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DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY
II
DIO'S
ROMAN HISTORY

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY
EARNEST CARY, PH.D.

ON THE BASIS OF THE VERSION OF
HERBERT BALDWIN FOSTER, PH.D.

IN NINE VOLUMES
II

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## CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fragments of Book</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>XII</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XIII</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XIV</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XV</td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XVI</td>
<td>186</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XVII</td>
<td>222</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XVIII</td>
<td>276</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XIX</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XX</td>
<td>332</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXI</td>
<td>366</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXII</td>
<td>408</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXIII</td>
<td>418</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXIV</td>
<td>422</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXV</td>
<td>430</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXVI</td>
<td>434</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXVII</td>
<td>444</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXVIII</td>
<td>454</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXIX</td>
<td>462</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Books XXX–XXXV</td>
<td>466</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uncertain Reference</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Index to Volumes I and II</td>
<td>507</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY
DIO’S ROMAN HISTORY

FRAGMENTS OF BOOK XII

Zonaras 8, 15.

Τούς δ’ υπάτους ἐς τὴν Διβύην στρατεύοντας ἔψηφίζωντο τὸν τε Γαύον τὸν ’Ατίλιον τὸν τοῦ Ρηγούλου ἀδελφόν καὶ τὸν Μάλλιον τὸν Δού-κιον. οἱ ἐς τὴν Σικελίαν ἐλθόντες τῷ Διυβαίῳ προσέβαλον, καὶ τι μέρος τῆς τάφρου συγκέντρωσαι εἰς τὴν τῶν μηχανημάτων προσαγωγήν ἐπε-χείρησαν. καὶ οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι ὑπορύπνουσαν τὸν χοῦν ύφειλκον. ἐπεὶ δ’ ἠλπτούντο τῇ πολυ-χειρίᾳ, τείχος ἔτερον ἔθειν μηνοειδῆς φικοδόμησαν. καὶ οἱ μὲν ὑπονόμους ὕπτο τῶν κύκλων εἰργάζοντο, ὅπως κατὰ τὸ διάκειν αὐτῶν ἴζησαντο τοῦ τείχους εἰσπέσωσιν. οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι δὲ ἀνταρνά-
σουσιν πόλλας μὲν ἀνυψόντας τὸ γινόμενον ἐκδεχόμενοι ἐκτεινοῦσιν, πολλοῖς δὲ καὶ πῦρ ἐν φρυγάνοις εἰς τὰ ὀρύγματα ἐμβάλλοντες ἐφθειροῦν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τινες τῶν συμμάχων, τῇ τε παρατάσαι τῆς πολιορκίας ἀχθόμενοι καὶ τῷ μη τὸν μισθὸν αὐτοῖς ἐνετελεῖ καταβάλλεσθαι, προδοῦναι τὸ χωρίον τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις διεκπροεύνητο, ἐφόρασεν ο’ Ἀμίλκας τὸ βουλευόμενον, οὐκ ἐξέφηνε δὲ, ἢν μὴ πολεμώσῃ αὐτοῦς. χρήματα δὲ τοῖς ἀρχούσιν αὐτῶν παρασχοῦν καὶ τῷ πληθεὶ προσποσχό-
μενος ἔτερα, οὕτως αὐτοὺς φικεώσατο ὡστε μηδ’ ἀρνήσασθαι τὴν προδοσίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς τελευ-
ταῖους πρέσβεις ἐπανίσταται ἀπώσασθαι. οἱ πρὸς 2
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

FRAGMENTS OF BOOK XII

Zonaras 8, 15.

They voted that the consuls, Gaius Atilius, brother of Regulus, and Lucius Manlius, should make an expedition into Africa. These, on coming to Sicily, attacked Lilybaeum and undertook to fill up a portion of the moat to help in bringing up the engines. The Carthaginians tried to dig beneath the mound and undermine it; but when they found this to be a losing game, because of the numbers of the opposing workmen, they built another wall, crescent-shaped, inside. The Romans ran tunnels under this circular wall, in order that when it settled into the mine they might rush inside. The Carthaginians then built counter-tunnels and came upon many workers who were unaware of what the other side was doing; these they killed, and they also destroyed many by hurling blazing fire-wood into the excavations. Some of the allies now, burdened by the protraction of the siege and displeased because their wages were not paid them in full, made propositions to the Romans to betray the place. Hamilcar discovered their plan, but did not disclose it, for fear of driving them into open hostility; instead, he supplied their officials with money, and also promised some to the multitude. In this way he won their favour to such an extent that they did not even deny their treachery, but drove away the last envoys when they returned.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

Zonaras 8, 15.

toûs ὑπάτους αὐτομολήσαντες γῆν τε ἐν Σικελίᾳ καὶ ἔτερ' ἄττα ἔλαβον.

'Ακούσαντες δὲ ταῦτα οἱ οἰκοὶ Καρχηδόνιοι πέμπουσιν Ἄρδεβαν σὺν ναυσὶ πλείσταις εἰς τὸ Διλύβαιον σῖτον ἁγούσαις καὶ χρήματα. καὶ δὲ χειμῶνα ἐπιτηρήσας εἰσέπλευσε. κακὸ τοῦτο καὶ ἄλλοι συννοι καταίρειν ὁμοίως ἔτολμων καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐπετύγχανον, οἱ δὲ ἀπώλεισιν.

'Ἐως μὲν οὐν ἀμφο ταρησαν οἱ ὑπατοὶ, ἵστο-παλεῖς οἱ ἀγῶνες ἐγίνοντο νόσον δὲ καὶ λημοῦ τρυχοῦσων αὐτούς, καὶ τοῦ ἐτέρου οἰκαδε διὰ ταῦτα σὺν τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτόν στρατιῶταις ἀναχωρή-ςαντος, Ἀμῖλκας θαρρήσας ἐπεζηκεί καὶ τὰς μηχανὰς ἐνεπίμπτα καὶ τοὺς ἐπαμύνοντας αὐταῖς ἐφθαίρε, καὶ ἡ ὑπό δοὺ αὐτοῦ ἐκ τοῦ Δρεπάνου ῥομωμένη τὰ τε ἐπιτήδεια κομίζονται τοὺς Ῥω-μαίους ἐκὼλυν καὶ τὴν αὐτῶν συμμαχίδα κατέ-τρεξε, καὶ ὁ Ἄρδεβας ποτὲ μὲν τῆς Σικελίας, ποτὲ δὲ τῆς Ἰταλίας τὰ παράλλα ἐκείρεν· οἶδεν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐν ἀπορίᾳ κατέστησαν. τέως μέντοι Δοῦκιος Ἰούσιος ἤτοιμαζε ναυτικόν, Κλαύδιος δὲ Πούλχρος εἰς τὸ Διλύβαιον ἐπεικηθεὶς καὶ τρήρεις πληρώσας συνέλαβε δι' αὐτῶν Ἀνώνα τῶν Καρ-χηδόνιων ἐκπέλευτα πεντήρει καὶ παράδειγμα τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις τῆς κατασκευῆς τῶν νηῶν ἐγένετο.

Πολλάκις δὲ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ κινδυνεύοντος ἔβαρυ-

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

Τὸ ἐτέρον μέρος τῆς οἰνωνοσκοπικῆς Δίων Κάσ-
BOOK XII

Zonaras 8, 15.

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

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

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

The fleet was so frequently endangered that the

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

The second method of augury is transmitted to us

1 Polybius places this event at the beginning of the war, where it seems most appropriate. It is hard to say whether the confusion here is due to Zonaras, to Dio, or to the latter's source.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

Zonaras 8, 15–16.

νοντο οἱ Ῥωμαίοι τῇ συνεχεῖ τῶν νεῶν φθορᾶς ἀνδρὰς γὰρ συχνοὺς καὶ χρήματα πλείστα ἐν ταύταις ἀπώλλυσαν οὐ μέντοι γε καὶ ἐνέδοσαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τινὰ φθεγξάμενον περὶ καταλλαγῶν πρὸς Καρχηδονίους ἐν τῇ βουλῇ διεχρήσαντο, καὶ λεχθήναι δικτάτορα ἐψηφίσαντο. καὶ δικτάτωρ μὲν ὁ Κολλατίνος ἐλέχθη, ἵππαρχησε δὲ γε ὁ Μέτελλος· οὐδὲν δὲ μνήμης ἐπραξαν ἄξιον. ἐν ὃ δὲ ὁ Κολλατίνος δικτάτωρ ἐλέγετο, ἐν τούτῳ τὸν Ἐρυκα παρεστήσατο ὁ Ιούνιος, καὶ ὁ Καρθάλων κατέσχεν Αἰγύθαλον καὶ ἐξόγησε τὸν Ἰούνιον.

16. Τῷ δ’ ἔξης ἔτει Αὐρήλιος Γάιος καὶ Σερουίλιος Πούπλιος τὴν ἄρχην λαβόντες τὸ τε Διλύβαιον καὶ τὸ Δρέπανον ἐλύσαντες καὶ τοὺς Καρχηδονίους τῆς γῆς ἀπείρον καὶ τὴν αὐτῶν συμμαχίαν κατέκειρον. οὐν Καρθάλων πολυτρόπως ἐπιχείρησας κατ’ αὐτῶν, ὡς οὐδὲν ἦνυσεν, εἰς Ἰταλίαν ὀρμησεν, ὡς οὖν τοὺς ὑπάτους μεταγάγῃ ἐκεῖ ἤ τέως τὴν χώραν κακώσῃ καὶ πόλεις αἰρήσῃ. ἀλλ’ οὖν ἐνταῦθα τι αὐτῷ προεχώρησεν τὸν γὰρ στρατηγὸν τῶν ἀστυνόμων μαθῶν πλησιάζοντα, εἰς Σικελίαν ἀνέπλευσεν. ἐνθα τῶν

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

σιος Κοκκηνανὸς παραδίδωσι, λέγων ὅτι κριθοφάγους ἡμέρους κατέχουσιν ὄρνιθας καὶ τιθέσαις ἐμπροσθεν αὐτῶν κριθάς, ὅτε μαντεύονται. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἔσθιοντες οἱ ὄρνιθες οὐ πλήττοσι τοῖς ράμφησι τὰς κριθὰς καὶ ἀπορρίπτοσι, ἀγαθὸν τὸ σημεῖον, εἰ δὲ οὖντω ποιοῦσιν, οὐκ ἀγαθόν.
BOOK XII

Zonaras 8, 15–16.

Romans were disheartened by the constant destruction of their ships; for in these they lost a good many men and vast sums of money. Yet they would not give up; nay, they even slew a man who uttered a word in the senate about reconciliation with the Carthaginians, and they voted that a dictator should be named. Collatinus [Calatinus] was therefore named dictator, and Metellus became master of the horse; but they accomplished nothing worthy of remembrance. While Collatinus was being chosen dictator, Junius had won over Eryx, and Carthalo had occupied Aegithallus and taken Junius alive.

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

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

by Dio Cassius Cocceianus,1 who says that they keep tame birds which eat barley, and put barley grains in front of them when they seek an omen. If, then, in the course of eating the birds do not strike the barley with their beaks and toss it aside, the sign is good; but if they do so strike the grain, it is not good.

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

μυσθοφόρων στασιασάντων διὰ τὸν μυσθόν, συχνῶς μὲν ἐς νῆσους ἐρήμους ἐκβιβάσας κατέλυπε, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐς τὴν Καρχηδόνα ἀπέστειλεν. ὁ γρόντες οἱ λοιποὶ ἡγανάκτησαν καὶ νεωτερίσειν ἐμελλον. ὄν Ἀμῖλκας, διαδεξάμενος τὸν Καρθήλαν, πολλοὺς μὲν νυκτὸς κατέκοψε, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ κατεπόντωσεν. ἐν τοσούτῳ δὲ ὦ Ρωμαιοὶ φιλίαν ἁδίου πρὸς Ἰέρωνα διεπράξαντο, καὶ προσαφήκαν ὅσα παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ ἐπετείως ἑλάμβανον.

Τῷ δὲ ἔξῆς ἔτει τοῦ θαλαττίου πολέμου δημοσίᾳ μὲν ὦ Ρωμαιοὶ ἀπέχοντο διὰ τὰς ἀνυχίας καὶ διὰ τὰ ἀναλώματα, ἱδία δὲ τινες νῆς αἰστήσαντες, ὡστε ἐκείνας μὲν ἀποκαταστήσας, τὴν λείαν δὲ οἰκεῖώσασθαι, ἄλλα τε τοὺς πολέμιους ἐκάκωσαν, καὶ ἔς Ἰππὼνα Διβυκὴν πόλιν ἔσπλευσαντες τὰ τε πλοῖα πάντα καὶ πολλὰ τῶν οἰκοδομημάτων κατέπτρησαν. τῶν δὲ ἐπιγιορίων τὸ στόμα τοῦ λιμένος διαλαβόντων ἀλύσειν, ἐν περιστάσει ἐγένοντο, σοφία δὲ καὶ τύχη περιγένοντο. στουδὴ γὰρ ταῖς ἀλύσεις προσπέσοντες, ἐπεὶ προσάψασθαι αὐτῶν ἐμελλον οἱ ἐμβολοὶ τῶν νηῶν, μετέστησαν ἐς τὰς πρύμνας οἱ τοῦ πληρώματος, καὶ οὕτως αἱ πρόφαται κοψισθεῖσαν ὑπερήφαναν τὰς ἀλύσεις, αὕθις δὲ ἐς τὰς πρώρας αὐτῶν μεταπηδήσαντο αἱ πρύμναι τῶν σκαφῶν ἐμεθωρίσθησαν. καὶ διεξάρθησιν, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο περὶ τὸ Πάνορμον ναοὶ Καρχηδονίους ἐκίσκησαν.

Οἱ δὲ ὑπατοὶ, Μέτελλος μὲν Καυκίλιος περὶ τὸ Διλύθαιον ἦν, Νομιέριος δὲ Φάβιος τῷ Δρεπάνῳ προσήδρευεν καὶ ἐπεβούλευε τῇ νησίδα τῇ Πελιάδι καλομένη, προκατειλημμένη παρὰ Καρχηδονίων, στρατιωταῖς πέμψας νυκτὸς, οἱ τοὺς φρου-
on account of their pay, whereupon he put a large number ashore on desert islands and left them there, and sent many more off to Carthage. When the rest learned of this, they became indignant, and were ready to mutiny. Hamilcar, Carthalo's successor, cut down many of them one night and had many others thrown into the sea. In the meantime the Romans had concluded a perpetual friendship with Hiero, and they furthermore remitted all the tribute which they were accustomed to receive from him annually.

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

As for the consuls, Metellus Caecilius was in the vicinity of Lilybaeum, and Numerius Fabius was investing Drepanum, where he formed a plan to capture the little isle of Pelias. As this had been seized earlier by the Carthaginians, he sent soldiers
Καὶ γὰρ ἤγειτο δεῖν τὸν τι δι’ ἀπορρήτων πρᾶξαι βουλόμενον μηδὲν αὐτὸ τὸ παράπαν ἐμφαίνειν οὐδένα γὰρ οὔτως ἠχυρόφρονα εἶναι ὡς ἀκούσαντά τι καρτερῆσαι καὶ σιωπῆσαι αὐτὸ ἐθελῆσαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάν ἑυναντίον, ὅσφι ἂν ἀπορρηθῇ τινὶ μὴ εἰπεῖν τι, τὸσφ μᾶλλον αὐτὸν ἐπιθυμεῖν αὐτὸ ἔκλαλῆσαι, καὶ οὔτως ἔτερον παρ’ ἑτέρου τὸ ἀπόρρητον ὡς καὶ μόνον μανθάνοντα φημίζειν.—Max. Conf. Flor. f. 116v (M. p. 540).

Zonaras 8, 16.

ροὺς κτείναντες τὴν νῆσον ἐλλον. ὃ μαθὼν Ἄμιλκας ἐνθεῖν τοῖς διαβεβηκόσιν ἐπέθετο· οἷς οὐκ ἔχων ἀμίναι ὁ Φάβιος τῷ Δρεπάνῳ προσέμεξεν, ὡς ὥς τὴν πόλιν δι’ ἐρημίαν αἰρῆσαι ἡ τῆς νῆσος τὸν Ἀμίλκαν ἀπάξαν. καὶ ἦνύσθη τὸ ἐν- φοβηθεῖς γὰρ ὁ Ἄμιλκας ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς τὸ τεῖχος. καὶ ὁ Φάβιος τὴν Πελιάδα κατέσχε, καὶ τὸ μεταξὺ ταύτης καὶ τῆς ἡπείρου στενὸν καὶ τεναγῶδες τυχανὸν συγχώσας ἦπεξεῖσθε, καὶ ῥὰν προσπεπλέμει τοῦ τεῖχους ἐκεί δυτοὺς ἀσθε- νεστέρου. καὶ οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι συνά παρελύποι ἄυτοὺς εἰς Σικελίαν τε περιπλέοντες καὶ εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν περαιούμενοι. τοὺς δ’ αἰχμαλώτους ἀλλήλοις ἄνδρα ἀντ’ ἄνδρός ἦλλαξαν τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς, ἐπεὶ μὴ ἦσαν ἰσοπληθεῖς, ἀργυρίου οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι ἐκομίσαντο.

"Εκτοτε δὲ διάφοροι μὲν ὑπάτευσαν, οὐδὲν δὲ ἱστορίας ἐπράξαν ἄξιον· μέγιστον γὰρ οἱ Ἄρω-

1 πάν Bs., πάνь Mss.
BOOK XII

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

Zonaras 8, 16.

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

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

¹ Section 25 may refer to Hamilcar Barca's plans for seizing Mount Eryx.
ΔΙΟ’S ROMAN HISTORY

Ζοναράς 8, 16–17.

μαίοι ἐσφάλλοντο ὅτι κατ’ ἐνιαυτὸν ἄλλους, εἶθεν ἐτέρους ἄρχοντας ἔσπερον, ἀρτι τῆς στρατηγίας μαυσαύοντας τῆς ἄρχης ἔσπερον, ὥστε ἐς ἄσκησιν σφᾶς, ἀλλ’ οὐκ εἰς χρῆσιν αἱροῦμενοι.

Οἱ Γαλάται δὲ τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις συμμαχοῦντες, καὶ μισοῦντες αὐτοὺς ὅτι κακῶς μετεχειρίζοντο σφᾶς, φρονοῦσιν τινὸς φυλακῆν ἐμπιστευθέντες, τοῖς Ἡρωμαίοις αὐτὸ προῆκαντό ἐπὶ χρήμασι. μεταστάντας δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν Καρχηδονίων Γαλάτας καὶ ἄλλους τῶν σφῶν συμμάχων τινὰς οἱ Ἡρωμαίοι ἐπὶ μισθοφορᾶς προσελάβοντο, μήτω πρότερον τρέφοντες ἐξεικόν. τούτοις οὐν ἐπαιρόμενοι, καὶ ὅτι οἱ τὰς ναῦς ἔχοντες ἰδιῶται τῆς Λιβύης ἐπόρθησαν, οὐκέτι ἀμελείν τῆς θαλάσσης ἠθέλον, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὶς ναυτικοὶ συνεστήσαντο.

17. Καὶ Δουτάτιος Κατύλος ὑπατὸς ἱρέθη, καὶ τούτῳ συνεξεπέμφθη Κύντος Οὐαλλέριος Φλάκ-κός ἀστυνομῶν. οἱ ἐς Σικελίαν ἔθοιντες καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν τῷ Δρεπάνῳ προσέβαλον, καὶ τι τού τείχους κατήρεγαν καὶ ἐλον ἀν αὐτὸ, εἰ μὴ τοῦ ὑπάτου τρωθέντος, περὶ ἑκείνου οἱ στρατῶντας ἀπησχολήθησαν. καὶ τούτῳ μαθόντες τοὺς πολέμους οἶκοθεν ἦκεις ναυτικῷ πλῆθει, Ἀννωνος ναυαρχοῦντος, πρὸς ἑκείνους ἐτράποντο. καὶ ἀντιπαραταξαμένων αὐτῶν ἀστρον τις εἰς ἑπτάδες ὑπερθεν τῶν Ἡρωμαίων φανεῖ ἐξ ἀριστερᾶς εἰς τοὺς Καρχηδονίους ἀρθέν ἐγκατέσκηψεν. ἐγένετο δ’ ἡ ναυμαχία καὶ
BOOK XII

Zonaras 8, 16-17.

The Romans owed the majority of their reverses to the fact that they kept sending out from year to year different and ever different leaders, and took away their office from them when they were just learning the art of generalship. It looked as if they were choosing them for practice and not for service.

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

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

Zonaras 8, 17.

ἐπ’ ἀμφότεροι καρτερὰ δι’ ἄλλα τε καὶ ἵνα μὲν Καρ-
χηδώνιοι ἐς τελείαν ἀπόγρωσιν τοὺς Ῥωμαίους
τοῦ ναυτικοῦ καταστήσωσιν, οἱ δ’ ἵνα καὶ τὰς
προτέρας ἀνακαλέσωσιν συμφοράς. ὃμως δ’ οὖν
οἱ Ῥωμαίοι τὴν νίκην ἤραντο· τὰ γὰρ τῶν Καρ-
χηδώνιων σκάφη, φορτία φέροντα πρὸς τοὺς
ἀλλοις καὶ σίτου καὶ χρήματα, ἐξαιρηθοῦντο.

‘Ο δ’ Ἀνων διαφυγόν τεῦθεν εἰς τὴν Καρχηδόνα
ἡπείρησιν. οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι δὲ τιμῶν λαβόντες καὶ
φόβῳ τοῖς μὲν ἀνεσταύρωσαν, πρέσβεις δὲ πρὸς
εἰρήνην τῷ Κατύλῳ πεπόμφασι. καὶ τῷ πρὸς
βουλῆς ἢ τοῦ πόλεων καταλύσασθαι, ὅτι ἐπ’
ἐξόδῳ ὀνόμα αὐτῶ τῆς ἀρχῆς οὔτε δὶ’ ὅλην
ἐξαιρήσειν τὴν Καρχηδόνα ἦλπιζεν οὔτε τοῖς
diadychos τὴν δόξαν τῶν ἐαυτοὶ πόλων κατα-
λιπεῖν ήθελε. διὸ ἀνακωχὴν ἐποίησαντο, καὶ
χρήματα καὶ σίτου καὶ ὀμήρους αὐτῶ δόντες, ἵν’
ἔς τὴν Ῥώμην πρεσβεύσωνται ἐπὶ τῷ Σικελίας
τε αὐτοὺς πάσης ἐκστήνῃ Ῥωμαίους καὶ πάσας
tῶν πέριξ νῆσους ἐκλιπεῖν καὶ μῆτε τῷ Ἰέρων
πολεμεῖν καὶ χρήματα τὰ μὲν ἀμα τῷ σπείρασθαι
dοῦναι, τα δὲ καὶ ὕστερον, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐκεῖνων
αὐτομοίλους καὶ αἰχμαλώτους προῖκα ἐκπέμψαι,
tov πρὸς ἐαυτῶν πρίασθαι.

Τοιαύτη μὲν οὖν ἡ σύμβασις ὁμολόγητο· μόνην
γὰρ τὴν τοῦ ἴσην αἰτίαν ὁ Ἀμᾶκας παρη-
tήσατο. καὶ ο μὲν ταῦτα συνθέμενος καὶ τοὺς
στρατιώτας ἐκ τῶν τεῖχῶν ἐξαγαγὼν ἀπέπλευσεν
οἰκάδε πρὸς τοὺς ὅρκους ἐπενεχθῆναι, οἱ δ’ ἐν τῇ
Ῥώμῃ τὴν τε νίκην διὰ βραχεὸς ἔμαθον καὶ
ἐπιστρῆσαν ὡς παντάπασι κακοπολιτεῖσθαι. καὶ
τῶν πρέσβεων ἐλθόντων ὑπὲρτε κατέχειν ἐαυτοὺς
14
BOOK XII

Zonaras 8, 17.

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

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

Such were the terms agreed upon; for Hamilcar succeeded merely in having the disgrace of passing under the yoke omitted. After settling these conditions he led his soldiers out of the fortifications and sailed for home before the oaths were administered. The people of Rome soon learned of the victory and were greatly elated, feeling that they had triumphed completely. And when the envoys arrived,
DIO’S ROMAN HISTORY

Zonaras 8, 17.

ηδύναντο, καὶ τὴν Διεβίνην ἀξείω ἀπασαν ἡλπίζον. διὸ οὐδὲ ταῖς τοῦ ὑπάτου ὀμολογίας ἐνέμειναν, ἀλλὰ καὶ χρήματα αὐτοὺς πολλῷ πλεῖον τῶν ὑπεσχημένων ἐπράξαντο· καὶ ἀπηγορεύσαν σφίσι μῆτε τὴν Ἰταλίαν μῆτε τὴν ἔξω συμμαχίᾳ σφῶν μακραίς ναυσὶ παραπλεῖν ἢ μισθοφόροις τισίν ἢπ’ αὐτῶν κεχρῆσθαι.

Ὁ μὲν οὖν πρῶτος τοῖς Καρχηδονίων πόλεμος τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις εἰς τοῦτο κατέληξε τετάρτῳ ἔτει καὶ εἰκοστῷ, καὶ ἐπὶ αὐτῷ ἤγαγεν ὁ Κατύλος τὰ ἐπινίκια. Κύνευς δὲ Λουτάτιος ὑπατεύσας ἀπῆλθεν ἐς Σικέλιαν καὶ μετὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ Κατύλου πάντα τὰ ἐκεῖ καταστήσατο· καὶ τὰ ὅπλα τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ ἀφείλοντο. Σικέλια μὲν οὖν οὕτως ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων δεδούλωτο πλὴν τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦ Ἰέρωνος, ἐκ δὲ τούτου πρὸς τοὺς Καρχηδονίους φιλία ἦν αὐτοῖς.

Ἀμφότεροι δὲ αὐθεσείς εἰς πολέμους ἐτέρους χωρὶς μετ’ ὀλόγων κατέστησαν. τοῖς γὰρ Καρχηδονίως οἱ τε περίλοιποι τῶν μισθοφορησάντων σφίσι καὶ τὸ δουλεύον τὸ ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ τῶν ὄμορφώτων πολλοὶ πρὸς τὰς συμφορὰς αὐτῶν συνεπέθεντο. οὗ γε μὴν Ῥωμαίοι ἐπικαλέσαμένως αὐτοὺς τῶν πολεμοῦντων ἑκένως, οὐθ’ ἔπηκουσαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀντισρεβεσθεὶσαν καὶ μὴ δυνηθέντες καταλάβαι αὐτοὺς, καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους τῶν Καρχηδονίων ὄσους ἔχον ἀφήκαν προῖκα, καὶ σῖτον ἐπεμψαν καὶ μισθοφόρους ἐκ τῆς οἰκείας συμμαχίας αὐτοῖς ἐπαγαγέσθαι ἐπέτρεψαν, δόξαν ἐπιεικείας θηρώμενοι μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ συμφέροντος αὐτοῖς προμηθούμενοι. οἶδεν πράγματα ἐσχον εἰσέπειτα· ὁ γὰρ Ἀμίλκας ἐκεῖνος ὁ Βαρκίδης, 16
BOOK XII

Zonaras 8, 17.

they could no longer restrain themselves, and hoped to possess all of Africa. Therefore they would not abide by the terms of the consul; instead, they exacted from their foes a much larger sum of money than had been promised, and also forbade them to sail past Italy or their allied territory abroad in ships of war, or to employ any mercenaries from such districts.

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

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

Zonaras 8, 17–18.

ἐπελ οὐς ἑναντίους ἐνίκησεν, ἐπὶ μὲν τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, καίστερ κάρτα μισόν αὐτοῖς, οὐκ ἔτολμησε στρατεύσαι, ἐς δὲ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν παρὰ γνώμην τῶν οἰκι τελῶν ἀπήρεν.

18. Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἐγένετο ύστερον, τότε δὲ καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαίοι Φαλάσκοι ἐπολέμησαν καὶ Μάλλιος Τουρκουάτος τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν ἐδήσσε. καὶ συμμίζεσ αὐτοῖς ἐσφάλη μὲν τῷ ὀπλιτικῷ, τοῖς δ’ ἱππεύσιν ἐκράτησε. καὶ ἀδύσι αὐτοῖς μαχησάμενος ἑνίκησε, καὶ τά τε ὁπλα αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν ἱππον καὶ τὰ ἔπιπλα καὶ τὸ δουλεύον καὶ τὸ ἱματυ τῆς χώρας ἀφεῖλετο. ύστερον δὲ ἡ μὲν ἀρχαία πόλις εἰς ὅρος ἐρυμυνὸν ἱδρυμένη κατεσκάφη, ἐτέρα δ’ ὕποδομηθῇ εὐέφος. μετὰ δὲ τούτω ἐπολέμησαν αὖθις πολέμους πρὸς τε Βοιωνίου καὶ πρὸς Γαλάτας ἐκείνους πλησιοχώρους καὶ πρὸς Δυσόντων τινάς. τοὺς μὲν οὖν Δύνας Σεμπρώνιος Γράκχος μάχῃ νικήσας ἔκακον, καὶ τοῖς Γαλάταις Πούπιλος Οὐανάριος συμβαλὼν τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἡττήθη, εἶτα πυθόμενος εἰς ἐπικοινωνίαν αὐτοῖς τινας ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης ἢκειν, ὁμοσε αὖθις τοῖς Γαλάταις ἐχώρησεν, ὅπερ ἡ καθ’ ἐαυτὸν νικήσῃ ἢ ἀποθάνῃ. τούτῳ γὰρ μάλλον ἡ ζωὴ αἰσχύνην ὀφλευ τροείλετο καὶ πως κατὰ τύχην ἐκράτησε.

Τότε μὲν οὖν ταῦθ’ οὔτως τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις συνήντησαν, καὶ Σαρδῶ παρὰ τῶν Καρχηδονῶν ἄμαχοι χρήματά τε αὖθις ἔλαβον, ἐγκαλέσαντες αὐτοῖς

Τζέτζες in Lycophr. Alex. 1312.

Οἱ δὲ Δύνας τὴν παραλίαν ἀπὸ Τυρσηνίδος μέχρι τῶν Ἀλπέων καὶ ἄχρι Γαλατῶν νέμονται, ὡς φησὶ Δίων.
BOOK XII

Zonaras 8, 17–18.

make a campaign against the Romans, much as he hated them, nevertheless departed for Spain, contrary to the wishes of the magistrates at home.

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

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

Tzetzes in Lycophr. Alex. 1312.

The Ligurians dwell along the coast from Etruria up to the Alps and to the Gauls, according to Dio.

19
βλάπτειν σφῶν τοὺς πλέοντας· οὕπω γὰρ κρατυθέντες οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι τὰς ἀπειλὰς αὐτῶν ἐδεδίσαν τῷ δὲ ἐξῆς ἔτει Λύκυκος Δέντουλος καὶ Κύντος Φλάκκος ἐπὶ τοὺς Γαλάτας στρατεύσαντες, ἐφος μὲν ὁμοῦ διῆγον, ἦσαν ἀνανταγωνιστοι, ἐπεὶ δὲ διὰ τὴν πορθεῖν τινα ἤρθαντο, ὡς οὕτω πλεῖω λείαι περιβαλοῦμενοι, ἐς κύνδυνον τὸ τοῦ Φλάκκου κατέστη στρατόπεδον νυκτὸς κυκλωθέν. ἀλλὰ τότε μὲν οἱ βάρβαροι ἀνεκόπησαν, προσλαβόμενοι δὲ συμμάχους χειρὰ πολλὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους αὕθης ἔχορθησαν. ἀπαντήσαντων δὲ σφίσι Πουπλίου τε Δέντουλος καὶ Δικυνίου Οὐάρου ἠλπισαν αὐτοὺς διὰ τὸ πλήθος τὸ σφέτερον καὶ ἄνευ μάχης καταπλῆξεν καὶ πέμψαντες τὴν τε χώραν τὴν περὶ τὸ Ἀρίμουν ἀπήτου καὶ τῆς πόλεως ός αὐτῶν οὔσης ἐξοικειότητα ἐκέλευον. οἱ δὲ ὑπατοὶ μῆτε συμβαλεῖν θαρροῦντες δι’ ὁλυγότητα μῆτε τι προέσχαι τολμῶντες ἀνοχας ἐπραξαν, ὡς ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην προσβεύσωσαν. οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν βουλὴν ἐλθόντες τὰ αὐτὰ εἶπον, ὡς δ’ οὖν ὡς οἱ πρέσβεις ὧν ἦτον ἔτυχον, εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀνεχώρησαν. καὶ εὗρον ἐφθαρμένα σφήνα τὰ πράγματα· τινὲς γὰρ τῶν συμμάχων αὐτῶν μεταγράνωντες καὶ διὰ φόβον τοὺς Ῥωμαίους πεποιημένοι ἔτραποντο ἐπὶ τοὺς Βουυών, καὶ συνειλοῦ ἀπώλοντο ἀμφοτέρωθεν, κανένθεν ἀπῆλθον οἰκάδε οἱ λοιποί, καὶ οἱ Βουυίς σπουδὰς ἐπὶ μέρει πολλῷ τῆς χώρας σφῶν ἐποιήσαντο.

"Ἥδη δὲ τῶν Γαλατικῶν λυθέντων πολέμων ὁ Δέντουλος ἐστράτευσεν ἐπὶ Δήνυας, καὶ τοὺς προσπίπτοντας ἡμὺνο τοι从容 μᾶτα παρεστήσατο. Οὖσας δὲ ἐπὶ Κύρνου ὄρμησας, καὶ μὴ
BOOK XII

Zonaras 8, 18.

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

When the Gallic wars had now been ended, Lentulus conducted a campaign against the Ligurians; he repulsed those who attacked him and gained possession of several fortresses. Varus set out for Corsica, but inasmuch as he lacked the necessary ships to
45 "Οτι οι 'Ρωμαιοι των Κλαύδιον, ἐπειδή πρὸς τοὺς Κυρνίους ἱσαιαὶ ἐποιήσατο, πόλεμον ἄραμενοι καὶ αὐτοὺς χειρωσάμενοι, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον, ὡς καὶ ἐκεῖνον τὸ παρασπονδηθέν ἀλλ' οὗ ἕαντ' ὅτ' αἰτίαμα ὅν, ἐπεμψαν ἐκδιδόντες αὐτοῖς, μὴ προσδεξαμένων δὲ σφών αὐτῶν ἐξήλασαν.—V. 29 (p. 593).

46 "Οτι οι 'Ρωμαιοι τους Καρχηδονίους χρήματα ἐπιπραξάμενοι τᾶς σπονδᾶς ἀνενεώσαντο, καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον πρεσβεία αὐτῶν ἐλθούσῃ, ὅτι τῇ σφετέρᾳ παρασκευής ἦσθοντο καὶ ὅτι αὐτοὶ τῷ πρὸς τοὺς ὀμόρους πολέμῳ ἔτι καὶ τότε κατείχοντο, μέτριον οὐδὲν ἀπεκρίναντο, μετὰ δὲ τούτο 4

Zonaras 8, 18.

δυνηθεὶς ἀπορία πλοίων περαιωθῆναι, Κλαύδιον τινα Κλινέαν σὺν δυνάμει προέπτησε. κάκείνοις τοὺς Κυρνίους καταπλήξας ἐς λόγους ἦλθε, καὶ ὁς αὐτοκράτωρ τυνχάνων ἔσπεισατο. Όυαρος δὲ τῶν συνθηκῶν μὴ φροντίσας ἐπολέμησε τοὺς Κυρνίους, ἐώς αὐτοὺς ἔχειρώσατο. οἱ δὲ 'Ρωμαῖοι, τὸ παρασπόνδημα ἀποπροσποιούμενοι, ἔπεμψαν αὐτοῖς ἐκδιδόντες τὸν Κλαύδιον· ὅς δ' οὐκ ἐδεχθη, εξῆλασαν αὐτῶν. ἐπὶ δὲ Καρχηδονίους μέλλοντες στρατεύσειν, ὡς τοῖς σφών ἐμπόροις λυμαίνομενοι, τούτῳ μὲν οὐκ ἐποίησαν, χρήματα δ' ἐπιπραξάμενοι ἰνενεώσαντο τᾶς σπονδᾶς. ἐμελλὼν

1 Κυρνίουs Melber, λίγουs Ms. 2 ἐποιήσατο—ἀράμενοι—χειρωσάμενοι Val., ἐποιήσατο—ἀράμενον—χειρωσάμενον Ms. 3 τὸ added by Val. 4 τοῦτο Leuncl., τούτων Mss.

22
BOOK XII

After Claudius had made terms with the Corsicans, and the Romans had then waged war upon them and subdued them, they first sent Claudius to them, offering to surrender him, on the ground that the fault in breaking the compact lay with him and not with themselves; and when the Corsicans refused to receive him, they drove him into exile.

The Romans, after exacting more money from the Carthaginians, renewed the truce. At first, however, upon the arrival of the embassy which the latter had sent because they realized their foes' state of preparedness and also because they themselves were still occupied at that time with the war against the neighbouring tribes, they had given them no mild answer. Afterwards Hanno, a man carry him over, he sent a certain Claudius Clineas ahead with a force. The latter terrified the Corsicans, held a conference with them, and made peace as though he had full authority to do so. Varus, however, ignored this agreement and fought the Corsicans until he had subjugated them. The Romans, to divert from themselves the blame for breaking the compact, sent Claudius to them, offering to surrender him; and when he was not received, they drove him into exile. They were on the point of making an expedition against the Carthaginians, alleging that these were committing outrages upon their merchants; but instead of doing so, they exacted more money and renewed the truce. Yet
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

'Ανυννόσ τινὸς νέου τῇ ἡλικίᾳ καλ· δεινοῦ τῇ παρρησίᾳ πεμφθέντος, καὶ ἀλλὰ τὰ πολλὰ ἀ- παρακαλύπτως καὶ τέλος ὅτι "εἰ μὴ βούλεσθε εἰρήνειν, ἀπόδοτε ἡμῖν καὶ Σαρδῶ καὶ Σικελίαν· οὐ γὰρ πρόσκαιρὸν τινα ἀνοχὴν ἄλλ' ἄλλων φιλίαν ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἐπιμάμηθα" εἰπόντος, ἦπιωτερότεροι τοι ἀ- σχυνθέντες ἐγένοντο . . U° 6 (p. 378) (οἱ 'Ρω- μαῖοι—ἀνενεώσαντο Σωίδ. s. v. ἐπιπραξάμενοι).

2 . . . οἱ δὲ μὴ τὰ αὐτὰ ἀντιπάθως, ὡστε καὶ πάνω ἀσμένως οἱ μὲν τὴν ἐκ τοῦ πρὸσθεν εὔτυχίαν διασώσασθαι, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ γοῦν τῶν ὑπαρχόντων 3 σφίσι μεῖναι αἰροῦμενοι διεμέλλονταν, καὶ ταῖς ἀπειλαῖς μηκέτι τὴν εἰρήνην ἄγοντες, τοῖς ἔργοις ἐτὶ διασκοποῦντες 4 περὶ αὐτῆς 5 ἀνέσχον, ὡσθ' ἀπασὶ δὴλον γενέσθαι ὅτι ὁποτέροις ἄν αὐτῶν προτέρους παρακινήσατι τι συνενέγκη, καὶ τοῦ πολέμου προκατάρξουσιν. ἐς γὰρ τοσοῦτον οἱ πολλοὶ ταῖς ὀμολογίαις ἐμμένουσιν ἡς ὁσον αὐ- τοῖς καὶ καθήκην πρὸς δὲ δὴ τὸ μᾶλλον σφισὶ συμφέρον ἄσφαλες καὶ τὸ 6 παρασπουδῆσαι τι νομίζουσιν εἶναι.—M. 125 (p. 184).

Zonaras 8, 18.

dὲ μηδ' ὡς ἐς μακρὰν αἰ συνθῆκαι μένειν. τὰ μὲν ὅπῃ τῶν Ἀρχηγοῦν ἀνεβέβλητο, ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς Σαρδονίους μὴ πειθομένους αὐτοῖς ἐστράτευσαν· καὶ ἐνίκησαν. μετὰ ταύτα δὲ ἔπεισαν τοὺς Σαρ-

1 τῇ added by Leuncl. 
2 See note on Fr. 43, 21.
3 ὑπαρχόντων Mai, ὑπάρχων Ms.
4 ἐτὶ διασκοποῦntes Bk., ἐπιδιασκοποῦntes Ms.
5 αὐτῆς Bk., τῆς αὐτῆς Ms. 
6 τὸ Bk., τὸ μὴ Ms.

24
BOOK XII

of youthful years who used striking frankness of speech, was sent. He spoke his mind unreservedly on a number of matters, and finally exclaimed: "If you do not wish to be at peace, restore to us both Sardinia and Sicily; for with these we purchased not a temporary truce, but eternal friendship." Thus shamed, they not only became milder . . .

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

Zonaras 8, 18.

the treaty was not destined even thus to be of long standing. The case of the Carthaginians was accordingly postponed; but the Romans made an expedition against the Sardinians, who would not yield obedience, and conquered them. Later the

R.G. 285
ΔΟΝΙΟΥΣ ΟΙ ΚΑΡΧΗΔΟΝΙΟΙ ΚΡΥΦΑ ΤΟΙΣ ΡΩΜΑΙΟΙΣ ΕΠΑΝΑΣΤΗΝΑΙ. ΚΑΙ ΤΟΤΟΙΣ ΟΙ ΚΥΡΝΙΟΙ ΠΡΟΣΑΠΕ- ΣΤΗΝΑΙ, ΚΑΙ ΟΙ ΔΙΥΓΕΣ ΟΥΧ ΉΣΟΧΑΣΑΝ.

ΤΩ Δ' ΕΠΙΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΩ ΕΤΕΙ ΤΡΙΧΗ ΤΑΣ ΔΥΝΑΜΕΙΣ ΔΙΕΙΛΟΜΕΝΟΙ ΟΙ ΡΩΜΑΙΟΙ, ΊΝ' ΑΜΑ ΠΟΛΕΜΟΥΜΕΝΟΙ ΠΑΝΤΕΣ ΜΗ ΣΥΜΒΟΝΘΟΙΕΝ ΆΛΛΗΛΟΙΣ, ΠΩΣΤΟΥΜΟΝ ΜΕΝ ΆΛΒΙΝΟΝ ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΔΙΥΓΣΤΙΚΗΝ, ΣΠΟΥΡΙΟΝ ΔΕ ΚΑΡΟΥΙΚΟΝ ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥΣ ΚΥΡΝΙΟΥΣ, ΕΣ ΔΕ ΤΗΝ ΣΑΡΔΩ ΤΟΝ ΑΣΤΥΝΟΜΟΝ ΠΟΥΠΛΙΟΝ ΚΟΡΥΗΛΟΝ ΕΠΕΜΨΑΝ. ΚΑΙ ΟΙ ΜΕΝ ΥΠΑΤΟΙ ΟΥΚ ΆΠΟΝΟΣ ΜΕΝ, ΟΥ ΒΡΑΔΕΩΣ ΔΕ ΤΑ ΠΡΟΣΤΑΧΗΝΤΑ ΣΦΙΣΙ ΚΑΤΕΡΑΧΑΝ ΤΟΥΣ ΔΕ ΣΑΡΔΟΝΙΟΥΣ ΜΙ ΤΙ ΜΕΤΡΙΟΝ ΦΡΟΝΟΥΝΤΑΣ ΆΣΧΥΡΑ ΜΑΧΗ Ο ΚΑΡΟΥΙΚΟΣ ΚΑΤΕΣΤΡΕΨΑΤΟ Ο ΓΑΡ ΚΟΡΥΗΛΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΣΤΡΑΤΙΩΤΩΝ ΠΟΛΛΟΙ ΥΠΟ ΒΟΣΟΝ ΕΦΘΑΡΣΑΝ. ΕΠΕΙ Δ' ΟΙ ΡΩΜΑΙΟΙ ΕΚ ΤΗΣ ΧΩΡΑΣ ΑΥΤΩΝ ΑΠΗΛΛΑΓΗΣΑΝ, ΑΠΕΣΤΗΣΑΝ ΑΥΘΙΣ ΟΙ ΣΑΡΔΩΝΙΟΙ ΚΑΙ ΟΙ ΔΙΥΓΕΣ. ΚΩΝΤΟΣ ΜΕΝ ΟΥΝ ΦΑΒΙΟΝ ΜΑΞΙΜΟΝ ΕΠΕΜΦΘΗ ΠΡΟΣ ΔΙΥΓES, ΕΣ ΔΕ ΤΗΝ ΣΑΡΔΩ ΠΟΜΠΩΝΟΜΟΝ ΜΑΝΙΟΣ. ΤΟΥΣ ΓΕ ΜΗΝ ΚΑΡΧΗ- ΔΟΝΙΟΥΣ ΩΣ ΑΙΤΙΟΥΣ ΑΥΤΟΙΣ ΤΩΝ ΠΟΛΕΜΟΥΝ ΟΥΤΑΣ ΠΟΛΕΜΙΟΥΣ ΕΚΡΙΝΑΙ, ΚΑΙ ΠΕΜΨΑΝΤΕΣ ΠΡΟΣ ΑΥΤΟΥΣ ΧΡΗΜΑΤΑ ΤΕ ΑΠΤΗΝΟΥΝ ΚΑΙ ΑΠΑΣΟΝ ΕΚΠΛΕΙΝ ΤΩΝ ΝΗΣΩΝ ΕΠΕΤΑΤΤΟΝ ΩΣ ΑΥΤΟΙΣ ΔΙΑΦΕΡΟΥΝ. ΕΚΦΑΙΔΕΝΟΤΕΣ ΔΕ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΣΦΕΤΕΡΑΝ ΔΙΑΝΟΙΑΝ ΔΟΡΥ ΑΥΤΟΥΣ ΕΠΕΣΤΕΙΛΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΚΗΡΥΚΕΙΟΝ, ΕΥ ΕΛΕΣΘΑΙ ΚΕΛΕΟΥΝΤΕΣ, ΟΠΟΙΟΝ ΑΝ ΕΘΕΛΗΣΩΣΙΝ. ΟΙ ΔΕ ΜΗΔΕΝ ΥΠΟΠΤΗΞΑΝΤΕΣ ΤΑ ΤΕ ΆΛΛΑ ΤΡΑΧΥΤΕΡΟΝ ΑΠΕΚΡΙΝΑΝΤΟ ΚΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΠΕΜΒΗΝΤΩΝ ΣΦΙΣΙΝ ΑΙΡΕΙΣΘΑΙ ΜΕΝ ΕΙΠΟΝ ΟΥΔΕΤΕΡΟΝ, ΔΕΧΕΣΘΑΙ Δ' ΕΤΟΙΜΟΣ ΟΠΟΤΕΡΟΝ ΚΑΤΑΛΕΙΨΟΥΣΙΝ. ΕΝ- ΤΕΥΘΕΝ ΕΜΙΣΟΝ ΜΕΝ ΆΛΛΗΛΟΙΣ, ΩΚΥΝΟΝ ΔΕ ΠΟΛΕΜΟΥ ΚΑΤΑΡΞΑΘΑΙ.

ΚΩΝΤΟΣ Δ ΑΥΘΙΣ ΤΩΝ ΣΑΡΔΟΝΙΩΝ ΕΠ' ΑΥΤΟΥΣ
BOOK XII

Zonaras 8, 18.

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

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

When the Sardinians once more rose against the
"Οτι πρέσβεις ποτε ἐπὶ κατασκοπήν ἔδειξατο πολύν προσηθότων, ἀπέστειλαν, καὶ αὐτοὺς ἔκεινος τὰ τὰ ἀλλα ἐδεξιῶσατο καὶ λόγοις ἐπι-
τηδείοις διήγαγεν, εἴπον ἀλλα τε καὶ ὅτι ἀναγ-
καίως τοῖς Ἰβηρσί πολεμεῖ, ἵνα τὰ χρήματα ἀ
toῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐτι πρὸς τῶν Ἀρχηγοῦν ἐπο-
φείλετο ἀποδοθῇ, διὰ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι ἀλλιθέν
ποθεν αὐτὰ ἀπαλλαγῆναι, ὡστε τοὺς πρέσβεις ἀ
πορήσαι δ᾽ τι οἱ ἐπιτιμήσωσιν.—M. 126 (p. 184).

Zonaras 8, 18.

οἱ ὑπατοὶ ἀμφό ἐστράτευσαν Μάρκος τε Μαλέ-
όλος καὶ Μάρκος Αἰμίλίος, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν
λάφυρα ἔλαβον, παρὰ δὲ τῶν Κυρνίων προσ-
σχόντες αὐτοῖς αὐτὰ ἀφηρέβησαν. διὸ μετὰ
ταῦτα ἐπὶ ἀμφοτέρους οἱ Ῥωμαίοι ἔστρατον.
καὶ Μάρκος μὲν Πομπώνιος Σαρδόνας ἔφερε, καὶ
μαθὼν τοὺς πλείους αὐτῶν ἐς σπῆλαίαν ὕλονη
καὶ δυσεξεύρετα καταδύντας, μὴ δυνάμενος τε
αὐτοὺς εὑρέων, κύνας ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας μετεπέμψατο
εὐρίνας, καὶ δὲ ἐκείνων τὴν στίβον καὶ τῶν
ἀνθρώπων καὶ τῶν βοσκημάτων εὑρὼν πολλὰ
ἀπετέμετο. Γάμος δὲ Παπείριος ἐκ μὲν τῶν πεδίων
τοὺς Κυρνίους ἀπῆλασε, βιαζόμενος δὲ πρὸς τὰ ὅρη
συχνοὺς ἐξ ἐνέδρας ἀπέβαλε, πλείους τε ἄν ύδατος
ἀπορία ἀπώλεσεν, εἰ μὴ ποὺ υδωρ ὡσποτε ἀνε-
φάνη καὶ ἔπεισε τοὺς Κυρνίους ὀμολογήσαι.

1 Be. recognized the lacunae after κατασκοπή and suggested,
to complete the sense, τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀμίλκου πραξικέτων,
ὑπατευόντων Μάρκου Πομπώνιου καὶ.
BOOK XII

On one occasion they sent envoys to investigate [the movements of Hamilcar, in the consulship of Marcus Pomponius and] Gaius Papirius, in spite of the fact that they had no interests in Spain as yet. Hamilcar showed them all due honour and offered them plausible explanations, declaring, among other things, that he was obliged to fight against the Spaniards in order that the money which was still owing to the Romans on the part of the Carthaginians might be paid; for it was impossible to obtain it from any other source. The envoys were consequently embarrassed to know how to censure him.

Zonaras 8, 18.
Romans, both the consuls, Marcus Malleolus and Marcus Aemilius, took the field. And they secured many spoils, which were taken away from them, however, by the Corsicans when they touched at their island. Hence the Romans now turned their attention to both these peoples. Marcus Pomponius proceeded to harry Sardinia, but could not find many of the inhabitants, who as he learned, had slipped into caves of the forest, difficult to locate; therefore he sent for keen-scented dogs from Italy, and with their aid discovered the trail of both men and cattle and cut off many such parties. Gaius Papirius drove the Corsicans from the plains, but in attempting to force his way to the mountains he lost numerous men through ambush and would have suffered the loss of still more owing to the scarcity of water, had not water at length been found; then the Corsicans were induced to come to terms.
19. Κατὰ τούτον τῶν χρόνων καὶ Ἀμήλκας ὁ τῶν Καρχηδονίων στρατηγὸς πρὸς Ἰβηρίων νικηθεὶς ἔθανεν. ἀντιπαραταξαμένου γὰρ σφίσειν ἀμάξος δάδων καὶ πίσοσθα μεστὰς πρὸ τοῦ στρατοῦ τῶν Καρχηδονίων προῆγαγον, καὶ πλησίασαντες ἀνήψαν αὐτάς, καὶ τὰ ἐλκοντα αὐτὰς ὑπούμια ἐπισπέρχοντες οὐστρησαν. κακὸ τούτου συνταραχθεῖκαν τῶν ἐναντίων διασπασθέντων τε καὶ τραπομένων, ἐτόμενοι κάκεινοι καὶ ἄλλους πλείστους ἐφόνευσαν. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἔπι πλείστον ἀνθήσας οὕτως ἐτελεύτησε, τελευτήσαντα δὲ αὐτὸν Ἀσδρούβας ὁ γαμβρὸς διδέξατο. καὶ τῆς Ἰβηρίας πολλὰ προσεκτήσατο, πόλων τε ἐν αὐτῇ Καρχηδόνα ὀμώνυμον τῇ πατρίδι ἔκτισε.

Τῶν δὲ γε Βοοίων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Γαλατῶν πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα, πλείστους δὲ καὶ αἰχμαλωτοὺς πολούντων, δείσαντες οἱ ‘Ῥωμαῖοι μῆποτε καὶ αὐτῶν τοῖς χρήσαι χρήσωνται, ἀπείπον μηδένα ἄνδρι Γαλάτη μῆτ’ αργύριον μήτε χρυσίον διδόναι. ἐντεύθεν οἱ Καρχηδονίοι μαθόντες τοὺς ὑπάτους Μάρκου Αἰμιλίου καὶ Μάρκου Ἰουνίου εἰς τὴν Διονυσικὴν ἀπάραντας, παρεσκευάζοντο εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἑλάσαν. γνώντων δὲ τούτο τῶν ὑπάτων, καὶ ἕπτοις ἀθρόοι ώρμηκότων, ἔξεπλάγησαν καὶ ἀπήγησαν αὐτοῖς ὡς φίλοι. κάκεινοι δὲ ὑπεκρίθησαν ὅτι οὐκ ἔπτ᾽ ἐκεῖνοὺς ἀπήγαν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τῆς χώρας αὐτῶν ἐς τοὺς Δίννας.

Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ τὸν τε Ἰούνιον ἐπεραιώθησαν καὶ τῆς ἥπειρου τῆς Ἐλληνικῆς ἡγαντος πρόφασις δ’
BOOK. XII

Zonaras 8, 19.

19. About this time also Hamilcar, the Carthaginian general, was defeated by the Spaniards and lost his life. For, as he was arrayed in battle against them, they led out in front of the Carthaginian army waggons full of pine wood and pitch and when they drew near they set fire to these vehicles, then hurried on the animals drawing them by goading them to madness. Forthwith their opponents were thrown into confusion, became disorganized, and turned to flight, and the Spaniards, pursuing, killed Hamilcar and a great many besides. Thus, after a remarkably successful career, Hamilcar met his end; and at his death his son-in-law Hasdrubal succeeded him. The latter acquired many new districts of Spain and founded there a city, called Carthage after his native place.

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

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

1 A mistake on the part of Zonaras. Some Gallic tribe is evidently meant.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

49 "Οτι Ἰσσα η νήσος ἐκουσια ἐαυτην Ρωμαίοις παρέδωκεν. ἐπειδή γὰρ τὸτε πρώτον πειρασθαί σφων ἐμέλλον, καὶ προσφιλεστέρους αὐτούς καὶ πιστοτέρους τῶν ᾦδη φοβερῶν ἐνόμιζον εἶναι, κρείττους εἰς τὸ ἄφανες τοῦ προδήλου τῷ λο-γισμῷ ἑγνώμενοι, ὅτι τὸ μὲν ἐκ τοῦ ᾦδη προσ- κεῖσθαι σφισίν ἀχθηδόνα, τὸ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ προσδο- κάσθαι ἐπίδια χρηστὴν ἐφερεν.—Μ. 127 (p. 184).

2 "Οτι οἱ Ρωμαίοι τοὺς Ἱσσαίους προσχωρή- σαντας αὐτοῖς, ἀνθυπουργεῖν τι εὐθὺς τούτοις προθύμως, ὡς τοῖς πρὸς ἑαυτούς ἐσπουδακόσι 3 βοηθεῖν δοκεῖν, καὶ τοὺς Ἀρδιάιους 4 ἀμύνεσθαι, διότι τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ Βρεντεσίου ἐκπλέουτας ἐκα- κοῦργουν, ἐθελήσαντες, ἐπεμψαν πρὸς Ἀγρώνα τοὺς μὲν παρατούμενοι, τὸν δὲ ὅτι μηδὲν προ- παθῶν ἀδικοίς σφισὶς αἰτιώμενοι. καὶ ἐκείνων μὲν ὀυκέτι περιόντα εὐρον, ἀλλὰ τι ἱππίον, Πίνυνθ

Zonaras 8, 19.

αὐτοῖς τοῦ πλοῦτος ἐγένετο ἢδε. Ἰσσα νήσος ἐστιν ἐν τῷ Ἰούνιο κόλπῳ κειμένη. οἱ γοῦν ταύτης κάτοικοι Ἰσσαίοι καλούμενοι ἐθελούντας τοὺς Ρω- μαίοις παραδεδώκασιν ἑαυτούς, τῷ σφῶν κρα- τοῦντι ἀχθόμενοι Ἀγρών τῷ τῶν Σαρδιαίων βασιλεύ, γένους Ἰλλυρικοῦ. πρὸς δὲ πρέσβεις οἱ ῥυπατοὶ ἐπεμψαν. ἐκείνων δὲ τεθνώτος ἐπὶ νίφ

1 τῷ λογισμῷ Gros, τῶν λογισμῶν Ms.
2 ὡς inserted by Leuncl.
3 ἐσπουδακότα Ορσ., ἐσπουδακός Mss.
4 'Ἀρδιάλους
Val., sardialous Mss. (and similarly below).

32
BOOK XII

The island of Issa surrendered itself voluntarily to the Romans. This was the first time the islanders were to make their acquaintance, but they regarded them as more friendly and trustworthy than those whom they had now come to dread. They reasoned that more reliance was to be placed on the unknown than on the known; for while the one, because of actual experience had with it, inspired resentment, the other, because of their anticipations, inspired good hope.

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

Zonaras 8, 19.

excuse for the voyage in the following circumstances. Issa is an island situated in the Ionian Gulf. Its inhabitants, known as Issaeans, had of their own free will surrendered themselves to the Romans because they were angry with their ruler Agron, who was king of the Ardiaeans and of Illyrian stock. To him the consuls sent envoys. But he had died, leaving
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

δόνομα, καταλυτῶν ἐτεθυνήκειν. Τεύτα δὲ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ, μητρυνὰ δὲ τοῦ Πίνου, ἐκράτει τῶν Ἄρ-
διαίων . . . 1 ὑπὸ θρασύτητος οὔσα οὐδὲν μέτριον
αὐτοῖς ἀπεκρίνατο, ἀλλὰ οὐ γυνὴ πρὸς τῇ ἐμφύτῳ
προπετείᾳ καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς δυνάμεως ἦς ἐχει χαυνου-
μένη, τοὺς μὲν ἔδησε τῶν πρέσβεων, τοὺς δὲ καὶ
4 ἀπέκτεινεν, ὅτι ἐπαρρησιάσαντο. καὶ τότε μὲν
tαὐτ' ἔπραξε, καὶ φρόνημα ἀπ' αὐτῶν, ὥσπερ
τινὰ ἵσχυν ἐν τῷ προχείρῳ τῆς ἁμότητος ἐπιδε-
δενμένη, ἔλαβε: διηλέγετο δὲ δὲ ἐλαχίστου τὴν
tοῦ γυναικείου γένους ἀσθένειαν ταχὺ μὲν ὑπὸ
βραχύτητος γνώμης ὀργιζομένην, ταχὺ δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ
5 δειλίας φοβουμένην. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ 2 τάχιστα τῶν
πόλεμον τοὺς Ῥωμαίοις ἐψηφίσθαι οἱ ἐπύθετο,
κατέπτηξε, καὶ τοὺς τε ἀνδρας οὐς ἔχεν αὐτῶν
ἀποδώσειν ὑπέσχετο καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς τετελευτηκόσιν

Zonaras 8, 19.

diadóchā παιδὶ ἐτὶ ἡ ἐκείνου γυνὴ, τοῦ δὲ παιδὸς
μητρυνᾶ, τὴν τῶν Σαρδιαίων διείπεν ἀρχὴν. ἦ
τοῖς πρέσβεσιν οὔδὲν μέτριον ἔχρημάτισε, παρρη-
σιασαμένος δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἔδησε, τοὺς δὲ ἀπέκτεινε.
tῶν δὲ Ῥωμαίων πόλεμον ψηφισαμένων αὐτῇ
κατέπτηξε, καὶ τοὺς τε σωζομένους τῶν πρέσβεων
ἀποδώσειν ὑπέσχετο καὶ τοὺς θανόντας ἔλεγεν

1 Lacuna recognized by Urs. 2 γὰρ added by Reim.

34
behind a child named Pinnes. Teuta, the wife of Agron and stepmother of Pinnes, was ruling the Ardiaeans, ... as a result of her boldness, she gave them no respectful reply, but, woman-like, in addition to her innate recklessness, she was puffed up with vanity because of the power that she possessed; and she accordingly cast some of the ambassadors into prison and killed others for expressing themselves freely. Such was her action at that time, and she actually took pride in it as if she had displayed some strength by her facile cruelty. In a very short time, however, she demonstrated the weakness of the female sex, which quickly flies into a passion through lack of judgment, and quickly becomes terrified through cowardice. For just as soon as she learned that the Romans had voted for war against her she became panic-stricken, and promised to restore their men whom she held, while she tried to defend herself in the matter of the death of the

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Zonaras 8, 19.

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

ἀπελογεῖτο λέγουσα ὑπὸ ληστῶν τινών αὐτοὺς πεφονεύσθαι. τῶν τε Ῥωμαίων τὰ τῆς στρατείας διὰ τοῦτο ἐπισχύντων τους δὲ αὐτόχειρας ἐξαιτη-
σάντων κατεφρόνησε τε αὐθίς, ὅτι μηδέπω τὰ
dεινὰ αὐτῇ παρῆν, καὶ οὔτε τινὰ ἐκδώσειν ἔφη
καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰσσαν στρατεύμα ἀπέστειλεν. ἐπει-
δὴ δὲ τοὺς ὑπάτους παρόντας ᾑσθετο, κατέ-
δεισαν αὐ καὶ τοῦ θυμοῦ ὑφήκε καὶ ἐς πάν ὅτιον ἐπακούσαν σφῶν ἑτοίμη ἑγένετο. οὐ μέντοι καὶ
παντάπασιν ἐσωφρονίσθη τῶν γὰρ ὑπάτων πρὸς
Κέρκυραν περαιωθέντων ἀνεθάρσησε, καὶ ἀπο-
στάσα ἐπὶ Ἐπίδαμμον καὶ Ἀπολλωνίαν 1 στρά-
τευμα ἀπέστειλε. τῶν δὲ Ῥωμαίων τὰς πόλεις
ῥυσαμένων καὶ πλοία αὐτῆς μετὰ χρημάτων

Zonaras 8, 19.

ὑπὸ ληστῶν πεφονεύσθαι. τῶν δὲ Ῥωμαίων τοὺς
αὐτόχειρας ἐξαιτησάντων οὔτε τινὰ ἐκδώσειν ἔφη
καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰσσαν ἐστείλε στρατεύμα. ἦτα αὐθίς
dείπσαν Δημήτριον τινα πρὸς τοὺς ὑπάτους ἐπεμψαν,
ὡς ἑτοίμη πρὸς πᾶν ὑπακούσαι αὐτῶν.
καὶ ὑπονεὶ πρὸς τοὺς πεμφθέντα ἐγένοντο, τὴν
Κέρκυραν αὐτοὺς παρασχόμεν. τῶν δὲ πρὸς
τὴν νήσου περαιωθέντων ἀνεθάρσησεν αὐθίς, οἷα
gυνὴ κοῦφην ἔχουσα γρώμη καὶ εὐμετάβολον,
καὶ πρὸς Ἐπίδαμμον καὶ Ἀπολλωνίαν ἐξέπεμψε
στρατιάν. τῶν δὲ Ῥωμαίων τὰς πόλεις τῆς Ῥυσα-
μένων καὶ πλοία αὐτῆς κατασχόντων μετὰ χρη-

1 καὶ Ἀπολλωνίαν added by Bk. from Zonaras.
BOOK XII

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

Zonaras 8, 19.

those dead had been slain by robbers. But when the Romans demanded the surrender of the murderers, she declared she would not give up anybody, and despatched an army against Issa. Then she again grew fearful and sent a certain Demetrius to the consuls, assuring them of her readiness to heed them in everything. And a truce was made with this emissary, upon his agreeing to give them Corcyra. Yet woman-like, such was her vain and fickle disposition that when the consuls had crossed over to the island, she became emboldened again, and sent out an army to Epidamnus and Apollonia. After the Romans had rescued these cities, seized　

b.c. 229　b.c. 229
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

λαμβανόντων, ἐμέλλησεν αὖθις πειθαρχῆσαι
7 σφισιν· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀναβάντες ὑπὲρ τῆς θα-
λάσσης κακῶς περὶ τῶν Ἀτύριον λόφου ἀπήλ-
λαξαν, ἐπέσχεν ἐπιπέδασα αὐτούς (ἤδη γὰρ καὶ
χειμῶν ἦν) ἀπαναστήσεσθαι. αἰσθομένη δὲ τῶν
Ἄλβηνον κατὰ χώραν μένειν, καὶ τῶν Δημήτριον
ἐκ τῇ ἐμπληξίᾳ ἐκείνης καὶ ἐκ τοῦ τῶν Ῥω-
μαίων φόβου μεθεστηκότα καὶ τινὰς ἄλλους
ἀυτομολήσαι πεπεικότα, παντελῶς κατέδεισε καὶ
τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀφῆκεν.—U* 6 (p. 378).

50 "Ὅτι χρησμός τις τῆς Σιβύλλης τοὺς Ῥωμαί-
ους ἑδειμάτου,1 φυλάξασθαί τοὺς Γαλάτας δεῖ
κελεύσων ὅταν κεραυνὸς ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον πλησίον
Ἄπολλωνίου κατασκήνης.—Μ. 128 (p. 185).

Zonaras 8, 19.

μάτων ἐκ Πελοπονήσου προσπλέοντα, καὶ τὰ
χωρία πορθησάντων τὰ πάραλα, καὶ τοῦ Δημή-
τριον διὰ τὴν ἐμπληξίαν ἐκείνης πρὸς Ῥωμαίων
μεθεστηκότος καὶ ἄλλους αὐτομολήσαι πεπει-
κότος, κατέδεισε καὶ ἀπέσχετο τῆς ἀρχῆς. καὶ
tὴν μὲν ὁ Δημήτριος ὅς τῷ παιδὶ ἐπιτυρπεύσων
eἰλήφει, οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαίοι διὰ ταῦτα παρὰ Κορινθίων
ἐπηνέθησαν, καὶ τοῦ Ἰσθμικοῦ μετέσχον ἄγωνος,
cαὶ στάδιον ἐν αὐτῷ ὁ Πλατός ἐνίκησε. καὶ
πρὸς Ἀθηναίους δὲ φιλίαν ἐπεπούλκησαν καὶ τῆς
πολιτείας σφῶν τῶν τε μυστηρίων μετέσχον.
Τὸ δ' Ἰλλυρικὸν ὄνομα πάλαι μὲν ἐν ἄλλοις
ἐπεκέκλητο, ὑστερον δὲ ἐς τὴν ἄνω μεταβεβηκεν
38 1 ἑδειμάτου St., ἑδειμάτο Ms.
BOOK XII

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

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

Zonaras 8, 19.

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

The name Illyricum was anciently applied to different regions, but later it was transferred to the
ΔIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

Zonaras 8, 19-20.

ηπειρον καὶ ὑπὲρ τὴν Μακεδονίαν τὴν τε Ῥάκην τὴν ἐντὸς τοῦ Αἴμου καὶ τὴν πρὸς τῇ 'Ροδότη, καὶ ἔστιν ἐν τῷ μέσῳ τούτων τῶν ὅρων καὶ τῶν Ἀλπεων τοῦ τε Αἶνου ποταμοῦ καὶ τοῦ 'Ιστρου μέχρι τοῦ Εὐβείου πόλου, καὶ πη καὶ ἐπέκεινα τοῦ 'Ιστρου νέμεται.

Δοξίου δὲ ποτε τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἔλθοντος καὶ Ἐλληνας καὶ Πάλατας τὸ ἄστυ καταλήφεσθαι, Γαλάται δύο καὶ Ἐλληνες ἔτεροι ἐκ τοῦ ἀρρενος καὶ τοῦ θῆλεως γένους ζώντες ἐν τῇ ἁγορᾷ κατωρύγησαν, ἵνα ὅτις ἐπιτελέσα τὸ πεπρωμένῳ γενέσθαι δοκῆ, καὶ τι κατέχειν τῆς πόλεως κατοργυμένοι νομίζονται.

Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο Σαρδόνης ἐν δεινῷ ποιούμενοι ὅτι στρατηγὸς Ῥωμαίων ἀεὶ καθεστήκει αὐτοῖς, ἐπανέστησαν αὐθνὶς δὲ ἐδουλώθησαν.

20. Ἰνσούβρος δὲ, Γαλατικὸν γένος, συμμάχοις ἐκ τῶν ὑπὲρ ταῖς Ἀλπεις ὀμοφύλων προσειλή-

φότες, ὅπλα τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐπηνεγκαν' διὸ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἡπτεπίζοντο. λησσαμένων δὲ τῶν βαρ-

βάρων τινά, τελευταίοι χειμῶνος μεγάλου νυκτὸς συμβάντος ὑπετόπησαν τὸ θείου ἐναντιοῦσθαι αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἤθυμησαν, καὶ καταπτήσαντες φυγῆ

Τzetzes in Lycophr. Alex. 603.

Ἐπὶ Φαβίου γὰρ Μαξίμου Βεροκόσσου ἦτοι ἄκροχορδονόδους Ῥωμαίοι τοῦτο ἐποίησαν, Ἐλ-

ληνικόν καὶ Γαλατικόν ἀνδρώγυνον κρύψαντες ἐν μέσῃ τῇ ἁγορᾷ, ἐκ χρησμοῦ τινὸς δειματωθέντες, λέγοντος Ἐλληνα καὶ Γαλάτην καταλήψεσθαι τοῦ ἁστυ.
BOOK XII


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

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

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

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

Tzetzes in Lycoiph. Alex. 603.

In the time of Fabius Maximus Verrucossus (i.e. "Warty") the Romans did this, after burying in the middle of the Forum a Greek and a Gallic couple, man and woman in each case; for they were alarmed by a certain oracle which declared that Greek and Gaul should occupy the city.
2 "Οτι οἱ Αίγυπτιοι ιδούντες τὰ ἐπιτηθείσατο τῶν χρώματος προκειμένου ἡθομήσαν· πάντες μὲν γὰρ ἀνθρώποι καὶ ἐπιτυχόντες ὃν ἦν ὄργυγησι πρῶτον ἐτοιμάζει τὸ ἔλαιον, καὶ διαμαρτύρτες ἐστὶ σπάντα ἀπαμβελόνοιται, τὸ δὲ δὴ Θεόπτων ἠδύνασεν τὴν κατὰ τοὺς ἄλλους ὀξύτατα μὲν ὃν ἂν ἐπιθυμήσωσιν ἀντίλαμβάνονται καὶ ἐρρωμενεύσαται τῶν προχωρώντων αὐτοῖς ἀντέχονται, ἀλλ' ἀρα τι καὶ βραχύτατον προσκρούσωσι, 1 οὐδὲν οὐδὲ ἐστὶν λαμπρὸν, δὲ πάντα ὑπὸ ἀνοίας πᾶν δὲ βουλόμεθα προσδοκῆσαι, πρόχειροι δὲ ἢ ἐν τῇ θυμοῦ πᾶν ὅ ἂν ἐγχειρίσωσιν ἐπέζητεῖν ὄντες. 3 καὶ ὅργη ἀκράτει καὶ ὑμηνία ἀπλήστη 2 χρῶνται, καὶ δι' αὐτὰ οὔτε τι διαρκεῖ ἐν αὐτῶν ἔχουσιν (ἀδύνατον γὰρ ἐστὶν ἐπὶ πολὺ τὸ προπετῶς θρασυσμόμενον ἀνταρκέσαι), καὶ ἀπαξ ἄλλοιοωθῶσιν, οὕτω ἀναλάβειν ἐαυτούς ἄλλος τι καὶ δεός τινὸς προσγειμόμενον δύνανται, καὶ ἂντιπαλον ἐκπληξία τῆς πρός θεός τὸλμης καθίσταται· δι' ὅλην γὰρ πρὸς τὰ ἐναντιώτατα ἄξυροπος, ἢτε μηδὲν ἐκ τοῦ λογισμοῦ ἐχέγγυον ἢ μηδέτερον αὐτῶν παρεχόμενοι, φέρονται. —Μ. 129 (p. 185).

Zonaras 8, 20.

τὴν σωτηρίαν πορίσασθαι ἐπεχείρησαν. καὶ ὁ Ῥηγόλος αὐτοὺς κατεδώξε, καὶ τοῖς ὑποσθεοφυλακοῦσι προσμίξας ἤττήθη τε καὶ ἄπέθανεν.

1 προσκρούσωσιν Bk., ἐπισυγκρούσωσιν Ms.
2 ἀκράτης—ἀπλήστη Bk., ἀκράτως—ἀπλήστως Ms.
BOOK XII

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

Zonaras 8, 20.

attempted to find safety in flight. Regulus pursued them and brought on an engagement with the rear-guard in which he was defeated and lost his life.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

4 "Ότι Αἰμίλιος τοὺς 'Ινσούμβρους νικήσας τὰ ἑπινίκια ἤγαγε, καὶ εὖ αὐτοῖς τοὺς πρῶτους τῶν ἀλόντων ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ὁπλισμένους ἀνεκόμισεν ἐπισκόπτων σφίσιν, ὅτι ὁμωμοκότας αὐτοῖς ἤσθετο μὴ πρῶτον τοὺς θόρακας ἀποδύσεσθαι πρὶν ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἀναβήναι.—Μ. 130 (p. 186).

51 "Ότι εἰ τί τῶν ἐν ταῖς πανηγύρεσι νομιζομένων καὶ τὸ βραχύτατον ἡμαρτήθη, πάντως που καὶ

Zonaras 8, 20.

Αἰμίλιος δὲ λόφων τινὰ κατασχῶν ἡσύχαζεν. ἀντικατασχῶντων δὲ καὶ τῶν Γαλατῶν ἔτερον, ἐπὶ τινὰς μὲν ἡμέρας ἡρέμουν, ἐπειτὰ οἱ μὲν ὀργῆ τοῦ γεγονότος, αὐχήματι δὲ τῆς νίκης οἱ βάρβαροι, καταδραμόντες ἀπὸ τῶν μετεώρων συνέβαλον. καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺ μὲν ἱσορρόπως ἐμάχοντο, τέλος δὲ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τῷ ἱππικῷ περισχόντες αὐτοὺς κατέκοψαν, καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτῶν ἐἴλον καὶ τὰ λάφυρα ἐκομίσαντο. καὶ μετὰ ταύτα τοῖς τῶν Βουνίων ὁ Αἰμίλιος ἐλυμήνατο, καὶ τὰ ἑπινίκια ἤγαγε, τοὺς τε πρῶτος τῶν ἀλόντων ὁπλισμένους ἐπὶ τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἀνεκόμισεν, ἐπισκόπτων αὐτοῖς ὁς ὁμωμοκός μὴ πρῶτον τοὺς θόρακας ἀποδύσασθαι πρὶν ἀνελθεῖν εἰς τὸ Καπιτώλιον. ἐκ δὲ τούτου τὴν τε τῶν Βουνίων ἅπασαν προσεκτήσαντο καὶ τὸν Ἡρωδάντων τότε πρῶτον ἐπὶ τούς Ἰνσούμβρους διέβησαν καὶ τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν ἐπόρθουν.

Τεράτων δὲ ἐν τούτῳ γενομένων ἐς μέγα δέος οἱ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ κατέστησαν ποταμός τε γὰρ ἐν τῷ Πικηνῷ αἰματώδης ἐρρύη καὶ τῇ Τυρσηνίδι καίε-
BOOK XII

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

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

Zonaras 8, 20.

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

Meanwhile portents had occurred which threw the people of Rome into great fear. A river in Picenum ran the colour of blood, in Etruria a good part of the

B.C. 223

45
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

dεύτερου καὶ τρίτου ἐπὶ πλείων τε ἐτὶ, μέχρι
περ καὶ ἀμέμπτως πάντα γεγονέναι σφόσιν ἐδοξεῖν,
μιᾷ γέ τινι ἡμέρᾳ ἀνεωρτάζετο.—Μ. 131 (p. 186).

Zonaras 8, 20.

σθαὶ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ πολὺ ἐδοξεῖ, καὶ ἐν τῷ Ἀριμῖνω
φῶς νύκτωρ ἡμέρα προσεοικὸς ἔλαμψε, καὶ πολ-
λαχόθι τῆς Ἰταλίας τρεῖς σελήναι νυκτὸς ἐφαντά-
σθησαν, κἀ τῇ ἀγορᾷ γυνὶ ἐφ' ἡμέρας πλείονας
ἐνιδρύθη. διὰ τα γούν τὰ τέρατα ταῦτα καὶ ὅτι
τινὲς παρανόμως ἐλευθοὺς τοὺς ὑπάτους αἱρεθήναι,
μετεπέμψαντο αὐτοὺς. δεξάμενοι δὲ τὰ γράμ-
ματα οἱ ὑπατοὶ οὐκ εὐθὺς αὐτὰ ἀνέγραψαν, ἀρτὶ
πρὸς πόλεμον καθιστάμενοι, ἄλλα προσυμβα-
λόντες ἐκράτησαν. μετὰ δὲ τὴν μάχην ἀναγνω-
σθείσης τῆς ἑπιστολῆς ο μὲν Φούριος ἐτοίμως
ἐπείθετο, ὁ δὲ γε Φλαμίνιος ἐπαιρόμενος τῇ νίκῃ
τὴν τε ἀνέρεσιν αὐτῶν ἀπεδείκνυ τι' αὐτής ὁρθῶς
ἐχούσης, καὶ διὰ τὸν πρὸς αὐτὸν φθόνον ἐνέκειτο
καὶ τοῦ θελοῦ τοὺς δυνατοὺς καταψεύδεσθαι. οὔτ',
όν ἄπαντον ἔρχοντας πρὶν τὸ πᾶν καταστήσεια
ἡθελε, καὶ διδάξειν καὶ τοὺς οἴκους ἐφ' ἤμη', ὅρυσι
μὴ ἀλλ' ὅτι τοιούτῳ προσέχοντας ἀπα-
τᾶσθαι. καὶ ο μὲν κατὰ χώραν μένειν ἠθελε καὶ
τὸν συνάρχοντα κατέχειν ἐπειράτο, Φούριος δ' οὐκ
ἐπείθετο. τῶν δὲ μετὰ τοῦ Φλαμίνιον μελλόντων
καταλειφθῆσεσθαι φοβηθέντων μὴ μονοθέντες
πάθωσι τί παρὰ τῶν ἐναντίων, καὶ δεηθέντων
ἡμέρας τινὰς προσμεῖναι, ἐπείσθη, οὔ μέντοι καὶ
46
BOOK XII

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

Zonaras 8, 20.

heavens seemed to be on fire, at Ariminum a light like the day blazed out at night, in many portions of Italy three moons became visible in the night time, and in the Forum a vulture perched for several days. On account of these portents and also because some declared that the consuls had been illegally chosen, they summoned them home. The consuls received the letter, but did not open it immediately, since they were just on the point of beginning the war; instead, they joined battle first and came out victorious. After the battle the letter was read, and Furiius was for obeying promptly; but Flaminius was elated over the victory and kept pointing out that it showed their election to have been proper, and he insisted that in their jealousy of him the nobles were even misrepresenting the will of the gods. Consequently he refused to depart until he had settled the whole business in hand, and he said he would teach the people at home, too, not to be deceived by relying on birds or any thing of the sort. So he was anxious to remain where he was, and strove to detain his colleague, but Furiius would not heed him. However, since the men who were going to be left behind with Flaminius feared that if left by themselves they might suffer some disaster at the hands of their opponents and begged him to remain for a few days longer, he yielded to their entreaties, but
ΔΙΟ’S ROMAN HISTORY

Zonaras 8, 20.

