τε ἱερῶν τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ τοσῶν καὶ θεῶν οὐδὲν ἀδικοῦντων, οὕς μὴ πανηγύρεις ἀφέλησθε καὶ πομπάς καὶ ἐορτάς, μηδὲ τοὺς τάφους τὰ ἐναγίσματα, οὕδεν ὑμῶν ἐτί τῶν νεκρῶν ἐπιζημίων ὄντων. εἰ δὲ καὶ ἡμῶν ἐστίν ἔλεος (φατε ἄδε καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐλεείς οὐ συγχωρεῖτε μετοικίσασθαι), φείσασθε πολιτικῆς ἐστίας, φείσασθε ἀγορᾶς, φείσασθε βουλαίας θεοῦ, πάντων τε τῶν ἄλλων δότας ὅσα τοῖς ἔτει ἔστιν τερπνὰ καὶ τίμια. τί γὰρ ὅτι καὶ δέως ἐστὶν ὑμῶν ἐτι Καρχηδόνων, οὐ καὶ τὰς ναῦς ἐχετε ἡμῶν καὶ τὰ ὅπλα καὶ τοὺς ἐπιφθόνους ἐλέφαντας; περὶ δὲ τῆς ἀνοίκεσεως, εἰ τω δοκεῖ τούτω ἐς παρθηγορίαν ἡμῶν προτίθεσθαι, ἔστι καὶ τόδε ἀμήχανον, ἀν-δράσιν ἐς ἢπειρον ἀνοικίσασθαι θαλάσσωσιντοι, οὐν ἢπειρον πλῆθος ἐργάζεται τὴν θάλασσαν. δίδομεν δ’ ὑμῖν ἀντίδοσιν αἱρετωτέραν ἡμῶν καὶ εὐκλεστέραν ὑμῖν. τὴν μὲν πόλιν ἑαυτὸ τῇ οὖν ὅτι αἰτίαν, αὐτῶν δὲ ἡμᾶς οὕς ἀνοικίζετε, εἰ θέλετε, διαχρήσασθε. οὕτω γὰρ ἀνθρώποις δόξετε χαλεπαίνειν, οὐχ ἱεροῖς καὶ θεοῖς καὶ τάφοις καὶ πόλει μηδὲν ἀδικούσῃ.

85. Δόξης δ’ ἁγαθῆς καὶ εὐσεβοῦς ἐφίεσθε, ὁ Ρωμαιοῦ, παρὰ πάντα ἔργα, καὶ μετριοπάθειαν ἐν τοῖς εὐτυχήμασι ἐπαγγέλλεσθε, καὶ τοῦθ’ οἷς ἀν ἀεὶ λάβητε καταλογίζεσθε· μὴ δ’ ἐς πρὸς Δίδος καὶ θεῶν, τῶν τε ἄλλων καὶ ὅσοι Καρχηδόνα ἔτι ἔχουσί τε καὶ μὴ ποτὲ μηνισικάκησαίν ὑμῖν μηδὲ
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there is ample occasion in the abundance of our CHAP. calamity. We beseech you, in behalf of an ancient city founded by command of the gods, in behalf of a glory that has become great and a name that has pervaded the whole world, in behalf of the many temples it contains and of its gods who have done you no wrong. Do not deprive them of their nightly festivals, their processions and their solemnities. Deprive not the tombs of the dead, who harm you no more, of their offerings. If you have pity for us (as you say that out of pity you yield us another dwelling-place), spare the city's hearth, spare our forum, spare the goddess who presides over our council, and all else that is dear and precious to the living. What fear can you have of Carthage when you are in possession of our ships and our arms and the elephants which you grudge us? As to a change of dwelling-place (if that is considered in the light of a consolation), it is impracticable for our people, a countless number of whom get their living by the sea, to move into the country. We propose an alternative more desirable for us and more glorious for you. Spare the city which has done you no harm, but, if you please, kill us, whom you have ordered to move away. In this way you will seem to vent your wrath upon men, not upon temples, gods, tombs, and an innocent city.

85. “Romans, you desire a good name and reputation for piety in all that you do, and you profess the virtue of moderation in prosperity, and claim credit for it from those whom you conquer. Do not, I implore you in the name of Jove and of the other gods, especially those who still preside over Carthage (and may they never bear a grudge
πασών ὑμετέρως, μὴ ἀγαθὴν δόξαν ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἐν ἡμῖν πρώτοις διαβάλητε, μηδὲ τοιῷδε ἔργῳ τῆς εὐκλείας ὑμῶν καταμίαντε, χαλεπῷ μὲν ἐργασθῆναι χαλεπῷ δὲ ἀκουσθήναι, παρὰ τε πρῶτοις ὑμῖν ἐξ ἀπαντώσ τοῦ βίου γενησομένῳ. πόλεμοι γὰρ πολλοὶ μὲν "Ελλησιων ἐγένοντο καὶ βαρβάροις, πολλοὶ δὲ ὑμῖν, ὁ Ῥωμαῖοι, πρὸς ἐτέρους· καὶ οἵδεις πώς κατέσκαψε πόλιν χειρᾶς τέ συν μάχης καθεύσει καὶ ὁπλα καὶ τέκνα παραδοῦσαν. καὶ εἰ τις ἔστων ἐς ἀνθρώπους ἀλλή ζημία, καὶ ταύτην παθεῖν ὑπομένουσαν. προφέροντες δ᾽ ὑμῖν ὀρκίους θεοὺς καὶ τύχην ἀνθρωπείαν καὶ τὴν φοβερωτάτην τοῖς εὐτυχοῖς Νέμεσιν, δεώμεθα μήτε ἐς τὴν ὑμετέραν εὐπραγίαν ὑμᾶς ὑβρίσσαι, μήτε τὰς ἡμετέρας συμφορὰς ἐς ἀνήκεστον προσαγαγεῖν, συγχωρήσαι δ', εἰ μὴ δίδοτε τὴν πόλιν ἥχειν, ἐς γε τὴν σύγκλητον ἐπὶ προσβείσαι περὶ αὐτῆς καὶ δεσθῆναι. βραχύ δ’ ὀράτε τὸ διάστημα τοῦ χρόνου, βάςανοι μὲν ἡμῖν φέρον μακράν ἐν ὀλίγῳ διὰ τὴν τῶν ἐσομένου ἀμφιβολίαν· ὑμῖν δὲ τὸ μὲν ἀσφαλές ἵσον, ἡ ὦν ἡ μετ’ ὀλίγον τὰ δοκοῦντα δρᾶν, τὸ δ’ εὐσεβές καὶ φιλάνθρωπον ἔπτεγήθητε."

86. Τοιαύτα μὲν ἔπειν ὁ Βάινως, οἱ δὲ ὑπατοὶ δῆλοι μὲν ἢσαν ἐσκυθρῳστακότες παρὰ πάντα τῶν λόγων ὅτι μηδὲν ἐνδώσωσιν αὐτοῖς, παυσαμένου δὲ ὁ Κηνσώρινος ἔλεξεν "περὶ μὲν ἂν ἡ σύγκλητος προσέταξε, τί δεῖ πολλάκις λέγειν; προσέταξε γάρ, καὶ χρὴ γενέσθαι· οὐδὲ ἀναθέσθαι δυνάμεθα τὰ ἡδη κεκελευσμένα γενέσθαι. ταῦτα δὲ εἰ μὲν ὡς ἐχθροῖς ἐπεκελεύσμεν, ἔδει μόνον εἰπεῖν καὶ ποιεῖν ἀναγκάζειν· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐπὶ ὠφελεία κοινῇ, 546
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against you or your children), do not tarnish your own good name for the first time in your dealings with us. Do not defile your reputation by an act so horrible to do and to hear, and which you will be the first in all history to perform. Greeks and barbarians have waged many wars, and you, Romans, have waged many against other nations, but no one has ever razed to the ground a city whose people had surrendered before the fight, and delivered up their arms and children, and submitted to every other penalty that could be imposed upon men. Reminding you of the oaths sworn before the gods, of the mutability of the human lot, and Nemesis, most terrible to the fortunate, we beseech you not to do violence to your own fair record, and not to increase our calamities beyond all cure. Or, if you cannot spare our city, grant us time for sending another embassy to your Senate and for making our petition. Although the intervening time is short, you see that it will bring long agony to us through the uncertainty of the event. But your security is the same, whether you execute your purposes now or a little later, and in the meantime you will have performed a pious and humane act.”

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

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N N 2
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CAP. XI

tàχα μέν τι καὶ ἦμων, τὸ δὲ πλέον ὑμῶν, ὡς Καρχηδόνιοι, γύγνεται, οὐκ ὅκυρσω καὶ τοὺς λογισμοὺς ὑμῖν εἴπειν, ἣν δύνησθε πεισθῆναι μᾶλλον ἢ βιασθῆναι. ἦν τάλασσα ὑμᾶς ἤδε, μεμημένους τῆς ἐν αὐτῇ ποτὲ ἄρχης καὶ δυνάμεως, ἄδικείν ἐπάιρει, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦτο ἐς συμφορᾶς περιφέρει. Σικελία τε γὰρ δὲ αὐτὴν ἐπεχειρῆσατε, καὶ Σικελίαν ἀπολέσατε· ἔστι ἡ Ἱβηρίαν διεπλέοντες, καὶ Ἱβηρίαν ἀφήρησε. ἐν τε ταῖς συνθήκαις ἐλήξεσθε τοὺς ἐμπόρους, καὶ τοὺς ἡμετέρους μᾶλιστα, ἵνα λα νθάνοιτε, κατεποντοῦτε, ἔστω ἀλόντες ποιῆσην ἡμῖν ἔδωτε Σαρδῶ. οὕτω καὶ Σαρδοῦς ἀφηρέσθητε διὰ τὴν τάλασσαν, ἢ πέφυκε πείθειν ἀπαντας ἀεὶ τοῦ πλέονος ὅργεσθαι διὰ τὴν ἐν αὐτῇ ταχυργίαν.

87. "Ο καὶ Ἱβηριαῖοι, ὅτε ἐγένοντο ναυτικοί, μᾶλιστα ἐξερχόμενοι τε καὶ καθείλεν ἔοικε γὰρ τὰ τάλασσια τοῖς ἐμπορικοῖς κέρδεσιν, καὶ τὴν αὐξήσιν ἔχει καὶ τὴν ἀπώλειαν ἀθρόαν. ἦστε γοῦν αὐτοὺς ἐκεῖνος ὁ ἐπεμνύσθην, ὅτι τὴν ἄρχην ἐπὶ τὸν Ἱόνιον ἐκτείνοντες ἐς Σικελίαν οὐ πρὶν ἀπέστησαν τὴς πλεονεξίας, πρὶν τὴν ἄρχην ἀπασάν ἀφαιρέθηναι, καὶ λιμένας καὶ ναῦς παραδόοντας τοῖς πολεμίοις, καὶ φρουρὰν ἐνδεξασθαι τῇ πόλει, καὶ τὰ τείχη σφῶν αὐτοὶ τὰ μακρὰ καθελείν, καὶ σχεδὸν ἤπειρωταὶ τότε κάκεινοι γενέσθαι. ὁ καὶ διέσωσεν ἐπὶ πλείστον αὐτοῦς. εὐσταθέστερος γὰρ, ὡς Καρχηδόνιοι, ὡς ἦπειροι βίοι, γεωργία καὶ ἱρεμία προσπονῶν καὶ σμικρότερα μὲν ἵσως τὰ κέρδη, βεβαιότερα δὲ καὶ ἀκινδυνότερα καθάπεξ τὰ τῆς γεωργίας τῶν ἐμπόρων. ὅλως τὲ
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matter of the common good (ours, perhaps, to a certain extent, but yours even more), I have no objection to giving you the reasons, if you may be thus persuaded instead of being coerced. The sea reminds you of the dominion and power you once acquired by means of it. It prompts you to wrongdoing and brings you thus into disaster. The sea made you invade Sicily and lose it again. Then you invaded Spain and were driven out of it. While a treaty was in force you plundered merchants on the sea, and ours especially, and in order to conceal the crime you threw them overboard, until finally you were detected, and then you gave us Sardinia by way of penalty. Thus you lost Sardinia also because of the sea, which always begets a grasping disposition by the very facilities which it offers for gain.

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

88. Ἀλλὰ βασιλείᾳ μὲν ὑποδειγμάτων παύομαι, ουδὲν ύμῖν ἔτι διαφερόμεθα, ἐς δὲ τὴν ὑμετέραν Διβύθην ἀπίστευ, ὅσαι μεσόγειοι πόλεις ἀκίνδυνον βιούσιν. ὃν ἂν ἄν ἐθέλητε, γείτονες ἐσεσθε, ἢ ὅταν τὴν ἐρεθίζουσαν ύμᾶς ὄψιν τε καὶ μνήμην ἀφήτη τῶν νῦν ἐνοχλούντων κακῶν, ὅταν ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν κενήν σκαφῶν ἀφορῶντες ἀναμμηνησκιζα τοῦ πλῆθους ὃν εἴχετε νεῶν, καὶ λαφύρων ὅσων ἐφέρετε, καὶ ἔσοντες γε τοὺς λιμένας κατήγεσθε σοφαρότε, καὶ τὰ νεφρά καὶ τὰ τῶν σκευῶν ταμεία ἐνεπίμπλατε. τί δὲ αἰ ἐν τοῖς τείχεσιν ὑποδοχαῖ στρατοπέδων τε καὶ ἤππων καὶ ἐλεφάντων; τί δὲ θησαυροὶ τούτοις παρωκοδομημένοι; τί ταύτα μνημεία ύμῖν ἐστὶν; ἢ τί ἄλλα πλὴν ὄντις, καὶ ἐρέθισμα ἐπανελθεῖν ἐς αὐτά, εἴ ποτε δύνασθε; πάθος ἐστίν ἄνθρωπεν τοῖς μεμηνόμενοι τῆς ποτὲ τύχης, ἐλπίζειν τὴν τύχην ἐπανελεύσεσθαι, φάρμακον δὲ κακῶν ἀκεστήριον λήθη, ἢς οὐκ ἔναν μετασχεῖν ύμῖν, ἢν μὴ τὴν ὑψω ἀπόθησθε. καὶ τούτων σαφέστατος ἐλεγχος, οὗ τολλάκις συγγράμμας καὶ συνθηκῶν τυχόντες παρεσπονδήσατε. εἰ μὲν οὐν ἔτι τῆς ἄρχης ἐφίεσθε καὶ δυσμεναῖντε ἡμῖν ὡς ἀφηρημένοι καὶ καιροφυλακ-
more like a ship than like solid ground, being so tossed about on the waves of trouble and so much exposed to the vicissitudes of life, whereas an inland city enjoys all the security of the solid earth. For this reason the ancient seats of empire were generally inland, and in this way those of the Medes, the Assyrians, the Persians, and others became very powerful.

88. "But I will omit examples of monarchies, which no longer concern you. Look over your African possessions, where there are numerous inland cities out of the reach of danger, from which you can choose the one that you would like to have as a neighbour, so that you may no longer be in the presence of the thing that excites you, so that you may lose the sight and memory of the ills that now vex you whenever you cast your eyes upon the empty of ships, and call to mind the great fleets you once possessed and the spoils you captured and the harbours into which you proudly brought them, and filled your dockyards and arsenals. When you behold the barracks of your soldiers, the stables of your horses and elephants, and the storehouses alongside them, what do these things put into your minds? What else but grief and an intense longing to get them back again if you can? When we recall our departed fortune it is human nature to hope that we may recover it. The healing drug for all evils is oblivion, and this is not possible to you unless you put away the sight. The plainest proof of this is that as often as you obtained forgiveness and peace from us you violated the agreement. If you still yearn for dominion, and bear ill-will toward us who took it away from you, and if you are waiting your
APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK VIII

CAP. Xll

eîte, deî tîsde tîs plôlewû ûmîn kai lêmewn toûv- dé kai neôrîon kai teîxôn ês stratótpédon trôpôn eîrγâsménon. kai tî êti feîdómeta êxôrôn eîlêm- ménon; êî de tîs mên ârkhês ápëstêtê katharôs, ou łôgôf muûlên ôy gîômîh, mônâ ô' êxîrêmsthê lîbûnûs ã êçëte, kai tâde âprôfasisôtôi svûnethê ûmîn, fêrête, kai êrghû tâûta épîdeîçate, ês mên lîbûnû, hûn êçëte, ânoiçisâmënoi, tîs de thalássthês êksântâ- tes, ûs ãpëstêtê.

89. Mêô' upokrînësthe élleîên ierâ kai êstîas kai âgoras kai tâfous; õn tâfôi mên êstow anînhtoi, kai enagîzête aútois épérkômënoi, kai tois ierôis thûen ei thëlete épîóntes, tà de loupâ kathëlômënoi. ou yâr kai neôrîoi thûete, ouðê enagîzête teîçseu. êstîas ðe kai ierâ ãllha kai âgoras ènî kai metel- ðôntas érqâsasðai, kai tâkh kàkeîna ûmîn êstai pátîria, ô łôgôf kai tà èn Tûrf katâlîpôntes ëllâxaðhê lîbûnû, tà te épîkthêta ûmîn tôte gevômëna vûn pátîria tîbësthê. braxheî te łôgôf màthoite ân ôs ouç ùpô dúsmeneiaîs ãllè ëtî bêbaîh te ômônûia kai ãmermûnia kovû tàde prostássomênoi, ei ìnâmnhsthêtê ôti kai Âlîhûn hêmèis, ouç êxôrân ãllhâ muîtrôpolîn ouðsavn, ouðê dúsmeneînontes ãllè ôs âptoikoi protimôntes, êtî sumphênonti kovûf metôkîsâmënoi âs 'Rômûnû, kai ëlvûstèlhsen àmphonîes. ãllè eiçê yâr ûmîn êtî xeirôwaktes polloî thalasșobîwtoî, kai tôûtou 552
opportunity, then of course you have need of this city, this great harbour and its dockyards, and these walls built for the shelter of an army. In that case, why should we spare any longer our captured enemies? But if you have abdicated dominion sincerely, not in words only but with your hearts, and are content with what you possess in Africa, and if you made this peace with us in an honest spirit, come now, prove it by your acts. Move into the interior of Africa, which belongs to you, and leave the sea, the dominion of which you have yielded to us.

89. "Do not pretend that you are grieved for your temples, your hearths, your forum, your tombs. We shall not harm your tombs. You may come and make offerings there, and sacrifice in your temples, if you like. The rest, however, we shall destroy. You do not sacrifice to your shipyards, nor do you make offerings to your walls. You can provide yourselves with other hearths and temples and a forum in the place you move to, and presently that will be your country; just as you left your home in Tyre when you migrated to Africa, and now consider the land then acquired your country. In brief, you will understand that we do not make this decision from any ill-will toward you, but in the interest of a lasting concord and of the common security; if you remember how we caused Alba, not an enemy, but our mother city, to change her abode to Rome for the common good, acting not in a hostile spirit, but treating the citizens with the honour due to them from their colonists, and this proved to be for the advantage of both. But you say you have many workpeople who gain their living by the sea. We
Πεφροντίκαμεν, ὡς ἂν εὐκόλως ἐπιμυγνύοισθε τῇ θαλάσσῃ, καὶ τὴν τῶν ὁραιῶν διάθεσίν τε καὶ ἀντίληψιν ἔχοιτε εὐμαρήν· οὐ γὰρ μακρὰν ύμᾶς ἀπὸ θαλάσσης, ἀλλ' ὄγδοῦκοντα σταδίους ἀναδρομὴν κελεύομεν. ἦμεῖς δ' ταῦτα προστάσσοντες ύμῖν ἐκατόν τῆς θαλάσσης ἀπέχομεν. χωρίον δὲ ύμων δίδομεν, δ' θέλετε, ἐπιλέξασθαι, καὶ μετελθούσιν αὐτονόμως εἶναι. τούτο δ' ἐστὶν ὁ προυλέγομεν, αὐτόνομων ἔσεσθαι Καρχηδόνα, εἰ πείθοιτο ἡμῖν. Καρχηδόνα γὰρ ύμᾶς, οὐ τὸ ἔδαφος ἡγοῦμεθα.
THE PUNIC WARS

have thought of this too. In order that you might easily have access to the sea and a convenient importation and exportation of commodities, we have not ordered you to go more than ten miles from the shore, while we, who give the order, are twelve miles from it ourselves. We offer you whatever place you choose to take, and when you have taken it you shall live under your own laws. This is what we told you beforehand, that Carthage should have her own laws if you would obey our commands. We considered you to be Carthage, not the ground where you live."

XIII

90. Having spoken thus, Censorinus paused. When the Carthaginians, thunderstruck, answered not a word, he added, "All that can be said in the way of persuasion and consolation has been said. The order of the Senate must be carried out, and quickly too. Therefore take your departure, for you are still ambassadors." When he had thus spoken they were thrust out by the lictors, but as they foresaw what was likely to be done by the people of Carthage, they asked permission to speak again. Being readmitted they said, "We see that your orders are inexorable, since you will not even allow us to send an embassy to Rome. And we do not expect to return to you again, but to be slain by the people of Carthage before we have finished speaking to them. But we make this request of you, not on our own account (for we are ready to suffer anything), but on account of Carthage itself, which may
Καρχηδόνος, εἰ δύνατο καταπλαγεῖσα τὰς συμφορὰς ὑποστῆναι. περιστῆσατε αὐτῇ τὰς ναίς ἔως ὀδεύοντες ἀπίμεν, ἵνα καὶ θεωροῦντες καὶ ἀκούοντες ὅν προσετάξατε ἐνέγκωσιν, ἄν ἄρα δύνωνται. ἐς τοῦτο δ' ἦμιν ἀνάγκης ἀφίκται καὶ τύχης ὡς αὐτὸι παρακαλεῖν ὑμᾶς τὰς ναίς ἐπάγειν ἐπὶ τὴν πατρίδα." οἱ μὲν δὴ τοσαῦτα εἰπόντες ἀπῆσαν, καὶ δ' Κηνσωρίνος πεντήρεσιν εἰκοσι παραπλεύσας ἀνεκώχενε παρὰ τὴν πόλιν τῶν δὲ πρέσβεων οἱ μὲν ἐκ τῆς ὀδοῦ διεδίδρασκοι, οἱ δὲ πλέονες ἐπορεύοντο συγγ.

91. Καρχηδόνοι δ' οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν ἐς τοὺς πρέσβεις, ὅποτε ἤξοσιν, ἀφεώρων καὶ βραδύνουσιν αὐτοῖς ἡχθοντο, καὶ τὰς κόμας ἐτίλλοντο· οἱ δ' ὑπήντων ἐτὶ προσιόυσιν, οὐκ ἀναμένοντες ἀλλ' ἐπειγόμενοι μαθεῖν. σκυθρω- ποὺς δὲ ὀρῶντες ἐτύπποντο τὰ μέτωπα, καὶ διηρώ- των, οἱ μὲν ὁμοὶ πάντας οἱ δ' ἔκαστον, ὡς εἰχέ τις φιλίας ἢ γνώσεως ἐς αὐτὸν, ἐπιστρέφων τε καὶ πυνθανόμενος. ὁς δὲ οὐδεὶς ἀπεκρίνετο, ἀνύφμωξον ὡς ἐπὶ ὀλέθρῳ σαφεῖ. καὶ οἱ ἐπὶ τοῦ τείχους ἀκούοντες συνανθέμοιιν αὐτοῖς, οὐκ εἰδότες μὲν οὐδέν, ὡς ἐπὶ σαφεῖ καὶ μεγάλῳ κακῷ. περὶ δὲ τὰς πύλας ὄλγου μὲν αὐτοὺς καὶ συνεπάτους, ἐπιπίπτοντες ἄθροι, ὄλγου δὲ καὶ διέσπαιραν, εἰ μὴ τοσώντε ἔφασαν, ὅτι χρή τῇ γερουσίᾳ πρότερον ἐντυχεῖν. τότε γὰρ οἱ μὲν διίσταντο αὐτοῖς, οἱ δὲ καὶ ὠδοποίουν ἐπιθυμία τοῦ θᾶσσου μαθεῖν. ὡς δὲ ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἐσήλθον, ἡ μὲν γερουσία τοὺς ἄλλους μετεστήσατο, καὶ μόνοι συνήδρευον

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be able, if stricken with terror, to bow before misfortune. Surround the city with your fleet while we are returning by the road, so that both seeing and hearing what you have ordered, they may bear it if they can. To this state has fortune and necessity brought us that we ourselves ask you to hasten your ships against our fatherland." Having spoken thus, they departed, and Censorinus coasted along with twenty quinqueremes and cast anchor alongside the city. Some of the ambassadors fled on the journey home, but the greater part moved on in silence.

91. Meanwhile some of the Carthaginians were watching from the walls the return of the ambassadors, and tore their hair with impatience at their delay. Others, not waiting, ran to meet them in order to learn the news; and when they saw them coming with downcast eyes they smote their own foreheads and questioned them, now altogether, now one by one, as each chanced to meet a friend or acquaintance, seizing hold of them and asking questions. When no one answered they wept aloud as though certain destruction awaited them, while those on the walls, as they heard them, joined in the lamentations, knowing nothing, but feeling unmistakably the presence of a great calamity. At the gates the crowd almost trod the envoys underfoot, rushing upon them in such number. They would have been torn to pieces had they not said that they must make their first communication to the senate. Then some of the crowd made room, and others even opened a path for them, in order to learn the news sooner. After they were come into the senate-chamber the senators turned the others out and sat down alone by themselves, and the crowd remained
CAP. XIII

ἐφ' ἐαυτῶν, τὸ δὲ πλῆθος ἔξω περιειστήκεσαν. οἱ δὲ πρέσβεις ἀπήγγελλον πρῶτα μὲν τὸ κέλευσμα τῶν ὑπάτων καὶ εὐθὺς ἦν βοή τῆς γερουσίας, καὶ ὁ δήμος ἔξω συνεβόα. ώσ δὲ ἐπήγγον οἱ πρέσβεις ὅσα ἀντέλεσαν δικαιολογούμενοι καὶ δεόμενοι καὶ ἐς Ρώμην προσβεθοῦσι παραίτησενοι, αὕτης ἦν τῆς βουλῆς συγγραφή βαθεία, τὸ τέλος μαθεῖν περιμενούσης, καὶ ὁ δήμος αὐτῇ συνεσιώτα. ώσ δ' ἐμαθον ὅτι μηδὲ προσβεθεῖν ἐπέτρεψαν, ἡλάλαξαν ἐξαισθίον ὄδυρόμενοι, καὶ ὁ δήμος ἐσέδραμεν ἐς αὐτοὺς.

92. Καὶ ἀπὸ τούτῳ ἦν οἴστρος ἀλογος τε καὶ μανιώδης, οἷον ἐν τοῖς βακχείοις πάθεσι φασι τὰς μανιάδας ἀλλόκοτα καινουργεῖν. οἱ μὲν τῶν βουλευτῶν τοὺς περὶ τῶν ὁμήρων ἐσηγησαμένους ώσ ἔξαρχοι τῆς ἐνέδρας ἦκίζοντο καὶ διέσπων, οἱ δὲ τοὺς συμβουλεύσαντας περὶ τῶν ὁπλῶν. οἱ δὲ τοὺς πρέσβεις κατέλεγον ώσ κακῶν ἀγγέλους, οἱ δὲ καὶ περιέσπυρον ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν. ἔτεροι δὲ τοὺς Ἰταλοὺς, οἱ ἔτι παρ' αὐτοῖς ώς ἐν αἰφνιδίᾳ καὶ ἀκηρύκτῳ κακῷ ἡσαυ, ἐλυμαίνοντο ποικίλως, ἐπιλέγοντες ὁμήρους πέρι καὶ ὁπλῶν καὶ ἀπάτης ἀμύνεσθαι. οἴμωγης τε ἄμα παῖ ὅργης καὶ δέους καὶ ἀπειλής πόλις ἐνεπέπληστο, καὶ ἐν ταῖς ὀδοῖς ἀνεκάλουν τὰ φίλτατα, καὶ ἐς τὰ ἱερὰ ὡς ἀσύλα κατέφευγον, καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ὁνείδιζον ὡς οὐδὲ σφίστων αὐτοῖς ἐπικουρήσαι δυναμένους. ἔτεροι δὲ ἐς τὰς ὀπλοθήκας ἱόντες ἐκλαιοῦν, ὁρῶντες κενᾶς· οἱ δ' ἐς τὰ νεώρια καταθέοντες ἀδύροντο τὰς ναίς ὡς ἀπίστοις ἀνδράσιν ἐκδεδο-
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standing outside. Then the envoys announced first of all the order of the consuls. Immediately there was a great outcry in the senate which was echoed by the people outside. When the envoys went on to tell what arguments and prayers they had used to get permission to send an embassy to Rome, there was again profound silence among the senators, who listened to the end; and the people kept silence also. But when they learned that they were not even allowed to send an embassy, there was an outburst of loud lamentation, and the people rushed in among them.

92. Then followed a scene of blind, raving madness, like the strange acts which the Maenads are said to perform when under the influence of Bacchus. Some fell upon those senators who had advised giving the hostages and tore them in pieces, considering them the ones who had led them into the trap. Others treated in a similar way those who had favoured giving up the arms. Some stoned the ambassadors for bringing the bad news, and others dragged them through the city. Still others, meeting certain Italians, who were caught among them in this sudden and unexpected mischance, maltreated them in various ways, adding that they would make them suffer for the fraud practised upon them in the matter of the hostages and the arms. The city was full of wailing and wrath, of fear and threatenings. People roamed the streets invoking whatever was most dear to them and took refuge in the temples as in asylums. They upbraided their gods for not even being able to defend themselves. Some went into the arsenals and wept when they found them empty. Others ran to the dockyards and bewailed the ships
μένας. καὶ τὰ ὁνόματά τινες τῶν ἔλεφαντων ἀνεκάλουν ὡς ἐτί παρόντων, τοὺς τε προγόνους καὶ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἔλοιδόρουν, ὡς δεόν μὴν μὴν ἔλεφαντας μὴν φόρους μὴν τὰ ὅπλα παραδόντας ἀποθανείν σὺν τῇ πατρίδι ὁμιλισμένη.

μάλιστα δ’ αὐτούς ἐσ ὀργήν ἀνέκαιον αἱ μητέρες αἱ τῶν ὀμήρων, οἶα τίνες ἑκ τροχωδίας ἔρινυς ἐντυγχάνουσαι μετ’ ὀλολυγῆς ἐκάστῳ, καὶ τὴν ἐκδοσίν τῶν παίδων προφέρουσαι καὶ τὴν ἐαυτῶν ἀπόρρησιν ἐπεγέλων τε αὐτοῖς ὡς θεῶν ἀμυνεμένων αὐτοὺς ἀντὶ τῶν παίδων. ὄλγον δ’ ὄσον ἐσωφρόνει, τὰς πύλας ἀπέκλεε, καὶ τὸ τείχος λίθων ἀντὶ καταπελτῶν ἐπλήρουν.

93. Ἡ δὲ βουλὴ πολεμεῖν μὲν ἐγνήσισατο αὐτὴς ἡμέρας, καὶ τοὺς δούλους ἐκήρυξεν ἔλευθεροὺς εἶναι, στρατηγοὺς δὲ εἶλοντο τῶν μὲν ἐξω πράξεων ᾿Ασδρούβαν, ὃ θάνατος ἐπικήρυκτος ἦν, ἔχουτα δισμυρίων ἢδη σύνοδον ἄνδρῶν καὶ τὸς ἐξέτρεχεν αὐτοῦ δεσπόμενος μὴ μνησικακῆσαι τῇ πατρίδι ἐνέχ χάτῳ κινδύνου, μηδὲ, ὃν ὑπ’ ἀνάγκης ἦδικήθη Ῥωμαίων δεῖς, νῦν ἀναφέρειν. ἐντὸς δὲ τείχων ἥρεθη στρατηγὸς ἑτερος Ἀσδρούβας, θυγατριδοὺς Μασσανάσσου. ἐπεμψαν δὲ καὶ ἐς τοὺς υπότους, αἰτοῦντες αὐθίς ἠμέρων τράκοντα ἀνοχάς, ὅπα πρεσβέεσιν ἐς Ῥώμην. ἀποτυχόντες δὲ καὶ τὸτε, ἐπὶ θαναστής ἐγίγνοντο μεταβολὴς τε καὶ τόλμης ὁτιοῦν παθεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ τὴν τόλμην ἐκλητεῖν. ταχὺ δὲ καὶ θάρσους ἐκ τῆς μεταβολῆς ἐπίμπλαντο: καὶ δημιουργεὶα μὲν τὰ δημόσια τεμένη καὶ ιερὰ πάντα, καὶ ἐν τῇ ἄλλῳ εὐρύχωρῳ ἦν, ἐγένετο εἰργάζοντο δὲ ὁμοῦ ἄνδρες τε καὶ γυναῖκες ἡμέρας τε καὶ νυκτός, μὴ ἀναπαύομενοι.
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called their elephants by name, as though they were still there, and reviled their own ancestors and themselves for not perishing, sword in hand, with their country, without paying tribute and giving up their elephants, their ships, and their arms. Most of all was their anger kindled by the mothers of the hostages who, like Furies in a tragedy, accosted those whom they met with shrieks, and reproached them with giving away their children against their protest, or mocked at them, saying that the gods were now taking vengeance on them for the lost children. The few who remained sane closed the gates, and brought stones upon the walls to be used in place of catapults.

93. The same day the Carthaginian senate declared war and proclaimed freedom to the slaves. They also chose generals and selected Hasdrubal for the outside work, whom they had condemned to death, and who had already collected 30,000 men. They despatched a messenger to him begging that, in the extreme peril of his country, he would not remember, or lay up against them, the wrong they had done him under the pressure of necessity from fear of the Romans. Within the walls they chose for general another Hasdrubal, the son of a daughter of Masinissa. They also sent to the consuls asking a truce of thirty days in order to send an embassy to Rome. When this was refused a second time, a wonderful change and determination came over them, to endure everything rather than abandon their city. Quickly all minds were filled with courage from this transformation. All the sacred places, the temples, and every other wide and open space, were turned into workshops, where men and women worked
ΚΑΙ ΣΙΤΟΝ ΑΙΡΟΥΜΕΝΟΙ ΠΑΡΑ ΜΕΡΟΣ, ΕΠΙ ΔΡΟΥ ΤΑΣΤΩ, ΘΥΡΕΟΥΣ ΕΚΑΤΟΝ ΗΜΕΡΑΣ ΕΚΑΣΤΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΞΥΦΗ ΤΡΙΑΚΟΣΙΑ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΤΑΠΕΛΤΙΚΑ ΒΕΛΗ ΧΙΛΙΑ, ΣΑΥΝΙΑ ΔΕ ΚΑΙ ΛΟΓΧΑΣ ΠΕΝΚΑΚΟΣΙΑΣ, ΚΑΙ ΚΑΤΑΠΕΛΤΑΣ ΟΣΟΥΣ ΔΥΝΗΣΕΙΝ. ΕΣ ΔΕ ΤΑΣ ΕΠΙΤΑΣΕΙΣ ΑΥΤΩΝ ΑΠΕΚΕΙΡΑΝ ΤΑΣ ΓΥΝΑΙΚΑΣ, ΤΡΙΧΩΝ ΕΤΕΡΩΝ ΑΠΟΡΙΑ.

94. ΚΑΙ ΟΙ ΜΕΝ ΕΝ ΤΟΤΙΡΙ ΣΠΟΥΔΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΡΑΣΚΕΥΗΣ ΣΕΑΝ, ΟΙ Δ' ΥΠΑΤΟΙ ΤΑΧΑ ΜΕΝ ΤΙ ΚΑΙ ΟΚΥΡΟ, ΜΗ ΕΥΘYS ΕΠΙΧΕΙΡΕΙΝ ΕΣ ΕΡΓΟΝ ΑΛΛΗΚΟΤΟΝ, ΑΜΑ ΔΕ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΠΟΛΙΝ ΑΝΟΠΛΟΝ ΟΥΣΑΝ ΛΗΨΕΘΑΙ ΚΑΤΑ ΚΡΑΤΟΣ, ΟΤΕ ΘΕΛΟΙΝ, ΗΓΟΥΜΕΝΟΙ, ΔΙΕΜΕΛΛΟΝ ΕΤΙ ΚΑΙ ΕΥΔΩΣΕΙΝ ΑΥΤΟUS ΕΝΟΜΙΖΟΥΝ ΕΚ ΤΗΣ ΑΠΟΡΙΑΣ, ΟΛΟΥ ΕΝ ΤΟΙΣ ΔΥΣΧΕΡΕΙΣ ΓΙΓΝΕΣΘΑΙ ΦΙΛΕΙ, ΕΥΘYS ΜΕΝ ΑΝΤΙΛΕΓΕΙΝ, ΠΡΟΙΟΝΤΟΣ ΔΕ ΧΡΟΝΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΛΟΓΙΣΜΟΥ ΦΩΒΟΥ ΑΠΤΕΣΘΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΑΠΕΙΘΟΥΝΤΩΝ. ΔΑ ΚΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΚΑΡΧΗΔΟΝΙΩΝ ΤΙΣ ΑΥΤΩΝ, ΕΙΚΑΣΑΣ ΣΦΩΝ ΉΔΗ ΤΟ ΘΕΟ ΑΠΤΕΣΘΑΙ, ΕΤΟΛΜΗΣΕΝ ΩΣ ΕΠΙ ΔΕ ΤΙ ΆΛΛΟ ΠΑΡΕΛΘΩΝ ΕΣ ΤΟ ΜΕΣΟΝ ΕΙΠΕΙΝ, ΟΤΙ ΧΡΗ ΤΩΝ ΚΑΚΩΝ ΕΠΙΛΕΞΕΣΘΑΙ ΤΑ ΜΕΤΡΙΩΤΕΡΑ, ΌΝΤΑΣ ΑΝΟΠΛΟΥΣ, ΟΥΤΩ ΣΑΦΩΣ ΕΙΠΩΝ ΤΑ ΤΗΣ ΓΥΝΩΜΗΣ. ΜΑΣΣΑΝΆΣΘΗΣΗ ΔΕ ΉΧΘΕΤΟ ΡΩΜΑΙΟΥΣ, ΚΑΙ ΕΦΕΡΕ ΒΑΡΕΩΣ ΟΤΙ ΤΗΝ ΚΑΡΧΗΔΟΝΙΩΝ ΔΥΝΑΜΙΝ ΑΥΤΩΣ ΕΣ ΓΟΝΙΝ ΒΑΛΩΝ ΆΛΛΟΥ ΕΘΡΑ ΤΟΙ ΕΠΙΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΙ ΑΥΤΗΣ ΕΠΙΤΡΕΧΟΝΤΑΣ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΟΥ ΚΟΙΝΩΝΑΣΤΑ ΑΥΤΩΡ ΠΡΙΝ ΕΠΕΛΘΕΙΝ, ΩΣ ΕΝ ΤΟΙΣ ΠΑΛΑΙ ΠΟΛΕΜΟΙ ΕΠΟΙΟΥΝ. ΟΜWOS D' ΑΥΤΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΥΠΑΤΩΝ ΑΠΟΠΕΙΡΩΜΕΝΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΛΟΥΝΤΩΝ ΕΠΙ ΣΥΜΜΑΧΙΑΝ, ΞΥΦΗ ΤΗΝ ΣΥΜΜΑΧΙΑΝ ΠΕΜΨΕΙΝ, ΟΤΑΝ ΑΙΣΘΗΤΑΙ ΔΕΟΜΕΝΩΝ. ΚΑΙ ΜΕΤ'O ΟΥ ΠΟΛΥ ΠΕΜΨΑΣ ΉΡΕΣΤΟ ΙΤΙΝΟΣ ΉΔΗ ΔΕΟΝΤΑΙ. ΟΙ ΔΕ ΟΥ ΦΕΡΟΝΤΕΣ ΑΥΤΩΝ ΤΘ ΣΟΒΑΡΟΝ, ΉΔΗ ΔΕ ΤΙ ΚΑΙ ΑΠΙΣΤΟΥΝΤΕΣ ΩΣ ΔΥΣΜΕΝΑΙ.
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together day and night, on a fixed schedule, without pause, taking their food by turns. Each day they made 100 shields, 300 swords, 1000 missiles for catapults, 500 darts and spears, and as many catapults as they could. For strings to bend them the women cut off their hair for want of other fibres.

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

ΧΑΡ. XIII. μοντι, ἀπεκρίναντο προσπέμψειν οτὲ δεθεῖεν. περὶ δὲ ἀγορᾶς τῷ στρατῷ καὶ πάνω ἐφρόντιζον, ἐκ μόνης ἔχοντες Ἀδριμητοῦ καὶ Δέπτεως καὶ Θάφου καὶ Ἰτύκης καὶ Ἀχόλλης. τὰ γὰρ δὴ λοιπὰ Διβύνης ἦν ἐτὶ πάντα ὑπὸ Ἀσδρούβα, ὥδεν ἐκεῖνος ἀγορᾶν ἐς Καρχηδόνα ἐπεμπεν. ὦλιγων δὲ ἐς ταῦτα διατριβείσων ἡμερῶν, οἱ μὲν ὑπάτοι προσήπεσαν ἀμφῶ τῇ πόλει τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἐς μάχην ἐσκευασμένου, καὶ ἔπεχείρουν.

ΧΑΡ. XIV. 95. Ἡν δὲ ἡ πόλις ἐν μυχῷ κόλπου μεγίστου, χερσονήσῳ τῷ μάλιστα προσεκυνία. αὐχὴν γὰρ αὐτὴν ἀπὸ τῆς ἡπείρου διείργεν, εὐρος ὅν πέντε καὶ εἰκοσι σταδίων ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ αὐχένου ταινία στενὴ καὶ ἐπιμήκης, ἡμισταδίου μᾶλιστα τὸ πλάτος, ἐπὶ δυσμάς ἔχωρει, μέση λίμνης τε καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης... ἀπλῶ τείχει περίκρημνα ὄντα, τά δὲ πρὸς μεσημβρίαν ἐς ἡπείρου, ἔνθα καὶ ἡ Βύρσα ἢ ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐχένος, τρυπλῶ τείχει. τούτων δὲ ἐκαστοῦ ἢν ὤψος μὲν πηχῶν τριάκοντα, χωρίς ἐπάλξεων τε καὶ πύργων, οἵ ἐκ διπλέθρου διαστήματος αὐτῶν τετρώροφοι περιέκειντο, βάθος δὲ ποδῶν τριάκοντα, διωροφὸν δὲ ἢν ἐκαστοῦ τεῖχους τὸ ὤψος, καὶ ἐν αὐτῶ κοίλῳ τε ὀντὶ καὶ στεγανῷ κάτω μὲν ἐστάθμευον ἐλέφαντες τριακόσιοι, καὶ θησαυρὸν παρέκειντο αὐτῶς τῶν τροφῶν, ἵπποστάσια δ᾽ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶς ἢν τετρακισχίλιοι ὕπποις, καὶ ταμεία χιλεῖ τε καὶ κριθῆς, ἀνδράσι τε καταγωγαὶ πεζῶις μὲν ἐς 564.
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that they would send for him whenever they needed him. Yet they were already in much trouble for supplies for the army, which they drew from Hadrumetum, Leptis, Thapsus, Utica, and Acholla only. For Hasdrubal was still in possession of all the rest of Africa, whence he sent supplies to Carthage. Several days having been consumed in this way, the two consuls moved their forces against Carthage, prepared for battle, and laid siege to it.

XIV

95. The city lay in a recess of a great gulf and was in the form of a peninsula. It was separated from the mainland by an isthmus about three miles in width. From this isthmus a narrow and longish tongue of land, about 300 feet wide, extended towards the west between a lake and the sea. On the sea side, where the city faced a precipice, it was protected by a single wall. Towards the south and the mainland, where the city of Byrsa stood on the isthmus, there was a triple wall. The height of each wall was forty-five feet, not taking account of the parapets and the towers, which were placed all round at intervals of 200 feet, each having four stories, while their depth was thirty feet. Each wall was divided into two stories. In the lower space there were stables for 300 elephants, and alongside were receptacles for their food. Above were stables for 4000 horses and places for their fodder and grain. There were barracks also for soldiers, 20,000 foot and 4000 horse. Such preparation for

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**CAP. Δισμυρίους, ἰππεύσι δὲ ἐς τετρακισχιλίους. το-
σήδε παρασκευὴ πολέμου διετέκτακτο σταθμεύειν ἐν τοῖς τείχεσι μόνοις. γωνία δ' ἡ παρὰ τὴν
gλώσσαν ἐκ τούδε τοῦ τείχους ἐπὶ τοὺς λιμένας
περιέκαμπτεν, ἀσθενὴς ἦν μόνη καὶ ταπεινή, καὶ
ἡμέλητο ἐξ ἄρχης.

96. Οἱ δὲ λιμένες ἐς ἀλλήλους διεπλέοντο, καὶ
ἐσπλουσ ἐκ πελάγους ἐς αὐτοὺς ἦν ἐς εὐρὸς ποδῶν
ἐβδομήκοντα, ὃν ἀλύσαν ἀπέκλεισαν σιδηραῖς.
ὸ μὲν δὴ πρῶτος ἐμπόροις ἀνέιτο, καὶ πείσματα ἦν ἐν αὐτῷ πυκνὰ καὶ ποικίλα· τοῦ δὲ ἐντὸς ἐν
μέσῳ νῆσος ἦν, καὶ κρητίσι μεγάλαις ἢ τε νῆσος
καὶ ὁ λιμὴν διελήπτο. νεωρίων τε ἐγέμον ἀἱ
κρηπίδες αἴδε ἐς ναύς διακοσίας καὶ εἰκοσὶ
pεποιημένων, καὶ ταμείων ἐπὶ τοῖς νευρίως ἐς
τριγρευτίκα σκεύη. κίονες δ' ἐκάστου νεωσοίκου
προὔχον Ἰωνικὸν δύο, ἐς εἰκόνα στοὰς τὴν ὅψιν
τοῦ τε λιμένος καὶ τῆς νῆσου περιφέρουτες. ἐπὶ
δὲ τῆς νῆσου σκηνῇ ἐπεπόιητο τῷ ναύαρχῳ, ὧθεν
ἐδει καὶ τὸν σαλπτικὴν σημαίνειν, καὶ τὸν κήρυκα
προλέγειν, καὶ τὸν ναύαρχον ἑφοραῖν. ἐκείτο δ' ἢ
νῆσος κατὰ τὸν ἐσπλοῦν, καὶ ἀνετέτατο ἱσχυ-
ρῶς, ἵνα δ' τοὺς ναύαρχους τὰ ἐκ πελάγους πάντα
ἐφάρμοσαν, καὶ τοῖς ἐπιπλέουσιν ἀφανῆς ἢ τῶν ἐνδο
ἡ ὡς ἢ ἀκριβῆς. οὐ μὴν οὖδὲ τοῖς ἐπιπλέουσιν
ἐμπόροις εὖθυς ἦν τὰ νεώρια σύνοπτα· τείχος
τε γὰρ αὐτοῖς διπλοῦν περιέκειτο, καὶ πύλαι,
αἱ τοὺς ἐμπόρους ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου λιμένος ἐς τὴν
πόλιν ἐσέφερον ο(packag(e) διερχομένους τὰ νεώρια.

97. Οὕτω μὲν εἶχεν ἡ πόλις ἢ Καρχηδονίων ἢ
tοτε, οἱ δ' ὑπατοὶ διελόμενοι τὸ ἔργον ἤσαν
ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, Μανίλιος μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς
566.
THE PUNIC WARS

war was arranged and provided for in their walls CHAP. XIV alone. The angle which ran around from this wall to the harbour along the tongue of land mentioned above was the only weak and low spot in the fortifications, having been neglected from the beginning.

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

97. But the consuls, having divided their work, moved against the enemy. Manilius advanced from the mainland by way of the isthmus, intending to
ΑΠΠΙΑΝ'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK VIII

ΧΑΡ. ήπείρου κατὰ τὸν αὐχένα, ἐγχώσων τε τὴν τάφρον καὶ βραχῦ ἐπιτείχισμα τὸ ἐπ’ αὐτῆ βιασόμενος, καὶ ἔπ’ ἐκεῖνῳ τὰ ψηλὰ τείχη· Κηνσωρίνος δὲ κλίμακας ἔκ τε γῆς καὶ νεῶν ἐπέφερε κατὰ τὴν εὐτελὴ τοῦ τείχους γωνίαν. ἄμφω δ’ ὡς ἀνόπλων κατεφρόνων, ἕως ἐντυχώντες ὀπλοὶς τε καυνόις καὶ ἀνδρῶν προθυμία παραλόγω κατεπλάγησαν καὶ ὑπεχώρουν. καὶ εὐθὺς αὐτοῖς τοῦτο πρῶτον ἀντεκκρούκει, ἐπεί-
σασιν ἄμαχι λήψεσθαι τὴν πόλιν. ὡς δὲ καὶ ἀνθις ἐπεχείρουν καὶ ἀνθις ἄπετύγχανον, τὰ μὲν τῶν Καρχηδονίων φρονήματα ἐπήρθο, οἱ δ’ ὑποτοι δεδιότες Ἀσδρούβαν ὁπισθὲν σφῶν ὑπὲρ τὴν λίμνην οὐκ ἐκ μακροῦ δια-
στήματος ἐστρατοπεδευμένου, ὀχύρων καὶ αὐτῶν δύο στρατόπεδα, Κηνσωρίνος μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς λίμνης ὑπὸ τοῖς τείχεσι τῶν πολεμίων, Μανίλιος δὲ ἐν τῷ αὐχένει τῆς ἐς τὴν ἥπειρον ὄδοι. ὡς δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐγήγερτο τὰ στρατόπεδα, δ’ Κηνσωρίνος ἐπὶ θλη ἐς μηχανὰς διέπλευσε διὰ τῆς λίμνης· καὶ ἀπέβαλεν ύλοτόμων ἐς πεντα-
κοσίους ἀνδρὰς ὑπὰ τε πολλά. Ἰμίλκωνος αἰφνίδιον αὐτῷ, τοῦ Καρχηδονίων ἰππάρχων, προσπεσόντος, ὃ Φαμέας ἐπώνυμον ἦν. κομίσας δ’ ὀμο διὰ θλη, μηχανὰς ἐποίησε καὶ κλίμακας. καὶ πάλιν ἐπεχείρουν ἄμφω τῇ πόλει, καὶ ἀπε-
τύγχανον ὁμοίως. Μανίλιος μὲν οὖν μικρὸν ἐτὶ προσκαμὸν καὶ μόλις τι τοῦ προτειχίσματος καταβαλὼν, ἀπέγνω μηδὲ ἐπιχειρεῖν ἐτὶ ταύτῃ.