ἐργού ἦσατο. Φλαμίνιος δὲ περινοστῶν τὴν χώραν ἔτεμε καὶ ἐρύματα τινα κατεστρέψατο, τα τε λάφυρα πάντα τοῖς στρατιώταις, θεραπεύων αὐ-
τοῦς, ἐχαρίσατο. ὡς δ’ οίκαδε ἐπανελθόντες ὅποι
μὲν τὴς γερουσίας αὐτίκα τῆς ἀπειθείας ἔσχον (διὰ
γὰρ τὴν πρὸς τὸν Φλαμίνιον ὄργῃ ἢτίμασαν καὶ
τὸν Φούριον), τὸ δὲ πλῆθος ἀντιφιλοσοφήσαν
ὑπὲρ τοῦ Φλαμίνιου ἐψηφίσαντο τὰ νικηθήρια.
καὶ ἀγαγόντες αὐτὰ ἐξέτασαν τῆς ἀρχῆς.

"Ετεροὶ δὲ ὑπατοὶ Κλαύδιος Μάρκελλος καὶ
Γναίος Σκυπίων ἀνθαιρεθέντες ἐστράτευσαν ἕπι
τοὺς Ἰνσούβρους· εἰρήνην γὰρ αὐτοῖς αἰτήσασιν
οὐκ ἐψηφίσαντο. καὶ ἀμφοὶ μὲν πρῶτον πολε-
μοῦντες τὰ πλείω ἐκράτουν, ἔπειτα τὴν συμμαχία
λεηστουμένην μαθόντες διηρήθησαν. καὶ Μάρ-
κελλος μὲν ἐπὶ τοὺς ληπτομένους τὴν σύμμαχον διὰ
ταχέων ἔλθον οὗ κατέλαβε σφᾶς ἑκεῖ, φεύγοντας
δ’ ἐπεδίωξε καὶ ὑποστάντας ἐνίκησε, Σκυπίων δὲ
κατὰ χώραν μείνας Ἀκέρας ἐπολιόρκει, καὶ λαβὼν
αὐτάς ὀρμητήριον τοῦ πολέμου πετούσε, οὐσας
ἐπικαίρους καὶ εὐερκείς. καὶ τετεθεὶς ὀρμόμενοι τὸ
τε Μεδιόλαυν καὶ κομόπολιν ἔτραν ἐχειρώσαντο.
ἀλόντων δὲ τούτων καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ Ἰνσούβροι ὤμο-
λόγησαν αὐτοῖς, χρήματα καὶ μέρος τῆς γῆς
dόντες.

Εἶτα Πούπλιος τε Κορυήλιος καὶ Μάρκος
Μυνούκιος ἐπὶ Ἰστρου ἐστράτευσαν, καὶ πολλὰ
τῶν ἐκεῖ ἔθνων τὰ μὲν πολέμορ, τὰ δ’ ὀμολογίαις
ὑπέταξαν. Λούκιος δὲ Οὐντούριος καὶ Γάιος Λου-
τάτιος ἠλθον μέχρι τῶν "Ἀλπεων, ἀνεν δὲ μάχης
48
BOOK XII

Zonaras 8, 20.

did not take any active part. Flaminius travelled about laying waste the country, reduced a few forts, and bestowed all the spoils upon the soldiers as a means of winning their favour. At length the leaders returned home and were charged by the senate with disobedience; for Furius also incurred disgrace because of the anger felt against Flaminius. But the populace, in its zeal for Flaminius, opposed the senate and voted them a triumph. After celebrating this the consuls laid down their office.

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

Later Publius Cornelius and Marcus Minucius made an expedition in the direction of the Ister and subdued many of the nations there, some by war and some by capitulation. Lucius Veturius and Gaius Lutatius went as far as the Alps, and without any
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

53 ὁ Δημήτριος ἐκ τε τῆς τοῦ Πίννου ἐπιτροπεύσεως καὶ ἐκ τοῦ τὴν μητέρα αὐτοῦ Τριτεύταν τῆς Τεύτας ἀποθανούσης γῆμαι ἐπαρθείς, τοῖς τε ἐπιχωρίοις ἐπαχθῆς ἦν καὶ τὰ τῶν πλησιόκων ἐκακούργηε. καὶ ἑδόκει γὰρ τῇ τῶν Ῥωμαιῶν φιλία ἀποχρώμενοι ἀδικεῖν αὐτοὺς, αἰσθόμενοι τοῦτο μετεπέμψαντο αὐτῶν. ὡς δὲ οὐχ ὑπήκουσαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς συμμαχίδος σφῶν ἤπτετο, ἐστράτευσαν ἐπ' αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ Ἰσση ὑπντα.—V. 30 (p. 593).

Zonaras 8, 20.

πολλοὺς φικεϊώσαντο. ὁ μέντοι τῶν Σαρδιαίων ἀρχῶν Δημήτριος, ὡς ἄνω που εἰρηται, τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις ἐπαχθῆς ἦν καὶ τὰ τῶν πλησιόκων ἐκακούργηε καὶ ἑδόκει τῇ Ῥωμαιῶν φιλία ἀποχρώμενοι ἀδικεῖν. αἰσθόμενοι δὲ τοῦτο οἱ ὑπατοὶ Αἰμίλιος Παύλος καὶ Μάρκος Διούνιος μετεπέμψαντο αὐτῶν. ὡς δὲ οὐχ ὑπήκουσαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς συμμαχίδος σφῶν ἤπτετο, ἐστράτευσαν ἐπ' αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ Ἰσσῃ ὑπντα. καὶ προμαθόντες ὅτι ὑφόρματο που τῶν κατάρσων, μέρος τῶν νεῶν ἔστη ἐπὶ τά μέρη τῆς νῆσου προσμέζαι ἐπεμψαν. καὶ τούτων τῶν Ἰλλυριῶν ὡς καὶ μόνους ὑπερα τραπόμενοι, αὐτοὶ κατὰ σχολὴν προσπλεύσαντες ἐν ἐπιτηδείῳ τε ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο καὶ προσπεσόντας σφίσιν αὐθημερῶν τοὺς 50
BOOK XII

Demetrius, encouraged by his position as guardian of Pinnes and by the fact that he had married the latter’s mother Triteuta after Teuta’s death, was not only proving oppressive to the natives, but was also ravaging the territory of the neighbouring tribes. So as soon as they [the consuls] heard of this, they summoned him before them, since it appeared that it was by abusing the friendship of the Romans that he was able to wrong those peoples. When he paid no heed, but actually proceeded to assail their allies, they made a campaign against him in Issa.

Zonaras 8, 20.

fighting won over many people. But the ruler of the Ardiaeans, Demetrius, as has been stated above, was not only proving oppressive to the natives, but was also ravaging the territory of the neighbouring tribes; and it appeared that it was by abusing the friendship of the Romans that he was able to wrong them. As soon as the consuls, Aemilius Paulus and Marcus Livius, heard of this, they summoned him before them. When he paid no heed, but actually proceeded to assail their allies, they made a campaign against him in Issa. And having learned in advance that he was lying secretly at anchor somewhere in the vicinity of the landing-places, they sent a part of their ships to the other side of the island to bring on an engagement. When the Illyrians, accordingly, turned against these, thinking them to be alone, the main force sailed in at leisure, and after pitching camp in a suitable place,
DIO’S ROMAN HISTORY

Zonaras 8, 20.

ὲπιχωρίους ὄργη τῆς ἀπάτης ἀπεώσαντο. τοῦ δὲ Δημητρίου ἐς Φάρον ἔτεραν νῆσον διαφυγόντος, καὶ ἐπὶ ἑκείνην ἐπλευσαν καὶ τῶν ἀντικαταστάντων ἔκρατησαν καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἕκ προδοσίας εἶλον, τοῦ Δημητρίου διαδράντος. δὲ τότε μὲν εἰς Μακεδονίαν μετὰ πολλῶν χρημάτων πρὸς Φίλιππον τὸν βασιλέα αὐτῆς ἐλθὼν ὑπ’ ἑκείνου μὲν οὐκ ἐξεδόθη, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς Ἰλλυρίους ἐπανελθὼν συνελήφθη ὑπὸ Ἡρωμαίων καὶ ἐδικαίωθη.
BOOK XII

Zonaras 8, 20.

repulsed the natives, who, in their anger at the deception, had promptly attacked them. Demetrius made his escape to Pharos, another island, but they sailed to that, overcame resistance, and captured the city by betrayal, though only after Demetrius had fled. This time he reached Macedonia with large sums of money, and went to Philip, the king of the country. He was not surrendered by him, but on returning to Illyria was arrested by the Romans and put to death.
FRAGMENTS OF BOOK XIII

Zonaras 8, 21.

21. Τῷ δὲ ἐχομένῳ ἦτει περιφανῶς οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις ἔξεπολεμώθησαν, καὶ ὁ πόλεμος οὗτος τῷ μὲν χρόνῳ πολὺ ἔλασσον τοῦ προτέρου συμβέβηκε, τοῖς δὲ ἐργοῖς τοῖς τε παθήμασι καὶ μείζων καὶ χαλεπώτερος. ἠπήρε δὲ τούτων μάλιστα ὁ Ἀννίβας στραταρχῶν τῶν Καρχηδονίων. ὁ δὲ Ἀννίβας οὗτος παῖς τοῦ Ἀμίλκου τοῦ Βαρχίδου ἐγένετο, καὶ ἐκ παιδῶν εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἠσκήθη. πάντας γὰρ τοὺς νυεῖς ὁ Ἀμίλκας ὀσπερ τινὰς σκύμνους ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς τρέφειν ἔλεγεν, ἐκεῖνον δὲ πολὺ τῇ φύσει προφέροντα ὅρῶν καὶ ὁρκωσε πολεμήσειν αὐτοῖς καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ τὰ πολέμια ἔτι μᾶλλον αὐτὸν ἔξεδίδασκε, πεντεκαιδεκαέτη ὄντα· ὅθεν οὐκ ἠδυνήθη θανόντος αὐτῷ τοῦ πατρὸς τὴν στρατηγίαν διαδέξασθαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Ἀσδρούβας ἐτελεύτησεν, οὐκέτι ἐμέλλησεν, ἔξι τότε καὶ εἰκοσι πέντε ἔτος γεγονός, ἄλλα τὸ τε στρατεύμα ἐν τῇ Ἰβηρίᾳ αὐτικα προκατέλαβε καὶ στρατηγὸς ὑπ’ αὐτῶν ἀναδειχθεὶς διωκότα καὶ παρὰ τῶν οἴκων τελῶν βεβαιωθῆναι αὐτῷ τὴν ἱγεμονίαν. πράξεις δὲ ταύτα προφάσεως εὐπρεπούς ἑδείτο εἰς τὴν κατὰ Ῥωμαίων ὅρμην, καὶ ταύτην ἐποιήσατο τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ἰβηρίᾳ Ζακυνθίους.
FRAGMENTS OF BOOK XIII

Zonaras 8, 21.

21. In the following year the Romans became openly hostile to the Carthaginians, and this war, though of far shorter duration than the previous one, proved to be both greater and severer in its exploits and its disasters. It was brought on chiefly by Hannibal, the general of the Carthaginians. This Hannibal was a son of Hamilcar Barca, and from his earliest boyhood had been trained to fight against the Romans. For Hamilcar said he was rearing all his sons like so many whelps to fight against them, and when he saw that this one had by far the best nature, he made him take an oath that he would wage war upon them; accordingly he was engaged in giving him a careful training, particularly in warfare, at the time of his own death, when the boy was fifteen years of age. Because of his youth Hannibal was unable to succeed then to the generalship; upon the death of Hasdrubal, however, he delayed no longer, being now twenty-six years of age, but at once took possession of the army in Spain, and after being acclaimed general by the soldiers, brought it about that the command was confirmed to him also by those in authority at home. After accomplishing this he required a plausible excuse for his enterprise against the Romans, and this he found in the Saguntines of Spain. These people,
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

Zonaras 8, 21.

οὗτοι γὰρ οὐ πόρρω τοῦ ποταμοῦ οἰκούντες τοῦ Ἰβηροῦ, ἀνω τῆς θαλάσσης βραχύ, τοῖς Ρωμαίοις προσέκειντο, κάκεινοι καὶ ἐτίμων αὐτούς καὶ ἐν ταῖς πρὸς τοὺς Καρχηδονίους συνθήκαις ἐξαιρέτους ἐπεποίηκεσαν. διὰ ταύτ᾿ οὖν ὁ Ἀννίβας πόλεμον ἦρατο πρὸς αὐτούς, εἰδὼς ὅτι ἦ ἐπικουρήσουσιν οἱ Ρωμαίοι τοῖς Ζακυνθίοις ἢ καὶ τι παθοῦσι τιμωρήσουσι. διά τε οὖν ταῦτα καὶ ὅτι μέγαν πλοῦτον κεκτήσαν αὐτούς ἐγνώσκεν, οὐ καὶ μάλιστα ἔχρηζε, καὶ δι᾿ ἔτερ᾿ ἄττα κατὰ Ῥωμαίων αὐτῶν συμβαλλόμενα τοῖς Ζακυνθίοις ἐπέθετο.

Ἡ δ᾿ Ἰβηρία, ἐν οἷς Ζακύνθιοι οἰκούσι, καὶ ὁ προσεχής αὐτὴ πάσα ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ πρὸς δυσμᾶς ἔστι, καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺ μὲν παρὰ τὴν ἐσω θάλασσαν καὶ παρὰ τὰς Ἡρακλείους στῆλας τὸν τε ᾿Οκεανόν αὐτὸν προῆκε, καὶ προσέτη καὶ τὴν ἕπειρον τὴν ἄνω διὰ πλείστου μέχρι τοῦ Πυρηναίου νέμεται. τὸ γάρ ὅρος τοῦτο ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης τῆς πάλαι μὲν Βεβρύκου νῦν δὲ Ναρβωνησίων ἀρχάμενον ἐς τὴν ἕξω τὴν μεγάλην διατείνει, πολλὰ μὲν ἐντὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ σύμμμετα ἄθνη ἔχουν, πᾶσαι δὲ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν ἀπὸ τῆς προσοίκου Γαλατίας ἀφορίζουν. οὐτε δ᾿ ὁμόφωνοι ἦσαν οὐτὲ κοινῆ ἐπολυτεύοντο. οἶον οὐδὲ εἰς ἐν ὁνόμα ἑτέλουν. οἱ

Tzetzes in Lycophr. Alex. 516.

Δίων δὲ Κοκκειανὸς τοὺς Ναρβωνησίως Βεβρύκας λέγει, γράφων οὕτων ὅτι τῶν πάλαι μὲν Βεβρύκων νῦν δὲ Ναρβωνησίων ἐστὶ τὸ Πυρήναιον ὄρος. τὸ δὲ ὅρος τοῦτο χωρίζει Ἰβηρίαν καὶ Γαλατίαν.

1 ἔτερ᾿ ἄττα Cary (cf. Zon. 9, 7—p. 192 inf.), ἔτερα αἶτια Mss. 56
BOOK XIII

Zonaras 8, 21.

dwelling not far from the river Iberus, and a short
distance from the sea, were dependents of the
Romans, who held them in honour, and in the treaty
with the Carthaginians had made a special exception
of them. Hence, for this reason Hannibal began
war with them, knowing that the Romans would
either assist the Saguntines or avenge them if they
suffered injury. From this motive, then, as well as
because he knew that they possessed great wealth,
which he particularly needed, and from various other
considerations that promised him advantages against
the Romans, he made an attack upon the Saguntines.

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

Tzetzes in Lycophr. Alex. 516.

Dio Cocceianus calls the Narbonenses Bebryces,
writing thus: "To those who were of old Bebryces,
but now Narbonenses, belongs the Pyrenees range.
This range is the boundary between Spain and
Gaul."
μὲν γὰρ Ὁρμαιοὶ Ἰσπανοῦς, οἱ δ’ Ἑλληνες Ἰβηραῖοι ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ Ἰβηροῦ αὐτοῖς ἐπεκάλεσαν. Οἱ μὲν οὖν Ζακύνθιοι οὖν ἔπολισκοῦντο, καὶ ἐπέμψαν πρὸς τοὺς περιοίκους καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Ὁρμαίους ἐπικουρίας δεόμενοι. ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν ὁ Ἀνιβάς ἐκώλυσεν, οἱ δὲ Ὁρμαίοι πρέσβεις πρὸς ἐκεῖνον πέμψανε μὴ πελάξειν τοὺς Ζακυνθίους ἐκέλευον, καὶ εἰ μὴ πείθοτο, ἦς τὴν Καρχερδόνα πλεύσασι εὐθὺς καὶ κατηγορήσασι αὐτοῦ ἐπηπείλησαν. ὁ δὲ Ἀνιβάς ἐκ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων πέμψας τινὰς ὡς εὐνοιαν τηροῦντας τοῖς πρέσβεις ἢ δὴ πληρῶν ὁυσὶ παρεκκεύσει λέγειν αὐτοῖς μὴ παρεῖναι τὸν στρατηγὸν, πόρρω που ἐς ἄγνωστα χωρία ἀποδημῆσαν. καὶ παρῆσιν ἀπαλλαγῆναι ὡς τάχιστα, πρὶν καταγγελθεῖν ὡς πάρεισιν, ἵνα μὴ διὰ τὴν ἀναρχίαν, τοῦ στρατηγοῦ μὴ παρόντος, ἀπόλονται. οἱ μὲν οὖν πιστεύσαντες αὐτοῖς εἰς τὴν Καρχερδόνα ἀπέσαι γενομένης δὲ ἐκκλησίας οἱ μὲν τῶν Καρχερδόνων εἰρήνην ἄγειν πρὸς τοὺς Ὁρμαίους συνεβούλευον, οἱ δὲ τῷ Ἀνιβάς προσκείμενοι τοὺς μὲν Ζακυνθίους ἅδικεῖν, τοὺς δὲ Ὁρμαίους τὰ μηδὲν σφίσι προσήκοντα πολυπραγμονεῖν ἔλεγον. καὶ τέλος ἐπεκράτησαν οἱ πολεμῆσαι σφᾶς ἀναπείθοντες.

Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ὁ Ἀνιβάς σπουδὴ τὰς προσβολὰς τῆς τείχομαχίας ἐποιεῖτο. πολλάς δὲ πεπτόντων καὶ πλείονοιν τυτροσκομέων ἐκ τῶν τοῦ Ἀνιβαῦ, καὶ ποτὲ τῶν Καρχερδόνων κατασεισάντων τι τοῦ περιβόλου καὶ κατὰ τὸ ρήγμα εἰσελθεῖν τολμήσαντων, ἐπεξέδραμον οἱ Ζακύνθιοι καὶ ἀπεσώβησαν σφᾶς. ὅθεν αὗτοι μὲν ἐπερρώθησαν, οἱ Καρχερδόνοι δὲ ἐνέδοσαν ἀθυμήσαντες. οὐκ ἀπαν-58
BOOK XIII

Zonaras 8, 21.

called them Spaniards, but the Greeks Iberians, from the river Iberus.

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

Meanwhile Hannibal in the course of the siege was conducting vigorous assaults, in which many of his men fell and many more were wounded. One day the Carthaginians succeeded in battering down a portion of the wall, and had been daring enough to enter through the breach, when the Saguntines made a sortie and drove them away. As a result the besieged were strengthened, and the Carthaginians gave
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

52 "Οτι οἱ 'Ρωμαιοὶ τὰ τοῦ πολέμου ἠκμαζόν καὶ τῇ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὁμονοία ἀκριβῶς ἐχρώντο, ὥσθ' ἀπερ τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐκ μὲν ἀκράτους εὐπραγιάς ἐς θάρσος, ἐκ δὲ ἅχυροῦ δέους ἐς ἐπιτείκειαν

Ζοναρας 8, 21-22.

ἐστησαν δὲ πρὶν τὴν πόλιν ἔλειν, καίτοι ἐπ' ὁγδοον μήνα τῆς πολυρκίας παραταθείσης· ἐν οἷς ἀλλα τε πολλὰ συνήνεχθη καὶ ἀτοπα καὶ ὁ 'Αννίβας δεινὸς ἐτρώθη. ἦλω δὲ οὕτως. μηχάνημα τῷ τείχει προσήγαγον πολὺ τε αὐτοῦ ὑπεραῖρον καὶ ὀπλίτας τους μὲν ἐμφανεῖς ἔχον, τοὺς δὲ λανθάνοντας. τῶν οὖν Ζακυνθίων τοῖς ὀρωμένως ὡς μόνοις οὕσι μαχομένων ἐρμαμενέστερον, οἱ κεκρυμμένοι τὸ τείχος ὑπορέζαντες εἰσεβιάσαντο καὶ ἐνδόν ἐγένοντο. τῷ γοῦν παραδόξῳ οἱ Ζακυνθίοι ἐκπλαγέντες εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἀνέδραμον, καὶ εἰς λόγους ἦλθον, εἰ πως ἐπιεικεῖ τινι ὁμολογία περισσωθεῖν. ὡς δ' οὖν ὁ 'Αννίβας προσχετο μέτριον οὖν τις αὐτοῖς ὅφελεια πρὸς τῶν 'Ρωμαίων ἐγίνετο, ἐπισκεθήναι τὰς προσβολὰς ἔξητόσαντο, ὡς τι περὶ τῶν κατὰ σφάς βουλευσόμενοι καὶ τούτῳ τὰ τιμώτατα συμφορήσαντες τῶν χρημάτων ἐς πῦρ ἐνέβαλον, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀπόμαχοι διεχειρίσαντο έαυτοὺς, οἱ δ' ἐν ἡλικίᾳ ἄθροι πρὸς τοὺς ἐναντίους ὄρμηκεσαν καὶ προθύμως ἀγωνιζόμενοι κατεκόπησαν.

22. Καὶ δ' αὐτοῖς οἱ τε 'Ρωμαιοὶ καὶ οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι ἐπολέμησαν. ὁ γὰρ 'Αννίβας καὶ συμμά-βο
BOOK XIII

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

22. On their account the Romans and the Carthaginians went to war; for Hannibal, after adding
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

φέρει, ταύτα¹ αυτοῖς τότε διαλλαγήναι· ὅσφι γὰρ ἐπὶ πλείου εὐτύχησαν, ἐπὶ μᾶλλον ἐσωφρόνησαν, τὸ μὲν θράσος, οὐ τὸ ἀνδρείου μετέχει, πρὸς τοὺς ἀντιπάλους ἐνδεικνύμενοι, τὸ δὲ ἐπιεικές, οὐ κοινωνεί ἡ² εὐταξία,³ κατ' ἀλλήλους παρεχόμενοι. τὴν τε γὰρ ἑσχύν πρὸς μετριότητος ἀκινδύνου⁴ ἐξουσίαιαν καὶ τὸ κόσμιον πρὸς ἀνδρείας ἀληθεύσαν εὐλαμβανον, μήτε τὴν εὐπραγίαν ἐς ὑβριν μήτε τὴν ἐπιείκειαν ἐς δειλίαν ἐξάγοντες. οὕτω μὲν γὰρ τὸ τε σωφρονοῦν εἴ ἀνδρείας καὶ τὸ θαρσοῦν ἐκ δέους⁵ φθείρεσθαι, ἐκείνωσ δὲ τὸ μέτριον ὑπ' ἀνδρείας ἀσφαλέστερον καὶ τὸ εὐτυχοῦν ὑπ' εὐταξίας βεβαιότερον γνωσθῇ ἐνόμιζον. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὰ μάλιστα τούς τε προσπεσόντας σφίσι πολέμους κράτιστα διήνεγκαν καὶ τὰ σφέτερα τὰ τε τῶν συμμάχων ἀριστα ἐπολύτευσαν.—Μ. 132 (p. 186). ὅσφι—ἐνόμιζον Max. Conf. Flor. (cod. Paris. 1169 f. 26v).

54 Ὄτι δόσιν ἐντὸς τῶν Ἀλπεων ἐνέμοντο τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις συνεπανέστησαν, οὐχ ὅτι τοὺς Καρχηδονίους ἀντί τῶν Ρωμαιῶν ἤγεμόνας ἀνθρωποῦν, ἀλλ' ὅτι τὸ μὲν ἄρχων σφῶν ἐμίσουν, τὸ δὲ ἀπέιρατον ἡγάπων. ἐκ πάντων μὲν δὴ τῶν τότε ἔθνων σύμμαχοι⁶ τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις ἐπι

Zonaras 8, 22.

χους συνχωνοῦσιν προσλαβῶν εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἥπεγετο.

¹ ταύτα Cary, ταύτα τε Ms. ² οὐ κοινωνεῖ ἡ Kuebler, οὐκ ἐν Mss. ³ εὐταξία Cary, εὐφυξία Mss. ⁴ ἀκινδύνου Be., ἀκινδύνου flor., om. palimps. ⁵ δέους Polak, θάρσους Mss. ⁶ ἐνόμιζον
BOOK XIII

strong fear to forbearance, they at this time had a very different experience in these matters. For the greater their successes, the more were they sobered; against their enemies they displayed that daring which is seen in the brave, but toward one another they showed the forbearance which goes hand in hand with good order. They used their power for the exercise of safe moderation and their orderliness for the acquirement of true bravery; and they did not allow either their good fortune to develop into arrogance or their forbearance into cowardice. They believed that in the latter case sobriety was ruined by bravery and boldness by fear; whereas with them moderation was rendered more secure by bravery and good fortune surer by good order. It was due to this in particular that they carried through so successfully the wars that came upon them and administered both their own affairs and those of the allies so well.

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

Zonaras 8, 22.

numerous allies to his force, was hastening toward Italy.

6 ἐκ τῶν μὲν δὴ τῶν τότε ἔθνων σύμμαχοι Β.ς., ἐκαστὸν τῶν μὲν δὴ τότε ἔθνων σύμμαχον Μαι, ἐκ . . . ντῶν μὲν δὴ τότε ἔθνων σύμμα . . . Μς.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

toûs Ἄρωμαίοις ὑπῆρξαν πρὸς ἀπανταὶ δὲ ως εἰπτεῖν αὐτοὺς ἱσοστάσιος ο Αὐνίβας ἐγένετο· συνεῖναι τε γὰρ δεύτατα καὶ ἐκφρονίσαι πάνθ' ὡς ἐνεθυμεῖτο τάχιστα1 ἐδύνατο· καὶ τοι πέφυκεν ὃς πλήθει τὸ μὲν βέβαιον ἐκ βραδυτῆτος, τὸ δὲ ὄξυρροτον ἐκ τάχους διανοίας ὑπάρχειν. 2 κ. . . ωτατος2 τε γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ ὑπογυνωστοῦ καὶ διαρκέστατος ἐς τὸ φετεγγυστεῖτο ἂν τὸ τε άει παρὸν ἀσφαλῶς διετέθετο καὶ τὸ μέλλου ἰσχυρῶς προευόε, θωλευτῆς τε τοῦ συνήθους ἱκανώτατος καὶ εἰκαστής τοῦ παραδόξου ἀκριβέστατος γενόμενος, ἀφ' ὧν τὸ τῇ ἡδη προσπιπτόν οἱ ἐτοιμότατα καὶ δὲ ἐλαχίστου καθιστάτω, καὶ τὸ μέλλον ἐκ πολλοῦ τοῖς λογισμοῖς προλαμβάνων ὡς καὶ παρὸν 3 διεσκόπει. κακ τοῦτου καὶ τοῖς καρυοῖς ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἄνθρωπων καὶ τοὺς λόγους καὶ τὰς πράξεις ἐφήμορευν, ἄτε καὶ ἐν τῷ όμοιῳ τῷ τῇ ὑπάρχου καὶ τῷ ἐλπιζόμενον ποιουμένον. ἐδύνατο δὲ ταῦθ' οὕτω πράττειν, ὅτι πρὸς τῇ τῆς φύσεως ἀρετῆ καὶ παιδείας πολλῆς μὲν Φοινικίκη κατὰ τὸ πάτριον πολλῆ δὲ καὶ Ἑλληνικῇ ἦσκητο, καὶ προσετὶ καὶ μαντικῇ τῷ3 διὰ σπλαγχνῶν ἰππόστατο.—Μ. 133 (p. 187); καὶ τοῖς—ὑπάρχειν (§ 1) Suid. s. v. ώς ἐπίπαν, "ἐν τρισκαιδεκάτῳ," and ὅτι πρὸς τῇ τῆς φύσεως —ἡπόστατο (§ 3) Val. 31 (p. 593).

1 ἐνεθυμεῖτο τάχιστα Ba., ἐνεθυμεῖτο (?) . . . Ms.
2 κ. . . ωτατος Ms. acc. to Ba., τῇ . . . acc. to Mai.
3 μαντικῆν τῇ Rk., μαντικῆς τῆς Ms.
BOOK XIII

of the tribes that then existed; but all of them taken together were scarcely Hannibal's equal. He could comprehend matters most clearly and plan out most promptly every project that he conceived, notwithstanding the fact that, as a rule, sureness is the result of deliberation and instability the result of a hasty disposition. He was most resourceful (?) in the suddenest emergency, and most steadfast with the greatest degree of reliability. Not only did he safely handle the affair of the moment, but he accurately read the future beforehand; he proved himself a most capable counsellor in ordinary events and a most accurate judge of the unusual. By these powers he not only handled the situation immediately confronting him most readily and in the briefest time, but also by calculation anticipated the future afar off and considered it as though it were actually present. Consequently he, above all other men, met each occasion with suitable words and acts, because he viewed the expected and the actual in the same light. He was able to manage matters thus for the reason that in addition to his natural capacity he was versed in much Phoenician learning common to his country, and likewise in much Greek learning, and furthermore he understood divination by the inspection of entrails.
4 Τοιούτος οὖν δὴ τις τὴν ψυχήν γενόμενος ἀντίρροπον καὶ τὸ σῶμα, τὰ μὲν φύσει, τὰ δὲ καὶ διαίτη, παρεσκεύαστο, ὥσθ᾽ ὅσα ἐνεχειρίζετο ῥαδίως κατεργάζεσθαι. κούφον τε γὰρ καὶ ἐμβριθές ὅτι μάλιστα αὐτῷ εἶχε, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ θεῖν καὶ συνίστασθαι ἱππεύειν τε ἀνά κράτος ἀσφαλῶς ἐδύνατο. καὶ οὔτε πλήθει ποτὲ τροφῆς ἔβαρύνετο οὔτε ἐνδεία ἐκαμνεν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐν ἴσῳ καὶ τὸ πλέον καὶ τὸ ἐλαττον, ὡς καὶ αὐτάρκες ἐκάτερον, ἐλάμβανεν. ταῖς τε1 ταλαιπωρίαις ἵσχυρίζετο, καὶ ταῖς ἀγρυπνίαις ἔρρωνυτο.
5 Οὖτος οὖν δὴ καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τοῦ σώματος ἔχων τοιάδε τῇ τῶν πραγμάτων διαχειρίσει ἐπίπαν ἐχρήτο. τοὺς τε γὰρ πολλοὺς ἐς μόνον τὸ συμφέρον. σφίσι πιστοὺς ὅραν ὄντας, αὐτὸς τε τούτων τὸν τρόπον αὐτοῖς προσεφέρετο καὶ ἐς ἐκείνους ταύτων ὑπώπτευεν, ὡστε πλείστα μὲν ἀπατήσας τινὰς κατορθώσαι, ἐλάχιστα δὲ ἐπιβουλευθεὶς σφαλήναι. καὶ πολέμων πᾶν τὸ πλεονεκτεῖν δυνάμενον καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὀδυναῖς καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὀμοφύλοις ὀμοίως ἤγομενος, οὐκ ἀνέμενε τοῖς ἔργοις τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν ἐκμαθαίνεσθαι, ἀλλ᾽ ὡσ καὶ βουλομένους σφᾶς ἀδικεῖν ὃτι ἐδύναντο2 τραχύτατα μετεχειρίζετο, προποιησάι τέ τι μᾶλλον ἢ προπαθέων ἄμεινον ἴγειτο, καὶ ἐφ᾽ ἐαυτῷ τοὺς ἄλλους, ἀλλὰ οὐκ ἐφ᾽ ἑτέρους ἑαυτὸν ἐίναι ἤξιον. τὸ τε σύμπαν εἶπεν, τῇ φύσει τῶν πραγμάτων, ἀλλ᾽ οὐ τοῖς ἐς φήμην
66 1 τε supplied by Val. 2 ἐδύναντο Reim., ἐδύνατο Ms.
BOOK XIII

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

Possessing these advantages of mind and body, he managed affairs in general as follows. Since he saw that most men were trustworthy only in what concerned their own interest, he himself dealt with them on this principle and expected the same treatment of them, so that he very often succeeded by deceiving persons and very seldom failed by being the object of a plot. He regarded as enemies all who could gain an advantage, whether foreigners or his own countrymen, and did not wait to learn their intentions from their acts, but treated them very harshly, assuming that they were desirous of doing whatever injury they could; he thought it better to be the first to act than the first to suffer, and resolved that others should be in his power rather than he in theirs. In short, he paid attention to the real nature of things, rather than to the good things
DIO’S ROMAN HISTORY

αὐτῶν εὐδοκιμοῦσιν, ὅσακις γε μὴ κατ’ αὐτὸ καὶ ἀμφω συνεπίπτε, προσέκειτο. καὶ μέντοι καὶ ἐτίμα καθ’ ὑπερβολὴν ὅτου δέοιτο· δοῦλους τε γὰρ τοῦ τοιοῦτον τοὺς πλείστους ἡγεῖτο εἶναι, καὶ κινδυνεύειν ἐπ’ αὐτῷ καὶ παρὰ τὸ συμφέρον 8 σφίσιν ἔθελοντας ἑώρα. καὶ διὰ ταῦτα καὶ τῶν κερδῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἥδιστων αὐτῶς μὲν πολλάκις ἀπείχετο, ἐκείνοις δὲ ἀφθόνως μετεδίδου, καὶ ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ κοινωνούσα σφας καὶ τῶν πόνων οὐκ ἀκούσιοις ἐκτάτο. καὶ τούτως μὲν οἷς ὅτως ἰσοδιάιτος ἀλλὰ καὶ ἰσοκύνδυνος ἐγένετο, πάνθ’ ὅσα ἀπῆτε παρ’ αὐτῶν πρῶτος ἐκπονοῦμενος· οὕτω γὰρ καὶ ἐκείνους ἀπροφασίστως καὶ προθύμως, ἄτε μὴ κενοῖς λόγοις 2 αὐτοῦ προσέχοντας, σύμπαντά οἱ συμπράξεις ἐπίστευεν πρὸς δὲ δὴ τοὺς ἄλλους πολλὰ τῷ φρονήματι 9 ἀεὶ ἐχρήτο· ὡστε τοὺς μὲν εὖνοιαν αὐτοῦ τοὺς δὲ δέους ἐκ τε τοῦ ὀμοδιαίτου καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ὑπέρφρονος παμπληθεὶς ἔχειν. ἐξ οὕτεροι καὶ τὰ μάλιστα τὸ τε ὑπερέχου κολούειν 3 καὶ τὸ ταπεινοῦμενον ἐξαιρεῖν, καὶ τῷ μὲν ὅκνου, τῷ δὲ θάρσου, ἐλπίδα τε καὶ 4 ἀπόγνωσιν ὑπὲρ τῶν μεγίστων δὲ ἐλαχίστον πᾶσιν οἷς ἐβούλετο ἐμποιεῖν ἐδύνατο.

10 Καὶ ὅτι ταῦτ’ οὐκ ἄλλως περὶ αὐτοῦ λέγεται ἀλλ’ ἄλληθεν παραδέδοται, τεκμηρίω τὰ ἐργα. τῆς τε γὰρ Ἰβηρίας πολλὰ διὰ βραχείος προσεκτή-

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

Now that this is not idle report about him, but truthful tradition, his deeds are proof. He won over many new districts of Spain in a short time, and from
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

σατο, καὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἐκείθεν διὰ τῶν Γαλατῶν, οὐχ διὶ ἀσπόνδων ἄλλα καὶ ἀγνώστων οἱ τῶν πλείστων ὅτου, ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐσῆγαγε. τὰς τε Ἀλπεως πρῶτος ἀνθρώπων τῶν οὐκ Εὐρωπαῖων, ὡσα γε ἦμεις ἵσμεν, σὺν στρατῷ διέβη. καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῇ τὴν Ῥώμην ἐπεστράτευσε, τὰ τε συμμαχικὰ αὐτῆς ὅλην πάντα, τὰ μὲν βία, τὰ δὲ καὶ πείθων, ἀπέρρηξεν. καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι αὐτὸς καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἄνευ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Καρχηδονίων κατέπραξεν. οὔτε γὰρ τὴν ἄρχην ὑπὸ τῶν οὐκοι τελῶν ἐξε- πέμφθη, οὔθ' ὑστερον μεγάλης τινὸς βοθείας παρ' αὐτῶν ἔτυχε: τῆς γὰρ τοῦ δόξης τῆς τε ὥφελίας οὐκ ἐλάχιστα ἀπολαύσειν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ μέλλοντες, μὴ ἐγκαταλειπεῖν αὐτὸν δόξαι μᾶλλον ἡ συναίρεσθαι ἐν τινὶ ἰσχυρῶς ἠθέλησαν.—V. 31 (p. 593).

55 Ὁτι ἡ μὲν εἰρήνη καὶ πορίζει χρήματα καὶ φυλάσσει, ὁ δὲ δὴ πόλεμος καὶ ἀναλύσεις ἕ καὶ διαφθείρει.—Μ. 134 (p. 188).

Ὅτι πέφυκε πάν τὸ ἀνθρώπειον δεσπόζειν τε ἐπιθυμεῖν τῶν ὑπεικόντων καὶ τῇ παρὰ τῆς τύχης ῥοπῇ κατὰ τῶν ἐθελοδουλοῦντων χρήσαται.—Μ. 135 (p. 188).

2 Ἀλλὰ μὴν συνειδότες αὑτὸ καὶ πεπειραμένοι

Zonaras 8, 22.

νυθομενοι δὲ ταῦτα οἱ Ῥωμαιοι συνήλθον εἰς τὸ συνέδριον, καὶ ἐλέχθη μὲν πολλά, Δούκιος δὲ Κορηλίους Δέντουλος ἐδημηγόρησε καὶ εἴπε

1 ἀναλύσει Bk., διαναλύσει Mai.
2 ἀλλὰ μὴν συνειδότες αὐτὸ Ba., combining suggestions of V. Herw. and of Bk., ἀλλὰ ἡμῖν τῇ τε εἰδότες αὐτὰ Mai, and so perhaps Ms. (except αὐτὸ ?).

70
BOOK XIII

there carried the war into Italy through the country of the Gauls, most of whom were not only not in league with him, but actually unknown to him. He was the first of non-Europeans, so far as we know, to cross the Alps with an army, and after that he made a campaign against Rome itself, sundering from it almost all its allies, some by force and others by persuasion. This, however, he achieved by himself without the aid of the Carthaginian government. He was not sent forth in the beginning by the magistrates at home, nor did he later obtain any great assistance from them. For although they were to enjoy no slight glory and benefit from his efforts, they wished rather not to appear to be leaving him in the lurch than to cooperate effectively in any enterprise.

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

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

But do you, who have knowledge of this fact and

Zonaras 8, 22.

The Romans, on ascertaining this, assembled in the senate-house, and many speeches were delivered. Lucius Cornelius Lentulus in his address declared

¹ This and the following fragments (§§ 1–8) seem to be taken from speeches delivered in the senate—§ 1 by an unknown individual, opposing war, §§ 2 and 3 by Lentulus, urging war, and §§ 3a–8 by Fabius, in reply to Lentulus.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

αυτῶν ἕξαρκεῖν ὑμῖν πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν τὴν τε ἐπιείκειαν καὶ τὴν φιλανθρωπίαν νομίζετε; καὶ ὅσα ἂν ἡ λαβώντες ἡ ἕξαπατήσατες ἡμᾶς ἢ καὶ βιασάμενοι ἀδικήσωσιν ἐν ἀμελείᾳ τίθεσθε;¹ μήτε παρορμάσθε ² μήτε προφυλάττεσθε ³ μήτε ἀμόνεσθε;⁴ καὶ μέντοι καὶ ὅτι οὐδέποτε ἐλογίσασθε ⁵ τούθ' ὅτι τὰ τοιαῦτα πρὸς μὲν ἀλλήλους ὀρθῶς ὑμῖν ἔχει ποιεῖν, πρὸς δὲ δὴ Καρχηδονίους αἰσχρῶς καὶ κακῶς· τοῖς μὲν γὰρ πολίταις καὶ πρᾶσι καὶ πολιτικῶς χρῆσθαι δεῖ, καὶ γὰρ ἀλλόγως τις ⁶ σωθῆ, ἡμέτερον ἐστιν, τοῖς δὲ δὴ πολεμίους ἀ-φεδῶς.⁷ οὐ γὰρ ἐξ ων ἄν σφαλώμεν φευσάμενοι αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' ἐξ ὃν ἄν κρατήσωμεν κολούσαντες αὐτοὺς σωθησόμεθα.—Μ. 136 (p. 188).

3 "Ὅτι ὃ μὲν πόλεμος καὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα τισὶ σώζει καὶ τὰ ἀλλήλων προσκτάται, ἢ δὲ εἰρήνη ὑμῶν ὅπως τὰ πορισθέντα δι' ἐκείνων ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐαυτὴν προσατόλλυσιν.—Μ. 137 (p. 188) and Max. Conf. Flor. f. 157v (M. p. 541).

Zonaras 8, 22.

μὴ μέλλειν, ἀλλὰ πόλεμον κατὰ τῶν Καρχη-δονίων ψηφίσασθαι, καὶ διχῇ διελεῖν καὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους καὶ τὰ στρατεύματα, καὶ τοὺς μὲν εἰς τὴν 'Ιβηρίαν, τοὺς δὲ εἰς τὴν Διβύην πέμψαι, ἵνα ὑπὸ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον ἢ τε χώρα αὐτῶν πιερθῇ καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι κακουργῶντα καὶ μήτε τῇ 'Ιβηρίᾳ βοηθῆσαι δύνονται μὴ 'ἐκεῖθεν αὐτοὶ ἐπι-

¹ βιασάμενοι ἀδικήσωσιν ἐν ἀμελείᾳ τίθεσθε Bs., Ms. now illegible. ² παρορμάσθε Bs., παρορμάσθαι Ms. ³ προφυλάττεσθε Bs., προσαλλάττεσθαι Mai and Ms. (?) ⁴ ἀμόνεσθε Bs., ἀμύ-
BOOK XIII

who have had experience with these men, believe that forbearance and mildness are sufficient for your safety? And can you regard with indifference all the wrongs they may do us by stealth or deceit, or even by violence? Will you not rather bestir yourselves, be on your guard in season, and defend yourselves? And, indeed, you have never reflected that such behaviour is in place for you toward one another, while toward the Carthaginians it is cowardly and base. Our citizens we must treat in a manner both gentle and worthy of citizens; for if one be saved unexpectedly, it is our gain. But the enemy we must treat unsparingly; for we shall save ourselves, not by the defeats we incur as a result of sparing them, but by the victories we win as a result of humbling them.

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

Zonaras 8, 22.

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

υασθαι Ms.  
5 ἐλογίσασθε Bs., ἐλογίσασθαι Ms.  
6 τις Mai, τι Ms.  
7 ἀφείδως Bs., ἀσφαλῶς Mai, Ms. uncertain.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

3a. Αἰσχρὸν ἄρ' ἐστίν ἦτοι τὸ κατ' ἀρχὰς μὴ ὀρθῶς δόξαν τι πεποιηκέναι ἢ αὖθις μὴ δεόντως μετεγγισκέναι.1 τὸ τε γὰρ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς προπετῶς ἀ μὴ χρῆ πράττειν δεινὸν ἐστί καὶ τὸ τὰ ἀρέσαντα ἀπαξ ἐμπλήκτως λύειν δεινότερον.—Max. Conf. Flor. in cod. Paris. 1169 f. 18r.

3b. Δεῖ γὰρ τοὺς ὀρθῶς καὶ καλῶς βιοῦντας καὶ τοὺς πράγμασι χρωμένους2 προδιασκοπεῖν πρότερον ἢ δεῖ ποιεῖν, εἴθ' οὕτως τοῖς ἀρέσασι

4. χρήσθαι: αἰσχρὸν γὰρ ἐστι πρὸς τὰ ἔργα πρὸ τῶν λόγων τῶν περὶ αὐτῶν χωρεῖν, ἐν ὅς κατορθώσατε μὲν εὐνυχηκέναι μᾶλλον ἢ καλῶς βεβουλεύσθαι δόξετε, σφαλέντες δὲ τὴν σκέψιν ἀπρονήτως ὅτε οὐδὲν ὀφελός ἐτι3 ποιεῖσθαι. καὶ μέντοι καὶ ἐκεῖνο τίς οὐκ οἶδεν, ὅτι τὸ μὲν ἐπιτιμησάι τι καὶ κατηγορήσαί τινων προστολεμησάντων ποτὲ ἡμῖν ρᾶστον ποι καὶ παντὸς ἐστί, τὸ δ' αὖ τῇ πόλει συμφέρον οὐ4 πρὸς ὀργὴν ἢ πεποιήκασι τινες, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ χρήσιμον αὐτῆς εἰτεὶν τῇ τοῦ συμβουλοῦν τάξει προσήκει; 5. μη παρόξυνε πρότερον ἡμᾶς, ὁ Δέντουλε, μηδ' ἀνάπτευτο πολεμῆσαι πρὸν ὅτι καὶ συνοίσει τοῦθ' ἡμῖν ἐπιδεῖξαι, σκοπῶν τὰ τὰ ἀλλὰ καὶ μάλιστ' ὅτι οὐκ ὁμοίως ἐνταυθοὶ τε περὶ τῶν τοῦ πολέμου

Zonaras 8, 22.

κουρηθῶσι. πρὸς ταῦτα Κύντος Φάβιος Μάξιμος ἀντέθετο μὴ οὕτως ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου τῶν πόλεμων

1 δεόντως μετεγγισκέναι Bs., δέοντος με γνωκέναι Ms.
2 χρωμένους Bs., χρωμένοις Ms. 3 ἐτι v. Herw., τι palimps., ἐστι flor. 4 συμφέρον οὐ Mai, συμφέρει Ms.
BOOK XIII

Thus it is disgraceful to seem either to have taken the wrong course in the beginning or to have repented later when there was no necessity; for serious as it is to make a mistake in one's haste at the outset, it is yet more serious to give up in dismay the plan once approved.

Those whose lives are upright and noble and who are concerned with affairs must consider ahead of time what needs to be done, and then adopt the course which has met their approval; for it is base to proceed to action before there has been discussion of the matter. In such a case, if successful, you will appear to have enjoyed good fortune rather than to have used good judgment, and if defeated, to be making your investigation at a time when there is no longer any profit in it. And yet who does not know that to heap up reproaches and to accuse people who have once warred against us is very easy —any man can do it—whereas, to state what is advantageous for the state, not in anger over other men's deeds, but with a view to the benefit of the state, is the duty of the advising class? Do not arouse us, Lentulus, nor persuade us to go to war, until you show us that it will be really to our advantage. Reflect particularly—though there are other considerations—that speaking here about deeds themselves. To this Quintus Fabius Maximus replied that it was not so absolutely necessary to vote for war,
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

πραγμάτων λέγεται καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἔργοις πράττεται.—Max. Conf. Flor. in cod. Paris. 1169 f. 18r (δεὶ γὰρ τοὺς—οτ' οὐδὲν ὤφελός ἦστι ποιήσασθαι) and M. 138 (p. 189) (οτ’ αἰσχρόν ἦστι πρὸς τὰ ἔργα—πράττεται).

6 Συχνοῦσ γὰρ αἱ συμφοραὶ διορθοῦσι, καὶ πολλοὶ καλῶς αὐταῖς χρησάμενοι κριττόν ἀπαλλάσσουσι τὸν εὗ καὶ τελείως πραττόντων καὶ δι’ αὐτὸ καὶ ὑβριζόντων δοκεῖ γὰρ τοὺς ἢ κακοπραγία μέρος οὐκ ἐλάχιστον ἔχειν ὠφελίας, ὅτι μὴτε ἐκφρονεῖν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους μὴτε ἔξυβρίζειν εἰς κράτιστον μὲν γὰρ ἐστὶ φύσει πρὸς πάντα τὰ ἀμείνονα τετράθεαι, καὶ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας μέτρου μὴ τὴν ἕξουσίαν, ἀλλὰ τὸν λογισμὸν ποιεῖσθαι· ἀν δὲ τὶς ἄδυνατὴ στέργειν τὸ κριττόν, λυσιτελεῖ αὐτῷ καὶ ἀκοῦτι σαφρονεῖν, ὅστε εἰν εὐδαιμονία καὶ τὸ μὴ πάντα εὐ πράττειν τίθεσθαι.—Max. Conf. Flor. f. 103r (M. p. 542).

57, 12 Πῶς μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἄτοπον τὰ τε ἔξω καὶ τὰ πόρρω πραττόμενα προθυμεῖσθαι ἡμᾶς κατορθώσαι πρὸ τοῦ τὴν πόλιν αὐτὴν ἑπανορθώσαι; πῶς δ’ οὐ σχέτλιον τῶν πολεμίων σπουδάζειν κρατῆσαι πρὸ τοῦ τὰ σφέτερα εὐθέσθαι;—Max. Conf. Flor. f. 157v (M. p. 543).

55, 7 Φυλάξασθαι χρῆ μὴ καὶ αὐθίς τι τῶν ὅμοιων

Zonaras 8, 22.

δεῖν ψηφίσασθαι, ἀλλὰ πρεσβεία χρήσασθαι πρότερον, καὶ μὲν πείσωσιν ὅτι οὐδὲν ἀδικοῦσιν, ἥσυχαν ἄγειν, ἀν δ’ ἀδικούντες ἀλώσι, τότε πολε-
of war is not the same thing as actually doing them.

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

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

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

Zonaras 8, 22.

but that they ought first to send an embassy, and then, if the Carthaginians persuaded them that they were guilty of no wrong, they should remain quiet, but if these were convicted of wrongdoing, they
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

παθείν. ὅπερ ποι καὶ μόνον ἂν τις ἐκ τῶν συμφορῶν ὠφεληθεῖν: αἱ μὲν γὰρ εὐπραγίαι σφάλλουσιν ἐστὶν ὅτε τοὺς ἀπερισκέπτως τι δι' αὐτὰς ἐλπίσαντας ὡς καὶ αὐθείς κρατήσοντας, τὰ δὲ δὴ πταιόματα ἀναγκάζει πάντα τινὰ ἕξ αὐτῶν ὅπως πεπείραται καὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος ἀσφαλῶς προορᾶσθαι.—Max. Conf. Flor. f. 103r (M. p. 542) and M. 139 (p. 189) (ὅτι αἱ μὲν εὐπραγίαι—προορᾶσθαι).

8 Ὅτι οὐκ ἔστι σμικρὸν οὔτε πρὸς τὴν παρὰ τῶν θεῶν εὐνοιαν οὔτε πρὸς τὴν παρὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων εὐδοξίαν τὸ μὴ δοκεῖν πολεμοποιεῖν, ἀλλ' ἀναγκάζεσθαι τοὺς ὑπάρξαντας ἀμώνασθαι.—M. 140 (p. 189).

9 Τοιούτων δὴ τινων ἐπ' ἀμφότερα λεχθέντων, ἔδοξε σφίσι παρασκευάζεσθαι μὲν ὡς καὶ πολεμήσουσι, μὴ μέντοι καὶ 1 τοῦτο ψηφίσασθαι, ἀλλὰ πρέσβεις ἐς τὴν Καρχηδόνα πέμψασι τοῦ Ἀννίβου καθηγορῆσαι, καὶ εἰ μὲν μὴ ἐπαινοίεν τὰ πραχθέντα ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ, δικάσαι, εἰ δ’ ἐστὶν ἀναφέροις αὐτὰ, ἐξαιτῆσιν αὐτοῦ ποιή-

Zonaras 8, 22.

μήσαι αὐτοῖς, ἵνα καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ πολέμου ἐς αὐτοὺς ἀπωσώμεθα. αἱ μὲν οὖν ἀμφοῖν δόξαι τοιαύται ἦσαν, ὡς ἐν κεφαλαὶς εἰπεῖν, τῇ δὲ βουλῇ παρασκευάζεσθαι μὲν ἔδοξε πρὸς τὴν μάχην, πρέσβεις δὲ εἰς τὴν Καρχηδόνα στείλαι καὶ τοῦ Ἀννίβου καθηγορῆσαι, καὶ εἰ μὲν μὴ ἐπαινοίεν τὰ πραχθέντα, δικάσαι, εἰ δ’ εἰς ἐκεῖνον αὐτὰ ἀνα-

78 1 καὶ added by Bs., small space in Ms.
BOOK XIII

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

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

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

Zonaras 8, 22.

should then wage war upon them—"in order," he added, "that we may also cast the responsibility for the war upon them." The opinions of the two men were substantially these. The senate decided to prepare, indeed, for the struggle, but to send envoys to Carthage and denounce Hannibal; and if the Carthaginians did not approve his deeds, they would arbitrate the matter, or if the responsibility were put upon him, they would demand his
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

σασθαι, καὶ μὲν ἐκδῶσιν αὐτῶν,—εἰ δὲ μη, τὸν πόλεμον σφισιν ἐπαγγείλαι.—Μ. 141 (p. 190).

10 "Ὅτι ὡς οὐδὲν σαφὲς οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι τοῖς πρέσβεσιν ἀπεκρίναντο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν ὀλυγώρᾳ αὐτοὺς ἔποιοῦτο, ὁ Φάβιος ὁ Μάρκος ¹ τὰς τε

Zonaras 8, 22.

φέροιεν, ἐξαιτῆσασθαι αὐτῶν, καὶ μὴ ἐκδῶσι, τὸν πόλεμον ἐπαγγείλαι αὐτοῖς.

Τῶν γοῦν πρέσβεων ἀπελθόντων οἱ Καρχη-

dόνιοι τὸ ποιητέον ἔσκοπον. καὶ τῆς Ἀσδρούβας,

εἰς τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀννίβου προπατρεσκευασμένων,

συνεβούλευσε σφίς χρῆναι τὴν τε ἀρχαίαν ἔλευ-

θεριάν ἀνακτήσασθαι καὶ τὴν ἐκ τῆς εἰρήνης δου-

λείαν ἀποτρίψασθαι καὶ χρήσαι καὶ δυνάμεις καὶ

συμμάχους συγκεκρητημένους, ἐπαγγαγὼν ὅτι

"καὶ τῷ Ἀννίβα μόνῳ ὡς βούλεται πρᾶξαι ἐπιτρέψῃτε, καὶ τὰ προσήκοντα ἔσται καὶ οὐδὲν αὐτοῦ πονησετε." τοιαῦτα δὲ αὐτοῦ εἰπόντος,

"Ἀννων ὁ μέγας ἐναντιούμενος τοῖς τοῦ Ἀσδρού-

βου λόγοις γνώμην εἰςπήγεικε μήτε ῥάδις μήτε

μυκρών καὶ ἀλλοτρίων ἐγκλημάτων ἔνεκα τὸν

πόλεμον ἔφ᾽ ἐαυτοὺς ἐπιστάσασθαι, παρὸν τὰ μὲν λύσαι, τὰ δὲ ἐς τοὺς δράσαντας αὐτὰ τρέψαι.

καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἐπαύσατο, τῶν δὲ Καρχη-

dόνιων οἱ μὲν πρεσβύτεροι καὶ τοῦ πρὸς μεμνη-

μένου πολέμου αὐτῷ συνετίθεντο, οἱ δὲ ἐν ἡλικίᾳ

καὶ μάλισθ' ὅσοι τὰ τοῦ Ἀννίβου ἐπραττόν

ἰσχυρῶς ἀντέλεγον. ὡς δὲ οὖνδὲν σαφὲς ἀπεκρί-

ναντο καὶ ἐν ὀλυγώρᾳ τοὺς πρέσβεις ἔλχον, ὁ

Μάρκος ¹ ὁ Φάβιος τὰς χείρας ὑπὸ τὸ ἰμάτιον

¹ Willems suggests that Μάρκος is here a corruption of Μάξιμος.
BOOK XIII

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

When the Carthaginians made no definite answer to the envoys and actually showed contempt for them, Marcus¹ Fabius thrust his hands beneath

Zonaras 8, 22.
surrender, and if he were not given up, they would declare war upon the nation.

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

¹ See note on the Greek text.

VOL. II.
χείρας ὑπὸ τὸ ἰμάτιον ὑπέβαλε καὶ ὑπτιάσας αὐτὰς ἔφη "ἐγὼ μὲν ἐνταῦθ’, ὁ Καρχηδόνιοι, καὶ τὸν πόλεμον καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην φέρω, ὑμεῖς δ’ ὀπότερον αὐτῶν βούλεσθε ἀντικρυς ἔλεσθε." ἀποκριναμένων δὲ πρὸς τούτο καὶ τότε αὐτῶν αἱρεῖσθαι μὲν μηδέτερον, δέχεσθαι δὲ ἐτοίμως ὀπότερον ἄν σφίσι καταλύσωσι, τὸν πόλεμον αὐτοῖς ἐπήγγειλεν—Μ. 142 (p. 190).

56 "Ὅτι οἱ 'Ρωμαῖοι Ναρβωνησίους πρὸς συμμαχίαν ἐκάλουν: οἱ δὲ οὕτω τι πρὸς τῶν Καρχηδόνιων κακὸν οὔτ’ αὐτὸ πρὸς τῶν 'Ρωμαίων ἁγαθόν, ὡστε τοῖς μὲν πολεμῆσαι, τοῖς δὲ ἀμύναι, πεπονθέναι πῶποτε ἐφασαν, καὶ πάνιν δι’ ὅργης αὐτοὺς ἔσχον, ἐπικαλοῦντές σφιοῦν δὴ τολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ τοὺς ὀμοφύλους αὐτῶν ἐδεδράκεσαν.—Μ. 143 (p. 190).

Zonaras 8, 22.

ὑποβαλὼν καὶ ὑπτιάσας αὐτὰς ἔφη "ἐγὼ μὲν ἐνταῦθ’, ὁ Καρχηδόνιοι, καὶ τὸν πόλεμον καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην φέρω, ὑμεῖς δ’ ὀπότερον αὐτῶν βούλεσθε ἔλεσθε." ἀποκριθέντων δὲ μηδέτερον μὲν αἱρεῖσθαι, δέχεσθαι δ’ ἐτοίμως ὀπότερον καταλείψωσιν, ἐπήγγειλεν αὐτοῖς αὐτίκα τὸν πόλεμον.

Οὔτω μὲν οὖν καὶ διὰ ταύτα οἶ τε ὅ τι 'Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι τὸ δεύτερον ἐπολέμησαν. καὶ τὸ δαιμόνιον τὰ γεγονόμενα προεσῆμην. ἐν γὰρ τῇ 'Ῥώμῃ ἀνθρωπίνως ἐλάλησε βοῦς, καὶ ἔτερος ἐν τῇ τῶν Ὁμαίων πανηγύρει ἐξ οἰκίας εἰς τὸ Τίβεριν ἔαυτὸν ἔρριψε καὶ ἐφθάρη, κεραυνοὶ τε πολλοὶ ἐφέροντο, καὶ αἷμα τὸ μὲν ἐξ ἀγαλμάτων ὀψιθη, 82
BOOK XIII

his toga, and holding them with palms upward, exclaimed: "I bring you here, Carthaginians, both war and peace; choose once for all whichever of them you wish." Upon their replying then and there to this challenge that they chose neither, but would readily accept whichever the Romans left with them, he declared war upon them.

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

Zonaras 8, 22.

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

In this way, then, and for these reasons the Romans and the Carthaginians went to war for the second time. Now Heaven had indicated beforehand what was to come to pass. For in Rome an ox talked with a human voice, and another at the Ludi Romani hurled himself out of a house into the Tiber and perished, many thunderbolts fell, and blood in one case was seen issuing from sacred
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

Zonaras § 8, 22.

to de e Examples of stratimotou e A, ete'sou te
Exivos e Examples of autov to stratopeda ou luko f brapase.
to o 'Anviba thoria polla kai agnosta ton
'Ibira diaopiainti prokathgethseto, kai opis
'oneiroi efpaiva. Edogxe gar pote tovs theous en
ekklisia kathmenvous metapempsiathai te autov
kai stratetusa oti tachista eis thn 'Italiav
prostaxei kai labeiv par auton tis odos 'yge-
mova, kai amemetreppei ut autov kelyusethnai
epesvai metasstraphanai de kai idein cheimova
megan chrovinata kai drakonta autv 'epakolou-
thenanta amhchanon, kai thevmasai erethai te ton
agwgon ti tanto eiven kai ton eipein "o 'Anviba,
tanto symporosvonta soi thn 'Italiav erxetai."
BOOK XIII

Zonaras 8, 22.

statues, whereas in another it dripped from the shield of a soldier, and the sword of another soldier was carried off by a wolf from the very midst of the camp. And in the case of Hannibal, many unknown wild beasts went before him leading the way, as he was crossing the Iberus, and a vision appeared to him in a dream. He thought once that the gods, sitting in assembly, sent for him and bade him march with all speed into Italy and receive from them a guide for the way, and that by this guide he was commanded to follow without turning around. He did turn, however, and saw a great tempest moving along and an immense serpent following in its wake. In surprise he asked his conductor what these were; and the guide said: "Hannibal, these are on their way to help you in the sack of Italy."
FRAGMENTS OF BOOK XIV

57 "Ὅτι ἀπὸ τοιαύτης φησὶν ὁ Δίων ἐκείθεν ἥδη προσδοκίας Ὀρμάιοις καὶ Καρχηδονίοις καθίστασθαι μέγιστον τῇ γνώμῃ τὸ διάφορον ἔστη τὴν τοῦ πολέμου διαχείρισιν εἰληφότας. τὸ τε γὰρ εὐθεῖα πρὸς εὐθυμίαν πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἄγων προθυμοτέρους τε αὐτοὺς καὶ ἔχον διαφορετικός πρὸς πίστιν τοῦ κρατησεῖν παρέχεται, καὶ τὸ δύσελπτο ἐστὶ ταῦθα καὶ ἐστὶ ἀπόγνωσιν ἐμβαλὼν καὶ τὴν ῥώμην τῆς εὐφυχίας ἀφαιρεῖται.—Μ. 144 (p. 191).

Zonaras 8, 23.

23. Ταῦτα τῷ μὲν Ἀννίβα τὴν χρηστὴν ἐξεῖδα, τοῖς δὲ Ὀρμάιοις δεινὴν ἐνεποίησεν ἐκφόβησιν. διὰ χὴ δὲ τὰς δυνάμεις οἱ Ὀρμαῖοι διελέντησαν καὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους, Σεμπρόνοι μὲνΔόγγον ἐς Σικελίαν ἔστησαν, ἐς δὲ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν Σκιπίωνα Πούπλιον. ὁ δὲ Ἀννίβας εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ὡς τάχιστα ἐπιθυμοῦν εἰσβαλεῖν, σπουδὴ ἔχῳρῃ, καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν Γαλατίαν τὴν μεταξὺ τοῦ Πυρηναίου καὶ τοῦ Ῥωδανοῦ οὐδαμῶν ἀμαχεὶ διήλθε. καὶ μέχρι μὲν τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ Ῥωδανοῦ οὔδεὶς εἰς χεῖρας ἤκεν αὐτῷ, ἕκει δὲ ὁ Σκιπίων ἐπεφάνη, καίπερ μὴ παροῦσης 86
FRAGMENTS OF BOOK XIV

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

Zonaras 8, 23.

23. These things inspired Hannibal with good hope, but threw the Romans into a state of profound terror; they divided their forces into two parts and sent out the consuls, Sempronius Longus to Sicily and Publius Scipio to Spain. Hannibal, desiring to invade Italy with all possible speed, marched on hurriedly, and traversed without a conflict the whole of Gaul lying between the Pyrenees and the Rhone. As far as the Rhone river no one came to oppose him, but at that point Scipio showed himself, although
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

2 Οία που ὁ ὠν φίλει τά τε διὰ πλείστου καὶ τά ἐν ἄγρωσίᾳ ὑπά τοῦ πολλοῦ ἐκταράσσειν, δέος τοῖς Ἰβηρσιν ὁ νεκ ἔλαχιστον ἐνεποίει. τὸ γὰρ τοῦ πολύ τοῦ ὄμιλου, τὸ μὴ ἀπ' οἰκείας τεινὸς αἰτίας ἀλλ' ἐν συμμαχίᾳ λόγῳ στρατεύόμενον, ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἔρρωται ἐφ' ὅσον ἄν ὕφελήσεσθαι τι ἀκινδύνως ἑλπίσωσιν ὅταν δὲ δὴ ἔγγυς τῶν ἀγώνων γένωνται, τὰς τε ἐπίδιας τῶν κερδῶν ἔξιστανται καὶ τὰς πίστεις τῶν ὑποσχέσεων ἐγκαταλείπουσι. καὶ τὸ μὲν πλείστον ταῖς γνώμαις, ὡς καὶ πάντη τὴν πάνθως κατορθώσοντας, λαβεῖν εἰ δ' ὁ ὠν τι καὶ σφαλεῖν, ἐλάχιστον αὐτὸ πρὸς ἄ ἀντήλπιζον νομίζειν.—Μ. 145 (p. 191).

Zonaras 8, 23.

αὐτῷ τῆς δυνάμεως. ὡμος μετὰ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων καὶ τῶν αὐτοῖς προσοίκων τά τε πλοῖα τά ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ προδέψθειρε καὶ τὸ ῥεόμα αὐτοῦ διὰ φυλακῆς ἐποίησετο. ὁ οὖν Ἀνάβας ἔτρυψε μέν τινα χρόνον καὶ σχεδίας καὶ σκάφη ἀλλα τε καὶ μονόμυλα κατασκευᾶσαι, ἐφθήνει δ' ὁ ὄν ὑπὸ πολυχερίας τά πρὸς περαιωσιν ἄναγκαια πάντα, πρὶν τῷ Σκιπίων τοῦ ὀικείῳ ἀφικέσθαι στράτευμα, προετοιμασάμενος. καὶ τὸν ἄδελφόν Μάγωνα σὺν τοῖς ἰππεῖσι καὶ ψιλοὶς τισίν, ἢ σκεδάσουσι τὸ ποταμός ἐπὶ πολύ καὶ νῆσοι διαλαμβάνεται, διαβησόμενον ἐπεμψει, αὐτὸς δὲ κατὰ τὸν ἐμφανῆ πόρου ἔχωροι δῆθεν, ἢν οἱ Γαλάται ἀπατηθείειν,

1 του Mai, του Ms.
2 ὑφελήσεσθαι v. Herw., ὑφεληθήσεσθαι Ms.
BOOK XIV

Even as matters at a great distance and unknown are wont to disturb a great many, so now they struck no little fear to the hearts of the Spaniards. For the majority of a multitude making a campaign not for any reason of its own but in the capacity of allies is a strong force just so long as the men have hopes of obtaining some benefit without danger; but when they have come close to the conflict, they abandon their hopes of gain and lose their faith in promises. And for the most part they get it into their heads that they are by all means going to be successful in every case; consequently, even if they should meet with some reverse, they regard it lightly in comparison with the hopes which have been offsetting it.¹

Zonaras 8, 23.

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

¹ The excerptor has apparently abridged Dio very carelessly here.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

3 "Οτι ἐπεὶ τῷ πλήθει τοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ Ἀννίβου οὔδὲν τῶν παρασκευαζόμενων ἔξηρκει . . . 1 καὶ τῖνος αὐτῷ διὰ τούτο γνώμην δόντος ταῖς τῶν ἐναντίων σαρξὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας σιτίζειν, τὸ μὲν πράγμα οὐκ ἐδυσχέραινε, φοβεῖσθαι δὲ ἐφὴ μῆποτε τοιούτων σωμάτων ἀπορήσαντες ἐπὶ ἀλληλοφαγίαν τράπωνται.—Μ. 146 (p. 191).

Zonaras 8, 23.

πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀντιταττόμενοι, καὶ ἀμελέστερον ἐν ἄλλοις τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὴν φυλακὴν θῶνται· ὦ καὶ γέγονε. καὶ ὁ Μάγων διέβη τὸν ποταμὸν, ὦ δὲ Ἀννίβας καὶ οἱ περὶ αὐτὸν κατὰ τὸν πόρον ἐπεραιώντο. καὶ γενόμενοι κατὰ τὸ μέσον ἡλάλαξαν, καὶ οἱ σαλπυγκταὶ δὲ συνήχθησαν· καὶ ὁ Μάγων κατὰ νότου τοὺς ἀνθεστηκόσι προσέπτεσε· καὶ οὕτως οἱ τὲ ἄλλοι καὶ οἱ ἐλέφαντες ἀκινδύνως ἐπεραιώθησαν. ἀρτὶ δὲ περαιώθηντοι αὐτῶν καὶ τῷ Σκιπίων ἡ οἰκεία ἀφίκετο δύναμις. πέμψαντες οὖν εἰς προσκοπὴν ἵππες ἀμφότεροι τοιούτω τέλει τῆς ἰππομαχίας ἐχρήσαντο ὅποιον ὁ σύμπας ἐσχήκε πόλεμος· οἱ γὰρ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ ἐλαττὸν τὴν πρώτην ἐνεγκάμενοι καὶ συχνοὺς ἀποβαλόντες ἐνίκησαν.

Ἐντεῦθεν Ἀννίβας ἀπείναυ πρὸς Ἰταλίαν σπεύδων, ὑποτεύων δὲ τὰς ἐπιτομοτέρας τῶν ὁδῶν, ἐκεῖνας μὲν παρεξήλθεν, ἔτεραν δὲ πορευθεῖς

1 Lacuna recognized by Bk.
BOOK XIV

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

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Zonaras 8, 23.

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

Then Hannibal, in haste to set out for Italy, but suspicious of the more direct roads, turned aside from them and followed another, on which he met
"Οτι Ἀννίβας ἔργον ἔχεσθαι συγκαλέσας τοὺς στρατιώτας παρῆγγαγε τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους οὖς κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν εἰλήφει, καὶ ἐπύθετο αὐτῶν πότερα δεδέσθαι τε ἐν πέδαις καὶ δουλεύειν

Zonaras 8, 23.

ἰσχυρῶς ἔπονησε. τά τε γὰρ ὅρη ἐκεῖνα ἀυτοτομώτατα ἔστι καὶ ἡ χιών πολλὴ γενομένη καὶ τὰς φάραγγας ὑπ’ ἀνέμων πληρώσασα καὶ ὁ κρύσταλλος ἰσχυρότατα παγεῖς δεινῶς σφᾶς ἐταλαιψάρησε καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν αὐτῶν στρατιωτῶν ὑπὸ τε τοῦ χειμῶνος καὶ ὑπὸ σιτοδείας ἀπώλοντο, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ οἰκαί ἄνεχώρησαν. ἔχει δὲ λόγος ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς ἀνέστρεψεν αὖν, εἰ μὴ πλεῖων καὶ ἀπορωτέρα ἡ προδιηνυσμένη ὅδος τῆς λειτουρμῆς ἐπύγχανε. διὰ μὲν δὴ τούτο ὁμιλεῖ ἀπετράπετο, ἐξαπίνης δὲ ἐκτὸς τῶν Ἀλπεων ἐκφανεὶς θαῦμα καὶ δέος τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐνεβάλε.

Καὶ ὁ μὲν προσεχώρει τὰ ἐν ποσὶ προσποιούμενος, Σκιπίων δὲ τὸν μὲν ἄδελφον Γά-ion Σκιπίωνα ὑποστρατηγοῦντα αὐτῷ εἰς τὴν Ἰβηρίαν ἑπεμψεν ως καταληψόμενον αὐτὴν ἢ τὸν Ἀννίβαν ἐπανάζουντα. αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀννίβαν ἠλάσε. καὶ ἡμέρας μὲν τινὰς ἐπέσχον, ἔπειτα ἄμφως πρὸς τὴν μάχην ὅρμησαν. πρὶν δὲ δὴ ἔργον ἔχεσθαι, συγκαλέσας τοὺς στρατιώτας ὁ Ἀννίβας παρῆγγαγε τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους, οὓς κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν εἰλήφει, καὶ ἠρετοι αὐτῶν πότερον δεδέσθαι καὶ δουλεύειν

1 Ἀννίβας Mai, ἀννίβαλ Ms. (and so in a few other places).
BOOK XIV

Hannibal before beginning the struggle called together the soldiers and brought in the captives whom he had taken by the way; then he asked the latter whether they wished to undergo imprisonment in fetters and to endure a grievous slavery or

Zonaras 8, 23.

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

So he advanced, taking possession of whatever lay before him. Scipio sent his brother Gaius⁠[^1] Scipio, who was serving as lieutenant under him, into Spain, either to seize and hold it or else to draw Hannibal back. He himself marched against Hannibal; and after waiting a few days they both advanced to the contest. But before beginning the struggle, Hannibal called together the soldiers and brought in the captives whom he had taken by the way; he asked the latter whether they preferred to undergo imprisonment and to endure a grievous

[^1] Gnaeus Scipio is meant wherever Zonaras writes this form.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

κακῶς ἢ μονομαχήσαι ἀλλήλοις, ὅστ' ἀφεθήναι προῖκα τοὺς νικήσατας, ἔθελον. ἐπειδὴ τε τοῦθ' εἶλοντο, συνέβαλεν αὐτοῦς, καὶ μαχασμένων σφῶν εἶπεν "εἰτ' οὐκ αἰσχρόν, ὦ ἄνδρες στρατιῶται, τούτους μὲν τοὺς ύψ' ἡμῶν ἐαλωκότας οὕτω πρὸς τὴν ἀνδρείαν ἔχειν ὡστε καὶ ἀποθανεῖν ἀντὶ τοῦ δουλεύσαι ἐπιθυμῆσαι, ἡμᾶς δ' ὁκνήσαι πόνον τινὰ καὶ κίνδυνον ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ ἀκούειν ἐτέρων καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἀρχεῖν ἄλλων ὑποστήναι;"—Μ. 147 (p. 192).

5 "Οσα ἐλαττωθέντες ποτὲ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἐπάθομεν, ταύτα νικήσαντες αὐτούς ἀντιδράσωμεν· εὖ γὰρ ἵστε ὅτι προτόκλησαν μὲν πάντων ἃν λέγω τευξόμεθα, κρατηθέντες δὲ οὖδέ τὴν διαφυγὴν ἁσφαλὴ σχῆσομεν. τοῦ τε γὰρ κρατήσαντος τὸ πάν παραξρήμα φίλων ἔστι, καὶ μισοῦν αὐτὸ τυγχάνῃ, καὶ τὸ νικηθὲν οὐδὲς οὐδὲ τῶν οἰκείων ἔτι θεραπεύει.—Max. Conf. Flor. f. 157r (M. p. 543) and M. 148 (p. 192) (ὅτι τοῦ κρατήσαντος—θεραπεύει).

8a "Ὅτι τὸ ἄπαξ προσπτᾶσαν πρὸς τινας ἄει τε δυσωπεῖται σφᾶς καὶ θαρρεῖν οὐκέτι τομᾶ.—M. 149 (p. 192).

Zonaras 8, 23.

κακῶς βούλοντο ἢ μονομαχήσαι ἀλλήλοις, ὅστ' ἀφεθήναι προῖκα τοὺς νικήσαντας. καὶ ὡς τὸ δεύτερον εἶλοντο, συνέβαλεν αὐτοῦς. καὶ μαχασμένων ἐδημηγόρησε, τοὺς οἰκείους στρατιώτας ἐπιρροωνύμοις καὶ παραθήγοις εἰς πόλεμον τοῦτο δ' 1 ὅτι supplied by Bs.
BOOK XIV

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

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

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

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Zonaras 8, 23.

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

Zonaras 8, 23–24.

ἐτέρωθεν καὶ ὁ Σκιτίων ἐποίησεν. εἶτα συνήλθον μὲν ὡς δλοις τοῖς στρατοπέδοις μαχούμενοι, ὁ Σκιτίων δὲ, προσυμμίξας τῷ ἵππῳ καὶ ἤττηθεὶς συχνοῦσι τε ἀποβαλλόν καὶ αὐτὸς τρωθεὶς, ἀποθανὼν τ' ἄν, εἰ μὴ περ αὐτῷ Σκιτίων ὁ νίς καίπερ δὲν ἐπτακαιδεκαέτης ἐπήμυνε, κατέδεισε μὴ καὶ τῷ πεζῷ σφαλῆ, καὶ αὐτίκα τε ἔπανήγαγε καὶ τῆς νυκτὸς ὑπεχώρησεν.