98. Κηνσωρίνος δὲ χώσας τι τῆς λίμνης παρὰ τὴν ταινίαν, ἴσα εὐρύτερον εἶχη, δύο μηχανὰς κριοφόρους ἐπήγαγε μεγάλας, τὴν μὲν ὁθομεῖνην 568
THE PUNIC WARS

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

98. Censorinus, having filled up a portion of the lake along the tongue of land in order to have a broader road, brought up two enormous battering rams, one of which was driven by 6000 foot-soldiers

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APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK VIII

CAP. XIV

έξακισχιλίους πεζοὺς, ἠγουμένων τῶν χιλιάρχων, τὴν δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἔρετῶν, ἠγουμένων καὶ τοῖς ναυάρχοις. φίλονεκίας δ', ὡς εὖ ἵσω καὶ ὁμοίω ἔργῳ, τοῖς τε ὑπηρέταις καὶ τοῖς ἄρχουσιν αὐτῶν γεγομένης, συνέπεσέ τι τοῦ τείχους, καὶ τὰ ἐντὸς ἴδη κατεφαίνετο. Καρχηδόνιοι δὲ καὶ ὃς αὐτῶς ἀποσάμενοι, τὰ πεσόντα νυκτὸς φιλοδομοῦν. οὐκ ἄρκούσης δ' ἐστὶ έργον αὐτοῖς τῆς νυκτὸς, δεδότες περὶ τῷ ἴδῃ γεγονότι, μὴ καὶ τούτο μεθ' ἴμεραν αἱ Ρωμαίων μηχαναὶ νεότερον καὶ ύγρὸν ἔτι καταβάλοιεν, ἐξέδραμον ἐπί τὰ μηχανήματα τῶν πολεμίων, οἱ μὲν σὺν ὀπλοῖς, οἱ δὲ γυμνοὶ λαμπάδας ἡμένας ἔχοντες, καὶ ἐνέπρησαν μὲν οὐχ ὅλα (οὐ γὰρ ἐφθασαν Ρωμαίων ἐπιδραμόντων), ἀκρεία δ' ὅλα ποιήσαντες ἀνεχόρουν. ἀμα δ' ἴμερα Ἡρωμαίοις ἐπέπεσεν ὄρμη διά τοῦ πεσόντος οὐπω τελέως ἐγχιερμένου βιάσασθαι καὶ ἐσδραμεῖν καὶ γὰρ τὶ πεδίου ἐντὸς ἐφαίνετο εὐφυές ἐς μάχην, ἐν θ' τούς ἐνόπλους ἐστησαν οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι κατὰ μετώπου, τοὺς δ' ἀνόπλους αὐτοῖς ἐπέταξαν σὺν λίθοις ὀπίσω καὶ ἕξοις, ἐτέρους τε πολλοὺς διαθέντες ἐπὶ τῶν περικεφαλαίων ὀίκιῶν ἄνεμον τοὺς ἐπερχομένους ἐσδραμείν. οἱ δ' ἐτί μᾶλλον ἰρεθίζωντο ὡς ὑπὸ γυμνῶν ἀνδρῶν καταφρονοῦμενοι, καὶ θρασεῖς ἐπέπηδοι. Σκυπίων δέ, ὃς μετ' ολίγων εἶλε Καρχηδόνα καὶ παρά τούτῳ Ἀφρικανὸς ἐπεκλήθη, χιλιαρχῶν τότε ὁκνεῖ, καὶ τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ λόχους ἐς τολλὰ διελών, καὶ στῆσας ἐκ διαστήματος ἐπὶ τοῦ τείχους, κατείναι μὲν ἐς τὴν πόλιν οὐκ εἶα, τοὺς

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under charge of the military tribunes, and the other by oarsmen of the ships under charge of their captains. The two detachments, officers as well as men, were fired by rivalry in the performance of their similar tasks, and beat down a part of the wall, so that they could look into the city. But even so the Carthaginians drove them back and began to repair the breaches in the wall by night. As the night time was not sufficient for the work and they feared lest the Roman engines should readily destroy by daylight the part which they had already completed, as it was newly made and still moist, they made a sally, some with arms and others with torches only, to set fire to the machines. They had not time to burn these entirely (the Romans running up and preventing them), but they rendered them quite useless and regained the city. When daylight returned the Romans conceived the purpose of rushing in through the opening where the Carthaginians had not finished their work and overpowering them. They saw inside an open space, well suited for fighting, where the Carthaginians had stationed armed men in front and others in the rear provided only with stones and clubs, and many others on the roofs of the neighbouring houses, all in readiness to meet the invaders. The Romans, when they saw themselves scorned by an unarmed enemy, were still more exasperated, and dashed in fiercely. But Scipio, who a little later took Carthage and from that feat gained the surname Africanus, being then a military tribune, held back, divided his companies into several parts, and stationed them at intervals along the wall, not allowing them to go down into the city. When those who entered were driven
99. Κυνὸς δ' ἦν ἐπιτυχής, καὶ τὸ Κηνσωρίνου στρατόπεδον ἐνόσει, σταθμεύον ἐπὶ λίμνη σταθερὸν καὶ βαρέος ὤδας καὶ ὑπὸ τείχεοι μεγίστοις, οὐ καταπνεόμενον ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης. ὅθεν ὁ Κηνσωρίνος ἔσ τὴν θάλασσαν ἀπὸ τῆς λίμνης μετεστρατοπέδευσεν. καὶ οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι, οὔτε γίγνοντο πνεύμα ἐς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐπίφορον, σκάψας φρυγάνων καὶ στυπτίων εἰλικρ ὑπὸ τοὺς τείχεοις, οὐ καθορόμενοι τοὺς τολεμίους, ἀπὸ κάλων εἰ δὲ ἐπικάμπτοντες ἐμελλον γενόμενοι καταφανεῖς, θεῖον αὐταῖς καὶ πᾶσαν ἐπιχέοντες ἀνέτεινον τὰ ἱστία, καὶ πλῆσαντες ἀνέμου πῦρ ἐνέβαλον ἐς τὰ σκάφη. τὰ δὲ τῷ τε ἀνέμῳ καὶ τῇ ροπῇ τοῦ πυρὸς ἐς τὰς Ῥωμαίους ναοὺς ἐωθεῖτο καὶ ἐλυμαίνετο καὶ ὅλιγον τὸν στόλον κατέφλεξεν. μετὰ δὲ οὖ πολὺ Κηνσωρίνοις μὲν ἐς Ῥώμην φίλον ἄρχαρεσιάσων, οἱ δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι τῷ Μανιλῷ βρασύτερον ἐπέκειντο, καὶ νυκτός, οἱ μὲν ὅπλα ἔχοντες οἱ δὲ γυμνοὶ, σανίδας φέρουν ἐπετίθεσαν τῇ κατὰ σφας τάφρο τοῦ Μανιλώ, καὶ τὸ χαράκωμα διέστων. ἀπορουμένους δὲ ὡς ἐν νυκτὶ τῶν ἐνδον, ὁ Σκιπίων ἐξέδραμε σὺν ἱππεύσιν ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου κατὰ πύλας ἄλλας, ἐνθα οὐδεῖς πόλεμος, καὶ περιδράμων τοὺς Καρχηδόνιους κατεφόβησεν. οἱ δὲ ἀνεχώρουν ἐς τὴν πόλιν. καὶ δεύτερον ὁ Σκιπίων ἐδόκει τὸδε τῷ ἔργῳ περισσῶσαι Ῥωμαίους, ἐν νυκτὶ θορυβοῦμένους.
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back by the Carthaginians, who fell upon them from all sides, he gave them succour and saved them from destruction. And this action first brought him renown, as he had shown himself wiser than the general.

99. Now the dog star began to rise and sickness broke out in the army of Censorinus, whose camp was pitched on a lake of stagnant and impure water, under high walls shutting off the fresh air from the sea. For this reason he moved his station from the lake to the sea. The Carthaginians, whenever the wind blew toward the Romans, towed along small boats, filled with twigs and tow, under the walls, where they could not be seen by the enemy. When they were turning the corner, and were just about to be sighted, they poured brimstone and pitch over the contents, spread the sails, and, as the wind filled them, set fire to the boats. These, driven by the wind and the fury of the flames against the Roman ships, set fire to them and came a little short of destroying the whole fleet. Shortly afterwards Censorinus went to Rome to conduct the election. Then the Carthaginians began to press more boldly against Manilius. They made a sally by night, some with arms, others unarmed, carrying planks with which to bridge the ditch of the Roman camp, and began to tear down the palisades. While all was in confusion in the camp, as is usual in nocturnal assaults, Scipio passed out with his horse by the rear gates where there was no fighting, moved around to the front, and so frightened the Carthaginians that they betook themselves to the city. Thus a second time Scipio appeared to have been the salvation of the Romans by his conduct in this nocturnal panic.
100. Ὅ δέ Μανίλιος τὸ μὲν στρατόπεδον ἐτὶ μᾶλλον ὁχύρωσ, τεῖχος τε ἀντὶ χάρακος αὐτῷ περιτεθεὶς καὶ ἐπίνειον φρούριον ἐγείρων ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης διὰ τὴν καταπλέουσαν ἀγορᾶν τραπεῖς δὲ ἐς τὰ μεσόγεια μυρίως πεζοὺς καὶ ἰππεύσι διοικήσι τὴν γάρ ταύτην ἐπόρθει, ἐξελεύσεναι τε καὶ χορτολογῶν καὶ ἀγορᾶν συλλέγων. Ἡγεῖτο δὲ αἱ τῶν προνομενοῦντων χιλίαρχοι ἑτερος παρὰ ἑτερον. καὶ Φαμέας ὁ ἰππαρχὸς ὁ τῶν Διβύων, νέος τε ὅπως ἑτὶ καὶ θρασύτερος ἐς μάχας, καὶ ἰπποῖς χρώμενοι μικροὶς καὶ ταχέως, καὶ ποηφαγόνως ὅτε μηδὲν εἶναι, καὶ φέρουσι δύσις, εἰ δεξίευε, καὶ λυμόν, ὑποκρυπτόμενος ἐν λόχαις ἢ φάραγξιν, ὅπειραν ἀμελούμενον ἱδοί, ἐφίππατο εἰς ἱφανοῦς ὑς τις ἄετός, καὶ λυμηνιάμενος ἀπεπηδᾶ ὅτε δὲ Σκιπίων ἄρχοι, οὐδαμοῦ οὐδὲ ἐπεφαινεο. ὁ γὰρ τοι Σκιπίων ἂεὶ συντεταγμένως ἦν τοὺς πεζούς, καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας τῶν ἱππῶν ἐπιβεβηκότας ἡν τε ταῖς προνομαῖς ὁπρὶν διέλυσε τὴν σύνταξιν ἢ τὸ πεδίον. δὲ ἔμελλε θεριεῖν, ἰππεύσι καὶ ὅπληταις περιλάβοι καὶ τὸτε κύκλῳ αὐτὸς ἑτέραις ἑλαι ἱππέων ἂεὶ περιέργει, καὶ τῶν θεριζόντων τῶν ἀποσκιδώμενον ἢ ἔξιόντα τοῦ κύκλου πικρῶς ἐκόλαξεν.

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

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101. For this reason he was the only one that Phameas did not attack. As this happened continually, the fame of Scipio was on the increase, so that the other tribunes, out of envy, spread a
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CAP. XV. ἔλογοποίουν ξενίαν ἐκ πατέρων εἶναι Φαμέα πρὸς Σκιπίωνα τὸν τοῦδε πάππον. Δεβύων δὲ τοῖς ἐς πῦργους καὶ φρούρια, ἃ πολλὰ ἦν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ, καταφυγόσων οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι χιλιάρχοι σπενδόμενοι καὶ μεθεέντες ἐπετίθεντο ἀπιούσιν, ὅ δὲ Σκιπίων ἐστὶ τὰ οἴκοι παρέπεμπε, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦδε οὐ πρὶν ἢ Σκιπίωνα ἀφικέσθαι συνετίθετο οὐδεὶς. τοσαύτη δόξα αὐτοῦ ἀνδρείας τε πέρι καὶ πίστεως καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἱδίοις δὲ ὀλίγον ἐγεγένητο καὶ παρὰ τοῖς πολεμίοις. ἔπανελθόντων δὲ αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τῆς προνομῆς ἐστὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον, οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι νυκτὸς ἐπέθεντο τῷ ἐπινεφρί καὶ θόρυβος ἦν ποικίλος, συνεπαχούντων ἡς ἐκπληξίν τῶν ἐν ἄστει Καρχηδόνιοι. ὁ μὲν οὖν Μανίλιος τὸν στρατὸν ἔνδον συνεῖχεν ὡς ἐν ἀγνοίᾳ τοῦ κακοῦ, ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων ἐπείπεων ἱλας δέκα λαβὼν ἐπήγγε μετὰ δάδων ἡμένων, προειπὼν δὴ τὴν νῦκτα μὴ συμπλέκεσθαι, περιτρέχειν δὲ σὺν τῷ πυρὶ καὶ τὸ πλήθος ἐπιφαίνειν καὶ φόβον ἔμπεσομένων παρέχειν ἀεὶ, μέχρι ταρασσόμενοι διεχόθεν οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι κατεπλάγησαν καὶ ἔτι τὴν πόλιν ἐσέφυγον. καὶ τόδε τοῖς Σκιπίωνοι κατορθόμασι προσεγίγνετο. ἦν τε δὴ στόματος ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἔργοις ὡς μόνος ἀξίως Παύλου τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ Μακεδόνας ἔλοντος καὶ τῶν Σκιπίωνων, ἐς οὐς κατὰ θέσιν ἀνείληπτο.

102. Μανιλίου δὲ ἐστὶ Νέφεριν ὁδεύοντος ἐπὶ Ἀσδρούσαν, ἐδυσχέραιν ὁ Σκιπίων ὁρῶν πάντα ἀπόκρημνα καὶ φάραγγας καὶ λόχμας, καὶ τὰ 576.
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report that there was an understanding between CHAP. XV
Phameas and Scipio, arising from the former friend-
ship between the ancestors of Phameas and Scipio's
grandfather Scipio. Certain Africans had taken
refuge in towers and castles, with which the country
abounded. The other tribunes, after granting them
terms and letting them go free, used to set upon
them as they departed; but Scipio always con-
ducted them safely home, and after this none of
them would make any agreement before Scipio
arrived. So great had his reputation for courage
and good faith become in a short time among
both friends and enemies. After the Romans had
returned from their foraging the Carthaginians made
a night attack on their fort by the sea, causing
tremendous confusion, in which the citizens joined
by making noises to add to the alarm. While
Manilius kept his forces inside, not knowing where
the danger lay, Scipio, taking ten troops of horse,
led them out with lighted torches, ordering them, as
it was night, not to attack the enemy, but to course
around them with the firebrands and make a show of
numbers and to frighten them by making a feint of
attacking here and there. This was done until the
Carthaginians, thrown into confusion on both sides,
became panic-stricken and took refuge in the city.
This also was added to the successes of Scipio.
After all he had done, men talked of him as the only
worthy successor of his father, Paulus, the conqueror
of Macedonia, and of the Scipios into whose family
he had been received by adoption.

102. Manilius undertook an expedition to Nepheris
against Hasdrubal, of which Scipio disapproved,
because the road was flanked by mountain crags,
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υψηλά προειλημμένα. ώς δ' ἀπὸ σταδίων τριῶν ἐγεγένητο τὸν Ἀσδρούβα, καὶ ἐς τι βεῦμα καταβάντας ἔχριν ἀναβαίνειν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀσδρούβαν, ἐνέκειτο δὴ τότε, καὶ συνεβούλευε στραφῆναι ὡς ἄλλον καιρὸν καὶ μηχανῆς ἄλλης ἑπὶ τὸν Ἀσδρούβαν δεομένους. ἀντιλεγόντων δὲ κατὰ ξῆλον αὐτοῦ τῶν ἐτέρων χειμάρχων, καὶ μαλακίαν καὶ οὐκ εὐβουλίαν ἡγουμένων εἰ τοὺς πολεμίους ἱδόντες ἀναχώρησον, ἐν δ' καὶ καταφρονοῦντες φεύγουσιν ἐπικείσονται, δεύτερα τούτων ἤξιον στρατόπεδον πρὸ τοῦ βεῦματος ἐγείραι, ἵνα βιασθεῖν, ἐχοίνεν ἀναχώρησιν, οὐκ δυναῖς αὐτοῖς νῦν οὐδ' ὅποι καταφεύγοιεν. οἱ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ἐγέλων, καὶ τὸ ξίφος τις ἠπείλησεν ἀπορρήψειν, εἰ μὴ Μανίλιος ἀλλά Σκιπίων ἄρχοι. διέβαινεν οὖν ὁ Μανίλιος, οὐδὲ τάλλα ὁν ἐμπειροτόλεμος, καὶ αὐτῷ περάσαντι ὁ Ἀσδρούβας ἀπήντα, φόνος τε ἡν πολὺς εἰς ἐκατέρων. καὶ ὁ Ἀσδρούβας ἀνυδραμὼν ἐς τὸ φρουρίου, ἐνθα μηδὲν παθεῖν ἐδύνατο, ἐφηδρευεν ἀπιούσιν ἐπιθέσθαι. οἱ δὲ σὺν μετανοίᾳ τῶν γεγονότων ἀπεχώρουν, ἄχρι μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ βεῦμα ἐν τάξει δυστορόον δ' ὅντος τοῦ ποταμοῦ, καὶ διαβάσεων ὅλων τε καὶ δυσχερῶν, ἐς ἀταξίαν δυρχοῦντο ὑπ' ἀνάγκης. καὶ ὁ Ἀσδρούβας καθορὸν ἐπέκειτο λαμπρῶς τότε μάλιστα, καὶ πλῆθος ἐκτεινων οὐδ' ἀμυνομένων ἀλλὰ φευγόντων. ἐπεσον δὲ καὶ τῶν χειμάρχων τρεῖς οἱ τὸν στρατηγὸν μάλιστα ἐπεπείκεσαν ἐς τὴν μάχην.

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gorges, and thickets, and the heights were occupied by the enemy. When they had come within a third of a mile of Hasdrubal, and to the bed of a river where it was necessary to go down and up again, in order to reach the enemy, Scipio urged him earnestly to turn back, saying that another time and other means were needed for attacking Hasdrubal. The other tribunes, moved by jealousy, took the opposite view and held that it savoured of cowardice, rather than of prudence, to turn back after coming in sight of the enemy, and that it would embolden him to attack them in the rear. Then Scipio counselled, as second best, that they ought to fortify a camp on the further side of the stream, to which they could retreat if they were overpowered, there being now no place in which they could even seek refuge. The others laughed at this also, and one of them threatened to throw away his sword if Scipio, instead of Manilius, were to command the expedition. Thereupon Manilius, who had not had much experience in war, crossed the river and on the other side encountered Hasdrubal. There was great slaughter on both sides. Finally Hasdrubal withdrew into his stronghold, where he was safe and from which he could watch his chance of attacking the Romans as they moved off. The latter, who already repented of their undertaking, retired in good order till they came to the river. As the crossing was difficult on account of the scarcity and narrowness of the fords, it was necessary for them to break ranks. When Hasdrubal saw this he made a more brilliant attack than ever, and slew a great number of them who fled without resistance. Among the killed were his flight three of the tribunes who had been chiefly instrumental in urging the consul to risk the engagement.

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103. Ὅ δὲ Σκιπίων τριακοσίους ἵππεας οὐς ἔχειν ἀμφ' αὐτόν, καὶ ὅσους ἄλλους συναγαγεῖν ἔφθασε, διελὼν ἐς δύο τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἐπῆγε σὺν δρόμῳ πολλῷ, παρὰ μέρος ἀκοντίζοντας τε καὶ εὐθὺς ἀποχωροῦντας, εἶτ' αὖθις ἐπιόντας καὶ πάλιν εὐθὺς ἀποτηροῦντας. οὕτω γὰρ εἰρήτο αὐτοῖς, τοὺς ἡμίσειας Ἀεὶ παρὰ μέρος ἐπιέναι καὶ ἀκοντίζοντας ἀπελαύνειν, ὥσπερ ἐν κύκλῳ περιόντας. γιγνομένου δὲ τοῦδε πυκνοῦ, καὶ διαστήματος οὖνδεν ὄντος, οἱ μὲν Λίβνες ἐβάλλοντο συνεχῶς, καὶ ἑπιστρέφοντες ἔς τον Σκιπίωνα ἤσσον τοῖς περῴσιν ἐπέκειντο, οἱ δ' ἐφθάσαν διελθεῖν τὸ ἱέμα. καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἀφίππευσε βαλλόμενος τε καὶ χαλεπῶς. σπείραι δ' ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦτο τοῦ πόνου τέσσαρες ἀποσχισθεῖσαι τοῦ ἱέματος ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἐς τινα λόφον ἀνέδραμον καὶ αὐτᾶς ὁ Ἀσδροῦβας περικάθητο, ἄγγοοντων ἐτὶ Ρωμαίων, ἦς ἑστάθμησαν. ἔπει δ' ἕμαθον, ἡπόρουν, καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἑδόκει φεῦγειν καὶ μὴ κινδυνεύειν ἀπασί δι' ὅλιγους, ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων ἐδίδασκεν ἀρχομένοις μὲν ἔργων εὐθύουλα χρήσθαι, κινδυνεύοντων δὲ ἀνδρῶν τοσοῦν καὶ σημείων τόλμη παραβόλῳ. αὐτός δ' ἐπιλεξάμενος τινας ἵππεων ἰλας, ἐπανοίγειν ἐφ' ἐκείνους, ἢ χαίρων αὐτοῖς συναπολείσθαι. δύο τε ήμερῶν συτία φέρων εὐθὺς ὄδευε, δεδώτος πάνυ τοῦ στρατοῦ μὴ οὐδ' αὐτός ἐπανέλθοι. ὡς δ' ἤκεν ἐπὶ τὸν λόφον ἐνθα ᾦσαν οἱ πολιορκούμενοι, τὸν μὲν ἀντικρύν αὐτοῦ δρόμω κατέλαβε; καὶ μία τοῦς δύο χαράδρα διείργησε, οἱ δ' Λίβνες τότε
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103. Scipio, taking 300 horsemen that he had with him and as many more as he could hastily collect, divided them into two bodies and led them, with many charges, against the enemy, by turns discharging darts at them and quickly retreating, then coming back at them and again quickly darting away, for he had given orders that one-half of them should advance by turns continually, discharge their javelins, and retire, as though they were attacking on all sides. This movement being constantly repeated without any intermission, the Africans, thus continuously assailed, turned against Scipio and pressed less heavily on those who were crossing. The latter thus had time to get across the stream, and then Scipio rode away after them under a shower of darts and with great difficulty. At the beginning of this fight four Roman cohorts were cut off from the stream by the enemy and took refuge on a hill. These Hasdrubal surrounded, and the Romans did not miss them till they came to a halt. When they learned the facts they were in great perplexity. Some thought they ought to continue their retreat and not endanger the whole army for the sake of a few, but Scipio maintained that while deliberation was proper when you were laying your plans, yet in an emergency, when so many men and their standards were in danger, nothing but reckless daring was of any use. Then he himself, selecting some companies of horse, said that he would either rescue them or gladly perish with them. Taking two days' rations, he set out at once, the army being in great fear lest he should never return himself. When he came to the hill where the men were besieged he took possession of another eminence hard by and separated

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μάλιστα ἔπεκειντο τοῖς πολιορκουμένοις καὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐνενεύκεσαν, ὡς οὖτω δυναμένου τοῦ Σκιπίωνος ἐπικουρεῖν ἐξ ὁδοιπορίας συντόνων. ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων ὡς εἰδέ τὰς πέζας τῶν δύο λόφων τὴν χαράδραν περιούσας, τὴν καὶ ὅπου οὗ μεθῆκεν, ἀλλὰ περιέδραμε δι᾿ αὐτῶν ὑπὲρ τοὺς πολεμίους. οἱ δ’ ἦδη κυκλούμενοι διέφευγον ἄκοσμως, μεθεῖντος αὐτοὺς ἀπέναι τοῦ Σκιπίωνος ἀδεώς, πολὺ πλείονοις ὄντας.

104. Οὐτω μὲν δὴ καὶ τούσδε ὁ Σκιπίων περιέσωσεν ἐν ἀπογνώσει γενομένους. καὶ αὐτὸν ἡ στρατιὰ μακρόθεν ἱδούσα ἐξ ἀέλπτου περισσεσσομένου τα καὶ περισσώσαντα τοὺς ἐτέρους, μέγα ἡλάλαξαν ἡδόμενοι καὶ δαιμόνιον αὐτῷ συλλαμβάνειν ἐδόξαζον, δὲ καὶ τῷ πάππῳ Σκιπίων προσημαίνειν ἐδόκει τα μέλλοντα. ὁ μὲν δὴ Μανίλλος ἀνεξεύγνυεν ἐς τὸ πρὸς τῇ πόλει στρατόπεδον, πολλὴν τὸν ὑποσχὼν τοῦ μὴ πεισθῆναι Σκιπίων τῆς στρατείας ἀποτρέποντι ἄχθομένων ἄπε πάντων ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν πεσόντων ἀταφία, καὶ μάλιστα ἐπὶ τοῖς χιλιάρχοις, ὁ Σκιπίων τινὰ λύσας τῶν αἰγμαλωτῶν ἑπεμβερεῖ πρὸς Ἀσδροῦβαν, καὶ παρῆκεν θάψαι τοὺς χιλιάρχοις. ὁ δ’ ἐρευνησάμενος τὰ νεκρά, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς σφραγίδος εὐρών (χρυσοφοροῦσι γὰρ τῶν στρατευομένων οἱ χιλιάρχοι, τῶν ἐλαττῶν σιδηροφοροῦντων), ἔθαψεν αὐτοὺς, εἰτε τὸ ἔρχον ἀνθρώπειον καὶ κοινὸν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ἡγομένους, εἰτε τὴν Σκιπίωνος δόξαν ἦδη δεδιῶς τε καὶ θεραπεύων. Ὁ Ῥωμαῖος δ’ ἀναζευγνύοις μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀσδροῦβα ἐπέκειτο

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

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

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105. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ ἡ σύγκλητος ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐπέμπτε τοὺς εἰσομένους καὶ μεταδόσων αὐτῆ τα ἀκριβέστατα, ἐφ’ ὅν ὦ τε Μανίλιος καὶ τὸ συνεδρίον καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν χελιάρχων, ἐσβεσμένου τοῦ φθόνου διὰ τὴν ἑυπραγίαν, ἐμαρτύρουν τῷ Σκιπίωνι, καὶ ὁ στράτος ἄπας καὶ τὰ ἔργα ἐπ’ ἐκεῖνος, ὡστε ἐπανελθόντες οἱ πρέσβεις διεδρόησαν ἐς ἀπαντάς τὴν ἐμπειρίαν καὶ ἐπίτευξιν τοῦ Σκιπίωνος καὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς τὴν ἐς αὐτοῦ ὀρμήν. ἡ δὲ βουλή τούτως μὲν ἔχαρε, πολλῶν δὲ γεγενημένων πταισμάτων ἐς Μασσανάσσην ἐπέμπτε, καὶ παρεκάλει συμμαχεῖν αὐτοῦ ἐρρωμένως ἐπὶ Καρχηδόνα. ὁ δὲ υπὸ μὲν τῶν πρέσβεων οὐ κατελήφθη, κάμνων δὲ γῆρα καὶ νόσῳ, καὶ παίδας ἔχουν νόθους μὲν πλείονας, οἷς ἐδεδώρητο πολλά, γυναῖκες δὲ τρεῖς οὐδέν ἀλλήλοις τὰ ἔργα ἐοικότας, ἐκάλει τὸν Σκιπίωνα κατὰ φίλίαν αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τοῦ πάππου σύμβουλον οἱ περὶ τῶν τέκνων καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἑσόμενον. ὁ δὲ ἦς μὲν αὐτίκα, μικρὸν δὲ ποῖν ἐλθείν ο Μασσανάσσης ἀποψιχών ἐπέσκηψε τοὺς παίσι πείθεσθαι τοῦ Σκιπίωνος, ὡς ἂν αὐτοῖς διαιρῆ τὰ ὄντα.

106. Καὶ ο μὲν τούτῳ εἰπὼν ἐπελεύσθην, ἀνὴρ ἐς πάντα ἐπιτυχής, φί τὴν μὲν ἀρχὴν τὴν πατρίφαν

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ised by that disaster, and when they were entering their camp the Carthaginians sallied out from the city to meet them and killed some of the camp followers.

XVI

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

106. Having uttered these words he died. He had been a fortunate man in all respects. By divine
CAP. θεὸς ἔδωκεν, ἀφαιρεθέντε πρὸς Καρχηδόνιων καὶ Σύφακος, ἀναλαβέωι καὶ προσαγαγεῖν ἐπὶ μέγιστον, ἀπὸ Μαυρουσίων τῶν παρ’ ὅκεανῳ μέχρι τῆς Κυρηναίων ἀρχῆς ἐς τὰ μεσόγεια, ἦμερῶσαι δὲ γῆν πολλήν, τὰ πολλὰ τῶν Νομάδων ποηφαγοῦντων διὰ τὸ ἀγέωργητον, θησαυροὺς τε μεγάλους χρημάτων καταλιπεῖν καὶ στρατιάν πολλὴν γεγυμνασμένην, τῶν δ’ ἔχθρων. Σύφακα μὲν αἰχμάλωτον ἐλεῖν αὐτοχειρὶ, Καρχηδόνι τ’ αἰτίον τῆς ἀναστάσεως γενέσθαι, πάμπαν ἄσθενῆ Ῥωμαίοις ὑπολιτόντα. Ἐφι δὲ καὶ τὸ σῶμα μέγας τε καὶ εὐρωστός ἐς γῆρας πολύ, καὶ μάχης ἐπειράτο μέχρι τοῦ θάνατου, ἵππου τε χωρὶς ἀναβολέως ἐπέβαινεν. καὶ μεγίστῳ δὴ τῷ ἔτεκμηρίωσε μάλιστα τὴν εὐρωστίαν αὐτοῦ πολλῶν γὰρ αὐτῷ παῖδων γεγομένων τε καὶ ἀποθηνησκόντων, οὔποτε μὲν ἦσαν αὐτῷ μείους τῶν δέκα, τετραετεῖς δὲ παιδίοις ἐνεκνηκτούτης ὑπὸ ἀπέλυσεν. ὁ μὲν δὴ Μασσανάσσης ὄδε χρόνου τε καὶ σώματος ἐχὼν ἐπεθνήκει, Σκιπίων δὲ τοῖς μὲν νόθοις αὐτοῦ παισὶ πρόσεβηκεν ἔτερας δωρεάς, τοῖς δὲ γνησίοις τούς μὲν θησαυροὺς καὶ φόρους καὶ τὸ ὅνομα τῆς βασιλείας κοινὸν ἀπέφηνε, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα διέκρινεν ὡς ἐμελλέν ἀρμόσειν πρὸς ὁ ἐβούλευτο ἐκαστός, Μικυή μὲν, ὦς προσβυτάτος ὁν εἰρηνικώτατος ἦν, Κύρτην ἐξαιρεῖτο ἐχεῖν καὶ τὰ βασιλεία τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ, Γολόσῃ δὲ, στρατιωτικῷ τε ὅτι καὶ δευτέρῳ καθ’ ἠλκίαν, πολέμου τε καὶ εἰρήνης εἶναι κυρίω, Μαστανάβα δὲ, ὦς νεώτατος ὁν ἦσκε δικαιοσύνην, δικάζειν τοῖς ὑπηκόοις τὰ ἀμφίλογα.

107. Οὔτω μὲν ὁ Σκιπίων τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ 586
favour he regained his ancestral kingdom, that had been snatched from him by Syphax and the Carthaginians, and extended it greatly from Mauritania on the ocean as far inland as the empire of Cyrene. He brought a good deal of land under cultivation where Numidian tribes had lived on herbs for want of agricultural knowledge. He left a great sum of money in his treasury and a large and well-disciplined army. Of his enemies he took Syphax prisoner with his own hand, and was a cause of the destruction of Carthage, having left it a prey to the Romans, completely deprived of strength. He was by nature tall, and very strong to extreme old age, and he participated in battles and could mount a horse without assistance to the day of his death. The strongest testimony to his robust health was, that while many children were born to him and died before him, he never had less than ten living at one time, and when he died, at the age of ninety, he left one only four years old. Such a lifetime and such strength of body had Masinissa. Scipio made gifts to the sons of his concubines in addition to those they had already received. To the legitimate sons he gave in common the treasures and the revenues and the title of king. The other things he divided as he judged fitting, according to the dispositions of each. To Micipsa, the oldest, a lover of peace, he assigned the city of Cirta and the royal palace there. Gulussa, a man of warlike parts and the next in age, he made arbiter of peace and war. Mamnabal, the youngest, who was a man of upright life, was appointed judge to decide causes between subjects.

In this way Scipio divided the government
APPIAN’S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK VIII

CAP. XVI περιουσίαν Μασσανάσσου διείλε τοῖς παισί, καὶ
Γολόσσην εὐθὺς ἐς συμμαχίαν ἑπήρητο· ὦ δὲ τὰς
Φαμέου μάλιστα ἐνέδρας, αἱ πολλὰ Ῥωμαίους
ἐλύσατο, ἐρευνώμενος ἀνέστηλεν. ἐν δὲ τινὶ
χειμασία Σκιπίων καὶ Φαμέας ἀντιπαρώδενον
ἀλλήλους, μέσην ἠχοῦντες ἀβατον χαράδραν, καὶ
οὐδὲν ἐς ἀλλήλους δυνάμενοι. δεδιώς δ’ ὁ Σκιπίων
μὴ τις ἐνέδρα κατὰ τὸ πρόσθεν εἶ, προίδω κατε-
σκέπτετο σὺν τρισὶ φίλοις. καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Φαμέας
ἰδὼν ἀντιπροσει μεθ’ ἐνὸς φίλου. ἐπίπλοσας δ’ αὐτὸν
ὁ Σκιπίων εἰπεῖν τι θέλειν, ἐξίππευσε μεθ’ ἐνὸς
καὶ ὁδε φίλου. καὶ ὃς ἦδη κατακούειν ἐδύναντο
ἀλλήλων, πρὸ Καρχηδονίων οἱ προελήλυθαν.
“τι δὴ τῆς ἱδίας σωτηρίας οὐ προνοεῖς, εἰ μὴ τῆς
κοινῆς δύνασαι;” ὦ δὲ, “τίς ἐστιν,” ἐφη, “μοι
σωτηρία, Καρχηδονίων μὲν οὕτως ἠχοῦτοι,
Ῥωμαίων δ’ ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ κακὰ πολλὰ πεπονθότων;”
καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων, “ἐγγυνώμαι σοί,” φησιν, “εἰ πιστὸς
ἐγώ καὶ ἄξιόχρεως, καὶ σωτηρίαν καὶ συγγρώμην
παρὰ Ῥωμαίων καὶ χάριν ἐσεθαι.” ὦ δ’ ἐπήνευσε
μὲν ὡς ἄξιοπιστότατον ἐκ πάντων, “κρινῶ” δ’,
ἐφη· “κἀν δυνατὸν ἡγώμαι, φανερὸν ἔσται σοι.”

108. Καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τούτους διεκρίθησαν, ὦ δὲ
Μαυλίος αἴδομένους τὴν δυσπραξίαν τὴν ἐς
Ἀσδρούβαν αὐτῷ γενομένην, αὐθίς ἐς Νέφεριν
ἐστράτευε, πεντακαίδεκα ἡμερῶν τροφᾶς ἐπαγό-
μενος. πλησιάσας δ’ ἔθετο χάρακα καὶ ὀχύρον
καὶ ἐτάφρευε, καθὰ Σκιπίων ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ
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and estate of Masinissa among his children, and he brought Gulussa straightway to the aid of the Romans. The latter in particular searched out the hiding-places from which Phameas had inflicted such distress upon the Romans, and put an end to his raids. One wintry day Scipio and Phameas found themselves on the opposite sides of an impassable water-course, where neither could do any harm to the other. Scipio, fearing lest there might be an ambuscade further on, advanced with three companions to reconnoitre. Phameas, observing this movement, advanced on the opposite side with one companion. Scipio, anticipating that Phameas wanted to say something to him, rode on also with a single companion. When they had come near enough to hear each other and were at a sufficient distance from the Carthaginians, Scipio said: “Why do you not look out for your own safety since you cannot do anything for your country’s?” The other replied, “What chance is there for my safety when the affairs of Carthage are in such straits and the Romans have suffered so much at my hands?” “If you have any confidence in my word and influence,” said Scipio, “I promise you both safety and pardon from the Romans and their favour besides.” Phameas praised Scipio as the most trustworthy of men, and replied, “I will think of it, and if I find that it can be done I will let you know.” Then they separated.

108. Manilius, being ashamed of the miscarriage of his attack upon Hasdrubal, again advanced to Nepheris, taking rations for fifteen days. When he neared the place he fortified a camp with palisade and ditch as Scipio had advised on the former
APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK VIII

CAP. XVI στρατεύσις παρήγγειλεν. ούδὲν δὲ ἀνύων ἐν αἰῶνι μείζονι ἐγίγνετο καὶ φόβῳ τοῦ πάλιν αὐτοῖς ἀπιοῦσι τῶν Ἀσδρούβαν ἐπιθέσθαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐν τῶδε ἦν ἀπορίας, ἐπιστολὴν δὲ τις ἐκ τοῦ Γολόσσου στρατοῦ ἐδέρε τῷ Σκιπίωνι. ὁ δ’, ὡς εἰχε, σεσημασμένην ἐπεδείξε τῷ στρατηγῷ. καὶ λύσαντες ἦρον “ἐς τῶδε τὴν ἤμεραν ἐγὼ μὲν τόδε τὸ χωρίον καταλήψομαι σὺ δ’ ἐλθε μεθ’ ὅσων βούλει, καὶ τοὺς προφύλαξιν εἰπε δέχεσθαι τὸν νυκτὸς ἀφικνούμενον.” ὁ μὲν ἐπιστολὴ χωρίς ἀνομάτων τοιάδ’ ἔδηλος, συνήκε δ’ ὁ Σκιπίων εἶναι παρὰ Φαμέου. καὶ ὁ Μανιλιος ἐδεδοίκει μὲν περὶ τῷ Σκιπίωνι, μὴ τις ἀπάτη παρ’ ἄνδρος γένους πιθανωτάτου πάντων ἐς ἔνεδρας· εὔελπιν δ’ αὐτῶν ὁρών ἐπεμπεν, ἐπιτρέψας περὶ μὲν τῆς σωτηρίας δούναι πίστιν ἁσφαλῆ τῷ Φαμέᾳ, χάριν δὲ μὴ ὀρίζειν, ἀλλ’ ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι Ῥωμαίοις τὰ πρέποντα ποιῆσειν. ὁύ μὴν ἐδέσθην οὐδ’ ἐπαγγελλίας. ο γὰρ τοι Φαμέας ὡς ἦκεν ἐς τὸ συγκείμενον, περὶ μὲν τῆς σωτηρίας ἑφ’ πιστεύειν δεξιομένῳ Σκιπίωνι, τὰς δὲ χάριτας Ῥωμαίοις ἐπιτρέπειν. ταῦτα δ’ εἰπὼν ἐξέτασσε τῆς ἐπιούσης ἐς μάχην, καὶ προπηδήσας μετὰ τῶν Ἰλαρχῶν ἐς τὸ μεταίχμιον ὡς ἐπὶ τινα σκέψιν ἐτέραν, εἶπεν· “εἰ μὲν ἐστιν ἐπὶ τὴν πατρίδι βοήθειν, ἐτοιμός εἰμι μεθ’ ὑμῶν” εἰ δ’ ἔχει τὰ ἐκείνης ὡς ἔχει, ἐμὸ πὲν δοκεῖ τῆς ἱδίας σωτηρίας προνοεῖν, καὶ πίστιν ἔλαβον ἐπὶ τε ἐμαυτῷ καὶ ὅσοις πείσαμι ὑμῶν, καὶρὸς δὲ καὶ ὑμᾶς ἐπιλέγεσθαι τὰ συνοίσοντα.” ὁ μὲν οὕτως εἰπε, τῶν δ’ Ἰλαρχῶν οἱ

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occasion. But he accomplished nothing and was more ashamed than before, and was again in fear of being attacked by Hasdrubal on his retreat. While he was in this helpless state a messenger brought a letter from Gulussa's army to Scipio, which he showed to the consul under seal. Breaking the seal, they read as follows: "On such a day I will occupy such a place. Come there with as many men as you please and tell your outposts to receive one who is coming by night." Such was the content of the letter, which was without signature, but Scipio guessed that it was from Phameas. Manilius feared lest Scipio might be drawn into an ambuscade by this very persuasive plotter; nevertheless, when he saw how confident he was, he allowed him to go and authorized him to give Phameas the strongest assurances of safety, but not to say anything definite about reward, and only to promise him that the Romans would do what was fitting. There was no need of a promise however, for Phameas, when he came to the rendezvous, said that he trusted in the good faith of Scipio for his safety, and as for favours he would leave that to the Romans. Having said this he drew up his forces on the following day in battle order, and going forward with his officers into the space between the armies, as though to debate about some other matters, he said, "If there is any chance of rendering service to our country I am ready to stand by you for that purpose, but in the state of things that exists, I am going to look out for my own safety. I have made terms for myself and for as many of you as I can persuade to join me. It is time for you too to consider what is for your advantage." When he had said this, some
APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK VIII

CAP. XVI

μὲν σὺν τοῖς αὐτῶν ἡτομόλησαν, καὶ ἐγένοντο πάντες ἐς διακοσίους καὶ δισεκατόσεις ἱππεὰς· τοὺς δ’ Ἀννων κατεκώλυσε, ὁ Δεῦκος ἦν ἐπίκλησις.

109. Ἐπαινοῦντες δὲ τῷ Σκιπίωνι μετὰ τοῦ Φαμέου ὁ στρατὸς ἀπήντα, καὶ τὸν Σκιπίωνα ἡφῆμον ὡς ἐπὶ θριάμβῳ. Μανίλιος δ’ ὑπερηφανεῖς τε, καὶ οὐκέτι τὴν ἐπάνοδον αἰσχρὰν ἐπὶ τῷδε ἡγούμενος, οὐδ’ Ἀσδροῦβαν ἐφεσθαί προσδοκῶν καταπετληγμένου, ἀνεξεύρυνεν αὐτίκα δ’ ἐμεθῖν, ἐπηκαθεδεκτῆν ἤμεραν ἀντὶ πεντεκαθεδεκα ἐχῶν. τρισὶ δ’ ἄλλαις ἐχρήν κακοπαθοῦντα ἐπαινεῖεν. ὁ οὖν Σκιπίων τὸν τε Φαμέαν καὶ Γολόσσην καὶ τοὺς υφ’ ἐκατέρθα λαβὼν ἵππεας, προσλαβὼν δὲ τινας καὶ τῶν Ἰταλικῶν, ἔσεδον ἡπιέωθη τὸ καλούμενον μέγα βραδήν, καὶ πολλὴν ἐξ αὐτοῦ λείαν τε καὶ ἀγορὰν ἦκε φέρουν τῷ στρατῷ περὶ νύκτα. Μανίλιος δὲ πυθομένος οἱ διάδοχοι ἐπιέναι Καλπούρνιου Πίσσωνα, προέπτευεν ἐς Ρώμην Σκιπίωνα μετὰ Φαμέου· καί ὁ στρατὸς ἐπὶ τὴν ναῦν καταθεόντες ἡφῆμον τὸν Σκιπίωνα, καὶ ἤχουσα τὸ ὑπατόν ἐς Λιβύην ἐπαινεῖεν ὡς μόνον αἰρήσεται Καρχηδόνα.

θεόληπτος γὰρ τις αὐτοῖς ἦδεν ἡ δόξα ἐνεπιτυγγε, Σκιπίωνα μόνον αἰρήσεων Καρχηδόνα· καὶ πολλοὶ ταῦτα τοῖς οἰκείοις ἐς Ῥώμην ἐπέστειλον. ἡ δὲ Βουλη Σκιπίωνα μὲν ἐπήνει, Φαμέαν δ’ ἐτίμησαν ἀλουργίδι καὶ ἐπιπορτήματι χρυσῷ καὶ ἑπταχρυσοφαλάρῳ καὶ πανοπλίᾳ καὶ ἀργυρίῳ δραχμαῖς μυρίαις, ἐδόκειαν δὲ καὶ μοῦν ἐκατόν ἀργυρῷρωμα καὶ σκηνὴν καὶ κατασκευὴν ἐντελῆ· καὶ ἐπῆλπισαν περὶ πλείονων, εἰ τὰ λοιπὰ τοῦ πολέμου συνεκποθήσειεν αὐτοῖς. ο’ δ’ ὑποσχό-
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of the officers went over to the enemy with their CHAP. forces to the number of about 2200 horse. The remainder were prevented by Hanno, surnamed the White.

109. When Scipio was returning with Phameas the army went out to meet him and saluted him with cheers as in a triumph. Manilius was overjoyed, and as he after this no longer considered his return disgraceful or thought that Hasdrubal would pursue him after such a stroke, he moved away from want of provisions on the seventeenth instead of the fifteenth day of the expedition. They were destined, however, to have three days more of suffering in their return. Scipio, taking Phameas and Gulussa and their horse, together with some of the Italian cavalry, hastened to the plain called the Great Pit and returned to the army by night laden with a great quantity of spoils and provisions. Manilius, learning that his successor, Calpurnius Piso, was coming, sent Scipio to Rome in advance with Phameas. The army conducted Scipio to the ship with acclamations and prayed that he might return to Africa as consul, because they thought that he alone could take Carthage, for the opinion had sprung up among them, as by divine inspiration, that only Scipio would take Carthage, and many of them wrote to this effect to their relatives in Rome. The Senate lauded Scipio and bestowed on Phameas a purple robe with gold clasps, a horse with gold trappings, a complete suit of armour, and 10,000 drachmas of silver money. They also gave him 100 minas of silver plate and a tent completely furnished, and told him that he might expect more if he would co-operate with them to the end of the war. He
CAP. μεν οὖς Διβύην διέπλευσεν ἐσ τὸ Ῥωμαίων στρατόπεδου.

110. Ἡκὲ δὲ Καλπούρνιος Πίσσων ὁ ὑπατος ἅμα ἦρι, καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ Λεύκιος Μαγκίων ἐπὶ τὴν ναυαρχίαν ὁ Καρχηδώνιος μὲν οὐκ ἔπεχείρουν, οὔδὲ Ἀσδρούβα, τὰς δὲ πόλεις ἐπίστευσε Ἀσπίδος μὲν ἀπετύγχανον, ἐκ γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης ἀποπειράσαντες, ἐτέραν δ' ἐγγὺς ἐλεύ ὁ Πίσσων, καὶ διήρπαξεν αἰτιωμένη ἐπὶ συνθήκαις αὐτῷ προσελθεῖν. ἀπὸ δὲ ταύτης ἐσ Ἰππάγρητα μετηθευν, ἢ μεγάλη τε ἦν καὶ τείχεσι καὶ ἀκροπόλει καὶ λιμέσι καὶ νεορίοις, ὕπ' Ἀγαθοκλέους τῶν Σικελιωτῶν τυρώμου κατεσκευάστο καλὸς, μέσῃ δ' οὖσα Καρχηδόνος καὶ Ἰτύκης τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐλήστευσεν τὴν Ῥωμαίοις διαπλέουσαν ὅθεν καὶ πάνω ἐπλούτων. καὶ ὁ Καλπούρνιος ἀμώνασθαι τε αὐτοὺς ἐπενοίη, καὶ τὸ γε κέρδος ἀφελέσθαι. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν τὸ θέρος ὅλον ἐφεδρεύων οὐκ ἦνε, δίς δ' ἐκδραμότες οἱ Ἰππαγρέτοι, Καρχηδώνιων αὐτοῖς συμμαχοῦν τὰς μηχανὰς αὐτοῦ κατ' ἐπρησαν. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἀπρακτὸς ἐσ Ἰτύκην ἐπανελθὼν ἐχείμαζεν.