24. Ἄννιβας δὲ μεθ' ἡμέρᾳ δὴ τοῦ ἀποχώρησιν, αὐτοὺς μαθὼν πρὸς τὸν Ἡριδανὸν Ἰλθε, καὶ μήτε σχεδίας ἢ πλοία εὐρών (ἐνεπέπτρηστο γὰρ παρὰ τοῦ Σκιτίων), τὸν μὲν ἄδελφον Ἄγγωνα σὺν τοῖς ἰππεύσι διανήξασθαι καὶ ἐπιδιώξει τοὺς Ῥωμαίοις ἐκελεύον, αὐτὸς δὲ ἄνω πρὸς τὰς πνηγὰς χωρῆσας τῶν ποταμῶν τοὺς ἔλεφαντας κατὰ τὸν ἔπιρρον διαβηθήτω προσέταξε. καὶ οὕτω τοῦ ὑδάτων περὶ τοῖς ὅγκοις τῶν ἐφὶ ἐμποδιζομένου καὶ σκέδασκουμένου, ῥάνει κατὰ σφῶν διεπεραιώθη. καταληφθέεις οὖν ὁ Σκιτίων κατὰ χώραν ἔμεινε, καὶ ἔμαχεσα τ' ἄν, εἰ μὴ νυκτὸς οἱ Γαλάται οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ ἠτυμολήσαν. ὁ δ' οὖν Σκιτίων ἐπὶ τοῦτῳ παραχθεῖς καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ τραύματος ταλαιπωρῆσας ὑπὸ νύκτα αὐθεὶς ἐξανέστη καὶ ἐπὶ μετεώρον τὸ τάφρευμα ἐποίησατο· δίωξες δὲ αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἐγένετο. μετὰ δὲ τούτῳ ἄφικοντο καὶ οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι, καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν διὰ μέσον ποιησάμενοι ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο.

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

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

Scipio, on account of his wound and because of what had taken place, was inclined to wait and send for reinforcements; and Hannibal, after many attempts to provoke him to battle, finding that he
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

Zonaras 8, 24.

ἐσπάνισε, φρουρίφ προσέβαλεν ἐν φ σῖτος πολὺς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἔκειτο. καὶ μηδὲν περαίνων, τῶν φρούραρχον διέφθειρε χρήμας, κάκεινο τε προ-
δοθέν ἔλαβε καὶ τὰ ἄλλα σχεῖν τὰ μὲν ὀπλοῖς, τὰ
δὲ χρυσῆ ἐπῆλπισε. καὶ τούτῳ ὁ Δόγγος τὴν
Σικελίαν τῷ ὑποστρατήγῳ πιστεύσας πρὸς τὸν
Σκεπτίωνα κεκλημένος ἀφίκετο. καὶ οὗ πολλῷ
ὕστερον ὑπὸ φιλοτιμίας, καὶ ὅτι τινὰς κατατρέ-
χοντας τὴν χώραν ἐκράτησεν, εἰς παράταξιν
ἀρμῆσαι. καὶ ἐσφάλη ἐνέδρας περιπετείων· καὶ
tοῦ Ἀννίβου ἐπεξελθόντος μετὰ τῶν πεζῶν καὶ
tῶν ἐλεφάντων, οἱ μὲτ' αὐτοῦ ἐτράπησαν εἰς
φυγήν, καὶ πολλοὶ διεφθάρησαν φόνῳ, πολλοὶ δὲ
cαὶ εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν ἄπειροκέπτως ἐμπεσόντες
ἐπνύγησαν, ὡς ὅληχος μετὰ τοῦ Δόγγου περι-
σωθῆναι. νικήσας μὲντοι ὁ Ἀννίβας οὐκ ἔχαρεν,
ὅτι στρατιώτας τε πολλοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἐλεφάντας
πλὴν ἔνδο ὑπὸ τοῦ χειμῶνος καὶ τῶν τραυμάτων
ἀπέβαλεν.

'Ανοχὴν οὐν ἀσπονδὸν ποιησάμενοι πρὸς τὴν
συμμαχία σφῶν ἐκάπτοι ἐξώρησαν, καὶ ταῖς
πόλεισιν αὐτῶν ἐχείμαζον. καὶ τοῖς μὲν Ῥωμαίοις
ἀφθονα ἐφοίτα τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, ὁ δ' Ἀννίβας οὐκ
ἀρκούμενος τοῖς παρὰ τῶν συμμάχων διδομένοις
tαῖς τε κώμαις καὶ ταῖς πόλεις τῶν Ῥωμαίων
προσπίπτων τὰ μὲν ἐκράτει, τῶν ¹ ὅ ἀπεκρούετο.
καὶ ποτε τῷ ἱππικῷ ὑπὸ τοῦ Δόγγου νικηθέεις
ἐτρώθη. θαρσήσαντες οὖν ἐκ τούτου τινὲς τῶν
Ῥωμαίων καὶ καθ' ἐαυτοὺς προσβάλλοντε αὐτοῖς
ἐπεξῆλθον. κακείνους τε ἐφθειρε καὶ τοῦ χωρίου

98

¹ τῶν Bs., τὰ Ms.
BOOK XIV

Zonaras 8, 24.

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

Accordingly, they arranged an armistice without any formal pledges, and both sides retired to the territory of their allies and passed the winter in the cities there. Abundant provisions kept coming to the Romans; but Hannibal, not satisfied with the contributions of the allies, made frequent raids upon the Roman villages and cities, sometimes conquering, sometimes being repulsed. Once he was beaten by Longus and his cavalry and received a wound. Some of the Romans, encouraged by this, came out by themselves to oppose him when he assailed them. These he destroyed and received the capitulation of
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

6b  Κούφων¹ γάρ τι καὶ δειλὸν καὶ ἀπιστον φύσει πάν τὸ Γαλατικὸν γένος ἔστίν. ἀσπερ γὰρ ἐτοίμως θρασύνεται πρὸς τὰς ἐλπίδας, οὕτως ἐτοιμότερον φοβηθεῖν ἐκπλήττεται. πιστὸτερον τ’ οὐδὲν τοῖς Καρχηδόνιοις δὲν² τοὺς ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους ἐκδιδάξει τε μηδέποτε ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐμβάλλειν τολμῆσαι . . .—Μ. 150 (p. 192).

Zonaras 8, 24-25.

ὁμολογία ἐκράτησε καὶ αὐτὸ μὲν κατέσκαψε, τῶν δὲ αἰχμαλώτων τοὺς μὲν Ὑπαραγαίους ἀπέκτεινε, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἀφῆκε. τοῦτο δὲ καὶ ἐφ’ ἀπασί τοῖς ἑφρομενοῖς ἐπόθει, τὰς πόλεις δ’ αὐτῶν οἰκειομένος. ἀμέλει καὶ τῶν λυπτῶν Γαλατῶν πολλοὶ καὶ Δυσὺν καὶ Τυρσηνῶν τοὺς Ὑπαραγάους τοὺς παρ’ αὐτοῖς ὄντας οἱ μὲν φονεύσαντες, οί δὲ ἐκδόντες μετέστησαν.

'Eσ δὲ τὴν Τυρσηνίδα τῷ Ἀννίβα πορευομένῳ ὁ Λόγγος ἐπέθετο, χειμώνως πολλοῦ γενομένου. πεσόντων δὲ ἀμφοτέρως πολλῶν ὁ Ἀννίβας ἐς τὴν Δυσὺντικὴν ἐλθὼν ἐνδιέτριψεν. ὑποπτεύων δὲ καὶ τοὺς σφετέρους οὗνδε ράδιως ἐπίστευεν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐσθήτα τε μεταβάλλων καὶ κόμαις χρώμενος περιθέτοις τὴν τε διάλεξιν ἄλλοτε ἅλλην ποιοόμενος (ζηδεί γὰρ πλείους καὶ τὴν τῶν Δατίνων), καὶ νύκτωρ καὶ μεθ’ ἡμέραν πολλὰ ἐπεσκόπει ἥκουε τε πλεῖστα ὡς οὔκ Ἀννίβας καὶ τινὰ ὡς ἐτερὸς τε ἐφθέγγετο.

25. Ἐν μὲν οὖν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ ταῦτα ἐγίνετο, ὁ δ’ ἐτερος Σκιπτίων ὁ Γάιος εἰς τὴν Ἰβηρίαν παρέ-

¹ κούφων Mai (conjecture), τι π...ν Ma. acc. to Ba., π...π... acc. to v. Herw.

² Καρχηδόνιοι ψ supplied by Ba., Ms. illegible.
BOOK XIV

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

Zonaras 8, 24-25.

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

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

25. While this was going on in Italy the other Scipio, Gaius, had sailed along the coast to Spain,
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

7 "Οτι\(^1\) πολλα τερατα τα μεν ως αληθως συμβαντα, τα δε και ματην θυροουμενα ελογοποιηθη, οταν γαρ τινες ισχυρως φοβηθωσιν και σφισι και εκεινα ως ουνως γενομενα αποδειχθη, πολλακις ετερα προσφανταζεται και απαξ τι και εκεινων πιστευθη, προπετως ηδη και ταλλα πιστων λαμβανει. έθυνοτο ουν αι θυσιαι και ταλλα δοτα οι ανθρωποι προς τε την του παροντος δεινον σφισιν άκεσιν και προς την του άποπτευμενον διαφευξει ειωθασι ποιειν εγχυνετο. αλλα και γαρ φιλοσφιν οι πολλοι των τωντων παρα το κρειττον ελπιζοντες πιστευσαι, και τοτε, ει και μαλλον δια το του προοδοκωμενου κωνδυνου μεγεθος ενομιζον οτι και το τραχυτατου αυτοις συμπεσοι, δημως ήλπιζον μη ήττηθησεθαι.—Μ. 151 (p. 192).

Zonaras 8, 25.

πλενοει, και τα παραθαλασσα αυτης μεχρι του Ἰβηρος πάντα και των άνω συχνα τα μεν βια, τα δε και έκοντα προσειλημε, και τον Βάννωνα μαχυ νικησας εξωγησεν. ο δε του Ἀννιβου όμαιμων Ἀσδρουβας μαθων ταυτα διεβη τον Ἰβηρα, και των μεταστατων των υπηγαγετο του δε Σκιπίους επελθοντος αυτω άνεχωρησεν.

Οι δ’ έν τη Ρώμη του Φλαμίνιου και τον Γέμινον\(^2\) υπατος αυθις έιλουτο. Ἀννιβας δ’ άρτι του άρος έπισταντος ως έγνω τον Φλαμίνιον

\(^1\) Many words of this fragment were illegible even to Mai. It is here printed as restored tentatively by Bs.
\(^2\) Γέμινον Pinder, γεμίνιον A, γαίνιον BCe.
BOOK XIV

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

Zonaras 8, 25.

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

The people of Rome again chose Flaminius and Geminus consuls. At the very beginning of spring Hannibal was apprised that Flaminius together with
μετὰ τοῦ Σερουλίου Γέμινου χειρὶ πολλῆ ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἱόντα, πρὸς ἔξαπατὴν αὐτῶν ἐτράπη, καὶ πλαττόμενος ἐνδιατρίψειν ἐκεῖ καὶ μάχῃ συνάψεως, ἔπει δομῶντος αὐτὸν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι κατὰ χώραν μένειν ἀμέλειας τῶν ὀδῶν ἔσχον, ἐπὶ τοῦ στρατοπέδου τοῦ ἱππεῶς κατέληπτεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ὑπὸ νῦκτα ἄρας τὰ τε στενόπορα μεθ' ἠσυχίας διήλθε καὶ πρὸς Ἀρίτιον ἠπείγετο· καὶ οἱ ἱππεῖς δὲ, ἔπει πολὺ προῆλθεν, ἀπήσαν αὐτῷ ἐφεπόμενοι. οἱ δ' ὑπάται γρόντες ἠπατημένοι, Γέμινος μὲν αὐτοῦ ἡπέμεινε τοὺς τ' ἀφετηκότας κακώσων καὶ κωνοσών ἐπίκουρος Καρχηδώνιος, Φλαμίνιος δὲ μόνος ἐδώκειν, ἵν' αὐτὸν μόνον τὸ ἔργον τῆς νίκης, ὡς φησί, γένηται. καὶ τὸ Ἀρίτιον προκατέλαβεν· ο γὰρ Ἀννίβας πυρομομέταν τραπόμενος δυσόδοις ἐνέτυχε, καὶ ἀνθρώπους συχνοὺς καὶ πολλὰ ὑποζύγια καὶ τὸν ἔτερον τῶν ὀθενάμων ἀπέβαλεν. ὡς δ' οὖν πρὸς τὸ Ἀρίτιον ἐλθὼν, καὶ εὐρῶν ἐκεῖ τοῦ Φλαμίνιου, κατεφρόνησεν αὐτοῦ, καὶ μάχῃ μὲν οὐ συνέβαλε, τὸ γὰρ χωρίον ἀνεπίτηδειον οἱ ἐδὸκει, τείραν δὲ αὐτοῦ ποιούμενος ἔκειρε τὴν χώραν. καὶ τοῦτο ἐπεκδραμότων τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπανήγαγεν, ἵνα φοβεῖσθαι δόξη. τῆς δὲ νυκτὸς ἐξαναστάς, ἐπιτηδείως τὰ χωρία πρὸς τὴν μάχην εὐρῶν ἐμείνε. καὶ τοῦ μὲν πεζοῦ τὸ πλεῖον κατὰ τὰ ὅρη λογάν ἔταξε, τὸ δ' ἱππικόν σύμπαν ἔξω τῶν στενῶν ἀφανός ἐφεδρέυειν ἐκέλευσε, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τοῦ γῆλόφου μετ' ὀλύναι ἐσχήτοπεδοῦστο. ο δὲ Φλαμίνιος ἐν φρουήματι ὄν, καὶ ἐπὶ μετεώρου σὺν ὀλύναις αὐτῶν ἰδῶν, τὴν τε
BOOK XIV

Zonaras 8, 25.

Servilius Geminus was advancing against him with a large force, and he set himself to deceiving them. He pretended that he was going to tarry there and offer battle, and when the Romans, thinking that he would remain in his present position, became careless in guarding the roads, he set out at nightfall, leaving his cavalry behind in camp, quietly traversed the passes, and hastened on toward Arretium; and the cavalry, after he had got far ahead, set out to follow him. When the consuls found they had been tricked, Geminus stayed behind to harass those who had revolted and prevent them from assisting the Carthaginians, and Flaminius alone pursued, eager that he alone should have the credit for the expected victory. He succeeded in occupying Arretium first, for Hannibal in taking a shorter route had encountered difficult roads and had lost numerous men, many pack animals, and one of his eyes. It was late, then, when he reached Arretium and found there Flaminius, whom he regarded with contempt. He did not give battle, for the spot seemed to him unsuitable; but by way of testing his enemy he proceeded to lay waste the country. At this the Romans made a sally and he retired, to give them the idea that he was afraid. During the night he withdrew, and finding a satisfactory spot for battle, remained there. He arranged that most of the infantry should form an ambush along the mountain sides, and ordered all the cavalry to lie in wait concealed from view outside the pass; he himself encamped with a few followers on the hilltop. Flaminius was very confident, and when he saw Hannibal with but a few men on the high ground
Λοιπῶν στρατιῶν πόρρω τοι πετομφέναι νομίσας, ῥαδίως μεμονωμένον αἰρήσειν ἦλπισε, καὶ ἐς τὸ στενὸν ἀπερισκέπτως εἰσῆλθε, κάνταυθα, ὅψε γὰρ ἦν, ἡμῖσατο. καὶ ὑπὸ μέσας νῦκτας ὑπὸ καταφρονήσεως αὐτοῦς ἀφυλάκτως καθεύδοντας πανταχόνδεν ὁμοί περιέσχον οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι, καὶ πόρρωθεν ἀκοντίως καὶ σφενδόναι καὶ τοξεύκμασι τοὺς μὲν ἐναξομένους ἔτι, τοὺς δὲ τὰ ὅπλα λαμβάνοντας ἐκτεινον, αὐτοὶ μὴ τὶ δεινὸν ἀντιπάσχοντες. οἱ γὰρ Ῥωμαῖοι, μηδενὸς αὐτοῖς συμπλεκομένου, σκότους τε καὶ ὁμίχλης σύσης, οὐκ εἶχον τῇ σφετέρᾳ χρήσασθαι ἀρέτῃ. τοσοῦτος δ' ἐγένετο θόρυβος καὶ τοιαύτῃ ταραχώδης ἐκπληξίς κατέσχεν αὐτοὺς ὡς μηδὲ τῶν σεισμῶν τῶν τότε γενομένων αἰσθέσθαι, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν οἰκοδομήματα κατερράγη, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τῶν ὅρων τὰ μὲν διέσχε, τὰ δὲ καὶ συνέπεσεν, ὡς καὶ τάς φάραγγας ἐμφράζει, καὶ ποταμοὶ δὲ τῆς ἅρχαιας ἔξοδον ἀποκλεισθέντες ἄλλην ἐπτράποντο. τοιούτοι μὲν σεισμοί τὴν Τυρσηνίδα κατέσχον, οὐ μέντοι καὶ οἱ μαχόμενοι ἐν ἑνὸισ σφῶν ἐγένοντο. αὐτὸς τε οὖν ὁ Φλαμύνιος καὶ ἄλλοι παμπληθεῖς ἔπεσον, συχνοὶ δὲ ἐπὶ τινὰ λόφον ἄνεβησαν· ἐπεὶ δ' ἡμέρα ἐγένετο, εἰς φυγὴν ὁρμησαν, καὶ καταληψθέντες τὰ τε ὅπλα καὶ ἑαυτοὺς ἐπ' ἀδεία παρέδοσαν. δ' γε μὴν 'Ἀννίβας βραχὺ τῶν ὁμουμοσμένων ἐφρονίσει, πάντων δὲ τῶν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἀλὸντων τὸ μὲν ὑπῆκουν τὸ τε συμμαχίων τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἄρηκεν, αὐτοὺς δὲ ἐκεῖνοι δήσας ἐφύλασσον. πράξας δὲ ταῦτα ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ἤπειρετο, καὶ μέχρι μὲν Ναρνίας τὴν τε γῆν 106.
he believed that the rest of the army had been sent to some distant point, and hoped to take him easily while thus isolated. So he carelessly entered the mouth of the pass and there, since it was late, pitched camp. About midnight, when the Romans were sleeping unguarded, through scorn of their enemies, the Carthaginians surrounded them on every side at once, and by using from a distance javelins, slings, and arrows they killed some who were still in their beds and others who were just seizing their arms, without receiving themselves any serious harm in return. For the Romans, having no tangible adversaries and with darkness and mist prevailing, found no opportunity to make use of their valour. So great was the uproar and such the confusion and alarm that seized them, that they were not even aware of the earthquakes then occurring, although many buildings fell in ruins and many mountains either were cleft asunder or collapsed so that they blocked up the ravines, and rivers shut off from their ancient outlets turned elsewhere. Such were the earthquakes which overwhelmed Etruria, yet the combatants were not conscious of them. Both Flaminius himself and a vast number of others fell, though not a few managed to climb a hill. When it became day, these turned to flight, but being overtaken, surrendered themselves and their arms on promise of pardon. Hannibal, however, recking little of his oaths, kept those who were Romans in chains, but released their subjects and allies from among all the captives he had in his army. After this success he hastened toward Rome and proceeded as far as Narnia, devastating the country and winning
DIOS'S ROMAN HISTORY

8 "Οτι οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι δικτάτορα τῶν Φάβιον ἀνείπου, ἀγαπώντες εἰ αὐτοῖς τε περιγένοντο οὔδε τοῖς συμμάχοις βοηθεῖαν ἀπέστειλαν οὐδεμίαν οὔδε εστὶ . . . . . . , πυθόμενοι δὲ τοῦ Ἀννίβαβα τῆς τε ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ὁδὸν ἀποτετράβαι

Zonaras 8, 25.

tέμνων καὶ τὰς πόλεις προσαγόμενος πλὴν Σπωλητίου προῆλθε, Γάιον τε ἐνταῦθα Κεντήμιον στρατηγὸν ἐνεδρεύοντα περισσών ἔθειρεν ὡς δὲ τῷ Σπωλητίῳ προσβαλὼν ἀπεκρούσθη, καὶ τὴν τοῦ Ναείρου γέφυραν καθηρημένην εἰδε, καὶ περὶ τοὺς ἀλλούς ποταμούς οὓς ἀναγκαῖοι ἦν διελθεῖν τούτῳ γεγονός ἐπτύθετο, τῆς μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ὄρμης ἐπέσχεσεν, ἐς δὲ τὴν Καμπάνιαν ἔτραπτεν, τὴν τε χώραν ἀρίστην καὶ τὴν πόλιν τὴν Καπνή

. μεγίστην οὐσιν ἀκοῦν ένόμιζεν, εἰ σφαῖ προ-

καταλάβοι, καὶ τάλλα δὲ ὠλγον προσκετήσασθαι.

Οἱ δὲ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ πυθόμενοι περὶ τῆς ἡττῆς ἠληγησαν, καὶ δἰ ἐκείνους καὶ δἰ ἐαυτοὺς ὀδυρό-

μενοι, καὶ ἐν ἀπόρῳ ἦσαν, τὰς τε γεφύρας τοῦ Τιθέριδος πλὴν μᾶς καθείλον καὶ τὰ τείχη πολ-

λαχῇ πεπονηκότα σπουδὴ ἐπεσκεύαζον. δικτάτορά

τε προχειρίσασθαι βουλήθεντες αὐτοῦ ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ αὐτὸν ἀνείποιν. ἀγαπώντες δὲ εἰ αὐτοῖς μόνοι

σωθείν, οὐκ ἐστειλαν τοῖς συμμάχοις βοηθείαν. πυθόμενοι δὲ τοῦ Ἀννίβα βας ἔς Καμπάνιαν ὄρμη-

θήναι, τότε καὶ τοῖς συμμάχοις ἐπικουρήσατε ἐγνω-

σαν. τῷ δὲ Ἀννίβα τοῦ δικτάτορα τῶν Φάβιον

1 Ῥωμαῖοι δικτάτορα τῶν Φάβιον ἀνείπου suggested by Be., δτι oii dikatipores . . . read by Mai. 2 περιγένοντο Be., περιγέ-

νυντο Ms. 3 τοῖς συμμάχοις βοηθείαν ἀπέστειλαν οὐδεμίαν Be. from Zon., Ms. nearly illegible.
BOOK XIV

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

Zonaras 8, 25.

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

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

Zonaras 8, 25-26:

καὶ τὸν ἵππαρχον τὸν Μάρκον τὸν Μινούκιον ἀντικατέστησαν. οὐ ἐπ' ἐκεῖνον ἐθώντες ἢ μὲν χεῖρας αὐτῷ οὐκ ἤσαν, παρεπόμενοι δὲ ἐπετήρουν εἰ που καιρὸς μάχης παραπέσοι άποκινδυνεύτω γὰρ ο Φάβιος κατεπτηχόσι στρατιώταις καὶ ἡττημένοις πρὸς πλείους καὶ νευκηκότας οὐκ ἦθελε, καὶ ἀμα ὡς μᾶλλον τὴν χώραν κακώσειαν, τοσοῦτῳ θᾶσσον ἀπορρίσαν τροφῆς αὐτοὺς ἠπάσχεσε. τοιούτους χρώμενος λογισμοῖς οὔτε ἄλλῃ χώρᾳ ἐπήμυνεν οὔτε τῇ Καμπανία. κατέκλεισεν οὖν διὰ ταῦτα πάν τὸ πολέμιον εἰς τὴν Καμπανίαν περισσῶν γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἀπανταχόθησιν οὐκ εἰδότας εἰν φυλακῇ ἐπουθήσατο. αὐτὸς μὲν γὰρ κάκ τὴς θαλάσσης καὶ ἐκ τῆς συμμαχίδος τῶν ἐπιτηδείων εὐπόρει, ἐκεῖνοις δὲ μόνα τὰ ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἢν ἐκεῖρον ὑπάρχοντα ἤδει. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀνέχει καὶ τῆς μελλῆσεως οὐκ ἑφορύντες. διὸ καὶ παρὰ τῶν πολιτῶν αἰτίαν εἴχεν, ὡς καὶ μελλήτης ἐπονομασθήναι.

26. Ὅ δ' Ἀνυῆθας, ἔπει πρὸς χειμώνα ἐγίνετο, καὶ οὔτε κατὰ χώραν χειμάσαι σπάνει τῶν ἀναγκών ἦνυντο καὶ πολλαχὴ πειράσας ἐξεῖναι τῆς Καμπανίας κεκώλυτο, τοιοῦτοι τὸ ἐμηχανήσατο. τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους πάντας, ἵνα μὴ τις αὐτῶν διαφύγῃ καὶ τὸ γινόμενον γνωρίσῃ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις, κατέσφαξε καὶ τὰς ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ

1 ἐκεῖνος, μὴ πως ... μεταστῶσιν Kuebler, ἐκεῖνοι σιωπῶς ... μετάστασιν Mai (and Ms.?). εἶτε ... εἴτε Be., μήτε ... μήτε Mai (and Ms.?).
BOOK XIV

they made sure of the safety of those allies also, through fear that they might change sides either willingly or under compulsion.


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

26. When it came to be nearly winter and Hannibal could not pass that season where he was, owing to the lack of necessary supplies, and yet had been checked in numerous attempts to get out of Campania, he devised a plan of the following nature. He first slew all the captives, that no one of them might escape and acquaint the Romans with what was being done. Then he collected the cattle
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

"Οτι ο Φάβιος δι' ἀσφαλείας μᾶλλον ἢ διὰ κινδύνων προσεδρέων οὔτε πείραν λαβεῖν ἀνδρῶν χειροτεχνῶν τοῦ πολέμου οὕτων ἐτόλμα, καὶ ἐν πολλῇ περισσῷ τῆς τῶν στρατιωτῶν σωτηρίᾳ, ἀλλὰς τε καὶ διὰ τὴν πολιτῶν ὅλγαν-

Zonaras 8, 28.

βοῦς ἀθροίσας δάδας τοῖς αὐτῶν προσέδησε κέρασι, καὶ πρὸς τὰ κατὰ τοὺς Σαυνίτας ὅρη ὑπὸ νόκτα χωρῆςας τὰς τε δάδας ἀνήγερε καὶ τὰς βοῦς ἐπετάραξεν. οἰστρηθεῖσα δ’ ἐκεῖνα διὰ τὸ πῦρ καὶ τὴν ἐλασίν πολλαχῆ τὴν ὑλὴν ἐνέπρῃσαν, καὶ τοῦτον ἑβδόμαν παρέσχον αὐτῷ τὴν ὑπέρβασιν. οἳ γὰρ ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ Ρωμαίοι καὶ οἱ ἐν τοῖς μετεώροις, ἐνέδρας πτοηθεῖτες, οὐκ ἐκινήθησαν. καὶ οὕτως ο ’Αννίβας διῆλθε καὶ ἐς τὴν Σαυνίτειδα ἐκομίσθη.

‘Ο οὖν Φάβιος μεθ’ ἠμέραν τὸ γενόμενον γνώς κατεδώξε, καὶ τοὺς τε καταλελειμμένους ἐν τῇ ὄδῷ, ἵνα σφᾶς εἰρῆσω, τρεφόμενοι, καὶ τοὺς βοσκήσαντας αὐτοῖς κρατήσας, ἐστρατοπεδέυσατο μὲν οὐ πόρρῳ τῶν πολεμῶν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐς χείρας ἑκείνους ἦλθεν, ἀλλ’ ἀποσκίδνασθαι τε αὐτούς καὶ προνομεύον εἰκὼς εἰς τὸν ’Αννίβαν ἀπορήσαντα τὸ μὲν πρὸτον ἐπὶ τὴν ’Ρώμην ὄρμησα. ὅς δ’ οὐκ ἐμάχετο, δι’ ἑσυχίας δὲ παρε- κολούθει ο Φάβιος, αὕτης ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς τὸ Σαῦνον. καὶ ο Φάβιος αὐτῷ ἐφεσπέρησον δι’ ἀσφαλείας προσήδρευε, προμηθούμενος μῆτε τῶν οἰκείων ἀποβαλεῖν τινας, καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν τῶν ἀναγ-

1 προσεδρέων . . . πείραν λαβεῖν ἀνδρῶν . . . ὅτων Bs., προσ- ηδρεύετο . . . συμβαλεῖν ἀνδράσι . . . οὐδείν Mai; Ms. uncertain, except oντ.ν at end. 2 καὶ added by Bk.
BOOK XIV

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

Zonaras 8, 26.

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

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

θρεπτίαν, ἐποιεῖτο, συμφορᾶν οὐ τὸ μὴ φθεῖραι τὰ τῶν ἐναντίων, ἀλλὰ τὸ τῶν οἰκείων ἀποβαλεῖν
10 μεγάλην εἶναι νομίζων· ἔκεινον μὲν γὰρ τῇ περι-
ουσίᾳ τοῦ πλῆθους κἂν ἀνακινδυνεύσαι ποτὲ σφαλέντας ἤγείτο, αὐτὸς 1 ὦ εἰ καὶ τὸ βραχύτατον
πταίσειν, ἐν 2 παντὶ κακοῖ, οὐ πρὸς τὸν ἀριθμὸν
tῶν τότε ἀποθανόντων, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ μέγεθος τῶν
πρὶν παθημάτων, γενήσεται ἐλογίζετο· τοῖς μὲν
γὰρ ἀκεραίοις πράγματι καὶ τὰ δεινότατα ῥαδίως
πολλάκις τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ύφιστασθαί, τοὺς δὲ
προκεκμηκότας καὶ τὰ βραχύτατα κακοῖς ἠλεγεν.
καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τοῦ νίεος συμβουλεύοντός ποτε
αὐτῷ ἀποκινδυνεύσαι, καὶ τι τοιοῦτον εἰπόντος
ὅτι οὐκ ἂν πλείους ἐκατόν ἀνδρῶν ἀπόλοιπον,
οὕτε ἔπεισθη, καὶ προσανήρετο αὐτὸν εἰ καὶ
αὐτὸς ἂν ἐθελήσει τῶν ἐκατόν ἀνδρῶν γενέσθαι.
—Μ. 153 (p. 193).
14 "Οὕτω οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι οὐχ ὅπως αὐτεπάγγελτοί
τι τῷ Ἀννίβᾳ ἔπεμψαν, ἀλλ' ἐν γέλωτι τε αὐτὸν
ἐποιοῦντο ὅτι τε εὖ πράττειν καὶ ὅτι πολλὰ

Zonaras 8, 26.

καίων ἐν εὐπορίᾳ τυγχάνων, ἔκεινῳ δὲ τῶν ὀπλῶν
ἐκτὸς οὐδὲν προσεῖναι ὅρων, καὶ μηδ' οὐκοθεν
προσιούσαν ἐπικουρίαν. οἱ γὰρ Καρχηδόνιοι καὶ
ἐν γέλωτι αὐτὸν ἐποιοῦντο, γράφοντα εὖ πράττειν

1 αὐτὸς Bk., αὐτοῦ Ms. 2 ἐν inserted by Bk.
BOOK XIV

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

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

Zonaras 8, 26.

could obtain necessities in abundance, whereas he saw that his foe possessed nothing apart from his weapons and that no assistance was sent to him from home. For the Carthaginians were actually making sport of Hannibal, inasmuch as he wrote of his
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

κατορθοῦν· αἰὲ ποτὲ γράφων σφίσι, καὶ χρήματα καὶ στρατιώτας παρ' αὐτῶν ἦτει, λέγοντες μηδὲν ὁμολογεῖν τὰς αἰτήσεις αὐτοῦ ταῖς κατορθώσεσι· τοὺς γὰρ κρατοῦντας προσήκειν καὶ τῷ παρόντι στρατεύματι ἄρκεισθαι καὶ χρήματα οἴκαδε πέμπειν, ἀλλ' οὐχ ἔτερα πρὸς ἑαυτῶν προσεπαιτεῖν. —Μ. 154 (p. 194).

Zonaras 8, 26.

καὶ πολλὰ κατορθοῦν, καὶ στρατιώτας παρ' αὐτῶν αἴτοῦντα καὶ χρήματα, λέγοντες μὴ συμφωνεῖν τὰς αἰτήσεις ταῖς κατορθώσεσι. τοὺς γὰρ νικώντας προσήκειν καὶ τῷ παρόντι ἄρκεισθαι στρατεύματι, καὶ χρήματα στέλλειν οἴκαδε, ἀλλ' οὔ προσαιτεῖν.

"Εώς μὲν οὖν ἐνεδήμει ὁ Φάβιος, δεινὸν οὐδὲν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐγένετο, ὡς δ' ἐκείνος εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀπήρε κατά τι δημόσιον, ἐπταισαν. ὁ γὰρ Ῥοῦφος ὁ ἰππαρχος, φρόνημα κενοῦ ὑπὸ νεότητος ἐχὼν καὶ τῶν πολεμικῶν σφαλμάτων ἀπερίστος δὴ καὶ τῇ μελήσει τοῦ Φαβίου ἀχθόμενος, ἐπεὶ τὴν προστασίαν τῆς στρατιᾶς μόνος ἔσχε, τῶν μὲν ἐντολῶν τοῦ δικτάτορος ὀλυγώρησεν, ὄρμησας δ' εἰς παράταξιν τὸ μὲν πρῶτον νικᾶν ἔδοξεν, εἰτὰ ἡττήθη. καὶ πανσυδί διεφθάρη, εἰ μὴ τινὲς Σαυνιτῶν κατὰ τύχην τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐπίκουροι ἄφικνου- μενοι δόξαν τοῖς Καρχιδονίοις παρέσχον προσ εναὶ τὸν Φάβιον. ἀναχωρησάντων οὖν διὰ τοῦτο κεκρατηκέναι ἐνόμισε, καὶ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην τὸ ἔργον

116
continually writing of his favourable progress and his many successes, he also asked them for money and soldiers. They said his requests did not agree at all with his successes: victors ought to find the army they have sufficient, and ought to send money home instead of demanding still more from them.

Zonaras 8, 26.

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

As long as Fabius was present no disaster happened to the Romans, but when he departed for Rome on some public business, they met with a reverse. Rufus, the master of horse, who possessed the vain conceit of youth, was not observant of the errors of warfare and was angered by the delays of Fabius. Hence, when once he came to hold the command of the army by himself, he disregarded the injunctions of the dictator and hastened to bring on a pitched battle, in which at first he seemed to be victorious, but was soon defeated. Indeed, his force would have been utterly destroyed, had not some Samnites arrived by chance to aid the Romans and impressed the Carthaginians with the idea that Fabius was approaching. When for this reason they retired, he thought that he had vanquished them, and sent messages to Rome
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

11 "Εγκλήμα γοῦν ἔχω οὖν ὅτι προπέτως ἐσ τὰς μάχας χωρῶ, οὔτ' ὅτι διὰ κινδύνων στρατηγῶν, ἵνα πολλοὺς μὲν τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀποβαλὼν πολλοὺς δε καὶ τῶν πολεμίων ἀποκτείνας αὐτο-κράτωρ τε ὄνομασθώ καὶ τὰ ἐπινίκια πέμψω, ἀλλ' ὅτι βραδύνω καὶ ὅτι μέλλω καὶ ὅτι τῆς σωτηρίας ὑμῶν ἰσχυρός ἂν προορῶμαι.—Max. Conf. Flor. f. 157v (M. p. 542.)

18 "Ωτι τοῖς πολλοῖς σύνηθες τοῖς ἀρχομένοις εὖ φέρεσθαι ῥαδίως, ἀλλ' ὅτι δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ διαβολὴ τῶν εὐδοκιμοῦντων, προστίθεσθαι, διότι τὸ μὲν ἀρτί προφανώμενον συναύξειν, τὸ δ' ὑπερέχον ἄτι καθαρείν πεφύκασι· τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἐκ πλειονὸς σφῶν προφέρουσιν οὐκ ἂν τις ἐξαίφης παρισωθείη, τὸ δ' ἀδόκητον αὐξηθέν ἐλπίδα καὶ ἐκεῖνος ἐσ την ὁμοίαν εὔνυχίαν φέρει.—M. 155 (p. 194).

15 "Οτι Ἀννίβας ἦτοι χαριζόμενος τῷ Φαβίῳ ὡς καὶ ἐπιτηδείᾳ σφίσω ὄντι, ἢ καὶ ἐπὶ διαβολῇ

Zonaras 8, 26.

μεγαλύνων καὶ τὸν δικτάτορα προσδιαβάλλων ἐπέστειλεν, ὁκνηρὸν καὶ μελητὴν αὐτὸν καλῶν καὶ τὰ τῶν ἐναντίων φρονοῦντα.

Οἱ δ' ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ νεικηκέναι τὸν Ρούφον ὄντως ἐνόμισαν, καὶ ὁλα παρὰ δόξαν θαρσήσαντες καὶ ἐπήνουν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐτίμουν, καὶ τὸν Φάβιον ἐν ἀποφείᾳ σχόντες διὰ τὰ ταῦτα καὶ ὅτι τὰ ἐν Καμ-

1 εὖ φέρεσθαι . . . προστίθεσθαι Kuiper, συμφέρεσθαι . . . προστίθενται Ms.
BOOK XIV

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

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

Hannibal, either as a favour to Fabius, because he was really of service to them, or perhaps magnifying his exploit and also slandering the dictator; he called Fabius timid, a delayer, and a sympathizer with the enemy.

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

¹ Boissevain believes this is from a speech of M. Terentius Varro in favour of equalizing the powers of the dictator and of the master of horse.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

αὐτοῦ, οὐδὲν τῶν προσηκόντων οἱ κατέδραμεν. καὶ διὰ τούτων ἀντιδόσεως τῶν αἰχμαλώτων τοῖς Ρωμαίοις πρὸς τοὺς Καρχηδονίους, ὡσθ’ ὀποτέρων ἄν ἐπεισόδων ἀπολυτρωθῆναι σφας, γενομένης, καὶ τῶν Ρωμαίων μὴ βουληθέντων αὐτοὺς ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου λυτρώσασθαι, τὰ χωρία ὁ Φάβιος ἀποδόμενος τὰ λύτρα αὐτοῖς ἐγαρίσατο. καὶ διὰ τούτο αὐτὸν μὲν ὁ οὐκ ἔπαυσαν, τῷ δὲ ἵσπαρχῳ τῇ αὐτῇ οἱ ἐξουσίαι ἔδωκαν, ὡστ’ ἀμφότεροις ἀμα ἀπὸ τῆς ἵσης ἄρχειν. καὶ ὁ μὲν Φάβιος οὐδεμίαν ὅργην οὔτε τοῖς πολίταις οὔτε τῷ Ὀουφῳ ἔσχε· τῶν τε γὰρ ἀνθρωπίνων πραγμάτων συνεγίνωσκεν αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἀγαπητὸν ἐποιεῖτο εἰ καὶ ὄπωσον περιγένοιτο. τὸ γὰρ κουῖν σώζεσθαι καὶ κρατεῖν, ἀλλ’ οὐκ αὐτὸς εὐδοξεῖν ἦθελεν, τὴν τε ἁρετὴν οὐκ ἐν τοῖς ψηφίσμασιν ἀλλ’ ἐν τῇ ἐκάστου ψυχῇ εἶναι, καὶ τὸ κρείττων τὸ τε χεῖρον οὐκ ἀπὸ δόγματος τοῖς ἀλλ’ ἐκ τῆς αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου ἐπιστήμης ἢ ἀμαθίας

Zonaras 8, 26.

πανία χωρία αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἐδήσωσαν, μικροῦ καὶ τῆς ἄρχης ἀν παρέλυσαν. ἀλλ’ ἐκείνου μὲν χρήσιμον νομίζοντες εἶναι οὐκ ἔπαυσαν, τῷ δὲ ἵσπαρχῳ τῇ αὐτῇ ἐξουσίαι προσέμειναι, ὡστ’ ἀμφό ἀπὸ τῆς ἵσης ἄρχειν. δοξάτων δὲ τούτων ὁ μὲν Φάβιος οὔτε τοῖς πολίταις οὔτε τῷ Ὀουφῳ ἔσχεν ὅργην,

1 ἄν added by Bk. 2 μὲν added by Val. 3 οὐκ ἀπὸ Val., οὐ Ms.
BOOK XIV

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

Zonaras 8, 26.

his fields in Campania; and it would have taken but little to cause them to deprive him of his command. However, since they believed him useful, they did not depose him, but assigned equal power to his master of horse, so that both held command on an equal footing. When this decree had been passed, Fabius, for his part, cherished no anger against either the citizens or Rufus; but
17 ὑπάρχειν νομίζων. ὁ δὲ δὴ Ῥοῦφος οὖδὲ ἐν τῷ πρὶν ὀρθῶς φρονῶν τότε δὴ καὶ μᾶλλον ἐπεφύσητο, καὶ κατέχειν ἐαυτόν, ἀτε καὶ τῆς ἀπειθαρχίας ἀθλον τὴν πρὸς τὸν δικτάτορα ἵσομοιρίαν προσλαβών, οὐκ ἐδύνατο, ἀλλ' ἦμέραν ἥξιον παρ' ἦμέραν ἥ καὶ πλείους ἐναλλὰξ μόνοις ἀρχεῖν. ὁ δὲ Φάβιος φοβηθεὶς μὴ τι κακὸν σφας, εἰ πάσης τῆς δυνάμεως ἐγκράτης γένουτο, ἑξεργάσατο, πρὸς οὐδέτερον αὐτῷ συνήμεσεν, ἀλλ' ἐνείματο τὸ στράτευμα, ὡστε ἐν ὀμοίῳ τοῖς ὑπάτοις καὶ ἐκείνους ἰδίαν ἐκάτερον ἰσχὺν ἔχειν. καὶ παραχρήμα ὁ Ῥοῦφος ἀπεστρατοπεδεύσατο, ἵνα καὶ τῷ ἔργῳ διάδηλος, ὅτι αὐτός καθ' ἐαυτόν, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὑπὸ τῷ δικτάτορι ἄρχοι, γένουτο.—V. 32 (p. 597).

Zonaras 8, 28.

ὁ δὲ Ῥοῦφος, οὐδὲ πρὶν ὀρθῶς φρονῶν, τότε μάλιστα ἐπεφύσητο καὶ κατέχειν ἐαυτόν οὖν ἦδύνατο, ἀλλ' ἦμεραν ἥξιον παρ' ἦμεραν ἥ καὶ πλείους ἐφεξῆς ἐναλλὰξ μόνοις ἀρχεῖν. δείσας δ' ὁ Φάβιος μὴ τι κακὸν ἑξεργάσηται, εἰ πάσης τῆς δυνάμεως γένουτο ἐγκράτης, πρὸς οὐδέτερον αὐτῷ συνήμεσεν, ἀλλ' ἐνείματο τὸ στρατόπεδον, ὡστε τοὺς ὑπάτοις ἐπὶ ἱστη ἰδίαν ἐκάτερον ἰσχὺν ἔχειν. καὶ παραχρήμα ὁ Ῥοῦφος ἀπεστρατοπεδεύσατο, ἵνα διάδηλος ἦ ὅτι καθ' ἐαυτόν ἀρχεῖ, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὑπὸ τῷ δικτάτορι. ὁ οὖν Ἀννίβας τούτῳ αἰσθόμενος ἐσ μάχην αὐτὸν ὑπηγάγετο, ὡς ἐπὶ κατα-

1 Ῥοῦφος supplied by Melber; cf. Zon.
2 ἀπεστρατοπεδεύσατο Rk., ἀπεστρατοπεδεύσατ(= -τος Μά.)

122
BOOK XIV

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

Zonaras 8, 26.

Rufus, who had not shown the right spirit in the first place, was now especially puffed up and could not contain himself, but kept asking for the right to hold sole command on alternate days or for a period of several days at a time. Fabius, dreading that he might cause some mischief if he should get possession of the undivided power, did not consent to either of his proposals, but divided the army in such a way that each had his own force, in the same manner as did the consuls. And immediately Rufus encamped apart, in order to make it clear that he was commanding in his own right and not subject to the dictator. Hannibal, accordingly, on perceiving this, came up as if to seize a position, and drew him into
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

19 "Οτι ο Ρουφος ισομοιριαν λαχων το δικτατορι και ήττηθεις υπο Καρχηδονιων μετεβαλετο (σω-φρονιζουσι γαρ πως τους μη πανυ ανοιτους αι συμφοραι) και έθελουντης την ηγεμονιαν αφηκε. και αυτων ισχυρως επι τουτω παντες επηνεσαν ου γαρ οτι μη κατ' αρχας το δεον έγνω, μεμπτος ένομιζετο, άλλο οτι μη κατωκυνησε μετανοησαι, 20 καλως ήκουε. το μεν γαρ απο πρωτης ευθυς τα προσηκοντα τινα έλεσθαι και ευτυχιας έργουν ηγουντο εναι, το δε εκ της πειρας των πραγ-ματων τα βελτιω μαθοντα μη αισχυνθηναι μετα-θέσαι μεγαλως επηνουν. ουτε γαρ ο Φαβιος κατα νοτου αυτω προσ-πεσων έκωλυσε.

Zonaras 8, 26.

λήψει χωρίον προσελθών και περιστοιχισάμενος εξ ενέδρας εις κίνδυνον κατέστησεν ως πανστρατια έξελείν, ει μη ο Φάβιος κατα νότου αυτω προσ-πεσων έκωλυσε.

Παθών ουν τούτο ο Ρουφος μετεβάλετο, και το στρατευμα τε το περίλοιπον ες τον Φάβιον ευθυς ήγαγε, και την αρχην παραδεωκεν. ουδε άνεμεινε των δημον αναψιφισασθαι, άλλε έθελουντης την ηγεμονιαν, ην παρ αυτων μόνοι ιππάρχων έλαβεν, αφηκε. και αυτων επι τουτω παντες επηνεσαν. και ο Φάβιος αυτικα μηδεν ενδοιασας πάσαν 1 ουτε added by Bk.
BOOK XIV

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

Zonaras 8, 26.

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

After this experience Rufus altered his course, and leading the remnant of the army immediately to Fabius, laid down his authority. He did not wait for the people to revoke it, but voluntarily resigned the command, which he alone of masters of the horse had obtained from his superior. And for this all praised him. Fabius at once, without any hesitation,
DIO’S ROMAN HISTORY

διαβολῇ πρὸς τῶν πολιτῶν ὁ Φάβιος ἀφρεδῇ, ταῦτα παρ’ ἐκόντος τοῦ συνάρχοντος καὶ δεομένου γε ἀνεκτήσατο—Μ. 156 (p. 194).

21 Ὁτί ὁ αὐτὸς μέλλων ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀπαλλαγῆ- σεσθαι τοὺς ὑπάτους μετεπέμψατο καὶ ἐκεῖνὸ τε αὐτοῖς παρέδωκε καὶ προσπαρήνεσε πάνθ’ ὅσα πραξθήναι ἐχρὴν ἀφθονώτατα. τὴν τε γὰρ σωτη- ρίαν τῆς πόλεως προείμα τοῦ μόνος γε δοκεῖν καλῶς ἀρχεῖν, καὶ οὐκ ἔξ ὅν ἄν ἔπταισαν ἱδιο- γνωμονήσαντες, ἄλλ’ ἔξ ὅν κατώρθωσαν πεισθέντες αὐτῷ μᾶλλον ἐπαινεθήσεσθαι προσεδόκησαι. καὶ οἱ ὑπατοὶ δὲ οὐδὲν θρασέως κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Φαβίου ὑποθήκην ἔπραξαν, ἄλλ’ ἐν ἀμείνοι τὸ μὴ τι καταπράξαι τοῦ καὶ σφαλῆναι τιθέμενοι κατὰ χώραν πάντα τὸν τῆς ἡγεμονίας χρόνον ἔμειναι.—Μ. 157 (p. 195).

Zonaras 8, 26.

ἐδέξατο, καὶ ὁ δῆμος αὐτὸ ἀπεδέξατο. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα αὐτὸς τε ἀσφαλέστατα προέστη τοῦ στρα- τεύματος, καὶ μέλλων ἀπαλλαγήσεσθαι τῆς ἀρχῆς τοὺς ὑπάτους μετεπέμψατο καὶ τὸ στράτευμα σφίσα παρέδωκε καὶ πάνθ’ ὅσα πραξθήναι ἐχρὴν παρήνεσεν ἀφθονώτατα. κακεῖνοι θρασέως οὐδέν, ἄλλα κατὰ τὴν ὑποθήκην τοῦ Φαβίου ἄπαντα ἔπραξαν, καίπερ ὁ Γέμων καὶ προκατωρθώκει τι. τὸ γὰρ ναυτικὸν τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἴδων ὀρμήσαν μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν, διὰ δὲ τὴν ἀντιπαρασκευὴν 126
BOOK XIV

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

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

Zonaras 8, 26.

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

Zonaras 8, 26-9, 1.

αὐτῶν μὴ προσμέχασαν αὐτῇ, ἐπεκπλεύσας τὰ τὰ τῶν Κυρινῶν καὶ τὰ τῶν Σαρδονίων ἐν τῷ παράπλω ἐβεβαιώσατο, καὶ ἐς τὴν Διβύην ἐκβὰς ἐλεηλάτησε τὴν παραλίαν αὐτῆς. ταύτα μὲν ἔπραξεν, οὐ μέντοι δὲ αὐτὰ ἐπεφύσητο διὸς πρὸς τὸν 'Ἀννίβαν διακινδυνεύσαι, ἀλλὰ ταῖς ἐντολαῖς τοῦ Φαβίου ἐνέμεινεν. ὅθεντες καὶ αἱ πόλεις οὐκέθα ὀμοίως τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις προσετίθεντο. ἐφοβοῦντο γὰρ μὴ ὁ 'Ἀννίβας τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐκπέσῃ, καὶ κακόν τι αὐτοὶ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἄτε προσοίκαν πάθωσι. καὶ οἱ μὲν πλείους τὸ ἀποβησόμενον ἐσκόπουν, ὅλγοι δὲ πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους αὔθις μετέστησαν, καὶ ἀναθήματα τινὲς αὐτοῖς ἐπεμήλικαν. καὶ τοῦ Ἰέρωνος πολλὰ πεπομφότος, σίτου καὶ Νίκης ἄγαλμα οἱ Ῥωμαίοι μόνα ἔλαβον, καίπερ ἐν ἀχρηματίᾳ δύντες, ὡστε τὸ ἀργυροῦν νόμισμα, ἀμιγῆς καὶ καθαρὸν γινόμενον πρότερον, χαλκῷ προσμέξαι.

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

9, 1. This is what took place in Italy at that period. Some slaves also formed a conspiracy against Rome, but were apprehended in time. And a spy caught in the city had his hands cut off and was then released, so that he might himself bear witness to the Carthaginians of his experience. In Spain, in a sea-fight near the mouth of the Iberus, Scipio was victorious; when the struggle had proved to be indecisive, the sails had been cut down, in order that the men might be rendered desperate and so fight more zealously. He also ravaged the country, captured numerous fortresses, and through his
καὶ διὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ Πουπλίου Σκιπίωνος πόλεις τῶν Ἰβήρων προσεκτῆσατο. Ἀβέλος γὰρ τις Ἰβηρ, δοκῶν μὲν τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις πιστὸς, τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων δὲ θεραπεύων, ἀνέπεισε τὸν φρον- ῥοῦντα τοὺς τῶν Ἰβήρων ὀμήρους οἰκαδε αὐτούς ἀποτέμψαι, ὅτι ἐς εὗροιν τάχα ὑπ' αὐτῶν αἱ πόλεις ὑπαχθῶσιν καὶ παραλαβῶν σφᾶς, ἀτε καὶ τῆς ἐπινοίας εἰσηγητής γεγονός, πρὸς τοὺς Σκιπί- ωνας τε πρῶτον πέμψας καὶ κοινολογησάμενος περὶ ὧν ἡξίον, ἔπειτα νυκτὸς ὑπεκκομίζων αὐτοὺς ἐάλω δήθεν. καὶ οὕτως ἐκείνων τε ἐγκρατεῖς ἐγένοτο οἱ Ῥωμαίοι καὶ τὰς πατρίδας αὐτῶν ἀνακομισθέντων οἰκαδε κατεκτήσαντο.
BOOK XIV

Zonaras 9, 1.

brother, Publius Scipio, won over some Spanish cities. A Spaniard named Abelux, who affected loyalty to the Carthaginians, but was in reality furthering the Roman interests, persuaded the keeper of the Spanish hostages to send them to their homes, in order that through them, as he suggested, their cities might be brought into friendly relations. Abelux naturally took charge of them, inasmuch as he had been the one to suggest the idea, but he first sent to the Scipios and acquainted them with his purpose; then, while he was secretly taking the hostages away by night, he managed to be captured. In this way the Romans obtained possession of these men and won over their native states by restoring them to their homes.
FRAGMENTS OF BOOK XV

Zonaras 9, 1.

'Εν μὲν οὖν τούτοις εὐτύχουν, συμφορὰ δ' αὖ περιέπεσον ἢς οὖτε πρόσθεν οὔθ᾽ ὑστερον δεινοτέρα οὐδεμιὰ. προηγήσατο δὲ ταύτης καὶ τίνα τέρατα καὶ τὰ τῆς Σιβύλλης λόγια, ἢτις πρὸ τοσοῦτων ἐτῶν τῆς συμφορᾶς αὐτοῖς ἐμαυτεύσατο. θαυμαστὸν δὲ καὶ τὸ τοῦ Μάρκου προμάντευμα. χρησμολόγος γάρ τις καὶ οὕτος γενόμενος, ἐν τῷ Διομήδειοι πεδίῳ πταίσειν αὐτοὺς, ἀτεῦ καὶ Τρώας τὸ ἄρχαίον δυνας, ἐφοίβασε. τούτῳ δ' ἐν Ὁπολίᾳ τῇ Δαυνίων ἐστὶ, καὶ τὸ ὅντομα ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ Διομήδους κατουκήσεως, ἢν ἐκεὶ ἀλητεύσας ἐποίησατο, ἔσχηκεν. ἐν γὰρ τῷ πεδίῳ ἐκείνῳ καὶ αἱ Κάνναι, ἐνθα τότε ἑυστύχησαν, παρὰ τε τῷ Ἰονίῳ κόλπῳ

Tzetzes in Lycophr. Alex. 602.

Οἱ γὰρ Ἦλπυγες καὶ Ὅπολοι περὶ τῶν Ἰονίων κόλπων οὐκοῦσιν. Ὅπολοι δὲ ἔθηκαν κατὰ τὸν Δίωνα Πευκέτιο Πεδίκουλοι καὶ Δαυνίοι καὶ Ταραντῖνοι. καὶ Κάνναι Διομήδους πεδίον ἐστὶ

Tzetzes, Chil. 1, 757-59.

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

Zonaras 9, 1.

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

Tzetzes in Lycophr. Alex. 602.

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

Tzetzes, Chil. 1, 757–59.

Later he arrayed himself against the Romans at Cannae, when the Roman generals were Paulus and Terentius. Cannae is a plain of Argyrippa,

1 Probably an error for Marcius; cf. Livy, 25, 12.

133
57, 22 "Οτι περι μαντικῆς καὶ ἀστρονομίας φησίν ὁ Δίων ἑγὼ μέντοι οὔτε περι τοῦτων οὔτε περι τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἐκ μαντικῆς προλεγομένων τὶς συμβαλεῖν ἔχω· τί γάρ ποι καὶ βούλεται τοι προσημαίνειν, εἰ γε πάντως τε τι ἔσται καὶ μηδεμία ἂν αὐτοῦ ἀποτροπῆ μῆτ' ἀνθρωπίνη περιτεχνήσει μῆτ' αὖ θεία προνοία γένοιτο; ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὅπῃ ποτὲ ἑκάστω δοκεῖ νομιζέσθω." —Μ. 158 (p. 195).

23 "Οτι ἦρχον Παύλος καὶ Τερέντιος ἄνδρες οὐχ

Zonaras 9, 1.

καὶ περὶ τὰς τοῦ Λύφιδιον ἐκβολάς εἰσιν. ἢ δὲ Σίβυλλα φυλάττεσθαι μὲν τὸ χωρίον παρῆνεσθεν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ πλεῖον τι γενήσεσθαι ἔφη οὖν εἰ διὰ πάσης αὐτὸ ποιήσαντο φυλακῆς.

Τοιαῦτα μὲν οὖν ἦσαν τὰ χρησμομάτα, τὰ δὲ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις συμβάντα οὕτως ἐγένετο. ἦρχον μὲν Παύλος Αἰμίλιος καὶ Τερέντιος Οὐάρρων.

Tzetzes in Lycophr. Alex. 602.

περὶ τὴν Ἀπολλίαν τῶν Δαυνών. ἢ δὲ Μεσσαπία καὶ Ἰαπνύη ὑστερον Σαλαντία, εἶτα Καλαβρία ἐκλήθη. ἢ δὲ Ἀργύριππα πόλις τοῦ Διομήδους μετεκλήθη Ἀπούλοις Ἀρτωι. 3

Tzetzes, Chil. 1, 760–64.

γυρίστες, οὗ Διομήδης ἐκτίσε τὴν πόλιν Ἀργύριππαν, τοιτέστιν Ἀργος Ἰππειον τῇ γλώσσῃ τῶν Ἑλλήνων. οὐδὲν αὐταὶ ἔχει τυχανούσι Δαυνών τῶν Ἰαπνύων ὑστερον, εἴτε Ἴαιαντίων, τὰ νῦν δὲ πᾶσι Καλαντίων τὴν κλῆσιν λεγομένων.

1 ὁ inserted by Bk.  2 Μεσσαπία Val., μεσσαπνύια MSS.  3 "Ἀπούλοις Ἀρτωι Cluverius, om. A, ἀπούλις ἀρτωυς B.
BOOK XV

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

The commanders were Paulus and Terentius, men

Zonaras 9, 1.

the mouths of the Ausidus. The Sibyl had admonished them to beware of the spot, yet said it would avail them naught, even if they should keep it under the strictest guard.

Such were the oracular utterances; now what befell the Romans was this. The commanders were Aemilius Paulus and Terentius Varro, men not of

Tzetzes in Lycophr. Alex. 602.

near Daunian Apulia. Messapia and Iapygia were later called Salentia, and then Calabria. Argyrippa, the city of Diomed, was renamed Arpi by the Apulians.

Tzetzes, Chil. 1, 760–64.

where Diomed founded the city Argyrippa, that is to say, “Argos, the Horse City,” in the tongue of the Greeks. And this plain came to belong later to the Iapygian Daunii, then to the Salentini, and now to those whom all call by the name Calauri [Calabrians].

135
díos roman history

ομοιότροποι, ἀλλ' ἔξ ἵσου τῷ διαφόρῳ τού γένους καὶ τὰ ἡθη διαλλάττοντες. ο μὲν γὰρ ἐυπατρίδης τε ἦν καὶ παιδεία ἐκεκόσμητο, τό τε ἀσφαλές πρὸ τοῦ προπετοῦσ προετίμα, καὶ πη καὶ ἐκ τῆς αἰτίας, ἦν ἔπε τῇ προτέρᾳ ἀρχῇ εἱλήφει, κεκολομοσμένος οὐκ ἑθρασύνετο, ἀλλ' ὅπως μή καὶ αὐθείς τι δεινὸ πάθοι μᾶλλον ἦ ὅπως ἀποτολμήσας τι καταιρθώσῃ ἐσκόπει.2 Τερέντιος δὲ ἐν τε τῷ ὀμίλῳ ἐπέθραπτο καὶ ἐν θρασύτητι βαναυσικῇ ἡσκήτῳ, καὶ διὰ ταῦτ' ἐσ ταλλ' ἐξεφράνει καὶ τὸ κράτος ἑαυτῷ τοῦ πολέμου προπισχεῖτο.3 τὸ σε εὐπατρίδαις πολὺς ἐνέκειτο, καὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν μόνος πρὸς τὴν τοῦ συνάρχοντος ἐπιείκειαν ἔχειν ἡγεῖτο.—M. 159 (p. 196).

Zonaras 9, 1.

ἀνδρεῖς οὖν ὁμοιότροποι; ο μὲν γὰρ εὐπατρίδης ἦν καὶ παιδείᾳ κεκόσμητο καὶ τὸ ἀσφαλές προετίμα τοῦ προπετοῦ, Τερέντιος δὲ ἐν τῷ ὀμίλῳ ἐπέθραπτο καὶ ἐν βαναυσικῇ θρασύτητι ἡσκήτῳ καὶ ταλλα τε ἐξεφράνει καὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν μόνος ἔχειν ἡγεῖτο διὰ τὴν τοῦ συνάρχοντος ἐπιείκειαν. ἦλθον οὖν ἄμφω εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον εὐκαιρότατα· οὔτε γὰρ τροφῇ ἐτὶ ἤν τῷ Ἀπνίδῃ, καὶ τὰ τῶν Ἰβήρων κεκίνητο, τὰ τε τῶν συμμάχων αὐτοῦ ἠλλοτριότοι· καὶ εἰ γε καὶ τὸ βραχύτατον ἐπεσχήκεσαν,

1 γὰρ added by v. Herw. 2 ἐσκόπει supplied by v. Herw. 3 προπισχεῖτο v. Herw., προσπισχεῖτο Ms.

136
BOOK XV

not of similar temperament, but differing alike in family and in character. The former was a patrician, possessed of the graces of education, and esteemed safety before haste; he was somewhat chastened, moreover, as a result of the censure he had received for his former conduct in office. Hence he was not inclined to boldness, but was considering how he might keep from getting into trouble again rather than how he might achieve success by some desperate venture. Terentius, however, had been brought up among the rabble, was practised in vulgar bravado, and so everywhere displayed a lack of prudence; for instance, he was already promising himself the control of the war, was inveighing much against the patricians, and thought that he alone held the command in view of the amiability of his colleague.

Zonaras 9, 1.

similar temperament. The former was a patrician, possessed of the graces of education, and esteemed safety before haste; but Terentius had been brought up among the rabble, was practised in vulgar bravado, and everywhere displayed a lack of prudence: for instance, he thought that he alone held the command, by reason of the amiability of his colleague. Now they both reached the camp at a most opportune time; for Hannibal had no longer any provisions, Spain was in turmoil, and the allies were being alienated from him; and if they had waited for even the very shortest time, they would have con-
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

"Ότι τὸ τοῦ Τερεντίου ἀπερίσκεπτον καὶ τὸ τοῦ Παύλου ἐπιεικές, βουλομένου μὲν ἀεὶ τὰ προσήκοντα, συγχωροῦντος δὲ τὰ πολλὰ τῷ συνάρχοντι (δεινὴ γὰρ ἐστὶν ἐλαττωθῆναι θρά- σους πραότης), ἦττησεν αὐτοὺς.—Μ. 160 (p. 196).

Zonaras 9, 1.

ἀπόνως ἐκράτησαν αὖν. νῦν δὲ γε τοῦ Τερεντίου τὸ ἀπερίσκεπτον καὶ τὸ τοῦ Παύλου ἐπιεικὲς ἦττησεν αὐτοὺς. ὁ γὰρ Ἀννίβας ἐπεχείρησε μὲν καὶ παραχρῆμα πρὸς μάχην αὐτοὺς ὑπαγαγόθηκεί, καὶ σὺν οἷς προσπελάσας αὐτῶν τῷ έρύματι, ἐπεὶ ἐκδρομὴ ἐγένετο, ἐκῶν ὑπεχώρησεν, ὅπως δεδενεὶ νομισθεὶς ἐπισπάσατο μᾶλλον αὐτοὺς εἰς παρά- ταξιν. τοῦ δὲ Παύλου τοῖς οἰκείοις στρατιώταις ἐπισχόντος τὴν δίωξιν ὁ Ἀννίβας προσποιήσατο φοβεῖσθαι, καὶ τῆς νυκτὸς ἀνασκευασμένως ὥς ἀπιῶν σκεύη τε συχνὰ κατέλυπεν ἐν τῷ χαρα- κώματι καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἀμελέστερον κομίζοθηκαί ἐνετελάτο, ἵνα τῶν Ρωμαίων ἐφ᾽ ἀρπαγήν αὐ- τῶν τραπομένων ἐπίθεται σφίσι. καὶ εἰς ἔργον ἄν τὸ βουλευμα ἤγαγεν, εἰ μή ὦ Παύλος καὶ ἄκοντας κατεσχήκει τοὺς στρατιώτας καὶ τὸν Τερεντίον.

"Ο οὖν Ἀννίβας καὶ τούτου διαμαρτῶν νυκτὸς πρὸς τὰς Κάννας ἀφίκετο. καὶ γνοὺς τὸ χωρίον καὶ πρὸς ἐνέδρας καὶ πρὸς παράταξιν ἐπιτήδειον, ἐστρα- τοπεδεύσατο. καὶ προήροσε πάντα τὸν τόπον ὑπό- ψαμμὸν ὄντα, ἵνα κοινοτὸς ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ἀρθῇ· τὸν γὰρ ἀνέμου, δὲ ἐν θέρει ἐκείσε περὶ τὴν μεσημβρίαν
BOOK XV

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

Zonaras 9, 1.

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

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

Zonaras 9, 1.

εἰώθει γίνεσθαι, κατὰ νότον ἔχειν ἐμπχανήσατο. οἱ δ' ὑπάτοι ἑωθὲν κεῖνον ἀνδρῶν ἰδόντες αὐτοῦ τὸ χαράκωμα, πρῶτον μὲν ἐπέσχον, ἐνεδρεύσθαι δόξαντες, εἶτα μεθ' ἡμέρας πρὸς τὰς Κάννας ἀφικοντο. καὶ παρὰ τῷ ποταμῷ ἐκάτερος ἱδίᾳ ηὐλίσατο· οὐκ ὄντες γὰρ ὁμοθεῖς τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους συνουσίαν ἐξέκλινον. καὶ ὁ μὲν Παῦλος ἤσυχαζεν, ὁ δὲ Γερέντιος ἦθελε συμβαλεῖν ἀμβλυτέροις δὲ τοὺς στρατιώτας ὁμών ἀνεκόπτετο. ὁ δὲ ᾿Αννίβας καὶ ἀκοντας αὐτοὺς εἰς μάχην παρακινῶν τῆς τε ὑδρείας εἴργε καὶ ἀποσκεδάνυνθαι σφᾶς ἐκώλυνε καὶ τὰ σώματα τῶν φονευμένων ἀνω πρὸ τῶν ταφρευμάτων ἐνέβαλλεν, ὅπως σφῶι τὸ ποτὸν δυσχεραίνηται. καὶ ἀντείθεν καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαίοι πρὸς παράταξιν ὀρμησαν. τούτῳ δὲ προγονοῦσι ᾿Αννίβας λόχους μὲν ὑπὸ τοὺς ὅχθους ἐκάθισε, τὴν δὲ λοιπὴν στρατιὰν συνέταξε, καὶ τινὰς ψευδαιτουμολήσαι ὅταν σημὴν ἐκέλευσε, τὰς μὲν ἀσπίδας καὶ τὰ δόρατα καὶ τὰ μείζω τῶν ξιφῶν ἀπορρίψωσαν, τὰ δὲ ἐγχειρίδια κρύφα φέρουσαν, ἵνα δεξαμένων αὐτοὺς τῶν ἀντικαθηστηκῶν ὡς ἀόπλους ἐπίθωσαν αὐτοῖς ἀπροσδοκήτως.

Οἱ δὲ δὴ Ῥωμαίοι ἰδόντες προίθεν τοὺς περὶ τὸν ᾿Αννίβαν παρατεταγμένους ὀπλίζοντο τε καὶ παρετάσσοντο. καὶ οἱ σαλπιγκταὶ ἀμφοτέρους ἐξώτρυναν, καὶ τὰ σημεῖα ἡρθεν, καὶ συμπεσόντες πολυτρόπως ἠγωνίσαντο. καὶ μέχρι τῆς μεσημβρίας οὐδετέρους τὸ κράτος ἀπονενέμητο· ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ
BOOK XV

Zonaras 9, 1.

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

The Romans, accordingly, after having had in view since early morning the troops arrayed with Hannibal, were now arming themselves and forming in battle line. The trumpets roused the men on both sides, the signals were raised, and then ensued the clash of battle and a many-sided contest. Until noon the advantage had not fallen to either army. Then

141
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

"Oti en tē symplokhē tou polēmou ou'di oî pān tharsoúntes elaphrotefaran tēn elpīda tou fōthou prōs to ādhlon autēs ēichon, allā kai ðsf māllon ēghoun to wēskēin, tōsf māllon ēdēsían 1

Zonaras 9, 1.

πνεύμα ἐπῆλθε, καὶ οἱ ψευδαυτόμολοι δεχθέντες ὡς ὅπλων γυμνοὶ ὑπίσθεν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐγένοντο, ἵνα μὴ σφίξῃ ἐπιτεθῶσι δῆθεν οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι, τότε καὶ οἱ λόχοι ἐκατέρωθεν ἐπανέστησαν, καὶ ὁ Ἀννίβας κατὰ πρόσωπον σὺν τοῖς ἰππεύσι προσέμεξε, καὶ οἱ το πολέμοι τοὺς Ῥωμαίους παυναχόθεν ἑθορύβουν, καὶ ὁ ἄνεμος ὃ τε κονυ- ὁρτὸς ἐσ τὰς ὄψεις αὐτῶν βιαῖως ἔμπιπττων ἔτα- ραττε, καὶ τὸ ἅσθμα γνώμενον συνεχὲς ἐκ τοῦ καμάτου ἀπέφραττεν, ὡστ' ἀπεστερημένοι μὲν τῆς ὄψεως, ἀπεστερημένοι δὲ καὶ φωνῆς, φύρδην καὶ εὖ συδενί κόσμῳ ἐφθείροντο. καὶ τοσοῦτον ἔπεσε πλήθος ὡστε τὸν Ἀννίβαν τῶν μὲν ἐκ τοῦ ὀμίλου μηδὲ πειραθήναι ἐξευρεῖν ἀριθμόν, περὶ δὲ τῶν ἰππέων καὶ τῶν ἐκ τῆς βουλής ἀριθμόν μὲν μὴ γράφα τοῖς οἰκοι Καρχηδόνιοις, διὰ δὲ τῶν δακτυλίων ἐνδείξασθαι τούτον χαίνει γὰρ σφᾶς ἀπομετρήσας ἀπέστειλε. μόνοι γὰρ οἱ βου- λευται καὶ οἱ ἰππεῖς δακτυλίοις ἐκέχρημο. συχνοὶ

Tzetzes, Chil. 1, 771–74.

Τέλος τοσοῦτο πέπτωκε πλὴθος ἀνδρῶν Ῥω- μαίων | ὡς τῶν Ἀννίβαν στρατηγῶν πέμψαι τῇ Σικελίᾳ | τοὺς δακτυλίους στρατηγῶν καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἐνδόξων | μεδίνοις τε καὶ χαίνει πολλοῖς ἐμμετρηθέντας.

1 ἐδέσιεν Bs., following St., ἐδέσιεν Ms.
BOOK XV

In the shock of the battle not even the boldest possessed a hope so buoyant as to rise above the fear inspired by its uncertainty, but the surer they felt of conquering the more did they fear that they might

Zonaras 9, 1.

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

Tzetzes, Chil. 1, 771–74.

At last so great a multitude of Romans fell that Hannibal, the general, filled many bushel and quart measures with the finger-rings of the generals and the other prominent men and sent them to Sicily.
DIO’S ROMAN HISTORY

μὴ πὴ σφαλῶσι τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἀγνοεῖσθαι τι οὐδὲν ἐστὶ φοβερὸν ἐκ τῆς ἀπονοιας ὑπομένειν, τὸ δὲ ἐκ λογισμοῦ θαρσοῦν . . .—Μ. 161 (p. 196).1

"Οτι ο Σκιτίων πυθόμενος τινας παρασκευάζεσθαι τῶν Ῥωμαίων τὴν τῇ Ῥώμην ἐγκαταλιπεῖν καὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ὅλην, ὡς τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἐσομένην, ἐπέσχεν αὐτοὺς ξιφῆρης ἐσ τὴν κατάλυσιν ἐν ἡ ἐκοινολογούντο ἐξαίφνης ἐσπηδήσας,

Zonaras 9, 1–2.

δ’ οὖν ὃμως καὶ τότε διέφυγον καὶ ὁ Τερέντιος ὁ γὰρ Παῦλος ἀπέθανεν. ὁ δὲ Ἀννίβας οὐκ ἔπεδιώξεν οὐδ’ εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἡπείχθη. δυνάμενος γὰρ ἢ παντὶ τῷ στρατεύματι ἢ καὶ μέρει τούτου πρὸς τὴν Ῥώμην παραντίκαι ὁρμήσαι καὶ ταχέως διαπολεμῆσαι, οὐκ ἔποιησε τούτο, καλτοὶ τοῦ Μαάρβου συναινοῦντος τοῦτο ποιῆσαι. διὸ καὶ αὐτίαν ἔσχεν ὡς νυκάν μὲν δυνάμενος, χρῆσθαι δὲ ταῖς νύκαις οὐκ ἐπιστάμενος. ἐπεὶ δὲ τότε ἐμέλλησαν, οὐκέτι οὐδ’ αὖθις ἡπείρχθησαν. διὸ καὶ ὁ Ἀννίβας ὃς ἀμαρτὼν μετεμέλετο, συνεχῶς ἀναβῶν “ὁ Κάννας Κάνναι.”

2. Οἱ δὲ δὴ Ῥωμαιοὶ παρὰ βραχὺ κινδυνεύσαντες ἀπολέσθαι ἀντεπεκράτησαν διὰ τοῦ Σκιπίωνος. ὃς υἱὸς μὲν ἦν τοῦ Πομπήλου τοῦ ἐν τῇ Ἰβηρίᾳ, καὶ τὸν πατέρα ὅτε ἐτρωθὲ περιέσωσε, τότε δὲ στρατευόμενος εἰς τὸ Κανύσιον ἔφυγε,

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

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

Zonaras 9, 1–2.

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

2. The Romans, who had been in such imminent danger of being destroyed, regained their supremacy through Scipio. He was a son of the Publius Scipio in Spain, and had saved the life of his father when the latter was wounded; at present he was serving in the army and had fled to Canusium, and later he
καὶ αὐτὸς τε ὀμόσας πάντα τὰ προσήκοντα καὶ λόγῳ καὶ ἔργῳ πράξεως, καὶ ἐκεῖνοις ὀρκόσας ὡς παραχρῆμα ἀπολουμένους, ἀν μὴ τὰ πιστὰ 29 αὐτῷ παράσχονται. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐκ τούτον συμφρονήσαντες πρὸς τὸν ὑπατὸν ἔγραψαν ὅτι σώζοιντο. ἐκεῖνος δὲ ἐς μὲν τὴν 'Ῥώμην οὕτ' ἔγραψε παραχρῆμα οὕτ' ἄγγελον ἀπέστειλεν, ἐς δὲ τὸ Καυσίον ἑλθὼν τὰ τε ἐνταῦθα κατεστήσατο, καὶ τοῖς πλησιοχώροις φρουρᾶς ὡς ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ἐπέμψε, προσβάλλοντάς τε τῇ πόλει ἵππεας ἀπεκρούσατο. τὸ τε σύνολον οὕτ' ἀθυμήσασι ὡς καταπτήξας, ἀλλ' ἀπ' ὀρθής τῆς διανοίας, ὥσπερ μηδενὸς σφικε δεινοῦ συμβεβηκότος, πάντα τὰ πρόσφορα τοῖς παροῦσι καὶ ἐβούλευσε καὶ ἔπραξεν.—V. 33 (p. 598).

Zonaras 9, 2.

καὶ ἄστερον εὐδοκίμησε. παρ' ἐκόντων γὰρ τῶν συμφυγόντων εἰς τὸ Καυσίον τὴν ἡγεμονίαν λαβὼν τὰ τε ἐκεῖ κατεστήσατο καὶ τοῖς πλησιοχώροις φρουρᾶς ἐπέμψε καὶ πάντα καλῶς ἐβούλευσε τε καὶ ἔπραξεν.

Οἱ δ' ἐν τῇ 'Ῥώμῃ τὴν ἤτταν μὲν ἦκουσαν, οὐ μὴν καὶ ἐπίστευον. πιστεύσαντες δὲ ἐπένθουν καὶ συνίόντες εἰς τὸ συνέδριον μὴ τι πράττοντες ἀπηλλάττοντο. ὅψε δ' οὖν ὁ Φάβιος γνώμην ἔδωκε κατασκόπους πέμψα τοὺς ἀγγελοῦντας τὸ γεγονός καὶ τί ὁ 'Αννίβας πράττει, αὐτοὺς δὲ μὴ κλαίειν, συγὰ δὲ βαδίζειν, ἵν' ἐν καιρῷ τὰ
BOOK XV

himself swearing to take proper measures both in word and deed he made them swear likewise, on pain of instant death if they failed to give him their pledge. So these men thereupon became harmonious and wrote to the consul that they were safe. Scipio, however, did not at once write or send a messenger to Rome; but going to Canusium, he set in order affairs at that place, sent to the regions near by such garrisons as circumstances permitted, and repulsed a cavalry attack upon the city. In fine, he displayed neither dejection nor terror, but with an unbroken spirit, as if no serious evil had befallen them, he both planned and carried out all measures suitable to the present situation.

Zonaras 9, 2.

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

The people of Rome heard of the defeat but would not believe it. When they did come to believe it, they were filled with sorrow, and met in the senate-house, but were ready to break up without accomplishing anything, when finally Fabius proposed that they send scouts to bring a report of what had happened and what Hannibal was doing. He urged that they themselves should not lament, but go about in silence, so that the necessary
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

Zonaras 9, 2.

προσήκοντα γύνιτο, δύναμίν τε συλλέξαι δόσην ἄν δύναντο καὶ τοὺς περιοίκους ἐπικαλέσασθαι. μετὰ δὲ ταύτα ὡς τὸν Ἀννίβαν ἐν τῇ Ἀπολλίᾳ ὄντα ἔμαθον, καὶ γράμματα παρὰ τοῦ Τερεντίου ἐδέξαντο ὑπὲρ περιεῖ καὶ ὅσα πράττοι, μικρὸν ἀνεθάρσησαν. καὶ δικτάτωρ μὲν Μάρκος Ἰούνιος, ἵππαρχος δὲ Τιβέριος Σεμπρόνιος Γράκχος ἔλεχθησαν. καὶ παραχρῆμα τῶν τε πολιτῶν οὐ τοὺς ἰδίως μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρηβηκότας ἦδη κατέλεξαν, καὶ δεσμώτας ἐπ' ἀδελαὶ καὶ δούλους ἐπ' ἐλευθερίᾳ ληστὰς τὲ τινὰς προσελά-βοντο, καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους προσπαρεκάλουν, ἀναμεμησκοντες εἰ τί που εὐηργῆστο καὶ προσυπαχυνόμενοι δώσειν τοὺς μὲν σίτον, τοὺς δὲ ἀργύρια, ὅπερ οὕτω πρόσθεν ἐποίησαν· καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα πεπόμφασιν ἢ πείσοντές τινὰς συμμαχησάμενοι αὐτοῖς ἢ μισθώσαμεν.