111. Οἱ Καρχηδώνιοι δὲ, ἐπειδῆ σφισὶ καὶ τὸ Ἀσδρούβα στρατόπεδου ἀπαθὲς ἦν, καὶ αὐτοὶ κρείττους ἐν τῷ μάχῃ ἔγεγεν οὔ Πίσσωνος ἀμφὶ τὰ Ἰππαγρητα, Βιθύνας τε αὐτοῖς ὁ Νομάς μετὰ ὀκτακοσίων ἰππεῶν ἕτο Γολόσου προσεκεχωρῆκε, καὶ Μικύρη καὶ Μαστανάβας τοὺς Μασσανάσσου παῖδας ἐώρων ὑπισχυομένους μὲν ἄει Ῥωμαίοις ὅπλα καὶ χρήματα, βραδύνοντας δὲ καὶ περιορομένους ἄρα τὸ μέλλον, ἐπηρθησαν τοῖς φρονήμασι καὶ Διβύην ἰδεῖς ἐπήσεαν, 594
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promised to do so and set sail for the Roman camp in Africa.

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

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

κρατυνόμενοι τε τὴν χώραν καὶ πολλὰ ύβριστικὰ εὖ ταῖς πόλεσι κατὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησιάζοντες. ἐς τε τὴν ἀνανδρίαν αὐτῶν προὗφερον τὰ Ἔρεφερν αὐτοῖς δὴ γενόμενα, καὶ ὅσα ἔναγχος ἐς Ἰππάγρετα, καὶ τὸ αὐτῆς Καρχηδόνος ἀνόπλου τε οὐσῆς καὶ ἀφράκτου μὴ δεδυνηθαί κατασχεῖν. ἐπεμπὸν δὲ καὶ ἐς Μικύην καὶ Μαστανβαν καὶ ἐς τοὺς αὐτούμους Μαυροσίων, παρακαλοῦντες ὁμοί, καὶ διδάσκοντες ὅτι καὶ σφίσι μεθ’ αὐτοῦς ἐπιχειρήσουσι Ῥωμαίοι. ἐστελλὼν δὲ καὶ ἐς Μακεδονίαν ἀλλού πρὸ τόν νομιζόμενον ύλῆν εἶναι Περσέως, πολεμοῦντα Ῥωμαίοις, καὶ ἀνέπειδον ἔχεσθαι τοῦ πολέμου καρτέρως ὡς ὁ σὐκὲλεψιτῶν αὐτῷ χρημάτων καὶ νεὼν ἀπὸ Καρχηδόνος. οὐσὶς τε μικρὸν οὔδεν ἐτί ἐφρόνουν ὁπλισμένου, ἀλλὰ θυμὸ καὶ τόλμη καὶ παρασκευή κατὰ μικρὸν ἦξοντο. ἐπήρτο δ’ ἐν μέρει καὶ Ἀσδρουβᾶς ὁ κατὰ τὴν χώραν στρατηγὸς τῷ δὲς κρατῆσαι Μανιλίῳ τῇ τῇ τῆς πόλεως στρατηγίαν προσλαβεῖν ἐπειγόμενος, Ἀσδρουβᾶν τὸν ἀρχοῦτα αὐτῆς, ἀδελφιδοῦν ὅταν Γολύσσου, διέβαλλε τῇ βουλῇ τὰ Καρχηδονίων Γολύσσῃ προδιδόναι. καὶ τοῦ λόγου προτεθέντος ἐς μέσου, ὁ μὲν ἡπερεῖτο ὡς ἐπ’ ἄδοκήτω, οἱ δὲ τύπτοντες αὐτὸν τοῖς υποβάθροις κατέβαλον.

XVII

112. Ἕς δὲ Ῥώμην ἐξαγγελλομένης τῆς τε Πίσωνος ἀπραξίας καὶ Καρχηδονίων παρασκευῆς, ὁ δήμος ἤχθετο καὶ ἐδεδοίκει αὐξομένου πολέμου 596
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fortifying the country and making abusive speeches in the town assemblies against the Romans. In proof of their cowardice they pointed out the two victories at Nepheris and the more recent one at Hippagreta, and to Carthage itself, which the enemy had not been able to take although it was unarmed and poorly defended. They also sent to Micipsa and Mastanabal and to the free Moors asking their aid, and showing them that after Carthage they too would be attacked by the Romans. They further sent messengers to Macedonia to the supposed son of Perseus, who was at war with the Romans, exhorting him to carry on the war with vigour and promising that Carthage would furnish him money and ships. Being now armed, their designs grew unbounded, and they gained in confidence, courage, and resources from day to day. Hasdrubal, who commanded in the country and had twice got the better of Manilius, was also in high spirits. Aspiring to the command in the city, which was held by another Hasdrubal, a nephew of Gulussa, he accused the latter of an intention to betray Carthage to Gulussa. This accusation being brought forward in the assembly, and the accused being at a loss to answer the unexpected charge, they fell upon him and beat him to death with the benches.

XVII

112. When the ill-success of Piso and the preparations of the Carthaginians were reported at Rome, the people were chagrined and anxious about this great and implacable war, waged with a nation so
CAP. XVII μεγάλου τε καὶ ἀδιαλλάκτου καὶ γείτονος· οὐ γάρ τινα διάλυσιν προσεδόκων, ἀπίστα πρότεροι κελεύσαντες. τῶν δ’ οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ Σκιτίωνος ἔργων, ἐν Δεμύῃ χειλαρχοῦντος ἔτι, μεμνημένοι, καὶ παραβάλλοντες αὐτὰ τοῖς παροῦσι, τῶν τε ἐπεσταλμένων σφίσιν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκ στρατοπέδου φίλων καὶ οἰκείων ἀναφέροντες, ἄρμηντο ὑπατον ἐς Καρχηδόνα πέμπτειν Σκιτίωνα. ἐνειστήκει δ’ ἀρχαιότερα, καὶ ὁ Σκιτίων (οὐ γὰρ τοι δ’ ἡλικίαν αὐτῷ συνεχώρουν ὑπατεύειν οὐ νόμοι) ἀγορανομίαν μετήμεθε, καὶ ὁ δῆμος αὐτὸν ὑπατον ἱερεύτω. παρανόμου δ’ ὄντος καὶ τῶν ὑπάτων προφέροντων αὐτοῖς τὸν νόμον, ἐλιπάρον καὶ ἐνέκειντο, καὶ ἐκεκράγεσαν ἐκ τῶν Τυλλίων καὶ Ἂρωμόλον νόμων τὸν δῆμον εἶναι κύριον τῶν ἀρχαιοσιων, καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτῶν νόμων ἀκυροῦν ἢ κυροῦν ἢ εἶθελον. τέλος δὲ τῶν δημάρχων τις ἔφη τοὺς ὑπάτους ἀφαιρήσεσθαι τὴν χειροτονίαν, εἰ μὴ σύνθοιντο τῷ δήμῳ. καὶ ἡ βουλὴ τοίς δημάρχοις ἐπείδητο λύσαι τὸν νόμον τόνδε καὶ μετὰ ἐτὸς ἐν αὐθίς ἀναγράφας, οἴον τι καὶ Δακεδαίμονι, λύσωτες ἐν χρεία τὴν ἀτιμίαν τῶν ἀλόντων περὶ Πύλου, ἐφασαν “κοιμᾶσθων οἱ νόμοι τῆς μεροῦ.” οὕτω μὲν ὁ Σκιτίων ἀγορανομίαν μετιῶν ἤρητο ὑπατος, καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ σύναρχος Δροῦσσος περὶ Δεμύῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκέλευε διακληροῦσθαι, μέχρι τῶν δημάρχων ἐσηγησάτο τῆς τῆς στρατηγίας τὴν κρίσιν τοῦ δήμου γενέσθαι· καὶ ὁ δῆμος εἶλετο τὸν Σκιτίωνα. ἑδόθη δ’ αὐτῷ στρατὸς ἐκ μὲν καταλόγου, δόσος ἢν αὐτὶ τῶν ἀπολωλότων, 598
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near to them. There could be no expectation of peace since they had been the first to break faith. Remembering the recent exploits of Scipio, while still a military tribune, and comparing them with the present blunders and recalling the letters written to them by friends and relatives from the army on that subject, there was an intense desire that he should be sent to Carthage as consul. The elections were drawing near and Scipio was a candidate for the aedileship, for the laws did not permit him to hold the consulship as yet, on account of his youth; yet the people elected him consul. This was illegal, and when the consuls showed them the law they became importunate and were still more urgent, exclaiming that by the laws handed down from Tullius and Romulus the people were the judges of the elections, and that, of the laws pertaining thereto, they could set aside or confirm whichever they pleased. Finally one of the tribunes of the people declared that he would take from the consuls the power of holding an election unless they yielded to the people in this matter. Then the Senate allowed the tribunes to repeal this law and reenact it after one year. In like manner the Lacedemonians when they were obliged to relieve from disgrace those who had surrendered at Pylus said, "Let the laws sleep to-day." Thus Scipio, while seeking the aedileship, was chosen consul. When his colleague, Drusus, bade him cast lots to determine which should have Africa as his province, one of the tribunes proposed that the appointment to this command should be made by the people, and they chose Scipio. They allowed him to take as many soldiers by conscription as had been lost

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CAP. ἐθελοντάς δ' ἀγείν ὅσους πεῖσει παρὰ τῶν συμ-

XVII μάχων, καὶ ἐς βασιλέας καὶ πόλεις, ὅσας δοκι-

μάσεις, πέμπειν, τὸν Ῥωμαίων δῆμον ταῖς ἐπιστο-

λαις ἐπιγράφοντα. καὶ ἔστιν οὗ ἔλαβεν ἄυτω

παρὰ τε πόλεων καὶ βασιλέων.

113. Ὁ μὲν δὴ τάδε διοικησάμενος ἄς Σικελίαν

καὶ ἀπὸ Σικελίας ἄς Ἰτύκην ἐπλευ. Καλπούρνων

dὲ Πίσων ἐπολύρχει τὰ μεσόγεια, καὶ Μαγκίνω

εφορμῷ Καρχηδόνι, μέρος τι τοῦ τείχους ἀμελοῦ-

μενον ἱδον, ὅρ κρημνοι προοίκειτο συνεχεῖς καὶ

dύσβατοι, καὶ παρ' αὐτῷ ἦν καὶ ἀμελοῦμενον,

ἥπισε λαθὼν κλιμακας ἐποίσειν ἐπὶ τὸ τείχος.

καὶ προσέβηκε μὲν, καὶ τινὲς τῶν στρατιωτῶν

ἀνήλθον εὐτόμως. οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι δ' ὀλίγων ἔτι

ὀντων καταφρονήσαντες, ἀνέφαξαν πῦλην ἐς τοὺς

κρημνοὺς ἐκφέρουσαν, καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους

ἐξέδραμον. καὶ αὐτοῖς οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τρεψάμενοι

tε καὶ διώκοντες ἐς τὴν πόλιν διὰ τῆς πῦλης

συνεσέδραμον. βοής δ' ὡς ἐπὶ νίκη γενομένης,

ὁ τε Μαγκίνως ἐκφέρομενος ὑπὸ τῆς ἡδονῆς, καὶ

tὰ ἄλλα ταχὺς ὅν καὶ κουφόνους, καὶ ὁ ἄλλος

ὁμίλος ἄμα τῷ Μαγκίνῳ, τὰς ναύς ἀφέντες ἐς τὸ

τείχος ἐβοηθόμοιον ἀνεπλοῖ τε καὶ γυμνοί. ἦδη

dὲ τοῦ θεοῦ περὶ δείλην ἐσπέραν ὄντος, ἔχυρον τι

πρὸς τῷ τείχει καταλαβόντες ἡσύχαζον, τροφῶν

d' ἀπορῶν ὁ Μαγκίνως ἐκάλει Πίσωνα καὶ τοὺς

Ἰτυκαίων ἄρχοντας, ἐπικουρεῖν αὐτῷ κινδυνεύοντι

καὶ τροφὰς φέρειν κατὰ σπουδήν. καὶ ὁ μὲν

ἐμελλὼν ἀμὴ ἐξο πρὸς τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἐξω-

θούμενος ἐς τοὺς κρημνοὺς συντριβήσεσθαι.

114. Σκιπών δ' ἐσπέρας ἄς Ἰτύκην κατήγετο,

καὶ περὶ μέσας νῦκτας ἐντυχὼν οἷς ὁ Μαγκίνως

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in the war, and as many volunteers as he could ever persuade to enlist among the allies, and for this purpose to send to the allied kings and states letters written in the name of the Roman people, according to his own discretion, and in consequence he did obtain some assistance from them.

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

114. Scipio arrived at Utica that same evening, and happening, about midnight, to meet those to whom Mancinus had written, he ordered the trumpet

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CAP. XVII

έγραφε, τὸν τε σαλπικτὴν ἐκέλευεν εὐθὺς ἐπὶ πόλεμον ἥχειν, καὶ τοὺς κήρυκας συγκαλείν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ὅσοι συνεκλησθέναν ἐξ Ἰταλίας αὐτῷ, καὶ τοὺς ἤδοντας Ἰτυκάιων ὅσοι δ’ ὑπερήλικες, ἀγορὰν ἐς τὰς τρυπές καταφέρειν. αἰχμάλωτα τε Καρχηδονίων τινὰ λύσας, ἀφίκεν ἐξαγγέλλευν αὐτοῖς ἐπιπλεῖν Σκιτώνα. ἐς τὸν Πίσωνα ἵππεας ἄλλους ἐπ’ ἄλλοις ἐπεμπε, καλῶν αὐτῶν κατὰ τάχος. καὶ αὐτὸς ἐσχάτης φυλακῆς ἁνήγετο, κελεύσας, ὅταν πλησίαζον, ὀρθοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν καταστρομάτων ἔσταναι τοῦ πλέονα τὴν ὕψω ἐμποιεῖν τοῖς πολέμοις. ὁ μὲν δὴ τάδ’ ἐπράσσεν, ὁ δὲ Μαγκίνος, ἀμ’ ἔφ’ τῶν Καρχηδονίων αὐτῷ πανταχόθεν ἐπιπτοτῶν, πεντακοσίους μὲν, οὐς μόνους εἰχὲν ἐνόπλους, περιέστησε τοῖς γυμνοῖς τρισχίλιοι σύζη, τιτρωσκόμενος δὲ δι’ ἐκείνων καὶ συνωθούμενος ἐπὶ τὸ τείχος ἦδη κατεκρημνίζετο, καὶ αἱ νῆς ὄφθησαν αἱ τῶν Σκιπίωνων, ῥόθῳ τε φοβερῷ καταπλέουσαί καὶ μεσταὶ πανταχόθεν ὀπλιτῶν ἐφεστώτων, Καρχη
dονίων μὲν ἱσθημένοις διὰ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων οὐκ ἀνέλπιστοι, Ῥωμαῖοι δ’ ἀγνοοῦσιν ἀδόκητον σωτηρίαν φέρουσαι μικρὸν γὰρ ὑποχρησάτων τῶν Καρχηδονίων, ὁ Σκιπίων τοῦς κυδυνεύουσας ἐς αὐτὰς ἀνέλαβεν. καὶ Μαγκίνον μὲν ἐς Ῥώμην αὐτίκα ἐπέμπε (καὶ γὰρ ἤκεν αὐτῷ Σερρανὸς ἐπὶ τὴν ναυρχίαν διάδοχοσ), αὐτὸς δ’ οὐ μακρὰν τῆς Καρχηδόνος ἐστρατοπέδευεν. οἱ δὲ Καρχηδόνοι τῶν τειχῶν ἐς πέντε στάδιους προελθόντες ἀντήγειραν αὐτῷ χάρακα, καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐς τόνδε τῶν χάρακα ἀφίκοντο Ἀσδρούβας τε ὁ τῆς χώρας στρατηγὸς καὶ Βιθύας ὁ ἱππαρχὸς ἐξακισχίλιοι

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to sound for battle immediately, and the heralds CHAP. XVII
to call to the sea-shore those who had come with him from Italy, and also the young men of Utica, and he directed the older men to bring provisions to the galleys. At the same time, he released some Carthaginian captives so that they might go and tell their friends that Scipio was coming upon them with his fleet. To Piso he sent horseman after horseman, urging him to move with all speed. About the last watch he put to sea himself, giving orders to the soldiers that when they approached the city they should stand up on the decks in order to give an appearance of greater numbers to the enemy. At early dawn the Carthaginians attacked Mancinus from all sides, and he formed a circle with his 500 armed men, within which he placed the unarmed, 3000 in number. Suffering from wounds and being forced back to the wall, he was on the point of being pushed over the precipice when Scipio’s fleet came in sight, amidst terrible clouds of spray, with soldiers crowding the decks everywhere. This was not a surprise to the Carthaginians, who had been advised of it by the returned prisoners, but to the Romans, who were ignorant of what had happened, Scipio brought unexpected relief, for when the Carthaginians drew back a little, he took those who had been in peril on board his ships. He then at once sent Mancinus to Rome (for his successor, Serranus, had come with Scipio to take command of the fleet), and himself pitched his camp not far from Carthage, while the Carthaginians advanced five stades from the walls and fortified a camp opposite him. Here they were joined by Hasdrubal, the commander of the forces in the country, and Bithya, the cavalry-general,
CAP. pεζούς ἁγοντες καὶ ἱππεάς ἐς χιλιαυς, χρόνῳ καὶ μελέτῃ γεγυμνασμένους.

115. Ὅ δὲ Σκιπίων οὐδὲν εὐκοσμον ἐν τοῖς στρατιώταις ὅρων οὐδὲ τεταγμένου, ἀλλ’ ἐς ἀργίαι καὶ πλεονεξίαν καὶ ἀρπαγάς ὑπὸ τοῦ Πίσονος ἐπιτετραμένους, ἀλλο τε πλῆθος αὐτοῖς συνόντας ἁγοραίον, οὗ τῆς λείας χάριν ἐπόμενοι τοῖς θρασυτέροις συνεξέτρεχον ἐπὶ τὰς ἀρπαγὰς ἀνεν παραγγελματος Ἰούση, τοῦ νόμου λιποστράτιον ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ἡγουμένων τῶν ἀποχωροῦντα πορ- ρωτέρω σάλπτηγγος ἀκοής, ὅσα τε πταίσειαν οὖν, πάντα ἐς τὸν στρατηγὸν ἀναφερόμενα, καὶ ὅσα διαρπάσειαν, ἐτέρας ἔριδος αὐτοῖς καὶ κακῶν γνυόμενα ἁρχάς πολλοὶ γὰρ καὶ συσκήνων κατεφρόνουν διὰ τὰ κέρδη, καὶ ἐς ἀνόμους πληγὰς καὶ τραύματα καὶ ἀνδροφονίας ἐχόρουν. ἦν αἰσθόμενος ὁ Σκιπίων, καὶ ἐπιτίζων οὐποτε κρατή- σεων τῶν πολεμίων εἰ μὴ τῶν ἰδίων κρατήσεως, συνήγαγε πέτειαν αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἐπὶ βῆμα ὑψηλὸν ἀναβάς ἐπέπληξεν ὅδε.

116. "Ἐγὼ μεθ’ ὑμῶν, ὁ ἄνδρας, ὑπὸ Μαυλίῳ στρατηγῷ ταττόμενος, τῆς εὐπεθείας ἐν ὑμῖν μάρ- τυσιν ἐδώκα πείραν, ἥν νῦν ὑμᾶς αἰτῶ στρατηγῶν, κολάσαι μὲν ἐς ἔσχατον ἐχὼν ἐξουσίαν τοὺς ἀπειθοῦντας, ὦφέλιμον ὅ ἡγουμένως προαγορεύσαι. Ἰστε δὲ το πράττετε· καὶ τί με δεῖ λέγειν ἢ αἰσχύ- νομαι; ληστεῦετε μᾶλλον ἢ πολεμεῖτε, καὶ διαδιδάσκετε, ὅπου στρατοπεδεύετε· καὶ πανηγυρί- ξουσίν ὑπὸ τῶν κερδῶν, οὐ πολυρκοῦσιν ἐοίκατε· καὶ τρυφάν ἐθέλετε πολεμοῦντες ἐτι, οὐ νεκρη- κότες. τοὐγάρτοι τὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἐξ ἀέλπτον καὶ βραχέας, οὐ κατέλητον, ἐς τοσοῦτον ἐπήρθαι

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with 6000 foot-soldiers and about 1000 horse well trained and seasoned.

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

116. "Soldiers, when I served with you under the command of Manilius, I gave you an example of obedience, as you can testify. I ask the same from you, now that I am in command; for while I have power to punish the disobedient with the utmost severity, I think it best to give you warning beforehand. You know what you have been doing. Therefore why should I tell you what I am ashamed to speak of? You are more like robbers than soldiers. You are runaways instead of guardians of the camp. Avarice has made you more like a set of holiday-makers than a besieging army. You are in quest of luxuries in the midst of war and before the victory is
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CAP. XVII. дυνάμεως, καὶ ἥμιν ὁ πόνος ἐκ τῆς ῥά-
στώνης γέγονε χαλεπώτερος. τὰς δ' αἰτίας εἰ μὲν ἐν ὑμῖν οὔσαι ἔωρον, εὐθὺς ἄν ἐκόλαζον ἐπεὶ δ' ἀνατίθημι ἑτέρῳ τῶν μέχρι 
νῦν γεγονότων. ἦκο δὲ οὐ χρηστεύσων ἐγωγέ 
ἀλλὰ υκάρησω, οὔτε χρησιμοποιεῖσθαι πρὸ τῆς 
νίκης, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἔχθρους πρῶτον ἐξεργασάμεθοι. 
ἀπίτε πάντες ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου τήμερον, ὥσοι 
μὴ στρατεύεσθε, χωρὶς τῶν ἐπιτραπεζημένων ὕπ' ἐμὸν μένειν. 
τοῖς δὲ ἐξισοῦσιν οὐδὲ ἐπανελθεῖν 
δίδωμι, πλὴν εἰ τις ἀγοράν φέροι, καὶ ταῦται 
στρατιωτικὴν τε καὶ ψυλῆν. ἦσται δὲ καὶ τούτωι 
χρόνως ὁρισμένος ἐν ὑδ' ὅ τὰ ὄντα διαθῆσονται, καὶ 
τής πράσεως αὐτῶν ἐγὼ καὶ ὁ τάμιας ἐπιμελη-
σόμεθα. καὶ τάδε μὲν εἰρήσθω τοῖς περιττοῖς, 
ὑμῖν δὲ τοῖς ἐστρατευμένοις ἐν ἑστω παράγγελμα 
κοινὸν ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἔργοις ὁ ἐμὸς τρόπος καὶ πόνος 
πρὸς γὰρ τόδε κατευθεύοντες αὐτοὺς οὔτε προ-
θυμίας ἄμαρτήσεσθε οὔτε χάριτος ἀτυχήσετε. 
χρὴ δὲ νῦν μὲν πονεῖν, ἐν ὑδ' κινδυνεύομεν, τὰ 
δὲ κέρδη καὶ τὴν τρυφὴν ἐς τὸν πρέπουτα καίρων 
ἀναθέσθαι. ταῦτ' ἐγὼ προστάσσω καὶ ὁ νόμος, 
καὶ τοῖς μὲν εὐπειθῶς ἔχουσιν οὔσει πολλήν 
ἀγαθῶν ἀμοιβὴν, τοῖς δ' ἀπειθοῦσι μετάνοιαι.
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won. For this reason the enemy, from the hopeless weakness in which I left him, has risen to such strength, and your labour has been made harder by your laziness. If I considered you to blame for this I should punish you at once, but since I ascribe it to another, I shall overlook the past. I have come here not to rob, but to conquer, not to make money before victory, but to overcome the enemy first. Now, all of you who are not soldiers must leave the camp to-day, except those who have my permission to remain, and of those who go, I shall allow none to come back except such as bring food, and this must be plain soldiers' food. A definite time will be given to them to dispose of their goods, and I and my quaestor will superintend the sale. So much for the camp followers. For you, soldiers, I have one order adapted to all occasions, and that is, that you follow the example of my habits and my industry. If you observe this rule you will not be wanting in your duty and you will not fail of your reward. We must toil while the danger lasts; spoils and luxury must be postponed to their proper time. This I command and the law as well. Those who obey shall reap large rewards; those who do not will repent it."

XVIII

117. Having spoken thus, Scipio forthwith expelled the crowd of useless persons and with them whatever was superfluous, useless, or luxurious. The army being thus purged, and full of awe for him, and keenly
καὶ ἐστὶν εὐμέγεθες ἐν τῇ πόλει τὰ Μέγαρα, τῷ τείχει παραμεγένον τῷ αὐτῶς σὺν πελέκεσι καὶ κλίμαξι καὶ μοχλοῖς ἐβάδιζε σταδίους εἴκοσι ἄγροι, μετὰ συγῆς βαθυτάτης. αἰσθήσεως δ' ἀνωθεν, ὅτε μάλιστ' ἐπιθείσαξε, καὶ βοήσα ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν γενομένης, ἀντεβόησεν αὐτὸς τῇ πρῶτῃ καὶ ὁ στρατὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ ἐπὶ θάτερα ἀπεσταλμένοι μέγιστον, ὡς τῷ πρῶτῳ τοὺς Καρχηδονίους καταπλαγήναι, τοσοῦτον ἐχθρῶν ἐν πλευραῖς ἀφύω νυκτὸς ἐπιγενομένων. κατὰ μὲν οὖν τὸ τείχος οὐδέν, καίπερ ἐπιχειρῶν, ἦνευ, ἐς δὲ τίων ἰδιώτων πύργον ἔρημον, ἐκτὸς ὡντα τοῦ τείχους καὶ τῷ ὑψῷ ὅσον ὡντα τῷ τείχει, νεανίας ἀνεβίβασεν εὐτόλμους, οἳ τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν τειχῶν ἀκοντίοις ἀνέστελλον, ξύλα τε καὶ σανίδας ὡς τὸ διάστημα ἐπιθέντες καὶ δέ αὐτῶν ἐς τὰ τείχη διαδραμόντες καθήλαντο ἐς τὰ Μέγαρα, καὶ πυλίδα κύψαντες ἐδέχοντο τὸν Σκιτίωνα. ὁ δὲ ἐσήλθε μὲν σὺν ἀνδράσι τετρακισχίλιοι, καὶ φυγὴ ταχείᾳ τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἐς τὴν Βύρσαν ἦν ὡς τῆς ἄλλης πόλεως ἀλούσης. θοὶ τε ἔγινετο ποικίλη καὶ τιμῶν αἰχμαλωσία καὶ θόρυβος, ὡς καὶ τοὺς ἔξω στρατὸπεδεύοντας ἐκλιπον τὸ χαράκωμα καὶ ἐς τὴν Βύρσαν ὁμοῦ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀναδραμεῖν. ὁ δὲ Σκιτίων (τὸ γὰρ χωρίον, τὰ Μέγαρα, ἐλαχανεύετο καὶ φυτῶν ὑπάρων ἔγχεμεν, αἰμασίαις τε καὶ 608
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intent for his commands, he made an attempt one night, in two different places, to surprise that part of Carthage called Megara. This was a very large suburb adjacent to the city wall. He sent a force round against the opposite side, while he himself advanced directly against it a distance of twenty stades with axes, ladders, and crowbars, without noise and in the deepest silence. When quite near, they were sighted from above, and a shout was raised from the walls. They shouted back—first Scipio and his force, then those who had gone around to the other side—as loudly as possible, so that the Carthaginians were now for the first time alarmed when they found themselves suddenly attacked in flank, in the night, by this large hostile force. In his attack on the wall, however, Scipio, in spite of his efforts, accomplished nothing; but he sent some of his bravest young men to a deserted tower outside the walls, belonging to a private citizen, of the same height as the walls themselves. These men with their javelins fought back the guards on the wall, threw planks across, and made a bridge by which they reached the walls, descended into the town, broke open a gate, and admitted Scipio. He entered with 4,000 men, and the Carthaginians made a hasty flight to Byrsa, thinking that the remainder of the city had already been taken. All kinds of noises were raised and there was great tumult. Many fell into the hands of the enemy, and the alarm was such that those encamped outside also left their fortification and rushed to Byrsa with the others. As Megara was planted with gardens and was full of fruit-bearing trees divided off by low walls and hedges of brambles and thorns, besides deep
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CAP. θρυγκοίς βάτον καὶ ἄλλης ἀκάνθης καὶ ὅχετοις βαθέοις ύδατος πτεικίλοις τε καὶ σκολιοίς κατά-πλεών ἴνα ἔδεισε μὴ ἄβατον καὶ δυσχερῆς ἡ στρατῷ διώκοντι ἐν ἀγνωσίᾳ μάλιστα διόδων, καὶ τις ἐν νυκτὶ ἐνέδρα γένοιτο. ἀνεξεγυγυν δή.

118. Καὶ γενομένης ἡμέρας ὁ Ἀσδροῦβας, χα-λεπῶς ἔχων τῆς ἔτος τὰ Μέγαρα ἐπιχειρήσεως, ὅσα Ἡρωαίων εἶχεν αἰχμάλωτα, ἐπὶ τὸ τείχος ἀγαγών, ὅθεν εὐσύνοπτα Ἡρωαίους ἐμέλλε τὰ δρόμων ἐσεθαί, τῶν μὲν ὀφθαλμοὺς ἢ γλώττας ἢ νεῦρα ἢ αἰδοία σιδηρίους ἐξείλκε καμπύλους, τῶν δ' ὑπέτεμεν τὰ πέλματα καὶ τοὺς δακτύλους ἐξεκο-πτεν, ἣ τὸ δέρμα τοῦ λοιποῦ σώματος ἀπέστα, καὶ πάντας ἐμπυγόν ἔτι κατεκρήμνιζεν, ἀδιάλλακτα τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις τὰ ἔς Ἡρωαίους ἐπινοῶν. καὶ ὁ μὲν αὐτοῖς ὅτις ἡρέβητε τὴν σωτηρίαν ἔχεω ἐν μονῇ τῇ μίχῃ, περιέστη δ' αὐτῷ ἐς τὸ ἐναντίον ὅλῃ ἐπενοεῖ. ὦτο γὰρ συνειδότος οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι τῶν ἅθεμιστῶν ἔργων περιδειῆς ἀντὶ προθύμων ἐγκυμονοῦν, καὶ τὸν Ἀσδροῦβαν ὡς καὶ τὴν συγ-γνώμην σφῶν ἀφηρημένων ἐμίσουν· καὶ μάλιστ' ἡ βουλὴ αὐτοῦ κατεβάα ὡς ἀμα καὶ ὑπερήφανα δεδρακότος ἐν συμβορῶι ὁικείαις τοσαῦτης. ὦ δὲ καὶ τῶν βουλευτῶν τινῶς ἔκτεινε συλλαμβάνων, καὶ ἐς πάντα ὄν ἡ ἐπιδήμην ἐς τυραννίδα μᾶλλον ἡ στρατηγίαν περιήλθεν, ὃς ἐν τῷ μόνῳ τὸ ἀσφαλές ἔξων, εἶ φοβηρὸς αὐτοῖς εἰη καὶ ἤτοι καὶ δυσπερχέρτος.

119. ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων τοῦ μὲν χάρακα τῶν ἐχθρῶν, ὅν τῇ πρωτέρᾳ κατελεύτησαν ἐς τὸ ἀστυ φεύ-γοντας, ἐνέπρησεν, ὅλου δὲ τοῦ ἱσθμοῦ κρατῶν διετάφρευν αὐτὸν ἐκ θαλάσσης ἐπὶ θάλασσαν,
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ditches full of water running in every direction. Scipio was fearful lest it should be impracticable and dangerous for the army to pursue the enemy through roads with which they were unacquainted, and lest they might fall into an ambush in the night. Accordingly he withdrew.

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

119. Now Scipio set fire to the camp of the enemy, which they had abandoned the day before, when they took refuge in the city. Being in possession of the whole isthmus he began a trench across
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120. Καὶ ἂν αὐτῷ τοῦτο στρατόπεδον τὸν ἐχθρὸν ἐπιτείχισμα ἐπιμήκης, ὅθεν ὀρμώνεις τὴν ἄγοραν ἀφηρεῖτο Καρχηδόνιος, ὡσκαὶ κατὰ γῆν αὐτοῖς ἐφέρετο· ὅτι γὰρ μὴ πάδε τὸ αὐχένι μόνω, τὰ λοιπὰ ἡ Καρχηδῶν περίκλυστος ἦν. καὶ τοῦτο πρὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ μάλιστα ἐγκυρεῖτο λιμῷ καὶ κακῶν αἰτίων· ἀτε γὰρ τοῦ πλῆθους παντὸς ἕκ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἄνοικτα ὑπεκαλεῖτο, ὡσκαὶ εἰπόροις διὰ τὸν πόλεμον θαμινὰ ἐπι-

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it from sea to sea not more than a spear's cast from the enemy. They pressed him hard, and he was faced with the difficult task of working and fighting simultaneously along a front of twenty-five stades. When he had finished this trench he dug another of the same length, at no great distance from the first, looking towards the mainland. He then made two others at right angles to them, so that the whole ditch formed a quadrangle, and filled them all with sharp stakes. In addition to the stakes he also palisaded the ditches, and along the one looking toward Carthage he built a wall twenty-five stades in length and twelve feet high, not counting the parapets and towers which surmounted the wall at intervals. The width of the wall was about one-half of its height. The highest tower was in the middle, and upon this another of wood, four storeys high, was built, from which he observed what was going on in the city. Having completed this work in twenty days and nights, the whole army working and fighting and taking food and sleep by turns, he brought them all within this fortification.

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

ιόντων, μόνη τῇ τῆς Διβύης ἀγορᾶ χρώμενοι, μικρὰ μὲν ποτε καὶ διὰ θαλάσσης, ὅτε ὁφαῖον εἰ, τὰ πλέονα δὲ κατὰ τὴν γῆν ἐπεκομίζοντο, ἀφηρμένοι δὲ τότε τὴν ἐκ τῆς γῆς κομίδην, ἐπιτρώνων ἃς θοντο τοῦ λιμοῦ. Βιθύας δὲ, ὧσπερ ἵππαρχος ἦν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐπέτεμπτο ἐπὶ σίτου ἐκ πολλοῦ, προσελθεὶν μὲν ἡ βιάσασθαι τὸ χαράκωμα τοῦ Σκιπίωνος οὐκ ἔτολμα, περιφέρον δὲ τὴν ἀγορᾶν ἐν τὰ πόρρω διὰ μακροῦ ναυσίν ἐσέπεμπε, ἐφορμουσὼν μὲν τῇ Καρχηδόνι νεών τοῦ Σκιπίωνος· ἀλλ' οὕτε δυνηκός οὔτε πυκναὶ συνειστήκεσαν ὡς ἐν ἀλιμένῳ καὶ περικρήμνῳ θαλάσσῃ, παρὰ τέ την πόλιν αὐτὴν οὔκ ἐδύναντο ἀνακωχεύειν, τῶν Καρχηδόνων τοὺς τείχεσιν ἐφεστώτων, καὶ τοῦ κύματος ἐκεῖ μᾶλιστα διὰ τὰς πέτρας τοιοῦτοι μένουν. ὅθεν αἱ φορτίδες αἱ Βιθύα, καὶ εἰ τις ἄλλος ἔμπορος ὑπὸ κέρδους ἐθελοκινδύνως ἤπειργετο, φυλάσσοντες ἀνεμοῦ ἐκ πόντου πολὺν πεπηγαμένοι τοῖς ἵστοις διέθεουν, ἀδυνάτων ὀυσών ἐτὶ τῶν τριήρων ὀλκάδας φερομένας ἵστιφ καὶ πνεύματι διώκειν. ἐπανύσω μὲν οὖν ἐγίγνετο καὶ μόνον ὅτε βλάον εἰς πνεῦμα ἐκ πόντου· καὶ ταῦτα δ', ὅσα φέρον τῆς νῆς, Ἀσδρούβας τρισμυρίοις ἀνδράσι μόνοις διέμενεν, οὖς ἐς μάχην ἐπείλεκτο, καὶ τοῦ ἄλλου πλήθους κατεβρονεῖ· ὅθεν ἐμόχθουν μάλιστα ὑπὸ τοῦ λιμοῦ.

121. Καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων αἰσθανόμενος ἐπενείοι τὸν ἐσπλήναν αὐτοῖς τοῦ λιμένος, ἐς δύσιν τε ἀφορώντα καὶ οὐ πάνω πόρρω τῆς γῆς οὖντα, ἀποκλείσαι. χῶμα οὖν ἐς τὴν θαλάσσαν ἔχουν μακρὸν, ἀρχόμενος μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς ταυτίας ἢ μεταξὺ τῆς λίμνης οὖσα καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης γλώσσα ἐκάλείτο, προϊῶν 614.
they had to rely on food brought from Africa alone, little coming in by sea and only when the weather was favourable, but the greater part being forwarded by the land route; so that being now deprived of this, they began to suffer severely from hunger. Bithya, their cavalry general, who had been sent out some time before to procure food, did not venture to make the attempt of attacking and breaking through Scipio's fortifications, but sent the supplies a long way round by water. Although Scipio's ships were blockading Carthage they did not keep their place all the time, nor did they stand thickly together, as the sea was harbourless and full of reefs. Nor could they ride near the city itself, with the Carthaginians standing on the walls and the sea pounding on the rocks there worst of all. Thus the ships of Bithya and an occasional merchant, whom the love of gain made reckless of danger, watching for a strong wind from the sea, spread their sails and ran the blockade, the Roman galleys not being able to pursue merchant ships sailing before the wind. But these chances occurred seldom, and only when a strong wind was blowing from the sea. And even these supplies brought by the ships Hasdrubal distributed exclusively to his 30,000 soldiers whom he had chosen to fight, neglecting the multitude; and for this reason they suffered greatly from hunger.

121. When Scipio perceived this he planned to close the entrance to the harbour, which looked towards the west and was not very far from the shore. For this purpose he carried a strong embankment into the sea, beginning from the strip of land which lay between the lake and sea, and was called the tongue, and advancing it seawards
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CAP. XVIII

δ' εσ το πέλαγος και ευθύνων ἐπὶ τὸν ἐσπλούνν. ἔχουν δὲ λίθως μεγάλοις τε καὶ πυκνοῖς, ἵνα μὴ ὑπὸ τοῦ κλύδωνος διαφέρων. καὶ πλάτος τοῦ χόρματος τὸ μὲν ἀνω τεσσάρων καὶ εἰκοσι ποδῶν, τὸ δ' ἐς τὸν βυθὸν καὶ τετραπλάσιον ἦν. τοῖς δὲ Καρχηδονίων ἄρχομένου μὲν τούδε τοῦ ἔργου καταφρόνησις ἦν ὡς χρονίου τε καὶ μακροῦ καὶ ἵσος ἀδυνάτου προϊόντος δὲ σὺν ἐπείξει τοσοῦτε στρατοῦ, μήτε ἦμέραν ἐκλείποντος ἐπὶ τοῖς ἔργοις μήτε νύκτα, ἐδεισα, καὶ στόμα ἔτερον ἐπὶ θύτερα τοῦ λιμένος ὄρυσσον ἐς μέσον τὸ πέλαγος, οἱ μηδὲν χόρμα προελθεῖν ἐδύνατο ὑπὸ βάθους τε καὶ πυκνότατον ἀγριωτέρων. διόρυσσαν δ' ἀμα γυναῖξι καὶ παισίᾳ, ἐνδοθεν ἄρχομενοι καὶ πάνω λαυθάνοντες· ἀμα δὲ καὶ ναίς ἔξ ὀλης παλαιᾶς ἐναυπήγουν, πεντήρεις τε καὶ τριήσεις, οὐδὲν υπολείποντες εὐφυσίας τε καὶ τόλμης. οὕτω δ' ἀπαντὰ ἐπέκρυπτον ὡς μηδὲ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἐχειν τι τῷ Ἐκινώονι σαφεῖς εἰπεῖν, ἀλλὰ κτύπουν μὲν ἐν τοῖς λιμέσι ήμέρας τε καὶ νυκτὸς εἶναι πολύν ἀπαύστως, τὴν δὲ χρείαν οὐκ εἰδέναι, μέχρι γε δὴ πάντων ἐτοίμων γενομένων οἱ Καρχηδονίων τὸ στόμα ἀνέφεξαν περὶ ἑως, καὶ ναυσὶ πεντήκοντα μὲν τριῳτικαῖς, κερκούροις δὲ καὶ μυστάρωσι καὶ ἄλλοις βραχυτέροις πολλοῖς ἐξέπλεον, ἐς κατάπληξιν ἐσκενασμένοι φοβερῶς.

122. Ῥωμαίοις δὲ τὸ τε στόμα ἄφων γενόμενον καὶ ὁ στόλος ἐπὶ τῷ στόματι ἐς τοσόνδε κατεπλήξεν ὡς τοὺς Καρχηδονίους, εἰ αὐτίκα ταῖς ναυσὶ ταῖς Ῥωμαίον ἐπέθεντο, ἡμελημέναις τε ὡς 616
THE PUNIC WARS

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

122. The Romans were so astounded by the sudden appearance of this new entrance, and the fleet issuing from it, that if the Carthaginians had at once fallen upon their ships, which had been neglected during the siege operations, neither sailors nor
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CAP. XVIII. ἐν τεῖχομαχία, καὶ οὐδενὸς ναύτου παρόντος οὐδὲ ἔρετον, ὅλου ἄν τοῦ ναυπτάθμου κρατήσαι. νῦν οὖν (ἀλώναι γὰρ ἔδει Καρχηδόνα) τότε μὲν ἐς μόνῃ ἐπίδειξιν ἐπέπλευσαν, καὶ σοβαρῶς ἐπιτω-θάσαντες ἀνέστρεφον, τρίτη δὲ ἡμέρα μετὰ τοῦτο ἐς ναυμαχίαν καθίστατο καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαίοι τὰς τε ναῦς καὶ τάλλα εὐτρεπισάμενοι ἀντανήγγειλον. βοήσαντες δὲ καὶ παρακελεύσεως ἐκατέρωθεν γενομένης καὶ προθυμίας ἔρετῶν τε καὶ κυβερνητῶν καὶ τῶν ἐπιβατῶν, ὡς ἐν τῷ δοῦλῳ Καρχηδονίους μὲν τῆς σωτηρίας οὐσίας Ῥωμαίοι δὲ τῆς νίκης ἐντελοῦσιν, πληγαί τε πολλαὶ καὶ τραύματα ποικίλα ἐγίγνετο παρ᾽ ἀμφότεροι μέσης ἡμέρας. ἐν δὲ τῷ πόλει τὰ σκάφη τῶν Λιβύων τὰ σμικρὰ ταῖς Ῥωμαίοις ναυσὶ μεγάλας οὐσιας ἐστὶ τῶν ταρσοῦ ὑποτρέχοντα διετίτηρ πρύμνας καὶ ἕξεκοπτε πρόδαλα καὶ κόπτας, καὶ ἄλλα πολλαὶ καὶ ποικίλα ἐλύπει, εὔμαρως τὸ ὑποφέυγοντα καὶ εὔμαρως ἐπιπλέοντα. ἀκρίτου δὲ ἐτὶ τῆς ναυμαχίας οὐσίας, καὶ τῆς ἡμέρας ἐς δείλην τρεπομένης, ἔδοξε τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις ὑποχωρεῖν, οὐ τι κατὰ ἦτταν ἄλλες τὴν ἐπιούσαν ὑπερτιθέμενοι.

123. Καὶ αὐτῶν τὰ σκάφη τὰ βραχύτερα προύφευγε, καὶ τὸν ἐσπλοῦν προλαβώντα ἐς ἀλλήλα ὑδέητο ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους, καὶ τὸ στόμα βύζην ἀπέκλεεν. ὥθεν αἱ μείζονες ἐπανοικοῦσαν τὸν ἐσπλοῦν ἅφηρντο, καὶ ἐς τὸ χῶμα κατέφυγον, ὁ πρὸ τοῦ τεῖχος εὐρύχωρον ἐμπόροις ἐς διάθεσιν φορτίων ἐγεγένητο ἐκ πολλοῦ καὶ παρατείχισσα ἐπὶ αὐτοῦ βραχὺ ἐν τῷ τῇ πολέμῳ ἐπεποίητο, 618.
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rowers being at hand, they might have possessed themselves of the whole fleet. But as it was (since it was fated that Carthage should fall) all they did now was to sail out and make a show, and, after floating the enemy in a pompous way, to return inside the harbour; but three days later they set out for a naval engagement, and the Romans advanced to meet them with their ships and everything else in good order. Loud were the cheers on both sides as they came together, and rowers, steersmen, and marines exerted themselves to the utmost, the hope the last hope of safety for the Carthaginians and of complete victory for the Romans. The fight raged till midday, many blows and wounds being given and received on both sides. During the battle the Carthaginian small boats running against the oarage of the Roman ships, which were boarded, stove holes in their sterns, and broke off their rudders and rudders, and damaged them in various other ways. But when the day verged toward evening, they thought best to retire, but it was too late.

123 They entered the enemy, other means...
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ὃνα μὴ ὡς ἐν εὐρυχόρῳ στρατοπεδεύσειάν ποτε οἱ πολέμοι. ἐσ μὲν δὴ τόδε τὸ χώμα αἱ νῆς αἱ τῶν Καρχηδονίων, ἀπορία λιμένος, καταφυγόσας μετωπηδὸν ὀρμήσαντο· καὶ τοὺς ἔχθρους ἐπιπλέοντας οἱ μὲν ἀπ' αὐτῶν τῶν νεῶν, οἱ δ' ἀπ' τοῦ χώματος, οἱ δ' ἐκ τοῦ διατείχισματος ἀπεμάχοντο. 'Ρωμαίοις δὲ ὁ μὲν ἐπιπλοῦς ἦν ῥάδιος καὶ τὸ μάχεσθαι ναυσὶν ἐστώσας εὔμαρές, αἱ δ' ἀναχωρήσεις δι' ἀναστροφὴν τῶν νεῶν, μακρῶν οὐσῶν, βραδεία τε καὶ δυσχερεῖς ἐπεγύγνωστο· οἶδεν ἀντέπασχον ἐν τούτῳ τὰ ὀμοία (ὅτε γὰρ ἐπιστρέφοιες, ἐπλήσσοντο ὑπὸ τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἐπιπλέοντων), μέχρι νῆς Σιδητῶν πέντε, αἱ φιλάρ Σκιπίωνος εὑπόντο, τὰς μὲν ἁγιά ρας καθήκαν ἐκ πολλοῦ διαστήματος ἐς τὸ πέλαγος, ἀφάμεναι δ' ἀπ' αὐτῶν κάλους μακροὺς εἰρεσία τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις ἐπέπλεον, καὶ ὅτε ἐγχρίμψειαν, ὑπεχώρουν τοὺς κάλους ἐπιστώμεναι κατὰ πρύμνων, αὕτες τε ῥοθὸ ρ καταπλέουσαι πάλιν ἀνήγγοντο κατὰ πρύμνων. τότε γὰρ ὁ στόλος ἄπας, τὸν νῦν τῶν Σιδητῶν ὄρων τε καὶ μμούμενοι, πολλὰ τοὺς ἔχθρους ἔβλαπτον. καὶ τὸ ἔργον ἐς νῦκτα ἐτελευτα, καὶ εἰς τὴν πόλιν διέφυγον αἱ τῶν Καρχηδονίων νῆς, ὅσιε γε ἐτὶ ἦσαν υπόλοιποι.

124. Σκιπίων δὲ γενομένης ἡμέρας ἐπεχείρει τῷ χώματι καὶ γὰρ ἦν ἐνυκαιρὸς ἐπιτείχισμα τοῦ λιμένος. κριόις οὖν τὸ παρατείχισμα τῆς τοῦ Καρχηδονίων, καὶ μηχανήματα πολλὰ ἐπίγων, μέρος αὐτοῦ κατέβαλεν. οἱ δὲ Καρχηδονίοι, καίπερ ὑπὸ λειμοῦ καὶ κακῶσεως ποικίλης ἐνοχλούμενοι, νυκτὸς ἔξεδραμον ἐπὶ τὰ Ἡρωίων μηχανήματα, οὗ κατὰ ὁδόν.
THE PUNIC WARS

camping place by the enemy on account of its spaciousness. So when the Carthaginian ships took refuge here for want of a harbour, they anchored with their bows outward, and as the enemy sailed up their attack was met partly by the men on the ships, partly by those on the quay and others on the parapet. To the Romans the onset was easy, for it is not hard to attack ships that are standing still, but when they attempted to turn around, in order to retire, the movement was slow and difficult on account of the length of the ships, for which reason they received as much damage as they had given; for whenever they turned they were exposed to the onset of the Carthaginians. Finally five ships of the city of the Sidetae, which followed out of friendship for Scipio, dropped their anchors in the sea at some distance, attaching long ropes to them, by which means they were enabled to dash against the Carthaginian ships by rowing, and having delivered their blow warp themselves back by the ropes stern foremost. Then they again ran on the tide, and again retreated stern foremost. After this the whole fleet, catching the idea from the Sidetae, followed their example and inflicted great damage upon the enemy. Night put an end to the battle, after which the Carthaginian ships withdrew to the city, as many of them as were still left.