Ἀννίβας δὲ συνιστηκέναι τοὺς Ῥωμαίοις καὶ παρασκευᾶσθαι μαθῶν ἐν ταῖς Κάνναις διέτρι-βε, τὴν ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς ἀλώσιν ἀπεγρακώς· καὶ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων τὸ μὲν συμμαχικὸν ἄνευ λύτρων ἀφίκεν, ὡς καὶ πρότερον, τοὺς δὲ Ῥωμαίοις ἐτήρει, ἀποδόσθαι ἐπιτίξων αὐτοῖς, ἢν ἔαν τοὺς εὑπορώτερον ἐντευθεῖν ποιήσῃ, δὲ Ῥωμαίοις ἀπορωτέρους. ἐπεὶ δὲ μηδεὶς ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀφίκετο τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ξητῶν, ἐκέλευσεν αὐτοῖς πέμψαι τινὰς ὑκαδὲ ἐπὶ λύτρα, προσόκας ἐπανήξειν. ως δὲ οὐδ' οὗτος λύσασθαι σφαῖς ἠθέλησαν, τοὺς μὲν λόγου τινὸς ἀξίους ἐς τὴν Καρχηδόνα ἀπέ-στειλε, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων τοὺς μὲν αἰκισάμενος.
BOOK XV

Zonaras 9, 2.

measures might be taken in time, and that they should collect as large a force as they could and also call upon their neighbours for aid. After this, upon learning that Hannibal was in Apulia, and upon receiving a letter from Terentius stating that he was alive and what he was doing, they recovered a little of their courage. Marcus Junius was named dictator and Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus master of the horse. Immediately they enrolled not only those of the citizens who were in their prime but also those who were now past the military age; they added to their forces prisoners on promise of pardon, slaves on promise of freedom, and a few brigands; moreover, they called on their allies to help, reminding them of any kindness ever shown them, and promising in addition to give some of them grain, and others money—a thing they had never done before; they also sent emissaries to Greece to persuade or hire men to serve as their allies.

Hannibal, learning that the Romans were showing a united front and were engaged in preparations, still delayed at Cannae, having given up all thought of capturing Rome by assault. Of the captives he released the allied contingent without ransom, as before, but the Romans he kept, hoping to dispose of them by sale, and thus increase his own resources while diminishing those of the Romans. But when no one came from Rome in quest of the captives, he ordered them to send some of their number home for ransom, after they had first taken an oath to return. When even then the Romans refused to ransom them, he sent those who were of any prominence to Carthage, and the rest he either
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

Zonaras 9, 2.

ἀπέκτεινε, τοὺς δὲ μονομαχήσαι ἤναγκασε, τοὺς φίλους καὶ τοὺς συγγενεῖς ἀλλήλους συμβαλῶν. οἱ δὲ πεμφθέντες ἐπὶ τὰ λύτρα, ἐπανελθόντες ἐν εὐφρκήσωι, φυγόντες δὲ μετὰ τοῦτο, ἀτιμοὶ ύπὸ τῶν τιμητῶν ἐγένοντο, καὶ ἔαυτοις κατεχρήσαντο.

Μάγωνα δὲ τὸν ἄδελφον ὁ Ἄννιβας ἄγγελοὺν τὸς Καρχηδονίους ἐπεμψε τὰ γενόμενα καὶ χρήματα παρ' αὐτῶν καὶ δυνάμεις αἰτήσοντα. καὶ ο ἡμεῖς ἀπελθόντο τοὺς τε δακτυλίους ἤρθησαν καὶ ἐπὶ μείζον ἔξηρε δὴ τὸ κατόρθωμα: καὶ ἐψηφίσθη πάντα ὅσα ἦττῆσατο, τῷ γὰρ Ἀννωνι τάναντι λέγοντι καὶ καταλύσασθαι τὸν πόλεμον ἔως καθυπέρτεροι δοκοῦσι συμβουλεύσατε οὐκ ἐπείσθησαν, οὐκ οὑντο τὰ ψηφισθέντα καὶ εἰς ἔργον ἤγαγον, ἀλλ' ἐμέλλησαν. Ἄννιβας δ' ἐν τούτῳ ἐς τὴν Καμπανίαν προωχώρησε, καὶ πόλισμα τι εἰλε Σαννιτικῶν, καὶ ἐπὶ Νέαιν ὤρμησε πόλιν, προπέμψας μετὰ τῆς λείας, ὕλους τινάς, πρὸς οὐδ' ὡς μόνους δοντας τῶν τῆς πόλεως ἐκδραμόντων ἐπεφάνη αὐτοῖς ἀπροσδόκητος καὶ συγχυς ἀπέκτεινε, τὴν δὲ πόλιν οὐχ εἶλεν, οὔτε ἐπὶ πολυτ Ταύτῃ προσήδρευσεν. οἱ γὰρ τὴν Κατάνην οἰκούντες Καμπανοὶ οἱ μὲν τῇ Ῥωμαιῶν φιλία ἐνέμειναν, οἱ δὲ πρὸς τὸν Ἄννιβαν ἄπεκλαναν. ἔπει δ' ἐν ταῖς Κανναις εὐτύχησε, καὶ τινὲς άνδρες αὐτῶν ἄλοντες ἀφεθήσαν, τὸ μὲν πλῆθος ὄρμησε μεταστήναε πρὸς τὸν Ἄννιβαν, οἱ δὲ δυνατοὶ χρόνον μὲν τινα ἐπέσχον, εἰτ' ἐπ' αὐτοὺς τὸ πλῆθος ὄρμησαν συνηγμένους ἐν τῷ βουλευτήρῳ πάντας ἐν κατεχρῆσατο, εἰ μὴ τῆς ἐκ τοῦ πλῆθους τὸ μέγεθος συνιδῶν τοῦ

150
BOOK XV

Zonaras 9, 2.

tortured and put to death or forced to fight as gladiators, pitting friends and relatives against each other. Those who were sent for ransom returned in order to be true to their oaths, but later fled. Disfranchised then by the censors, they committed suicide.

Hannibal sent his brother Mago to report the victory to the Carthaginians and to ask them for money and troops. So Mago on his arrival counted over the rings and even magnified the success: thus everything that he asked for was voted, and they would not listen to Hanno, who opposed this course and advised them to end the war while they seemed to have the upper hand. However, they did not put their vote into effect, but delayed. Hannibal meanwhile advanced into Campania, seized a Samnite fortress, and marched upon Neapolis. He sent before him a few soldiers with the booty, and when the people of the city, thinking them alone, rushed out upon them, he unexpectedly appeared in person and slew a large number; but he did not capture the city, nor did he lay siege to it long—for a reason now to be given. Of the Campanian inhabitants of Capua a part clung to Roman friendship, while others favoured Hannibal. After his success at Cannae and when some of their men taken captive had been released, the populace was eager to revolt to Hannibal, but the leaders waited for a time. Finally, the crowd made a rush upon them as they were assembled in the senate-house, and would have made away with them all but for the action of some one of the crowd who saw how great a misfortune this would be. This
κακού κατηγόρησε μὲν τῶν βουλευτῶν ὡς πάντως φθαρὰναι ἄξιων, ἡφι πὲ πρότερον ἄλλους ἀντ᾽ ἐκείνων ἀνθελέσθαι προσήκειν· τὴν γὰρ πόλιν μὴ δύνασθαι μὴ προβουλευόντων τινῶν σώζεσθαι. πεισθέντων δὲ τῶν ἐν τῇ Καπύῃ, ἐκβάλλων ἐνα ἐκαστὸν ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου ἡρῶτα τὸ πλῆθος ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἀνθαίρεται· καὶ οὕτω, μὴ δυνηθέντων αὐτῶν ἐτέρους δι᾽ ὅλον ἀνθελέσθαι, πάντας ἐκείνους ὡς ἀναγκαῖους ἀφῆκε. καὶ καταλλαγέντες ἀλλήλοις ἐσπείρασαν τῷ Ἄννιβα. καὶ ὅσ διὰ ταχέων ἀπαναστάς ἐκ τῆς Νεαπόλεως ἦλθεν εἰς τὴν Καπύῃ, καὶ διαλέγοντο μάλιστα ἄλλα τε πολλὰ εἰπεν ἐπαγωγὰ καὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν σφίσει τῆς Ἰταλίας δώσευν ὑπέσχετο, ἵνα ἐν ἐλπίδι γενόμενοι ὡς καὶ έαντοὺς πονήσουτε προθυμότερον ἀγωνίσουσαν.

Μεταστάσες δὲ τῆς Καπύῆς καὶ ἡ ἄλλη Καμπανία κεκίνητο· καὶ οἱ Ρωμαίοι τὴν ἀπόστασιν αὐτῆς μαθόντες ἤχθουν. ὁ γε μὴν Ἄννιβας ἐπὶ Νουκερίνους ἐστράτευσεν. οἱ δὲ πολιορκοῦμενοι τὴν ἁχρηστοῦν σφῶν ἤλκαν ἀπορία τροφῶν ἐξεώσαντο· ὡς ὁ Ἄννιβας οὐ προσήκατο, ἄλλα καὶ εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀπιοῦσι μόνον ἀσφάλειαν 152
BOOK XV

Hannibal took possession of Nuceria under an

man denounced the senators as by all means de-

Zonaras 9, 2.
serving to perish, but said that they ought first
to choose others to fill their places; for the state
could not endure without some men to concert
measures for the rest. Having gained the assent
of the Capuan people, he ejected each of the
members in turn from the senate-house, asking the
populace, as he did so, whom they chose in his
place; and thus, when they found themselves
unable to choose others on short notice, he let all
the senators go unharmed, because they appeared to
be indispensable. Later the Capuans became recon-
ciled with one another and made peace with Han-
nibal. This was the reason why he quickly retired
from Neapolis and came to Capua. He held a
conference with the people and made many attractive
offers, among other things promising to give them
the leadership in Italy; for he wished to encourage
them with the hope that they would be actually
labouring in their own behalf, so that they might
fight with greater zeal.

Upon the revolt of Capua the rest of Campania also
became restive, and the news of the town's secession
troubled the Romans. As for Hannibal, he set out
on a campaign against Nuceria. Under stress of
siege and owing to lack of food the inhabitants
thrust out those of their number whose age rendered
them unserviceable. Hannibal would not receive
these, however, and gave them assurance of safety
only in case they should go back to the city. There-
DIO’S ROMAN HISTORY

μεθ’ ἐνὸς ἰματίου ἔκαστον ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐκχωρήσας λαβὼν Ἀννίβας, ἐπειδή ἐγκρατῆς αὐτῶν ἐγένετο, τοὺς μὲν βουλευτὰς ἐς βαλανεία κατακλείσας ἀπέτυχεν, τοὺς δὲ ἀλλοις ἀπελθεῖν ἤθεν ὅποι ὅ βούλοιντο δοὺς, πολλοὺς καὶ ἐκείνων ἐν τῇ ὀδῷ ἐφόνευσεν. οὐ μέντοι αὐτῷ ἔλυσιτελεσθεὶς φοβηθέντες γὰρ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ μὴ τὰ ὀμοία πάθωσιν, οὐ συνέβαινον αὐτῷ, καὶ ἀντεῖχον ἐφ’ ὃσον ἔξηρκον.—V. 34 (p. 598):

31 "Ὅτι ὁ Μάρκελλος καὶ ἀνδρεία καὶ σωφροσύνη τῇ τε δικαιοσύνῃ πολλῇ ἐχρήσατο, παρὰ δὲ δὴ τῶν ἀρχομένων οὐ πάντα ἀκριβῶς οὐδὲ χαλεπῶς ἀπῆτει, οὐδὲ ἐπιμέλειαν ὅπως καὶ ἐκείνων τὰ δέοντα πράττοις ἐποιεῖτο, τοῖς τε ἀμαρτάνοντι τι αὐτῶν συγγνώμην κατὰ τὸ ἀνθρώπων ἐνεμὲ, καὶ οὐκ ὥργιζετο εἰ μὴ ὀμοίοι αὐτῷ εἶεν. V. 35 (p. 601).

Zonaras 9, 2.

ἐδωκε. διὸ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ μεθ’ ἐνὸς ἰματίου ἐκχωρήσας τοῦ ἄστεος ὀμολογήσαν. ἐπεὶ δ’ ἐγκρατῆς αὐτῶν ἐγένετο, τοὺς μὲν βουλευτὰς ἐς βαλανεία κατακλείσας ἀπέπνιξε, τοὺς δ’ ἀλλοις ἀπελθεῖν εἰπὼν ὅ ποι βούλοιντο, πολλοὺς ἐν τῇ ὀδῷ κάκεινων ἐφόνευε. συνχυὸ δ’ οὖν αὐτῶν καὶ περισεγένοντο εἰς ὅλας προκαταφυγόντες. ἐκ τούτου δὲ οἱ λοιποὶ φοβηθέντες οὐ συνέβαινον

1 κατακλείσας Bs., ἀποκλείσας Ms.
2 δ’ Οποί Val., δη Μs. 3 τε Bs., δὲ Ms.
4 ὥργιζετο Cary, ὥργιζετο ὅτι Ms. by dittography.

154
BOOK XV

agreement that each man should leave the city with a single garment. As soon, however, as he had them in his power, he shut the senators into bath-houses and suffocated them; and even in the case of the others, although he had pretended to grant them permission to go away wherever they pleased, he cut down many of them on the road. This course, however, did not turn out to his advantage; for the rest became afraid that they might suffer a similar fate, and so would not come to terms with him, but resisted as long as they could hold out.

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

Zonaras 9, 2.

fore the rest also agreed to leave the city with a single garment. As soon, however, as Hannibal was master of the situation, he shut the senators into bathhouses and suffocated them, and even in the case of the others, although he had told them to go away wherever they pleased, he cut down many on the road; yet a number of them managed to escape by taking refuge in the woods. Thereupon the rest became afraid, and would no longer come to terms with him, but resisted while
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

32 Ὅτι ἐν τῇ Νώλῃ πολλῶν τοὺς ἀλόντας τε ἐν ταῖς Κάνναις καὶ ἀφεθέντας ὕπο τοῦ Ἀννίβου διὰ φόβου τε ἐχόντων ὡς καὶ τὰ ἐκεῖνον φρονόντας καὶ θανατώσας βούλομένων, ἀντέστη, καὶ μετὰ τούτο τὴν ὑποψίαν ἦν ἐς αὐτοὺς εἶχεν ἀποκρυψάμενος, ὅτω σφαῖς μετεχειρίσατο ὡστε τὰ τέ ἐαντοῦ ἀνθελέσθαι1 καὶ χρησιμωτάτους καὶ τῇ πατρίδι καὶ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις γενέσθαι.—

V. 36 (601).

33 Ὅτι ὁ αὐτὸς Μάρκελλος τῶν ἱππέων τινὰ τῶν Δευκανῶν αἴσθόμενος εἰς ἔρωτι γυναικός ὄντα, συνεχώρησαν αὐτῷ καὶ ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ αὐτὴν ἔχειν, ὅτι κράτιστα ἐμάχετο, καὶ περ ἀπαγορεύ- σας μηδεμίαν ἐς τὸ τάφρεμα γυναικα ἐσιέναι.

V. 37 (ib.).

34 Ὅτι τὰ αὐτὰ ἐποίησε τοὺς Ἀκερανοῦς2 τοῖς Νούκερίνοις, πλὴν καθ’ ὅσον ἐς φρέατα τοὺς βουλευτῶς καὶ οὐκ ἐς βαλανεῖα ἐνέβαλεν.—

V. 38 (ib.).

Zonaras 9, 2.

ἐτὶ αὐτῷ, ἀλλ’ ἀντείχον ἦς ἡδύναντο. καὶ οἱ Νωλανοὶ βουλεύμενοι προσχωρήσαι αὐτῷ, ἐπεὶ τὸ εἰς ἐκεῖνος εἰδον πραχθέν, ἐπηγάγοντο λάβρα τῶν Μάρκελλον, καὶ τὸν Ἀννίβαν προσβαλόντα τῇ πόλει μετὰ ταῦτα ἀπώσαντο. ἀποκρουσθεὶς δὲ τῆς Νώλης Ἀκερανοῦς εἶλε λιμῷ ἐπὶ ταῖς αὐταῖς τοῖς Νούκερίνοις συνθήκαις, καὶ τὰ αὐτὰ

1 ἀνθελέσθαι v. Hegw., ἀνελέσθαι Ms.
2 τοὺς Ἀκερανοῦς Bk., καὶ Ms.
BOOK XV

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

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

He pursued the same course with the people of Acerrae as he had with those of Nuceria, except that he cast the senators into wells instead of bathhouses.

Zonaras 9, 2.

they were able. Now the people of Nola were planning to join his cause, but when they saw what had been done to their neighbours, they quietly let Marcellus in and later repulsed Hannibal when he assaulted their city. Repelled from Nola, he captured the people of Acerrae by starving them out. He made the same terms with them as with the people of Nuceria, and also accorded them the same treat-
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

Zonaras 9, 2-3.

εἰργάσατο καὶ αὐτοῦς. εἶτα καὶ ἐπὶ Βασιλίνας ἐστράτευσεν, ἐν φ' Ῥωμαίοι τε καὶ συμμάχων ὤσεὶ χίλιοι συγκατέφυγον. οἳ τοὺς μὲν ἐπιχωρίους προδοῦναι σφᾶς μελετήσαντας ἀπέκτειναν, καὶ τὸν Ἀννίβαν πολλάκις ἀπόσαντο, καὶ πρὸς λείπον γενναῖας διεκαρτήρησαν: ἐπιλοιποῦσης δὲ τῆς τροφῆς αὐτοῦς, ἔπι ἀσκοῦν τω διὰ τὸν ποταμὸν πρὸς τὸν δικτάτορα ἐπέμψαν· ὦ δὲ πίθους ἄλευρον πλήρεις νυκτὸς ἐνέβαλλεν εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν, ἐντείλαμεν ως αὐτοὶς παρατηρεῖν ἐν τῷ σκότει τὸ ῥέμα. καὶ χρόνον μὲν τινὰ ἐλάνθανεν οὕτως τὰς τροφὰς αὐτοῖς χορηγῶν, ἑπείτα πίθου τινὸς προσπαγέντος ποι καὶ συντριβέντος ἔγνων οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι τὸ γινόμενον, καὶ ἀλύσεις τὸν ποταμὸν διειλήφασιν. ὡς δὲ τῷ λιμῷ καὶ τοῖς τραύμασι συχνὸς διεφθάρησαν, τὸ ἔτερον τῆς πόλεως μέρος ἐξέλιπτο καὶ τῷ λοιπῷ διεκαρτέρων, τὴν γέφυραν διακράτησαν. εἶτα σπέρμα γραγυλόδος ἀπὸ τοῦ τεῖχους εἰς τὸ χωρίον ἔξωθεν αὐτοῦ κατέβαλον. ἐποίησαν δὲ τούτο ἦνα καταπλῆξεις αὐτοὺς πολέμιοις ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺ ἄνταρκτοντες. ὦθεν ὁ Ἀννίβας ἄφθονον αὐτοὺς ἑχειν τὴν τροφὴν οἰηθεὶς καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ καρτερίᾳ θαυμάσας εἰς ὀμολογίαν προεκάλεσατο, καὶ χρημάτων ἀπέδοτο σφᾶς. ἐλύσαντο γὰρ αὐτοῖς οἱ ἔξω Ῥωμαῖοι ἀσμένως, ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ ἐτίμησαν.

3. Ἐν φ' δὲ ταύτα ἐγένετο καὶ ἐκ Δελφῶν οἱ πεμβατές ἀνεκομίσθησαν, λέγοντες τὴν Πυθίαν χρῆσαι αὐτοῖς παύσασθαι τῆς ραθμίας καὶ τῷ πολέμῳ προσέχειν. ἐντεύθεν ἀνεφρόσθησαν. καὶ

158
BOOK XV

Zonaras 9, 2-3.

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

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

1 An error for Casilinum.
"Οτι ό Φάβιος τοὺς πολύτατα τοὺς ἑν ταῖς πρὶν μάχαις ἴωγρηθέντας τοὺς μὲν ἄνδρα ἀντ’ ἄνδρος ἐκομίσατο, τοὺς δὲ καὶ χρημάτων ἀπολύσασθαι συνέθετο. μὴ δεξαμένης δὲ τῆς βουλῆς τὸ ἀνάλωμα, ὡς μηδὲ τὴν λύσιν αὐτῶν συνεπήγεσε, τὰ τε εαυτοῦ χωρία, ὡσπερ εἶπον, ἀπεκήρυξεν, καὶ ἐκ τῆς τιμῆς σφων τὰ λύτρα αὐτοῖς ἐχαρίσατο.—V. 39 (p. 601)

Zonaras 9, 2-3.

κατέλαβον τὸν 'Αννίβαν καὶ οἱ παρεστρατοπεδεύσαντο, ὅπως τὰ πραττόμενα παρ’ αὐτοῦ παρατηρῶσι. καὶ ὥς Ποιύνως ὁ δικτάτωρ τὰ τοῖς Καρχηδονίων παραγγελλόμενα καὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ποιεῖν ὁμοίως ἔκέλευε. καὶ σίτα καὶ ὕπνον ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ καιρῷ ἱροῦντο, καὶ τὰς φυλακὰς ὁμοίως ἐπεσκόπουν, καὶ τάλλα ἐπ’ ἱστης ἐπραττον. καταμαθὼν οὖν τότε ὁ 'Αννίβας χειμέριον ἐτήρησε νύκτα, καὶ τοῖς μὲν τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐπέξοδον ἀφ’ ἐσπέρας ἀνείπε, τοῦ δὲ 'Ιουνίου τὸ αὐτὸ ποιήσατο, ἐκ διαδοχῆς ἀλλοτε ἄλλους αὐτῷ προσβάλλειν ἐκέλευσεν, ἵν’ ἐν συνεχεὶ πόνῳ ἐκ τῆς ἀγρυπνίας καὶ τοῦ χειμῶνος εἶναι αὐτοῖς δὲ μετὰ τῶν λοιπῶν ἀνεπάνετο. ἐπεὶ δ’ ὕμερα ἐπιλάμψειν ἐμελλε, τὸ στράτευμα τε δήθεν ἀνεκαλέσατο καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων τὰ ὁπλα ἀποθέμενοι καὶ πρὸς ἀνάπαυλαν τραπεμένων ἐπήλθεν αὐτοῖς ἀφίων καὶ συνχοῦσι ἄπεκτεινε καὶ τὸ τάφρεμα ἐκλειφθέν εἴλε.

Τὰ δὲ ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ καὶ τῇ Σαρδοῖ ἐκινεῖτο,

1 toûs inserted by Bk.  2 δεξαμένης Val., δεξάμενος Ms.

160
BOOK XV

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

Zonaras 9, 2–3.

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

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

Zonaras 9, 3.

οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐπιστροφῆς τινος παρὰ τῶν Ἑρω-μαίων ἔτυχον. ὑπατοὶ δὲ ὁ τε Γράκχος ὁ Ἱππαρχὸς καὶ Ποστούμος Ἀλβίνος ἦρέθησαν. καὶ ὃ μὲν Ἀλβίνος μετὰ παντὸς τοῦ στρατοῦ ὑπὸ τῶν Βουινίων ἐφθάρη, διὰ ὄρους ὑλόδους πορευό-μενος καὶ ἐνεδρευθεὶς ὤ μὴ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτε-μόντες οἱ βάρβαροι καὶ ἐκκαθάραντες καὶ περι-χρυσώσαντες πρὸς τὰ ἱερὰ αὐτῶν ἀντὶ φιάλης ἐκέχρησαν. γεγόνασι δὲ τὸτε τέρατα βοῶς τε γὰρ ὑπὲν ἔτεκε καὶ ἐν θαλάσσῃ ἔξελαμψε πῦρ. οἱ δ' ὑπατοὶ Γράκχος καὶ Φάβιος στρατοπεδευ-σάμενοι τὸν τε Ἀννίβαν ἐν Καπτη ὄντα ἐπετήρουν, ὃ τι πράσσει, καὶ διεσπέμπτοντο ἐκαστάχοσε, τοῖς τε συμμάχοις ἐπήμυνον, καὶ τοὺς ἀφεστηκότας οἰκειοῦσθαι ἐπειρῶντο τά τε τῶν ἀνθισταμένων ἐκάκουν. ὁ δὲ Ἀννίβας ἐς μὲν τῆς τροφῆς ἐνδείως ἑὔπορει καὶ διακινδυνεύων, σωφρόνως μετὰ τοῦ στρατοῦ διήγεν, ὡς δὲ τὴν Καπτη Ἕλαβον καὶ πολλοὺς ἐπιτηδείους ἐν ῥαστῶν ἤδειξησαν, τὴν τε ἱσχὺν τῶν σωμάτων μὴ πονοῦμενοι καὶ τὴν ῥάμην τῆς γρώμης ὑπὸ τῆς εὐθυμίας ἠλπιτόθησαν, καὶ τὴν πάτριον ἀμελε-ψαντες δίαιταν μετέμαθον ἤττᾶον μαχόμενοι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ πόλεμος ἦδη ἐπέκειτο, ἐς βρα μετέστη καὶ ἐγύμναξε τὸ στράτευμα. οἱ δ' οὐχ οἷοί τε δι' ὀλίγου ρωσθήναι γεγόνασι. βοσθείας δὲ αὐτῷ οἴκοδειν ἄλλης τε καὶ ἐλεφάντων ἐλθοῦσις ἀνε-θάρσησε. καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν Νάνναν ὡς αἰρήσων αὐτὴν ἢ τὸν γε Μάρκελλον τὴν Σαννίτεδα πορθοῦντα ταύτης ἀπάξων ὄρμησεν. ὡς δ' οὖδεν ἐπέραυνε, 162
BOOK XV

Zonaras 9, 3.

but did not receive any consideration at the hands of the Romans. The consuls chosen were Gracchus, previously master of the horse, and Postumius Albinus. Now Albinus was ambushed and destroyed with his entire army by the Boii as he was traversing a wooded mountain. The barbarians cut off his head, scooped out the interior, and after gilding it used it for a bowl in their sacred rites. Portents also occurred at this time: a cow gave birth to a horse and fire shone out at sea. The consuls Gracchus and Fabius encamped and kept watch of Hannibal who was at Capua, to see what he did. They also sent out envoys in every direction, defended the allies, endeavoured to win back the revolted, and ravaged the possessions of those who opposed them. Hannibal, as long as his food supply was scanty and was obtained at the cost of encountering dangers, led a temperate life, as did his army; but after taking Capua and wintering there in idleness with ample provisions, they deteriorated in physical strength, as a result of no longer toiling, and in moral vigour, through pleasure, and in changing their ancestral habits they learned an accomplishment that was new to them—to be defeated in battle. When the business of war finally became pressing, Hannibal transferred his quarters to the mountains and went to exercising the army; but they could not grow strong in a short space of time. He was encouraged, however, by the arrival of elephants and other reinforcements from home. He now set out against Nola, intending to capture it or at least to draw Marcellus away from Samnium, which he was ravaging. When
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

Zonaras 9, 3.

τῆς μὲν πόλεως ἀπέστη, τὴν δὲ χώραν ἔκειερε, μέχρις οὐ μάχι κατὰ τὸ ἱσχυρὸν ἦττήθη, ἐφ' ὦ καὶ ἤληγησε. πολλοὶ μὲν γὰρ Ἰβηρεσ, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν Διβύων ἐγκατέλειπον αὐτῶν καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἡπτομόλησαν, δ' οὔπω πρώην ἔπαθε. καταγνοῦσ' δ' ἐκ τούτου καὶ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν, πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν ἐκείνην ἐξέλιπε καὶ ἐς τὴν Καπῦν ἀνεχώρησεν· εἶτα κάκειθεν μετέστην.

Οἱ δὲ Σκιπίωνες τῶν τε Ἰβηρα ποταμῶν διέβησαν, καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐπόθοντο καὶ πόλεις προσῆγοντο, καὶ τὸν Ἀσδρούβαν διὰ ταῦτα σπουδὴ ἐπελθώντα μάχῃ ἐνίκησαν. οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι δὲ ταῦτα μαθόντες, καὶ νομίζοντες πλείονος τῶν Ἀσδρούβαν ἡ τῶν Ἄννιβαν δεῖσθαι βοηθείας, καὶ φοβηθέντες μὴ καὶ ἐς τὴν Διβυίην οἱ Σκιπίωνες διαβήναι ἐπιχειρήσωσι, τῷ μὲν Ἄννιβα βραχείαν δύναμιν ἐπεµψαν, τὴν πλείστην δὲ μετὰ τοῦ Μάγωνος εἰς τὴν Ἰβηρίαν τάχιστα ἀπεστάλκασι, κελεύσαντες μετὰ τὴν τῆς Ἰβηρίας κατάστασιν τὸν μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν ἐκεί φυλακῆ καταμείναι, τὸν δὲ Ἀσδρούβαν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν σὺν δυνάμει σταλῆναι. ὁ γὰρ οἱ Σκιπίωνες οὐκέτ' ἐμαχέσαντο, ἵνα μὴ κρατήσασι ἵσως ὁ Ἀσδρούβας εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐπεισῶθη. ὡς δὲ τῷ τῶν Ῥωμαίων φίλιον ἐκάκουν οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι, Πούπλιος μὲν ὀμόσε τοῖς προσπέσοσιν αὐτῷ τῶν ἐναντίων ἐχώρησε τε καὶ ἐπεκράτησε, Γναῖος δὲ τοὺς ἀποχωρούντας σφῶν ἐκ τῆς μάχης ὑπολαβῶν προσδιέφθειρεν. ἐκ δὲ τῆς συμφορᾶς ταύτης, καὶ ὅτι καὶ πόλεις συχνὰ πρὸς τοὺς
he could accomplish nothing, he withdrew from the city, but laid waste the country, until he suffered a decisive defeat in battle. At this he was indeed grieved, since many Spaniards and even many of the Africans now forsook him and deserted to the Romans—a new experience for him. Disgusted, therefore, both with himself and with his soldiers, he abandoned that entire region and retired to Capua. Afterward he left that place also.

The Scipios had crossed the river Iberus and were ravaging the country; they had secured control of various cities, and when Hasdrubal for this reason hastened to oppose them, they had conquered him in battle. The Carthaginians, upon learning of this, thought that Hasdrubal needed more assistance than Hannibal did, and fearing that the Scipios might also attempt to cross into Africa, they despatched only a small body of troops to Hannibal, but sent the larger part with Mago to Spain with the utmost speed; and they ordered the latter after the reduction of Spain to remain to guard their interests there, whereas Hasdrubal was to be sent with a force against Italy. The Scipios, learning their plan, no longer gave battle, for fear that Hasdrubal might perchance win a victory and then hasten into Italy. However, as the Carthaginians went on ravaging the region that was friendly to the Romans, Publius engaged in a struggle with such of his opponents as met him and won a victory, while Gnaeus intercepted those of the enemy who were retiring from the battle and completed their destruction. As a result of this disaster, and because numerous cities were trans-
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

Zonaras 9, 3-4.

Ῥωμαίους μεθίσταντο καὶ τῶν Διβύων τινὲς αὐτοὶ προσεχώρησαν, πλέον ἢ διενοεῖτο ὁ Ἀσ-
δρούβας κατέμεινεν. ὃς δὲ Σκιτίωνες εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν εὐθὺς τοὺς προσχωρήσαντας ἐστείλαν,
αὐτὸι δὲ τὰ ἐν τῇ Ἱβηρίᾳ καθίστων, καὶ τοὺς τῶν Ζακυνθίων ὑπηκόους τοὺς καὶ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ
τῆς συμφορᾶς αἰτίους αὐτοῖς γενομένους ἐλόντες, τὸ τε πόλεισα κατέσκαψαν καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἔπωλησαν, καὶ τὴν Ζάκυνθον μετὰ τοῦτο κομισάμενοι τοῖς ἀρχαῖοι πολίταις ἀπέ-
δοσαν. τοσαύτη τε ἀκριβεῖα περὶ τὴν λείαν ἐχρήσαντο ὡς μηδὲν οἶκου πέμψαν τοῖς μὲν γὰρ
συστρατευομένοις ἐπέτρεπαν τοῦτο ποιεῖν, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἀστραγάλους τοῖς τέκνοις ἐπέμψαν. ὃθεν ἡ
γερουσία, παραίτησάκει τοῦ Γναίου ἤ ἀπελθὼν
οἰκάδε προῖκα τῇ θυγατρὶ ἐρανίσκη ὥραια οὔσῃ ἀνδρός, ἐψηφίσαντο ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου προῖκα
dοθῆναι αὐτῇ.

4. Ἔν δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ καιρῷ καὶ ἡ Σικελία καὶ ἡ
Σαρδῶν ἀντίκρης ἐπολεμώθησαν. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐν
tαύταις δὲ ὀλίγου κατέστη, καὶ ὁ Ἀσδρούβας
ἐπικουρῶν αὐτῶν ἐάλω, καὶ τὴν νῆσον μικροῦ
πάσαν ἀνεκτήσατο Μάλλιος Τορκοκάτος. καὶ
tότε μὲν τὰ ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ ἰσώχασε, μετὰ δὲ
tαύτα ἐταράχθην. ὃ δὲ τῆς Ἐλατονίας βασιλεὺς
Φιλίππος φανερῶτατος τῶν Καρχηδόνων ἐγε-
nυτεὶ σπουδαστής. τῆς γὰρ Ἐλλάδος προσεπάρξαι
θέλων, συνθήκας πρὸς τῶν Ἀννίβαν ἔθετο, ὡστε
κοινὴ πολεμῆσαι, καὶ τὴν μὲν Ἰταλίαν τοὺς
Καρχηδόνιους λαβεῖν, τὴν δὲ Ἐλλάδα καὶ τὴν
Ἡπείρου μετὰ τῶν νῆσον ἐκεῖνον. ἦ μὲν οὖν

1 Μάλλιος Πινδερ, Μάλλιος Μσβ.
BOOK XV

Zonaras 9, 3-4.

ferring their allegiance to the Romans, and some of the Africans had also gone over to their side, Hasdrubal remained there longer than he was intending. The Scipios sent their accessions at once to Italy, and they themselves continued to settle affairs in Spain. They captured the subjects of the Saguntines who had brought upon them the fatal war, and they razed the town and sold the population. After this they took possession of Saguntum and restored it to its original inhabitants. They were so scrupulous in regard to the plunder that they sent nothing home; to be sure, they allowed their soldiers to do so, but as for themselves, they sent only some jackstones to their children. Hence the senate, when Gnaeus asked for a furlough, in order that he might go home and secure a dowry for his daughter, who was of marriageable age, voted that a dowry be given her from the public funds.

4. During this same period both Sicily and Sardinia became openly hostile. But the disturbance in these regions soon subsided. Hasdrubal, who was aiding them, was captured, and Manlius Torquatus recovered almost the entire island. For the time being affairs in Sicily were quiet, but later there was trouble. Philip, the king of Macedonia, showed himself a most open partisan of the Carthaginians. In his desire to add Greece to his possessions he came to an agreement with Hannibal that they should conduct the war in common, and that the Carthaginians should receive Italy, while he should have Greece and Epirus together with the
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

Zonaras 9, 4.

ἐμολογία ἐπὶ τούτους ἐγένετο, τοῦ δὲ κήρυκος τοῦ ὑπὸ τοῦ Φιλίππου πεμφθέντος πρὸς τὸν Ἀννίβαν ἀλόντος ἔμαθον οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὸ γινόμενον, καὶ παραχρῆμα στρατηγὸν ἐπ᾿ αὐτὸν Μάρκου Οὐαλλέριου Λαουίνου ἐστειλαν, ὅπως περὶ τοῖς οἴκου δεῖσας κατὰ χώραν μείνῃ. καὶ ἔσχεν οὕτως προῆλθε μὲν γὰρ μέχρι τῆς Κερκυρᾶς ὁ Φιλίππος ὡς ἐστὶν Ἰταλίαν πλευσόμενος, μαθὼν δὲ τὸν Δαυίνιον ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον ἢ δὴ παρόντα οἴκαδε ἀνεκομίσθη. τοῦ Λαουίνου δὲ μέχρι τῆς Κερκυρᾶς πλεύσαντος, εἰς τοὺς τῶν Ῥωμαίων συμμάχους ὁμησε, καὶ εἶπεν Ὁρικοῖ, Ἀπολλωνίαν τ᾿ ἐπολίσκε. ἐπιστρατεύσας δ᾿ αὐτὸς αὐτῷ Λαουίνιος καὶ Ὁρικὸν ἀνεκτῆσατο καὶ τὴν Ἀπολλωνίαν ἐρρύσατο. καντεύθεν ὁ Φιλίππος τὰς ναῦς αἷς ἐκέχρητο καταπρήσας, πεζῇ ἔπ᾿ οἴκου ἀνεχόρησεν.

Οἱ δ᾿ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ὑπάτους εἴλοντο τῶν Φάβιον καὶ τὸν Μάρκελλον. οἱ τὸν μὲν Ἀννίβαν τὴν νῦν Καλαβρίαν καλουμένην καὶ τὰ περὶ αὐτὴν περιπορεύμενον τῷ Γράκχῳ τῷ πρὸ αὐτῶν ἄρξαντε ἐπέταξαν καὶ δὲ Ἄνυσα περὶ Βενεβετοῦ ἀπαντήσαντα οἱ ἐκ Βρεττίων ἐτρέψατο, καντεύθεν προίον τὸν Ἀννίβαν παρεφύλαττε καὶ τὰ τῶν ἀφεσικότων ἐπόρθει, πόλεις τε τῖς τῶν ἀνεσώσατο· αὐτοὶ δὲ οἱ ὑπατοὶ πρὸς τὴν Καμπανίαν ἐτράποντο, ἵνα αὐτὴν χειροσάμενοι μηδὲν κατόπιν πολέμουν ὑπολίπωσιν, οὕτω τε ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀννίβαν χωρῆσωσιν. εἰτα διαιρεθέντες, Φάβιος μὲν τὰ τε ἐκείνων τὰ τοῦ Σαυνίου κατέτρεχε, Μάρκελλος δὲ εἰς τὴν Σικελίαν ἐπεραιώθη καὶ τὰς Συρακούσας ἐπολιόρκει, προσχωρησάσας μὲν 168
BOOK XV

Zonaras 9, 4.

islands. The agreement was made on this basis; but through the capture of the herald who had been sent to Hannibal by Philip, the Romans learned what was taking place, and forthwith sent the praetor Marcus Valerius Laevinus\(^1\) against him. They intended to cause him anxiety about his own possessions, so that he should stay at home. And thus it turned out. Philip advanced as far as Corcyra with the intention of sailing to Italy, but on learning that Laevinus was already at Brundisium, he returned home. When Laevinus had sailed as far as Corcyra, Philip set out against the Roman allies; he captured Oricum and proceeded to besiege Apollonia. But Laevinus once more made an expedition against him, recovered Oricum, and rescued Apollonia. Then Philip, after burning the ships which he had used, returned home by land.

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

\(^1\) Zonaras always spells this name Lavinius; cf. 8, 3. 169
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

Zonaras 9, 4.

αὐτῷ, εἰτ' ἀποστάσας δόλῳ τινῶν ὑπὸ ψευδοῦς ἀγγελίας. καὶ δὴ ἐλαχίστον ἂν αὐτὰς ἐχειρώσατο, καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν ἀμα προσβαλῶν τῷ τείχει, εἰ μὴ ὁ Ἀρχιμήδης μηχανάων ἑπὶ πλείοντος αὐτοῦς ἐποίησεν ἀντίσχειν. καὶ λίθους γὰρ καὶ ὅπλας μηχανήμασιν ἀπαρτῶν καθεῖ τε ἐξαιπιναίος αὐτούς καὶ ἀνέστη δὲ ὀλίγον. ταῖς τε ναυσὶ καὶ ταῖς πυργοφόροις ἐτέρας ἐπιρρήπτων ἀνείλκε τε αὐτὰς καὶ μετεωρίζων ἄθροώς ἠφίει, ὅστε ἐμπιπτοῦσας εἰς τὸ ύδωρ ρύμη βαπτίζεσθαι. καὶ τέλος σύμπαν τὸ ναυτικὸν τῶν Ρωμαίων παραδόξως κατέπρησε. κάτοπτρον γὰρ τὶ πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον ἀνατείνας τὴν τε

Tzetzes, Chil. 2, 109–23.

Καὶ τοῦ Μαρκέλλου στρατηγοῦ ποτέ δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων τῇ Συρακούσῃ κατὰ γῆν προσβάλλοντος καὶ πόντου, τινὰς μὲν πρῶτον μηχανῶις ἀνείλκυσεν ὅλκαδας καὶ πρὸς τὸ Συρακούσιον τείχος μετεωρίζασας αὐτάνδρους πάλιν τῷ βυθῷ κατέπεμπεν ἄθροῶς, Μαρκέλλου δ' ἀποστήσαντος μικρὸν τὶ τὰς ὅλκαδας ὁ γέρων πάλιν ἀπανταὶ ποιεῖ Συρακούσιοι μετεωρίζειν δύνασθαι λίθους ἀμαξίαμος καὶ τὸν καθέναν πέμποντας βυθίζειν τὰς ὅλκαδας. ὡς Μάρκελλος δ' ἀπέστησε βολὴν ἐκείνας τὸξου, ἔξαγωγὸν τὸ κάτοπτρον ἐτέκτηνεν ὁ γέρων, ἀπὸ δὲ διαστήματος συμμέτρου τοῦ κατόπτρου μικρὰ τοιαῦτα κάτοπτρα θεὶς τετραπλὰ γωνίας κινούμενα λεπίσι τε καὶ τις γυγγυλμοῖς, μέσουν ἐκεῖνον 170

1 πέμποντας Cary, πέμποντα Ms.
him, but then had revolted again as the result of a false message sent by the treachery of certain men. Now he would have subdued it very speedily, as the result of a joint assault upon the wall by land and sea, had not Archimedes with his inventions enabled the inhabitants to resist for a very long time. For this man by his devices suspended stones and heavy-armed soldiers in the air, and these he would let down suddenly, and presently draw them up again. And he would lift up ships, even those equipped with towers, by means of other appliances which he dropped upon them; and raising them aloft, would let them drop suddenly, so that when they fell into the water they were sunk by the impact. At last in an incredible manner he burned up the whole Roman fleet. For by tilting a kind of

Tzetzes, Chil. 2, 109-23.

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


Zonaras 9, 4.

ἀκτίνα αὐτοῦ ἐσ εὐτέρειατο καὶ τὸν ἁέρα ἀπ' αὐτῆς τῇ πυκνότητι καὶ τῇ λειτουργεί τοῦ κατόπτρου πυρόσας φλόγα τε μεγάλην ἔξεκασε καὶ πάσαν αὐτὴν ἐς τὰς ναίς υπὸ τὴν τοῦ πυρὸς ὀδὸν ὀμοίας ἐνέβαλε καὶ πάσας κατέκαυσεν.

Ἀπογνώσων οὖν ὁ Μάρκελλος τὴν πόλιν αἰρήσειν διὰ τὸ τοῦ Ἀρχιμήδους εὐπήχουν, λιμψανός κατασχεῖν ἐκ προσεδρεῖας διεμελέτησε ἐκατὰ ταύτας μὲν τῷ Πούλχρῳ ἐπέτρεψεν, αὐτὸς δ' ἐπὶ τούς συναποστάντας σφίσων ἑτράπετο καὶ τοῖς μὲν γνωσιμαχῳσι συγγιγμόῃν ἐνεμεθε, τοὺς δ' ἀντισταμένους μετεχειρίζετο χαλεπῶς, καὶ συν- χαός μὲν τῶν πόλεων βία, τινὰς δὲ καὶ προδοσία ἔρει. ἐν τούτοις δ' Ἰμιλίκων ἐκ Καρχηδόνως σὺν στρατῷ ἤκε, τὸν Ἀκράγαντα τε κατέσχε καὶ τὴν Ἡράκλειαν, καὶ πρὸς Συρακούσας ἐλθὼν ἡττήθη τε καὶ ἀντεπεκράτησε, καὶ τοῦ Μάρκελλον ἐξαπίνης αὐτῷ προπεσόντος αὐθίς ἐνικήθη.

Tzetzes, Chil. 2, 123–28.

τέθεικεν ἀκτίνων τῶν ἥλιον μεσημβρινῆς καὶ θερινῆς καὶ χειμερινότατης. ἄνακλαμένων δὲ λοιπῶν εἰς τοῦτο τῶν ἀκτίνων ἐξαισίς ἡρθη φοβερὰ πυρόδης ταῖς ὀλκάσι, καὶ ταῦτα ἀπετέφρωσεν ἐκ μῆκους τοξοβόλου. οὗτος για τὸν Μάρκελλον ταῖς μηχαναῖς ὁ γέρων.
BOOK XV

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

Zonaras 9, 4.
mirror toward the sun he concentrated the sun's beam upon it; and owing to the thickness and smoothness of the mirror he ignited the air from this beam and kindled a great flame, the whole of which he directed upon the ships that lay at anchor in the path of the fire, until he consumed them all.

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

Tzetzes, Chil. 2, 123-28.
made the glass the centre of the sun's beams—its noontide beam, whether in summer or in the dead of winter. So after that, when the beams were reflected into this, a terrible kindling of flame arose upon the ships, and he reduced them to ashes a bow-shot off. Thus by his contrivances did the old man vanquish Marcellus.
5. Ἐνετεύθεν ὁ Μάρκελλος ταῖς Συρακούσαις ἐφήδρευεν. ὁ δ’ Ἀννίβας ἐν τῇ Καλαβρίᾳ διέτριβεν. οἱ μὲν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοι πολλὰ αὔθινς· καὶ δυσχερὴ πεπόνθασιν οὐ τε γὰρ ὑπατοὶ πρὸς τῇ Καπυνὴ ἐπταίσαν, καὶ ὁ Γράκχος ἐν τῇ Λευκανίᾳ ἀπώλετο, καὶ οἱ Ταραντῖνοι καὶ ἄλλοι πόλεις ἀπέστησαν, καὶ ὁ Ἀννίβας κατεπτηχῶς πρότερον ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ τε ἔμεινε καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ἐστράτευσε, καὶ οἱ Σκιτιώνες ἄμφω διόλουτον. ἔπαρθες οὖν ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ Ἀννίβας ἐπεχείρησε τῇ Καπυνῇ βοηθῆσαι. καὶ ἤλθε μέχρι Βενεβεντοῦ τὸν δὲ Κλαύδιον εἰς τὴν Λευκανίαν ἐκ τοῦ Σαουύου διὰ τὸν Γράκχον θάνατον ἀπεληλυθείσαν πυθόμενος, καὶ φοβηθεῖς μὴ τινα αὐτῆς σφετερίσθηται, οὐκέτι περαιτέρῳ προεχώρησεν, ἐπ’ ἐκείνῳ δ’ ἐτράπετο. τῶν Σκιτιώνων δὲ θανόντων πάσα ἡ Ἰβηρία τετάρακτο, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐκουσίως πρὸς τοὺς Καρχηδονίους ἀπέκλησαν, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἀναγκαζόμενοι, εἰ καὶ ὠστερον αὐθίς πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἀπένευσαν. Ὁ δὲ Μάρκελλος ἐπεὶ μηδὲν προσβάλλων ταῖς Συρακούσαις ἐπέραινε, τοιοῦτόν τι ἐπενόησεν. ἴση τοῖς Συρακούσιοι τοῦ τειχοῦς ἐπίμαχον ὁ Γαλεάργαν ὁμόμαξος, δ’ ἐπὶ πρὶν μὲν ἐλάνθανε τοιοῦτον δικότε, τότε δὲ ἐφωράθη. τυρῆσας οὖν τοὺς Συρακούσιους πανυχίδα τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι ἀγωνας πανδημεί, ἐκέλευσε στρατιώταις τις καὶ τεκίντων τῷ χωρίῳ ὑπερβήναι τὸ τείχος. καὶ τοῦτον πῦλα τε τινὲς ὑπ’ αὐτῶν ἀνεφόρησαν, καὶ εἰσελθόντων καὶ ἐτέρων, ἀμα πάντες ἀπὸ σημείου καὶ οἱ ἔσω καὶ οἱ ἔξω συνεβόησαν καὶ τοῖς δόραι τὰς ἀσπίδας συνέκρουσαν καὶ οἱ σαλπυγκταὶ προσεπήχθησαν, ὡστε ἀθρόαν τὴν ἐκπλήξει τοῖς Συρα-
BOOK XV

Zonaras 9, 5.

5. After this Marcellus continued the investment of Syracuse. Hannibal was passing his time in Calabria. The Romans, however, again met with many reverses. The consuls received a setback near Capua, Gracchus perished in Lucania, Tarentum and other cities revolted, Hannibal, previously cowed, remained in Italy and marched upon Rome, and both the Scipios perished. Elated by these events, Hannibal undertook to render assistance to Capua. He went as far as Beneventum; then, ascertaining that Claudius had returned from Samnium into Lucania on account of the death of Gracchus, he became afraid that the Romans might secure control of parts of that region, and he advanced no farther, but turned to meet Claudius. Upon the death of the Scipios the whole of Spain was thrown into disorder; some towns voluntarily went over to the Carthaginians, and others under compulsion, though later they again leaned to the Roman side.

Marcellus, finding that he was accomplishing nothing by his assault on Syracuse, devised the following plan. There was a weak spot in the Syracusans’ wall which they called Galeagra; it had never before been recognized as such, but the fact was discovered at this time. He waited until the whole city of Syracuse was celebrating an all-night festival to Artemis, and then bade some soldiers scale the wall at that point. Accordingly some of the gates were opened by these men, and as soon as a few others had entered, all, both inside and outside, at a given signal, raised a shout and struck their spears upon their shields, and the trumpeters blew a blast, with the result that utter panic overwhelmed
κοινόες μηδ' ἄλλους εὐ ἐχουσιν ὑπὸ μέθης συμβῆναι, καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἄλοναι πλὴν τῆς Ἀχραδίνης καὶ τῆς Νήσου καλουμένης. ὁ οὐν Μάρκελλος τὰ τε ἐαλωκότα διήρτασε καὶ τοῖς μη ἄλοισι προσέβαλε, καὶ σὺν πόνῳ μὲν καὶ χρόνῳ, ὃμως δ' οὖν καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν τῆς Συρακούσης ἐκράτησεν. ἐγκρατεῖς δὲ τούτων οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι γενόμενοι ἄλλους τε πολλοὺς καὶ τῶν Ἀρχιμήδην ἀπέκτειναν. διάγραμμα γάρ τι διαγράφων καὶ ἀκούσας τοὺς πολεμίους ἐφίστασθαί, "πάρ κεφαλάν," ἔφη, "καὶ μὴ παρὰ γραμμάν." ἐπιστάντος δὲ αὐτῷ πολεμίου βραχὺ τε ἐφροντίσει καὶ εἰπὼν "ἀπόστηθι, ἀνθρωπε, ἀπὸ τῆς γραμμῆς," παρόξυνε τε αὐτὸν καὶ κατεκόπη.

Τzetzes, Chil. 2, 138–49.

'Ἡν κεκυφῶς διάγραμμα μηχανικόν τι γράφων, | τίς δὲ Ῥωμαῖος ἐπιστάσας εἶλκεν αἰχμαλωτίζων. | ὁ δὲ τοῦ διαγράμματος ὅλου ὑπάρχων τότε, | τίς ὁ καθέλκων οὐκ εἰδὼς ἔλεγεν πρὸς ἑκεῖνον | "ἀπόστηθι, ὁ ἀνθρωπε, τοῦ διαγράμματός μου." | ὁς δ' εἶλκε τοῦτον, συστραφεὶς καὶ γνοὺς Ῥωμαίον εἶναι, | ἔβοι. "τὸ μηχανήμα τις τῶν ἐμὸν μοι δότω." | ὁ δὲ Ῥωμαῖος πτοηθεὶς εὐθὺς ἑκεῖνον κτείνει, | ἀνδρα σαθρὸν καὶ γέροντα, δαιμόνιον τοῖς ἔργοις. | ἐθρήνυσε δὲ Μάρκελλος τοῦτο μαθῶν εὐθέως, | λαμπρῶς τε τοῦτον ἐκρυφυεν ἐν τάφοις τοῖς πατρῴοις | σὺν τοῖς ἁρίστοις πολιτῶν καὶ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις πᾶσι, | τὸν δὲ φονεὰ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς οἶμαι πελέκει κτείνει. | ὁ Δίων καὶ Διόδωρος γράφει τὴν ἱστορίαν.
the Syracusans, who were in any case somewhat the worse for drink, and the city was captured with the exception of Achradina and what is called "The Island." Marcellus plundered the captured portions and assaulted those not yet taken, and with time and labour he finally succeeded in conquering the remainder of Syracuse. The Romans, when they became masters of these districts, killed many persons, among them Archimedes. He was constructing some figure or other, and hearing that the enemy were at hand, exclaimed: "Let them come at my head, but not at my line!" When a hostile warrior confronted him, he was little disturbed and called out: "Fellow, stand away from my line!" This exasperated the man and he struck him down.

Tzetzes, Chil. 2, 136–49.

He was bent over, drawing some mechanical figure, and a Roman, coming upon him, began to drag him off as his prisoner; but he, with all his attention fixed just then upon his figure, not knowing who it was that pulled him, said to the man: "Stand aside, fellow, from my figure." But as the other kept on pulling, he turned, and recognizing him as a Roman cried out: "Let somebody give me one of my machines." The Roman, in terror, immediately killed him, a decrepit old man, but marvellous for his works. Marcellus straightway mourned on learning this, and buried him with splendour in his ancestral tomb, assisted by the noblest citizens and all the Romans; and the man's murderer, I trow, he slew with an axe. Dio and Diodorus record the story.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

Zonaras 9, 5-6.

"Ο μὲν οὖν Μάρκελλος τὰς Συρακούσας ἐλὼν καὶ τῆς ἄλλης Σικελίας τὰ πλεῖστο προσαγαγό-
μενος καὶ ἐπηνεύτῳ μεγάλως καὶ ὑπάτος ἀπο-
δέδεικτο. προεβάλοντο μὲν γὰρ τὸν Τορκονάτον,
διὶ ποτε τὸν νιῶν ἀπέκτεινεν· ἔπει δ’ ἐκείνος ἀπη-
νήματο, εἰπὼν ὃς "οὔτ’ ἂν ἔγω τὰ ὑμέτερα
ἀμαρτήματα οὔτ’ ἂν ὑμεῖς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀκρίβειαν
ἐνέγκοιτε," τὸν Μάρκελλον καὶ Δαούνιον τὸν
Οὐαλλέριον ἐχειροτόνησαν.

6. 'Απελθόντος δὲ τοῦ Μαρκέλλον ἐκ Σικελίας,
δύσαμιν ἰπτέων ἐς αὐτὴν ὁ 'Αννίβας ἀπέστειλε,
καὶ έτέραν οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι ἐπεμψαν καὶ μάχαις
τις ἐνίκησαν καὶ πόλεις προσεποίησαν· καὶ
εἰ γε μὴ Κορυήλοις Δολοβέλλας στρατηγὸς
ἐπελήλυθε, πᾶσαν τὴν Σικελίαν ἐχειρώσαντο ἀν.

Καὶ ἡ Κατύη δὲ τότε ἐάλω παρὰ 'Ρωμαίων,
καίτοι τοῦ 'Αννίβου ἐς τὴν 'Ρώμην ὀρμήσαντο,
ὁν ἀπὸ τῆς Κατύχος τοῖς πολυροκοῦνται αὐτὴν
ἀπάξη, καὶ διὰ τῶν Δατίνων ἔλασαν καὶ πρὸς
τὸν Τίβεριν ἐλθόντος καὶ πορθοῦντο τὰ πρὸ
τοῦ ἀστεοῦ. οἱ γὰρ ἐν τῇ 'Ρώμη ἐφοβήθησαν
μὲν, ἐγκάθισαν δὲ τὸν ἔτερον τῶν ὑπάτων ἐν
Κατύη μεῖναι, τὸν δ' ἔτερον αὐτοῖς ἐπαμῦναι. καὶ
Κλαύδιος μὲν ἐν τῇ Κατύη κατέμενεν (ἐντρωτὸ
γάρ), Φλάκκος δὲ πρὸς τὴν 'Ρώμην ἡπείχθη.

Τοῦ δ' 'Αννίβου τὰς τε καταδρομὰς ἐν τοῖς
ὑπάλμοις αὐτῶν ἀεὶ ποιούμενον καὶ πολλὰ δεινὰ
δρῶντος, τὸν μὲν ἄλλον χρόνον ἠγάπων, εἰ τὰ γε
ἐντὸς τῶν τειχῶν περισσώσαιτο, ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τῇ
πόλει καὶ τοῖς στρατοπέδοις ἀμα προσβαλεῖν
ἐμελλεν, ἀνερρήσαντο, τὸ τοῦ λόγου, κύβου, καὶ
178
BOOK XV

Zonaras 9, 5–6.

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

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

Capua was at this time taken by the Romans. It availed not that Hannibal marched upon Rome in order to draw away from Capua the forces besieging it, that he traversed Latium, came to the Tiber, and was laying waste the suburbs of the city. The people of Rome were indeed frightened, but still they voted that one of the consuls\(^1\) should remain at Capua while the other came to their defence. So Claudius remained at Capua, since he had been wounded, and Flaccus hastened to Rome.

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

\(^1\) Apparently an error of Zonaras for proconsuls.
DIO’S ROMAN HISTORY

Zonaras 9, 6.

ἐπεξέδραμον. καὶ ἀκροβολιζομένων ἦδη χειμῶν ἐξ αἱθρίας ἐξαίσιος ἐπεγένετο μετὰ πυνύματος ἀμηχάνου βροντῶν τε καὶ χαλάζης καὶ ἀστρα-πῶν, ὡστ’ ἀμφο ἀγαπητῶς ὡς ἐκ συνθήματος ἀναχωρεῖν ἔθεν ὄρμησαν. ἀρτι τα τὰ ὅπλα κατετίθεντο καὶ αἱθρία ἐγένετο. ὁ γοῦν Ἄνυβας, καίτοι όμως ἄθεει λογισάμενος παρά τὸν τῆς συνόδου καιρὸν συνενεχθήναι τὰ γεγο- νότα, ὑμῖν ὄντα ἀπέστη τῆς πολιορκίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὕτης μετὰ τούτῳ συμβαλεῖν ἐπεχείρησεν. ὡς δὲ καὶ τότε τὰ αὐτὰ συνέβη, κατεδείσε. καὶ προσεκτικαὶ ὦτι ἐν τηλικοῦτο κινδύνῳ ὄντες οὔτε τῆς Κατής ἀπέστησαν καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἰβηρίαν καὶ στρατιώτας καὶ στρατηγὸν πέμψεις ἐμελλον, καὶ ὀτι χρημάτων δεθέντες ἐπώλησαν ἀλλὰ τε καὶ τὸ χωρίον ἐν ὧ ἐστρατοπεδεύετο δημόσιον ὄν, καὶ ἀπογυνός, ἀπανείστη πολλάκις ἀναβοήσας “ὁ Κάιναι Κάιναι.” καὶ οὐδὲ τῇ Κατή ἐτ’ ἐπικουρῆσαι ἠθέλησεν.

Οἱ δὲ καίπερ ἐν ἀσθενεστάτοις ὄντες, ὡμοὶ ἀπογυνότες ὡς οὐ τευχόμενοι συγγνώμησ παρὰ Ῥωμαίων, ἀντέχον, καὶ τῷ Ἄνυβα ἐπέστειλαν, βοηθήσειν αὐτοῖς ἄξιοντες. συλληφθέντες δὲ οἱ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν κομιστὰ παρὰ τοῦ Φλάκκου, ὃ γὰρ Κλαύδιος ἐφῆδε τεθηκός ἐκ τοῦ τραύματος, τὰς χειρὰς ἀπεμπιθήσαν. οὗς ἱδόντες οἱ Καμπανοὶ δεινῶς κατεπλάγησαν καὶ ὁ τι πράξεων ἐβου- λεύστω. λεχθέντων δὲ πολλῶν, Ἰουβιὸς τις Οὐίριος ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις αὐτῶν ὡς καὶ τῆς ἀποστάσεως αἰτιώτατος “μία ἡμῖν ἐστιν,” ἔφη.
BOOK XV

Zonaras 9, 6.

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

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

1 An error for Vibius.
Δίων ἐν 'Ῥωμαῖκῶν iv 'ἔκ τε γὰρ τῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ πάντων ἀρχαίου ἀξιόσεως καὶ ἔκ τῆς παλαιᾶς πρὸς τοῦ 'Ῥωμαίους φιλίας οὐκ ἦνεγκαν δικαιώθεντες ἀλλ' ἐπεχειρήσαν καὶ οἱ Καμπανοὶ τοῦ Φλάκκου καὶ οἱ Συρακούσιοι τοῦ Μαρκέλλου κατηγορήσας.


Zonaras 9, 6.

"καταφυγῇ καὶ ἐλευθερίᾳ ὁ θάνατος. καὶ μοι ἀκολουθήσατε οἶκας. ἔχω γὰρ τι φάρμακον παρεσκευασμένον." καὶ ὁ μὲν παραλαβὼν τοὺς αὐτῶν πεισθέντας ἐκουσίους ἀπέθανε σὺν αὐτοῖς, καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ τὰς πύλας τοὺς Ἐρωμαίοις ἀνέφεξαν ὁ δὲ Φλάκκος τὰ τῷ ὀπλὰ αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ χρήματα πάντα ἀφελετο, καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τῶν κορυφαίων τοὺς μὲν ἀπέκτεινα, τοὺς δὲ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐπεμψε, μόνων δὲ ἀπέσχετο τῶν ἐκ τοῦ ὀμίλου περιλειψάντων, ἐπὶ τῷ καὶ ἀρχοντα αὐτοῦς Ἐρωμαίον λαμβάνει καὶ μήτε βούλην ἔχειν μήτε σύνοδον ποιεῖσθαι.

Ττετέρων δὲ καὶ ἀλλα τίνα προσεπώφλουν, κατηγορήσας τοῦ Φλάκκου τολμήσαντες. ἐπεχειρήσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ Καμπανοὶ τοῦ Φλάκκου κατηγορήσας, καὶ τοῦ Μαρκέλλου οἱ Συρακούσιοι ὑπατευοῦσας ἦδης καὶ ἀπελογήσατο οὐ γὰρ ἤθελε πράξαι τι τῶν τῇ ἀρχῇ προσηκοῦντων πρὶν ἀπολογήσασθαι. οἱ Συρακούσιοι δὲ κατα-

BOOK XV

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

Zonaras 9, 6.

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

Later they incurred further penalties by daring to accuse Flaccus. The Campanians undertook to accuse Flaccus, and the Syracusans Marcellus, when the latter was already consul. And Marcellus made a defence; for he refused to perform any of the duties of his office until he had defended himself. The Syracusans, when given a hearing, presented their case

183
στάντες εἰς λόγους οἰκονομικὸτερον τῇ διαλέξει ἐχρήσαντο, οὕτως εἰς κατηγορίαν τοῦ Μαρκέλλου, ἀλλ' εἰς ἰκετεῖαν τραπέντες καὶ ἀπολογίαν τοῦ μὴ ἐκάντες ἀποστήναι Ῥωμαίων, καὶ συγγρώμης τυχεῖν ἀξιοῦντες. καὶ ταῦτα λέγοντες εἰς τήν γῆν πεσόντες ὀλοφύροντο. καὶ διαγνώμης γενομένης ἐδοξῆ ὁ ν Μάρκελλον μὲν μηδὲν ἄδικεῖν, τοὺς μέντοι Συρακούσιους φιλανθρωπίας τινὸς ἀξίους εἶναι, οὕτως εἰς ἀποτελεῖσθαι, ἀλλ' εἰς δὲν εἰπόν τε καὶ ἰκέτευσαν. τοῦ δὲ Μαρκέλλου παραιτησάμενον τὸ ἀπελθεῖν εἰς Σικελίαν, τὸν Δαούνιον ἐπέμψαν. καὶ οἱ μὲν Συρακούσιοι οὕτω συγγρώμης τινὸς ἐτυχοῦν, οἱ δὲ Καμπανοὶ ὕπ' ἀπαιδευσίας θρασύτερον τῇ κατηγορίᾳ χρησάμενοι καὶ ἐπετιμήθησαν, μηδὲ παρόντος τοῦ Φλάκκου, ἀλλὰ τινὸς τῶν ὑπεστρατηγηκότων αὐτῶ ἀπολογησάμενοι.

Ἄλοιπας δὲ τῆς Καπύης καὶ τάλα τὰ πέρι ἡ πολίσματα τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις προσκεκχωρήκασι πλὴν Ἀτελανών οὕτω γὰρ ἐκκλησίτες τὴν πόλιν αὐτῶν πανδημεῖ πρὸς τὸν Ἀννίβαν ἐχώρησαν. καὶ ἡ ἀλλ' ἡ Ἰταλία ἡ τὰ τῶν Καρχηδονίων φρονοῦσα ἠλλοιοῦτο, καὶ περιόντες οἱ ὑπάτοι πρὸς εὐποιοῦντο αὐτῶν. Ταραντίνοι δὲ φαινότοις μὲν οὐδέποτα τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἠροῦντο, λάβρα δὲ τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις ἤχθοντο.
BOOK XV

Zonaras 9, 6.

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

After the capture of Capua the other strongholds in the vicinity went over to the Romans, with the exception of Atella. The inhabitants of this place abandoned their city and went in a body to Hannibal. Also the rest of Italy that had favoured the Carthaginian cause was changing sentiment, and the consuls in their tours of the country were taking possession of it. The Tarentines did not as yet openly avow their allegiance to the Romans, but secretly they were getting tired of the Carthaginians.
"Οτι οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι διεκηρυκεύσαντο τῷ Ἀννίβα
ἀνταπόδοσιν τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἀξιούντες γενέ-
σθαι, οὐκ κατηλλάξαντο δὲ αὐτοὺς, καὶ περι καὶ
ἐκεῖνος Καρθάλωνα ἐπ’ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἀντιπέμ-
ψαντος· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ὁ ἐδέξαντο αὐτὸν εἴσω
τοῦ τείχους κατὰ τὸ πολέμιον, οὐδὲ ἐσ λόγους
αὐτοῖς ἐλθεῖν ἠθέλησεν, ἀλλ’ εὐθὺς δὲ όργης
ἀνέστρεψεν.—U 7 (p. 379).

Zonaras 9, 6–7.

Οἱ δὲ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ διεκηρυκεύσαντο τῷ Ἀννίβα
ἀνταπόδοσιν τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ποιῆσασθαι. οὐκ
κατηλλάξαντο δὲ αὐτοὺς, ἔπει οὐκ ἐδέξαντο τὸν
Καρθάλωνα τοῦ τείχους ἐντὸς, ὅς πολέμιον· οὐδὲ
ἐσ λόγους γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐλθεῖν ἠθέλησεν, εὐθὺς δὲ
ὁργισμένος ἀνέστρεψε.

Τότε μέντοι καὶ ὁ Δαυίδιος τοὺς Αἰτωλοὺς
συμμαχοῦντας Φιλίππων προσηταιρίσατο, καὶ τὸν
Φιλίππων μέχρι Κερκύρας προκυρήσαντα αὖθις
ἐξεφόβησεν, ὡστε καὶ ἐς τὴν Μακεδονίαν τάχει
ἐπανελθεῖν.

7. Οἱ δὲ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ Γάιον Κλαύδιον Νέρωνα
eis τὴν Ἰβηρίαν μετὰ στρατιωτῶν ἐπεμφαν. καὶ
δε παρεκομίσθη τῷ ναυτικῷ μέχρι τοῦ Ἰβηρος,
186

1 γὰρ Leuncl., δὲ Mss.
FRAGMENTS OF BOOK XVI

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

Zonaras 9, 6–7.

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

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

7. The people of Rome sent Gaius Claudius Nero with soldiers into Spain. He sailed along with his fleet as far as the Iberus, and finding the remainder
"Oti ó Skipión ó tòv patéra trowhýnta sóías, ó stratetýgos, òn kai phúseis áretè kratiástos kai paiideía logiwmòtatos, tò te fórmìma kai tò tìs

Zonaras 9.7.

évthà kai tà loiptà stratetéu mata eúrhkws épìhlhè tòv 'Arodrouíba prín gnwsthínei ótì pàresti. kai peristoiχisaméneos aútòv ëpàthhê. ìðan gar ó 'Arodrouíba òs ìpèllhíntai, proekhrykeú-

sato pro s tòv Nèrowna óste tòv 'Ibhirían pásan afheíheis èkliptew. òs ò èkeìnos ásménoi toús lógoús èdèxato, anaballómènos òna tás sunhíkas tì ùsteraìa poýngstai, ùpeèxemphse tìs nuktòs állovs álly tòv órwv. dìeìathwntov ò èkeìnov, òste mì phylakìs óusìs parà tòn 'Rômaíov diá tàs tòv spoudòw èlpídas, ìlthe meò tì èpionúsì ès lógoù tòv Nèrown, katètrphse de pásan aútìn prín tì èpikurwthínei. kai állovs aútìs tìs nuktòs òmòiòs ìpèptew. toúto de kai èn állass tìsìn ìmèrais òmòiòs pëtoìmev, àmfisabhtòn tìnì èn tì symbásì. proedìsthntov de tìnì pexòw ápantòw, tèlòs kai aútòs sìn tòv tòis ìppèuì kai tòis èlèfason ùpeèxochýrhe. kai diaisoèthi fóbes-

ròs aútìs tòv Nèrowni ègûneto.

Máthontes dé taúta oì èn tì 'Rômh tòv Nèrownos mév katèngow, állof dé tìnì tìnì ìgmwmonià èfthifi-

santò èghxeirísa. áporesìntwn oúv tìa òn àn ápopsteílhsun (ou gar tòv tuxhòntos ándróes èdeítò tà prágmatà kai pollov diá tòv tòv Skipiónn pàthos èxìstwnt), ó Skipión èkeínov oì Póúplioi ó tòn patéra trowhýnta sóías èautòv èthelounthìs eíz tìn stratetéia èpèdókev. òn dé kai àretè
BOOK XVI

Scipio, the general, who had saved his wounded father, had splendid native ability supplemented by an excellent education, and displayed the

Zonaras 9, 7.

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

On learning this the people of Rome blamed Nero, and voted to entrust the command to somebody else. And they were at a loss whom to send, for the situation required no ordinary man, and many were declining the position on account of the fate of the Scipios. Thereupon that Publius Scipio, who had saved his wounded father, offered himself voluntarily for the campaign. He had splendid ability
DIOS'S ROMAN HISTORY


"Οτι ο Σκιτίων καὶ μὴ ἐννόμου ἡγεμονίας λαβὼν ὅνομα ἐξ ἑν ἐχειροτονήθη, τὸ στρατόπεδον

Zonaras 9, 7.

κράτιστος καὶ παιδεία λογιμότατος. καὶ παρα-χρήμα μὲν ἡρέθη· μεταμέλεια τε οὖ πολλῷ ήστερον διὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν αὐτοῦ (τέταρτον γὰρ καὶ εἰκοστόν ἔτος τῆς ζωῆς ἤγε) καὶ ὅτι καὶ ἡ ὅλια αὐτοῦ διὰ τῶν τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ θείου ἀλεθρον ἔπενθει, ἠλθεν αὐθές εἰς τὸ κοῖνον καὶ ἐδημηγόρησε, καὶ οἷς εἰπε καταιδέσας τους τῆς βουλῆς, τὴν μὲν ἀρχὴν οὐκ ἄφηρεν, Μάρκος δὲ Ἰούνιος ἀνήρ γηραιῶς προσεπέμφθη αὐτῷ.

1 πρὸς supplied by Val. 2 τῇ supplied by Bk. 3 αὐτῶν Bk., αὐτῶν Ms. 4 At this point perhaps should be inserted Frg. 70, 2-3. See p. 389, note. 190
BOOK XVI

greatest nobility of mind, and of language as well, whenever there was occasion for this; and this quality was especially conspicuous in his acts, so that he seemed to be a man at once of lofty purpose and lofty achievement, not from any vain boastfulness, but as the result of a steadfast determination. It was for these reasons, and because he scrupulously paid honours to the gods, that he was elected; in fact he would never undertake any public or private enterprise before ascending to the Capitol and spending some time there. On this account he acquired the reputation of having sprung from Jupiter, who had taken the form of a serpent on the occasion of intercourse with his mother; and this reputation was responsible in part for the hopes which he caused many to place in him.

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

Zonaras 9, 7.

supplemented by an excellent education. And he was chosen at once; but not long afterward they regretted their action because of his youth (he was in his twenty-fourth year), and also because his house was in mourning for the loss of his father and uncle. Accordingly, he came before the people a second time and addressed them; and by his remarks he put the senators to shame, so that he was not deprived of the command, although Marcus Junius, an elderly man, was sent with him.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

προσφιλέσ ἐποιήσατο, καὶ ἤσκησεν ἐξηγηκότας ἐκ τῆς ἄναρχίας καὶ ἀνεκτήσατο κατεπτηχότας ἐκ τῶν συμφορῶν. τὸν τε Μάρκιον οὐχ, οἷά που φιλοῦσιν οἱ πολλοί, ἀνεπιτήδειον ἡγήσατο 1 ὅτι εὐδοκιμηκός ἦν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τοῖς λόγοις καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις ἀεὶ ἐσέμνυνεν καὶ γὰρ ἦν ὁδὸς οὐκ ἐκ τῆς τοῦ πέλας διαβολῆς καὶ καθαρέσεως ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς οἰκείας ἀρετῆς αὐξέσθαι θέλειν. 2 καὶ διὰ τούτῳ γε οὐχ ἦκιστα τοὺς στρατιώτας φικείσατο.

—V. 41 (p. 602).

Zonaras 9, 7.

Τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα τὰ πράγματα οὐκ ἀταλαιπώρως ἐχώρησεν εἰς τὸ βέλτιον. οὐ γὰρ Μάρκελλος, ἐπειδὴ κατηγορηθεὶς ἀπελύθη, ὄρμησεν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀννίβαν, καὶ τὰ μὲν πλεῖστα δι’ ἀσφαλείας ἐποιεῖτο, δεδοὺς πρὸς ἀπονευομένους διακινδυνεύσαν εἰ δὲ ποτε ἣναγκάζῃ προσμίξαι, κρείττων ἐκ φρονήσεως εὐτολμία κεκραμένης ἐγένετο. ὦ οὖν Ἀννίβας διὰ τὸ ταῦτα καὶ ὅτι αἱ πόλεις αἱ συμμαχοῦσαι αὐτῷ αἱ μὲν ἐγκαταλελοίπεσαν αὐτὸν, αἱ δὲ διενοῦσαν, καὶ δι’ ἑτέρ’ ἀττα κακῶσαι τὰ χωρία δ’ ἡ κατέχειν οἶος τ’ 3 ἦν ἐπεχείρησε. καὶ πόλλοις ἔλυμηντο, καὶ πλεῖος διὰ τούτο ἀφίσταντο.

Περὶ δὲ Σαλπίαν πόλιν τοιῶν τὸν χαίρεις. δύο ἄνδρες τὰ πράγματα αὐτῶν εἶχον διάφοροι τε ἄλληλοι ἦσαν. καὶ Ἀλίνιος μὲν τὰ τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἐφρόνη, Πλαύτιος δὲ τὰ τῶν Ῥω-

1 ἡγήσατο Bk., εἰργάσατο Ms. 2 θέλειν St., θέλων Ms. 3 οἶος τ’ Kuiper, oǐos Ms.
BOOK XVI

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

Zonaras 9, 7.

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

In the case of the city of Salapia the following incident occurred. Two men managed affairs there who were hostile to each other: Alinius ² favoured the Carthaginian cause, and Plautius ² the Roman;

¹ L. Marcius, chosen commander by the soldiers after the death of the Scipios.
² The names Alinius and Plautius are corruptions of some copyist for Dasius and Blattius.
Ζωνάρας 9, 7–8.

... καὶ διειλέχθη τῷ Ἀλινίῳ περὶ προδοσίας τῆς εἰς Ῥωμαίους. μηνύσαντός τε εὖθυς ἐκεῖνον τῷ Ἀννίβα ταῦτα, ἐς δίκην ὑπήχθη ὁ Πλαύτιος. βουλευομένου δὲ τοῦ Ἀννίβου μετὰ τῶν συνέδρων ὅπως αὐτὸν κολάσει, ἐτόλμησεν ἐπὶ δοξεῖ αὐτοῦ τῷ Ἀλινίῳ πέλας ποὺ ὄντι περὶ προδοσίας αὐθις εἰπεῖν. ἀναβοθήσαντος δὲ ἐκεῖνων ἦδε ἰδε, καὶ νῦν μοι περὶ αὐτοῦ τούτου λαλεῖ,” οὐκ ἐπιστευεσαι ὁ Ἀννίβας διὰ τὸ ἀτοπον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς συκοφαντούμενον αὐτὸν ἀπέλυσεν. ἀφεθέντος δὲ ὁμονόησαν ἅμως, καὶ στρατιώτας παρὰ τοῦ Μαρκέλλου ἐπαγαγόμενοι τὴν τε φρουρὰ τῶν Καρχηδονίων κατέκοψαν καὶ τὴν πόλιν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις παρέδοσαν.

Καὶ οὕτω μὲν ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ ἔσχον τοὺς Καρχηδονίοις τὰ πράγματα καὶ οὗτὸς ἡ Σικελία ἢν εὐνοοῦσα αὐτοῖς, ἀλλὰ τῷ ὑπάτῳ τῷ Δαυνίῳ προσεχόρουν. ἦγείτο μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ Καρχηδονίων Ἀννων, συνεστρατεύετο δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ Μοντίνας. ὃς συνὼς τῷ Ἀννίβα πρόην, καὶ φθονηθεὶς ὅτι μεγάλα ἔργα ἀρετῆς ἐπεδείκνυτο, ἐς Σικελίαν ἐπέμφης. ὅς ὅν κάκει λαμπρῶς ἐπάρχει, φθόνον καὶ πρὸς τοῦ Ἀννωνος ἀφλε, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τῆς ἐπιπραξίας ἐπαύθη. περιαληγησάνθων διὰ ταῦτα γενόμενος πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἀπέκλινε. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν προδοσίαν Ἀκράγαντος συνεπραξεῖ σφίσιν, εἶτα καὶ τὰλλα συγκατεργάσατο, ὥστε πᾶσαν αὐθις τὴν Σικελίαν ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ ἀνευ μεγάλου πόλου γενέσθαι.

8. Ὁ δὲ Φάβιος καὶ ὁ Φλάκκος ἄλλας τε πόλεις πολλὰς καὶ τὸν Τάραντα, τοῦ Ἀννίβου κατέ-
BOOK XVI

Zonaras 9, 7–8.

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

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

8. Fabius and Flaccus subdued, among other cities, Tarentum, which Hannibal was holding. They had
ΟΤΙ στάσεως γενομένης τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὁ Σκιπίων συχνὰ μὲν τοῖς στρατιώταις διέδωκε,

Zonaras 9, 8.