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

γῆν (ού γὰρ ἦν δίοδος) οὐδὲ ναυσίων (ἄλιτενής γὰρ ἦν ηθάλασσα), ἀλλὰ γυμνοὶ δάσαι ἔφερον, οὐχ ἦμενας ἵνα μὴ μακρόθεν εἴειν καταφύγεις: ἂς ἰ ἵνα τὴν θάλασσαν ἐμβάντες ἢ μῆς τις ἀν προσεδόκησεν, οἱ μὲν ἄχρι τῶν μαστῶν βρεχόμενοι διεβάζουν, οἱ δὲ καὶ διένευον, ἐως ἐπὶ τὰ μηχανήματα ἐλθόντες ἐξῆλθαν τὸ πῦρ, καὶ κατάφοροι γενόμενοι πολλὰ μὲν ἔπαθον, ἀτε γυμνοὶ τις ῥοσκόμενοι, πολλὰ δὲ ἀντέδρασαν ὑπὸ τόλμης: οὐ καὶ τὰς ἀκίδας τῶν βελῶν καὶ τὰς αἰχμὰς ἐν στέρνω ταῖς πληγαῖς ἐγκείμενοι, μέχρι τὰ μηχανήματα ἐνέπτησαν καὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐτρέψαντο θορυβουμένους. ἐκπληξὶς τε καὶ τάραχος ἦν ἀνά ὅλον τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ φόβος οἰος ὁ πρίν, ὑπὸ μιᾶς γυμνῶν πολεμίων, ὥστε δεῖσας ὁ Σκιπτίων μετὰ ἱππέων ἔξω περιέθει, καὶ τοὺς οἰκείους, εἰ μὴ λήξαιν τῆς φυγῆς, ἐκέλευσα βάλλειν. ἔστι δὲ ὅσα ἔβαλε καὶ ἀπέκτεινεν, ἐως οἱ πλείους συνεώσθησαν ὡς τὸ στρατόπεδον ὑπὸ ἀνάγκης, καὶ διενυκτέρευσαν ἔνοπλοι, τὴν ἀπόγνωσιν τῶν ἐχθρῶν δεδίότες. οἱ δὲ τὰς μηχανὰς ἐμπρόσθιαζες ἐξένευοι αὖθις ἐς τὰ οἰκεία.

125. Ἄμα δ' ἡμέρᾳ Καρχηδόνιοι μὲν, οὐκ ἐνοχλουσῶν σφάς ἐτί μηχανῶν πολεμίων, τὸ διαπεττόκος τοῦ διατείχισματος ἁκοδόμουν, καὶ πῦργους ἐν αὐτῷ πολλοὺς ἐπόδοιν ἐκ διαστήματος, Ῥωμαίοι δὲ ἐτέρας ἐργασάμενοι μηχανῶς χώματα ἥγειρον ἀντιμετωπίτα τοὺς πῦργοις, δάδα τε συγκεκομμένην καὶ θείον ἐν κόσμωσι καὶ πίσαν ἐπ' αὐτοῦς ἐσφενδόνως, καὶ ἔστων οἷς τῶν πῦργων ἐνεπτύμπρασαν, καὶ τοὺς Καρχηδόν.
passage—way, now by ships; for the water was too shallow, but naked and bearing torches not lighted, so that they might not be seen at a distance. Thus, in a way that nobody would have expected, they plunged into the sea and crossed over, some of them wading in water up to their breasts, others swimming. When they reached the engines, they lighted their torches, and becoming visible and being unarmed suffered greatly from wounds, which they courageously returned. Although the barbed arrows and spear-points rained on their breasts and faces, they did not relax their efforts, but rushed forward like wild beasts against the blows until they had set the engines on fire and put the Romans to disorderly flight. Panic and confusion spread through the whole camp and such fear as they had never before known, caused by the frenzy of these naked enemies. Scipio, fearing the consequences, ran out with a squadron of horse and commanded his attendants to kill those who would not desist from flight. Some of them he killed himself. The rest were brought by force into the camp, where they passed the night under arms, fearing the desperation of the enemy. The latter, having burned the engines, swam back home.

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

ΚΑΠ. XVII. νίους φεύγοντας ἐδώκων. ὀλισθηρὸς δ’ ἦν ὁ δρόμος ύψι άιματος πεπηγότος ὑπογύον τε καὶ πολλοῖ, ὥστε τῶν φευγόντων ἀπελίπποντο ἀκόντες. ὃ δὲ Σκιπίων τοῦ χώματος ὅλων κατασχὼν ἀπετάφρενεν αὐτό, καὶ τεῖχος ἦγειρεν ἐκ πλήνθην, οὔτε κολοβώτερον τοῦ τῶν πολεμίων οὔτ’ ἐκ μακροῦ διαστήματος ἀπ’ αὐτῶν. ὡς δ’ ἔξειρ-

γαστο αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ τεῖχος, τετρακισχιλίους ἐς αὐτὸ ἐπεμψε, ἐπαφίεναι τοὺς ἐχθροῖς βέλη τε καὶ ἀκόντια σὺν καταφρονήσει. οἱ δὲ ἱσομετέσποι γενόμενοι ἔβαλλον αὐτοὺς ἐπιτυχῶς. καὶ τὸ θέρος ἐς ταῦτα ἀναλώθη.

126. Χεμώνος δ’ ἀρχομένου τὴν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τῶν Καρχηδονίων δύναμιν τε καὶ συμμάχους ὁ Σκιπίων ἔγινον προκαθελείν, ὥθεν αὐτοῖς ἀγορὰ διετέμπετο. περιπέμψας οὖν ἐτέρωσε ἑτέρους, αὐτὸς ἐς Νέφεριν ἔπλα Διογένη τὸν μετ ’Ασδρούβαν φρονοῦντα τὴν Νέφεριν ἤπειγετό διὰ τῆς λίμνης, καὶ Γάλων Δαύλων κατὰ γῆν περιέπεμπτεν. ὡς δὲ ἄφικε, δύο σταδίους ἄποσχὼν τοῦ Διογένους ἐστρατοπέδευε, καὶ Γολόσην καταληψάντων ἐγχειρεῖν ἀπαύστω τῷ Διογένει αὐτὸς ἐπὶ Καρχηδόνος ἤπειγετό. ὥθεν ἐς Νέφεριν τε καὶ Καρχηδόνα διετρόχαζεν, ἀεὶ τὰ γυνομένα ἐφορῶν. δύο δὲ τοῦ Διογένους μεσοπυργίων καταπεσόντων ἦκεν ὁ Σκιπίων, καὶ χίλιοι εἰπελέκτους ὕπισθεν τοῦ Διογένους ἐνδρεύσασα, ἐτέρους ἐκ μετώπου τρισ-

χιλίων, ἀριστίνην καὶ τοῖς ἐπιλεγομένους, ἐπέβαινεν ἐπὶ τὰ πεπτωκότα τῶν μεσοπυργίων, οὔκ ἄθροος ἀναβιβάζων, ἀλλὰ κατὰ μέρη πυκ-

νοῦς ἐπὶ ἀλλήλους, ἵνα μηδὲ βιασθέντες οἱ πρῶτοι φυγέων δύναυτο διὰ τοῦς ἐπομένους. πολλῆς δὲ

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footway, however, was so slippery with all the clotted blood lately shed, that the Romans were compelled, unwillingly, to abandon the pursuit. But Scipio, having possessed himself of the entire quay, fortified it and built a brick wall of the same height as that of Carthage, and at no great distance from it. When it was finished, he put 4000 men on it to discharge missiles and javelins at the enemy, which they could do with impunity. As the walls were of equal height the missiles were thrown with great effect. And now the summer came to an end.

126. At the beginning of winter, Scipio resolved to sweep away the Carthaginian power in the country, and the allies from whom supplies were sent to them. Sending his captains this way and that he moved in person to Nepheris against Diogenes, who held that town as Hasdrubal’s successor, going by the lake, while sending Gaius Laelius by land. When he arrived he encamped at a distance of two stades from Diogenes. Leaving Gulussa to attack Diogenes unceasingly, he hastened back to Carthage, after which he kept passing to and fro between the two places overseeing all that was done. When two of the spaces between Diogenes’ towers were demolished, Scipio came and stationed 1000 picked soldiers in ambush in the enemy’s rear, and making a frontal attack with 3000 more, also carefully selected for bravery, advanced against the demolished ramparts, not bringing up his men en masse, but in detachments one after the other, so that even if those in front were repulsed they could not retreat on account of the weight of those coming behind. The attack was...
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CAP. XVIII. βοής ούσης καὶ πόνου, καὶ τῶν Διβύων ἐς ταῦτα ἐπεστραμμένων, οἱ χίλιοι, καθάπερ αὐτοῖς προ- είρητο, οὐδενὸς ἐσ τοὺς ἀποβλέποντος οὐδ' ὑπονοοῦντος ἐνέπεσον ἐς τὸ χαράκωμα εὐτόλμως, καὶ διέστων αὐτὸ καὶ ὑπερέβαινον. καὶ τῶν πρώτων ἐνδον γενομένων αἰσθήσεις ἐγίγνετο ταχεία, καὶ ἔφευγον οἱ Δίβυες, ὅχθα δοσὺν ἐὼραν, ἀλλὰ πολὺ πλέοντες ἥγοιμενοι τοὺς ἐσελθόντας εἶναι. 

Γολόσσης δ' αὐτοῖς ἐπιτρέχον σὺν Νομάσι πολ- λοῖς καὶ ἔλεφαν πολὺν εἰργάζετο φόνον, ὡς ἀπολέσθαι μὲν ἐς ἐπτακισμοὺς σὺν τοῖς ἀχρείοις, ἀλλ' ἐς μυρίους, διαφυγεῖν δ' ἀμφί τους τετρακισχίλιους. εὕλω δὲ καὶ ἡ πόλις ἡ Νέφερις ἐπὶ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ, δύο καὶ εἰκοσιο- ς ἥμαρσα ἀλλὰς πολιορκηθεῖσα πρὸς τοῦ Σκι- πίωνος πάνω κακοπαθῶς εν χειμώνι καὶ ψυχρῷ χιωρίῳ. τὸ δὲ ἔργον τόδε μάλιστα συνήνεγκεν ἐς τὴν τῆς Καρχηδόνος ἀλώσιν. ἢδε γὰρ ἡ στρατιά τὴν ἀγορὰν αὐτοῖς διεπόρθηκεν, καὶ ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον οἱ Δίβυες ἀφορώντες ἔθαρρον. τότε δ' αὐτοῦ ληφθέντος καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς Δίβυης χωρία τοῖς στρατηγοῖς Σκιπίωνος προσεχῶρει ἡ ὁ δυσχερῶς ἐλαμβάνετο. ἦ τε ἀγορὰ τοὺς Καρχηδόνιοις ἐπέλυτε, καὶ οὐδέν οὔτ' ἐκ Δίβυης ἀλλοτρίας ἢδη γενομένης οὖτ' ἀλλαχόθεν αὐτοῖς καταπλεῖν ἐδύνατο, διὰ τὸν πόλεμον αὐτὸν καὶ τὴν ὑδραν χειμέριον οὔσαν.

XIX

CAP. XIX. 127. Ἀρχομένου δ' ἦρος ὁ μὲν Σκιπίων ἐπεθείρει τῇ τε Βύρσῃ καὶ τῶν λιμένων τῆς καλομένου

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

XIX

127. At the beginning of spring Scipio laid siege to Byrsa and to the harbour called Cothon. Hasdrubal
Κώθωνι, ὁ δὲ Ἀσδροῦβας νυκτὸς ἐνεπίμπη τὸ μέρος τοῦ Κώθωνος τὸ τετράγωνον. Ἐλπίσας δ’ ἐτί τὸν Σκιτίωνα ἐπιθήσεσθαι, καὶ πρὸς τὸν Κάρχηδονς ἐπεστραμμένον, ἔλαβε Δαῖμος ἐπὶ θάτερα τοῦ Κώθωνος ἐς τὸ περιμερές αὐτοῦ μέρος ἀνελθὼν. Βοής δ’ ὡς ἐπὶ νῖκη γενομένης οἱ μὲν ἔδεισαν, οἱ δὲ πανταχόθεν ἦδη καταφρονοῦντες ἐβιάζοντο τὴν ἀνάβασιν, ξύλα καὶ μηχανήματα καὶ σανίδας ἐπὶ τὰ διαστήματα διατιθέντες, ἀσθενῶν τὰ σώματα τῶν φυλάκων ὑπὸ τοῦ λιμοῦ γεγονότων, καὶ ταῖς γρώμαις ἀπαγορευόντων. Ληφθέντος δὲ τοῦ περὶ τοῦ Κώθωνα τεῖχους, τὴν ἁγορὰν ἐγγύς οὐσαν ὁ Σκιτίων κατέλαβεν. οὐδὲν τε ὡς ἐν ἑσπέρα πλέον ἐπὶ δυνάμενος, ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις διευκτέρευε μεθ’ ἀπάντων. ἀρχομένης δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας ἔτερους ἀκμήτας ἐκάλει τετρακισχίλιος, οὗ ἐσιόντες ἱερὸν Ἀπόλλωνος, οὐ τὸ τε ἁγαλμα κατάχρυσον ἤν καὶ δώμα αὐτῶς χρυσήλατον ἀπὸ χιλίων ταλάντων σταθμῷ περιέ-κειτο, ἐσύλων καὶ ταῖς μαχαίραις ἑκοπτοῦ, ἀμελήσαντες τῶν ἐφεστώτων, ἑως ἐμερίσαντο καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ ἔργον ἑτράποντο.

128. Σκιτίων ὁ ἦν μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν Βύρσαν ή σπουδῇ τὸ γαρ ἁχυρώτατον τῆς πόλεως ἦν, καὶ οἱ πλέονες ἐς αὐτὴν συνεπεφύγεσαν. τριῶν δ’ ὅσον ἀπὸ τῆς ἁγορᾶς ἀνόδων ἐς αὐτὴν, οἰκίαι πυκναὶ καὶ ἕξωροιοι πανταχόθεν ἦσαν, ὅθεν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι βαλλόμενοι τὰς πρῶτας τῶν οἰκίων κατέλαβον, καὶ ἀπ’ αὐτῶν ἥμυνοντο τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν πλησίον. ὅτε δ’ αὐτῶν κρατήσειαν, ξύλα καὶ σανίδας τοῖς διαστήμασι τῶν στενοφων ἐπιτε-θέντες διέβαινον ὡς ἐπὶ γεφυρῶν. καὶ ὅδε μὲν ὁ 628
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one night set fire to that part of Cothon which is in the form of a quadrangle. But Laelius, expecting Scipio still to make the attack, and while the Carthaginians were turned to that quarter, without being observed, mounted the other part of Cothon, which was in the form of a circle. A shout went up as though a victory had been gained, and the Carthaginians became alarmed, while the Romans recklessly forced their way up on all sides, and filled up the vacant spaces with timbers, engines, and scaffolding, the guards making only a feeble resistance because they were weak from hunger and downcast in spirit. The wall around Cothon being taken, Scipio seized the neighbouring forum, and being unable to do more, as it was now evening, he and his whole force passed the night there under arms. At daylight he brought in 4000 fresh troops. They entered the temple of Apollo, whose statue was there, covered with gold, in a shrine of beaten gold, weighing 1000 talents, which they plundered, chopping it with their swords and disregarding the commands of their officers until they had divided it among themselves, after which they returned to their duty.

128. Now Scipio’s main object of attack was Byrsa, the strongest part of the city, where the greater part of the inhabitants had taken refuge. There were three streets ascending from the Forum to this fortress, along which, on either side, were houses built closely together and six storeys high, from which the Romans were assailed with missiles. But they captured the first few houses, and from them attacked the occupants of the next. When they had become masters of these, they put timbers across over the narrow passage-ways, and crossed as on
πόλεμος ἦν ἐπὶ τῶν τεγών ἀνω, έτερος δ' ἐν τοῖς στενωποῖς κατὰ τοὺς ἀπαυτόντας. στόνου δὲ καὶ οἰμωγῆς καὶ βοής πάντα καὶ ποικίλων παθῶν ἐνεπίμπλατο, κτεινομένων τε ἐν χερσί, καὶ ξώντων ἐτί ῥιπτουμένων ἄνωθεν ἀπὸ τῶν τεγών ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος, καὶ φερομένων ἐνίων ἐπὶ δόρατα ὁρθὰ ἢ αἰχμάς ἄλλας ἢ ξῆψης. ἐνεπίμπρη δ' οὖδὲν οὐδές πω διὰ τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν τεγών, ἔσω ἐπὶ τὴν Βύρσαν ἦκεν ὁ Σκιτίων· καὶ τότε τοὺς τρεῖς ὀμοί στενωποῖς ἐνεπίμπρε, καὶ τὸ ἀεί πιμπράμενον ἐτέρους ὀδοποιεῖν ἐκέλευεν, ἦν εὔμαρως ὁ στρατὸς ἀλλασσόμενος διαθέων.

129. Ἀλλη δ' ἦν ἐκ τούδε ὄψις ἐτέρων κακῶν, τοῦ μὲν πυρὸς ἐπιφλέγοντος πάντα καὶ καταφέροντος, τῶν δὲ ἀνδρῶν τὰ οἰκοδομηματα ὡς διαρροῦντων ἐς ὀλγον, ἀλλ' ἀθρόα βιαζομένων ἀνατρέψειν. ὃ τε γὰρ κτύπος ἐκ τούδε πολὺ πλείων ἐγύγγετο, καὶ μετὰ τῶν λίθων ἐξέπεμπτον ἐς τὸ μέσον ἀθρόοι νεκροί. ξώντες τε ἑτέροι, προσβύται μάλιστα καὶ παιδία καὶ γύναια, ὡς τοῖς μυχοῖς τῶν οἰκιῶν ἐκέκρυπτο, οἱ μὲν καὶ τραύματα φέροντες οἱ δ' ἥμισφεκτοι, φωνάς ἄγδεις ἀφίεντες. ἑτέροι δ', ὡς ἀπὸ τοσοῦδε ὠψις μετὰ λίθων καὶ ξύλων καὶ πυρὸς ὤθούμενοι καὶ καταπίπτουσι, ἐς πολλὰ σχήματα κακῶν διεσπώντο ῥηγνύμενοι τε καὶ κατασπασόμενοι. καὶ οὐδ' ἐς τέλος αὐτοῖς ταύτα ἀπέχρη: λιθολόγοι γὰρ ὅσοι πελέκεσι καὶ ἁξίναις καὶ κοντῶι τὰ πίπτοντα μετέβαλλον τε καὶ ὄδοποίοιν τοῖς διαθέονσιν, οἱ μὲν τοῖς πελέκεσι καὶ ταῖς ἁξίναις, οἱ δὲ ταῖς χηλαῖς τῶν κοντῶν, τοὺς τε νεκροὺς καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ ἔκνωμα ἐς τὰ τῆς γῆς κοίλα μετέβαλλον ὡς ξύλα καὶ λίθους
bodies. While one war was raging in this way on one of the roofs, another was going on among those who met each other in the streets below. All places were filled with gruels, sticks, stoves, and every kind of agency. Some were stabbed, others were hurled alive from the roofs to the pavement, some of them falling on the heads of spears or other pointed weapons, or swords. No one dared to set fire to the houses on account of those who were still on the roofs, until Selim reached Bursa. Then he set fire to the three streets all together, and gave orders to keep the passage-ways clear of burning material so that the charging detachments of the army might move back and forth freely.

129. Then came new scenes of horror. The fire spread and carried everything down, and the soldiers did not wait to destroy the buildings little by little, but pulled them all down together. So the crashing grew louder, and many fell with the stones into the midst dead. Others were seen still living, especially old men, women, and young children who had hidden in the inmost nooks of the houses, some of them wounded, some more or less burned, and uttering horrible cries. Still others, thrust out and falling from such a height with the stones, timbers, and fire, were torn asunder into all kinds of horrible shapes, crushed and mangled. Nor was this the end of their miseries, for the street cleaners, who were removing the rubbish with axes, mattocks, and boat-hooks, and making the roads passable, tossed with these instruments the dead and the living together into holes in the ground, sweeping them along like
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CAP. XIX

ἐπισύροντες ἡ ἀνατρέποντες τῷ σιδήρῳ, ἂν ἦν τε ἀνθρώπος ἀναπληρώμα βόθρων. μεταβαλλόμειοι δ' οἱ μὲν ἐσε κεφαλάς ἐφέροντο, καὶ τὰ σκέλη σφῶν υπερίσχυσαν τής γῆς ἤσπαιρον ἐπὶ πλείστων οἱ δ' ἔσ μὲν τοὺς πόδας ἐπίπτον κάτω, καὶ ταῖς κεφαλαῖς υπερεῖχον υπὲρ τὸ ἔδαφος, ἵπποι δ' αὐτοὺς διαθέεντες ἐς τὰς ὤψεις ἢ τῶν ἐγκεφάλων ἐκόλασσαν, σύν ἐκόντων τῶν ἐπιχομιμένων ἀλλ' ὑπὸ σπουδῆς, ἐπεὶ οὐδ' οἱ λυθολόγοι ταῦτ' ἔδραν ἐκόντες. ἀλλ' ὁ τοῦ πολέμου πόνος καὶ ἡ δόξα τῆς νίκης ἔγγυς καὶ ἡ τοῦ στρατοῦ σπουδή, καὶ κήρυκες ὁμοί καὶ σαλπικταί πάντα θορυβοῦντες, χιλιάρχοι τε καὶ λοχαγοὶ μετὰ τῶν τάξεων ἐναλλασσόμενοι καὶ διαθέοντες, ἐνθους ἄπαντας ἐποίουν καὶ ἠμελεῖς τῶν ὅρμων υπὸ σπουδῆς.

130. Καὶ ταῦτα πονουμένων ἐδαπανήθησαν ἐξ ἡμέραι τε καὶ νύκτες, τῆς μὲν στρατιάς ἐναλλασσόμενης, ἵνα μὴ κάμοιεν ὑπ' ἀγρυπνίας καὶ κόπου καὶ φόνου καὶ ὄψεως ὑγιόν, Σκιπίωνος δ' ἀπαύγαστος ἐφεστῶτος ἢ διαθέοντος ἄυπνον, καὶ σίτων ὀὕτως ἐπὶ τῶν ἔργων αἴρουμένου, μέχρι κάμων καὶ παρεμένοις ἐκαθέστω ἐφ' υψηλοῖς, τὰ γνωρίμενα ἐφορῶν. πολλῶν δ' ἔτι πορθομένων, καὶ τοῦ κακοῦ μακροτάτου δοκούντος ἔσεσθαι, προσέφυγον ἐβδομῆς ἡμέρας αὐτῷ τινες ἐστεμμένοι στέμματα Ἀσκληπίεια: τόδε γὰρ ἦν τὸ ἱερὸν ἐν ἀκροπόλιει μάλιστα τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιφανεῖς καὶ πλούσιον, ὥσπερ οἶδε τὰς ἱκετηρίας λαβόμενες ἐδέντο τοῦ Σκιπίωνος περὶ μόνης συνθέσθαι σωτηρίας τοῖς ἐθέλονσιν ἐπὶ τάδε τῆς Βύρσης ἐξείναι, ὁ δὲ ἐδίδου, χωρὶς αὐτομόλων. καὶ 632
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sticks and stones or turning them over with their iron tools, and man was used for filling up a ditch. Some were thrown in head foremost, while their legs, sticking out of the ground, writhed a long time. Others fell with their feet downward and their heads above ground. Horses ran over them, crushing their faces and skulls, not purposely on the part of the riders, but in their headlong haste. Nor did the street cleaners either do these things on purpose; but the press of war, the glory of approaching victory, the rush of the soldiery, the confused noise of heralds and trumpeters all round, the tribunes and centurions changing guard and marching the cohorts hither and thither—all together made everybody frantic and heedless of the spectacle before their eyes.

130. Six days and nights were consumed in this kind of turmoil, the soldiers being changed so that they might not be worn out with toil, slaughter, want of sleep, and these horrid sights. Scipio alone toiled without rest, standing over them or hurrying here and there, without sleep, taking food anyhow while he was at work, until, utterly fatigued and relaxed, he sat down on a high place where he could overlook the work. Much remained to be ravaged, and it seemed likely that the carnage would be of very long duration, but on the seventh day some suppliants presented themselves to Scipio bearing the sacred garlands of Aesculapius, whose temple was much the richest and most renowned of all in the citadel. These, taking olive branches from the temple, besought Scipio that he would spare merely the lives of all who were willing to depart on this condition from Byrsa. This he granted to all except
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CAP. XIX. ἔξησαν αὐτίκα μυριάδες πέντε ἀνδρῶν ἀμα καὶ γυναικῶν, ἀνοιξθέντος αὐτοῖς στενοῦ διατειχῆςματικ, καὶ οὕτωι μὲν ἐφυλάσσοντο, ὥσοι δ' αὐτομολοι Ῥωμαίων ἦσαν, ἀμφὶ τοὺς ἐνακοσίους μάλιστα, ἀπογρόνυτες αὐτῶν ἐς τὸ Ἀσκληπιεῖον ἀνέδραμον μετ' Ἀσδρούβα καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς τῆς Ἀσδρούβα καὶ δύο παιδῶν ἄρρενων. ὅθεν εὐμαρῶς ἄεὶ ἐμάχοντο, καίπερ ὄντες ὄλγοι, διὰ τὸ ύψος τοῦ τεμένους καὶ τὸ ἀπόκρημνον, ἐς δ' καὶ παρὰ τὴν εἰρήνην διὰ βαθρῶν ἐξήκοντα ἀνέβαινον. ὡς δὲ ὁ τε λιμὸς αὐτοῦς καθήκει καὶ ἡ ἀγρυπνία καὶ ὁ φόβος καὶ ὁ πόνος, τοῦ κακοῦ προσπελάζοντος, τὸ μὲν τέμενος ἐξέλισσον, ἐς δὲ τὸν νεών αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ τέγος ἀνέτρεγον.