χοντὸς αὐτῶν, ἐχειρώσαντο. κελεύσαντες γὰρ τις τὴν Βρεττίαν κατατρέχειν, ἵνα ὁ Ἀννίβας εἰς ἐπικουρίαν αὐτῆς ἀπάρη ἐκ Τάραντος, ἔπει τοῦτο ἐγένετο, Φλάκκος μὲν ἐκεῖνον ἐπετήρει, Φάβιος δὲ ἐν τούτῳ νυκτὸς τῷ Τάραντι ταῖς τε ναυσὶν ἄμα καὶ τῷ πεζῷ προσβαλῶν, τῇ τε προσβολῇ καὶ προδοσίᾳ ἐφε τὴν πόλιν. ὁ οὖν Ἀννίβας διὰ τὴν ἀπάτην ἄχθομενος ἀντεπιβουλεύεται τῷ Φαβίῳ ἑσπούδασε. καὶ ἐπιστολῆν αὐτῶν ἐκ Μεταποντίου ὡς παρὰ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἐπὶ προδοσίᾳ τῆς πόλεως ἐπεμψεν, ἐπισίδεισαν ἀπερισκέπτως αὐτὸν προσιόντα ἐνεδρεύσειν. καὶ δὲ ὑπετάτησε τὸ πραττόμενον, καὶ παραβαλὼν τὰ γράμματα ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς δὲ τοὺς Ταραντίους ποτὲ ἐγεγράφει, κατεφώρασεν ἐκ τῆς αὐτῶν ὁμοιότητος τὸ ἐπιβουλεύμα.

Σκιπίων δὲ τῶν ἄλλων χρόνων, εἰ καὶ τιμωρῆσαι τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ θείῳ ἐγλύχετο καὶ τῆς τοῦ πολέμου δόξης ὀρέγετο, ἄλλοι οὐκ ἦπειγέτο διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἔναντι. ἔπει δὲ ἡθέτο αὐτοῖς χειμάζοντας πόρρω ποι, ἐκείνους μὲν εἰ, ἐσὶ δὲ τὴν Καρχηδόνα τὴν ταύτην ὀρμήσεν· οὐ μέντοι τοίς τὸ παράπαν τὴν ὀρμήν αὐτοῦ ἔγνωκε πρὶν πρὸς αὐτῆ τῇ Καρχηδόνη γενέσθαι· καὶ ἔλαβε σύν πῶρο τὴν πόλιν.

Ἄλογος δὲ τῆς Καρχηδόνος στάσις μεγίστη μικρὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐγένετο ἀν. τοῦ γὰρ
BOOK XVI

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

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

Following the capture of Carthage, a most serious mutiny of the soldiers came very near taking place.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

συχνά δὲ καὶ ἐσ τὸ δημόσιον ἀπέδειξε. τῶν τε αἰχμαλώτων ἐσ τὸ ναυτικὸν κατέταξεν, καὶ τοὺς ὀμήρους προῖκα πάντας τοὺς οἰκείους ἀπέδωκε. καὶ αὐτῷ διὰ τούτο πολλοὶ μὲν δῆμοι πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ δυνάσται, ἄλλοι τε καὶ Ἰνδίβιλις ¹ καὶ Μαν-δόνιος Ἰαρχηγητανοί, ² προσεχώρησαν. τὸ τε τῶν Κελτιβήρων ἔθνος πλειστὸν τε καὶ ἰσχυρότατον τῶν περιχώρων δυὸ δὲ προσέθετο. παρθένοι εἰ τοῖς αἰχμαλώτοις ἐπιφανῆ κάλλει λαβῶν ὑπωπτεύθη μὲν ἀλλος ἔσεσθαι αὐτῆς ³ εν ἔρωτι, μαθὼν δὲ ὅτι Ἀλλουκίφ τινὶ τῶν ἐν τέλει Κελτi-

Zonaras 9, 8.

Σκιπίωνος στέφανον ὑποσχόμενου δώσει τῷ πρώτῳ τοῦ τείχους ἐπιβάντι, δύο ἄνδρες, ὁ μὲν Ῥωμαῖος, ὁ δὲ ἐκ τῶν συμμάχων, περὶ αὐτοῦ ἡμφισβήτησαν. διαφερομένων δ' ἐκεῖνων καὶ τὸ ἄλλο πλῆθος ἐθορυβήθη, καὶ ἐπὶ πλείστου ἐταράχθησαν, ὡστε καὶ δεινὸν τι δράσατι, εἰ μὴ ὁ Σκιπίων καὶ ἀμφο ἐστεφάνωσε, καὶ συχνὰ μὲν τοῖς στρατιωταῖς διέδωκε, συχνὰ δὲ καὶ τοῖς δημοσίοις προσένειμε, καὶ τοῦς ἐκεῖ κατεχομένους ὀμήρους προῖκα πάντας τοῖς οἰκείους ἀπέδωκεν. ὅθεν πολλοὶ μὲν δῆμοι, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ δυνάσται αὐτῷ προσεχώρησαν, καὶ τὸ τῶν Κελτιβήρων ἔθνος πρὸς τοὺς λοιποὺς. παρθένον γὰρ ἐν τοῖς αἰχμαλώτοις λαβῶν κάλλει ἐπιφανῆ, ἐνομίσθη μὲν ἔσεσθαι αὐτῆς ἐν ἔρωτι, μαθὼν δὲ ὅτι τινὶ τῶν ἐν τέλει Κελτιβήρων ἐγγεγυνηται, μετε-

¹ Ἰνδίβιλις suggested by Bs. (cf. Zon. 9, 10), Ἰνδίβιλις Ms.
² Ἰαρχηγητανοὶ St., Ἠαρχηγητανοὶ Ms.
³ αὐτῆς Reim., αὐτὸς Ms.

198
BOOK XVI

many also for the public treasury. He appointed some of the captives to service in the fleet and gave back all the hostages to their relatives without ransom. For this reason many towns and many princes, among them Indibilis and Mandonius of the Ilergetes, came over to his side. The Celtiberian race, the largest and strongest of those in that region, he gained in the following way. He had taken among the captives a maiden distinguished for her beauty, and it was supposed, on general principles, that he would fall in love with her; but when he learned that she was betrothed to Allucius, one of the Celtiberian

Zonaras 9, 8.

Scipio had promised to give a crown to the first one who scaled the wall, and two men, the one a Roman, the other belonging to the allies, quarrelled over it. Their continued dispute promoted a disturbance among the rest of the soldiery as well, and they became so greatly excited that they would have committed some fearful deed, had not Scipio crowned both men. He also distributed many gifts to the soldiers, and assigned many also to public uses; and he gave back to their relatives without ransom all the hostages who were being detained there. As a result, many towns and many princes espoused his cause, the Celtiberian race among the rest. For he had taken among the captives a maiden distinguished for her beauty, and it was thought that he would fall in love with her; but when he learned that she was betrothed to one of the Celtiberian magis-
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

βήρων ἡγγύται, μετεπέμψατο τε αὐτὸν αὐτεπ-
ἀγγελτος, καὶ τὴν παίδα αὐτῷ παρέδωκε μετὰ τῶν
λύτρων ἀπέρ οἱ προσήκοντες αὐτής ἐκεκομίκεσαν.
κακὸς τοῦ ἔργου τούτου καὶ ἐκεῖνος καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους
ἀνηρτήσατο.—V. 42 (p. 602).

48 "Ὅτι ὁ Σκιπίων δεινὸς μὲν ἦν ἐν ταῖς στρατη-
γίαις, ἐπιεικῆς δὲ ἐν ταῖς ὁμιλίαις, καὶ ἐς μὲν τοὺς
ἀνθισταμένους αὐτῷ φοβερός, ἐς δὲ τοὺς ὑπει-
κοντας φιλάνθρωπος. καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἐκ τῆς
τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ τε θείου δόξης πλείστον ἔσπυρτον ὡν
ἔποιεῖ, τῷ δοκεῖν ἀπ' ἀρετῆς ἐκ γένους ἀλλ' ὁν
ἐκ τοῦ προστυχόντος εὐδοκίμων, ἱσχυρε. τότε
tὸν καὶ μᾶλλον ἐπὶ τε τῷ τάχει τῆς νίκης, καὶ
ὅτι καὶ ὁ Ἀσδρούβας ἐς τὴν μεσογείαν ἀνεχώ-
ρησεν, μάλιστα δὲ ὅτι καὶ ἑθείασεν, εἰτ' οὖν

Zonaras 9, 8.

πέμψατο αὐτὸν καὶ τὴν νεᾶνιν αὐτῷ παραδέδωκε,
προσεπίδους καὶ τὰ λύτρα ἃ οἱ προσήκοντες αὐτῇ
προσεκόμισαν. κακὸς τοῦτοι καὶ ἐκεῖνοι καὶ τοὺς
λοιποὺς ἀνηρτήσατο.

1 Μαθὼν δὲ τὸν Ἀσδρούβαν τὸν τοῦ Ἀννίβου
ἀδελφὸν σπουδή ἐπιώντα καὶ ἀγνοοῦντα ἐτὶ τὴν
τῆς πόλεως ἀλωσίν καὶ μηδὲν προσδοκώντα κατὰ
τὴν πορείαν πολέμιον, προσπήνησεν 1 αὐτῷ, καὶ
ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ αὐτοῦ κρατήσας ἐνημεύσατο,
καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν ἑκεῖ προσεπνήσατο. ἦν μὲν
γὰρ ἐν ταῖς στρατηγίαις δεινὸς, ἐν δὲ ταῖς ὁμιλίαις
ἐπιεικῆς, καὶ ἐς μὲν τοὺς ἀνθισταμένους φοβερός,
ἐς δὲ τοὺς ὑπεικοντάς καὶ μάλα φιλάνθρωπος,
200 1 προσπήνησεν Bs., προσπήνησεν Mss.
BOOK XVI

magistrates, he voluntarily sent for him and delivered the girl to him along with the ransom her kinsmen had brought. As a result of this act he attached to his cause both these and the rest of the nation.

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

Zonaras 9, 8.

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

Next he learned that Hasdrubal, the brother of Hannibal, was approaching rapidly, still ignorant of the capture of the city, and expecting to meet no hostile force on his march. Scipio, therefore, advanced to meet him and defeated him, and afterward bivouacked in his camp, and won over many people in the vicinity. He was stern in the exercise of his command, but agreeable in familiar intercourse, terrifying to opponents, yet thoroughly humane to such as yielded. And especially the fact that he had made
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

παρὰ δαμονίου τινὸς μαθῶν εἶτε κατὰ τύχῃ, ὅτι ἐν τῇ τῶν πολεμίων στρατοπεδεύσοιτο, δὲ καὶ ἐγένετο, πάντες μὲν αὐτῶν ὡς καὶ κρείττω σφῶν οὖντα ἐτίμων, οἱ δὲ Ἰβηρεῖς καὶ βασιλέα μέγαν ὤνόμαξον.—V. 43 (p. 605).

Zonaras 9, 8.

μάλιστα δ' ὅτι καὶ ἑθείας, προειπῶν ὡς ἐν τῇ τῶν πολεμίων στρατοπεδεύσοιτο, πάντες ἐτίμων αὐτῶν οἱ δὲ Ἰβηρεῖς καὶ βασιλέα μέγαν ὤνόμαξον.

ὁ δὲ Ἀσδρούβας ἀπελπίσας τὴν Ἰβηρίαν ἀπάραι πρὸς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐβοῦλετο. καὶ ἐν τῷ χειμῶνι συσκευασάμενος ὁ μὲν ὀρμητο, οἱ δὲ συστράτηγοι αὐτοῦ κατὰ χώραν μείναντες ἀσχολών τῷ Σκιπίων παρεῖχον, ὡστε μὴ τὸν Ἀσδρούβαν ἐπιδιώξαι μήτε τοῖς ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ Ῥωμαίοις ἐπικουφίσαι τὸν πόλεμον γενομένῳ ἐκεῖ, ἢ πρὸς τὴν Καρχηδόνα πλεῦσαι. ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων τὸν μὲν Ἀσδρούβαν οὐκ ἐπεδίωξε, πέμψας δὲ δρομοκήρυκας τὴν πρόσοδον αὐτοῦ τοῖς ἐν τῇ Ῥώμη δι' αὐτῶν προεκήρυξεν, αὐτὸς δὲ τῶν ἐν χερσὶν εἶχετο. καὶ ὅρων τοὺς ἐναυτῷς πολλαχῇ τῆς χώρας οὖντας, ἐδείει μὴ τίσιν αὐτῶν προσμῆις εἰς ἐν ἀπαντᾷς συναγάγῃ ἀλλήλοις ἐπικουφήσουσα. αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν ἐστράτευσεν ἐπὶ Ἀσδρούβαν τὸν Γίσγωνος, Σιλανὸν δὲ ὡς Κελτιβηρίαν ἐπὶ Μάγωνα, καὶ Δούκιον Σκιπίων τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἐς Βασσανῖαν ἐπέμψει. δι' ἐκείνην τε πολέμων κατέσχε, καὶ τὸν Μάγωνα ἐνίκησε, καὶ

202
either through divine inspiration or by some chance information, that he would encamp in the enemy’s country—a prediction now fulfilled—caused all to honour him as superior to themselves, while the Spaniards even named him Great King.

Zonaras 9, 8.

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

1 Some phrase defining the time appears to have been lost. Furthermore the enemy’s “camp” (ἐπὶ τῇ, as suggested by Reimar) in place of his “country” (ἐπὶ τῆ) would seem to improve the sense; compare Zonaras’ words on p. 201.
 Dio's Roman History

Zonaras 9, 8–9.

Φέυγοντι αὐτῷ πρὸς τοὺς ἀσδρούβαν ἐπακολουθήσας ἦλθε πρὸς τὸν Σκιπίωνα, μήπω μηδὲν διαπεραγμένου.

Ἐλθόντων οὖν τοὺς Μάγωνος πρὸς τοὺς ἀσδρούβαν καὶ τοῦ Δούκιου πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν τοῦ Σκιπίωνα, τὰ μὲν πρῶτα τῷ ἱππικῷ καταθέντες ἐς τὰ πεδία διεμάχοντο, εἶτα καὶ ὅλω τῷ στρατεύματι ἀντιπαρετάσσοντο, οὐ μὴν καὶ ἐμάχοντο. καὶ ἐπὶ πλείον ἡμέρας τούτω ἐγίνετο. συμβολὴς δὲ ποτὲ γενομένης οἱ τοὺς σύμμαχοι τῶν Καρχηδόνιων καὶ αὐτὸς ἔκεινοι ἠττήθησαν, καὶ τὸ ἔρυμα αὐτῶν παρὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐὰλω, καὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐτῷ ἐπιτηδείους οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἕχρησαντο· δ’ ἐπὶ τριῶν ἡμερῶν ὁ Σκιπίων, ως λόγος ἑστίν, ἀπεφοίβασεν. ἐπιλιπόντων γὰρ αὐτοῖς τῶν πρὸς τροφὴν, προείπεν (ὅθεν δ’ ἡγώνται) ὡς “κατὰ τίμιον τὴν ἡμέραν τοῖς τῶν πολεμιῶν χρησόμεθα.” μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ τοῖς περιλειφθέοις τῶν ἐναντίων τῶν Σιλανὸν καταλιπὼν αὐτὸς πρὸς τὰς ἄλλας ἀπῆκ πόλεις, καὶ πολλὰς προσηγαγετο. καταστήσας δὲ τὰ ἐαλωκότα αὐτὸς μὲν ἐκεῖ διεχείμασε, τὸν δὲ Δούκιον τὸν ὁμαίμονα ἐπὶ Ῥώμην ἀπέστειλε καταγγελοῦντα τε τὰ γενόμενα καὶ τοὺς αἰχμάλωτους κομίσοντα καὶ ὅπως οἱ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ φρονοῦσι περὶ αὐτοῦ πολυπραγμονήσσοντα.

9. Οἱ δ’ ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ ἐκ νόσου ἐπόνησαν καὶ μάχαις ἐταλαιπώρησαν, Τυρσηνῶν νεωτερισάντων τινῶν. μεῖζον δὲ τῶν ἄλλων αὐτοῖς ἐλύπησεν ὁτι τὸν Μάρκελλον ἀπέβαλον. ἐπιστατεύσαντες γὰρ κατὰ τοῦ Ἀνυίου τυγχάνοντος ἐν Λοκροῖς καὶ ἀμφότεροι ὁ ὑπατοί ἔξι

204
BOOK XVI

Zonaras 9, 8-9.

him up as he fled to Hasdrubal, and came to Scipio before the latter had accomplished anything as yet.

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

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

Zonaras 9, 9.

ἐνέδρας περιστοιχισθέντες ὁ μὲν Μάρκελλος αὐτίκα ἀπώλετο, Κριστῖνος δὲ τρωθεὶς ἀπέθανεν οὐ μετὰ πολὺ, εὐρηκὼς δὲ τὸ τοῦ Μάρκελλου σῶμα ὁ 'Ἀννίβας, καὶ τὸν δακτύλιον αὐτοῦ εἰληφὼς ὃ ἐκεῖνος τὰς γραφὰς ἐπεσφράγιζε, γράμματα ἐκ τὰς πόλεις ὅσ παρ’ ἐκείνου στελλόμενα ἐπεμπε, καὶ ὁ σὰ ἐβοῦλετο διεπράττετο μέχρις οὖ τούτο γνω ὁ Κριστῖνος ἀντιπαρῆγειλεν αὐτοῖς φυλάσσεσθαι. θεὶν ἀντιπεριέστη τῷ Ἀννίβα τὸ πράγμα. ἔπει γὰρ τοῖς ἐν τῇ Σαλπία δι’ αὐτομόλου δῆθεν ἦν ἐπιστείλας, ὡς ὁ Μάρκελλος νυκτὸς προσῆτο τοῖς τείχεσι, τῇ τε τῶν Δατίνων κεχρημένοις φωνῇ σὺν ἄλλοις ἐπισταμένοις αὐτήν, ἢν Ῥωμαίοι δόξωσιν εἰναί. μαθόντες δὲ οἱ Σαλπηρνι τῇ ἐπιτέχνησιν αὐτοῦ ἀντετεχνήσαντο πιστευείν ὅτι τοῖς προσεῖναι τὸν Μάρκελλον, καὶ ἀνασπάσαντες τὸν καταρράκτην εἰσήγαγον ὅσοις αὐτοῖς ἠδοξεν ἰκανοὺς εἰναι κατεργασθῆναι παρ’ αὐτῶν, καὶ πάντας ἀπεκτείναν. ὁ δὲ Ἀννίβας ἀπῆρεν αὐτίκα, μαθὸν τοὺς Δοκρους πολυρκουμένους παρὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐκ Σικελίας ἐπιπλευσάντων.

Καὶ Πούπλιος 1 δὲ Σουλπίκιος μετὰ Αἰτωλῶν καὶ συμμάχουν ἐτέρων πολλὰ τῆς Ἀχαίας ἐπορθήσε. τοῦ δὲ Φιλίππου τοῦ Μακεδόνος τοῖς Ἀχαίοις συμμαχήσαντος παντελῶς ἀν τῆς Ἐλλάδος ἐξηλάθησαν οἱ Ῥωμαίοι, εἰ μὴ τοῦ κράνους τοῦ Φιλίππου περιρρυνότος οἱ Αἰτωλοὶ τούτο ἐσχον, καὶ φήμης εἰς τοὺς Μακεδόνας γενομένης ὡς τέθηκε, στάσεις τε γέγονεν ἑκεῖ

1 Πούπλιος Pinder, in conformity with the regular spelling in Zon. and Dio, Πώπλιοι Μss.

206
BOOK XVI

Zonaras 9, 9.

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

Publius Sulpicius, assisted by Aetolians and other allies, devastated a large part of Achaia. But when Philip the Macedonian formed an alliance with the Achaeans, the Romans would have been driven out of Greece completely but for the fact that the helmet of Philip fell off, and the Aetolians got possession of it; for in this way a report reached Macedonia that he was dead, and an uprising took place there. Philip,
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

Zonaras 9, 9.

καὶ ἑφοβήθη μὴ τῆς βασιλείας στερηθῇ, καὶ πρὸς Μακεδονίαν ἦπειχθῆ. ἐντεύθεν οἱ Ρωμαίοι τῇ Ἑλλάδι προσέμειναν καὶ τινῶν ἐκράτησαν πόλεων.

Τῷ δ' ἐπὶ οὗ ἦλθον ἤγγελεν προσιόν, οἱ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ τὰς δυνάμεις τε ἥθελον καὶ τῶν συμμάχων σφῶν μετεπέμμεντο, ὑπάτους Κλαύδιον τε Νέρωνα καὶ Διούνον τὸν Μάρκον ἐλόμενοι. καὶ Νέρων μὲν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀννίβαν, Διούνον δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀσδρούβαν ἔπεμψαν. ἃς αὐτῷ πρὸς τῇ Σένα τῇ πόλει ἀπήντησεν οὐ μὲντοι καὶ εἰς χειρὰς εὐθὺς ἤλθεν.ὅπερ πολλὰς δὲ ἡμέρας κατὰ χώραν ἔμεινεν ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ὁ Ἀσδρούβας τὴν μάχην κατήπειξεν, ἡσύχαζε δὲ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἀναμένον. οὐ δὲ καὶ ὁ Ἀννίβας εἰς Δευκανίαν ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο, καὶ οὐδετέρος πρὸς παράταξιν ὁμήρησεν, ἀλλως δὲ εἰς χειρὰς ἄλληλοις ἤσσαν. καὶ ὁ Ἀννίβας πυκνὰ μετανιστάτο, καὶ ὁ Νέρων ἄκριβῶς αὐτὸν παρετήρει. κρείττων οὖν ἀεῖ αὐτὸν γινόμενος, καὶ τὰ γράμματα τὰ παρὰ τοῦ Ἀσδρούβα αὐτῷ πεμφθέντα ἔλων, τοῦ μὲν Ἀννίβου κατεφσύζει, δεῖσας δὲ μὴ τὸν Διούνον ὁ Ἀσδρούβας τῷ πλήθει καταβιάσται, μέγα πράγμα ἔτολμησε. καὶ κατέλιυτο μὲν μοίραν ἐκεῖ ἀποχρόσαν εἰργεῖν τὸν Ἀννίβαν, εἴ τ' ἡ κυνηγεία, ἐντείλαμεν πάντα ποιεῖν ἵνα καὶ αὐτὸς νυνῖς τρέψῃ ἐνδημεῖν, τὸ δὲ καθαρώτατον τοῦ στρατοῦ ἀπολέξας ἐμίησεν ὡς πόλει τῷ πλησιοχώρῳ προσμίξων, οὕτ' ἦδει τῆς τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτοῦ. καὶ ἤπειρθη ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀσδρούβαν, καὶ ἄφικε τοῦ νυκτὸς πρὸς τὸν συνάρχοντα, καὶ ἐν τῇ ταφρείᾳ τῷ αὐτοῦ κατεσκήνησε. καὶ παρεσκευάσθαι.
BOOK XVI

Zonaras 9, 9.

consequently, fearing he should lose his kingdom, hastened into Macedonia. Hence the Romans remained in Greece and conquered a few cities.

The following year, upon the announcement of Hasdrubal's approach, the people of Rome gathered their forces and summoned their allies, after choosing Claudius Nero and Marcus Livius consuls. They sent Nero against Hannibal and Livius against Hasdrubal. Livius met his foe near the city of Sena, but did not immediately open an engagement with him. For many days he remained stationary; and Hasdrubal was in no hurry for battle, either, but remained at rest awaiting his brother. Nero and Hannibal were encamping in Lucania, but neither hastened to array his forces for battle, although in other ways they had some conflicts. Hannibal would frequently change his position, and Nero kept careful watch of him. As he constantly had the advantage of him and presently captured the letter sent to him by Hasdrubal, he conceived a scorn for Hannibal; and fearing that Hasdrubal might overwhelm Livius through force of numbers, he ventured upon a hazardous exploit. He left on the spot a portion of his force sufficient to check Hannibal, in case the latter should make any movement, and he gave the men injunctions to do everything to create the impression that he was also there. Then, selecting the flower of the army, he set out as if to attack some neighbouring city; and none knew his real intention. So he hastened on against Hasdrubal, reached his colleague at night, and took up his quarters in the latter's entrenchments. And they both prepared for a sudden joint attack.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

Zonaras 9, 9.

ζοντο ἀμφῶ ὑ΄ αἰφνίδιον αὐτῷ συνεπίθωνται. ὦν ἔλαθον δέ, ἀλλ' ἐτεκμήρατο τὸ γεγενημένον ὁ Ἀσδρούβας ἀπὸ τῶν παραγγέλσεων διττῶν γινομένων. ἱδία γὰρ ἐκαστὸς τῶν ὑπάτων παρήγγελμα τῷ τοῖς ἑαυτοῖς. ὑποτεύσας οὖν ἠττησθαί τὸν Ἀννίβαν καὶ ἀπολέσθαι (περιόντος γὰρ ἐκείνου οὐκ ἃν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὁμῆσας τὸν Νέρωνα ἔλογιζε) ἐγὼ πρὸς τοὺς Γαλάτας ἀπαναχωρῆσαι καὶ ἐκεῖ τὰ περὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἀκριβώςασθαι καὶ οὕτω κατά σχόλην πολεμήσαι.

Καὶ ὁ μὲν παραγγείλας τῷ στρατεύματι ἀναστήναι νυκτὸς ἀπῆρεν, οἱ δ' ὑπατοὶ ἐκ τοῦ θρούβου ὑπώπτευσαν τὸ γεγομένον, οὐ μέντοι εὐθὺς ἐκινήθησαν διὰ τὸ σκότος. ἀμα δ' ἦσας τοὺς τε ἱππεάς προεπεμψαν ἐπισδιοδέσκα τοὺς, καὶ αὐτὸι ἐπέφυραν. καὶ τοῦ Ἀσδρούβου τοῖς ἱππεύσιν ἀντιταξιμένου ὡς μόνοις οὖσιν, οἱ ὑπατοὶ ἐπεθύμενε τροπὴν αὐτοῦ ἐποίησαντο, καὶ φεύγουσιν ἐπακολουθήσαντες πολλοὺς ἐφόνευσαν. καὶ οὔτ' οἱ ἐλέφαντες αὐτοῖς ἐβοήθησαν· ὅτι γὰρ τινες αὐτῶν τραυματισθέντες κακὰ πλέω τοὺς ἐπιτεταγμένους σφίσιν ἔδρων ἢ οἱ πολέμιοι, παρήγγειλεν ὁ Ἀσδρούβας τοῖς ἐπ' αὐτῶν καθημένοι τοὺς τιτρωσκομένους τῶν θηρίων παραντικα σφάζειν· ῥάστα δὲ σιδηρῷ τινὶ ὑπὸ τὸ οὗ νυστάμενοι ἐκτυνυόμενο. καὶ ἐκεῖνοι μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν Καρχηδόνων, οἱ ἄνδρες δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἔφθειροντο. ἔπεσον δὲ τοσοῦτοι ὅστε τούς Ῥωμαίους διακόρεσι τοῦ φόνου γενομένους μὴ θελήσαι τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπεδιώξαι. φθείραντες τὲ ἄλλους πολλοὺς καὶ τῶν Ἀσδρούβαν, καὶ λάφυρα πλείστα

210
BOOK XVI

Zonaras 9, 9.

upon the invader. The situation, however, did not go undiscovered, since Hasdrubal inferred what had happened from the fact that the word of command was given twice; for each consul issued orders to his own troops separately. Suspecting, therefore, that Hannibal had been defeated and had perished,—for he calculated that if his brother were alive, Nero would never have marched against him,—he determined to retire among the Gauls and after finding out definitely about his brother, carry on the war at his convenience.

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

Zonaras 9, 9-10.

λαβόντες, καὶ Ῥωμαίους αἰχμαλώτους ἐσ τετρα-
κισχίλιους ἐν τῷ στρατόπεδῳ εὑρόντες, ἵκανοὶ
tὴν Καυνῆδα συμφοράν ἀνειληφέναι ἐνόμισαν.

Πραγματῶν δὲ τούτων ὁ μὲν Διούσιος κατὰ
χώραν ἔμεινεν, ὁ δὲ Νέρων ἑκταῖος εἰς τὴν
Ἀπολλάνι ἐπανελήλυθε, λαθῶν μέχρι τὸτε ὡς
ἀπεδήμησε. καὶ τῶν ἀλόντων τινῶς ἐς τὸ Ἄννιβο
στρατόπεδον ἐπεμψε τὰ πεπραγμένα δηλώσοντας,
kαὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ Ἀσδρούβαδο πλησίον ποῦ
ἀνεσταύρωσε. μαθὼν οὖν ἐκεῖνος τὸν τε ἁδελφὸν
هةμένου καὶ τεθυγόκτονα καὶ τὸν Νέρωνα νεκ-
κηκότα καὶ ἐπανήκοντά, πολλὰ μὲν ἀλοφύρατο,
pολλάκις δὲ καὶ τὴν τύχην καὶ τὰς Κάννας
ἀνεκάλεσε. καὶ ἐς τὴν Βρεττίαν ἄνεχωρήσε,
kακεὶ δίηγεν ἥσυχαζον.

10. Ὁ δὲ Σκιτιῶν μέχρις ἄν πάντα τὰ ἐν τῇ
Ἰβηρίᾳ καταστήσῃ ἄρχειν τῶν ἐκεῖ προσετάχθη.
καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἐς τὴν Λιβύην δύο πεντήρεσιν
ἐπλευσα, καὶ ὁ τοῦ Γ'σαγονος Ἀσδρούβας ἐκεὶ
kατὰ τύχην αὐτῷ συγκατήρη. δεξιομεμένον οὖν
καὶ ἀμφό τοῦ Σύφακος (ἐνστονὸς γὰρ τοῖς
Καρχερονοῖς ἔγενετο, μέρους τῆς Λιβύης βασι-
λεύων), καὶ καταλάλοτοντος σφᾶς, ὁ Σκιτιῶν
οὖν ἰδίων ἔχθραν ἔχειν εἶπεν οὖτε μὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν
κοινῶν δύνασθαι καὶ έαυτὸν καταλῦσαθαι.

'Ἐπανήλθεν οὖν αὐτὸς καὶ Ἰλπεργίταις ἐπο-
λέμησεν, ὡς τοὺς πρὸς αὐτοὺς καταφυγόντας
Ῥωμαίους μετὰ τῶν τῶν Σκιτιῶν σάνατον τοῖς
Καρχερονοῖς ἐξέδωκαν. καὶ οὐ πρότερον τῆς
πόλεως αὐτῶν ἔκρατησε πρὶν αὐτῶς τοῦ τεῖχους
ἐπιβῆναι ἐτόλμησε καὶ ἐπράθη. αἰδεσθέντες γὰρ

212

1 Βρεττιάν Wolf., βρεττιαίων Mss.
BOOK XVI

Zonaras 9, 9–10.

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

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

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

Accordingly he went back again and began a war against the Iliturgitani because they had handed over to the Carthaginians the Romans who took refuge with them after the death of the Scipios. He did not become master of their city until he ventured to scale the wall in person and got wounded. Then the
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

Zonaras 9, 10.
oi stratiwtai kal deisantai peri ekeinw tote prosebhalov prorhymoteran. kal krateisantai toux mén anbropous pantas apektewon, thn de polun kateprrhoun apasan. kal tō phōf toytph pollloi mén ekontes autō prosechōrhrhsan, pollloi de kal bia kexeiwrwnto. tīnēs de poluqerkumevoi tás te plēies ōautōn ekainon kal toux oikεis ekoun evounon, epl de tou toux kal eautous.

Tā pleiw de katastrwprhmenos o Skupiōn eis Karχhdonan anezevexen, einh ta te patri kal tō thei epitaftous anghous óplomachias θētov. òte pollloi mén kal ēteroi āγwvisantrō, kal adelphoi de diw perī basileias diapherōmenoi, kai tou Skupiōnovos sunallāξai autōnous spous- dásantos kal o presbūteros tou neōteron kai toiv isχyrorōron oûta apektewen.

Hrrwsthsis de metėpeta o Skupiōn, kan tou tōu ēneosetrasan oī 'Iβheres. strāteuma gar tou Skupiōnov perī Soγkrōna1 χeim añ tvthk, kal prōn ouk evpeidhês òn, ou μηn faνeran ἀποστασιαν ἑπιδειξάμενον τότε δ' αἰσθόμενον τὸν Σκυπίωνα κάμνωντα, ἑτεὶ καὶ ἡ μισοθορά αὐτοῖς ἐβραδύνη, ἀναφανδον ἀπέστησαν, καὶ τοὺς χυλάρχους σφῶν ἀπελάαμεντες ὑπάτους ἑαυτοῖς κεχειροτονήκασιν ἥσαν δὲ ὡς ὀκτακιςχίλιοι. γνόντες οὐν ταῦτα oī 'Iβheres ἀφίσταντο προχει- ρότερον, καὶ τὴν συμμαχία τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐκά- κουν. καὶ οἱ Μάγων έκλαπεῖν ἢδη τὰ Γάδειρα βουλθεῖσι οὕτ' ἐξέλιπε καὶ εἰς τὴν ἥπειρον διαβαίνων πολλὰ ἐκακούργηεi.

214 1 An error for Σουκρῶνa.
BOOK XVI

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

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

Subsequently Scipio fell sick, and thereupon the Spaniards rebelled. For one of Scipio's armies that was wintering near Sucro had become turbulent; even before this it had shown insubordination, but had not ventured upon open rebellion. Now, however, learning of Scipio's illness, and in view of the fact, moreover, that their pay had been delayed, they mutinied outright, drove away the tribunes, and elected consuls for themselves. Their number was about eight thousand. So the Spaniards, becoming aware of this, revolted with greater readiness, and proceeded to harry the territory belonging to the Roman alliance. And thus Mago, who had already made up his mind to abandon Gades, did not do so, but crossed over to the mainland and caused no little havoc.

215
Zonaras 9, 10.

Μαθῶν δὲ ταῦθ’ ὁ Σκιπίων, πέμψας πρὸς τὸ ἀποστατήσαν στρατόπεδον, ἑπέστειλεν αὐτοῖς συγγνωμονών δήθεν, ὅτι διὰ ξύνδειαν τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐνεωτέρισαν, καὶ μηδὲν ὑποπτεύεσαν διὰ τούτο ἄξιῶν, ἔπαινῶν δὲ καὶ τοὺς τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτῶν ἀναδεξαμένους ἵνα μηδὲν δεινὸν ἢ πάθωσιν ἢ δράσωσι διὰ ἀναρχίαν. τοιαῦτα τοῦ Σκιπίωνος γράφαντος, οἱ στρατιώται μαθόντες ὅτι περιείχαν καὶ οὐδ’ ὀργίζοντο σφίσιν, οὔδεν ἦτi διεκίνησαν. ὡς δὲ ἀνερρώσθη, τραχύ μὲν οὐδὲ τότε αὐτοῖς ἐπητείλησε, πέμψας δὲ τὴν τετρήφθην ἀποδώσεων ὑπέσχετο, καὶ πάντας πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀφικέσθαι ἑκέλευσεν ¹ ὡς ἄν βούλωνται, ἢ ἀδρόι ἢ ἐν μέρει κατὰ διαδοχάς. οἱ δὲ γε στρατιώται κατ’ ὀλίγους ἀπελθεῖν οὐκ ἐθάρσησαν, ὅμως δ’ ἀπῆλθον. καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων ἔξω τοῦ τείχους αὐτοὺς αὐλίσασθαι (πρὸς ἐσπέραν γὰρ ἦν) διεστάξατο, καὶ παρέσχεν αὐτοῖς ἀφθόνως τὰ ἐπιτήθεια. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο, αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς θρασυτέρους αὐτῶν εἰς τὴν πόλιν εἰσελθεῖν κατασκεύασε, καὶ τῆς νυκτὸς αὐτοὺς κατασχὺν ἔδησεν. ἀμα δ’ ἡμέρα, ὡς ἔξω ποι στρατεύσων, πάντα τὸν αὐτοῦ στρατόν προεξέμευσεν. εἰτα τοὺς ἄρτι ἐλθόντας εἰσὶν τοῦ τείχους ἅνευ τῶν ὅπλων ἑκάλεσεν, ἢ’ αὐτῷ συστρατεύσωνται, λαβόντες τὸ σετηρέσιον. καὶ οὕτως εἰσελθόντων αὐτῶν ἐσήμην τοῖς ἐκκεχωρηκόσιν ὡσπερ εἶχον ἐπανελθεῖν. καὶ περισσῶν αὐτοὺς πολλὰ καὶ ὑνείδισε καὶ ἤπειλησε, καὶ

¹ ἑκέλευσεν Bδ., ἑκάλεσεν Mss.
BOOK XVI

Zonaras 9, 10.

Scipio, learning of this, sent a letter to the mutinous legion, in which he affected to pardon them for revolting on account of the scarcity of provisions, asked them to feel no anxiety because of this, and actually praised those who had accepted the leadership over them to prevent their suffering or doing any violence in the absence of lawful commanders. When Scipio had written to this effect, and the soldiers had learned that he was alive and was not even angry with them, they made no further trouble. Even after he recovered his health he did not use harsh threats in dealing with them, but sent a promise to supply them with food and commanded them all to come to him, either in a body or a part at a time, as they might prefer. The soldiers, not daring to go in small groups, went all together. Now Scipio arranged that they should encamp outside the wall—for it was nearly evening—and supplied them with provisions in abundance. Thus they encamped; but Scipio saw to it that the bolder spirits among them entered the city, and during the night he overpowered and imprisoned them. At daybreak he sent forth his whole army as if he were going to make an expedition somewhere. Then he summoned the recent arrivals inside the wall without their weapons, in order that they might receive their rations and join his expedition. As soon, accordingly, as they had entered, he signalled to the men who had gone forth to return just as they were. Thus he surrounded the rebels and heaped upon them many reproaches and threats, declaring finally: “You all

Zonaras 9, 10.

τέλος "πάντες μέν," ἔφη, "θανεῖν ἐστε ἄξιοι, οὐ μέντοι πάντας θανατώσω αὐτὸς, ἀλλ' ὀλίγους οὐς καὶ ἡδή συνεϊληφα δικαιώσω, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἀφίημι." ταῦτα εἶπὼν εἰς τὸ μέσων τοὺς δεδεμένους παρῆγαγε, καὶ σταυροῖς προσδήσας καὶ αἰκισάμενος ἀπέκτεινεν. ὡς δὲ τινὲς τῶν παρεστηκότων ἀγανακτήσαντες ἔθορύβησαν, συχνοὺς καὶ ἐκείνων ἐκόλασε. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τὴν μισθοφοράν τοὺς ἄλλους δοὺς ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰνδέβιλλιν καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Μανδόνιον ἐστράτευσε. καὶ μὴ τολμώντων ἐκείνων συμμίξαι αὐτῶ, αὐτὸς ἐπέθετο καὶ ἐνίκησεν.

"Ομολογησάντων δὲ ἐκείνων, καὶ τῆς ἄλλης Ἰβηρίας τὰ πλεῖον αὐθεῖς ἐδουλώθη, καὶ ὁ Μάγων τὰ Γάδειρα ἔξεισε, καὶ ὁ Μασινίσσας τοῖς Ρωμαίοις προσεχώρησεν. οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι γὰρ, τελευτήσαντος Ἀσδρούβα τοῦ Ἀννίβου ὁμαίμονος, ἐγκήσαντο τῆς μὲν Ἰβηρίας ἐκστήνη, τὰ δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ ἀνακτήσασθαι καὶ ἐπεμψαν ἀργύριον τῷ Μάγωνι, ἵν' ἐπικουρικὸν ἀθροίσας στρατευσῇ ἐπ' αὐτὴν. καὶ δὴ πρὸς τὴν Ἰταλίαν αὖθις ὀρμήσας ἀφίκετο πρὸς τὰς Γυμνησίας νῆσους. καὶ τῆς μὲν μείζους ἡμαρτε, μὴ δυνήθεις εἰς αὐτὴν καταραί (οἱ γὰρ ἐπιχώριοι πόρρωθεν ἐς τὰς ναῦς 218
BOOK XVI

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

Zonaras 9, 10.

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

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

Zonarae 9, 10.

έσφευδόμον, κράτιστοι τούτο ποιεῖν οίντες), εἰς δὲ τὴν μικροτέραν προσορμισάμενος ἐκεῖ διὰ τὸν χειμώνα κατέμεινεν. αἱ νῆσοι δὲ αὐταί τῇ περὶ τὸν Ἰβηρα ἦπειρον ἐπίκεινται· εἰσὶ δὲ τρεῖς, ἃς Ἑλλήνες μὲν καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι κοινῆ Γυμνησίας καλούσιν. Οὐαλλερίας δὲ καὶ Τασούσας οἱ Ἰβηρεῖς, ἰδίᾳ δὲ ἐκάστην, τὴν μὲν Ἐβεσοῦν, τὴν δὲ μεῖζῳ, μικροτέραν δὲ τὴν τρίτην φερονυμώτατα. τὰ Γάδειρα δὲ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι κατέσχον.

Τzetzes in Lyoophr. Alex. 633.

Δίων δὲ ὁ Κοκκημανὸς ταύτας πλησίον φησὶ Ἰβηρος εἶναι ποταμοῦ, πλησίον τῶν Εὐρωπαίων Ἡρακλεών στηλῶν, ὡς νῆσους Ἑλλήνες μὲν καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι κοινῶς Γυμνησίας φασίν, Ἰβηρεῖς δὲ Βαλερίας ἤτοι ὕμεινᾶς.
his ships, so that he could not effect a landing; but he anchored off the smaller one and waited there on account of the winter. These islands are situated close to the mainland in the vicinity of the Iberus. They are three in number, and are called by the Romans in common with the Greeks the Gymnesiae, but by the Spaniards the Valeriae or Hyasusa,¹ or, individually, the first Ebusus, the second the Larger,² and the third the Smaller—very appropriate names. And Gades was occupied by the Romans.

Tzetzes in Lycoth. Alex. 633.

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

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

57, 50 "Οτι ο Μασινίσσας ἄλλως μὲν ἐν τοῖς κράτιστοις ἀνήρ ἦν, τά τε πολέμα καὶ τοῖς βουλεύμασι καὶ τῇ χειρὶ ἄριστα ἔξειργάζετο, καὶ ἐς πίστιν οὐχ ὧτι τῶν ὁμοφύλων (ἀπιστοὶ γὰρ 1 οὔτοι 2 γε ὡς πλήθει εἰσί) ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν πάνυ μέγα ἐπ' αὐτῇ φρονούντων προεφερεν.—V. 44 (p. 605).

51 "Οτι τῆς Σοφωνίδου ἱσχυρῶς ἦρα Μασινίσσας, ἦ τὸ τε 3 κάλλος ἐπιφανεῖς εἶχε (καὶ γὰρ τῇ

Ζοναρᾶς 9, 11.

11. 'Ο δὲ Μασινίσσας ἄνηρ ἦν ἐν τοῖς κρατίστοις ἐξεταζόμενος· καὶ χειρὶ γὰρ καὶ βουλεύμασιν ἄριστος ἔτυγχανα τὰ πολέμα. πρὸς δὲ τοὺς Ρωμαίους ἐκ τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἐξ αἰτίας τοιάσθε μετήνεκτο. ὁ Ἀσδρούβας ὁ τοῦ Γίσγωνος φίλος τε ἦν αὐτῷ καὶ Σοφωνίδα τὴν ἑαυτοῦ θυγατέρα αὐτῷ ἐνηγύησα. τῷ Σύβακι δὲ συγγενόμενος, καὶ τὰ τῶν Ρωμαίων αὐτὸν φρονοῦντα αἰσθόμενος, οὐκέτι τὰ ὀμολογημένα πρὸς τὸν Μασινίσσαν ἐφύλαξεν, ἀλλὰ θέλων τοὺς Καρχηδονίως τὸν Σύβακα προσποιήσασθαι, οὐκ ἐλαχίστης δυνάμεως ἀρχοντα, τὴν τε ἄρχην αὐτῷ συγκατέπραξεν, ἦ τῷ Μασινίσσα προσήκε, τοῖς πατρὸς αὐτοῦ τότε θανόντος, καὶ τὴν Σοφωνίδα συνώκισεν. ἦ δὲ τὸ τε κάλλος ἐπιφανής ἦν καὶ

1 γὰρ Ρκ., τε γὰρ Μσ. 2 οὔτοι Βαλ., οὔτω Μσ. 3 τε added by Βκ.
FRAGMENTS OF BOOK XVII

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

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

Zonaras 9, 11.

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

1 The Mss. of both the fragments and of Zonaras give the name as Sophonis.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

συμμετρία τοῦ σώματος καὶ τῷ ἀνθέι τῆς ὀρας ἡκμαξεν) καὶ παιδεία πολλῇ καὶ γραμμάτων καὶ
μουσικῆς ἡσκετό· ἀστεία τε καὶ αἰμύλος ἦν, καὶ
tὸ σύμπαν οὖτως ἐπαφρόδιτος ὡστε καὶ ὄφθεισα
ἡ καὶ ἀκονοθεῖσα μόνον πάντα τινά, καὶ τὸν
πάνυ δυσέρωτα, κατεργάσασθαι.—V. 45 (p. 605).

53 ... μέντοι καὶ ἡθέλησε τούτον τίσασθαι:
προϋποπτευθεὶς γὰρ ἐφυγε, καὶ ἐσ τὴν Λιβύην
ἐλθὼν πολλὰ μὲν καθ' ἑαυτὸν, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ
μετὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων καὶ τῶν Σύφακα καὶ τῶν
Καρχηδονίων εὐπηρεσάν. Σκιπίων¹ δὲ ἐπειδὴ
πάντα τὰ ἐντὸς τοῦ Πυρηναίου τὰ μὲν βία,
tὰ δὲ καὶ ὀμολογία προσποιησάτο, τὸν στόλον
τὸν ἐσ τὴν Λιβύην ἥτοιμαζετο, οὔπερ ² αἰε ἑφίετο.³

Zonaras 9, 11.

paiideia polllh kata grammatain kai moussikheis
hsektote, astei tae kai aimumlos en, kai ouwtos
epaphroditos os oftheisa h kai akonothesia monon
kai ton panyn duseropta katergasaasai.

"O men ouin Synafxe die taanta tois Karkhodonois
proseteto, kai o Masinosas ta ton Rounaion
antheilet kai xhernimmatatos autois die panton
egvento. Skipion de pantat aentos ton Pyrhe-
naion ta men bia, ta de omologia prospoinis-
menos, estin Lambine strelasai htoimazeto. oi

¹ Skipion Bk., o skhipion Ms. ² oipfer Polak, oipfer Ms.
³ ai efieto Bk., ei hphiesto Ms.

224
BOOK XVII

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

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

Zonaras 9, 11.

ceived an excellent literary and musical education, and was clever, ingratiating, and so charming that the mere sight of her or even the sound of her voice sufficed to vanquish anyone, even the most indifferent.

Syphax for these reasons attached himself to the Carthaginians, and Masinissa, on the contrary, espoused the Roman cause and from first to last proved very useful to them. Scipio after winning over the whole territory south of the Pyrenees, partly by force and partly by capitulation, was making ready to set out for Africa. The people of Rome,
καὶ γὰρ τούτο καίτοι πολλῶν ἀντιλεγόντων ἐπετράπη τότε, καὶ τῷ Σύφακι συγγενέσθαι ἐκεῖνῃ.

54 λεύσθη. καὶ ἔξειργαστὸ τι τοῦ φρονήματος του ἑαυτοῦ ἄξιον (ἡ γὰρ Καρχηδόνα εἶλεν ἃν τὸν πόλεμον αὐτῇ περιστῆσας, ἡ τὸν Ἅρμιθαν ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἔξηγαγεν, ὅπερ ὑστερον ἐπτραξεν), εἰ μὴ οἱ ἐν οἴκῳ Ρωμαίοι τὰ μὲν φθόνῳ αὐτοῦ, τὰ δὲ καὶ φόβῳ ἐμποδὸν ἐγένοντο· τὸ τε γὰρ νέουν πάν μείζοναν ἀεὶ ἐπορέγεσθαι καὶ τὸ κατορθοῦν πολλάκις ἀπληστὸν τῆς εὐπραγίας εἶναι νομίζοντες χαλεπώτατα ἃν ἡγοῦντο νεανίσκου ψυχὴν αὐχήματι προ ... (four lines wanting in Ms.)

55 χ . . ρ οὐκ ἔκειν ὕποι τε δυναστεῖαν καὶ δόξαν ἀλλ᾽ ἑαυτοῖς πρὸς τε ἔλευθερίαν καὶ σωτηρίαν συμφέρη χρῆσθαι, κατέλυν αὐτῶν, καὶ ὅταν αὐτοὶ προῆγον ἐστὶ πράγματα ἐν χρείᾳ αὐτοῦ γενόμενοι, τούτων ἐθελονταὶ καθήρουν, ὅτι μείζον τῆς κοινῆς ἀσφαλείας ἐγεγόνει· καὶ τούτῳ οὐκέτι ὅπως Καρχηδονίους παντελῶς δὶ αὐτοῦ καταπολεμήσωσιν, ἀλλὰ ὅπως μὴ ἑαυτοῖς τύραννον

56 αὐθαίρετον ἐπασκήσωσιν ἐσκόπουν. τῶν οὖν στρατηγῶν δύο αὐτῷ διαδόχους πέμψατε ἀνεκάλεσαν αὐτῶν. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐπινίκια οὐκ ἐξήφι·

Zonaras 9, 11.

δ᾽ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ τὰ μὲν φθόνῳ τῶν κατορθωμάτων αὐτοῦ, τὰ δὲ φόβῳ μὴ ὑπερφρονήσας τυραννήσῃ, ἀνεκαλέσαντο αὐτῶν, δύο τῶν στρατηγῶν διαδόχους αὐτῷ πέμψατε.

226
BOOK XVII

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

Zonaras 9, 11.

however, through jealousy of his successes and through fear that he might become arrogant and play the tyrant, sent two of the praetors to relieve him and called him home.
σαντό οἱ, ὃτι ἰδιώτης τε ὄν ἐστράτευτό καὶ ἐπ᾿ οὐδεμάς ἐννόμων ἡγεμονίας ἐξήταστο, θαῦς μέντοι ἐκατον λευκοὺς ἐν τῷ Καπιτώλῳ θύσαι καὶ πανήγυρίν τινα ἐπιτελέσαι τὴν τε ὑπατείαν ἐς τὸ τρίτον ἔτος αὐτῆς ἐπέτρεψαν· αἱ γὰρ ἐς νέωτα ἀρχαιρεσάει νεώστε ἐγεγόνεσαν.

57 Ἐν δὲ τοῖς αὐτοῖς τούτοις χρόνοις καὶ ὁ Σουλπίκιος μετὰ τοῦ Ἀττάλου Ὠρεόν μὲν προδοσία, Ὁπούντα δὲ κατὰ τὸ ἱσχυρὸν ἠλαβεν· ὁ γὰρ Φίλιππος οὐκ ἤδυνήθη σφίσι διὰ ταχέων 1 καίτερ ἐν Δημητριάδι ὄν ἐπαμύναι, ἐπειδὴ οἱ Ἀίτωλοι τὰς διόδους προκατέσχον. ὃψε δ᾿ οὖν ποτε ἐπελθὼν καὶ καταλαβὼν τὸν Ἀττάλον τὴν λείαν τὴν ἐκ τοῦ Ὁπούντου διατιθέμενον (ἐκεῖνῳ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῆ, τοῖς δὲ δὴ Ῥωμαίοις ἢ ἐκ τοῦ Ὠρεοῦ ἐγένετο) ἐς τὰς ναις αὐτῶν κατήραξεν, ὡστε τὸν Ἀττάλον διὰ τέ τοῦτο καὶ διὰ Προνίαν τὸν Βιθυνῶν 2 βασιλέα, ἐσβαλόντα τε ἐς τὴν χώραν αὐτοῦ καὶ πορθοῦντα αὐτήν, ἀποπλεῦσαι κατὰ τάχος οἰκάδε. ὁ μέντοι Φίλιππος οὐχ ὀσον

Zonaras 9, 11.

Καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτω τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπαύθη, ὁ δὲ τῆς Σουλπίκιος μετὰ τοῦ Ἀττάλου κατὰ τῶν αὐτῶν χρόνον Ὠρεόν μὲν προδοσία, Ὁπούντα δὲ ἵσχυν κατέσχεν. ὁ γὰρ Φίλιππος οὐκ ἤδυνήθη αὐτοῖς ἐπαμύναι διὰ ταχέων, τὰς διόδους προκατασχόντων ὅπως Ἀίτωλῶν. ὃψε δὲ ποτε ἐπελθὼν, εἰς τὰς ναις αὐτῶν τὸν Ἀττάλον καταφυγεῖν ἐβιάσατο. ὁ μέντοι Φίλιππος σπείρασθαι τοῖς

1 ταχέων Haase, comparing Zon.; τάχος Ms. acc. to Be.
2 Βιθυνῶν Bk., Βιθυνῶν Ms.
BOOK XVII

vote him a triumph, because he had conducted the campaign as a private individual, not having been appointed to any legal command; but they allowed him to sacrifice a hundred white oxen upon the Capitol, to celebrate a festival, and to canvass for the consulship for the second year following (since the elections for the next year had recently been held).

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

Zonaras 9, 11.

Thus he was deposed from his command. At this same time Sulpicius together with Attalus secured Oreus through betrayal and Opus by main force. For Philip was unable to come speedily to the rescue, as the Aetolians had already seized the passes. But at last he arrived and forced Attalus to flee to his ships. Philip, however, wished to conclude a truce
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

οὔκ ἐπήρθη τούτῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ σπείρασθαι τοῖς Ἱρωμαίοις ἠθέλησε, καὶ μάλιστ' ὅτι καὶ ὁ Πτολέμαῖος πρέσβεις ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπου τέμπων συνήλ-λαττεν αὐτούς. καὶ τινῶν λόγων σφίσι γενομένων . . . (four lines wanting in Ms.) . . . εἰρήνην οὐκέτι ἦτησεν ἄλλα . . . τοὺς 1 δὲ Αἰτωλοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς συμμαχίας τῆς τῶν Ἱρωμαίων ρ . . . τινὶ ἀποσπάσας φίλους ἐποίησατο. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐπράξθη τι μνήμης ἄξιον οὐθ' ὑπ' ἑκείνων οὔτε ὑπ' ἄλλων τινῶν, οὔτε τότε οὔτε ἐν τῷ ὑστέρῳ ἔτει ἐν φ' Δούκιος τε Οὐετούριος καὶ Κακίλλος Μέτελλος ὑπάτευσαν, καίπερ σημείων πολλῶν καὶ δυσχερῶν τοῖς Ἱρωμαίοις γενομένων ἀρνίων τε γὰρ ἀρρενόθηλυ ἐγεννήθη, καὶ σμήνος ὑ . . . οὐ ἀφθη, κατὰ τε τῶν θυρῶν τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ Δίου τοῦ Καπιτωλίου ὁφεις δύο κατώλισθου, καὶ ἴδρωτι πολλῷ αἰ τεθύρα τοῦ Ποσειδώνιον καὶ ο βωμὸς ἐρρύη, ἐν τε Ἀντίῳ στάχνες αἴματόδεις θερίζουσί τισιν ὀφθησαν, καὶ ἐτέρωθι γυνὴ κέρατα ἔχουσα

Zonaras 9, 11.

'Ἡρωμαίοις ἠθέλησε. καὶ τινῶν λόγων αὕτως γενομένων τὰ μὲν τῆς εἰρήνης ἀφείθη, τοὺς δ' Αἰτωλοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ συμμαχεῖν τοῖς Ἱρωμαίοις μεταθέμενοι φίλους ἑαυτοῦ ἐποίησατο.

'Ὁ δ' Ἀννίβας τέως ἰσχίαν ἤγεν, ἀγαπῶν εἰ τὰ ὑπάρχοντά οἱ διασώσατο. καὶ οἱ ὑπατοὶ νομίζοντες αὐτὸν καὶ ἀνευ μάχης ἐκτρυχωθηκαί, ἀνείχοιν.

1 τοὺς supplied by Gros.

230
BOOK XVII

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

Zonaras 9, 11.

with the Romans, but after some preliminary discussion the peace negotiations were dropped; then Philip detached the Aetolians from their alliance with the Romans and made them his own friends instead.

Hannibal for a time was keeping quiet, satisfied if he might only retain such advantages as were already his. And the consuls, believing that his power would waste away even without a battle, also waited,
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

ἀνεφάνη, κεραυνοί τε ἐς ναοὺς πολλοί, . . . P. 1 (p. 458 sq.).

52 "Ὅτι Δικίννοις Κράσσος υπὸ τε ἐπιεικείας καὶ
cάλλους πλούτου τε, ἀφ' ὀπτερ καὶ πλούσιος
ἐπωνυμάσθη, ὅτι τε ἀρχιερεὺς ἦν, ἐμελλεν ἐν τῇ
’Ιταλίᾳ ἀκλήρωτος μένειν.—V. 46 (p. 605).

Zonaras 9, 11.

Τῷ δ' ἐπιούτι ἐτεί δ' τε Σκιπίων ὁ Ποῦπλιος
καὶ Δικίννοις Κράσσος ὑπάτευσαν. καὶ ὁ μὲν
ἐν τῇ ’Ιταλίᾳ ἐμεινεν, ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων ἐς Σικελίαν
ἀπελθείν καὶ ἐς Διβύνη προσετέτακτο, ἵνα εἰ
μὴ τὴν Καρχηδόνα αἰρήσει, τὸν γε Ἀμβίαν
tέως ἀπὸ τῆς ’Ιταλίας ἀνθελκύσῃ. οὔτε δὲ
στράτευμα ἄξιολογον οὔτε πρὸς τριήρεις ἀνά-
λωμα ἔλαβε, διὰ τὰς ἀριστείας φθονούμενος.
μόλις δὲ καὶ τὰ πάνω ἀναγκαία παρέσχον αὐτῷ.
καὶ ὁ μὲν σὺν τῷ ναυτικῷ τῶν συμμάχων καὶ
τισιν ἐθελονταίς ἐκ τοῦ δήμου ἀπήρεν, ὁ δὲ
Μάγων ἐκ τῆς νήσου παραπλεύσας εἰς τὴν
Διογοστικὴν ἀπέβη. ὁ Κράσσος δ' ἐν τῇ Βρέττᾳ
tῷ ’Ἀμβίᾳ προσήδρευεν. ὁ μέντοι Φιλιππος
κατηλλάγη ’Ρωμαίοις. Ποῦπλιον γὰρ Σεμπρώνιον
εἰς ’Απολλωνίαν ἐλθόντα σὺν πολλῇ δυνάμει
αισθόμενος ἀσμένως ἐσπεῖσατο.

Σκιπίων δ' ὁ ὑπατος εἰς Σικελίαν κατάρας
παρεσκευάζετο μὲν ώς ἐς Διβύνην̊̊ ἀποθέμον,
οὐκ ἠδυναμής δὲ, μήτε δύναμιν ἐντελὴ καὶ αὐτὴν
ἀνυγκρότητον ἔχων. διὸ πάντα τὸν χειμῶνα ἐκεῖ
διήγαγε, τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ ἔξασικῶν καὶ ἀλλοὺς
προσκαταλέγων. μέλλοντι δὲ περαιώσεσθαι̊̊ ἀγγε-

1 Διβύνη Wolf, σικελίαν MSs.
2 περαιώσεσθαι Βs., περαιώσασθαι MSs.
woman with horns appeared and many thunderbolts . . . into temples . . .

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

Zonaras 9, 11.

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

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

1 Balearis Minor; see p. 221.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

61 Οτι τού Πυθίου κελεύσαντος τούς Ῥωμαίους τῷ ἀρίστῳ τῶν πολιτῶν ἐπιτρέψαι τὴν θειὰν τὴν ἐκ Πεισινουτός κομιζομένην ἐς τὸ ἀστυν. Πούπλων Σκιπίωνα, παίδα τοῦ Γναίου τοῦ ἐν τῇ Ἰβηρίᾳ τελευτήσαντος ὄντα, ἀπάντων προέκριναν καὶ προετίμησαν. αὕτιον δὲ ὑπὶ ἀλλός τε1... καὶ

Zonaras 9, 11.

λία αὐτῷ ἐκ Ὑπαίτου ἦκε τῆν πόλιν τῆν τῶν Δοκρῶν τινας προδώσειν. τοῦ γὰρ φρουράρχου καταβοήσαντες καὶ μηδεμῶς ἐκδικιασάρα παρὰ τοῦ Ἀνυβίου τυχόντες πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἀπέκληναν. δύναμιν οὖν πέμψας ἐκεί, πολλὰ τῆς πόλεως νυκτὸς μετὰ τῶν προδιδόντων κατέλαβε. τῶν δὲ Καρχηδόνων εἰς τὴν ἀκραν συνειληθέντων καὶ τῶν Ἀνυβίων μετακαλεσαμένων, κατὰ τάχος εξαινήχθη καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων, καὶ πλησιάσαντα τῇ πόλει αἰφνιδίῳ ἑπεκδρομῆ ἀπεώσατο. εἰτα λαβὼν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν καὶ ἐπιτρέψας τὴν πάσαν πόλιν δύο χιλιάρχους ἀνέπλευσεν. οὕκ ἦδυνθή ἡμέντοι τῇ Λιβύῃ προσπλεύσαι. οὔτω δὲ οἱ Καρχηδόνοι τῆν ὀρμήν αὐτοῦ ἔδεισαν, ὥστε χρήματα μὲν τῷ Φίλίππῳ στείλαι, ὥν εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν στρατεύσῃ, καὶ τῷ Ἀνυβίᾳ καὶ σίτον πέμψαι καὶ στρατιώτας, καὶ ναῦς τῷ Μάγνῳ καὶ χρήματα, ἵνα τὸν Σκιπίωνα κωλύσῃ περαιωθῆναι. εἰκ δὲ σημείων τινῶν νίκην οἱ Ῥωμαίοι λαμπρῶς ἐξήλισσαν, τῇ τε ἐν τῇ Σικελία.2 στρατιῶν τῷ Σκιπίωνι καὶ δύναμιν ἀλλήν ὡς ἀν ἐθελήσῃ κατακλῆσαι οἱ ἐπέτρεψαν. τῶν γὰρ ὑπάτων Μᾶρκον

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

234
BOOK XVII

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

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* Zonaras 9, 11.

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

\(^1\) Publius Scipio Nasica.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

εὔσεβῆς καὶ δίκαιος ἐνομίζετο. ὃς ταύτην τὸτε ἐσ τὴν πόλιν καὶ ἐσ τὸ Παλάτιον μετὰ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων γυναικῶν ἀνήγαγεν.—V. 47 (p. 606).

62 "Ὅτι πυθόμενοι τὰ τῶν Δοκρῶν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, καὶ νομίζοντες αὐτὰ ὀλγωρία τοῦ Ῥήχυσος συμβεβηκέναι, χαλεπῶς τε ἔφερον, καὶ ἐβολεύσαντο εὐθὺς ὑπὸ ὅργης τῆς τε ἁγιομονίας αὐτῶν παύσαι καὶ ἐπὶ δίκην ἀνακαλέσαι, προσπαροξυθεῖστε ὅτι τῇ τε Ἑλληνικῇ διαίτῃ ἐχρῆτο καὶ ὅτι ἰμάτιον ἀνεβάλλετο, ὅτι τε ἐς παλαιότεραν παρέβαλλεν. ὅτι τε τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀρπάξειν τὰ τῶν συμμάχων ἐπιτρέπειν ἐλέγετο, τὸν τὲ πλούν τὸν ἐπὶ Καρχηδόνα διατρίβειν ἐπίτηδες, ὅπως ἐπὶ πλείων ἄρχειν, ὑπωπτεῖστο, μέγιστον δὲ, ἐναγόντω τῶν ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς οἱ φθονοῦντων, μεταπέμψασθαι αὐτῶν ήθελον. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν διὰ τὸ πλῆθος μεγάλην εὔνοιαν αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχον οὐκ ἐγένετο . . . —V. 48 (p. 606).

Zonaras 9, 11-12.

μὲν Κέθηγον τῷ Μάγωνι, Πούπλιον δὲ Σεμπρώνιον τῷ Ἀνυβαί αὐτέταξαν.

12. Οἱ δὲ γέ Καρχηδόνωι δείσαντες τὸν Μασινίσσαν μὴ Ῥήχυσοι πρόσθηται, ἐπεισαγὼν τὸν Σύφακα τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτῶ ἀποδούναι, ὡς καὶ αὐθίς αὐτὴν ἀνακτησόμενον. οὐν Μασινίσσας ὑπώ—236
and was esteemed both pious and just. He, therefore, at this time, accompanied by the most prominent women, conducted the goddess into the city and to the Palatine.

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

Zonaras 9, 11-12.

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

12. The Carthaginians, fearing that Masinissa would join Scipio, persuaded Syphax to restore to him his domain; for they gave him to understand that he should get it back again. Masinissa was sus-


63 ... 1 σχόντες στρατόπεδόν τε ἐν ἐπιτηδείῳ ἐποιήσαντο, καὶ πάν αὐτὸ σταυρώμασι περεῖ-φραξαν, χάρακας ἔπι αὐτὸ τούτ’ ἐνεγκάμενοι. ἀρτί τε κατεσκεύαστο, καὶ δράκων παρ’ αὐτὸ μέγας διὰ τῆς ἔπι τῆν Καρχηδόνα φερούσης ὁδοῦ παρέίρησεν, ὡστε καὶ ἐκ τούτου τὸν Σκιπίωνα κατὰ τὴν περὶ τοῦ γονέως αὐτοῦ φήμην ἐπι-θαρσήσαντα προδυμότερον τὴν τε χώραν πορθη-

Zonaras 9, 12.

πτευε μὲν τὸ πραττόμενον, κατηλλάγῃ δὲ δήθεν, ἵνα πιστὸς νομισθεὶς μέγα τι σφήλαι αὐτοῦ δυνηθῇ· μάλλον γὰρ ὑπὲρ τῆς Σοφωνίδος ἢ τῆς βασιλείας ώργίζετο. διὸ καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων προσέκειτο, ὑποκρινόμενος τὰ τῶν Καρχηδονίων αἰρεῖσθαι. ὁ δὲ γε Σύφαξ τὰ τῶν Λιβυῶν πράττων ἐπιλάττετο Ῥωμαίοις ἐνσπονδός εἶναι, καὶ στείλας πρὸς τὸν Σκιπίωνα παρῆνε μὴ ποιήσασθαι τὴν διάβασιν. ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα δὲ ἀπορρήτων ὁ Σκιπίων, ἵνα μὴ γρώσων οἱ στρατιώται, τὸν τε κήρυκα αὐθημερὸν ἀπέπεμψε μηδὲν ἄλλῳ προσομιλήσαντα, καὶ τὸ στράτευμα συγκαλέσας ἐπέσπευδε τὴν διάβασιν, ἐτι τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἀπαρασκευών λέγων εἶναι, καὶ πρότερον μὲν τῶν Μασινίσσαν, τὸτε δὲ καὶ τὸν Σύφακα μετα-καλεῖσθαι αὐτοῦς καὶ χρονίζουσιν ἐγκαλεῖν. ταῦτα εἰπὼν μηδὲν ἔτι μελλῆσας ἐξανήχθη· καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἀκρωτήριον τὸ καλούμενον Ἀπολλώνιον προσομίσας τὰς ναύς ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐπόρθει, προσέμισγε τε ταῖς πόλεσι

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

... they landed and pitched their camp in a suitable place, fencing it round about with pali-sades, since they had brought along stakes for this very purpose. It had just been finished when a great serpent came gliding along beside it on the road leading to Carthage. Scipio, owing to the tradition about his father, felt encouraged by this portent, and with renewed zeal devastated the

picious of the transaction, yet pretended to be reconciled, in order to win the confidence of the Carthaginians and so be able to bring some great disaster upon them. For he was more enraged over Sophonisba than over the kingdom, and consequently was devoting himself to the Roman interests while affecting to be for the Carthaginians. Syphax, on the other hand, though working for the African cause, professed to be in alliance with the Romans, and sent to Scipio, warning him against crossing over. Scipio learned this as a piece of secret information, and to prevent the knowledge of it from reaching the soldiers, he sent the herald back at once before he had time to talk with anybody else. Then he called together the army and hastened forward the preparations for crossing; he declared that the Carthaginians were still unprepared, and that first Masinissa, and now Syphax, was calling for them and upbraiding them for lingering. After this speech he set sail without further delay; and bringing his ships to anchor near the cape called the Cape of Apollo, he encamped and proceeded to devastate the country and make assaults upon the

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

239
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

64 σαι καὶ ταῖς πόλεσι προσμίζαι. καὶ τινὰς καὶ
eἴλεν αὐτῶν· οὐ τε Καρχηδόνιοι μηδέπω ... παρ-
eskeuvamenoi ἦσύχαζον, καὶ ὁ Σύφαξ ὁνόματι
μὲν φίλος αὐτῶν ἦν, τῷ δὲ ἐργῷ ἐκ μέσου ἐιστήκει,
cαὶ γὰρ πρὸς τὸν Σκιτίωνα καταλλαγὰς αὐτοῖς
προτενευέιν ἐβούλετο, κρατήσαντας τοὺς ἑτέρους
tῶν τε ἑτέρων ἀν ἀμα καὶ ἑαυτοῦ δεσπότας
γενέσθαι νομίζων καὶ ἀντιπάλους ὑπὶ μάλιστα
ἀλλήλοις ὑντας ἑλπίζων διαλλάξειν.¹ ἐγκειμένου
d' ὁν τῇ χώρᾳ τοῦ Σκιτίωνος ὁ 'Ἀνων ὁ
ὑπαρχός (ἂν δὲ υἷὸς τοῦ 'Ασδρούβου τοῦ Γίσ-
γωνος) φ. ξ... εἰνος μὲν τὸν ... διεστ ... ἀνεπείσθη πρὸς τοῦ Μασινίσσου ... χω ... Kaiρχηδόνιος ... n πολεμικῶν ομ. ριας ἐν
t ... ne ... e . φ . . σίν ἐπιστεύετο καὶ
tουτοῦ προσέχας ὁ Σκιτίων ἑπτάς τινὰς ἐκ
tῆς συμβουλίας τῆς τοῦ Μασινίσσου ἐνήδρευσεν
ἐς χωρία ἐπιτήδεια ἐς λείαν ὄντα, ἵνα καταδρομὴν
ποιούμενον ὑποφέυγων καὶ ἐπιστὼν τοὺς
ἐπιδιώξαι σφας ἐθελήσοντας. γενομένου δὲ τοῦτον

Zonaras 9, 12.

καὶ εἶλε τινὰς. ἐγκειμένων δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων
tῇ χώρᾳ, 'Ἀνων ὁ ὑπαρχός, υἷὸς ὧν τοῦ
'Ασδρούβου τοῦ Γίσγωνος, ἀνεπείσθη πρὸς τοῦ
Μασινίσσου ἐπιθέσθαι αὐτοῖς. ὁ σὺν Σκιτίων
ἱπτέας πέμψας τινὰς χωρία πρὸς καταδρομὴν
ἐπιτήδεια ἐλήξετο, ἵνα ὑποφέυγων ἐπιστά-
σωντα τοὺς ἐπιδιώκοντας. τῶν σὺν Καρχηδόνιον

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

Zonaras 9, 12.

cities, some of which he captured. But while the Romans were harrying the country, Hanno, the cavalry commander, the son of Hasdrubal, the son of Gisgo, was persuaded by Masinissa to attack them. Scipio, accordingly, sent some horsemen and was plundering some districts that were easy to raid, in order that his men by simulating flight might draw the enemy in pursuit. So when they turned to flee,
καὶ τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἔπεξελθόντων τε ἐκεῖνοι καὶ δι᾽ ὀλίγον κατὰ τὸ συγκεκριμένον τραπεζέων ἀνὰ κράτος ἐπισπομένων, ὁ τε Μασινίσσας μετὰ τῶν ἁμφὶ αὐτῶν ὑπετέων ὑπολειφθεὶς κατὰ νότου τοῖς διόκουσιν ἐγένετο, καὶ ὁ Σκιπτῖων ἔξαναστὰς ἐκ τοῦ λόχου ἐπίων ἀπήντησεν αὐτοῖς, ὡστ' ἀμφιβόλους δίχα ἀποληφθέντας καὶ ἀποθανεῖν πολλοὺς καὶ ἀλώναι ... δ. ἐ. καὶ τὸν 'Αμωναν.

πυθόμενος δὲ τούτῳ ὁ 'Ασδρούβας τὴν μητέρα τοῦ Μασινίσσου συνέλαβε. καὶ ἐκεῖνοι μὲν ἀνταπ-εδόθησαν· ὁ δὲ δὴ Σύφαξ εὑ τε εἴδως ὅτι ὁ Μασινίσσας οὐ Καρχηδονίως μᾶλλον τι ἦ καὶ αὐτῷ πολεμήσει, καὶ φοβηθεῖς μὴ ἐν ἐρημίᾳ συμμάχων, ἀν τι ἐκεῖνοι ἐγκαταλειφήντες ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πάθοσι, γένονται, τὴν τε προσποιήτου πρὸς τοὺς 'Ρωμαίους φιλίαν ἀπείπε καὶ τοῖς Καρχη-

dονίοις φανερῶς συνήρετο· οὐ μέντοι γε καθαρῶς, ὡστε καὶ ἀνθίστασθαι σφισιν, ἀλλὰ ἄδεως ἐκεῖνοι

Zonaras 9, 12.

ἐπισπομένων αὐτοῖς κατὰ τὰ ξυγκεκριμένα τραπε-μένοις, ὁ Μασινίσσας τε κατὰ νότου γενόμενος μετὰ τῶν ἁμφ' αὐτῶν ἐπέθετο τοῖς διόκουσι, καὶ ὁ Σκιπτῖων ἐκ τοῦ λόχου ἐπεκδραμῶν προσέ-μεξαν αὐτοῖς. καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν ἐφθάρησαν, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἐάλωσαν καὶ ὁ 'Αμωνος αὐτὸς. διὸ ὁ 'Ασδρούβας τὴν μητέρα τοῦ Μασινίσσου συνε-έλαβε· καὶ ἀνταπεδόθησαν. ὁ δὲ Σύφαξ τῆς πρὸς 'Ρωμαίους φιλίας τὴν δόκησιν ἀπειτῶν φανερῶς τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις συνήρετο. οἱ δὲ

242
BOOK XVII

the Carthaginians attacked them, and when the others in a little while turned to flight, according to agree-
ment, they pursued at full speed; then Masinissa, lagging behind with his attendant cavalry, got in the rear of the pursuers, and Scipio rose up from ambush and advanced to meet them. Thus they were surrounded and attacked from both sides, with the result that many were killed and many captured, including Hanno. On learning of this, Hasdrubal arrested the mother of Masinissa; and these two captives were exchanged. Syphax now, being well aware that Masinissa would war against him no less than against the Carthaginians, and fearing that he might find himself bereft of allies if they suffered any harm through his desertion of their cause, renounced his pretended friendship for the Romans and openly assisted the Carthaginians. He failed, how-
ever, to render them whole-hearted assistance, to

Zonaras 9, 12.

according to arrangement, and the Carthaginians followed them up, Masinissa with his companions got in the rear of the pursuers and attacked them, while Scipio rushed out from his ambush and joined battle with them. Thus many perished, and many also were captured, among them Hanno himself. Therefore Hasdrubal arrested the mother of Masinissa, and the two captives were exchanged. Syphax now renounced even the appearance of friendship for the Romans and openly assisted the Carthaginians.
καταθέοντες λείαν τε πολλήν ἦγον καὶ συχνοὺς τῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἄννιβου πρότερον ἐς τὴν Διβύνην πεμφθέντων ἐκομίσαντο, καταφρονήσαντες τε αὐτῶν διὰ ταῦτα καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν Οὔτικην ἐπεστράτευσαν. ἱδόντες οὖν τούτο ὦ τε Σύφαξ καὶ ὁ Ἀσδρούβας καὶ δείσαντες περὶ αὐτῆς, οὐκέτι ἐκκαρτέρησαν, ἀλλ' ἀντεπελθόντες ἐλυσαν τὴν πολιορκίαν, μὴ τολμησάντων αὐτῶν καὶ πρὸς ἀμφιτέρους ἄμα ἁγωνίσασθαι. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐκ τούτου κατὰ χώραν ἐχείμασαν, τὰ ἐπιτήδεια τὰ μὲν αὐτὸθεν λαμβάνοντες, τὰ δὲ ἐκ τῆς Σικελίας τῆς τε Σαρδοῦς μεταπεμπόμενοι· αἱ γὰρ νῆσις σφισων αἱ τὰ λάφυρα ἐς τὴν Σικελίαν ἀγούσαι καὶ τροφῆν ἀν ἐπήγον.

70 Ἐν δὲ τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ κατὰ μὲν τῶν πρὸς Ἄννιβαν πόλεμον οὔδὲν μέγα ἐπράξθη, Πούπλιος γὰρ Σέμπρονιος μάχῃ των βραχείας νικηθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἄννιβου ἀντεπεκράτησαν αὐτοῦ, ὦ δὲ δῆ Λίουνος καὶ ὁ Νέρων τιμητέων τῶν τε Λατίνων τῶν προλιποῦσι τὴν συστρατείαν καὶ διπλοῦν ἀποδιδόναι πλῆθος τῶν στρατιωτῶν

Zonaras 9, 12.

Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ ἐληίζοντο τὴν χώραν, καὶ συχνοὺς τῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἄννιβου πρὸς τὴν Διβύνην πεμφθέντων ἀνεκομίσαντο, καὶ κατὰ χώραν ἐχείμασαν.

244
BOOK XVII

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

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

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Zonaras 9, 12.

And the Romans both plundered the country and recovered many prisoners from Italy who had been sent to Africa by Hannibal; and they went into winter quarters where they were.
DIO’S ROMAN HISTORY

προσταχθεῖσι διδόναι ἀπογραφὰς ἐπήγγειλαν, ὅπως καὶ ἄλλων χρήματά σφικεί συνεσφέρωσι, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀτελεῖς μέχρι τότε ὄντας ὑπο-71 τελείης ἐποίησαν· τούτῳ δέ οὐκ ἄλλως ἔλεξα, ἀλλ’ ὅτι ὁ Διόνυσος ἔπραξε τε αὐτὸ ἀμυνόμενος τοὺς πολίτας ἐπὶ τῇ καταψηφίσει, καὶ ἐπίκλησιν ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ ἔλαβε· Σαλανάτωρ γὰρ ἐπωνυμάσθη. διὰ τε οὐν τούτο περιβόθαι οἱ τιμηταί οὗτοι ἐγένοντο, καὶ ὅτι τε ἄλληλους τῶν τε Ἰππῶν παρείλλοντο καὶ αἰραρίοις ἐποίησαν . . . ὀντες κατὰ τὴν . . .

P. 2 (pp. 460 sq.).

72 “Οτι ὁ Σκιτίων ναῦν Καρχηδονίαν λαβῶν ἀφήκε μηδὲν ἀδικησας, ἐπειδὴ ἐπὶ πρεσβεία πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀφικνεῖσθαι ἐπλάσαντο· ἦδει μὲν γὰρ ὅτι ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν ἐαλωκότων σωτηρία προεφασίσθη, προετίμησε δὲ τῆς καθέξως αὐτῶν τὸ μηδ’ ὄτιον διαβληθήναι

Zonaras 9, 12.

Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Γυαλοῦ Σκιτίωνος καὶ Γαίου Σερονιλίου ὑπατευσάντων οὐκ ὁ Καρχηδόνιοι ἐλαττωθέντες τῷ πολέμῳ συμβῆναι ἡθέλησαν, καὶ ὁ Ἀννίβας καὶ ὁ Μάγων ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐξέπεσον. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ὑπατοί τῷ Ἀννίβα καὶ τῷ Μάγων ἀντικαθῆσαντο, Σκιτίων δὲ τὴν τε Διβύην ἐκάκου καὶ ταῖς πόλεσι προσέβαλλε. κἀν τούτῳ ναῶν Καρχηδονίαν λαβῶν ἀφῆκεν, ἐπεὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπὶ πρεσβεία ἀφικνεῖσθαι ἐπλά- σαντο. ἦδει μὲν γὰρ τὸ πλάσμα, προετίμησε

246
deliver up their registers, so that still others might 
contribute money; and they put a tax on salt, which 
up to that time had been free of tax. I have men-
tioned this measure with a special purpose, since Livius 
designed it to avenge himself upon the citizens for 
their vote of condemnation; and he received a nick-
name from it, for he was now called Salinator.¹ 
This was one act that caused these censors to become 
famous; another was that they deprived each other of 
their horses and made each other aerarii ² . . . 
according to the . . .

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

Zonaras 9, 12. 

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

¹ Salinator = "salt-dealer."

² Citizens of the lowest class, who paid only a poll-tax and 
had no vote.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

πως δυνάμενον ποιήσαι. τού τε Σύφακος καὶ τότε ἐτι συναλλάττοντος αὐτοὺς ὡς τὸν Σκιτίωνα ἐκ τῆς Διβύης καὶ τὸν 'Ἀνυβαῦ ὡς τῆς Ἰταλίας ἀπάραι, ἐδέξατο τὸν λόγον, οὐχ ὅτι καὶ ἐπίστευεν οἰ, ἀλλ' ἵνα αὐτὸν σφήλη.—V. 49 (p. 606).

Zonaras 9, 12.

δὲ τὸ μη διαβληθήναι ὡς πρέσβεις κατεσχηκὼς. καὶ τοῦ Σύφακος πράττοντος ἐτι διαλλαγάς, ἀστε ἐκ τῆς Διβύης μὲν τὸν Σκιτίωνα, τὸν δ' Ἀνυβαῦ ὡς τῆς Ἰταλίας ἀπάραι, ἐδέξατο τὸν λόγον, οὐχ ὡς πιστεύον αὐτῷ, ἵνα δὲ σφήλη αὐτῶν. τῶν γὰρ στρατιωτῶν ἄλλοτε ἄλλους κατὰ τὴν τῶν σπονδῶν πρόφασιν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ τῶν Καρχηδόνων πέμπων καὶ τὸ τοῦ Σύφακος, ἐπεὶ ἐκεῖνοι πάντα τὰ παρ' αὐτῶς κατεσκέψατο, τὴν σύμβασιν ἀπ' εὐλόγιον δή τινος σκήψεως, ἄλλως τε καὶ ὅτι ὁ Σύφαξ ἐπὶ- βουλεύων ἐφωράθη τῷ Μασινίσσᾳ, διεκρύσατο. νυκτὸς δ' ἦλθεν εἰς τὰ στρατόπεδα αὐτῶν οὐ πάνυ ἄλληλων διέχοντα, καὶ τὴν ἐς τὸ τοῦ Ἀσδρούβου πολλαχόθεν ἄμα ὑπέβαλε. καὶ ἐμπρησθέντος ράστα αὐτοῦ (ἐκ γὰρ καλάμης καὶ ἐκ φυλλάδων ἑπετούχτω αὐτοῖς αἱ σκηναί), οἳ τε Καρχηδόνωι κακῶς ἀπήλλαξαν, καὶ οἱ περὶ τὸν Σύφακα βοηθήσαι αὐτοῖς ἐθελήσαντες τοῖς τε Ἡρωαῖοι τοῖς περιέχουσι περιέπεσον, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀπώλουντο, καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον προσενεπήρθη αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐφθάρσαν πολλοὶ καὶ ἢπαι καὶ ἀνθρωποί. οἳ Ἡρωαίοι δὲ τὰ ταύτα πεποιηκότες νυκτὸς μὲν οὐδὲν ἔπαθον, ἠμέρας δ' ἐπιφανεσάσθης

248
BOOK XVII

avoiding any possibility of reproach to retaining them. Also, when Syphax still endeavoured at that time to reconcile them, on the condition that Scipio should depart from Africa and Hannibal from Italy, he listened to his proposal, not because he really trusted him, but with the purpose of outwitting him.

Zonaras 9, 12.

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

Zonaras 9, 12.

'Ἰβηρες ἀρτι Καρχηδονίους ἐπὶ συμμαχία ἔλθοντες προσέπεσον αὐτοῖς ἀπροσδόκητοι καὶ πολλοὺς ἀπέκτειναν.

Εὐθὺς σοὶ Ἀσδρούβας μὲν εἰς τὴν Καρχηδόνα, Σύφαξ δὲ οἰκάδε ἀπεχώρησεν. ὁ δὲ γε Σκιπίων Σύφακι μὲν τὸν Μασινίσσαν καὶ Γάιον ἀντέταξε Δαίλου, αὐτὸς δ' ἐπὶ τοὺς Καρχηδονίους ἔλασεν. οἱ δ' αὐτὶ Καρχηδόνιοι πρὸς τὸ ἔρμα τῶν Ῥωμαίων, ἡ χειμάδια ἐχρῶντο καὶ ἐσὶ ἀπετίθεντο πάντα, ναῦς ἐπεμψαν, ἵνα ἡ αὐτὸ αἱρήσωσιν ἢ ἄφ' ἑαυτῶν ἀπάξωσι τὸν Σκιπίωνα. καὶ ἐσχεν οὕτως· μαθὼν γὰρ τὸ γινόμενον ἀπανέστη, καὶ ἐπειχθεῖς πρὸς τὸν ναῦσταθμὸν διὰ φυλακῆς αὐτὸν ἐποιήσατο. καὶ τῇ μὲν πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ Ῥωμαῖδος τοὺς προσμίσαντες αὐτοῖς ἀπεφέραντο οἱ Ῥωμαίοι, τῇ δ' ὑστεραία πολὺ ἠλαττώθησαν καὶ ναῦς γὰρ τῶν Ῥωμαίων χειρῶν σιδηρῶν ἐπιβολὴ ἀπεσπασαν. ἀποβηθεῖσα δ' ἐσ τὴν γῆν οὐκ ἐτόλμησαν, ἀλλ' ἀναπλεύσαντες οἰκάδε τὸν Ἀσδρούβαν ἀπεχειροτόνησαν, Ἀννώνα δὲ τινα ἀνθείλοντο. κακὸς τούτου Ἀννὼν μὲν στρατηγὸς ἦν, ἐκείνως δὲ καθ' ἑαυτὸν δούλους τινὰς καὶ αὐτομόλους παραλαβὼν δύναμιν οὐκ ἀσθενῆ συνεκροτήσει, καὶ τινὰς τῶν Ἰβηρῶν τῶν συστρατευομένων τῷ Σκιπίωνι κρύφα ἀναπείσας ἑπεχείρησε νυκτὸς ἐπιβουλεύσαι τῷ στρατοπέδῳ αὐτοῖς. καὶ ἐξειργάσατο τι, εἰ μὴ οὗ τε μάντεις ὑπὸ ὀρνύθων ἐκταραχθέντες καὶ ἡ τοῦ Μασινίσσου μήτηρ θείαςα ζήτησιν αὐτῶν γενέσθαι ἐποίησαν. καὶ 250
BOOK XVII

Zonaras 9, 12.

dawned, some Spaniards who had just arrived as Carthaginian allies fell upon them unexpectedly and killed a large number.

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

"Οτι ἦλθον οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι πρὸς τὸν Σκιπίωνα τὰ τε ἄλλα πολλὰ ἄγοντες καὶ τὸν Σύφακα. καὶ δὲ ἰδὼν αὐτὸν δεδεμένον οὐκ ἦνεγκεν, ἄλλα τὸς τε παρ’ αὐτῷ ξενίσεως μνημονεύσας, καὶ τὰ ἀνθρώπεια παθήματα ἀναλογισάμενος, ὅτι τε βασιλέα

Zonaras 9, 12–13.

οἱ μὲν προκαταληφθέντες ἐκολάσθησαν, καὶ οἱ Σκιπίων αὐθεὶς ἐπὶ τὴν Καρχηδόνα ἐστράτευσε καὶ τὴν γῆν αὐτῶν ἦδην, 13. Σύφαξ δὲ ἐπολέμη τοὺς περὶ τὸν Λαῖλιον. καὶ χρόνου τινὰ ἀντέσχεν· εἶτα ὑπερέσχον οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν ἐφόρνευσαν, πολλοὺς δὲ ἐξώγρησαν, καὶ τὸν Σύφακα εἶλον. καὶ τὴν Κύρταν τὰ βασιλεία αὐτοῦ παρέλαβον ἀμάχως, τοὺς ἔνυιν δεδεμένον αὐτὸν ἐπι- δείξαντες.

Ἡ δ’ ἦκε καὶ Ἡ Σοφώνις. καὶ πρὸς αὐτὴν ὁ Μασινίσσας εὐθὺς εἰσεπήδησε, καὶ περιλαβὼν αὐτὴν “ἐχω μὲν Σύφακα,” εἶπε, “τὸν ἀφαρ- πάσαντά σε, ἐχω δὲ καὶ σε. ἄλλα μὴ δεδίθησιν ὅπου γὰρ αἰχμάλωτος ἔγονης, ἐμὲ σύμμαχον ἔχουσα.” ταῦτ’ εἰπὼν ἐγγεμεν αὐτῆς παραχρῆμα προκαταλαβόν τοὺς Ρωμαίους, μή πως αὐτῆς ἀμάρτη γενομένης ἐν τοῖς λαφύροις. εἶτα καὶ τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις τοῦ Σύφακος προσεποίησαντο. καὶ πρὸς τὸν Σκιπίωνα ἦλθον ἄγοντες τὰ τε λοιπὰ καὶ τὸν Σύφακα. καὶ δὲ ἰδὼν αὐτὸν δεδεμένον οὐκ ἦνεγκεν, ἄλλα τὸς παρ’ αὐτῷ μνημονεύσας ξενίας καὶ τὰ ἀνθρώπεια ἀναλογισάμενος, ἀνεπ’-
BOOK XVII

The Romans came to Scipio bringing Syphax himself along with many spoils. Scipio could not endure to see him remain bound, but calling to mind his own entertainment at the other's court, and reflecting on the instability of human affairs,—on the fact that the captive whom he now beheld in so pitiable a plight

examined. So the conspirators were apprehended in season and punished. Scipio again made a campaign against Carthage, and was engaged in devastating the country; (13) Syphax, meanwhile, was waging war upon the followers of Laelius and held out for some time, but eventually the Romans prevailed, slaughtered many, took many alive, and captured Syphax. They also acquired possession of Cirta, his palace, without a contest, by displaying to its defenders their king, now a prisoner.

Now Sophonisba also was at this place. Masinissa at once rushed towards her, and embracing her, said: "I have Syphax, who stole you away. I have you also. But fear not: you have not become a captive, since you have in me an ally." With these words he married her on the spot, thus anticipating any action on the part of the Romans, out of fear that he might somehow lose her, if she were reckoned among the spoil. Then they gained control of the rest of the cities of Syphax also. And they brought to Scipio along with the various spoils Syphax himself. Scipio could not endure to see him remain bound, but calling to mind his own entertainment at the other's court, and reflecting on the un-
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

dynamews ou sýmkræs kai otì áxiospouðasaton
kai èautò phrenòmenon éora totè oiktrow oswtos
èchonta, anepthdPOSE mev èk tòu dfygon kai élwsè
tè autòn kai èdexiwswato kai èn theraPia polÌh
ýge. — V. 50 (p. 606).

Zonaras 9, 13.

dhsev èk tòu dfygon élwse te autòn kai ëdeksi-
wswato kai èntímos Ýge. kai pote Ýretò "tì sou
dòxin epolewmiax Ùmìn," ò de èautòn te sofìws
èxthwato ìma kai tòw Masiwswan Ùmynato,
eiPton aitìan autì w ònwn Sofowída geneSAI. tò
gar patrí tòv 'AsoDróBha xarizomènìn kataðήSAI
autòn mavganwías, òste kai akonta tà tòw
Karxhdoniùw prèxai. "allì òti ùpò gwnwíkòs
hpàtmpanì, aìzìan edwka diìhì ìxhò ò ouv tì èn
kakoì paraPw bíon, òti ò Masiwswas autìn
èghme: pàntwos gar kai èkeiùn ómowòs diwslései."
'Ò de ScePíwn ùpopeúswas tàûta perì tòw
Masiwswou, èkàlèse te autòn kai ìtìsastato, òti
gwnwika pòleíman kai ìxhmàloton ànèw tòn
autò gwnòmìs ouwò tacheòs èghme, kai para-
dòunai toûs 'Rwmaiòs autìn èKlewrwew. ò de
perorlaghìas mèn, èspthèshas ò de èis tòn skhnìn
èph òn Sofowídi "èi mèn oìòs tì òn tò èautò
thànàtor èleuvhëán vùlaxai se kai ànwbrwstò, 
prodhìmòs òn sou ùperapèðanw èpì ò de toûto
àdòwatan, proßemwto se ènÒhà kàwò kai ðpantè
dèvòmìtha." kai tàûta eìpwon ìaròmakoì autìn
òrèxen. ò de ouv' ànwlofùrato ouv' èstènaxen,
ìllà kai pàntu gwnwíwos "èi tòtò sòi," èphì, "àner,
254 1 ouwos Val., ou Ms.
BOOK XVII

had been king of a very considerable realm and one
whose friendship he himself had found worth while
cultivating,—he leaped up from his chair, loosed
him, embraced him, and treated him with great
respect.

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

Scipio, feeling suspicious about this action of
Masinissa, called him and censured him for having
so speedily married without his consent a woman
taken captive from the enemy, and he bade him
give her up to the Romans. Masinissa was greatly
grieved, and rushing into the tent where Sophonisba
was, cried out to her: "If I might by my own death
have ensured you liberty and freedom from outrage,
I would cheerfully have died for you; but since this
is impossible, I send you before me whither I and
all shall go." With these words he offered her
poison. And she uttered neither lament nor moan,
but very nobly replied: "Husband, if this is
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

77 Πλείστοι οὐσὶν ἐστρατεύσαντο, ὡς που πολλὰ ἐκουσίως πολλοὶ ὄντι σύνευξιν ἀν ἄναγκαζόμενοι δράσειαν ποιοῦσιν. τὸ μὲν γὰρ προστατοῦμεν· σφίζεις καὶ βίαιον δυσχεραινοῦσιν, τὸ δὲ αὐθαίρετον ὡς καὶ αὐτοκράτορες ἄγαπῶσιν.—V. 51 (p. 609).

74 "Ὅτι ἐπικηρυκευσάμενοι οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι τῷ Σκιπίωνι, τῶν τε ἐπιταχθέντων σφίζων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ οὐδὲν ὅτι οὐχ ὑποσχόμενοι, οἷα μηδὲν αὐτῶν πράξεως μέλλοντες, χρήματα μὲν αὐτῷ εὐθὺς ἐδοσαν καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους πάντας ἀπέδωκαν,

Zonaras 9, 13.

δοκεῖ, κἀγὼ πείθομαι· τῆς γὰρ ψυχῆς μου μετὰ σὲ οὕδες ἄλλος κυριεύσει· εἰ δὲ τοῦ σώματος μου Σκιπίων δεῖται, νεκρὸν αὐτὸ λαβέτοι." καὶ ἡ μὲν οὕτως ἀπέθανε, Σκιπίων δὲ τὸ ἑργὸν ἑθαύμασεν.

Οἱ δὲ ἐν τῇ Ρώμη, τοῦ Δαιλίου τῶν Σύφακα καὶ τῶν νὶν ἔκεινον Οὐρεμίναν ἀγαγόντος ἐκεῖ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων των τῶν πρώτων, τὸν μὲν Σύφακα εἰς τὴν Ἀλβαν κατέδεικτο καὶ τελευτήσατα δημοσίᾳ ἔθαψαν, τῷ δὲ Οὐρεμίνα τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπεκύρωσαν καὶ τοὺς ωγηρθέντας Νομάδας ἐχαρίσαντο.

Οἱ δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι περὶ σπουδῶν ἐπικηρυκευσάμενοι τῷ Σκιπίωνι χρήματα τε εὐθὺς ἐδοσαν καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους πάντας ἀπέδωκαν καὶ ὑμέρ

1 ἀν inserted by Rk. 2 αὐτῶν Rk., αὐτῷ Mss. 3 πράξεως Naber, παρέξεως Mss. 4 ἐδοσαν Reim., ἐδοσαν Mss.

256
BOOK XVII

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

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

Zonaras 9, 13.

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

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

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

¹ Macchioro (Klio 10, p. 359), comparing Livy 30, 3, 1, believes this refers to the general eagerness shown at the beginning of the year 203 to aid Scipio in Africa. While there are some objections to this view, it seems more probable than that of Boisseyvain, who refers the fragment to the expedition of Sulpicius Galba against Macedonia in 200.
DIO’S ROMAN HISTORY

υπὲρ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἐς τὴν Ἑρώμην ἐπροσβεβές-

σαντο. καὶ αὐτοῦς ἐκεῖνοι τότε οὐ προσεδέξαντο,

λέγουτε οὐκ εἶναι σφίσι πάτριον στρατοπέδων

τισιν ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ δυτικῶν υπὲρ εἰρήνης χρη-

ματίζειν. ύστερον δὲ ἀπάραντος τοῦ τε Ἀννίβου

καὶ τοῦ Μάγωνος λόγον αὐτοῖς ἔδωσαν, καὶ ἤλθον

μὲν ἐς ἀμφισβήτησιν πρὸς ἄλληλους, ἐπὶ ἀμ-

φότερα ταῖς γνώμαις γενόμενοι, τέλος δὲ ἐψηφι-

σαντο τάς σπονδάς ἐφ’ οἷς ὁ Σκιπίων συνετέθειτο.

—U 7 (p. 380).

75 Ὁτι οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι τῷ Σκιπίωνι ἐπέθεντο καὶ

κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν. τοῦ δὲ Σκιπίωνος

Zonaras 9, 13.

tῶν λοιπῶν προσβείαν εἰς τὴν Ἑρώμην ἀπέ-

στειλαν. τοὺς δὲ γε προσβείς οἱ Ἐρωμαῖοι τότε οὐ

προσεδέξαντο, λέγουτε οὐκ εἶναι πάτριον σφίσι

στρατοπέδων ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ δυτικῶν τισὶ προσβείαν

προσέσθαι εἰς αὐτῶν καὶ χρηματίζειν υπὲρ εἰρήνης.

ὑστερον δὲ, ἀπάραντος τοῦ τε Ἀννίβου καὶ τοῦ

Μάγωνος, λόγον σφίσι μετέδωκαν καὶ ἐψηφίσαντο

tάς σπονδάς. ἐξεχώρησαν δὲ τῆς Ἰταλίας ὡς τοῦ

Ἀννίβας καὶ τοῦ Μάγωνος οὐ διὰ τὴν σύμβασιν, ἄλλα

πρὸς τὸν οὐκ ἔπεμμον ἐπενεγόμενοι.

Οἱ δ’ ἐν τῇ Διβύθει Καρχηδόνιοι οὔδε πρότερον

εἰρηναιόν τι φρονοῦντες, καὶ περὶ σπονδῶν ἐπὶ τῇ

τοῦ χρόνου τριβή διὰ τὴν τοῦ Ἀννίβου παρουσίαν

ἐπικηρυκευόμενοι, ὡς τὸν Ἀννίβαν πλησιάζοντα

ἐμαθον, ἀνεθάρσησαν, καὶ ἐπέθεντο τῷ Σκιπίωνι

κατὰ γῆν τε καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν. κάκεινον περὶ

1 ἔδωσαν Bs., ἔδωσαν Mss. 2 συνετέθειτο Bk., συνετέθετο Mss.

258
regard to the other matters they sent envoys to Rome. The Romans would not receive them at that time, declaring that it was a tradition with them not to discuss peace with any people while their armies were in Italy. But later, when Hannibal and Mago had departed, they granted the envoys an audience and fell into a dispute among themselves, being of two minds. At last, however they voted for peace on the terms that Scipio had arranged.

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

Zonaras 9, 13.
remaining matters they sent an embassy to Rome. However, the Romans would not receive the envoys at that time, declaring that it was a tradition with them not to admit an embassy from any people or to discuss peace while their armies were in Italy. Later, when Hannibal and Mago had departed, they accorded the envoys an audience and voted for peace. Yet Hannibal and Mago left Italy, not in the interest of the treaty, but through haste to reach the scene of war at home.

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

ἀγανακτήσαντος ἐπὶ τούτῳ καὶ ἑγκλήμα ποιησα-μένου οὐτὲ τι μέτριον τὸς πρέσβεσιν ἀπεκρίναντο, καὶ προσέτει καὶ ἐπεβούλευσαν αὐτοὺς ἀποπλεύ-σασιν· καὶ εἰ γε μὴ ἀνεμός σφισυ κατὰ τύχην ἑπταγενόμενος ἐβοήθησεν, ἐᾶλωσαν¹ ἃν ἡ ἀπώ-λυτο. καὶ διὰ τούτῳ ὁ Σκιπίων, καίπερ ἐπελ-θόντων ἐν τούτῳ τῶν τὴν εἰρήνην αὐτοὺς φερόντων, οὐκέτα αὐτὴν ἐποίησατο.—Ὁ 8 (p. 380).

Zonaras 9, 13–14.

tούτου αὐτοῖς ἔγκαλεσαντος, οὐτὲ μέτριον τι τοῖς πρέσβεσιν ἀπεκρίναντο καὶ ἐπεβούλευσαν αὐτοῖς ἀποπλεύσασι· καὶ εἰ μὴ πνεῦμα τυχαῖος συμβᾶν αὐτοῖς ἐβοήθησεν, ἀπώλυτο ἃν. οὖν καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων ἐν τούτῳ τῆς ψῆφου τῆς περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης κομισθείσης οὐκέτι αὐτὴν ἐποίησατο. οἱ οὖν Καρχηδόνιοι τὸν μὲν Μάγονα εἰς τὴν 'Ιταλίαν ἀνέπεμψαν, τὸν δ' Ἀννίβαν αὐτοκράτορα στρατη-γὸν ἀπέδειξαν, τὸν Ῥωμουν τῆς ἀρχῆς παύσαντες. τὸν δ' Ἀσδρούβαν καὶ ἀποκτείνατε ἐψηφίσαντο, φαρμάκῳ δὲ ἐκουσίοις φθαρέντα καὶ νεκρῶν ἰκά-σαντο. Ἀννίβας μὲν οὖν πᾶσαν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν λαβὼν ἐς τὴν Μασινίσσου χώραν ἐνέβαλε καὶ ἐκάκον αὐτὴν καὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους μαχαίρασθαι ἄτοι-μάζετο· αὐθητοιμάζοντο δὲ καὶ οἱ τοῦ Σκιπίωνος.

14. Οἱ δ' ἐν τῇ 'Ρώμῃ μετεμέλοντο ὅτι μὴ ἐκώλυσαν τὸν Ἀμοῖνα ἐπιλεύσασι· ὡς μέντοι τα ἐν τῇ Λιβύη συγκροτοῦντα αὐτὸν ἐμαθοῦν, οὐ μετρίως αὕτης εἴδολεσαν· διὸ καὶ Κλαύδιον μὲν Νέρωνα τὸν ἑτερον τῶν ὕπατων ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐπεμ-

¹ ἐᾶλωσαν Bs., ἠλῶσαν Mss.

260
BOOK XVII

a complaint, they returned no respectful answer to his envoys and moreover actually plotted against them when they sailed back; and had not a wind by chance sprung up and aided them, they would have been captured or would have perished. Consequently Scipio, although the commissioners arrived with peace for the Carthaginians at this juncture, refused any longer to make it.

Zonaras 9, 13–14.

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

14. The people of Rome were regretting that they had not prevented Hannibal from sailing home, and when they learned that he was consolidating the opposition in Africa, they were again greatly terrified. Accordingly, they sent Claudius Nero, one of the
ψαν, Μάρκω δε Σερουιλίῳ τὴν τῆς Ἰταλίας φυλακὴν προσεκλήρωσαν. ἄλλον οὖς ἡσυχήθη ὁ Νέρων εἰς τὴν Διβύνην ἔλθειν, ὑπὸ χειμῶνος ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ χρονίσας καὶ ἐν Σαρδοὶ. εἶτα οὖδὲ περαιτέρω τῆς Σικελίας ἔχορσε, κεκρατηκότα μαθῶν τὸν Σκιπίωνα. ο γὰρ Σκιπίων, δείσας μὴ ἐπεικισθείς ὁ Νέρων τῶν αὐτοῦ πόλων τὴν εὐκλείαν σφατερίσθηται, τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ ἐπιλάμψαντος ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀννίβαν ἔχωρσε, μαθῶν ὅτι τῶν Μασινίσσων ἐνίκησε. καὶ ο Ἀννίβας ὁς ἀθέτησε προσύνοντα τὸν Σκιπίωνα, προσόντησεν αὐτῷ. καὶ ἀντι-στρατοπεδεύσαμεν οὐκ εὔθυς εἰς χεῖρας ἤλθον, συχνὰς δ' ἡμέρας διέτριψαν, καὶ ἐκαστὸς τῷ οἴκειῳ διειλέχθη στρατεύματι καὶ πρὸς τὴν μάχην αὐτὸ παρεθάρρυνεν.

'Ως δ' ἐδοξεῖ τῷ Σκιπίωνι μὴ διατρίβειν ἔτι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀκομὰ τὸν Ἀννίβαν εἰς τὸν ἀγώνα προσαγαγεῖν, ἐπὶ τὴν Οὐτικῆν ὄρμησαν, ὡς δεδείην καὶ φεύγειν δόξας σχοῖνα καίρον ἐπιθέσεως· ο καὶ ἐγένετο. ο γὰρ Ἀννίβας φεύγειν αὐτῶν οὐθεὶς καὶ ἐπὶ πλέον ἐντεύθεν θαρσῆς ἐπεδίωξε μόνοις τοῖς ἰππεύσι. καὶ ο Σκιπίων ἀντέστη τε αὐτοῖς παρὰ δόξαν καὶ συμβαλὼν ἐνίκησε. τρέψας δ' αὐτοὺς οὐκ ἐπὶ τὸ διώ-κειν σφᾶς, ἀλλὰ ἐπὶ τὰ σκευοφόρα αὐτῶν καθ' ὅδον τυγχάνοντα ὄρμησε, καὶ πάντα συνέ-λαβε. ταύτα τὸν Ἀννίβαν ἐτάραξε, καὶ ἔτι ὅτι κατασκόπους αὐτοῦ τρεῖς ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ο Σκιπίων εὐρὼν οὐδὲν δεινὸν αὐτοῖς πεποίηκεν. μαθῶν γὰρ παρ' ἐνός αὐτῶν ὁ Ἀννίβας τὸ πεπραγμένον (οί γὰρ δύο παρὰ τοῖς Ρωμαίοις

263
BOOK XVII

Zonaras 9, 14.

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

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

80b Ἐνθυμεῖται καὶ λογιζόμενοι. οὕτω Διὸν ἐν ἸASON.

Ρωμαϊκῶν.—Suidas, Lex. Seguer., and Zon. Lex. s.v. Ἐνθυμεῖται.

Zonaras 9, 14.

μεῖναι ἥθελησαν), κατεπλάγη, καὶ διακινδυνεῦσαι οὐκέτι θαρρήσας σπείρασθαι ὅτι τάχιστα ἔγνω, ἵν' εἰ μὴ τούτο συμβαίη, τριβήν τέως τινὰ πορίσται καὶ διακωχῆν. πέμψας οὖν πρὸς τὸν Μασινίσσαν, δὴ ἐκείνου ὡς ὀμοφύλου τὰς σπουδὰς ἠτησε. καὶ ἤλθε μὲν ἐς λόγους τῷ Σκιπίωνι, ἔπραξε δὲ οὖν. ὁ γὰρ Σκιπίων οὔτε τραχύ οὔτε τι σαφὲς ἀπεκρίνατο, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν ὅλον ἐμέσευσεν, ἐπιεικέστερον δ' ὅμως διειλέχθη, ὅπως αὐτὸν ὡς καὶ σπεισόμενος εἰς ἀμέλειαν προαγάγῃ. δ' καὶ συμβέβηκε. μάχης μὲν γὰρ πέρι οὖν ὁ Ἀννίβας ἑννόησε, μεταστρατοπεδεύσασθαι δὲ εἰς χωρίον ἐπιτηδειότερον. τῇ ἥθελησεν. ἐξ αὐτομόλων δὲ τούτῳ μαθῶν ὁ Σκιπίων προεξάνεσθη νυκτὸς καὶ κατέσχε τὸν τόπον εἰς δυν ἐκεῖνος ἦπεργο. ἐν χωρίῳ δὲ τινὶ κοιλῷ καὶ ἀνεπιτιθείφ πρὸς στρατοπεδεύσων γενομένοις τοῖς Καρχηδονίῳ ἐπεφάνη αἰφνίδιον. δ' ὁ Ἀννίβας συμβάλειν οὐκ ἥθελησε, στρατοπεδεύσων δ' ἐκεῖ καὶ φρεσκίας ἐταλαιπώρησε διὰ πάσης τῆς νυκτὸς. καὶ οὕτως κακῶς αὐτοῦς ἔχοντας ὑπὸ καμάτου καὶ δέψῃς κατηγόκασε καὶ ἀκοπῆς ὁ Σκιπίων συμμέβαι αὐτῷ.

Συνέβαλλον οὖν οἱ μὲν Ῥωμαιοὶ συντεταγμένοι καὶ πρόθυμοι, Ἀννίβας δὲ καὶ οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι

264
BOOK XVII

ἐνθυμιζόμενοι = calculating. So Dio, Roman History,

XVII.1

Zonaras 9, 14.

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

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

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

Zonaras 9, 14.

ἀπρόθυμοί τε καὶ καταπεπληγμένοι καὶ δι' ἑτερα καὶ ὅτι καὶ ὁ ἤλιος σύμπας ἐξέλιπτεν. ἐκ γὰρ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ τοῦτο οὐκ αἰσίον τι προμηνύειν σφίσιν ὁ Ἀννίβας ὑπώπτευσεν. οὔτω δ' ἔχοντες τοὺς ἐλέφαντας ἐαυτῶν προεβάλοντο. καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι μέγα ἐξαίφνης καὶ ἑκπληκτικὸν ἁνεβόησαν, καὶ τὰς ἀσπίδας τοῖς δόρασι κρουσάντες θυμὸ καὶ δρόμῳ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας ὥρμησαν. ὥστε δὲν παραχθέντες ἐκεῖνοι οἱ μὲν πλείους οὐκ ἐδέξαντο σφιᾷ, ἀλλ' ἀπετράποντο καὶ τιτρωσκόμενοι μείζω τοῖς ἐπιτεταγμένοις ἐνεποίουν τὸν θόρυβον. οἱ δὲ καὶ ὁμόσε σφιᾷ χωρήσαντες, τῶν Ῥωμαίων δισσαμένων, διὰ μέσον αὐτῶν διεξέτρεχον, καὶ παριόντες ἐβάλλοντό τε καὶ ἐκ χειρὸς ἐτιπρώσκοντο. καὶ ἐπὶ τινα μὲν χρόνων ἀντέχοντο οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι, ἐπείτα τοῦ Μασινίσσου καὶ τοῦ Δαίλιου τοῖς ἱππεύσαν κατὰ νότον προσπεσόντων αὐτοῖς, πάντες ἔφυγον. οἱ δὲ πλείους ἐφαράρθησαν, καὶ ὁ Ἀννίβας μικρὸν ἄν ἀπώλετο. φεύγοντα γὰρ αὐτὸν ὁ Μασινίσσας ἐπεδίωκεν ἀκρατῶς τῇ τοῦ ἱπποῦ ῥύμῃ ὑπενδίδοις. μεταστραφέεσ δ' ὁ Ἀννίβας, καὶ ἵδιὼν αὐτὸν οὔτω διώκοντα, ἢρέμα ἐξέκλινε καὶ τὸν δρόμον ἐπέστησε, καὶ οὔτω παρελάσαντα τὸν Μασινίσσαν κατὰ νότου γενόμενος ἔτρωσε· κακὸ τοῦτο μετ' ὀλίγων ἐξέφυγε.
BOOK XVII

Dio, Book XVII. "He suddenly checked his course."

Zonaras 9, 14.

Ginians listless and dejected. This was owing in part to a total eclipse of the sun; for in view of the other circumstances, Hannibal suspected that this, too, augured nothing auspicious for them. In this frame of mind they stationed the elephants in front of them as a protection. Suddenly the Romans uttered a great and terrible shout, and smiting their spears against their shields, rushed furiously against the elephants. Thrown into a panic by their charge, most of the beasts did not await their coming, but turned to flight, and receiving frequent wounds caused still greater confusion among those stationed beside them. But some of the beasts charged the Romans, whereupon the latter would stand apart so that they ran through the spaces between the ranks, getting struck with missiles and wounded from close at hand as they passed along. For a time the Carthaginians resisted, but at length, when Masinissa and Laelius fell upon them from the rear with the horsemen, they all fled. The majority of them were destroyed, and Hannibal came very near losing his life. For as he fled, Masinissa pursued him at breakneck speed, giving his horse a free rein. But Hannibal turned, and seeing him thus pursuing, swerved aside slightly and checked his course; thus Masinissa rushed by, and Hannibal got in his rear and wounded him. Thus he made his escape with a few followers.

267
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

79 Δίων ἐν 'Ρωμαϊκών ἡς "πέφυκε γάρ καὶ ἄλλως ὡς πλήθει τὸ μὲν εὐτυχοὺς θρασύνεσθαι, τὸ δὲ κακοπραγοὺς μετριάζειν, κὰκ τούτον τὸ μὲν δεδομὸς σωφρονεῖν, τὸ δὲ θαρσοῦν ἀκολασταίνειν. ἐπὶ πλέον δὲ ἐν ἐκεῖνῳ τοῦτ’ ἐφωράθη."—Suidas s.v. ὡς ἐπίπαν, Lex. Seguer. (Bachm. Anecd. Graec. 1, 422.)

80 Δίων ἐν 'Ρωμαϊκών ἡς "καὶ τὸς λόγος περὶ αὐτῶν1 τοιόσοδε ἐδημώθη."—Suidas, Etym. Mag., and Lex. Seguer s.v. ἐδημώθη.

82 "Ὅτι διεκηρυκεύσαντο οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι τῷ Σκιπίωνι. ἦν δὲ τὰ διωμολογημένα ὀμήρους τέ σφας δοῦναι, καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους τοὺς τε αὐτομόλους οὓς ἦτοι τῶν 'Ρωμαίων ἢ τῶν συμμάχων σφῶν2 εἰχον ἀποδοῦναι, καὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας πάντας καὶ τὰς τριήρεις πλὴν δέκα παραδοῦναι, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν

Zonaras 9, 14.

Σκιπίων δὲ νικήσας ἐπὶ τὴν Καρχηδόνα ἦπει-χθη, καὶ ἐπολόρκει αὐτὴν ἕκ γῆς ἁμα καὶ θαλάσσης. οἱ δ' οὖν Καρχηδόνιοι πρώτοι μὲν ὡς τὴν πολιορκίαν καρτερίσαντες ἠτομαξοῦντο, ἔπειτα ἐξαπορηθέντες πρὸς τὸν Σκιπίωνα διε-κηρυκεύσαντο. καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων τοὺς λόγους σφῶν προσεδέξατο καὶ περὶ τῶν συνθηκῶν διειλέχθη αὐτοῖς. ἦν δὲ τὰ ὁμωλογημένα ὀμήρουςτε παρὰ τῶν Καρχηδόνων καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους καὶ τοὺς αὐτομόλους δοθήναι, καὶ πάντας μὲν τοὺς ἐλέ- φαντας, τὰς δὲ τριήρεις πλὴν δέκα παρασχεθήναι,
BOOK XVII

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

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

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

Zonaras 9, 14.

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

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

269
 Dio's Roman History

μὴ κεκτήσθαι μήτε ἐλέφαντας μήτε ναῦς, καὶ τῷ Μασινίσσα πάντων ὁν εἶχον αὐτοῦ ἀποστήναι καὶ ἐκείνῳ δοῦναι, τὴν τε χώραν καὶ τὰς πόλεις τὰς ἐν τῇ ἐπικρατείᾳ αὐτοῦ οὐσίας ἀφείναι, καὶ μήτε καταλόγους ποιεῖσθαι μήτε μισθοφόρους χρησθαι μήτε πόλεμον πρὸς μηδένα παρὰ τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων γνώμην ἀναίρεισθαι.—U 9 (p. 380) and (in part) Suidas s.v. ἀναίρεισθείς.

59 Ὅτι ἡ Καρχηδόν πολλοῖς Ῥωμαίων ἐξαιρετέα ἔδοκει εἶναι, καὶ Κορνηλίῳ ὑπάτῳ, καὶ ἔλεγεν ὅτι ἀδύνατόν ἐστι συνεστώσης αὐτῆς ἀδεεῖς σφᾶς εἶναι.—U 10 lp. 381) = Suidas s.v. ἕξαιρετεα.

57, 83 . . . ἐν1 μέντοι τῷ δῆμῳ . . . πάντες τὴν εἰρήνην ὀμοθυμαδὸν ἐψηφίσαντο. ἄ γὰρ ἐπεπόνθεσαν λογισάμενοι . . . αὐτῶν ἡμέλλον π . . . κινδύνων.

Zonaras 9, 14.

καὶ τὸν λοιπὸν μήτε ἐλέφαντας μήτε ναῦς μακρὰς πλείους ἐχειν τῶν δέκα μήτε πόλεμον παρὰ τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων γνώμην πρὸς μηδένα ποιεῖσθαι, καὶ τῶν ἐστα.

Τοιούτων δὲ γενομένων τῶν ὀμολογίων πρέσβεις οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι ἐπὶ Ῥώμην ἔσταλκασι. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀπῆλθον, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἡ γερουσία τὴν πρεσβείαν ἐκεῖνας ἐδέξατο, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πολὺ ἡμιφιλεῖσθαι ἀλλήλοις ἐναντιοῦμενοι. ὁ δὲ δήμος τὴν εἰρήνην ὀμοθυμαδὸν ἐψηφίσατο, καὶ

1 The only continuous portions of the following four fragments have been largely supplied by Haase, Bs., and others. Cf. note on p. 238. The longer gaps, indicated here by three 270
neither elephants nor ships, should withdraw from all the possessions of Masinissa that they were holding and give them up to him, and restore to him the country and the cities that were in his domain, that they should not hold levies, nor employ mercenaries, nor undertake war against anyone without the consent of the Romans.

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

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

Zonaras 9, 14.
delivered over, and that in the future they should not keep elephants nor more ships of war than ten, nor make war upon anyone without the consent of the Romans, and a few other points.

When an agreement of this nature had been reached, the Carthaginians sent ambassadors to Rome. So these went their way, but the senate did not receive the embassy readily; indeed, the members disputed for a long time, being disagreed among themselves. The popular assembly, however, unanimously voted for peace and accepted the terms;

dots, are usually from 24 to 31 letters in length, the shorter gaps from 1 to 4 letters.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

tε ταλ... των πραγμάτων... ἐδικαίωσαν· ὦ... τες καὶ ἐκεῖνα... τ. ἐκ μεγάλων... α. α. ε. ν οἱ δὲ δ... ντες ἐπτ... 84 Καὶ τῶν ἐλεφάντων οἱ μὲν πλείους ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀπῆχθησαν, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ τῷ Μασινίσσα ἐδωρήθησαν... Καρχηδόνιων... τοῖς Λιβύην... δὲ ὁ πρεσβεύς... συμβαλεῖν τοῖς... ἐπέ- τρεψαν καὶ ὁ... ἠγαν τῷ Σκιπίωνι... μετὰ τὴν σύμβασιν... τὴν τε φιλίαν κ... βαίωσαν... καὶ τ... νὴν ἐχαρίσαντο... 86... αἰχμαλώτους... εἰς Τερέντιον εἰς... βου- λῆς ὁι πιλον... καὶ ὁς τινα... ἀκολουθῆσαι. Σκιπίων μὲν οὖν μέγας ἐκ τοῦτων ἔρετο, 'Αννιβάς

Zonaras 9, 14.

τὰς ὁμολογίας ἐδέξαντο, καὶ ἐπεμψαν δέκα ἄνδρας, Ἰνα μετὰ τοῦ Σκιπίωνος ἀπαντα διουκήσωσι... καὶ αἱ συμβάσεις εὑράχθησαν, καὶ αἱ τριήρεις ἐδώ- θησαν καὶ ἐκαύθησαν, καὶ τῶν ἐλεφάντων οἱ μὲν πλείους· εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀπῆχθησαν, τῷ Μασι- νίσσα δὲ οἱ λοιποὶ ἐδωρήθησαν. καὶ Ῥωμαίοι μὲν τὴν Λιβύην ἐξέλιπον, τὴν δ' Ἰταλίαν οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι.

'Ὁ μὲν οὖν δεύτερος πόλεμος τῶν Καρχηδόνιων ἔτει ἐκκαιδεκάτῳ εἰς τοῦτο κατήγνησε· καὶ ὑπεδείχθην ὁ Σκιπίων λελάμπρωστο καὶ Ῥερικάρθος ἐπε- κέκλητο. Ῥερική γὰρ ἤδη τὸν περὶ Καρχηδόνα Λιβύην ὁμόμαστο· πολλοῖς δὲ καὶ ἐλευθερωθῇς προσηγόρευτο, πολλοὺς πόλεις κομίσας αἰχμα- λώτους. καὶ ὁ μὲν μέγας ἐκ τοῦτων ἔρετο.
BOOK XVII

to... dangers and other... affairs... punished;... and those... from great...

And of the elephants the larger number were carried off to Rome, and the rest were presented to Masinissa... of Carthaginians... and Africa... embas... engage with the... permitted; and... Scipio... after the treaty... and friendship... established; and... favoured...

... captives... Terentius one... being of the senate,... cap... and thus one... to follow.

Scipio, accordingly, attained great prominence by these deeds, but Hannibal was even brought to

Zonaras 9, 14.

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

The second war, then, with the Carthaginians resulted in this way at the end of sixteen years. By it Scipio had been made illustrious, and he was given the title of Africanus (Africa was the name of that part of Libya surrounding Carthage), and many also called him Liberator because he had brought back many captive citizens. He, then, attained great prominence by these deeds; but Hannibal

VOL. II.

273
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

dè kai ès díkhn pàrà tois oikeíous ἧχθη, kai òs tìn te Ἄρωμην δυνηθεὶς λαβεῖν kai μὴ ἑθελήσας kai tìn λείαν tìn ek tís Ἰταλίας σφετερισάμενος κατηγορήθη. οὐ μέντοι kai ἔαλω, ἀλλὰ kai tìn μεγίστην tòn Καρχηδονίων ἀρχὴν οὐκ ἐσ μακρὰν ἐπετράπη. . . τα μεν ἐπὶ τε . . . ὑπάτων γε . . . τῇ Σικελίᾳ βε .

76 . . . νῦν Μᾶρκος . . . πον πεμφθεὶς . . . ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν . . . παρ' αὐτῶν ἥ . . . ὀρθώσε πρεσ . . . τοῦ Φιλίππου καὶ . . . τέ τινα διν αὐτὸς . . . Καρχηδονίως ἐπετάμφη . . . ντος οὐδὲν εἰρή . . . ν κεκρατηκότες . . . πολέμους τῷ μὲν . . . ε ἰδὴ δόξη οὐδὲν σμι . . . κροτέρους κατέστησαν.—Π. 3 (p. 462 sq.).

Zonaras 9, 14–15.

'Αννίβας δὲ κατηγόρητο παρὰ τοῖς οἴκείοις ὡς τὴν τε Ἄρωμην λαβεῖν δυνηθεὶς καὶ μὴ θελήσας καὶ τὴν λείαν τὴν ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας σφετερισάμενος. οὐ μὴ καὶ ἔαλω, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν μεγίστην τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἀρχὴν οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ἐπετράπη.

15. Εἰς ἐτέρους δ' αὖθις πολέμους οἱ Ἄρωμαιοι κατέστησαν, γενομένους πρὸς Φιλίππον τε τῶν Μακεδόνα καὶ τῶν Ἀντίοχον.
BOOK XVII

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

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

Zonaras 9, 14–15.

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

15. The Romans now became involved in other wars, which were waged against Philip the Macedonian and against Antiochus.
FRAGMENTS OF BOOK XVIII

Zonaras 9, 15.

Μέχρι γάρ ἐπὶ πός Καρχηδονίους ἠκμαζὲ μάχη, καὶ μὴ φίλια σφίζει τὰ περὶ τὸν Φιλίππου ἦν, ἐθεράπευσιν αὐτὸν, ἵνα μὴ τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις συνάροιτο ἢ ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν στρατεύσιν· ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ κατ’ ἐκείνους ἥρμησαν, οὐκὲτ’ ἐμέλλειςαν, ἀλλ’ ἐσ πόλεμου αὐτῷ κατέστησαν φαινόν, πολλὰ ἐγκαλοῦντες αὐτῷ. πρέσβεις οὖν οἱ Ρωμαῖοι πρὸς αὐτὸν πέμψαντες, ἐπεὶ μηδὲν ὃν ἐπετάττετο ἔπραττε, τὸν πόλεμον ἐψηφίσαντο, χρώμενοι μὲν τῇ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐπιβασιά λαβῆ, τὸ δ’ ἄλλης ἀγανακτόντως ἐφ’ οἶς ἐδεδράκει, καὶ προκαταλαμβάνοντες αὐτόν, ἵνα μὴ καταδούλωσάμενος ἐκεῖνος ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν στρατεύσῃ κατὰ τὸν Πύρρον. ψηφίσαμεν δὲ τὸν πόλεμον τά τε ἀλλα παρεσκευάσαντο εὖ καὶ στρατηγὸν ἐπὶ τῷ ναυτικῷ Δούκιον Ἀπούστιον Σουλπικίῳ Γάλβα δεδώκασι. καὶ ο Γάλβας τῶν Ἰώνιον κόλπων διαβαλὼν ἐπὶ πολὺ ἐνώσησε. παραλαβόντες οὖν τὴν δύναμιν πᾶσαν ὃ τε ῥηθεὶς στρατηγὸς καὶ Κλαύδιος Κέντων ὁ ύποστράτηγος, αὐτὸς μὲν τῷ ναυτικῷ τὰς Ἀθηναῖας ὑπὸ τῶν Μακεδώνων πολιορκουμένας ἐρρύσατο καὶ Χαλκίδα κατεχομένην ὑπ’ αὐτῶν ἐπόρθησε, κἂν τούτῳ Φιλίππου ταῖς Ἀθηναίαις ἐπιστρατεύσαντος ἐπανελθὼν τότε αὐτῶν ἀπεώσατο καὶ μετὰ τούτο αὖθις προσβα- 276

1 διαβαλῶν Haase, διαλαβῶν Mss.
FRAGMENTS OF BOOK XVIII

Zonaras 9, 15.

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

58. ... 1 καὶ διέτριψαν συχνὰς ἡμέρας, ἐς μὲν παρατάξαν μὴ συνιόντες, ἀκροβολισμοῖς δὲ τισι καὶ πείρασι τῶν τε ψιλῶν καὶ τῶν ἱππέων

Zonaras 9, 15.

λόγων ἀπεκρούσατο, Ἀπούστιος δ' ἐς τὴν Μακεδονίαν, ἀσχόλου περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα τοῦ Φιλίππου ὄντος, ἐμβαλὼν τὴν τε γῆν ἐληίζετο καὶ φρούρια καὶ πόλεις ἐχειρώσατο. Φίλιππος δὲ διὰ ταῦτα ἐν ἀμηχανία γενόμενος τέως μὲν ἄνω καὶ κάτω περιέθει ἄλλοτε ἄλλοις ἄμυνων, ὡς δὲ ὁ Ἀπούστιος τῇ χώρᾳ αὐτοῦ ἱσχυρὸς ἐνέκειτο καὶ οἱ Δάρδανοι τὴν πρόσορον σφίσι Μακεδονίαν ἐκακοῦργον (οἰκούσι δ' οὖτοι ὑπέρ τε Ἰλλυρίων καὶ ὑπὲρ Μακεδόνων) Ἰλλυριοὶ τέ τινες καὶ Ἀμίνανδρος Ἀθαμανίας Θεσσαλικοῦ γένους βασιλεὺς ὄν, σύμμαχοι πρότερον ὄντες αὐτοῦ, πρὸς τοὺς Ρωμαίους μετέστησαν, ἐκ τούτου καὶ τὰ τῶν Αἰτωλῶν ὑπόπτευσαν καὶ περὶ τοὺς οἶκοι ἔδεισε καὶ ἐκεῖ μετὰ τοῦ πλείονος στρατεύματος ἐσπευσά.  γινοὺς δὲ τὴν πρόσοδον αὐτοῦ ὁ Ἀπούστιος ἀνεχώρησεν· ἦδη γὰρ καὶ χειμῶν ἦν.

Ῥαῖσας δ' ἐκ τῆς νόσου ὁ Γάλβας πλείω παρεσκευάσατο δύναμιν καὶ ἁμα ἔαρι εἰς τὴν Μακεδονίαν ἱππεύγετο. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐπλησίασαν ἀλλήλοις, ἀντεστρατοπεδεύσαντο, καὶ ἀκροβολισμοῖς ἔχρωντο τῶν ἱππέων καὶ τῶν ψιλῶν. μετατάντων δὲ

Tzetzes in Lycoth. Alex. 1128.

'Εγὼ δὲ τοὺς Δάρδανους ξύνοις εὑρον οἰκούντας υπέρ τε Ἰλλυρίων καὶ Μακεδόνων.

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

Zonaras 9, 15.

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

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

Tzetzes in Lycophr. Alex. 1128.

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

Text. In § 6 some of the letters and words supplied by B's. are here omitted.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

χρόμενοι. οί μὲν γὰρ Ῥωμαῖοι ἔπειγοντο ὅτι
tάχιστα συμβαλεῖν τῇ τε γὰρ δυνάμει ἔρρωντο καὶ
tροφὴν οὐ πολλὴν εἶχον, καὶ διὰ ταῦτα
πολλάκις καὶ πρὸς τὸ χαράκωμα σφών προσέ-
2 μοιγον. ὦ δὲ δὴ Φίλιππος τοῖς μὲν ὄπλοις ἀσθε-
νέστερος ὦν, τῇ δὲ παρασκευῇ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων
diα τὸ τὴν οἰκεῖαν οἱ ἔγγοι εἶναι προφέρων
ἀνείχεν, ἐκπροϊκότευσεν αὐτούς ἀμαχεὶ προσδοκήσασ.
καὶ εἴπερ ἐκεκρατήκει τῆς γρώμης, πάντως οὖν
tι εξείργαστο. νῦν δὲ καταφρονήσας τῶν Ῥωμαίων
ὡς φοβουμένων αὐτοῦ, ὦτι πρὸς χωρίον τι ὃθεν
ἐπισυνήσασθαι σφισι λῷον ἢν μετέστησαν, ἐπήλθε
τε αὐτοῖς ἀρπαγᾶς ποιομένους ἀπροσδόκητος
3 καὶ τινὰς καὶ διέφθειρεν. αἰσθόμενος δὲ τούτο ὁ
Γάλβας ἐπεξέδραμεν ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου, καὶ
προσπεσών αὐτῷ μὴ προσδεχομένῳ πολλῷ
πλείους ἄνταπέκτεινεν. ἡττηθεὶς τε καὶ προσέτι
καὶ τρωθεὶς οὐκέτι κατὰ χώραν ἔμεινεν, ἀλλ' ἡμέρας τινὰς πρὸς ἀναίρεσιν καὶ ταφὴν δὴ τῶν

Zonaras 9, 15.

τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἔσ τι χωρίον ὃθεν ῥᾶοι ἦν αὐτοῖς
ἐπισυνήσασθαι, νομίζασα ό Φίλιππος ὡς φοβου-
μένους αὐτῶν μεταστήναι, ἐπήλθεν αὐτοῖς ποιο-
μένους ἀρπαγᾶς ἀπροσδόκητος καὶ τινὰς διέφθειρε.
καὶ ὁ Γάλβας τούτο αἰσθόμενος ἐπεξέδραμεν ἐκ
τοῦ στρατοπέδου καὶ προσπεσῶν αὐτῷ πολλῷ
πλείους ἄνταπέκτεινεν. ὦ δὲ γε Φίλιππος ἡττηθεὶς
BOOK XVIII

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

Zonaras 9, 15.

and light-armed troops. But when the Romans transferred their camp to a certain place from which they could get food more easily, Philip thought they had shifted their position out of fear of him; therefore he attacked them unexpectedly while they were engaged in plundering and killed a few of them. Galba, on perceiving this, made a sortie from the camp, attacked him and slew many more in his turn. Philip, then, defeated and wounded, withdrew at

281
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

νεκρῶν σπεισάμενος ἐπείτα ὑπὸ τὴν πρώτην νύκτα 4 ἀπανέστη. οὐ μέντοι ὁ Γάλβας ἐπεδίωξεν αὐτῶν·
τῇ τῇ γὰρ ἀπορίᾳ τῶν τροφῶν καὶ τῇ ἀπειρίᾳ
τῶν χωρίων, τὸ δὲ δὴ πλεῖστον καὶ τῇ ἀγνωσίᾳ
τῆς παρασκευῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ δεῖ εἰ μὴ ἀπερισκέπτως
ποι προχωρῶν σφαλῇ, οὐκ ἦθελες περαιτέρω
προχωρῆσαι, ἀλλ' ἐς τὴν ’Ἄπολλωνιάν ἀνεκομί-
σθησαν. καὶ τούτῳ καὶ ὁ ’Ἀπούστιος μετὰ τῶν
Ῥοδίων καὶ μετὰ τοῦ ’Ἀττάλου περιπλέων συχνὰς
μὲν νῆσους ἐχειρώσατο . . . (four or five lines
wanting in Ms.)

5 . . . οἱ ’Ἰνσομμβροὶ ἐταράχθησαν. ’Αμίλκας
γάρ τις Καρχηδόνος τῷ τὶς Μάγωνι συστρατεύσας
καὶ ἐν τοῖς χωρίοις ἐκεῖνος ὑπομείνας τέως μὲν
ἡσυχίαν εἶχεν, ἀγαπῶν εἰ διαλάθοι, ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ
Μακεδονικὸς πόλεμος ἐνέστη, τοὺς τῇ Γαλάτας
ἀπέστησε τῶν ’Ρωμαίων καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν ἐπὶ

Zonaras 9, 15.

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

Ἄταλα δὲ τῶν αὐτῶν χρόνον καὶ τῆς ’Αμίλκας
Καρχηδόνος, τῷ Μάγωνι συστρατεύσας ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ
κακεὶ ὑπομείνας, τέως μὲν ἡσυχίαν ἤγεν, ὡς δ' ὁ
Μακεδονικὸς πόλεμος ἐνέστη, τοὺς τῇ Γαλάτας
τῶν ’Ρωμαίων ἀπέστησε καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν ἐπὶ
282
of some days, ostensibly for the taking up and burial of the dead, he withdrew on the very first night. Galba, however, did not follow him up; for being short of provisions, ignorant of the country, and in particular not knowing his adversary's strength, he feared that if he advanced incautiously anywhere he might come to grief. For these reasons he was unwilling to proceed farther, but retired with his men to Apollonia. During this same time Apustius with the Rhodians and with Attalus cruised about and subjugated many of the islands . . .

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

Zonaras 9, 15.

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

About the same time Hamilcar, a Carthaginian who had served with Mago in Italy and had remained there unnoticed, keeping quiet for the time being, caused the Gauls, as soon as the Macedonian war broke out, to revolt from the Romans; then with the rebels he made an expedition against the Ligu-
Δίνεται στρατεύσιμα καὶ ἐκεῖνον τινὸς προσεποιήσατο· μάχης δὲ σφίσι μετὰ ταῦτα πρὸς τὸν Δούκιον Φούριον στρατηγὸν γενομένης ἡττήθησαν καὶ ἐπρεσβεύσαντο σπούδων δεόμενοι. καὶ οἱ μὲν Δίνες ἐτυχον αὐτῶν· ... χ ... ν ... ρ ... σιν ... κ ... σ ... δεινὸν μὲν ... η ... συνε ... ημ ... δ ... ν ... ἐκυρίευσαν έπει ... φακ εστ ... δ ... γεω ... ν ... οὐκ ... ε ... e ... ν ... ες τὴν μν ... μην ... ἴχθειο 57,81 ... διη ... η ... τῶν ἐπινικίων τυχεῖν ἡξίου· λόγων τε ἔπτ' ἀμφότερα πολλῶν γενομένων (οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀλλας τε καὶ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ Αὐρήλιου κακοθείαν συνεσπούδαξαν αὐτῷ, καὶ τὴν τε νίκην ἐμεγάλυκον καὶ παραδέχαμαι πολλοῖς ἔχρωντο· οἱ δὲ τῇ του ὑπάτου ἴσχυι ἤγωνον ήθελαν αὐτὸν ἔλεγον, μηδεμίων ἰδίων αὐτοκράτορα ἄρχην ἔχοντα, καὶ προσέπεται καὶ λόγου παρ' αὐτοῦ ἀπήτουν ὡς τὰ προσταχθέντα οὐκ ἐπετοίηκει) ὅμως ἐλαβεν αὐτὰ. καὶ ο μὲν ἐκεῖνα ¹ πρὶν τὸν ... ε ... θεσ ... ν ² ἐώρτασεν.

'Ὁ δὲ δὴ Οὐερμίνα ... εστ ... έ μὲν παρὰ τῶν . ἁ ... —Ρ. 4 (pp. 464 sq.).

Zonaras 9, 15.

Δίνεν στρατεύσιμα τινὸς κακείων προσεποιήσατο. Δουκίω δὲ Φουρίῳ στρατηγοῦντι πολέμησαν ἡττήθησαν καὶ περὶ σπούδων ἐπρεσβεύσαντο. καὶ οἱ μὲν Δίνες ἐτυχόν αὐτῶν, τοῖς ἀλλοῖς δὲ οίκ ἐδοθῆσαν, ἀλλ' ἀντιστράτευσεν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ Αὐρήλιος τοῦ ὑπατος, φθονῆσας τῆς νίκης τῷ στρατηγῷ.

¹ ἔκεινα Bs., ἐκείνο (?) Ms.
² πρὶν τὸν Αὐρήλιον ἐπανελθέων suggested by Bs.
BOOK XVIII

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

Vermina . . . from the . . .

Zonaras 9, 15.

rians and won over some of them also. They fought with Lucius Furius the praetor, were defeated, and sent envoys regarding peace. The Ligurians obtained this, but it was not granted to the others. Instead, Aurelius the consul, who was jealous of the praetor’s victory, conducted a retaliatory campaign against them.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

Zonaras 9, 15-16.

Τῷ δ' ἔξης ἔτει πρὸς τοῦ Ἀμίλκα καὶ τῶν Γαλατῶν συνηνέχθη πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ. Γναίον τε γὰρ Βαβυλών στρατηγὸν ἐνίκησαν καὶ τὴν συμμαχία τῶν Ῥωμαίων κατέτρεχον, καὶ Πιλατεῖαν ἐπολιόρκουν καὶ ἐλόντες κατέσκαψαν.

16. Ἐν δὲ τῇ Ἐλλάδι καὶ τῇ Μακεδονίᾳ Πούπλιος Οὐσίλλιος ὁ ύπατος ἀντεκάθητο τῷ Φιλίππῳ, τὰ τῆς Ἡπείρου προκαταλαβόντοι στενὰ, διὸ εἰς τὴν Μακεδονίαν εἰσὶν εἰσβολαί. μετὰ δὲ τὸν χειμῶνα Τίτος Φλαμύνιος ύπατος, τοῦ Φιλίππου παῦ τὸ μεταξὺ τῶν ὅρων διατείχισαντο καὶ δύνατος δυσπολεμήτου, διὰ τινος ἐκπερήθησε στενής ἀπατοῦ μετ' ολίγων τὸ περιτείχισμα. καὶ φανεῖς εἰς ὑπερδεξίους αἰφνίδιον ἐφόβησε τῶν Φιλίππου, νομίσαντα παῦ τὸ τοῦ Τίτου στρατεύμα εἰσώ τῶν στενῶν παρελθεῖν· οθὲν καὶ εἰς τὴν Μακεδονίαν ἀπῄρει εὐθὺς. ὁ δ' ύπατος ἐκεῖνον μὲν οὐκ ἔδιώξε, τὰς δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἡπείρῳ πόλεις προσεποίησατο. καὶ ἐς Θεσσαλίαν ἐλθὼν πολλὰ παρεσπάσατο τοῦ Φιλίππου, καὶ εἰς τὴν Φωκίδα τὴν Βοιωτίαν τε ἀνεχώρησε. καὶ ὁ μὲν Ἐλάτειαν ἐπολιόρκει, Δούκιος δὲ Φλαμύνιος ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ μετὰ τοῦ Ἀττάλου καὶ τῶν Ῥωδίων τὰς νῆσους ἐχειρώτα. καὶ τέλος Κενχρείων ἐλόντες, καὶ πυθόμενοι πρεσβεῖς πρὸς τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς ἐπὶ συμμαχία πεπέμφθαι, ἀπέστειλαν καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι συνεπροσβείσαντο. καὶ πρότερον μὲν ἐμερίσθησαν αἱ γραμμαί τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, τῶν μὲν τῷ Φιλίππῳ τὴν συμμαχίαν ψηφίζομεν, τῶν δὲ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις, ὅπε γ' οὐν ποτὲ τὴν βοήθειαν αὐτοῖς ἐψηφίσαντο. καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν

1 Oὐίλλιος Pinder, οὐίλλιος ΒÇΑ, οὐίλλιος ο.
BOOK XVIII

Zonaras 9, 15–16.

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

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

1 Zonaras always writes Flaminius.
ΔΙΟΣ ΡΟΜΑΝ ΗΙΣΤΟΡΙΑ

Ζωναράς 9, 16.

Κόρινθου συνεστάτευσαν, καλ τού μὲν τεῖχος κατήρευσάν τινα, πονήσαντες δ' ἐπεκδρομαῖς ἀπανέστησαν.

Εἶτα δείσας ὁ Φιλίππος μὴ πολλαὶ πόλεις ἄλοσιν, ὑπὲρ εἰρήνης πρὸς τὸν ὑπάτου ἐπεκηρυκέωσατο. καὶ δὲ ἐδέξατο τοὺς λόγους αὐτοῦ, καὶ συνήλθον αὐτοὶ καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι, ἑπράξθη δ' οὔδεν ἢ ὅτι πρέσβεις ἢ Ῥώμην πέμψαι τῷ Φιλίππῳ ἐπετράπη. καὶ οὐδὲ ἐκεῖ τι ἐγένετο τῶν γὰρ Ἑλλήνων ἀποστήμαι αὐτῶν ἄξιοντων τῆς τε Κορίνθου καὶ τῆς Χαλκίδος τῆς τε Δημητριάδος τῆς Θεσσαλίας, οὔτε περὶ τῶν τοῦ Φιλίππου πρέσβεις ἐντετάλθαι ἔφασαν, καὶ ἀπράκτοι ἀπηλλάγησαν.

Οἱ δ' ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ τῷ Φλαμνίῳ τῆν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἡγεμονίαν καὶ ἐς τὸ ἐπίθυμ ἀργοφωνεῖμενον ἔτος, αὐτῶν ἀνέβηντο καὶ τὰ κατὰ Φιλίππου. ὁ δὲ, ὅτι κατὰ χώραν ἐμελλε μένειν, πρὸς πόλεμον ἕτοιμζετο, καὶ μᾶλλον ὅτι καὶ Νάβις ὁ τῶν Δακεδαμονίων τύραννος ἐστείλατο οἱ, καὶ τοῖς φίλοις ὅποι τοῦ Φιλίππου καὶ τὸν Ἀργοὺς λαβῶν παρ' αὐτοῦ. ἀδυνατῶν γὰρ ὁ Μακεδὼν πολλὰ διέπειν ὁμοῖο, καὶ δείσας μὴ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἡ πόλει ληφθῆ, τῷ Νάβιδι αὐτῆ, ἵν' αὐθες ἀποδοίη, παρακατέθετο.

Ἀλλοῦ δὲ Πέτου τοῦ ὑπάτου συντεύγαστος ἐπὶ τοὺς Γαλάτας, πολλοὶ ἀπ' ἀμφότέρων ἀπώλευσαν προσμυγώντες ἄλλλοις, καλρων δὲ τι ἑπράξθη οὔδεν. οἱ δ' ὁμορροι τῶν Καρχηδονίων οἱ τε δούλοι οἱ μετ' αὐτῶν καὶ οἱ τισὶ πεπραμένοι

288
expedition against Corinth, where they succeeded in demolishing portions of the wall, but retired after losses suffered through sorties on the part of the citizens.

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

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

In a campaign of the consul Aelius Paetus against the Gauls many perished on both sides in the conflicts, and no advantage was gained. Furthermore, the Carthaginian hostages, together with the slaves accompanying them and the captives who had been sold to various persons, had the hardihood to
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

Zonaras 9, 16.

αἰχμάλωτοι, κατασχείν τὰς πόλεις ἐν ἀις ἑκαστοῖς
tὰς διατριβὰς ἐποιοῦντο τολμήσαντες, καὶ πολλοὺς τὸν ἐπιχωρίων φοινύσαντες, καθηρέθησαν ὑπὸ Κορηλίου Δεντούλου στρατηγοῦ πρὶν μείζον τι ἐξεργάσασθαι. Οἱ μὲν Τιβανία τε ἐπαιρόμενοι καὶ τοὺς 'Ρωμαίους ἐν παρέργῳ
σφίσι πολεμοῦντας αἰσθόμενοι παρεσκευάσαντο ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν 'Ρώμην ἐλάσσοντες. δείσαντες οὖν
οἱ 'Ρωμαίοι ἁμφοῦ τῶν ὑπάτους Κορηλίου Κέρη-
γον καὶ Μινούκιον Ῥοῦφον ἐπὶ τοὺς Γαλάτας ἐπεμψαν· οἱ διαπλήτευσεν ἄλλος ἄλλην ἐπόρθουν χώραν. πρὸς οὖν τῶν ὑπάτους καὶ τοὺς πολέμους διηρέθησαν, καὶ οἱ μὲν τῷ Κεθήγῳ μετά τοῦ
Ἥρμικου συμβαλόντες ἦττήθησαν, οἱ λοιποὶ δὲ
tούτῳ γνώτες ἀπεδειλίασαν καὶ οὐκέτι τῷ
Ῥοῦφῳ συνέβαλον, ἀλλὰ ἁμένως ἐκεῖνος τὴν χώραν
κατέτρεχε. καὶ οἱ μὲν τῷ Κεθήγῳ πολεμήσαντες
σπουδὰς ἐποιήσαντο, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις
ἔτι ἐτύγχανον.

Τότε δὲ καὶ ὁ Φλαμίνιος μετὰ τοῦ Ἀττάλου
tῆς Βουστίας ἀπασάν ὑπηγάγετο. καὶ οἱ μὲν
Ἀττάλος ἐν τῷ δημηγορεῖν αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ γήρως
ἀπέψυχεν, δὲ ἐν Φλαμίνιος ἐς τὴν Θεσσαλίαν
ἐλθὼν τῷ Φιλίππῳ προσέμενε. καὶ ἰππομαχίαν
ἐποιήσαντο· τὸ γὰρ χωρίον οὐκ ἐπιτήδειον πρὸς
μείζω μάχην ἦν· διὸ καὶ ἁμφω ἀπανέστησαν.
καὶ πρὸς τινα λόφον γενόμενοι, οὐ τὴν ἄκρωνυχίαν
Κυνὸς κεφαλῆς ὄνομάζουσιν, οἱ μὲν ἔθεν οἱ δὲ
ἐκείθεν ἡνίοντο. καὶ μαχεσάμενοι τοὺς στρα-
teúμασιν ἀπασίν ἰσοπαλεῖς ἀν ἀπηλλάγησαν, εἰ

290
BOOK XVIII

Zonaras 9, 16.

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

At this time Flamininus in company with Attalus reduced the whole of Boeotia. Attalus, however, expired of old age in the midst of a speech which he was making to the people there; and Flamininus went into Thessaly, where he came into collision with Philip. It was only a cavalry skirmish in which they engaged, for the ground was not suitable for a battle on a larger scale; hence both withdrew. And having reached a certain hill, the top ridge of which is called Dog's Head [Cynoscephalē], they encamped, one on one side, the other on the other. Here they fought with their entire armies, and would have separated with the contest undecided, had not the
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

60 "Οτι ὁ Φίλιππος ἦττηθεὶς ἐπεκηρυκεύσατο τῷ Φλαμινίῳ, καὶ ὃς, εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα καὶ τῆς Μακεδονίας ἐγλέξετο καὶ τῇ παρούσῃ οἱ εὐτυχία ἐπίπαν ἐπεξελθεῖν ἐπεθύμει, ὅμως ἐστείλατο. αἰτίον δὲ ὅτι ἐφοβήθη ὡς οὗ τε "Ελληνες ὑπεξαρθέντος αὐτοῦ τὸ τε φρόνημα τὸ παλαίων ἀναλάβωσι καὶ σφᾶς οὐκετί θεραπεύσωσι, καὶ οὔ Αἰτωλοὶ ἐν μεγάλῳ καὶ τότε αὐχήματι, ὅτι τὸ πλείστον τῆς νίκης κατειργάσαντο, ὅντες ἐπαχθέστεροι σφίζει γέωνται, ὁ τε Ἀντίοχος ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην, ὡσπερ ἡγαλλεῖτο, ἔλθῃ καὶ τῷ Φιλίππῳ συμμαχήσῃ.—§ 11 (p. 381).

Zonaras 9, 16.

μὴ οἴ Αἰτωλοὶ ἔπικρατεστέρους τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐποίησαν. ἦττηθεὶς οὖν ὁ Φίλιππος καὶ φυγὼν, εἰτὰ μαθὼν τὴν τε Λάρισαν καὶ τὰς περὶ αὐτὴν πόλεις τὰ τοῦ νικήσαντος ἤρμενας, ἐπεκηρυκεύσατο τῷ Φλαμινίῳ. καὶ ὃς ἐστείλατο, χρήματα τε τοῦ Φιλίππου δόντος καὶ ὀμήρους ἀλλοὺς τε καὶ τὸν οἰκεῖον υἱὸν Δημήτριον, καὶ πρέσβεις ύπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐκπέμψαντο.

Ἐν ὁ δὲ ταῦτα ἐπράττετο καὶ Ἁνδροσθένης ἔνυκτίθη ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν καὶ τὴν Κόρινθον ἀπέβαλε. καὶ ὁ Φλαμίνιος ὁ Δούκιος ἐπὶ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ ὦν, ἐπεὶ μὴ ἔπειθε τοὺς Ἀκαρνάνας μὴ συμμαχεῖν τῷ Φιλίππῳ, τὴν τε Δευκάδα πολιορκία ἔθελε κάκεινος μετὰ τοῦ τὴν ἤτταν τοῦ Φιλίππου γ νόντας βάον συμπαρεστήσατο.

1 Φλαμίνιῳ Ura., φλαμίνιῳ Mss.
2 ἐπεξελθεῖν Leunol., ἐξελθεῖν Mss.
BOOK XVIII

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

Zonaras 9, 16.

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

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

Zonaras 9, 16–17.

Οὐτὸς μὲν οὖν ὁ Μακεδονικὸς ἐλέυθερος πόλεμος, καὶ οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἑρώτημα τῷ Φιλίππῳ ἐτοιμότατα συνηλλάγησαν ἐπὶ τῷ τούτοις αἰχμαλώτως καὶ τούς αὐτομόλους ἀποδοῦναι καὶ τούς ἐλέφαντας τᾶς τριήμερης πλὴν πέντε καὶ τῆς στρατηγίδος αὐτῆς οὖσης ἐκκαὶκεῖσθαι, καὶ χρήσια τὰ μὲν αὐτίκα δοῦναι, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐν τάξεις τις, καὶ μόνης τῆς Μακεδονίας βασιλεύειν, μὴ πλείους τῷ ἐξεισ εὐπριοῖστοι τῶν πεντακισχιλίων, μήτε πόλεμον ἔμειν τῆς ἐαυτοῦ χώρας ποιεῖσθαι τιν. τὰς γὰρ ἄλλας πόλεις τὰς τε ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι τὰς πρὶν δουλευοῦσας αὐτῷ ἐλευθέρως ἀφῆκαν.

Οἱ δ' ὑπατοὶ τοῖς Γαλάταις αἰθίες οὐκ ἀταλαί πόρως ἐπολέμησαν, ὅμως μέντοι καὶ τούτως ὑπέταξαν.

17. Πόρκιος δὲ Κάτων ὑπατος αἱρεθεὶς τὴν Ἱβηρίαν μικροῦ πᾶσαν ἀλλοτριωθείσαν ἀνεκτησατο, ἀνήρ ἀρετή πάση τοὺς τότε νικῶν. νόμον δὲ τεθέντος μετὰ τὴν ἐν Κάνναις τοῖς Ἱβηρίων συμβάσαν ἤτταν μῆτε χρυσοφορεῖν τὰς γυναῖκας μῆτε διφροφορεῖσθαι μήθ᾽ ὄλως ἐσθήτῃ καταστίκτω κεχρήσθαι, οδημος, εἰ χρῆ καταλύσαι τὸν νόμον, βουλὴν ἔποιείτο. καὶ περὶ τούτου ὁ Κάτων ἐδημηγήρησε, δεῖν κατασκευάζων τὸν νόμον κρατεῖν, καὶ τέλος ταῦτα ἔπεισεν: "κο- σμεύσωσαν οὖν αἱ γυναῖκες μὴ χρυσῷ μηδὲ λίθῳς ἢ τισιν ἀνθρώποις καὶ ἀμφίγωνοι ἐσθήμασιν, ἀλλὰ σωφροσύνη, φιλανδρία, φιλοτεχνία, σειθοῦ, μετριότητα, τοῖς νόμοις τοῖς κείμενοις, τοῖς ὁπλίσ τοῖς ἁμπερίσ, ταῖς νίκαις, τοῖς τροπαίοις."
BOOK XVIII

Zonaras 9, 16-17.

Thus was the Macedonian war terminated, and the people of Rome very readily became reconciled with Philip upon the following terms. He must restore the captives and deserters; give up all his elephants and triremes except five (including the flag-ship, a vessel of sixteen banks); pay an indemnity, part at once, the rest in definite instalments; be king of Macedonia alone; keep not more than five thousand soldiers, and not make war with anybody outside his own country. The rest of the cities situated in Asia and Europe which had previously been subject to him they set free.

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

17. Porcius Cato, upon being chosen consul, gained back Spain, which had been almost entirely alienated. He was a man who surpassed those of his age in every virtue. Now after the defeat inflicted upon the Romans at Cannae a law had been passed to the effect that women should not wear gold nor be carried in chairs, nor make use at all of embroidered raiment; and the people were now deliberating as to whether they ought to abolish this law. And on this subject Cato delivered a speech in which he urged that the law ought to remain in force, and closed with these words: “Let the women, then, be adorned not with gold nor precious stones, nor with bright and transparent raiment, but with modesty, with love of husband, love of children, persuasion, moderation, with the established laws, with our arms, our victories, our trophies.”

Lucius
Δούκιος δὲ Οὐαλλέριος δήμαρχος ἀντιλέγον τῷ Κάτωνι διειλέγηθη, ἀποδοθήμα συμβουλεύων ταῖς γυναιξὶ τὸν κόσμον τὸν πάτριον. καὶ πολλὰ περὶ τούτου πρὸς τὸν δῆμον εἰπόν, εἴτε πρὸς τὸν Κάτωνα τὸν λόγον ἀπέτεινε καὶ ἐφῄ "σὺ δ', ὥς Κάτων, εἰ ἀφη τῷ κόσμῳ τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ βούλει φιλόσοφον τι ποιήσαι καὶ μεγαλοπρέπει, ἀπόκειρον αὐτάς περιτρόχαλα, καὶ χιτωνίσκους καὶ ἐξωμίδας ἔνυσον, καὶ νὴ Δία σὺ γε καὶ ὅπλον ἐφ' ἵππον τε ἀναβῆσαν, καὶ εἰ δοκεῖ σοι καὶ εἰς τὴν Ἰβηρίαν ἀνάγαι, ὅπως τε καὶ τῶν ἐκκλησίων κοινωνίων ἡμῖν, καὶ δεῦρο αὐτάς εἰσφρώμεθα." ¹ καὶ ὁ μὲν Οὐαλλέριος ταύτα ἐπικόπτον εἶπεν, ἀκούσασι δὲ αἱ γυναῖκες (ἐγγὺς γὰρ τῆς ἀγορᾶς πολλαὶ διέτριβον πολυπραγμονοῦσαι τὸ γενησόμενον), εἰσεπήδησαν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν καταβοῦσαι τοῦ νόμου, καὶ οὕτω σπουδὴ λυθέντος αὐτῶν ἀνεδήσαντο εὐθὺς ἐκεῖ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ κόσμον τινὰ καὶ ἐξῆλθον χορεύουσα. Ὁ δὲ Κάτων ἀποπλεύσας εἰς τὴν Ἰβηρίαν ἀφικέτο, καὶ μαθὼν πάντας τοὺς μέχρι τοῦ Ἰβηροὺς οἰκοῦντας συνεστράφθαι, ὅνα καθ' ἐν αὐτῷ πολέμησασ, συγκροτήσας τὸ στρατεύμα προσέβαλε σφίστι, καὶ ἡττήσας αὐτοὺς ἡνάγκασε προσχωρῆσαι οἱ, φοβηθέντας ἕνα μή καὶ τὰς πόλεις αὐτοβοεῖ ἀποβάλλοσι. καὶ τότε μὲν οὐδὲν δεινὸν αὐτῶν εἰργάσατο, ὤστερον δὲ ὑπόπτων τινῶν γενομένων τα τε ὄντα πάντων ἀφεῖλετο καὶ τὰ τείχη σφῶν δι' αὐτῶν τῶν ἐπιχειρίων κατέσκαψε. γράμματα γὰρ ἐκασταχθές διαπέμψας, καὶ ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἀπασιν αὐτὰ ἀποδοθήναι 296 ἐισφρώμεθα v. Herw., εἰσφερώμεθα Mss.
BOOK XVIII

Zonaras 9, 17.