131. Καὶ τοῦτο λαθὼν ὁ Ἀσδρούβας ἐφυγε πρὸς τὸν Σκιπίωνα μετὰ θαλλῶν καὶ αὐτῶν ὁ Σκιπίως ἐκάθισε πρὸ ποδῶν ἑαυτοῦ, καὶ τοῖς αὐτομόλοις ἐπεδείχνειν. οἱ δ' ὃς εἶδον, ἤτησαν ἡσυχίαν σφίσα γενέσθαι, καὶ γενομένης Ἀσδρούβα μὲν ἐλοιδορήσαντο πολλὰ καὶ ποικίλα, τὸν δὲ νεών ἐνέπρησαν τε καὶ κατεκαύθησαν. τὴν δὲ γυναῖκα τοῦ Ἀσδρούβα λέγουσιν, ἀπομένου τοῦ πυρὸς ἀντικρὸς τοῦ Σκιπίωνος γενομένης, κατακοσμήσασθαι τε ὡς ἐν συμφοραῖς ἐδύνατο, καὶ παραστησάμενη τὰ τέκνα εἰπεῖν ἐς ἔπηκοον τοῦ Σκιπίωνος. "σοι μὲν οὐ νέμεσις ἐκ θεῶν, ο Ῥωμαῖος· ἐπὶ γὰρ πολεμίαν ἔστρατευσάς· Ἀσδρούβαν δὲ τόν δεθρίος τε καὶ ἱερῶν καὶ ἐμόν καὶ τέκνων προδότην γενόμενον οὐ τε Καρχηδόνος δαίμονες ἀμύναντο, καὶ σὺ μετὰ τῶν δαίμονων." εἰτ' ἐς τὸν Ἀσδρούβαν ἐπιστρεφάσα εἰπεῖν. "ὁ μιαρὲ καὶ ἀπιστε καὶ μαλακὼτατε ἀνδρῶν, ἐμὲ μὲν καὶ
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the deserters. Forthwith there came out 50,000 men and women together, a narrow gate in the wall being opened, and a guard furnished for them. The Roman deserters, about 900 in number, despairing of their lives, betook themselves to the temple of Aesculapius with Hasdrubal and his wife and their two boys. Here they defended themselves a long time with ease although they were few in number, on account of the height and precipitous nature of the place, which in time of peace was reached by an ascent of sixty steps. But, finally, overcome by hunger, want of sleep, fear, weariness, and the approach of destruction, they abandoned the enclosures of the temple and fled to the shrine and roof.

131. Thereupon Hasdrubal secretly fled to Scipio, bearing an olive branch. Scipio commanded him to sit at his feet and there showed him to the deserters. When they saw him, they asked silence, and when it was granted, they heaped all manner of reproaches upon Hasdrubal, then set fire to the temple and were consumed in it. It is said that as the fire was lighted the wife of Hasdrubal, in full view of Scipio, arraying herself as best she could amid such disaster, and setting her children by her side, said, so as to be heard by Scipio, “For you, Romans, the gods have no cause of indignation, since you exercise the right of war. But upon this Hasdrubal, betrayer of his country and her temples, of me and his children, may the gods of Carthage take vengeance, and you be their instrument.” Then turning to Hasdrubal, “Wretch,” she exclaimed, “traitor, most effeminate of men, this fire will entomb me and my children.
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CAP. XIX. τοὺς ἐμοὺς παῖδας τόδε τὸ πῦρ θάψειν σὺ δὲ τίνα κοσμήσεις θρίαμβου ὁ τῆς μεγάλης Καρχηδόνος ἤγεμών; τίνα δ' οὐ δώσεις δίκην τόδε φ' παρακαθέξῃ;'' τοσοῦτον οὐνείδόςσα κατέσφαξε τοὺς παῖδας, καὶ ἐς τὸ πῦρ αὐτοὺς τε καὶ ἑαυτὴν ἐπέρρυψεν.

132. Ὡδὲ μὲν φασὶ τὴν Ἀσδρούβα γυναῖκα, ὡς αὐτὸν ἐχρῆν Ἀσδρούβαν, εἰπούσαν ἀποθανεῖν ὃ δὲ Σκιπίων πόλιν ὅρων ἐπτακοσίοις ἔτεοι ἀνθήσασιν ἀπὸ τοῦ συνουκισμοῦ, καὶ γῆς τοσῆς, καὶ νῆσους καὶ θαλάσσης ἐπάρξασαν, ὁπλῶν τε καὶ νεῶν καὶ ἐλεφάντων καὶ χρημάτων εὐπορήσασαν ἵσα ταῖς ἄρχαις ταῖς μεγάλαις, τόλμη δὲ καὶ προθυμία πολυ διασχοῦσαν, ἢ γε καὶ ναῦς καὶ ὅπλα πάντα περιήρμηνευτικὴν ὁμοίως ἔτεοι ἀντέσχε πολέμῳ τοσὸδε καὶ Λιμαγ, τότε ἄρδην τελευτῶσαν ἐς πανωλεθρίαν ἐσχάτην, λέγεται μὲν δακρύσαι καὶ φανερὸς γενέσθαι κλαίειν ύπὲρ πολεμίων, ἐπὶ πολὺ δ' ἔνωσον ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ γενόμενος τε, καὶ συνεδών ὁτι καὶ πόλεις καὶ ἔθνη καὶ ἄρχας ἀπάσας δεὶ μεταβαλεῖν ὀφεῖ ἄνθρωπος δαίμονα, καὶ τούτ' ἐπαθεὶ μὲν Ἰλιον, εὐτυχὴς ποτε πόλις, ἐπαθεὶ δὲ ἡ Ἀσσυρίων καὶ Μηδων καὶ Περσῶν ἐπ' ἐκεῖνοις ἄρχὴ μεγίστη γενομένη, καὶ ἡ μάλιστα ἐναγχος ἐκλάφεσα ἡ Μακεδόνων, εἶτε ἐκῶν εἶτε προφυγόντως αὐτὸν τοῦτο ἐποιοῦν.
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"ἔσσεται ἢμαρ ὅταν τοί' ὀλώλη Ἰλιος ἱρὴ καὶ Πρίαμος καὶ λαὸς εὐμμελεῖς Πριάμου." Πολυβίου δ' αὐτοῦ ἐρωμένου σὺν παρρησίᾳ (καὶ
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But as for you, what Roman triumph will you, the leader of great Carthage, decorate? Ah, what punishment will you not receive from him at whose feet you are now sitting." Having reproached him thus, she slew her children, flung them into the fire, and plunged in after them. With these words, it is said, did the wife of Hasdrubal die, as Hasdrubal should have died himself.

132. Scipio, beholding this city, which had flourished 700 years from its foundation and had ruled over so many lands, islands, and seas, as rich in arms and fleets, elephants, and money as the mightiest empires, but far surpassing them in hardihood and high spirit (since, when stripped of all its ships and arms, it had sustained famine and a mighty war for three years), now come to its end in total destruction—Scipio, beholding this spectacle, is said to have shed tears and publicly lamented the fortune of the enemy. After meditating by himself a long time and reflecting on the inevitable fall of cities, nations, and empires, as well as of individuals, upon the fate of Troy, that once proud city, upon the fate of the Assyrian, the Median, and afterwards of the great Persian empire, and, most recently of all, of the splendid empire of Macedon, either voluntarily or otherwise the words of the poet escaped his lips:—

"The day shall come in which our sacred Troy
And Priam, and the people over whom
Spear-bearing Priam rules, shall perish all."\(^1\)

Being asked by Polybius in familiar conversation (for

\(^1\) Iliad vi. 448, 449; Bryant's translation.

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γὰρ ἦν αὐτὸς καὶ διδάσκαλος) ὁ τε βούλιοτο ὁ λόγος, φαίνω οὐ φυλαξάμενον ὄνομάσαι τὴν πατρίδα σαφῶς, ὑπὲρ ἥς ἄρα, ἐς τὰ ἀνθρώπεια ἀφορῶν, ἐδεδείει.

133. Καὶ τάδε μὲν Πολύβιος αὐτὸς ἀκούσας συγγράφει: Σκιπίων δ’, ἐπεὶ κατέσκαπτο Καρχηδόν, ἐπὶ μὲν τινὰ ἡμερῶν ἀριθμὸν ἑπτερεψε τῇ στρατιᾷ διαρπάζειν ὅσα μὴ χρυσός ἢ ἄργυρος ἢ ἀναθήματα ἦν, μετὰ δὲ τούτ’ ἀριστεία πολλὰ διαδοὺς ἀπασί, χωρίς τῶν ἐς τὸ Ἀπολλώνιον ἀμαριόντων, ναῦν ὁξυτάτην κοσμῆσας λαφύροις ἀγγελον τῆς νίκης ἑστειλεν ἐς Ῥώμην, ὡς δὲ Σικελίαν περιέπεμπεν, ὅσα Καρχηδόνιοι σφῶν ἀναθήματα κοινὰ πολεμοῦντες ἔλαβον, ἐλθόντας ἐπιγεγυγώσκειν καὶ κομίζεσθαι: ὅ καὶ μάλιστα αὐτὸν ἐδημαγώγησεν ὡς μετὰ τοῦ δυνατοῦ φιλάνθρωπον. ἀποδόμενος δὲ τὴν λείαν τῆν περισσῆν, ὅπλα καὶ μηχανήματα καὶ ναῦς ἀχρίστους Ἀρεί καὶ Ἀθηνᾶ διαξοσάμενοι αὐτὸς ἐκαίεν κατὰ τὰ πάτρια.

134. Οἱ δ’ ἐν ἀστείοι ὀσαίτως τὴν ναῦν ἰδόντες καὶ τῆς νίκης περὶ δείλην ἐσπέραν πυθόμενοι ἐς τὰς ὄδους ἐξεπῆδον καὶ διευκτέρευσαν μετ’ ἄλληλοι, ἡδόμενοι καὶ συμπλεκόμενοι ὡς ἁρτὶ μὲν ἀλευθεροὶ φόβων γεγονότες, ἁρτὶ δ’ ἁρχαώντες ἐτέρων ἀσφαλῶς, ἁρτὶ δὲ βέβαιον τὴν πόλειν ἐχοντες, καὶ νεακηκότες οίλαν οὔτινα πρότερον 638
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Polybius had been his tutor) what he meant by CHAP. XIX using these words, Polybius says that he did not hesitate frankly to name his own country, for whose fate he feared when he considered the mutability of human affairs. And Polybius wrote this down just as he heard it.

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133. Carthage being destroyed, Scipio gave the CHAP. XX soldiers a certain number of days for plunder, reserving the gold, silver, and temple gifts. He also gave numerous prizes to all who had distinguished themselves for bravery, except those who had violated the shrine of Apollo. He sent a swift ship, embellished with spoils, to Rome to announce the victory. He also sent word to Sicily that whatever temple gifts they could identify as taken from them by the Carthaginians in former wars they might come and take away. Thus he endeared himself to the people as one who united clemency with power. The rest of the spoils he sold, and, in sacrificial cincture, burned the arms, engines, and useless ships as an offering to Mars and Minerva, according to the Roman custom.

134. When the people of Rome saw the ship and heard of the victory early in the evening, they poured into the streets and spent the whole night congratulating and embracing each other like people just now delivered from some great fear, just now confirmed in their supremacy, just now assured of the permanence of their own city, and winners of such a victory as they had never won before. They
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CAP. Ἀλλην νίκην. πολλὰ μὲν γὰρ αὐτοῖς συνήδεσαν ἔργα λαμπρά, πολλὰ δὲ τοὺς πατράσιν ἐσ τε Μακεδόνας καὶ Ἰβηρίας καὶ ἐς Ἀντίοχον τὸν μέγαν ἐναγχος καὶ περὶ αὐτὴν Ἰταλίαν πόλεμον δ' οὐδένα ἄλλον ὁμοῦ ἔπι θύραις ἐπίφοβον αὐτοῖς ἦδεσαν, διὰ τε ἀνδρείαν καὶ φρονίμα καὶ τόλμαν ἑχθρῶν καὶ ἀπιστίᾳ εἰς σφίσιν ἐπικινδυνόνιον γενόμενον. ἀνέφερον δὲ καὶ ὄν ἔπαθον ὑπὸ Καρχηδονίων ἐν τε Σικελίᾳ καὶ Ἰβηρίᾳ καὶ περὶ αὐτὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐκκαίδεκα ἔτεσιν, Ἀννίβου τετρακόσια ἐμπρήσαντο ἁστή καὶ μυριάδας ἄνδρων τριάκοντα εἰς μόναις μάχαις ἀνελόντος, ἐπὶ τε τὴν Ῥώμην πολλάκις ἐλάσαντος καὶ ἐς ἐσχατὸν κυνδύνου συναγαγόντος. ὦν ἐνυμούμενοι μάλιστα ἐξίσταντο περὶ τῆς νίκης ἐς ἀπιστίαν αὐτῆς, καὶ αὕτης ἀνεπιθυμάντο ἄλληλοι εἰ τῷ ὅντι Καρχηδόνων κατέσκαπται: ἑλεσχήνευν τε δὲ ὅλης νυκτὸς ὅπως μὲν αὐτῶν τὰ ὄπλα περιμέρεθη καὶ ὅπως αὐτίκα παρὰ δόξαν ἐτεκτήναντο ἄτερα, ὅπως δὲ τὰς ναῦς ἀφηρέθησαν καὶ στόλον ἐπήξαντο πάλιν ἐξ ὅλης παλαιᾶς, τὸ τε στόμα τοῦ λιμένος ὡς ἀπεκλείσθη, καὶ στόμα ὡς ὀρύξαντο ἐτερον ἀλγαίας ἡμέρας. καὶ τὸ τῶν τειχῶν ὤψος αὐτῶς διὰ στόματος ἦν, καὶ τὰ τῶν λίθων μεγεθή, καὶ τὸ πῦρ δ' πολλάκις ταῖς μηχαναῖς ἐπήνεγκαν. ὅλως τε τὸν πόλεμον ὡς ὀρώμενες ἀρτι γυρνόμενον ἀλλήλοις διετύπουν, καὶ ἐς τὰς φαντασίας τῶν λεγομένων τῷ σχήματι τοῦ σώματος συνεφέροντο. καὶ τὸν Σκιπίωνα ὄραν ἐδόκουν ἐπὶ κλιμάκων, ἐπὶ νεών, ἐν πύλαις, ἐν μάχαις, 640
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remembered many brilliant deeds of their own, many more of their ancestors, in Macedonia and Spain and lately against Antiochus the Great, and in Italy itself; but they knew of no other war which had so terrified them at their own gates as the Punic wars, which ever brought peril to them by reason of the perseverance, high spirit, and courage, as well as the bad faith, of those enemies. They recalled what they had suffered from the Carthaginians in Sicily and Spain, and in Italy itself for sixteen years, during which Hannibal destroyed 400 towns and killed 300,000 of their men in battles alone, more than once marching up to the city and putting it in extreme peril. Remembering these things, they were so excited over this victory that they could hardly believe it, and they asked each other over and over again whether it was really true that Carthage was destroyed. And so they conversed the whole night, telling how the arms of the Carthaginians had been taken away from them, and how at once, contrary to expectation, they supplied themselves with others: how they lost their ships and built a great fleet out of old material; how the mouth of their harbour was closed, yet they managed to open another in a few days. They talked about the height of the walls, and the size of the stones, and the fires that so often destroyed the engines. In fact they pictured to each other the whole war, as though it were just taking place under their own eyes, suiting the action to the word; they seemed to see Scipio on the ladders, on shipboard, at the

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CAP. XX. πανταχοῦ διαθέοντα. οὕτω μὲν οἱ Ρωμαῖοι διενυκτέρευσαν, 135. ἀμα δὴ ἡμέρα θυσίαι τε καὶ πομπαὶ τοῖς θεοῖς ἐγύγνωτο κατὰ φυλήν, καὶ ἄγωνες ἐπὶ τούτους καὶ θέαι ποικίλαι.

Δέκα δὲ σφῶν αὐτῶν ἡ βουλὴ τούς ἀριστους ἐπεμπε διαθησομένους Διβύνην μέτα Σκιπίωνος ἐς τὸ Ρωμαίων συμφέρον. οἱ Καρχηδόνος μὲν εἶ τι περίλοιπον ἐτὶ ἦν, ἐκριναν κατασκάψαι Σκιπίωνα, καὶ οἰκεῖν αὐτὴν ἀπείπον ἀπασί, καὶ ἐπιράσαντο, μάλιστα περὶ τῆς Βύρσης, εἰ τις οἰκήσεως αὐτὴν ἢ τὰ καλούμενα Μέγαρα ἐπιβαίνεις δὲ οὐκ ἀπείπον. ὡσαὶ δὲ πόλεις συνεμεμαχήκεσαν τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐπιμόνως, ἔδοξε καθελεῖν ἀπάσας καὶ ὡσαὶ Ρωμαίοις ἐβεβοθήκεσαν, χόραν ἐδοκαν ἐκάστῃ τῆς δορικτήτου, καὶ πρότον μάλιστα Ἰτυκαίος τὴν μέχρι Καρχηδόνος αὐτῆς καὶ Ἰππόδων ἐπὶ θάτερα. τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς φόρον ὄρισαν ἐπὶ τῇ γῇ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς σώμασιν, ἀνδρὶ καὶ γυναικὶ ὁμοίως. καὶ στρατηγὸν ἐτήσιον αὐτῶς ἕκ Ρώμης ἐπισπέμπειν ἐκριναν. οἱ μὲν δὴ ταύτα προστάξαντες ἀπέπλεον ἐς Ρώμην, ὅ δὲ Σκιπίων ἐποίει τὰ δόξαντα, καὶ θυσίας ἐτέλευ καὶ ἄγωνας ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ. ὡς δὲ αὐτῷ πάντα ἔξετετέλεστο, διαπλεύσας ἐπιφανέστατα δὴ πάντων διεθριμβευνε πολύ-χρυσον θρίαμβον, ἀγαλμάτων τε γέμοντα καὶ ἀνα-θημάτων, ὡσα Καρχηδόνοι χρόνῳ πολλῷ καὶ συνεχέσι νίκας ἐκ πάσης γῆς συνειπόχεσαν ἐς 642.
gates, in the battles, and darting hither and thither. CHAP. XX
Thus did the Romans pass the night. 135. The next day there were sacrifices and solemn processions to the gods by tribes, also games and spectacles of various kinds.

The Senate sent ten of the noblest of their own number as deputies to arrange the affairs of Africa in conjunction with Scipio, to the advantage of Rome. These men decreed that if anything was still left of Carthage, Scipio should raze it to the ground, and that nobody should be allowed to live there. Imprecations were levelled against any who should settle there, or at Megara, but the ground was not declared accursed. The towns that had allied themselves consistently with the enemy it was decided to destroy, to the last one. To those who had aided the Romans there was an allotment of lands won by the sword, and first of all the territory extending from Carthage on one side to Hippo on the other was given to the Uticans. Upon all the rest a tribute was imposed, both a land tax and a personal tax, upon men and women alike, and it was decreed that a praetor should be sent from Rome yearly to govern the country. After these directions had been given by the deputies, they returned to Rome. Scipio did all that they directed, and instituted sacrifices and games to the gods for the victory. When all was finished, he sailed for home and was awarded the most glorious triumph that had ever been known, splendid with gold and crowned with all the statues and votive offerings that the Carthaginians had gathered from all parts of
ΑΠΠΙΑΝ’S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK VIII

CAP. Λιβύην. τότε δ’ ἦν ὅτε καὶ κατὰ Μακεδόνων, ἀλόντος Ἠνδρίσκου τοῦ ψευδοφιλίππου, τρίτος ἤγετο θρίαμβος, καὶ κατὰ τῆς Ἑλλάδος πρώτος ὑπὸ Μομμίου. καὶ ἦν ταῦτα ἀμφὶ τὰς ἔξικοντα καὶ ἐκατὸν ὀλυμπιάδας.

136. Χρόνῳ δ’ ὕστερον, Γαίου Γράκχου δημαρχοῦντος ἐν Ρώμη καὶ στάσεων οὗσῶν ἐξ ἀπορίας, ἐδοξε κληρούχους ἐς Λιβύην πέμπειν ἔξακισχιλίους, διαγραφομένων δ’ ἀμφὶ τὴν Καρχηδόνα τῶν θεμελίων λύκοι τὰ θεμέλια ἄθροα διέσπασαν καὶ συνέχεαν. καὶ τότε μὲν ἀνέσχεν ἡ βουλή τοῦ συνοικισμοῦ: χρόνῳ δὲ αὐθίς, ὅποτε Γαίου Καίσαρ ὁ καὶ δικτάτωρ ὕστερον αὐτοῦς διηνεκὴς γενόμενος Πομπήιον ἐς Αἰγύπτου ἐδίωκε καὶ τοὺς Πομπηίου φίλους ἐς Λιβύην ἀπ’ Αἰγύπτου, λέγεται, τῇ Καρχηδόνι παραστρατοπεδεύων, ὕπ’ ἐνυπνίου στρατὸν πολὺν ἱδὼν κλαίοντα ἐνοχληθῆναι, καὶ αὐτίκα ἑαυτῷ ἐς μνήμην ὑπογράφασθαι Καρχηδόνα συνοικίζειν. καὶ μετ’ οὐ πολὺ τῶν ἀπόρων αὐτοῦ ἔς Ρώμην ἐπανελθόντα περὶ γῆς παρακαλοῦντων, συνέτασσεν ὡς πέμψων τοὺς μὲν ἐς τὴν Καρχηδόνα τοὺς δ’ ἐς Κόρινθον. ἀλλ’ ὅδε μὲν θάσσων ἀνηρέθη πρὸς τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐν τῷ Ἱρωμαίων βουλευτηρίῳ, ὁ δ’ ἐκεῖνον παῖς Ἰούλιος Καίσαρ, ὁ Σεβαστὸς ἐπίκλησιν, ἐντυχὼν ἀρα ταῖς ὑπογραφαῖς τοῦ πατρὸς συνφίκεισε τὴν νῦν Καρχηδόνα, ἀγχοτάτῳ μάλιστα ἐκείνης, φυλαξάμενος τῆς πάλαι τὸ ἐπάρατον. οἰκῆτοράς τε Ἱρωμαίους μὲν 644
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the world during their long period of continuous CHAP. XX victories. It was at this time also that the third Macedonian triumph occurred for the capture of Andricus, surnamed Pseudophilippus, and the first Grecian one, for Mummius. This was about the 160th Olympiad.

136. Some time later, in the tribunate of Gaius R.C. 123 Gracchus, uprisings occurred in Rome on account of scarcity, and it was decided to send 6000 colonists into Africa. When they were laying out the land for this purpose in the vicinity of Carthage, all the boundary lines were torn down and obliterated by wolves. Then the Senate abandoned the settlement. But at a still later time it is said that Caesar, R.C. 46 who afterwards became dictator for life, when he had pursued Pompey to Egypt, and Pompey's friends from thence into Africa, and was encamped near the site of Carthage, was troubled by a dream in which he saw a whole army weeping, and that he immediately made a memorandum in writing that Carthage should be colonized. Returning to Rome not long after, and the poor asking him for land, he arranged to send some of them to Carthage and some to Corinth. But he was assassinated shortly afterward by his enemies in the Roman Senate, and his son Julius Caesar, surnamed Augustus, finding this memorandum, built the present Carthage, not on the site of the old one, but very near it, in order to avoid the ancient curse. I have ascertained that he sent some 3000
CAP. αὐτὸν τρισχιλίους μάλιστα πυθάνομαι, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἐκ τῶν περιοίκων συναγαγεῖν. ὧδε μὲν Λιβύης τῆς ὑπὸ Καρχηδονίως Ῥωμαίοι κατέσχον, καὶ Καρχηδόνα κατέσκαψάν τε καὶ συνφίκισαν αὕτης μετὰ ἐτη τῆς κατοικίας ἐκατὸν καὶ ὁδὸ.
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colonists from Rome and collected the rest from CHAP. XX
the neighbouring country. And thus the Romans won the Carthaginian part of Africa, destroyed Carthage, and repeopled it again 102\textsuperscript{1} years after its destruction.

\textsuperscript{1} The date proves that it was Julius Caesar, not Augustus, who repeopled Carthage.

END OF VOL. I

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