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

Cato sailed away and reached Spain, where he learned that all the inhabitants as far as the Iberus had united in order to wage war against him in a body. After organizing his army he attacked and defeated them and forced them to submit to him, since they feared that otherwise they might lose their cities at a single stroke. At the time he did them no harm, but later, when some of them incurred his suspicion, he deprived them all of their arms and caused the natives themselves to tear down their own walls. For he sent letters in all directions with orders that they should be delivered to everybody on the
κελεύσας, προσέταξε τούς περιβόλους αὐθημερον καθελεῖν, θάνατον ἀπειλήσας τοῖς ἀπειθήσασιν. ἦν ἀναγνώστες οἱ ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ὑπότε, καὶ νομίζοντες ἕκαστοι μόνοις αὐτοῖς ἠγεράφθαν, καὶ μηδὲ καίρὸν λαβόντες βουλής, κατέβαλον πάντες τὰ τείχη...

Ὁ δὲ Κάτων διέβη τὸν Ἰβηρα, καὶ τοῖς Κελτίβησι συμμαχοῦσι τοῖς πολεμίοις αὐτοῦ διά τὸ πλῆθος συμβαλεῖν μὴ θαρσήσας, μετεχερίσθες θαμμασίως αὐτοῖς, ποτὲ μὲν μεταπειθόν πρὸς αὐτὸν μεταστήναι δόσει μεῖξονος μισθοῦ, ποτὲ δὲ παραίνων σφίσιν ἔπανελθείν οὐκαδὲ, ἐστὶ δ' ὅτε καὶ μάχην αὐτοῖς ἐσ ἦμέραν ἐπαγγέλλων ῥήτην. ἐκ γὰρ τούτον ἐστασίσαν πρὸς ἀλλήλους, καὶ φοβηθέντες οὐκέτι αὐτῷ πολεμήσαν ἐτόλμησαν.
same day; and in these he commanded the people to raze their walls immediately, threatening the disobedient with death. The officials upon reading the letters thought in each case that the message had been written to them alone, and without taking time for deliberation they all threw down their walls.

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

Zonaras 9, 18.

18. Τότε δὲ καὶ Φλαμύνιος ἐπὶ τὸ Ἄργος ἑστράτευσε. τὸν γὰρ Νάβιν οὔτε σφίσαν πιστὸν καὶ τοὺς Ἐλλησι φοβερὸν ὄροιν τοὺς Ῥωμαίοι πολέμου ἐποιήσαντο. προσγενομένων δὲ καὶ συμμάχων ἐκ τοῦ Φιλίππου αὐτῷ, ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑπάρτην ἠλασεν ὁ Φλαμύνιος, καὶ ἀπόνως τὰ Ταύγητα τε ὑπέρβη καὶ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν προσήλθε μηδενὸς ἐναντιουμένου. ὁ γὰρ Νάβις, τοὺς τε Ῥωμαίους δείσας καὶ τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους ὑποπτέεσας, οὐκ ἐκινήθη δώστε προαναγθῆσαι τῷ Φλαμύνῳ· πλησιάσαντι δὲ ἐπεξέδραμε, καταφρονήσας διὰ τε τῶν κάματος τῶν ἐκ τῆς πορείας καὶ ὅτι περὶ τὴν στρατοπέδουσιν ἀπησχόλητο, καὶ τινὰς συνετάραξε. τῇ δ’ ὑστεραίᾳ ἐπεξῆλθε τοὺς προσβάλλουσι, καὶ πολλοὺς ἀποβαλὼν οὐκέτι ἐπεξῆλθε. καταλιπὼν οὖν μέρος τοῦ στρατοῦ ἐκεῖ ὁ Φλαμύνιος, ὅπως μηδαμοῦ κινηθείς, τοῖς λυποῖς ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν ἐτράπετο· κάκεινός τε καὶ ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ Ῥόδιοι καὶ οἱ τοῦ Ἀττάλου παῖς Εὐμένης ἑπόρθουν αὐτὴν. ἀπογνοῦσι οὖν διὰ ταῦτα ὁ Νάβις κηρύκα τῷ Φλαμύνῳ ὑπὲρ εἰρήνης ἀπέστειλε. καὶ δὲ τοὺς μὲν λόγους αὐτοῦ προσήκατο, οὐκ αὐτίκα δὲ κατελύσατο. τὰς γὰρ ὁμολογίας, ἃς ἀπητεῖτο ὁ Νάβις ποιήσασθαι, οὕτ’ ἀπαγο-300
FRAGMENTS OF BOOK XIX

Zonaras 9, 18.

18. At this time also Flamininus made a campaign against Argos, for the Romans, seeing that Nabis was not loyal to them and was a source of terror to the Greeks, regarded him as an enemy. With an accession of allies from Philip Flamininus marched upon Sparta, crossed Taýgetus without difficulty, and advanced toward the city, meeting with no opposition. For Nabis, being afraid of the Romans and suspicious of the natives, did not rouse himself to the point of advancing to meet Flamininus; but when the latter drew near, he made a sortie, feeling contemptuous of his opponent while the latter was fatigued from the march and was busied, moreover, with the work of pitching camp; and he caused some confusion among them. The next day he came out to face the Romans when they assaulted, but as he lost large numbers, he did not try it again. So Flamininus left a portion of his army there to prevent Nabis from stirring anywhere, and with the rest turned his attention to the country, which he ravaged with the aid of his brother and the Rhodians and Eumenes, the son of Attalus. Nabis was consequently in despair and despatched a herald to Flamininus in regard to peace. The latter listened to his proposals, but did not immediately conclude peace. For the terms which Nabis was asked to make were such that
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

Zonaras 9, 18.

ρεύσαι ἐθάρρει οὔτε ποιήσαι συγκατετίθετο. τὸ δὲ πλῆθος ἐκώλυσαν αὐτῶν συμβήκατι. καὶ τὸτε μὲν ὠκὺ ἐσπείρατο, προσβαλόντων δὲ τῶν Ῥω-
μαίων αὕθες καὶ τὴν Σπάρτην ὄλγου πᾶσαν (καὶ
γὰρ ἀτείχιστος ἦν ἐν μέρει) ἐλόντων οὐκὲτ' ἐπέσχεν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸν Φλαμύην σπουδάς ἐποιήσατο καὶ πρὸς τὴν Ῥώμην πρεσβευσάμενος συνηλλάγῃ.

'O δὲ Φλαμύης τότε μὲν πάντας τοὺς Ἑλλήνας ἐλευθέρους ἀφήκεν, ὑστερον δὲ συγκαλέσας αὐτῶς καὶ ὑπομνήσας δὲν εὐρηγέτηντο, παρῆνεσεν εὖνοιαν τῇ Ῥώμῃ τηρεῖν, καὶ τὰς φρουρὰς ἀπάσας ἐξήγαγε, καὶ ἀπήρε μετὰ παντὸς τοῦ στρατοῦ.

Ἀφικομένου δ' ἐς Ῥώμην τοῦ Φλαμύην ὁ Νάβις ἐνεστέρισε. καὶ τούτου καὶ τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἀπαν ὡς εἰπεῖν ἐταράχθη, τῶν Αἰτωλῶν σφᾶς ἐναγόντων παρεσκευάζοντο τε ὡς πολεμήσοντες, καὶ πρὸς τὸν Φίλιππον καὶ τὸν Ἀντίοχον ἐπρεσβεύσασαν. καὶ ἐπεισάν αὐτὸν ἐκπολεμοθήκαι Ῥωμαῖοι, ὡς καὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος τῆς Ἰταλίας τε βασιλεύσοντα. τοῖς δὲ Ῥωμαίοις τῶν πραγμάτων τεταραγμένων οὐχὶ περιγενέσαθα τοῦ Ἀντιόχου ἐλπὶς ἦν, ἀλλ' ἡγάτων εἴ γε τὰ ἐαυτῶν διασώ-
σαιντο. ὁ γὰρ Ἀντίοχος μέγας μὲν καὶ ἑπὶ τῇ οἰκείᾳ δυναῖς ἐδόκει δὲ ἄλλα τε καὶ ὅτι τὴν Μηδίαν κατεστρέψατο, πολλῷ δ' ἐτὶ μείζων ἐγένετο ὅτι τὸν Πτολεμαῖον τὸν τῆς Ἀἰγύπτου βασιλέα καὶ τὸν Ἀριαράθην τὸν τῆς Καππαδοκίας κηδεσθῆν προσετέθειο.

Τοιοῦτον τὸν Ἀντίοχον νομιζόμενον οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι,
BOOK XIX

Zonaras 9, 18.

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

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

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

In view of this estimate of Antiochus, the Romans,
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

Zonaras 9, 18.

µέχρι μὲν τῷ Φιλίππῃς ἐπολέμουν, ἔθεράπευον, φιλίως τε διὰ πρέσβεων ὀμιλοῦντες καὶ δῶρα πέμποντες· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκεῖνον ἐνίκησαν, καὶ τούτῳ, ὃν πρόσθεν ἐδείσαν, κατεφρόνουν. ὁ δὲ ἐς τὴν Θρᾴκην ἐπεραιώθη καὶ ἀλλα τε παρεστήσατο καὶ τὴν Δυσσιμαχίαν¹ ἀνεστηκύιαν συνφίκισεν, ὡς ὀρμητηρίῳ ταύτῃ χρησόμενος· καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸν καὶ ὁ Φιλίππος καὶ ὁ Νάβις ἐπηγγέγοντο. Ὁ τε Ἀννίβας αὐτῷ συγγενόμενος ἐλπίσαι πεποίηκεν ἐς τὴν Καρχηδόνα κακέεθθεν εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν πλεύσαι, καὶ τὰ τοῦ Ἰουνίου κόλπου ἔθνη προσκαταστρέψασθαι, καὶ μετὰ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ὀρμῆσαι. ἔφθη γοῦν ὁ Ἀντίοχος καὶ δις ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην διαβᾶς εἰς τῇ Ἑλλάδα ἀφικόμενος, πυθόμενος δὲ τὸν Πτολεμαίον τεθνηκέναι, καὶ περὶ παντὸς τῆς Αἰγύπτου κρατῆσαι ποιούμενος, τὸν μὲν νιῶν Σέλευκον ἐν τῇ Δυσσιμαχίᾳ σὺν δυνάμει κατέλιπεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἀναζεύχας, καὶ ζωντα τὸν Πτολεμαίον μαθὼν, τῆς μὲν Αἰγύπτου ἀπέσχετο, ἐπιχειρήσας δ' ἐς Κύπρον πλεύσαι ἑπταίσεν ὑπὸ χειμῶνος, καὶ οὐκαδὲ ἀνεχώρησε. καὶ πρέσβεις οἱ Ρωμαῖοι κάκεινος ἀνταπέστελλον² ἄλληλοις ἀντεγκαλουστές, ὁπως πρόφασιν τε τοῦ πολέμου λάβωσι καὶ ὅπως τὰ παρ' ἄλληλοις προκατασκέψουται.

'Ἀννίβας δὲ τὴν μεγίστην τῶν παρὰ Καρχηδονίους ἄρχων εἰληφώς, καὶ προσκρούσας ἀπ' αὐτῆς τοῖς δυνατωτάτοις, ἐμισήθη τε ὑπ' αὐτῶν καὶ πρὸς τοὺς 'Ρωμαίους διεβλήθη ὡς τὰ τε

¹ Δυσσιμαχίαν Wolf, Δυσσιμαχίδα Mss.
² ἀνταπέστελλον Bs., ἀντεπέστελλον Mss.

304
BOOK XIX

Zonaras 9, 18.

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

Hannibal had obtained the most important office at Carthage and in his tenure of it had offended the most powerful nobles and incurred their hatred. Malicious reports about him were also conveyed to
τῶν Καρχηδονίων νεωτερίζων καὶ τῷ Ἀντίοχῷ κοινολογούμενος. καὶ μαθὼν τινας ἐκ τῆς Ρώμης παρώντας, καὶ δείσας μὴ συλληφθῇ, ἀπέδρα νυκτὸς ἐκ τῆς Καρχηδόνος. καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ἀντίοχον ἔλθων ἑαυτῷ τε τὴν εἰς τὴν πατρίδα κάθοδον καὶ τὸν πρὸς τοὺς Ρωμαίους πόλεμον ἔπραττεν, ὑπισχυόμενος ἐκεῖνῳ περιποιήσει τὸ τε τῆς Ἑλλάδος κράτος καὶ τὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας· μέχρις οὐ σφίσων ὁ Σκιπίων ὁ Ἀφρικανὸς συνεγένετο. οὕτως γὰρ δικαστὴς ἐσ τὴν Διβίνθην πεμφθεὶς τῷ τε Μασινίσσα καὶ τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις περὶ ὅρων γῆς διαφερομένους, μετέωρον τὴν ἕχθραν αὐτῶν κατέλιπεν, ἵνα ἄλλης τε διαφέρωντο καὶ μηδεὶς αὐτῶν διὰ τὴν κρίσιν κατὰ Ρωμαίους ὀργίζοιτο. ἐνετεύθεν δὴ εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν διεβή, λόγῳ μὲν ὡς πρεσβεύσων πρὸς τὸν Ἀντίοχον, ἔργῳ δὲ ἢν κακείων καὶ τοῦ Ἀννίβαν ἐπιφανεῖς καταπλῆξη καὶ πράξῃ τὰ τοῖς Ρωμαίους συμφέροντα. ἀφικομένου δὲ αὐτοῦ οὐχ ὁμοίως ἔτι προσέχειν ὁ Ἀντίοχος τῷ Ἀννίβα: ὑπωπτεύεσσαι γὰρ αὐτὸν δὲ ἀπορρήτων ομιλήσαντα τῷ Σκιπίωνι, καὶ ἄλλως δὲ αὐτὸν ἑβαρύνετο, ὡς ἄπαν βούλευμα τῷ Ἀννίβα πᾶς ἐπεγράφη καὶ τὴν πολέμου κατόρθωσιν ἐν τούτῳ πάντες ἐπιτήδειον. διὰ γὰρ ταῦτα καὶ ἐφθόνησε τῷ Ἀννίβῳ καὶ ἐφοβήθη αὐτὸν ἢν μὴ τὶ δυνηθείς μεταβάλειν· καὶ οὐτέ στράτευμα παρέσχεν αὐτῷ οὔτ' ἐσ τὴν Καρχηδόνα ἐπεμφύειν· οὐδ' ἐν ταῖς συνουσίαις αὐτῶν κατακόρους ἐκέχρητο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπετήδευε μηδὲν τῶν πραττομένων αὐτοῦ δοκεῖν εἶναι.

306
BOOK XIX

Zonaras 9, 18.

the Romans, to the effect that he was rousing the Carthaginians to revolt and was taking counsel with Antiochus. Learning now that some men from Rome were present, and fearing arrest, he fled from Carthage by night. And coming to Antiochus, he undertook to pave the way for his own restoration to his native country and for war against the Romans by promising the king that he would secure for him the rule of both Greece and Italy. This was before Scipio Africanus joined them. Scipio had been sent to Africa as an arbitrator between Masinissa and the Carthaginians, who were at variance over some boundaries, and he had left their dispute still unsettled, in order that they might continue to quarrel and that neither of them might be angry at the Romans on account of their decision. From there he crossed into Asia, nominally as an envoy to Antiochus, but in reality to frighten both him and Hannibal by his coming and to accomplish what was for the advantage of the Romans. After his arrival Antiochus no longer paid the same deference to Hannibal. He suspected him because of his secret conversations with Scipio, and found him burdensome in any case, since everybody ascribed every plan to Hannibal, and all placed in him their hope for success in the war. For these reasons, then, he became both jealous and afraid of Hannibal, lest he might change his demeanour, in case he should get control of any power. So he neither supplied him with an army nor sent him to Carthage; furthermore, he did not favour him with any great intimacy, but even endeavoured to avoid all appearance of acting on his advice.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

Zonaras 9, 19.

19. Ἡ δὲ περὶ τοῦ 'Ἀντιόχου φήμη πολλὴ τὴν 'Ῥώμην κατέσχε καὶ ἐς φροντίδα τοὺς Ῥωμαίους οὐκ ἐλαχίστην κατέστησε. συχνῶν δὲ περὶ τοῦ 'Ἀντιόχου θρυλλουμένων, καὶ τῶν μὲν ὅτι τὴν Ἑλλάδα πᾶσαν ἡδη κατέχει, τῶν δὲ ὅτι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐπείγεται λογοποιούντων, οἱ Ῥωμαίοι πρέσβεις εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἄλλους τε καὶ Φλαμίνιον οἰκεῖως αὐτοῖς ἔχοντα ἐστείλαν, ὅπως τὸν τε Φίλιππον καὶ ἐκείνους ἐπίσχη μηδὲν νεοχμῶσαι, καὶ στρατηγοὺς Μάρκου μὲν Βαϊβίον εἰς Ἀττιλονίαν, εἰ ταύτη ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν περαιωθῆναι τολμήσειεν ὁ Ἀντίοχος, Ἀδλον δὲ Ἀττιλον ἐπὶ τὸν Ὕβιον. καὶ οὐτοὶ μὲν οὐδὲν ἐπράξεν (ἔφθη γὰρ ὁ Ὅμοιος ὕπο τῶν Ἀττιλῶν φθαρεῖς εἴς ἐπιβουλῆς, καὶ ἡ Σπάρτη ἤλω ὕπο τῶν Ἀχαίων), ὁ δὲ Βαϊβίος καὶ ὁ Φίλιππος πολλὰ τῆς Θεσσαλίας ἐβεβαιωσάντο. ταῖς γὰρ πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ὁμολογίας ὁ Μακεδών ἐμμεμένηκε, διὰ τὸ ἄλλα καὶ ὅτι ὁ Ἀντίοχος χωρία αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ Θρᾴκῃ τινὰ ἐπεστάσατο.

'Ὁ δὲ γε Φλαμίνιος περιών τὴν Ἑλλάδα τοὺς μὲν μηδ' ἀποστῆμαι ἐπεσε, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἀποστάντας ἡδη μετέστησε, πλὴν Ἀττιλῶν καὶ ἔτερον τινῶν. αὐτοὶ τε γὰρ τῷ Ἀντιόχῳ προσεχρησάν καὶ ἄλλους τοὺς μὲν ἐκόντας συνιστῶν, ἐνίος δὲ γε καὶ ἀκοντας. καὶ ὁ Ἀντίοχος, καὶ τοιοῦχον ἄντος, ὅμως πρὸς τὰς τῶν Ἀττιλῶν ἐπίδιδα ἐσπευσότατο διὸ οὐδὲ ἀξιόμαχον ἐπήγετο δύναμιν. τὴν μέντοι Χάλκιδα μετ' αὐτῶν ἐλαβε, τὴν τε ἄλλην Εὐβοίαν προσεφοίσατο. καὶ ἐν τοῖς αἰχμαλώτοις Ῥωμαίους τινὰς εὐρῶν, πάντας αὐτοὺς ἀφῆκε. καὶ ἐς τὴν Χάλκιδα 308
19. The fame of Antiochus occupied a large share of Rome's attention and caused the Romans no small degree of uneasiness. Many rumours were rife regarding him: some reported that he already held the whole of Greece, others that he was hastening toward Italy. The Romans accordingly sent envoys to Greece, among them Flamininus, who was on intimate terms with the people there, in order that he might prevent both Philip and them from beginning a revolt; and of the praetors they sent Marcus Baebius to Apollonia, in case Antiochus should undertake to cross over into Italy by that route, and Aulus Attilius against Nabis. Now Aulus accomplished nothing, for Nabis had already perished, the victim of a plot on the part of the Aetolians, and Sparta had been captured by the Achaeans; but Baebius and Philip strengthened the loyalty of many portions of Thessaly. For the Macedonian king had remained true to his agreement with the Romans, principally, for the reason that Antiochus had annexed some settlements belonging to him in Thrace.

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

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

Zonaras 9, 19.

dieχείμασεν· δὴν αὐτὸς τε καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ οἱ τε στρατιώται αὐτοῦ τὰς γνώμας προδεισθάρησαν. τῇ τε γὰρ ἄλλῃ ῥαστώνη καὶ ἔρωτι κόρης τινὸς ἐς τὸ ἀβροδίαιτον ἐξώκειλε, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀπολέμους ἐποίησεν.

Οἱ δ' ἐν τῇ Ρώμῃ, μαθόντες αὐτὸν ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα παρόντα τὴν Χαλκίδα τε ἱρηκότα, τῶν πόλεων φανερῶς ἀνείλοντο· καὶ τῶν ὑπάτων Σκιτίων μὲν τὸν Νασικᾶν ἐπὶ φυλακῇ τῆς Ἰταλίας κατέσχον, Μάνιον δὲ Γλαβρίωνα μετὰ στρατοῦ πολλοῦ ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα πεπόμφασι. καὶ ὁ μὲν Νασικᾶς τοὺς Βουνίους προσεπολεμώσατο, δὲ Γλαβρίων τὸν Ἀντίοχον ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἔξηλασε. καὶ ἐς τὴν Θεσσαλίαν ἐλθὼν πολλὰ τῶν ταύτης μετὰ τοῦ Βαιβίου καὶ τοῦ Φιλίππου παρεστήσατο. τὸν τε γὰρ Μεγαλοπολίτην Φιλίππον ἐλὼν εἰς τὴν Ρώμην ἀπέστειλε, καὶ τὸν Ἀμύναδρον ἐν τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐκβαλὼν τῷ Μακεδόνι αὐτὴν ἐδώκειν.

Ὁ δ' Ἀντίοχος ἐν τούτοις ἰσχύλαν ἄγων ἐν τῇ Χαλκίδῃ διετριβεν· εἶτα εἰς τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἔληλυθε καὶ ἐν ταῖς Θερμοπόλαις ἀντιπροσώποις οἱ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους υπέμεινε· πρὸς γὰρ τὴν τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὀλγοτῆτα σύμμαχον τὴν τοῦ χωρίου φύσιν ἐξεῖν ἐνόμισε. καὶ ἵνα μὴ τὶ καὶ αὐτὸς πάθη σοὶ ὦν οἱ Ἑλληνες οἱ πρὸς τὸν Μήδον

310 ¹ προδεισθάρησαν Bk., προσδεισθάρησαν Ms.
BOOK XIX

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

Zonaras 9, 19.

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

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

Antiochus meanwhile was remaining at Chalcis and keeping quiet. Afterward he went into Boeotia and awaited the advance of the Romans at Thermopylae; for he believed, in view of his small numbers, that the natural advantages of the place would be of assistance to him. But in order to avoid repeating the experience of the Greeks who had been
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

Zonaras 9, 19.

ἀντιταχθέντες ἔκει, μέρος τι τῶν Αἴτωλδων ἐπὶ τὰ ἀκρα τῶν ὄρων ἀνεβίβασεν, ὡστε φρουρῆσαι αὐτά. ὁ δὲ Γλαβρίων βραχὺ τε τῶν χωρίων ἐφόντισε καὶ τὴν μάχην οὐκ ἀνεβάλετο, ἀλλὰ Πόρκιον μὲν Κάτωνα καὶ Οὐαλλέρων Φλάκκον ὑποστρατήγους νυκτὸς ἐπὶ τοὺς Αἴτωλδων τοὺς ἐν τοῖς ἀκροῖς ἀπέστειλεν, αὐτὸς δὲ τῷ Ἀντιόχῳ ὕπο τὴν ἐω συνέμιξε. καὶ ἔως μὲν ἐν τῷ ὀμαλῷ ἐμάχετο, ἐπεκράτει, ἀναχωρήσαντος δὲ τοῦ Ἀντιόχου πρὸς τὰ μετέωρα ἡλαττοῦτο, μέχρις ὁ Κάτων κατὰ νότον οἱ ἐγένετο. τοῖς γὰρ Αἴτωλοῖς καθευδοῦσιν ἐπελθῶν τοὺς μὲν πλείους ἀπέκτεινε καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς διεσκέδασε, καντεύθεν καταδραμὼν καὶ τῆς κάτω μάχης μετέσχε. καὶ τὸν τε Ἀντίοχον ἔτρεψαν καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτοῦ ἐδίωκαν, καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐς τὴν Xαλκίδα εὐθὺς ἀπεχώρησε, μαθῶν δὲ τὸν ὑπατον προσίνοντα, ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἀνεκομίσθη λαθῶν.

Καὶ τὴν μὲν Βοιωτίαν καὶ τὴν Εὔβοιαν ὁ Γλαβρίων αὐτίκα κατέσχε, τῇ δ' Ἑρακλείᾳ, μὴ βουληθέντων αὐτῷ προσχωρῆσαι τῶν Αἴτωλδων, προσβολάς ἐποιεῖτο καὶ τὴν μὲν κάτω πόλιν πολιορκία εἰλε, τοὺς δ' ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἀναφυγόντας ὁμολογία παρεστήσατο. ἐν δὲ τοῖς τότε ἔσχασέν τι καὶ Πηλόκριτος ὁ στρατηγὸς τῶν Αἴτωλδων ἐγένετο, ὃς τῷ Φλαμίνιῳ ποτὲ τὴν συμμαχίαν ἤρνησατο, καὶ ψήφισμα ἐκείνου αἰτήσαντος, ἐν ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην πέμψῃ, “θάρρει,” ἔφη, “ἔγω γὰρ αὐτὸ κομιῶ μετὰ τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ παρὰ τῷ Τιβέριδι ὑμῖν ἀναγγέλωμαι.” τοῦ Φιλίππου δὲ τὴν Δάμαν πολιορκοῦντος ἐπήλθεν ἐπ' αὐτὴν ὁ Γλαβρίων, καὶ τὴν τε νίκην καὶ
BOOK XIX

Zonaras 9, 19.
arrayed there against the Persian he sent a division of the Aetolians up to the summit of the mountains to keep guard there. Glabrio was little concerned about the nature of the region, and did not postpone battle; but he sent the lieutenants Porcius Cato and Valerius Flaccus by night against the Aetolians on the summit, and himself engaged in conflict with Antiochus at dawn. Now as long as he fought on level ground he had the best of it, but when Antiochus withdrew to a higher position, he found himself at a disadvantage, until Cato arrived in the enemy's rear. Cato had come upon the Aetolians while they were asleep and had killed most of them and scattered the rest; then he hurried down and participated also in the battle going on below. So they routed Antiochus and captured his camp. The king forthwith retired to Chalcis, but learning that the consul was approaching, he retired secretly to Asia.

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

Zonaras 9, 19-20.

τὴν λείαν ἐσφετερίσατο. τῶν μέντοι Αἰτωλῶν οἱ λοιποὶ συναλλαγῆμαι μὲν ἤθελσαν, οὐκ ἐσπείσαντο δὲ, τοῦ Ἀντίόχου πρέσβεις αὐτοῖς καὶ χρήματα πέμψαντο, ἀλλὰ πρὸς πόλεμον ἤτομαζόντο. καὶ ὁ Φίλιππος ὑπεκρίνετο μὲν τὴν πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους φιλίαν, τὰ δὲ τοῦ Ἀντίόχου ἐφρόνει. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Ναύπακτον ὁ Γλαβρίων τῶν Αἰτωλῶν οὔσαν ἐπολύρκει· οὕς ἐλθὼν ὁ Φλαμίνιος ἐπείσει σπείσασθαι, γνωρίμως αὐτοῖς ἔχων. καὶ πρέσβεις εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐκεῖνοὶ τε καὶ οἱ Ἡπειρῶται ἐστάλκασι. καὶ ὁ Φίλιππος στέφανον νικηθήριον τῷ Διῷ τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ πέμψας ἀλλὰ τε ἀντειλήφει καὶ τὸν νὶὸν τὸν Δημήτριον ἐν Ῥώμη ὁμηρεύοντα. τοῖς δὲ Αἰτωλοῖς σπουδαῖοι οὐκ ἐγένοντο· οὐ γὰρ ἐλαττωθήναι τι κατεδέξαντο.

20. Ἐπὶ δὲ τὸν Ἀντίόχον οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τοὺς Σκυπίδανας ἐταξαν τὸν τε Ἀφρεκαν καὶ τὸν ἄδελφον αὐτοῦ Δούκιον. οἳ τοῖς μὲν Αἰτωλοῖς ἀνοχὴν ἔδοσαν, ἵν' ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην αὖθις υπέρ τῆς εἰρήνης προσβεβευόμενοι, ἤτειγοντο δ' ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀντίόχον, καὶ ἐπὶ Μακεδονίαν ἐλθόντες, συμμάχους τε λαβόντες ἐκ τοῦ Φιλίππου, ἐπὶ τὸν Ἐλλήσποντον ἠλᾶσαν. καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν περασοῦσι τὰ πλείστα τῶν παραβαλασσίων κατέλαβον προκατειλημένα παρὰ τῶν ἐκεί προ- απελθόντων Ῥωμαίων, πρὸς δὲ καὶ τοῦ Εὔμενοῦς καὶ τῶν Ῥώδων, οἳ καὶ τὸν Ἀννίβαν ναῦς τινας ἐκ Φοινίκης ἀνάγοντα περὶ Παμφύλιαν

314
BOOK XIX

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


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

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

1 v. Gutschmid places here, comparing Livy 36, 35, 4 (speech of Flamininus to the Naupactians).
ΔΙΟΣ ΡΩΜΑΝΗΣ ΣΧΟΛΗΣ

2 Ὁτι Σέλενκως ὁ τοῦ Ἀντιόχου τῶν τοῦ Ἀφρικανοῦ νῦν διαπλέοντα ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος λαβὼν ἐν θεραπείᾳ πολλῇ ἐπεποίητο. ἀπολυτρώσαι μὲν γὰρ, καίτοι τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ πολλὰ δεθέντος, οὐκ ἠθέλησεν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ κακόν τι εἰργάσατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ τούναντίον ἵσχυρῶς περιεῖπε, καὶ τέλος, καίπερ τῶν σπονδῶν ἀμαρτῶν, ἀφῆκεν ἀνευ λύτρων.—V. 53 (p. 609).

Zonaras 9, 20.

ἐνίκησαν, καὶ Εὐμένης δὲ καὶ Ἀτταλός ὁ ἄδελφος αὐτοῦ τὴν χώραν ἐκάκον τοῦ Ἀντιόχου, καὶ πόλεις αἱ μὲν βία, αἱ δὲ ἐκουσάν πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους μεθίσταντο, ὡστε ἐκ τούτων ἀναγκασθῆναι τὸν Ἀντιόχον τὴν Εὐρώπην τε παντελῶς ἐκλιπεῖν καὶ τῶν νῦν Σέλενκων ἀπὸ τῆς Δυσμαχίας ἀπαγαγεῖν. ὃν ἔτανελθόντα σὺν δυνάμει ἐπὶ τὴν Πέργαμον ἐπεμψαν. ός δὲ προσεδρεύσας τῇ πόλει οὐδὲν ἔπεραν, καὶ οἱ Σκιτίωνες ἐπῆλθον, εὐθὺς αὐτοῖς ἐπεκηρυκεύσατο, προσδοκήσας τεῦξον τῆς εἰρήνης, ὅτι τὸν Ἀφρικανὸν νῦν συλλαβῶν ἐν θεραπείᾳ εἰχε πολλῇ καὶ τέλος, καίπερ τῶν σπονδῶν ἀμαρτῶν, ἀνευ λύτρων ἀφῆκεν αὐτὸν. οὐκ ἐγένετο δὲ ἡ εἰρήνη, τοῦ Ἀντιόχου δὲ οἱ Ῥωμαίοι ἀπήτων μὴ συνθεμένου πολήσαι.

Τέως μέντοι ἐπὶ πολὺ ἰσύχασαν, εἶτα καὶ ἐπολέμησαν. ὁ δὲ ἄγὼν οὕτως ἐγένετο. πρώτα τὰ ἄρματα, εἶτα τοὺς ἑλέφαντας ὁ Ἀντιόχος ἔταξε, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τοὺς σφενδονήτας καὶ τοὺς
BOOK XIX

Seleucus,¹ the son of Antiochus, had captured the son of Africanus, who was sailing across from Greece, and had given him the kindest treatment. Although his father many times requested the privilege of ransoming him, his captor refused, yet did him no harm; on the contrary, he showed him every honour, and finally, though he failed of securing a truce, released him without ransom.

Zonaras 9, 20.

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

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

¹ An error of the excerptor for Antiochus himself. Compare Zonaras.
τοξότας. τὴν μὲν οὖν ἐκδρομὴν τῶν ἀρμάτων προεκδραμόντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ μετὰ κραυγὴς σφίσι πολλῆς ἀντιμέτωποι προσπεσώντες ἀνέκοψαν, ὡστε τὰ πολλὰ αὐτῶν ἐσ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας τραπόμενα πάλιν τὸ οἰκεῖον συνετάραξαν (αὐτοὶ τε γὰρ ἐπιλανώτατο καὶ τοὺς ἐπιτεταγμένους σφίσιν ἐκφοβήσαντες διεσκέδασαν), τὴν δὲ τοξεῖαν καὶ τὴν σφενδόνησιν ὄμβρος πολὺς ἐπιγενόμενος ἀσθενὴ ἐποίησεν ῥόμιχλη τῇ πλείστῃ καὶ βαθείᾳ συμβάσα τοὺς μὲν Ῥωμαίους ἀτε κρατοῦντας καὶ ἀγχεμάξως ἐκ χειρὸς μαχομένους οὐδὲν ἐνεπόδισε, τοὺς δὲ ἐναντίους, ὁλα περοβημένους ὑπὲρ τε καὶ τοξεία τὸ πλείστον χρωμένους, τὴν τε πρὸσφιν εἰς τὰ τοξεύματα ἀφείλετο καὶ περὶ ἀλλήλους ὡς ἐν σκότῳ πλανωμένους ἐσφήλεν. ὁμως δ’ οὖν ἔσχυσεν ὁ Ἀντίοχος, τοῖς καταφράκτοις ἑπείσυ τοὺς ἀντιστάντας αὐτῷ τρεψάμενος, μέχρι τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἐλθεῖν ἐπιδιώκων αὐτούς. καὶ γε εἶλεν ἄν αὐτὸ, εἰ μὴ Μάρκος Αἰμίλιος Λέπιδος ὁ τὴν φρούραν αὐτοῦ ἐχών τοὺς πρῶτους προσέφωντας τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀπέκτεινεν, ἐπεὶ μὴ ἐπείσεν αὐτοὺς τῇ φυγῇ ἐπισηκείν. ἐκ γὰρ τούτον ἐκείνων τε τοῖς λοιποῖς ὑποστρέψαντες καὶ αὐτὸς ἀκραίφυσιν ἐπεκδράμων τοὺς φρουροῖς ἀπεώσατο τὸν Ἀντίοχον. ἐν ὧ δὲ τούτ’ ἐγίνετο, Ζεῦξις καθ’ ἐπέρου μέρος τῷ ταφρεύματι προσβαλὼν εἰς ὅ τέ αὐτῶν εἰσῆλθε καὶ ἀρταγην ἐπιοικεῖν, μέχρις ὃ ὁ Λέπιδος ἔσβητο. τὸτε γὰρ κώκεινος τὸ σφέτερον ἔρρυσατο, καὶ ὁ Σκιτῖων τὸ τοῦ Ἀντιόχου εἶλε, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ πολλοὺς.
the archers. Now the Romans anticipated the charge of the chariots by a charge of their own, and with a mighty shout they rushed straight at them and repulsed them, so that most of the chariots turned back toward the elephants, and thus threw their own army into confusion; for in their wild flight they terrified and scattered the men marshalled beside them. Moreover, a heavy rain which now came up rendered the efforts of the archers and slingers of little effect. There followed a dense and heavy mist, which in no wise hindered the Romans, since they had the upper hand and were fighting at close range; but in the case of their opponents, who were terrified and who employed cavalry and archers for the most part, it made it impossible for them to see which way to shoot their arrows and caused them to stumble over one another as if they were wandering about in the dark. Nevertheless Antiochus was able with his mail-clad cavalry to rout those confronting him, and to advance in pursuit of them as far as their camp. Indeed, he would have taken it, had not Marcus Aemilius Lepidus, who was charged with guarding it, killed the first Romans who came up, after he had failed to persuade them to check their flight. Thereupon the rest of the fugitives faced about, and Lepidus himself also made a sortie with the garrison, which was fresh; and by their united efforts they repulsed Antiochus. While this action was taking place, Zeuxis had assailed the ramparts in another quarter, had succeeded in getting within them, and continued to pillage until Lepidus became aware of it and came to the rescue of his own camp. At the same time Scipio captured the camp of Antiochus,
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

Zonaras 9, 20.

μὲν ἀνθρώπους, πολλούς δ’ ἱπποὺς, ὑποξύμα, ἄρχημον, χρυσίον, ἐλέφαντας ἀλλα τε πολλὰ καὶ πολυτελῆ εὑρε. καὶ ο μὲν Ἀντίοχος ἤττηθεὶς αὐτίκα ἐς τὴν Συρίαν ἀνεχώρησεν, οἱ δ’ Ἕλληνες οἱ εν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις προσέβεντο.

Μετὰ δὲ ταύτα ἀνακωχὴ τῆς ἐπικηρυκευσάμενου τοῦ Ἀντίοχου ἐσπείσθη. ὦ τε γὰρ Ἀφρικανὸς εὐνοϊκῶς οἱ διὰ τὸν νῦν εἰχε, καὶ ὁ ὑπάτος οὐκ ἠθελε τὴν νίκην τῷ διαδόχῳ πλησιάζοντι καταλειπέναι. οὐκοὺν οὐδὲ ἐπέταξαν τῷ Ἀντίοχῳ πλέον οὐδὲν ἢ ὅσα καὶ πρὸ τῆς μάχης ἦτον. διὸ καὶ Γναῖος Μάλλιος ὁ τὴν ἀρχὴν σφῶν διαδεξάμενος οὐκ ἤρκεσθη τοῖς συγκεκιμένοις, ἀλλὰ πλείω αὐτὸν ἀπήττησε, πρὸς δὲ καὶ ὁμήρους δοῦναι ἐκελεύσεν ἀλλοὺς τε καὶ τὸν νῦν Ἀντίοχου, καὶ τοὺς αὐτομόλους πάντας ἐκδοῦναι, εὐθεῖς καὶ ο Ἀννίβας ἦν. καὶ ο Ἀντίοχος καὶ ἄκουν πρὸς ἀπαντα ἐπειθάρχησεν. οὐ μεντοι καὶ τοῖς Ἀννίβαις ἐκδοῦναι ἡδυνὴθη πρὸς γὰρ Προυσίαν τὸν Βασίλεα τῶν Βιθυνῶν προκατέφυγε. καὶ ο μὲν Ἀντίοχος πρέσβεις ἐπὶ τούτως εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην πέμψας ἐσπείσατο, Σκιπίων δὲ Λοῦκιος ἐπηνεῖτο ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ καὶ τὴν τοῦ Ἀσιατικοῦ ἐπωνυμίαν δι’ αὐτὴν ἔσχεν, ὡσπερ ἄδελφοις αὐτοῦ Ἀφρικανὸς ἐπεκλήθη, τῆς Καρχηδόνος κρατήσας μέγιστον ἐν τῇ Ἀφρικῇ δυνηθείσης.

Τοιοῦτοι δ’ οὗν ἄδρες οὗτοι γενόμενοι καὶ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον δόξης ἐλθόντες ἐξ ἀρετῆς, δικαστηρίῳ καὶ τῷ δῆμῳ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον παρεδόθησαν καὶ ο μὲν Λοῦκιος κατεψηφίσθη ὁς τάχα πολλὰ ἐκ τῆς λείας σφετερίσαμεν ὁ Αφρικανὸς δὲ ὁς

1 ἔλεφαντας Cary, ἔλεφαντα Mss.
BOOK XIX

Zonaras 9, 20.

where he found many people, many horses, baggage animals, silver and gold, elephants, and a number of precious objects besides. Antiochus after this defeat at once retired into Syria, and the Asiatic Greeks attached themselves to the Roman cause.

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

These brothers, who had proved themselves men of such valour, and as a result of their excellence had attained such a great reputation were not long afterward brought to trial before the assembly. Lucius was condemned nominally for having appropriated a large share of the spoil, and Africanus
"Οτι ἐφθόνουν τοῖς Σκιπίωσι πολλοί, ὅτι δύο ἀδελφοὶ γένους τε καὶ ἀρετῆς εὖ ἦκοντες τά τε ἀλλα κατέπραξαν ὁσπερ εἰρηταί καὶ ἐπικλῆσεις τοιαύτας ἔλαβον, ἔπει ὅτι γε οὐδὲν ἥδικον δηλούται μὲν καὶ τοῖς εἰρημένοις, ἀπεδείχθη δὲ ἐτί μᾶλλον τῇ τοῦ Ἀσιατικοῦ δημεύσει τῆς οὐσίας, ἐν ἣ μηδὲν πλέον τῶν προὔπαρχόντων οἱ εὑρέθη, καὶ τῇ τοῦ ΚΑἱρικανοῦ ἔς Λίτερνον ἀναχωρήσει κάνταύθα μέχρι τῆς τοῦ βίου τελευτής ἀδεία. τὴν μὲν γὰρ πρότην ἀπήντησε, νομίζων τῇ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀληθεία περιέσεθαι.—V. 54 (p. 609).

Zonaras 9, 20.

ἐπιεικεστέρας τὰς συνθήκας διὰ τῶν οἴδων ποιησάμενος, τὸ δ' ἄληθὲς διὰ φθόνον. ὅτι δ’ οὐδὲν ἥδικον δηλούται μὲν καὶ ἀλλοθεν, οὐχ ἤκιστα δὲ ὅτι καὶ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ Ἀσιατικοῦ δημεύεσθης οὐδὲν πλέον τῶν αὐτῷ προὔπαρχόντων εὑρέθη, ὅτι τε τοῦ ΚΑἱρικανοῦ ἔς τὸ Λίτερνον πρὸ ψήφου ἀναχωρήσαντος καὶ μέχρι τελευτῆς ἐκεί καταμείναντος οὐδεὶς αὐτοῦ ἐτί κατεψηφίσατο.

'Ο δὲ γε Μάλλιος τότε Πισιδίαν Δυκανίαν τε καὶ Παμφυλίαν τῆς τε Γαλατίας τῆς Ἀσιανῆς πολλὰ προσηγάγετο. ἔστι γάρ τι κάνταύθα γένος αὐτῶν, ἐκ τοῦ Εὐρωπαίου ἀποδάμων. Βρέννου γάρ ποτε βασιλέα σφῶν προστησάμενοι τῇ τῇ Ἑλλάδα καὶ τὴν Θράκην ἐπέδραμον, κάκειθεν εἰς τὴν Βιθυνίαν διαβάντες μέρη τινὰ

1 εὖ inserted by Val.  2 τοῦ Rk., γούν Ms.
BOOK XIX

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

Zonaras 9, 20.
for having made the terms of peace milder on account of his son; but the true cause of their conviction was jealousy. That they were guilty of no wrong-doing is made plain both by other evidence and in particular by the fact that when the property of Asiaticus was confiscated it was found to consist merely of his original inheritance, and that though Africanus retired to Liternum before a vote was taken and lived there to the end, no one ever again voted to condemn him.

Manlius at this time won over Pisidia, Lycaonia, and Pamphylia, and a large part of Asiatic Gaul [Galatia]. For there exists in that region too a race of Gauls, which broke off from the European stock. With their king; Brennus, at their head they once overran Greece and Thrace, and crossing thence to Bithynia, they detached certain portions
 Dio's Roman History

Zonaras 9, 20-21.

τῆς τε Φρυγίας καὶ τῆς Παφλαγονίας τῆς τε Μυσίας τῆς πρὸς τῷ Ὄλυμπῳ καὶ Καππαδοκίας ἀπετέμοντο καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς κατοίκησαν, καὶ νῦν ἔθνος ἴδιον εἶσι τὸ ὅνομα τῶν Γαλατῶν φέροντες. οὕτωι δὴ πράγματα τῷ Μαλλίῳ παρέσχου. ἄλλα καὶ τούτων ἔκρατησε, τὴν μὲν Ἅγκυραν τὴν πόλιν ἐλῶν εξ ἐπιδρομῆς, τὰς δὲ ἄλλας ὁμολογία παραστησάμενοι. πράξας δὲ ταύτα καὶ συχνῶν παρὰ Ἀριαράθους τοῦ Καππαδοκῶν βασιλέως ἀργύριον ἐπὶ εἰρήνη λαβὼν ἀπήρευν οἰκαδε.

21. Οἱ δὲ Αἰτωλοὶ πρέσβεις τὸ δεύτερον ὑπὲρ εἰρήνης ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην πέμψαντες αὐτοὶ αὖθις ἐνεστέριζον. διὸ, οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τοὺς τε πρέσβεις εὐθὺς ἀπεπέμψαντο καὶ Μάρκῳ Φουλονίῳ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀνέθεντο. δὲ δὲ Ἁμβρακίαν τὴν πόλιν πρῶτον ὄρμησε μεγάλην οὐσάν (ἡ γὰρ ποτὲ τοῦ Πύρρου βασιλείαν, τότε δὲ κατείχετο πρὸς τῶν Αἰτωλῶν) καὶ ἐπολιόρκει αὐτήν ὅ ὅν Αἰτωλοὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ εἰρήνης διειλέχθησαν· ὥσ δὲ οὐκ ἦθελησε σπείσασθαι, μέρος τι τοῦ στρατοῦ ἐς τὴν Ἁμβρακίαν εἰσέπεμψαν. οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι δι' ὑπονόμου τινὸς ἐπεχείρησαν τὴν πόλιν ἑλεῖν, καὶ διώρυσσον πόρρωθεν· καὶ τέως μὲν ἐλάνθανον τοὺς πολιορκομένους, ἐπεὶ δ' ὁ χοῦς ἠθροίζε, ὑπετότησαν τὸ ἡμόμενον. ἀγνοοῦντες δ' ὅπῃ ὀρύσσοιτο, χαλκὴν ἀσπίδα κατὰ τὸν περίβολον πρὸς αὐτὸ ἐτίθουν τὸ δάπεδον· καὶ διὰ τῆς ἥχης τοῦ τόπου γυνότες, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀντώρυσσον ἐνδοθεν, καὶ πελάσαντες τοὺς Ῥω-
BOOK XIX

Zonaras 9, 20-21.

of Phrygia, Paphlagonia, Mysia adjacent to Olympus, and Cappadocia, and took up their residence in them; and they constitute to-day a separate nation bearing the name of Gauls [Galatians]. This people caused Manlius trouble, but he managed to overcome them also, capturing their city Ancyra by assault and gaining control of the rest of the towns by capitulation. After he had accomplished this and had received a large price for peace from Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, he set sail for home.

21. The Aetolians, after sending ambassadors to Rome the second time in regard to peace, were themselves once more beginning a rebellion. Hence the Romans immediately dismissed their envoys and assigned Greece to Marcus Fulvius. He set out first for the large city of Ambracia, once the royal residence of Pyrrhus and now occupied by the Aetolians, and proceeded to besiege it. The Aetolians, accordingly, held a conference with him in regard to peace, but since he was unwilling to make terms, they sent a part of their army into Ambracia. The Romans now undertook to capture the town by an underground passage, beginning their mine at a remote point, and so for a time eluding the notice of the besieged; but the latter suspected the true state of affairs when the excavated earth began to accumulate. Since, however, they were not aware in what direction the tunnel was being dug, they proceeded to apply a bronze shield to the surface of the ground along the circuit of the wall. And discovering the place by means of the resonance they went to work in their turn to dig a tunnel from inside, and so approached the Romans, with

325
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

61 "Οτι νεανίσκοι τινες Καρχηδονίων πρέσβεις ἐστὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ἐλθόντας ὑβρίσαντες ἐπέμφθησαν μὲν ἐς τὴν Καρχηδόνα καὶ ἐξεδόθησαν σφίσιν, οὐκ ἔπαθον δὲ ὑπ’ αὐτῶν δεινὸν οὐδέν, ἀλλ’ ἀφείθησαν.—U 12 (p. 381).

64 "Οτι οἱ Ῥωμαίοι τῆς τρυφῆς τῆς Ἀσιανῆς ἤγευσάμενοι, καὶ μετὰ τῆς τῶν λαφύρων περιουσίας τῆς τε παρὰ τῶν ὄπλων ἔξουσίας ἐν τοῖς τῶν

Zonaras 9, 21.

μαίοις ἔσαν εἰς μάχας κρυπτάς. τέλος δὲ τι τοιούτων ἀντετεχνήσαντο. πίθων μέγαν πτίλων πληρώσαντες πῦρ ἐς αὐτῶν ἐνῆκαν, καὶ πῶμα χαλκοῦν αὐτῷ πωλλαχῇ τετρημένου ἐνέθηκαν, καὶ εἰς τὸν ὑπόνομον τὸν πίθων κομίσαντες καὶ πρὸς τοὺς πολέμιους τρέψαντες τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ ἀκροφύσιον οἱ κατὰ τὸν πυθμένα ἐνέβαλον, καὶ τούτῳ φύσεις προσφέροντες πλείστων καὶ δυσχερῆ κατινὸν ὅλα ἐκ πτίλων ἐκθορεῖν ἐποίουν, δύο οὐδεὶς τῶν Ῥωμαιών ὑπέμενεν. θεῖω ἀπογυνόντες οἱ Ῥωμαιοὶ ἐσπείσαντο καὶ τὴν πολιορκίαν κατέλυσαν. ὴμολογησάντων δ’ αὐτῶν καὶ οἱ Αἰτωλοὶ μετεβάλοντο· καὶ διεπράξαντο ἄνοχήν, εἰτα καὶ εἰρήνην παρὰ τοῦ δήμου, πωλλὰ μὲν χρήματα, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ ὁμήρους δόντες. καὶ ὁ Φουλούιος τὴν Κεφαλληνίαν ὴμολογία παρεστήσατο καὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον στασιάζονσαν κατεστήσατο.

Γατοὺ δὲ Φλαμνίου καὶ Αἰμιλίου Δεσπίδου ὑπατευόντων μετέπειτα ὁ Ἀντίοχος ἔθανε, καὶ

1 ἐλθόντας Wesseling, ἐλθόντες Mss.

326
Some youths who had insulted envoys of the Carthaginians when they came to Rome were sent to Carthage and delivered up to the people there; however, they received no injury at their hands, but were released.

The Romans, when they had had a taste of Asiatic luxury and had spent some time among the possessions of the vanquished amid the abundance of spoils

Zonaras 9, 21.

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

Afterwards, in the consulship of Gaius Flaminius and Aemilius Lepidus, Antiochus died and his son
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

65 “Όσι ο Γράκχος ἄλλως μὲν ἐκ ταῦτα πλήθους ἤν καὶ ἐδημηγόρει δεινότατα, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ὀμοιώθη Κάτων, ἀλλὰ καίπερ παλαιάν τινα πρὸς τοὺς Σκιπίωνας ἐξῆραν ἔχων οὐκ ἦνεγκε το γιγνόμενον, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἄφρικανοῦ καὶ ἀπελογήσατο ἐρήμῳ κατηγορηθέντος, ὅπως τις μηδεμίαν κηλίδα λάβῃ διεσπούδαστο, τόν τε Ἀσιατικὸν ἐκώλυσεν ἐς τὸ οἴκημα ἐμβληθήναι. καὶ διὰ ταύτα αὐτῷ οἱ Σκιπίωνες τὴν τε ἐξῆραν κατέλυσαν καὶ κῆδος συνῆσαν τὴν γὰρ θυγατέρα τὴν ἐναυτὸν ὁ Ἄφρικανὸς συνφόκισεν.—V. 56 (p. 610).

2 Διών θ' βιβλίῳ “ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶ ὅσοι περὶ αὐτῶν τῆς σχολῆς, τὰς ὁδοὺς δέ αὐτῶν κατεσκευάσαντο.”—Bekk. Anecd. 166, 14 ; cf. 166, 3.

Zonaras 9, 21.

αὐτῶν οὐδὲ ο Σέλευκος διεδέξατο· τελευτήσαντος δὲ κάκεινον πολλὰ ύπερον ο εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ὀμηρεύων 'Αντίοχος ἐβασίλευσεν. ο δὲ γε Φίλιππος ἑτολμήσα μὲν νεωτέρισαι ὦτι πόλεων τινων ἐστερήθη ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ καὶ πρὸς ταῦτα καὶ Ἀινὸν καὶ Μαρωνείας, οὐκ ἡδυνήθη δὲ διὰ τὸ γῆρας καὶ διὰ τὰ περὶ τούτων πάθως συνενεκτένα αὐτῷ. καὶ Γαλάται τινὲς τάς Ἀλπείς 1 τῆν Rk., καὶ τὴν Ms. 2 ᾧ St., ἤθη Ms. 3 εἴπεσε Rk., ἔπεσε Ms. 4 διεσπούδαστο Val., διὰ ἐπιστάτα Ms.
BOOK XIX

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

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

Dio, Book XIX. "When even thus they [the troops] still had leisure, [the consuls] had the roads built by them."¹

Zonaras 9, 21.

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

¹ Refers to the extension of the Via Flaminia from Ariminum to Placentia by the soldiers of Flaminius and Aemilius, consuls of 187 B.C. Cf. Livy 39, 2, 6, 10.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

Zonaras 9, 21.

ὑπερβάντες πόλιν ἐντὸς αὐτῶν κτίσαι ἥθελησαν. ὥν ὁ Μάρκος ὁ Μάρκελλος τὰ τε ὅπλα ἀφείλετο καὶ τάλλα ὅσα ἐπεκομίζοντο. οἱ δ' ἐν τῇ 'Ῥώμη πρεσβευσαμένοις σφίσιν ἐπὶ τῷ εὐθὺς ἀναχωρῆσαι πάντα ἀπέδωκαν.

Τότε δὲ καὶ ὁ 'Ἀννίβας ἀπέθανε. πρέσβεων γὰρ πρὸς τὸν Προσιάν τὸν τῆς Βιθυνίας κρατοῦντα πεμφθέντων ἐκ 'Ῥώμης δι' ἄλλα τέ τινα καὶ ὅπως καὶ τὸν 'Ἀννίβαν ἑκδοικία παρ' αὐτῷ δωτα, προμαθῶν τοῦτ' ἔκεινος καὶ διαδρᾶναι μὴ οἶδα τε ὅν έαυτὸν διεχρῆσατο. χρησμοῦ δὲ τοῦτο αὐτῷ γενομένου ἐν γῇ Λίβυσσῃ τεθνῇσεθαι, ὃ μὲν ἐν τῇ πατρίδι τῇ Λίβυιῇ προσεδόκα θανεῖν, ἔτυχε δὲ θυσίκων ἐν χωρίῳ των τυγχάνων καλομένῳ Λιβύσσῃ. καὶ ὁ 'Ἀφρικανὸς δὲ Σκιπιῶν τότε μετήλλαξε.

Tzetzes, Chil. 1, 798–805.

Αὐτὸς δὲ φάρμακον πιῶν θυήσκει πρὸς Βιθυνίαν | πρὸς τὶ χωρίῳ Λίβυσσαν καλομένον τῇ κλῆσει | δοκῶν θανεῖν εἰς Λίβυσσαν πατρίδα τὴν οἰκείαν. | ἢν γὰρ 'Ἀννίβα θεῖος χρησμὸς οὕτω που γεγραμμένος | Λίβυσσα κρύψει βάλος 'Ἀννίβα δέmas. | ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ δ' ὑστερον Ρωμαίων | ὁ Σεβήρος | ἐκ γένους δὸν τοῦ Λίβυκου λευκῆς μαρμάρου τάφῳ τὸν ἀνδρὰ τοῦτον τέθηκεν, τὸν στρατηγὸν 'Ἀννίβαν.
BOOK XIX

Zonaras 9, 21.

crossed the Alps and desired to found a city to the south of the mountains. Marcus Marcellus took away their arms and everything that they had brought along; but the people at Rome, upon receiving an embassy from them, restored everything on condition that they should at once retire.

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

Tzetzes, Chil. 1, 798–805.

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

\(^1\) Gr. Libysson usually is the feminine adjective = Libyan, and Libya is Zonaras’ usual word for Africa.
22. Φίλιππος δὲ ὁ Μακεδόνων βασιλεύς, τὸν νῦν Δημήτριον ἀποκτείνας καὶ τὸν άτερον νῦν τὸν Περσέα μελλήσας φονεύσειν, ἀπέθανεν. ἔπει γὰρ προσφίλης τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐκ τῆς ὁμορείας ἐγένετο ὁ Δημήτριος, καὶ αὐτὸς τε καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν Μακεδόνων ἔλπιζον ὅτι μετὰ τὸν Φίλιππον τὴν βασιλείαν λήψεται, ἐφθόνησεν αὐτῷ ὁ Περσέας, ἀτε καὶ πρεσβύτερος αὐτοῦ ἦν, καὶ διέβαλεν αὐτὸν ὡς ἐπιβουλεύοντα τῷ πατρί. καὶ ὁ μὲν φάρμακον πιεῖν ἀναγκασθεὶς ἔτελεύτησεν, ὁ δὲ Φίλιππος οὐ πολλῷ ύστερον τὸ ἄλλθες γνώς ἀμύνασθαι τὸν Περσέα ἠθέλησεν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἱσχύσειν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς τε ἀπέθανεν καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ὁ Περσέας διεδέξατο. καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαίοι ταῦτα τε αὐτῷ ἐβεβαιώσαν καὶ τὴν πατρίαν φιλίαν ἀνενεώσαντο.

Ἐν δὲ τοῖς μετὰ ταῦτα χρόνοις συμπέρανσιν μὲν τινα, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἀναγκαία πάνυ ὡστε καὶ συγγραφῆς νομίζοσιν ἄξια. ύστερον δὲ ὁ Περσέας πολέμιον ἑαυτὸν τὸς Ῥωμαίοις ἐποίησεν. ἵνα δὲ ἀναβολὴ τοῦ πολέμου σχολὴ μέχρις ἄν παρασκευᾶται, πρέσβεις εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐπεμψεν ἀπολογησομένους τάχα περὶ δὲν ἐνεκαλεῖτο. οὖς οἱ Ῥωμαίοι οὐτ' εἰσοῦ τοῦ τείχους
FRAGMENTS OF BOOK XX

22. Philip, king of Macedonia, had put to death his son Demetrius and was about to slay his other son Perseus, when death overtook him. For because Demetrius had gained the affection of the Roman people through his sojourn as hostage and hoped, along with the rest of the Macedonian people, that he should secure the kingdom after Philip’s death, Perseus, who was his elder, had become jealous of him and falsely reported him to be plotting against his father. Thus Demetrius was forced to drink poison and died. Philip not long afterward ascertained the truth, and desired to take vengeance upon Perseus; but he did not possess sufficient strength, and not only did he die himself, but Perseus succeeded to the kingdom. The Romans confirmed his claims to it and renewed the compact of friendship made with his father.

In the period following this some events took place, to be sure, yet they were not of such great importance as to seem worthy of record. Still later Perseus became hostile to the Romans, and in order to delay actual warfare until he should have made his preparations, he sent envoys to Rome nominally to present his answer to the charges which were being brought against him. These messengers the Romans would not receive within the wall; and
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

Zonaras 9, 22.

ἐδέξαντο, καὶ πρὸ τοῦ ἀστεοῦ αὐτῶν χρηματισαντες οὐδὲν ἀπεκρίναντο ἔτερον ἢ ὅτι ὑπατον πέμψουσι πρὸς ὃν ὅσα βουλεῖται διαλεχθήσεται. καὶ αὐθημερὸν αὐτοὺς ἀπείναι ἔποιησαν, δόντες σφίζει καὶ ἀγωγοὺς ὅστε μὴ τινὶ συγγένωναι· καὶ τὸ Περσὲὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐπιβαίνειν τοῦ λιοτοῦ ἀπειρήκασιν.

Οἱ μὲν οὖν Ρωμαίοι μετὰ ταῦτα Γναῖον Σικίννιον στρατηγὸν μετὰ δυνάμεως ὀλίγης ἔξεπεμψαν (οὐ γάρ πο τὴν μείζω πάρεσκευάσαντο), καὶ ὁ Περσέιος εἰς Θεσσαλίαν παρεμβάλλων τὰ γε πλείστα αὐτῆς ψευδώσατο· ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ ἔαρ ἐπέστη, πέμπτον ἐπὶ αὐτὸν Δικίννιον Κράσσου, καὶ στρατηγὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ Γάιον Λουκρήτιον. συμμέταξαν οὖν πρῶτον περὶ Λάρισαν τῷ Περσεὶ ἐν ἐπιπομαχία ἐπταυσαν ὑστερον μέντοι περιεγένετο, ὡστε καὶ ἀναχωρήσαι τὸν Περσέα εἰς τὴν Μακεδονίαν. ὁ Κράσσου δὲ ταῖς πόλεσι ταῖς Ἑλληνικαῖς ταῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ Φιλιπποῦ κατεχομέναις προσέβαλε, καὶ τῶν μὲν πλειόνων ἀπεκρύψα, ἐστὶ δ’ ἃς ἐχειρώσατο καὶ τῖνας κατασκάψας τοὺς ἀλῶνας ἀπέδοτο. ἀπερ οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἰώμῃ πυθόμενοι ἡγανάκτησαν, καὶ τοῦν τε Κράσσου ύστερον ἐξημίωσαν χρήσαντο καὶ τὰς ἑαυτοκινήτας πόλεις ἡλευθέρωσαν καὶ τοὺς πραθέντας ἐξ αὐτῶν καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ εὑρέθεντας τότε παρὰ τῶν ἐωνημένων αὐτῶν ἐξεπράντο.

Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν οὕτως ἐπηράξαν οἱ Ρωμαίοι, ἐν δὲ τῷ πρὸς τὸν Περσέα πολέμῳ πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα ἠτύχησαν, καὶ πολλαχοῖς ἐπόνυσε τὰ αὐτῶν, καὶ ὁ Περσείου τῆς Ἡπείρου καὶ τῆς 334
BOOK XX

Zonaras 9, 22.

although they gave them a hearing in the space before the city, they returned no other answer than that they would send a consul with whom he might confer on whatever topics he pleased. They also caused them to depart the same day, after giving them guides to prevent their associating with anybody. And Perseus was forbidden for the future to set foot on the soil of Italy.

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

Thus the Romans fared in these undertakings; but in the war against Perseus they suffered many severe reverses and their fortunes at many points were at a low ebb. Perseus occupied the greater
Θεσσαλίας κατέσχε τὰ πλείονα. τὴν τε γὰρ ἀλλην συνεκρότησε, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐλέφαντας τῶν Ῥωμαίων φάλαγγα ὀπλιτῶν ἤσκηκε, ὥστεν ἦλοι τὰς ἀσπίδας καὶ τὰ κράνη σιδηρώσας αὐτῶν. ὅπως δὲ μῆτε τοὺς ἵππους φοβεροὶ εἰεν, εἴδωλα ἐλέφαντων σκευάσας δεινὴν μὲν ὕπο χρήσματος τινος ὁμὴν ἔχοντα, φοβερὰ δὲ καὶ ὀφθηναὶ καὶ ἀκουσθηναὶ ὄντα (βροντώδη γὰρ ἦφιε ἦχον τινὰ ἐξ ἐπιτηδεύσεως), πρὸς ἐκεῖνα προσῆγε αὐτοὺς συνεχῶς, μέχρις οὐ καὶ ἔθαρσαν. ὁ μὲν οὖν Περσεύς μέγα ἐκ τούτων ἐκέκτητο φρόνημα καὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον τῇ δόξῃ καὶ τῷ μεγέθει τῆς ἀρχῆς ὑπεροίσεως ἐπήλπισεν, οἱ δ` ἐν τῇ Ῥώμη ταῦτα μαθόντες τὸν Μάρκιον Φιλίππον ὑπατεύοντα σπουδὴ ἔξεπεμψαν. καὶ δὲ ής τὴν Θεσσαλίαν πρὸς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀφικόμενος τοὺς τε Ῥωμαίους καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους ἐξῆκαν, ὡστε δείσαντα τὸν Περσέα ἐν τῷ Δίῳ 1 τῷ Μακεδονικῷ καὶ πρὸς τοῖς Τέμπτεσιν ἡσυχαῖν ἀγεῖν καὶ τὰ στενὰ τηρεῖν. θαρσῆς δὲ διὰ ταῦτα ὁ Φιλίττος διὰ μέσων ὁρῶν ὑπερῆβαλε καὶ τινὰ τοῦ Περσέως κατέσχε. προὶδον δ` ἐπὶ τῆς Πύδνης τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἐσπάνιος, καὶ ἐς τὴν Θεσσαλίαν ἀνέστρεψε. καὶ αὕτης ὁ Περσεύς ἀνεθάρρυνε καὶ ἐκ κατέσχεν ὁ Φιλίττος ἀνεκτήσατο καὶ τῷ ναυτικῷ συνχά τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐλύμεν, συμμάχους τε προσηγάγετο καὶ πάντῃ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐκ τῆς Ελλάδος ἠλπίσεν ἐκβαλεῖν.

336

1 Δίῳ Wolf, iδίῳ Mss.
part of Epirus and Thessaly, having gathered a large body of troops. As a special measure of defence against the Romans' elephants he had a trained phalanx of heavy-armed warriors whose shields and helmets he had had studded with sharp iron nails. Also, in order to make sure that the beasts should not prove a source of terror to the horses, he constructed images of elephants and smeared them with some kind of ointment to give them a dreadful odour. They were terrible both to see and to hear, since they were skilfully arranged to emit a roar resembling thunder; and he would repeatedly lead the horses up to these figures until they gained courage. Perseus, then, as a result of all this had acquired great confidence and even hoped to surpass Alexander in glory and in the size of his domain; and the people of Rome, when they learned this, speedily sent out Marcius Philippus, who was consul. He, on reaching the camp in Thessaly, went to drilling the Romans and the allies, so that Perseus became afraid, and remained quiet at Dium in Macedonia, near Tempe, and kept watch of the pass. Philippus, encouraged by this behaviour of his, crossed over the middle of the mountain range and occupied some possessions of Perseus. But as he was advancing toward Pydna he fell short of provisions and turned back to Thessaly. Perseus now gained courage anew, recovered the places that Philippus had occupied, and with his fleet caused the Romans numerous injuries. He also secured allies and hoped to eject the Romans from Greece alto-
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐκβαλεῖν ἥλπισεν, τῇ δὲ πολλῇ καὶ ἀκαίρῳ φειδωλίᾳ καὶ τῇ δι’ αὐτὴν τῶν συμμάχων ὀλυνωρίᾳ ἄσθενής αὕθις ἐγένετο. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὑπεδίδου καὶ τὰ ἐκείνου ἐπημύζετο, κατεφρόνησεν ὡς οὐδὲν ἦτι τῶν συµµαχικῶν δεόμενοι, ἀλλ’ ἦτοι καὶ προῖκα οἱ αὐτῶν βοηθησόντων, ἢ καὶ καθ’ εαυτὸν κρατήσων, καὶ οὔτε τῷ Ἐὔμενεῖ οὔτε τῷ Γεντίῳ τὰ χρήματα ἃ ὑπέσχετο ἀπέδωκε, νοµίζας οἰκείαν αὐτοὺς αἰτίαν ἔχθρας πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἔχειν. τούτων τε οὖν καὶ τῶν Ἡρακλῶν (οὐδὲ γὰρ οὔδ’ ἐκείνοι ἐν- τελῆ τὸν μισθὸν ἐλάμβανον) ἀπροθύμων γενο- μένων ἐς τοσοῦτο αὕθις ἀπογνώσεως ἀφίκετο ὡστε καὶ σπουδῶν δεηθήναι.—V. 57 (p. 610).

2 "Ὅτι ὁ Περσεὺς σπουδῶν ἐδεήθη παρὰ Ῥω- μαίους, κἂν ἐτυχεν αὐτῶν, εἰ μὴ οἱ Ῥόδιοι συνε-

Zonaras 9, 22.

τῇ δὲ πολλῇ καὶ ἀκαίρῳ φειδωλίᾳ καὶ τῇ δι’ αὐτὴν τῶν συµµάχων ὀλυνωρίᾳ ἄσθενῆς αὕθις ἐγένετο. ὡς γὰρ τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὑπεδίδου, τὰ δ’ ἐκείνου ἐπημύζετο, κατεφρόνησεν ὡς οὐδὲν ἦτι τῶν συµµάχων δεόμενοι, καὶ οὐκ ἐδίδου χρήµατα σφίσιν ἃ ἔπηγγειλατο. τῶν μὲν οὖν ἀμβλυνθέντων τὸ πρόθυµον, τῶν δὲ καὶ τέλεον αὐτῶν ἐκλιπόντων, τοσοῦτον ἀπέγνω ὡστε καὶ σπουδῶν δεηθήναι. καὶ κἂν ἐτυχε τούτων διὰ τοῦ Ἐὑμενοῦς, εἰ μὴ καὶ Ῥόδιοι συνεπρέπεσθεν τοιοῦτοι ὑπερηφάνως γὰρ

1 ἐκείνου Reim., ἐκείνων Ms.
2 ὑπέσχετο Bk., ὑπέσχετο Ms.

338
BOOK XX

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

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

Zonaras 9, 22.

gether, but through his excessive and inopportune parsimony and the consequent contempt of his allies he became weak once more. For as soon as the Roman influence was declining and his own was increasing, he became filled with scorn and thought he had no further need of his allies, and would not give them the money which he had offered. The zeal of some, accordingly, became damped and others abandoned him entirely, whereupon he was so overwhelmed by despair that he even sued for peace. And he would have obtained it through Eumenes but for the presence of Rhodians also in the embassy.

339

z 2
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

πρέσβευσαν αὐτῷ δεῖ τοῦ μη Ῥωμαίοις τὸν ἀντίπαλον ὑπεξαιρεθήναι. μέτριον μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν, οἷα δεομένους εἰκὸς ἦν εἰπεῖν, ἔλεξαν καὶ τῆς εἰρήνης οὐκ αἰτηταί μᾶλλον τῷ Πέρσῃ ἢ δόται ὄντες, ἀλλὰ τε πολλὰ ὑπερήφανα διελεχθησαν, καὶ τέλος ἤπείλησαν τοὺς αἰτίοις τοῦ μη συμβήναι σφας γενομένοις μετὰ τῶν ἐτέρων πολεμήσεων. κὰκ τούτου οὖδὲ τὸ πρὶν ἀνύποπτοι τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ὄντες μᾶλλον διεβλῆθησαν, καὶ τὸν Περσέα τῶν σπονδῶν τυχεῖν ἐκώλυσαν.—

Zonaras 9, 22–23.

οὕτωι τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις διαλεχθέντες τυχεῖν αὐτῶν ἐκώλυσαν τῶν σπονδῶν.

23. Ἕντευθεν οὖ κατ' αὐτοῦ πόλεμος Παύλῳ ἁντεθῆκε τῷ Αἰμιλίῳ τὸ δεύτερον ὑπάτευσον.

· δὲ σπονδῇ κομισθεὶς εἰς τὴν Θεσσαλίαν καὶ τὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν προκαταστησάμενος, βιασάμενος διὰ τῶν Τεμπῶν (ὁλίγοι γὰρ ἐφρύουρον αὐτὰ), ἔπι τὸν Περσέα ὁρμησεν. ἑπεὶ δὲ ἐκείνος τὸν Ἑλπιον ποταμὸν προσαπέφραξεν ὄντα ἐν μέσῳ, προκαταλαβὼν δὲ καὶ πᾶν τὸ μεταξὺ τοῦ τῆ Ολύμπου καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης αἴμασιας καὶ σταυρόμασι καὶ οἴκοδομήσας ἄπορον ἀπειργάσατο, ἔθαρρει δὲ καὶ τῇ ἀνυδρίᾳ τοῦ τόπου, ἐπέφρασε μὲν καὶ οὕτως ὁ υπάτος διελθείν, καὶ

340
BOOK XX

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

Zonaras 9, 22–23.

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

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

Zonaras 9, 23.

τῆς ἀνυδρίας ἐπορίσατο ἐπικούρημα. διαμησά-
μενος γὰρ τὴν ἐν τῇ ύπωρείᾳ τοῦ Ὀλύμπου ἄμμον ὑδρῷ εὑρε δαψιλές τε καὶ πότιμον. κἂν
tοῦτῳ τῶν Ῥοδίων πρέσβεις ἀφίκοντο πρὸς
avτούς ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς θρασύτητος ἀφ’ ἓς καὶ
eς τὴν Ῥώμην πρὶν ἐπρεσβεύσαντο. οὐ δὲ οὐδὲν
eἰπὼν πλέον αὐτοῖς ὡς τι μετ’ ὅλιγας ἡμέρας
ἀπόκρισιν δώσει, ἀπέπεμψεν αὐτοὺς. ὡς δὲ
pροσβάλλων οὐδὲν ἑπεραίνει, ἐμαθὲ δὲ τὰ ὄρη
ὀντα ποὺ πορεύσιμα, μέρος τι τοῦ στρατοῦ
ἐπὶ τὴν δυσπροσωδωτέραν αὐτῶν ὑπερβολὴν
ἐπεμψε, καταληψάμενον τὰ ταύτη ἐπίκαιρα (διὰ
γὰρ τὸ δυσπρόσιτον καὶ ἔλαχίστην εἰχὲ φρουράν),
αὐτὸς δὲ τῷ λυπήφῳ τοῦ στρατεύματος προσέμεξε
τῷ Περσεί, ἵνα μὴ τὶ ὑποτοπήσας φυλακῇ
τῶν ὄρων ἀκριβεστέραν ποιῆσαι. καὶ μετὰ
tοῦτο καταληφθέντοι τῶν ἄκρων νυκτὸς πρὸς
τὰ ὄρη ὄρμησε, καὶ τῇ μὲν λαθῶν, τῇ δὲ βια-
σάμενος ὑπερέβαλεν αὐτά. οὐ μᾶθὼν ο Περσεύς,
καὶ δεῖσαι μὴ κατὰ νότων αὐτῷ προστέσῃ ἢ
καὶ τὴν Πύδναν προκατάσχῃ (καὶ γὰρ τὸ ναυτικὸν
άμα τὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων παρέπλει), τὸ τε ἔρμα
τὸ πρὸς τῷ ποταμῷ ἔξελυε, καὶ πρὸς τὴν
Πύδναν ἐπειχθεῖς πρὸ τῆς πόλεως ἐστρατοπεδεύ-
σατο. καὶ ἦλθε μὲν καὶ ὁ Παῦλος ἔκει, οὐ
μέντοι καὶ παραχρήμα προσέμεξαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ
dιέτριψαν οὐκ ὅλιγας ἡμέρας. προμαθῶν δὲ ὁ
Παῦλος ὡς ἡ σελήνη ἐκλείψειν μέλλει, συνή-
θροίκει πρὸς ἐσπέραν τὸ στράτευμα, ὅτε τὴν
ἐκλείψιν γενέσθαι ἔχρην, καὶ προεῖπε τὸ συμβη-
σόμενον, καὶ μὴ τι διὰ τοῦτο ταραχθῆναι παρὴ-

342
the lack of water; for by piercing the sand bed at the foot of Olympus he found an abundant supply suitable for drinking. Meanwhile envoys of the Rhodians came to him, animated by the same boldness which they had displayed on their former embassy to Rome. But he made no statement to them beyond saying that he would return an answer in a few days, and dismissed them. Now when he could accomplish nothing by direct assault, but learned that the mountains were passable in places, he sent a portion of his army toward that pass across them which was the most difficult of approach, to seize opportune points along the route,—for on account of the difficulty of access it had an extremely small guard,—while he himself with the remainder of his army attacked Perseus, so that the latter might not become suspicious and guard the mountains with greater care. Afterwards, when the heights had been occupied, he set out by night for the mountains, and by passing unnoticed at some points and employing force at others he got across. Perseus on learning of this became afraid that the enemy might assail him from the rear, or even seize Pydna, since the Roman fleet was at the same time sailing along the coast; and he accordingly abandoned his fortification near the river, and hastening to Pydna, encamped in front of the town. Paulus, too, came there, but instead of beginning an engagement immediately they delayed for a good many days. Paulus had learned beforehand that the moon was going to be eclipsed, and so, assembling his army on the evening when the eclipse was due to occur, he gave the men notice of what would happen and warned them not to let it disturb
Zonaras 9, 23.

νεσεν. οἱ μὲν οὖν Ῥωμαίοι τὴν ἐκλειψιν θεασάμενοι οὐδὲν κακὸν ἔξαντο εὔτης ὑπετόπησαν, οἱ δὲ γε Μακεδόνες δέος ἔσχον ἐκ τοῦτον καὶ ἐς τὸν Περσέα τὸ τέρας τείνειν ἐνόμισαν. οὔτω δὲ ἐκατέρων ἔχοντων συμβάν τι κατὰ τύχην τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ συνερρήξεν αὐτοὺς εἰς μάχην ἀκήρυκτων καὶ τέλος τῷ πολέμῳ ἐπέθηκεν. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ὑποζυγίων τι τῶν Ῥωμαίων εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ εἰσέπεσεν ἐξ οὗτος ὑδρεύουσα, καὶ οἳ τε Μακεδόνες αὐτοῦ ἐπελάβοντο καὶ οἱ ὑδροφόροι ἀντεῖχοντο, τὸ μὲν πρώτον οὕτως καθ' ἑαυτοῖς ἐμαχέσαντο, ἐπειτα καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ ἐπικουροῦντες τοῖς οἰκείοις κατ' ὀλίγους ἕκ τῶν στρατοπεδίων ἐξήσαν, καὶ πάντες συνέμειξαν ἀπ' ἀμφότερος. καὶ μάχης ἀσυντάκτου μὲν, ὀξείας δὲ γενομένης, οἱ Ῥωμαίοι ἐκράτησαν, καὶ καταδιώκαντες τοὺς Μακεδόνας μέχρι τῆς θαλάσσης πολλοὺς μὲν αὐτοῦ ἐφόνευσαν, πολλοὺς δὲ τῷ ναυτικῷ προσπλέουσαν ἀποκτείνας παρέδοσαν. οὔτ' ἄν τις ὑπελείφθη αὐτούς, εἰ μὴν οὖς αὐτοῖς ἐβοηθήσε. περὶ δὲ θέλην γὰρ ὁψίαν ἡ μάχη ἐγένετο.

Διαφυγών οὖν εἰς Ἀμφίπολιν ὁ Περσέας ὡς τοὺς τε περιλυπέσεις ἀναληψόμενος καὶ συντήσαμεν αὕθεσ τὰ πράγματα, ἐπεὶ οὔτ' ἠλθόν τινας πρὸς αὐτοῦ πλὴν μισθοφόρων Κρήτην καὶ τὴν Πύδναν ἄλλας τε πόλεις τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἡρήσθαι ἔμαθε, κάκειθεν μετέστη καὶ εἰς πλοῖα τὰ χρήματα ὡς ἐπήγετο θέμενος νυκτὸς ἐς Σαμοθράκην ἀπέπλευσε. καὶ πυθόμενος οὐ πολλῷ ὑστερον τῶν Ὅκταονων, δὲ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ προϊστατο, προσπλέοντα, καὶ τὸν Παύλου ἐς Ἀμφίπολιν παρόντα, ἐπέστειλεν αὐτῷ συμβηναί δεόμενος.

344
BOOK XX

Zonaras 9, 23.

them at all. Accordingly the Romans on beholding the eclipse looked for no evil to come from it; but the Macedonians were in fear because of it and thought that the prodigy referred to Perseus. While each side was in this frame of mind an accidental occurrence the next day forced them into an unpremeditated battle and put an end to the war. One of the Romans' pack-animals fell into the water from which they were getting their supply, whereupon the Macedonians laid hold of him and the water-carriers offered resistance. At first they fought by themselves; then the other troops also gradually issued from their respective camps to the assistance of their own men, and everybody on both sides became engaged. A disordered but sharp conflict ensued, in which the Romans were victorious; and pursuing the Macedonians as far as the sea, they slaughtered numbers of them themselves and allowed the fleet, which was drawing inshore, to slay many more. Indeed, not one of them would have been left alive had not night come to their aid; for the battle occurred during the late afternoon.

Perseus consequently made his escape to Amphipolis, where he intended to rally the survivors and reorganize the campaign; but as nobody came to him but Cretan mercenaries and he learned that Pydna and other cities had chosen the Roman side, he moved on from there also, and after putting aboard some vessels all the money that he was carrying he sailed away by night to Samothrace. Before long he ascertained that Octavius was approaching at the head of his fleet and that Paulus had arrived at Amphipolis; so he sent him a letter expressing a

345
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

3 "Οτι ο Περσεύς εν Σαμοθράκη δυν εν τῳ ιερῷ, καὶ έξαιτηθεὶς Εύανδρον τινα, γένος μὲν Κρήτα, πιστότατον δὲ ὄντα καὶ ἄλλα τε πολλὰ ἐαυτῷ κατὰ τῶν Ρωμαίων ύπουργηκότα καὶ τὴν τοῦ Εὐμενοῦς ἐπιβουλήν τὴν ἐν τοῖς Δελφοῖς γενομένην συνεσκευακότα, οὐκ ἔξεδωκε μὲν, φοβηθεῖς μὴ κατεληπτὶ ὅσα αὐτῷ συνήδει, λάθρα δὲ ἀποκτείνας διέδωκε λόγον ὅτι ἐαυτὸν προαπεχρήσατο. οἱ δὲ συνόντες οἱ φοβηθέντες τὴν ἀπιστίαν αὐτοῦ

Zonaras 9, 23.

καὶ ἔπει βασιλέα ἐαυτὸν ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ ἄνωμασεν, οὐδὲ ἀποκρίσεως ἔτυχεν. Ὡστερον δὲ ἀνευτὶς τοιαύτης προσφήσεως ἐπιστελλαντος προσεδέχατο μὲν τὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν σπουδῶν λόγον, οὐκ ἄλλως μέντοι συμβῆσθαι ἐφη εἰ μὴ καὶ ἐαυτὸν καὶ τὰ ἐαυτοῦ πάντα τοῖς Ρωμαίοις ἐπιτρέψειε. καὶ διὰ ταῦτα οὐ συνέβησαν. μετὰ τοῦτο δὲ ἔξαιτηθείς παρὰ τῶν Ρωμαίων Εύανδρον τινα Κρήτα πολλὰ κατ᾽ αὐτῶν ύπουργηκότα καὶ πιστότατον αὐτῷ, οὐκ ἔξεδωκε μὲν, φοβηθεῖς μὴ κατεληπτὶ ὅσα αὐτῷ συνήδει, λάθρα δὲ αὐτὸν ἀποκτείνας ἐαυτὸν διαχειρίσασθαι ἐφήμεσε. τότε 

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

346
BOOK XX

When Perseus was in the temple at Samothrace, a demand was made upon him for the surrender of one Evander, of Cretan stock, a most faithful follower who had assisted him in many other schemes against the Romans and had helped to concoct the plot carried out at Delphi against Eumenes. Perseus, fearing that he might declare all the intrigues to which he had been privy, did not deliver him up, but secretly slew him and spread the report that he had made away with himself before he could be apprehended. The associates of Perseus, fearing his

Zonaras 9, 23.

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

4 Ὅτι ο Περσεὺς ἐθελοντὴς εὑρέθη, καὶ αὐτὸν ἐσ τὴν Ἀμφίπολιν ἀχθέντα ὁ Παῦλος ὀυδὲν οὐτε ἔργῳ οὔτε λόγῳ δεινὸν ἔδρασεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσίστη διὰ τὸ ὑπαναστᾶσά τα τε ἀλλα ἐδεξιώσατο καὶ ὁμόσιτον ἐποιήσατο, ἐν τε φυλακῇ ἀδέσμωφ καὶ ἐν θεραπείᾳ πολλῇ ἤγε.—V. 59 (p. 613).


στίαν αὐτοῦ (οὐ γὰρ ἠγώνησαν τὸ γενόμενον), μεθίστασθαι ἦρξαντο. κακεῖνος δείσας μὴ τοῖς Ῥωμαιοῖς παραδοθῇ, ἐκδράναι νυκτὸς ἐπεχείρησε. καὶ ἔλαθεν ἀν πρὸς Κότυν Θράκη δυναστὴν κομισθεὶς, εἰ μὴ οἱ Κρῆτες αὐτῶν ἐγκατέληπτον ἐνθέμενοι γὰρ τὰ χρήματα εἰς τὰ πλοῖα οἰκαί ἀπῆραν. ὦ δὲ ἡμέρας μὲν τινας αὐτοῦ μετὰ Φιλίππου ἐνὸς τῶν ὑπό τῶν κυριτόμενος ἔλαθεν, ἐπεὶ δὲ τοὺς ἀλλοὺς παῖδας καὶ τὴν θεραπείαν ἐγγὸ κατεσχηκότα τὸν Ὀκταούνιον, εὑρέθη ἐθελοντῆς. καὶ ἀχθέντα εἰς τὴν Ἀμφίπολιν οὐδὲν ὁ Παῦλος ἐκάκωσεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐδεξιώσατο καὶ ὁμόσιτον ἐποιήσατο καὶ ἐν ἀδέσμωφ φυλακῇ ἔτηρε καὶ ἐν θεραπείᾳ ἤγε. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν διὰ τῆς Ἡπείρου ἀνακομίσθῃ. 1

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

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

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


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

24. At this same time Lucius Anicius, a praetor, sent to conduct operations against Gentius, not only conquered those who withstood him but also pursued Gentius, when he fled to Scodra, where his
κλείσειν, ὅπου ἦν αὐτῷ τὰ βασίλεια. καὶ διακενήσας ἄν προσήδρευεν αὐτῇ (ἐπὶ γὰρ ἀκρωνυχίας ὅρους πετολίσται καὶ φάραγξ ἕβαθείας ποταμοὺς ῥοώδεις ἐχούσαις περιειλεῖται, τείχει τε ὀχυρῷ περιεξωσταῖ), εἰ μὴ ὁ Γέντιος μέγα ἐπὶ τῇ δυνάμει ἐπιπίστας ἕκων εἰς μάχην ἐχώρησε. καὶ τούτον τὴν τε ἀρχὴν αὐτοῦ πάσαν ὁ Ἀνίκιος προσηγάγετο καὶ μέχρι τῆς Ἡπείρου προελθὼν, πρὸ τοῦ Παύλου ἑλθεῖν, κακείνην ταραττομένην ἠμέρωσεν.

Οἱ δὲ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμη ἐμαθον μὲν τὴν τοῦ Παύλου νίκην τετάρτη μετά τὴν μάχην ἧμέρᾳ ἐκ τινος φήμης, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἀκριβῶς ἐπίστευον. ἔστα γραμμάτων ὑπὲρ ταύτης κομισθέντων τοῦ Παύλου, ὑπερήφαναν, καὶ οὐχ ὅσ τὸν Περσέα νενικηκότες καὶ τὴν Μακεδονίαν κτησάμενοι, ἀλλ’ ὡς τὸν Φίλιππον ἐκείνον τὸν πάντα καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον μετὰ πάσης τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐκείνης ἦν ἐσχηκε νικησάντες ἐσεμνύοντο. ἐλθόντι δ’ ἐσ Ῥώμην τῷ Παύλῳ πολλὰ ἐψηφίσθη, καὶ ἡ πομπὴ τῶν νικητηρίων αὐτῷ λαμπροτάτη ἐγένετο. ἔπεμψε μὲν γὰρ καὶ τὰλλα ὅσα ἐαλώκει πάντα, ἔπεμψε δὲ καὶ Βίθων τοῦ τοῦ Κόντος υἱόν, τὸν τοῦ Περσέα καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ τούς τε παίδας τρεῖς ὅντας ἐν τῷ τῶν αἰχμαλωτῶν σχήματι. δεῖσας δὲ διὰ τὴν τῆς εὐτυχίας ὑπερβολήν μὴ τὶ νεμέστησῃ αὐτοῖς τὸ δαιμόνιον, ἡξίατο καὶ οὕτως κατὰ τὸν Κάμιλλον μὴ τὰ κακὸν τῇ πόλει ἐκ τούτων, ἀλλ’ ἑαυτῷ, εἰ τι δέοι, γενῆσθαι καὶ δύο νεῖς, τὸν μὲν πρὸ τοῦ θριάμβου μικρόν, τὸν δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ τῶν ἐπινικίων

350
palace was, and shut him up there. The city was built on the summit of a mountain and had deep ravines with rushing torrents winding about it, besides being surrounded by a strong wall; and the siege would have come to naught, had not Gentius, presuming greatly upon his own power, voluntarily advanced to battle. In consequence Anicius gained control of his entire domain; he then proceeded to Epirus, before Paulus arrived, and quieted that disturbed district also.

The people of Rome by some rumour or other heard of the victory of Paulus on the fourth day after the battle, but they placed no sure confidence in it. Then letters were brought from Paulus regarding his success, and they were greatly pleased and plumèd themselves not merely upon having vanquished Perseus and acquired Macedonia but upon having beaten the renowned Philip of old and Alexander himself, together with all that empire which he had held. When Paulus reached Rome, many decrees were passed in his honour and his triumphal procession was a most brilliant one. For in addition to all the booty which he had taken he also had in his procession Bithys, the son of Cotys, besides Perseus with his wife and three children in the garb of captives. But fearing that Heaven might become displeased with the Romans because of their excessive good fortune, he prayed, as Camillus had once done, that no ill to the state might result from it all, but rather to him, if it must come; and, indeed, he lost two sons, one a little before the celebration and the other during the
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

67 "Оті о Παύλος ου στρατηγήσαι μόνον ἦν ἀγαθὸς ἀλλὰ καὶ χρημάτων ἀδορότατος. τεκμηριον δὲ δεύτερον τότε ὑπατεύσας καὶ λαφύρων ἀμυθήτων κρατήσας ἐν τοσαύτη πενίᾳ διεβίω ὡστε χαλεπῶς τῇ γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ τῇ προῖκα τελευτήσαντος ἀποδοθήναι. τοιοῦτοι μὲν οὖν 2 ἦν καὶ τοιαύτα ἐπραξέν τούτο δὲ μόνον ὁσπέρ τινὰ κηλίδα τῷ τούτου βίῳ προςτρίφθαι νομίζουσι, τὸ διαρπάσαι τοῖς στρατιώταις τὰ χρήματα ἐπιτρέψαι, τὰλα ὁμοίων χαρίτων ἄνδρα γενόμενον, καὶ μέτριων μὲν ἐν ταῖς εὐπραγίαις, εὐτυχέστατον δὲ ἀμα καὶ εὐβουλότατον ἐν τοῖς πολεμίοις ὁφθέντα. μαρτύριον δὲ τὸ μήτε πρὸς τὸν Περσέα ὑπέροχον καὶ ἀλαζόνα δειχθῆναι, μήτε τὸν πρὸς αὐτὸν πόλεμον κακῶς καὶ ἀπροβούλως ἀγωνίσασθαι.—V. 60 (p. 613).

Zonaras 9, 24.

ἀπέβαλεν ἔορτῃ. ἦν δὲ οὐ στρατηγήσαι μόνον ἀγαθὸς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπερόπτης χρημάτων. τεκμηριον δὲ δεύτερον τότε ὑπατεύσας καὶ λαφύρων ἀμυθήτων κρατήσας ἐν τοσαύτῃ πενίᾳ διεβίω ὡστε χαλεπῶς τῇ γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ τῇ προῖκα τελευτήσαντος ἀποδοθήναι.

Τῶν δ' ἀλόντων τῷ πατρὶ μὲν ὁ Βίθυς προῖκα ἐδόθη, Περσεὺς δὲ εἰς Ἄλβαν σὺν τοῖς παισὶ καὶ τῇ θεραπείᾳ κατετέθης κάκει ἐως μὲν ἡλπίζε τὴν βασιλείαν κομίσασθαι ἀντείχεν, ἔτει δ' 1 τῷ Ῥκ., ἐν τῷ Μσ.

ἐπιτρέψαι added by Val.; still more seems to have been lost from the Ms.

352
BOOK XX

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

Zonaras 9, 24.

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

Of the captives Bithys was returned to his father without ransom, but Perseus with his children and attendants was settled in Alba. There he held out as long as he still hoped to recover his kingdom,
"Οτι οι Ρόδιοι φρόνημα πολύ πρότερον σχόντες ώς καὶ αὐτοὶ τόν τε Φίλιππον καὶ τόν Ἀντίοχον νευκηκότες τῶν τε Ρωμαίων κρείττους ὄντες, ἑσ τοσοῦτον δέουσιν ἀφίκοντο ὅστε καὶ πρεσβευτὴν πρὸς τόν Ἀντίοχον τόν τῆς Συρίας βασιλέα σταλέντα Ποσίλιον¹ μεταπέμψασθαι, καὶ παρόντος αὐτοῦ καταψηφίσασθαι πάντων τῶν τάναντία τοῖς Ρωμαίοις φρονησάντων, τοὺς τε συλληφθέντας αὐτῶν ἔπλε τιμωρίαν πέμψαι.—

Ζωνάρρα 9, 24.

ἀπέγνω, ἐαυτῶν διεχειρίσατο. καὶ ὁ Φίλιππος ὁ νίος αὐτοῦ ἢ τε θυγάτηρ αὐτοῦ οὐκ εἰς μακρᾶν ἀπέθανον· μόνος δὲ ὁ νεώτατος τοῖς τῶν Ἁλβανῶν ἀρχουσιν ὑπογραμματεύων ἐπὶ τῶν χρόνων διήρ- κεσεν. οὕτως ὁ Περσεὺς ὁ δ’ εἰκοσι βασιλέων αὐχών γεγονέναι, καὶ πολῆν μὲν τὸν Φίλιππον, πλείω δὲ θριλλῶν τῶν Ἀλέξανδρον, καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἀπώλεσε καὶ αἰχμαλώτος γέγονε καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐπινικίους ἐπόμπευσε, δεσμὰ μετὰ τοῦ διαδήματος περικείμενος.

Οἱ δ’ ἐν Ὑπὸδιοι, μετὰ φρονήματος πρὸς τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις προσφερόμενοι, τότε μὴ μνησικακεῖν

¹ Ποσίλιον Reim., πόσιλιον Mss. ² διπερ Bk., δισερ Mss.
BOOK XX

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

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

Zonaras 9, 24.

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

The Rhodians, who in their earlier dealings with the Romans had shown a haughty spirit, now begged
DIOS GRAMATIKIS

ρησιν τῆς συμμαχίας τῆς πρὸς αυτούς μὴ προσ-đεχόμενοι πρόσθεν, ἱνα ὡς καὶ μετατάξασθαι
pote ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἐκ τοῦ μηδεμίαν ἔνορκον ἀνάγκην
φιλίας ἔχειν δυνάμενοι φοβεροὶ τε αὐτοῖς ὁσι
καὶ πρὸς τῶν ἅλε πολεμοῦντων σφίσιν ἐπιθερα-
πεύωνται, τότε καὶ πάνυ προσθέσθαι ἐσπούδαζον,
tήν τε παρὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων εὐνοιαν ἄμα βεβαιοῦ-
μενοι καὶ τιμὴν ἐκ τούτου καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων
θηρώμενοι.—Uο 15 (p. 382).

"Ὅτι ο Προσιάς αὐτὸς ἔστε ἡ τήν Ῥώμην καὶ ἐσ
tὸ βουλευτήριον ἐσελθὼν τὸν τε οὐδὸν αὐτὸν
κατεφίλησε καὶ τοὺς βουλευτὰς θεοὺς ἐπωνόμασε
καὶ προσεκύνησεν. ἔξ οὕτερ καὶ ἠλεήθη ὅτε
μάλιστα, καίτοι καὶ τὸ Ἀττάλῳ παρὰ τὴν τῶν

Zonaras 9, 24.

αὐτοῖς ἠξίουν, καὶ σύμμαχοι πρόσθεν αὐτῶν
καλεῖσθαι μὴ προσδεχόμενοι, τότε καὶ πάνυ
τοῦτον τυχεῖν ἐσπούδαζον καὶ ἔτυχον τῆς
σπούδῆς, ἀλλ' ὄψε. καὶ τοῖς Κρήσιν ὄργιζοντο
μὲν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, ἱκετεῖας δὲ πολλαῖς χρησαμένους
ἀφήκαν ποτὲ τὴν ὅργην. καὶ ο Προσιάς δὲ
καὶ ο Ἑὑμενῆς, ο μὲν δὲ ἐαυτὸν εἰς τὴν πόλιν
ἔλθων καὶ εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον εἰσελθὼν καὶ
τὸν οὐδὸν φιλῆσας καὶ προσκυνῆσας τοὺς βου-
λευτὰς ἠλεήθη τε καὶ ἠθόπτω, Ἑὑμενῆς δὲ δὲ

356

1 ἐς τε Bk., τε ἐς Mss.
BOOK XX

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

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

Zonaras 9, 24.

the latter not to bear ill-will toward them; and whereas they had previously refused to be called their allies, they were now especially anxious to secure this privilege. They obtained the object of their striving, but only after long delay. The Romans harboured resentment against the Cretans, too, but in response to frequent entreaties on the part of this nation they eventually relaxed their anger. Their behaviour was similar in the case of Prusias and Eumenes. The former came personally to the city, and entering the senate-house, kissed the threshold and did obeisance to the senators, whereupon he obtained mercy and par-
'Ρωμαίων γνώμην πολεμήσας. ἔλεγετο γὰρ καὶ
οἱκοὶ τοὺς πρέσβεις αὐτῶν, ήσάκις ἀφίκοιντο
τινες, προσκυνεῖν, ἀπελεύθερον τε ἑαυτὸν τοῦ
dήμου ἑπεκάλει, καὶ πιλίου πολλάκις ἐπετίθετο.
—U° 16 (p. 383).

Zonaras 9, 24–25.

'Αττάλοι τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τὸ μὴ τι μυσικακεῖν αὐτῷ
ἐίληφε.

Τότε δὲ καὶ τὰ τῆς Καππαδοκίας οὕτω διφθήκη.
'Αριαράθης ὁ ταύτης κρατῶν παῖδα γνήσιον ἔσχεν
'Αριαράθην. πρὶν δὲ ἑσχυνέαν αὐτὸν, ἐπεὶ πολύν
χρόνον ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἑκύσκε, παίδα προσ-
ἐποιήσατο Ὀροφέρνην καλέσασα. γεννηθέντος δὲ
ἐπείτα τοῦ γυναῖκος φωραθεὶς ἑκείνος ἐξηλάθη.
δς μετὰ τῶν 'Αριαράθου βάναυον τῷ ἀδελφῷ
dὴθεν ἐπανέστη, καὶ συνεμάχουν 'Αριαράθη μὲν
Εὐμενῆς, Ὀροφέρνη δὲ Δημήτριος ὁ τῶν Σύρων
βασιλεὺς. ἐλαττωθεὶς δὲ 'Αριαράθης πρὸς τοὺς
Ρωμαίους κατέφυγε, καὶ κοινώνος τῷ Ὀροφέρνῃ
τῆς βασιλείας ὑπὸ αὐτῶν ἀποδέδωκτο. δὴ δὲ
ὁ 'Αριαράθης τοῖς 'Ρωμαίοις φίλοις καὶ σύμμαχοι
προσηγόρευτο, πάσαν ἑκείνος τὴν ἀρχὴν ἑκ
τοῦτον προσωκείσατο. καὶ ὁ 'Αττάλος δὲ τῶν
Εὐμενῆ θανόντα διαδεξάμενος τὸν τῷ Ὀροφέρνῃ
καὶ τὸν Δημήτριον παυτελῶς ἐκ τῆς Καππαδοκίας
ἀπήλασεν.

25. Ὁ δὲ τῆς Αἰγύπτου κρατῶν Πτολεμαίος
ἐπὶ δυσὶ νίκης καὶ μᾶ ἐξέλιπε θυγατρὶ. ὃς δὲ
πρὸς ἅλλους οἱ ἀδελφοὶ περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς
ἐστασίασαν, Ἀντίοχος ὁ τοῦ μεγάλου Ἀντιόχου
358
BOOK XX

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

Zonaras 9, 24–25.

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

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

25. Ptolemy, the ruler of Egypt, passed away leaving two sons and one daughter. When the brothers began to quarrel with each other about the sovereignty, Antiochus, the son of Antiochus the
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

Zonaras 9, 25.

νίδος τὸν νεώτερον ἐκπεσόντα ἔδεξατο, ἵνα προφάσει τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀμύνειν ἵ σὰ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων παρέλθοι. καὶ στρατεύσας ἐπὶ τὴν Αἰγυπτίαν τῆς πλείουσα χώρας ἐκράτησε καὶ ἔπολιορκεῖ τὴν 'Αλεξάνδρειαν. καταφυγόντων δὲ τῶν ἄλλων πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, πεμφθεῖς πρὸς τὸν 'Αντίοχον ὁ Ποπίλιος ἀποσχέσθαι αὐτὸν τῆς Αἰγυπτίας ἐκέλευσεν οὗ γὰρ ἀδελφοὶ συνέντευξεν την τοῦ 'Αντίοχος διάνοιαν κατηλλάγησαν. ὑπὸ δὲ ἐκεῖνος ὑπερέθετο τὴν ἀπόκρισιν, κύκλων ράβδῳ πέριξ αὐτοῦ περιέγραψε, κανταύθα αὐτὸν ἐστηκότα ἀπήτησε βουλεύσασθαι τε καὶ ἀποκρίνασθαι. ἐνετείθεν δεῖσας ὁ 'Αντίοχος τὴν πολυρκίαν κατέλυσεν. ἀπαλλαγέντες δὲ τοῦ ἐξωθεὶ φόβον οἱ Πολεμαῖοι (οὐτὸ γὰρ ἐκαλοῦντο ἀμφότεροι) αὖθις ἐστασίασαν. εἶτα συνηλλάγησαν αὐθίς ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐφ' ὅ τὸν μὲν προσβύτερον τὴν Αἰγυπτίαν καὶ τὴν Κύπρον, τὰ δὲ περὶ τὴν Κυρήνην ἐχειν τὸν ἑτερον καὶ ταῦτα γὰρ τὸτε τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἦν. ἀγανακτῶν δ' ὁ νεώτερος διὰ τὴν ἐλάττωσιν ἐστὶ τὴν Ῥωμήν ἀφίκετο καὶ εὔρατο παρ' αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν Κύπρον. ὁ δὲ προσβύτερος συμβάσεις ἔθετο αὖθις πρὸς τὸν νεώτερον, τόλεις τὲ τινὰς ἀντὶ τῆς Κύπρου δοὺς καὶ χρήματα καὶ σίτου ταξάμενους συντελεῖν.

Τοῦ δ' 'Αντίοχον τελευτώντος μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ παῦσιν ὁμονύμῳ τὴν βασιλείαν καταλητότος, ταῦτα τὸν αὐτὸ ἐβεβαιώσαν καὶ τρεῖς ἄνδρας ἐπιτρόπους δῆθεν, μικρὸς γὰρ ἦν, ἐπεμψαν. οἱ παρὰ τὰς συνθήκας εὑρόντες ἑλέφαντας καὶ

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1 νεώτερον BS., νεώτατον MSS.
2 Ποπίλιος Wolf, τόπλιος (ποπίλιος A) MSS.
BOOK XX

Zonaras 9, 25.

Great, sheltered the younger, who had been driven out, in order that under the pretext of defending him he might get his hands on Egyptian affairs. In a campaign directed against Egypt he conquered the greater part of the country and spent some time in besieging Alexandria. When the rest sought refuge with the Romans, Popilius was sent to Antiochus and bade him keep his hands off Egypt; for the brothers, comprehending the designs of Antiochus, had become reconciled. When the latter was for putting off his reply, Popilius drew a circle about him with his staff and demanded that he deliberate and answer standing where he was. Antiochus then in fear raised the siege. The Ptolemies (this was the name of both princes) on being relieved of their dread of danger from outside, quarrelled again. Then they were reconciled once more by the Romans, on the condition that the elder should have Egypt and Cyprus, and the other the country about Cyrene, which also belonged to Egypt at that time. But the younger brother, angry at receiving the inferior portion, came to Rome, where he secured from the people a grant of Cyprus in addition. Then his brother once more effected an arrangement with him by giving him some cities in exchange for Cyprus and agreeing to make fixed payments of money and grain.

Antiochus subsequently died, leaving the kingdom to a child of the same name, whom the Romans confirmed in possession of it and to whom they sent three men ostensibly to act as his guardians, as he was very young. The commissioners, on finding elephants and triremes contrary to the compact,
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

Zonaras 9. 25.

trepheis, too's te elefanta sphaignai pantas ekelenusan kai talla prós to tē 'Rōmē syrmferon diworoun. De' āper Lusias o tou basilewos tīn kēdemian enkechereismēnos parōxune tō plēthos ekbalein tous Rōmaion, tou dé Γaion tōn 'Oktābiou kai apokteinai. kai tou'ton genomēnon o mēn prēsebeis euthus eis tīn Rōmēn apēsteilein ὑπὲρ tōn pepapramēnōn apolologoumenos, Deimētrios dé o Selēukou uidos tou paiido's 'Antiochou omnēsou en tī Rōmē kata tōn tou patro's thānaton kai ὑπὸ 'Antiochou tou theiou tῆs basileias esterimēnos, ώς tōn tou 'Antiochou thānaton égnω, ūtei mēn tēn patrō fan arkhēn, oi dé outhe taútēn autō suvnēpraxan ou't apārēi tῆs Rōmēs épētrephan. kai ds kai duσχεραίνων dmos ήsuka-ζeu. épete dé tā kata tōn Lusian égēneto, oukei' emelhēsen, ἀλλ' apēdēra kai ek Lukiās tῆ gεrhoνσία épēsteile μῆ ἐπὶ tōn anevsidon tōn 'Antiochou,1 ἀλλ' ἐπὶ tōn Lusian tῆn ormhēn ēxein, ὡστε τῷ 'Oktabiō timumhēsein. ês Tripolou dé tῆs Syriās epiechei kai taútēn prosagagō- menos, ώς ὑπὸ tōn Rōmaion ἐπὶ tῆν basileiān staleis (tēn ἡγ' ἀpódrasai autōi oudeis ēnenvōi), kai 'Apameia krateías dynamin te syνagagōn ἐπὶ tēn 'Antiocheian ἡλασε, καὶ τὸ τε paiđion kai tōn Lusian filikōs apantēsanta autō (dediōtes ἡγ' tous Rōmaion ouκ 'antīrac) diephtheire, καὶ tῆn basileiān anekomisato, kai

1 There follow in the Mss. the words οὔτω γάρ οἱ πάλαι τους ἐξαδέλφους ἥκαλον, a manifest gloss in explanation of ἀνεψιόν.
BOOK XX

Zonaras 9, 25.

ordered the elephants all to be slain and administered everything else in the interest of Rome. Therefore Lysias, who had been entrusted with the guardianship of the king, incited the populace to expel the Romans and also to kill Gaius Octavius. When these plans had been carried out, Lysias straightway despatched envoys to Rome to offer a defence for what had been done. Now Demetrius, the son of Seleucus, and grandson of Antiochus, who was staying in Rome as a hostage at the time of his father's death and had been deprived of the kingdom by his uncle Antiochus, had asked for the domain of his father when he learned of the death of Antiochus, but the Romans would neither help him to get it nor permit him to depart from Rome; and he, in spite of his dissatisfaction, had remained quiet. But when this affair of Lysias occurred, he no longer delayed, but escaped by flight and sent a message to the senate from Lycia stating that it was not his cousin Antiochus, but Lysias that he was attacking, with the purpose of avenging Octavius. And hastening to Tripolis in Syria, he won over the town, representing that he had been sent out by the Romans to take charge of the kingdom; for no one had any idea of his flight. Then after conquering Apamea and gathering a body of troops he marched on Antioch; and when the boy and Lysias offered no opposition through fear of the Romans, but came to meet him as friends, he put them to death and recovered the kingdom. He then forwarded to
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

Zonaras 9, 25.

τῇ Ῥώμῃ στέφανον καὶ τοὺς τοῦ Ὄκταβιον αὐθέντας ἀπέστειλεν. οἱ δὲ χαλεπαίνοντες αὐτῷ οὐδέτερον ἐδέξαντο.

Μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ ἐπὶ Δαλμάτας οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἑστρατεύσαν. τὸ δὲ ἔθνος τοῦτο ἐστὶ μὲν Ἡλληνοῖς τῶν παρὰ τῶν Ἰόνιον κόλπου, ὡν τινὰς Ταυλαντίους ὀνόμαζον Ἐλληνες, ἔχοντα δὲ τοῦ Δυρραχίου ἐν μέρει. αὐτὸν δὲ τοῦ πολέμου οὗ τινὰς τῶν προσχώρων αὐτοῖς ἐν φιλίᾳ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ὄντας ἥδικουν, συμπροσβεβευσάμενοι τε ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις οὔδεν μέτριον ἀπεκρίναντο, ἄλλα καὶ τοὺς τῶν ἄλλων πρέσβεις συναλβόντες ἀπέκτειναν. τούτους ὁ Σκιπίων ὁ Νασικᾶς ὑπέταξεν, ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς στρατεύσας· τὰς τε γὰρ πόλεις αὐτῶν ἔλει καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἐπίτραπε. καὶ ἄλλα δὲ κατ’ ἐκείνους συνέβη τοὺς χρόνους, οὐ μνήμης μὲντοι οὐδ’ ἱστορίας ἐπάξια.
BOOK XX

Zonaras 9, 25.

Rome a crown and the assassins of Octavius; but the citizens were angry with him and would accept neither.

Later the Romans made a campaign against the Dalmatians. This race is a branch of the Illyrians who dwell along the Ionian Gulf, some of whom the Greeks used to call Taulantii, and part of whom are close to Dyrrachium. The cause of the war was that they had been abusing some of their neighbours who enjoyed the friendship of the Romans, and when the Romans joined an embassy in their behalf, the Dalmatians returned no respectful answer, and even arrested and killed the envoys of the other nations. Scipio Nasica made a campaign against this race and brought them to submission; for he captured their towns and proceeded to sell the captives. Other events, too, took place in those days, yet not of a kind to deserve mention or record.
26. Ἐντεῦθεν άθις ο πρὸς τοὺς Καρχηδονίους τὸ τρίτον ἀνερρπίζετο πόλεμος. οἱ μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἔφερον ἑλαττούμενοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ συμμαχικὰ καὶ ναυτικὸν ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Νομαδικοῦ πολέμου παρασκευῆ παρὰ τὰς συνθήκας ἦτοιμαζοῦν οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι ὡς τὰ ἄλλα κατὰ γνώμην ἔθεντο, οὐχ ἔσχασαν, ἀλλὰ πέμψαντες τὸν Σκιτίωνα τὸν Νασικάν ταῦτα τε αὐτῶις ἑνεκάλουν καὶ τὴν παρασκευὴν διαλύσαν ἐκέλευσον. καὶ ἔπει τὸν Μασινίσσαν ἤτιῶντο ἐκεῖνοι καὶ διὰ τὸν πρὸς ἑκεῖνον πόλεμον ἀπειρήκασι ποιῆσαι τὸ κελεύμενον, σύμβασιν τινα πρὸς τὸν Μασινίσσαν αὐτῶις ἐπραξαν καὶ τινὸς αὐτῶις ἀποστήναι χώρας αὐτῶν ἐπείσαν. ὡς δ' οὖν ἐνεκεν μᾶλλον εἰσήκουν, μικρὸν ἐπισχόντες Ῥωμαῖοι, ἐπεὶ τάχιστα νικηθέντας σφᾶς μεγάλῃ μάχῃ πρὸς τοῦ Μασινίσσου ἐπύθοντο, εὐθὺς αὐτῶις τὸν πόλεμον ἐψηφίσαντο. δ' μαθόντες οἱ Καρχηδονίοι, οὐκ εὖ ὑπὸ τῆς συμφορᾶς ἔχοντες, κατέδεικαν, καὶ πρέσβεις ἔς τὴν Ῥώμην διὰ συμμαχίαν ἐστάλ-κασι (καὶ ἄλλωι γὰρ τῶν προσχώρων αὐτῶις ἐπετίθεντο), καὶ ἐς πάν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ὑπείξειν ἐπλάττοντο. μὴ γὰρ ταῖς σπονδαῖσι ἐμμένειν μέλλοντες, ράον ἀπαντὰ ἐπηγγέλλοντο. 366
FRAGMENTS OF BOOK XXI

Zonaras 9, 26.

26. Thereupon the strife with Carthage was again fanned into flame for the third time. For the Carthaginians could not endure being in an inferior position, and contrary to the treaty were gathering allies and getting their fleet ready in preparation for the war with the Numidians. And the Romans, having settled other questions to their satisfaction, did not remain at rest, but sending out Scipio Nasica, they reproached their rivals with this breach of faith and ordered them to disband their armament. When the Carthaginians put the blame upon Masinissa and because of the war with him declined to obey the order, the Romans arranged terms for them with Masinissa and prevailed upon him to retire from certain territory in their favour. But since they showed themselves no more tractable than before, the Romans waited a short time, and then as soon as they learned that the Carthaginians had been worsted in a great battle by Masinissa, they promptly declared war upon them. The Carthaginians, who were distressed over their defeat, became frightened on learning this, and since other neighbouring tribes were also beginning to attack them, they sent envoys to Rome to secure an alliance. They feigned a readiness to yield to the Romans on all points; for since they did not intend to abide by their agreements, they were all the more ready to promise anything.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

Zonaras 9, 26.

Τής δὲ γερουσίας βρυλὴν περὶ τούτου συναγαγούσης, ὁ μὲν Σκιτίων ὁ Νασικάς δέξασθαι τὴν τῶν Καρχηδονίων πρεσβείαν καὶ σπουδὰς αὐτοῖς ποιήσασθαι συνεβούλευν, ὁ δὲ Κάτων ὁ Μάρκος μὴς σπείσασθαι τούτους δεῖν εἰπε μήτε λύσαι τοῦ πολέμου τὸ ψῆφισμα. οἱ δὲ γε βουλευταὶ τὴν τε τῶν πρέσβεων ἱκετεῖαν ἐδέξαντο καὶ σπουδὰς αὐτοῖς ὑπέσχοντο παρασκεῖν καὶ ἐπὶ τούτων ὄμηρους ἦττσαν. οὐς Δούκιος Μάρκιος καὶ Μάρκος Μαύλιος, εἰς τὴν Σικελίαν ἐλθόντες, ἐκεῖσε πεμφθέντας ἔλαβον. καὶ τοὺς μὲν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐπεμέναν, αὐτοὶ δὲ σπουδῇ τὴν Αφρικήν κατειλῆφασι. καὶ στρατοπεδευσάμενοι τὰ τέλη τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἐκεῖ μετεπέμψαντο καὶ ὃς ἀφίκοντο, οὐ πάντα ἁμα σφίσιν διὰ ἦττον ἐξέβηναν, δείσαντες μὴ ταῦτα προμαθόντες ἀκραιοίς τοῖς πράγμασι σφῶν καταστώσιν εἰς πόλεμον. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον σιτὸν ἦττσαν καὶ ἔλαβον, εἶτα τὰς τριήρεις καὶ ἐπὶ ταῦτας τὰ μηχανήματα, εἶτα τὰ ὅπλα προσήτησαν. λαβόντες οὖν πάντα (ὁ γὰρ Καρχηδόνιοι πολλὴν ἔτεραν παρασκευὴν κεκρυμμένην εἴχον), τέλος ἐκέλευον αὐτοὺς κατασκάψαι μὲν τὴν πόλιν αὐτῶν, ἐτέραν δ᾽ ἐν μεσογείῳ οἰκοδομῆσαι ἀτείχιστον, ὑγιοῦσαν σταδίους τῆς θαλάσσης διέχουσαν. πρὸς τούτῳ δ᾽ οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι ἐς δάκρων κατηγέθησαν καὶ ὡς ἐαλωκίτες ἀνωλοφύροντο καὶ ἐδέσθην τῶν ὑπάτων μὴ καταναγκάσαι σφᾶς γενέσθαι τῆς πατρίδος αὐτόχειρας. ὡς δ᾽ οὐδὲν ἦν, ἀλλ᾽ ἦ πράξει τὸ προστατήμενον ἐκελεύοντο ἡ ἀναρ
BOOK XXI

Zonaras 9, 26.

When the senate called a meeting to consider the matter, Scipio Nasica advised receiving the Carthaginian embassy and making a truce with them, but Marcus Cato declared that no truce ought to be made nor the declaration of war rescinded. Nevertheless, the senators listened to the entreaties of the envoys, promised to grant them a truce, and demanded hostages for the fulfilment of the conditions. These hostages were sent to Sicily, and Lucius Marcius and Marcus Manilius went there, took charge of them, and sent them on to Rome, while they themselves made haste to reach Africa. After encamping they summoned the magistrates of Carthage to appear before them. Now upon the arrival of these officials they did not unmask all their demands at once, fearing that if the Carthaginians learned them in season they would enter upon war with their resources undiminished. So at first they demanded and received grain, next the triremes, and after that the engines; and then they required the arms besides. After receiving all these things—for the Carthaginians had a great deal of other equipment hidden away—they at length ordered them to raze their city and to build in its place an unwalled town inland, eighty stades\(^1\) distant from the sea. At that the Carthaginians gave way to tears, bewailed their fate, as if already conquered, and begged the consuls not to compel them to become the assassins of their country. They soon found that they could accomplish nothing and had to face the repeated command either

\(^1\) About nine miles.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

Zonaras 9, 26.

"Ὅτι Καρχηδόνιοι πολεμούμενοι παρὰ Ρωμαίων ὑπλαὶ τε καὶ τριήρεις δι’ ἑλαχίστου ἐποιήσαντο, τοὺς μὲν ἀνδρίαντας πρὸς τὴν τοῦ χαλκοῦ χρήσειν συγχωνεύσαντες, καὶ τὴν ξύλωσιν τῶν τε ἱδίων καὶ δημοσίων ἔργων πρὸς τὰς τριήρεις καὶ τὰς μηχανὰς μετενεγκάμενοι, ἦς τὰ τὰ σχοινία ταῖς τῶν γυναικῶν κόμαις ἀποκεκαρμέναι. ¹ χρησάμενοι.

¹ ἀποκεκαρμέναι Bk., ἀποκεκαρμέναι Mss.

370
BOOK XXI

Zonaras 9, 26.

to carry out the order or to accept the hazard of war. Many of them then remained there on the Roman side, recognizing them as already the victors; the remainder withdrew, and after killing some of their rulers for not having chosen war in the first place and after murdering such Romans as were discovered within the walls, they addressed themselves to the war. Under these circumstances they liberated all the slaves, restored the exiles, chose Hasdrubal once more as leader, and made ready arms, engines, and triremes. With war at their doors and the danger of slavery confronting them, they prepared in the briefest possible time everything that they needed. They spared nothing, but even melted down the statues for the sake of the bronze in them and used the hair of the women for ropes. The consuls at first, thinking them unarmed, hoped to overcome them speedily and merely prepared ladders, with which they expected to scale the wall at once; but when, upon making an assault, they saw that their enemies

Planudean Excerpt.¹

The Carthaginians, when war was made upon them by the Romans, constructed weapons and triremes in the briefest possible time. They melted down the statues for the sake of the bronze in them, and took the woodwork of buildings, private and public alike, for the triremes and the engines, while for ropes they used the hair of the women, which had been shorn off.

¹ See Introduction to vol. i, p. xx, note.
σφάς καὶ τὰ πρὸς πολιορκίαν ἔχοντας ἱδόντες πρὸς μηχανῶν ἐργασίαν ἐτράποντο, καὶ αὐτὰς ἐπικυνδύνως κατασκευάζαντες (ὁ γὰρ Ἀσδρούβας ἅλαγωγοῦντας ἐνεδρεύων ἐλύτει), προσέμειγον τῇ πόλει. καὶ Μανῆλιος μὲν ἐκ τῆς ἥπειρου αὐτὴν προσβαλὸν οὐδὲν αὐτοῦς ἔβλαψε, Μάρκιος δὲ ἐκ θαλάσσης κατὰ τὸ λιμνῶδες προσπέσαν κατέσεισέ μὲν τι τῶν τεῖχων, οὐ μέντοι καὶ εἰσήλθεν. οἱ γὰρ Καρχηδόνιοι τοὺς τε βιαζομένους εἰσελθεῖν ἔξεκρυσαντο καὶ νῦκτωρ διὰ τῶν ἑρεπίων ἐπεξελθόντες ἀνθρώπους τοὺς συνυνδόντος ἐκτεινάντα καὶ μηχανήματα πλεῖστα κατέτρησαν. ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ ἔποιο τῆς χώρας παρὰ τοῦ Ἀσδρούβου καὶ τῶν ἱππέων εἰὼντο σκεδάσθεναι, οὕτε μὴν ὁ Μασινής αὐτοῖς ἑπεκούρησεν. οὐ γὰρ ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ πολέμου προσεκέκλητο, καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ἀσδρούβαν τότε διαπολεμήσειν ὑποσχομένῳ οὐκ ἑπέτρεψαν.

27. Οἱ δ’ ὑπατοὶ διὰ τὰ συμβάντα καὶ ὅτι τὸ ναύτικον αὐτοῦς ἐκ τῆς ἐν τῇ λίμνῃ διατριβῆς ἐνόσησεν ἐλυσαν τὴν πολιορκίαν. καὶ Μάρκιος μὲν ἐπιχειρήσας κατὰ παραλασάν τι πρᾶξαι ἡ τῆς παραλίας κακῶσαι, ὡς οὐδὲν ἦνεν, ἀπέπλευσεν οἰκαδε’ καὶ ἀνθυποστρέφας Αἰγίμουρον ἐχειρώσατο. Μανῆλιος δὲ ὄρμησε μὲν ἐς τὴν μεσόγειον, κακούμενος δ’ ὑπὸ Ἰμιλκωνὸς τοῦ τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἱππάρχου, δι’ καὶ Φαμέαν ἐκάλουν, πρὸς τὴν Καρχηδόνα ἐπανελήλυθε. κακεῖ δὲ ἐξεδόθεν ὁ Ἀσδρούβας, ἐνδοθεὶ δ’ ἐπεξιῶντες οἱ ἐν τῇ πόλει
BOOK XXI

Zonaras 9, 26-27.

were armed and possessed the means for a siege, they devoted themselves to manufacturing engines. The construction of these was fraught with danger, since Hasdrubal set ambuscades for those who were gathering the wood and annoyed them considerably; but in time they were able to assail the city. Now Manilius in his assault from the land side could not injure the Carthaginians at all, but Marcius, while making an attack from the side of the sea over marshy ground, managed to batter down a part of the wall, though he could not get inside. For the Carthaginians not only repulsed those who attempted to force their way in, but at night they made a sortie through the ruins and slew many men and burned up a very large number of engines. Furthermore, Hasdrubal and the cavalry did not allow the Romans to scatter far over the country, and Masinissa lent them no aid. For he had not been invited at the opening of the war, and, though he had offered at that time to fight the war out with Hasdrubal, they had not permitted him to do so.

27. The consuls, both in view of what had occurred and because their fleet had been damaged by its stay in the lake, raised the siege. Marcius endeavoured to accomplish something by sea or at least to injure the coast region, but not meeting with any success, he sailed for home, then turned back and subdued Aegimurus; and Manilius started for the interior, but upon sustaining injuries at the hands of Himilco, commander of the Carthaginian cavalry, who was also called Phameas, he returned to Carthage. There, while the forces of Hasdrubal on the outside troubled him, the people in the city harassed
καὶ νῦκτὸρ καὶ μεθ’ ἡμέραν αὐτῶν ἐκάκουν. καταφορύζοντες οὖν οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι καὶ μέχρι τοῦ στρατοπέδου αὐτῶν ἐπῆλθον, καὶ συνῄεσθος ἀποβαλόντες (ἀσπίδα τοῖς πλείους ἡσαυ) εἰς τὸ τεῖχος αὕτης συνεκλείσθησαν. ὅ δὲ Μαυλῖος τῷ Ἀσσρόβα οἰκύμαζε μάλιστα εἰλετο, καὶ εἰ ἐκεῖνον νικήσει, βάλων τοῖς λοιποῖς προσπολέμησεν ἐνόμιζε. καὶ οἱ προσέμεξεν πρὸς δὲ τοὺς φρούριον ἀναχωροῦντες ἔπακολουθῆσας, ἔλαθεν εἰς ἔρημος τραχείας καὶ στενοτέρους γενόμενος, καὶ δεινῶς ἐκακώθη. καὶ παυσυδὲ ἰδὸν διεθάρη, εἰ μὴ Σκιπίων ο τοῦ Ἀφρικανοῦ χρησιμοτάτος αὐτῷ ἐγένετο, ἀνὴρ ἀριστος μὲν νοῆσαι καὶ προβολεῦσαι τὰ κράτιστα, ἀριστος δὲ χειρουργῆσαι.

374

1 χρήσασθαι St., χρήσασθαι ἦν Ms.
BOOK XXI

This man [Scipio Africanus] excelled in planning out at leisure the requisite course, but excelled also in discovering the immediate need on the spur of the moment, and was able to employ either method on the proper occasion. The duties that lay before him he examined boldly, but performed them as if with timidity. Hence, by his fearless and deliberate examination of matters he understood exactly the proper thing to do, and would accomplish it safely as a result of the thought he gave to the element of uncertainty. Accordingly, if he was ever brought face to face with some crisis that admitted of no deliberation, such as is wont to

\[\text{Zonaras 9, 27.}\]

him by sorties both night and day. In fact, the Carthaginians showed their contempt by advancing as far as the Roman camp, but, being for the most part unarmed, they lost a number of men and were shut up in their fortifications again. Manilius was particularly anxious to engage in combat with Hasdrubal, thinking that if he could vanquish him he should find it easier to wage war upon the others. And, in fact, he did have an encounter with him: he followed Hasdrubal to a small fort whither the latter was retiring, and before he knew it got into a rugged defile and there suffered a terrible reverse. In fact, his entire force would have been destroyed, had he not found a most valuable helper in Scipio, the descendant of Africanus, who excelled in apprehending and devising beforehand the most advantageous plans, and excelled also in executing them. For
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

toîs toû polémou paralóghoj kai en tais tis
túxhis ropaîs sambaiânein eîwthe, prôphxia, oûde
tote toûn prosokeîton uymârten. òpô gar toû
êthous, toû 1 tî tûxh 2 prôs mîdên allogiâtos
khrêthai, oûde ès tîn 3 toû exapinaiou prôsboleîn
aparâskenous ën, ìllâ kai toîs aîfîdîous òpô
toû mûdeîto aîrreîzein òs kai èk pûlloû aûta
6 proenoukôs ëcxhîto. tolmhîs te ëk toûton en
ôs épêistesteîkei ìrthos ëxein, kai kînduwntês ën
ôs ìthársei ìsçhurovs êgîngmeto kai gar to sóma
îsa toîs ïanu toûn stratwtoûn ërrwto. kai diâ
touto, ë 5 kai tà mâlista ãn tis auûtoû bauamâ-
seîen, prôseboulêve te tà krâtîsta ës kai ëterous
ëpitâxein, kai en ëph ërghî auta òs kai ûfî 6 ëtérwv
7 kekeleusmêna ëxeiroùrgei. të te ouû ìllh ëretî
asfalhîs ën, kai tîn pîstotêta ouû òpous prôs
toûs polîtas toûs te xrwmenous oî, ìllâ kai
prôs to ðvneîon tô te polêmîotaton akribhî
êkektîto. kai auûfî kata touto pûlloû mêno
idwtaî, pûlloû ìde kai pûleis prosegîrhestan.
8 ìte gar mîdên allogiâtos mîdê ès òrghhî ë kai
dewos pouîu ë kai légon, ìllî èk toû bêbaîou
 tôu logiâmô prôs pánta tà kairia ëtoimous ën,
kai tà anôrîpîna ìkanôs eklogizômenos, kai mîte

Zonaras 9, 27.

1 toû Kuiiper, toû te Ms. 2 tûxh Bk., ðuxh Ms.
3 tîn Rk., tî Ms. 4 prôsboleîn Bk., prôsokîhîn Ms.
5 ë supplied by Bk. 6 ûfî Bk., ãfî Ms.

376
BOOK XXI

happen in the contradictions of warfare and the turns of fortune, not even then did he miss the proper course. For, thanks to his habit of never trusting recklessly to luck for anything, he was not unprepared for the assault of a sudden emergency, but through his incessant activity was able to meet even the unexpected as if he had long foreseen it. As a result he showed himself exceedingly bold in matters where he felt he was right, and likewise exceedingly venturesome where he felt bold; for in physique he was as powerful as the best of the soldiers. This led to one of his most remarkable characteristics: he would devise the most advantageous plans as if he were going to direct others, and at the time of action would execute them as if they had been ordered by others. Besides not swerving from the ordinary paths of rectitude, he kept faith scrupulously not only with the citizens and his associates, but even with foreigners and the bitterest enemies; and this brought many individuals as well as many cities to his side. He never acted or even spoke without due consideration, nor through anger or fear, but through the certainty of his calculations was ready for all occasions; he took sufficiently into account the instability of human plans,

Zonaras 9, 27.

he was powerful in physique; and he was amiable
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

ti ἀνέλπιστον ποιούμενος, καὶ πάντα πρὸς τὴν
tῶν πραγμάτων φύσιν προδιασκοπῶν, ἥρατα τε
tὰ πρακτέα πρῶ καὶ δεηθήναι αὐτῶν ἐπενόει,
καὶ ἐς βεβαιότητα αὐτοῖς ἔχρητο. τοιγαροῦν
μόνος ἄνθρώπων ἦ καὶ μάλιστα διὰ ταῦτα
καὶ διὰ τὴν μετριότητα τὴν τε ἐπιείκειαν οὔτε
ὑπὸ τῶν ὁμοτίμων οὐθ' ὑπὸ τίνος ἐφθονῆθη. ἵσος
μὲν γὰρ τοῖς ὑποδεικτέροις, οὐκ ἄμεινων δὲ τῶν
ὁμοίων, ἀσθενέστερος δὲ τῶν μειζόνων ἄξιων εἶναι,
κρείττων καὶ τοῦ φθόνου τοῦ μόνον τοὺς ἀρίστους
ἀνδρας λυμαινομένου ἐγένετο.—V. 61 (p. 613).

Zonaras 9, 27.

τριῶς ἦν· δι' α καὶ τὸν φθόνον ἐξέφυγεν. ἵσος
μὲν γὰρ τοῖς ὑποδεικτέροις, οὐκ ἄμεινων δὲ τῶν
ὁμοτίμων (ἐχιλιάρχει γὰρ), ἀσθενέστερος δὲ τῶν
μειζόνων ἥξιον εἶναι. ὁ οὖν Μαυλίος καὶ εἶπε
τὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐπέστειλε τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ἡρώμη
μὴ τι ἀποκρυφάμενος, καὶ τάλλα καὶ τὰ κατὰ
Μασινίσσαν καὶ τὸν Φαμέαν· ἦ σοχον οὗτος.

Θυησκών ὁ Μασινίσσας ἦπορει ὅπως περὶ τῆς
βασιλείας διάθηται, διὰ τὸ τῶν νεών πλήθος
καὶ τὸ διάφορον τοῦ κατὰ τὰς μητέρας γένους
αὐτῶν. διὸ πρὸς συμβουλίαν τῶν Σκιπίωνα
μετεπέμψατο· δὴν ὁ ὅπατος ἔστειλεν. ἀλλ' ὁ
Μασινίσσας πρὶν ἐλθεῖν τῶν Σκιπίωνα ἐκλείπων
τῶν μὲν δακτύλων τῷ Μικίψα τῷ νιῷ ἔδωκε, τὰ
ὁ ἄλλα πάντα τὰ τῇ ἀρχῇ προσήκοντα τῷ Σκιπίωνι
ἀρτι ἐλθόντι παρέσχεν καὶ ἐνετείλατο. ὁ

378
BOOK XXI

and yet regarded nothing as impossible, but deliberated every matter beforehand in the light of its real nature. Thus he perceived very easily the right course to follow even before there was any necessity, and pursued it with firmness. Because of this, as well as because of his moderation and amiability, he alone of men, or at least more than others, escaped the envy of his peers, as well as of everyone else. For he chose to make himself the equal of his inferiors, not better than his equals, and inferior to greater men, and so passed beyond the reach of jealousy, which is the one thing that injures the noblest men.

Zonaras 9, 27.

and moderate, as a result of which he escaped envy. For he chose to make himself the equal of his inferiors, not better than his equals (he was serving as tribune), and inferior to greater men. Manilius not only reported what Scipio had done but also sent a letter to the people of Rome concealing nothing, but including among other matters an account of the conduct of Masinissa and Phameas. This was as follows.

Masinissa on his death-bed was at a loss to know how he should dispose of his kingdom, owing to the number of his sons and the variety of their family ties on their mothers' side. Therefore he sent for Scipio to advise him, and the consul let Scipio go. But Masinissa died before Scipio arrived, after having given his ring to his son Micipsa and delivered and committed all the other interests pertaining to his kingdom to Scipio, as soon as the latter

379

Zonaras 9, 27.

οὖν Σκιπίων κατανοήσας τὰς προαιρέσεις τῶν νιέων αὐτοῦ, οὐδὲν μὲν αὐτῶν μόνῳ τὴν βασιλείαν ἀπένειμε, τριῶν δὲ τῶν ἐλλογιμωτάτων δυτικῶν, πρεσβυτάτου μὲν Μικίψου, νεοτάτου δὲ Γουλούσσου, μέσου δὲ Μαστανάβου, τούτοις τὰ πράγματα, μεμερισμένως μέντοι, κατένευμε. τῷ μὲν γὰρ πρεσβυτάτῳ χρηματιστῇ τε ὄντι καὶ φιλοπλούτῳ τὴν διοίκησιν ἐνεχείρησε, τῷ δὲ μετ’ αὐτῶν τὰς διαφορὰς κρίνειν ἑπέτρεψε δικαστικὸ. ¹ ὅτι, τῷ δὲ Γουλούσσα πολεμικῷ τυγχάνοντι τὰς δυνάμεις παρέδωκε. τοῖς δὲ ἀδελφοῖς αὐτῶν πολλοῖς οὐσὶ πόλεις τινάς καὶ χώρας ἐνείμε. καὶ τὸν Γουλούσσαν παραλαβὼν πρὸς τὸν ὑπατὸν ἤγαγεν.

Ἀρχομένου δὲ τοῦ ἑαυτοὶ ἐπὶ τούς τῶν Καρχηδονίων συμμάχους ἐστράτευσαν, καὶ πολλοῖς μὲν αὐτῶν βία, πολλοῖς δὲ ὠμολογία, καὶ μάλιστα οὐκ ἦμεν παρετησάμενοι. ὡς δὲ ὁ Φαμέας ἀπογνως τὰ τῶν Καρχηδονίων πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἀπέκλινε καὶ εἰς λόγους τῷ Σκιπίων ἤλθε, τότε καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀσδρούβαν ἀπαντεὶς ὤρμησαν. καὶ προσέμειξαν μὲν τῷ φρουρίῳ συναισθήμασιν ἥμεραις, ἐπιλιπτῶν δὲ αὐτῶς ἀδικίας τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἀνεγερθέσαν εὐπρεπῶς. προσεβάλε μὲν γὰρ αὐτοῖς ὁ Φαμέας προσδείγουσιν ἔτι ὡς πολεμεῖσαν καὶ ἐν τῷ ἐργῷ μεθ’ ἱππεῶν τινῶν ἡπτομόλησε. κἀντεῦθεν Μανιλλίους μὲν εἰς τὴν Οὐτικῆν ἐλθὼν ἐσύχαζε, Σκιπίων δὲ τὸν Φαμέαν

¹ δικαστικὸς Polak, δικαστή MSS.
BOOK XXI

Dio, Book XXI. "Phameas, despairing of the Carthaginian cause."

Zonaras 9, 27.

should arrive. Now Scipio, being aware of the dispositions of Masinissa's sons, assigned the kingdom to no one of them singly; but since there were three most distinguished, the eldest Micipsa, the youngest Gulussa, and between them Mastanabal, he appointed these to have charge of affairs, though with distinct functions. To the eldest, who was versed in business and fond of wealth, he entrusted the management of the finances; to the second son, who possessed the judicial temperament, he granted the right to decide disputes; and to Gulussa, who was of a warlike disposition, he delivered the troops. To their brothers, who were numerous, he assigned certain cities and districts. And taking Gulussa along with him, he brought him to the consul.

Now at the beginning of spring they made a campaign against the allies of the Carthaginians and brought many of them to terms forcibly, while inducing many others to capitulate; in this work Scipio was especially active. And when Phameas, despairing of Carthaginian success, inclined to the Roman side and held a conference with Scipio, then they all set out against Hasdrubal. For several days they assailed his fortress, but as supplies again failed them they retired in good order. During the siege Phameas had attacked them and made a show of fighting, but in the progress of the action he had deserted together with some of the cavalry. Then Manilius went to Utica and remained quiet, while Scipio took Phameas
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY


εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀνήγγαγε καὶ αὐτὸς τε ἐπηνεῖτο καὶ ὁ Φαμέας τετίμητο ὡστε καὶ ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ συγκαθήσατι τῇ γερουσίᾳ.

28. Τότε δὲ συνηνέκθη καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὸν Προυσίαν. ὑπὲρον ὡς καὶ τοὺς τρόπους τραχύς ἐφοβήθη τοὺς Βιθυνοὺς μή τῇς βασιλείας αὐτῶν ἐκβάλωσι, τὸν Νικομήδη τὸν υἱὸν ἀνθελόμενοι. καὶ κατὰ τὴν πρόφασιν ἔπεμψεν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην αὐτὸν κάκει διάγεων ἀκέλευσεν. ὡς δὲ κἀγὼ τῇ Ῥώμῃ διαιτωμένῳ τῷ υἱῷ ἐπεβούλευσε καὶ ἔσπευδε κτείναν αὐτὸν. Βιθυνοὶ τινες εἰς Ῥώμην φοιτήσαντες ἔξηγαγον λάθρα τὸν Νικομήδη, καὶ ἐς τὴν Βιθυνίαν κομίσαντες, τὸν μὲν γέροντα ἐφόνευσαν, βασιλέα δὲ ἐκείνου ἀπέδειξαν. ταῦτα ἦνίασε μὲν τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, οὐ μήν καὶ εἰς πόλεμον ἐξηρέθισε.

Τὴν δὲ Μακεδονίαν Ἀνδρίσκος τις ἐξ Ἁτραμυττείνου φύς, τῷ Περσεὶ δὲ ἐμφέρης τὸ ἐδὸς γενόμενος καὶ παῖς εἶναι ἐκείνου πλαττόμενος καὶ Φιλίππου ἐαυτὸν ὑπομάζων, ἐπὶ πλείστον ἀπέστησε. τὸ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτον ἐς τὴν Μακεδονίαν ἐλθὼν ταράττεις αὐτὴν ἐπειράτο, ὡς δὲ οὔδεις προσέχεις αὐτῷ, πρὸς τὸν Δημήτριον εἰς τὴν Συρίαν ἐτράπετο, ὡς ἐκείνου διὰ τὸ γένος βοηθείας τευχόμενος. συλληφθεῖς δὲ παρ' ἐκείνου καὶ εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην πεμφθεῖς, ὃτι τέ μὴ ὁν τοῦ Περσέως υἱὸς ἤλεγχθη καὶ ὅτι οὖν τὶ ἐτερον ἔχειν ἄξιον λόγου, κατεφρονήθη. καὶ ἀφεθεῖς χειρὰ τε συνήγαγεν ἀνθρώπων νεωτεροτοίῳ καὶ πόλεις πολλὰς ἐπηγάγετο, καὶ τέλος βασιλικὴν στολὴν περιθέμενος καὶ δύναμιν συγκροτήσας.
back to Rome, where he himself received commendation and Phameas was honoured to the extent of being allowed to sit with the senate in the senate-house.

28. It was at this time, too, that the episode occurred in which Prusias figured. This monarch, being old and of an irritable disposition, became possessed by a fear that the Bithynians would expel him from his kingdom, choosing in his stead his son Nicomedes. So he sent him to Rome on some pretext, with orders to make that his home. But since he plotted against his son even during his sojourn in Rome and strove to kill him, some Bithynians visited Rome, took Nicomedes away secretly, and conveyed him to Bithynia; and after slaying his father they appointed him king. This act irritated the Romans, but not to the point of war.

A certain Andriscus, who was a native of Adramyttium and resembled Perseus in appearance, caused a large part of Macedonia to revolt by pretending to be his son and calling himself Philip. First he went to Macedonia and tried to stir up that country, but as no one would yield him allegiance, he betook himself to Demetrius in Syria to obtain from him the aid which relationship might afford. But Demetrius arrested him and sent him to Rome, where he met with general contempt, both because he stood convicted of not being the son of Perseus and because he had no other qualities worthy of mention. On being released he gathered a band of revolutionists, drew after him a number of cities, and finally, assuming the kingly garb and mustering an army, he
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

Zonaras 9, 28.

eis Θράκην ἀφίκετο, καὶ συνονεῖς μὲν τῶν αὐτο-νόμων, συνονεῖς δὲ καὶ τῶν δυναστῶν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἀχθομένους παραλαβὼν εἰς Μακεδονίαν ἐνέβαλε καὶ αὐτὴν κατέσχε, καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν Θεσσαλίαν ὀρμήσασι οὐκ ὁλύγα ταύτης προσεποίησατο.

Οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαίοι κατεφρόνουν μὲν πρὸτερον τοῦ Ἀνδρίσκου, εἰτα τὸν Σκιπίονα τὸν Νασικᾶν ἐπεμψαν εἰρημικῶς πως τὰ ἑκεί διοικήσουτα. διε εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἑλθὼν καὶ μαθὼν τὰ γενόμενα, τοῖς μὲν Ῥωμαίοις δηλῶν ταύτα ἐπέστειλε, δύναμιν δὲ παρὰ τῶν ἑκεῖ συμμάχων ἄθροίσας ἔργου εἴχετο, καὶ προῆλθε μέχρι Μακεδονίας. οἱ δ' ἐν τῇ Ῥώμη γνώντες τὰ κατὰ τὸν Ἀνδρίσκον, στρατεύμα ἐπεμψαν καὶ στρατηγὸν Πούπλιον Ἰου-βέντιον. ὁ περὶ Μακεδονίαν γενομένῳ συμβαλὼν ὁ Ἀνδρίσκος ἐκείνων τὸν ἀπέκτεινε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους πάντας δὲν κατεργάσατο, εἰ μὴ τῆς νυκτὸς ἀπεχώρησαν. καὶ εἰς τὴν Θεσσαλίαν μετὰ ταύτα εἰςέβαλε καὶ πλείστα αὐτῆς ἐκάκωσε, καὶ τὰ τῶν Θρακῶν προσηταρίζετο. πάλιν οὖν διὰ ταύτα οἱ εἰ τῇ Ῥώμη Κύντου Κακιλίων Μέτελλον στρατηγὸν σὺν δυνάμει πολλῆς ἔστειλαν. καὶ δὲ εἰς τὴν Μακεδονίαν ἦλθε, καὶ οἱ ὁ Ατταλοὺς προσήμυνε ναυτικῷ. διὸ δεῖσας ὁ Ἀνδρίσκος περὶ τῶν παρε-θυλασσίων οὐκ ἐτόλμησε περαιτέρω προελθεῖν ὀλύγον δὲ τῆς Πύδης ἐξω προχωρήσας ἵππομαχία μὲν ὑπερέσχε, φοβηθεὶς δὲ τὸ πεζὸν ἀνέστρεψε. καὶ ἐπαρθεὶς διῆκῃ τῶν στρατῷ διεῖλε, καὶ τοῖς μὲν αὐτὸς κατὰ χώραν προσήδρευε, τοὺς δὲ πορθήσας τὴν Θεσσαλίαν ἀπέστειλε. καταφρονῆσας οὖν ὁ Μέτελλος τῶν παρόντων συνέμιξε καὶ τῶν πρώ-
BOOK XXI

Zonaras 9, 28.

reached Thrace. There he added to his army several of the independent states as well as several of the princes who disliked the Romans, invaded and occupied Macedonia, and setting out for Thessaly won over no small part of that country.

The Romans at first scorned Andricus, and then they sent Scipio Nasica to settle matters there in some peaceable manner. On reaching Greece and ascertaining what had occurred, he sent a letter to the Romans explaining the situation; then after collecting troops from the allies there he devoted himself to the business in hand and advanced as far as Macedonia. The people of Rome, when informed of the doings of Andricus, sent an army along with Publius Juventius, a praetor. Juventius had just reached the vicinity of Macedonia when Andricus gave battle, killed the praetor, and would have annihilated his entire force had they not withdrawn by night. Next he invaded Thessaly, harried a great many parts of it, and was ranging Thracian interests on his side. Consequently the people of Rome once more dispatched a praetor, Quintus Caecilius Metellus, with a strong body of troops. He proceeded to Macedonia and received the assistance of the fleet of Attalus. Andricus in consequence became anxious about the coast districts, and so did not venture to advance farther, but moved up to a point slightly beyond Pydna. There he had the best of it in a cavalry encounter, but out of fear of the infantry turned back. He was so elated that he divided his army into two sections, with one of which he remained on the watch where he was, while he sent the other to ravage Thessaly. Metellus, contemptuous of the forces confronting him,
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

70,2 Τὶς γὰρ ποτε καὶ ὥρος ἡμικλας τοὺς γε ἀπαξ ἐκ μειρακίων ἐξελθοῦσι πρὸς τὸ τὰ δέοντα φρονεῖν ἔπεστι; τὶς ἄριθμοὺς ἐτῶν πρὸς τὸ τὰ προσήκοντα πράττειν ἀποδέδεικται; οὐχ ὁσοὶ μὲν ἀν τῇ τε

Zonaras 9, 28-29.

τὸν αὐτῷ ἐις χεῖρας ἐλθόντων περιγενόμενος ῥὰν καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς παρεστήσατο ἐτοίμως γὰρ ὡς ἐξήμαρτον αὐτῷ ὡμολογησαν. ὁ δὲ Ἀνδρῖκος εἰς τὴν Θράκην ἀπέδρα, καὶ δύναμιν ἄθροίσας συνέβαλε τῷ Μέτελλῳ προῖνυτι οὐ προεχώρει. καὶ τῶν προμάχων αὐτοῦ τραπέντων τὸ τε συμμαχικὸν αὐτοῦ ἐσκεδάζει καὶ αὐτὸς ὕπο Βύζου Θρακὸς δυνάστου προδοθεῖς ἐδικαίωθη. 

Καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τὸς Περσέως καὶ αὐτοῦ λέγων εἶναι υἱὸς καὶ χείρα συναγαγὼν, κατέλαβε τὴν περὶ τὸν Μέστον καλούμενον ποταμὸν χώραν· διὸ Μέτελλος ἐπεδίωξεν ὑποφυγόντα μέχρι τῆς Δαρδανίας.

29. Ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς Καρχηδόνιους οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι Πείσωνα τὸν ὑπατὸν ἐστειλαν. δὲ τῇ μὲν Καρχηδόνι καὶ τῷ Ἀσδρούβα οὐ προσέμειξεν, ἐπὶ δὲ τᾶς παραλίου πόλεις ἑτράπετο καὶ τῆς μὲν Ἀστίδος ἀπεκρούσθη, τὴν δὲ Νέαν πόλιν ἑλὼν κατέσκαψεν ἐπὶ δὲ Ἰππώνα πόλιν ὀρμήσας κατέτρηξε τὸν καιρὸν μηδὲν περάνας. οἱ δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι ἀνεθάρσησαν διὰ ταύτα καὶ ὅτι καὶ τινὲς αὐτοὶ προσεγένοντο σύμμαχοι. μαθόντες δὲν ταύτα οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι οἱ τε ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ καί οἱ ἐν τῇ πόλει, ἐπὶ τὸν Σκιπίωνα ὀρμησαν καὶ ὑπατον αὐτὸν ἐψηφίσαντο, καίτοι τῆς ἡμικλας μὴ ἐφείσης αὐτῷ τὴν ἀρχήν· ἄλλα 386
BOOK XXI

What age, pray, has been fixed as the time for beginning to think sensibly,—assuming one has ceased to be a boy? What number of years has been determined upon as necessary for beginning to

Zonaras 9, 28–29.

joined battle, and after overpowering those with whom he first came into conflict he very easily won over the others also; for they readily admitted to him the error of their ways. Andrusch fled to Thrace and after assembling a force gave battle to Metellus as the latter was advancing on his way. His vanguard, however, was routed, whereupon his allied force was scattered; and Andrusch himself was betrayed by Byzes, a Thracian prince, and punished.

One Alexander also had declared himself to be a son of Perseus, and collecting a band of warriors, had occupied the country round about the river which is called the Mestus: but he now took to flight, and Metellus pursued him as far as Dardania.

29. The Romans sent out Piso, the consul, against the Carthaginians. Piso did not try conclusions with Carthage and Hasdrubal, but devoted himself to the coast cities. He was repulsed from Aspis [Clupea], but captured and razed Neapolis; and in his expedition against the town of Hippo he merely used up time without accomplishing anything. So the Carthaginians took heart both on this account and because some allies had joined them. Learning this, the Romans in the army and city alike had recourse to Scipio and created him consul, notwithstanding his age did not entitle him to hold the office. But

1 Presumably an error for the Nestus.

387

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ΔΙΟ’S ROMAN HISTORY

φύσει καὶ τῇ τύχῃ χρηστῇ χρήσωνται, πάντα ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς εὐθὺς ἃ δεῖ καὶ φρονοῦσι καὶ πράττουσιν, οἱ δὲ ἐν τῇ δόξῃ τῇ ἴλικίᾳ βραχὺν νοῶν ἔχοντες οὐδὲ ἀν αὐθίς ποτε, οὐδὲ οἱ πολλὰ ἐκ διέλθοι, φρονιμώτεροι γένοντο; ἀμείνων μὲν γὰρ ἂν τῶν αὐτῶν εαυτοῦ προϊόντος τῆς ἴλικίας ὑπάρξειν, ἔννοους δ’ ἐξ ἀνοητοῦ καὶ ἐμφρων ἐξ ἀφρωνος οὐδ’ ἂν εἰς ἐκβαίη.


Ζωναράς 9, 29.

tά τε ἔργα αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡ ἀρετή τοῦ πατρὸς Παύλου καὶ τοῦ πάππου Ἀφρικανοῦ ἐπίδια παρείχον ἀπασὶ βεβαιαν καὶ τῶν πολεμίων δι’ αὐτοῦ κρατήσειν καὶ τὴν Καρχηδόνα παντελῶς ἔξαιρήσειν.

388
BOOK XXI

do the fitting thing? Is it not true that all who enjoy an excellent nature and good fortune both think and do in all things what is right from the very beginning, whereas those who at this age of their life have little sense will never grow more prudent later, even with the lapse of many years? A man may continue to improve upon his former condition as he advances in age, but no fool will ever turn out wise nor any simpleton sensible.

Do not, however, discourage the young men through the idea that they are disqualified from performing any services. On the contrary, you ought to urge them to practise zealously the performance of all the duties that belong to them, and to look for both honours and offices even before they reach old age. For by this course you will render their elders better, too—first, by confronting them with many competitors, and next by making it clear that you are going to establish, not length of years, but innate excellence as the test in conferring honours, and particularly positions of command, upon any citizens.1

Zonaras 9, 29.

his own deeds and the prowess of his father, Paulus, and of his grandfather, Africanus, inspired them all with the firm hope that through him they might vanquish their enemies and utterly destroy Carthage.

1 These words seem to be from a speech delivered before the senate with reference either to the consulship of Scipio Aemilianus (B.C. 148) or to the Spanish appointment of Scipio Africanus (B.C. 211), preferably the former.
Zonaras 9, 29.

'Εν ὃ δ' ὁ Σκιπίων εἰς τὴν Λιβύην ἐκομίζετο, Μαγκίνος παραπλέων τὴν Καρχηδόνα χωρίον τῷ τοῦ τεῖχος αὐτῆς έντος δὲν Μεγαλία ὅνομαξο-μενον, καὶ ἐπὶ πέτρας ἀποτόμῳ καθήκων πρὸς θάλασσαν, πολὺ τῇ τῆς ἄλλης πόλεως ἀπηρτη-μένον, καὶ μηδὲ πολλοὺς φρουροὺς ἔχουν ὅσ τῇ φύσει δὲν ἔρμινων κατανοήσας, κλίμακας ἐξα-τιναίως προσθελεὶ απὸ τῶν νεῶν ἐπανέβη. ἦδη δὲ ἀνελθόντος συνέδραμον μὲν τῶν Καρχηδώνων τινές, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐκεροῦσαι αὐτῶν ἥδυνθησαν. ὦ δὲ πέμψας πρὸς τὸν Πείσωνα τὰ τε γεγονότα ἑδήσωσε καὶ αὐτῷ ἐπαμίνα ἦξισε. πόρρω δ' ὦν ἐν τῇ μεσογείῳ οὐδὲν αὐτῷ χρήσιμος ὁ Πείσων ἐγένετο. ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων ὑπ' αὐτὴν τὴν ἀγγελίαν νυκτός κατὰ τούχην ἐλθὼν εὐθὺς ἐβοήθησεν. εἶλον γὰρ ἄν τὸν Μαγκίνον οἱ Καρχηδόνοι ή καὶ διέφθειραν, εἰ μὴ παραπλεοῦσας εἶδον τὰς ναυς τοῦ Σκιπίωνος. τότε δ' ἡθύμησαν μὲν, οὐκ ἀπέ-στησαν δὲ. αἰχμαλώτους οὖν τινας ἐπεμψεν ὁ Σκιπίων ἔρούντας ὅτι πάρεστι. καὶ τοῦτο γνώντας οὐχ ὑπέμειναν ἐτί, ἀλλ' ἄνεχώρησαν καὶ καὶ τὸν Ἀσδρούβαν μετεπέμψαντο καὶ ταφρεύμασε καὶ σταυρώμασι τὸ πρὸ τῶν οἰκίων διατείχισμα διεφύ-λαξαν. οἱ μὲν Σκιπίων τὰ μὲν Μεγαλία τὸν Μαγκίνον φρουρεῖν κατέληπτεν, αὐτὸς δὲ πρὸς τὸν Πείσωνα καὶ πρὸς τὰς δυνάμεις ἀπήρες, ὡς δὲν μετ' αὐτῶν ἔργου ἔχαται. καὶ ἐπανήλθε ταχέως σὺν τῷ κουφοτάτῳ τῆς στρατιᾶς, καὶ κατέλαβε τὸν Ἀσδρούβαν εἰς τὴν Καρχηδόνα εἰσελθόντα καὶ δεινὸς τῷ Μαγκίνῳ ἐπιτιθέμενον καὶ ἐλθὼν ὁ Σκιπίων τὴν ἐπίθεσιν ἔλυσεν. ἀφικομένου 390
BOOK XXI

Zonaras 9, 29.

While Scipio was proceeding to Africa, Mancinus in sailing past Carthage noticed a place called Megalia which was inside the city wall on an abrupt cliff and extended down toward the sea; the place was a long distance away from the rest of the town and had but few guards because of the natural strength of its position. So Mancinus suddenly applied ladders to it from the ships and ascended. When he had already got up there, some of the Carthaginians hastily gathered, but they were unable to repulse him. He then sent to Piso an account of his exploit and a request for assistance. Piso, however, being far in the interior, was of no aid to Mancinus; but Scipio chanced to come along at night just after the receipt of the news and rendered prompt aid. For the Carthaginians would have either captured or destroyed Mancinus, if they had not seen Scipio’s vessels sailing past; then they grew discouraged, but would not fall back. So Scipio sent them some captives to tell them that he was at hand; and upon learning this they no longer stood their ground, but retired and fortified with trenches and palisades the cross-wall in front of the houses, meanwhile sending for Hasdrubal. Scipio now left Mancinus to guard Megalia and set out himself to join Piso and the troops, so as to have their support in his operations. He quickly returned with the lightest-armed troops and found that Hasdrubal had entered Carthage and was attacking Mancinus fiercely. The arrival of Scipio put an end to the
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

Zonaras 9, 29.

δὲ καὶ τοῦ Πείσωνος ἡδη, ἐκεῖνον μὲν ἔξω τοῦ τείχους αὐλίσασθαι κατὰ τινάς πύλας ἐκέλευσε, καὶ στρατιώτας ἐτέρους πρὸς πυλῆδα τινὰ πολὺ ἀφ' ἐαυτῶν ἀπέχονταν περιέπεμψε, παραγγείλας αὐτοῖς ἅττα πράξεων ἐχρῆν, αὐτὸς δὲ τὸ κράτιστον τοῦ στρατοῦ κατὰ μέσας νύκτας λαβὼν ἐνδον τοῦ περιβόλου ἐγένετο, αὐτομόλοις χρησάμενος ἁγιουσί, καὶ ὑπὸ τὴν πυλήδα παραδραμῶν καὶ τὸν μοχλὸν διακόψας τοὺς τε ἐξώθησεν ἐφεδρεύοντας ἐισήγαγε καὶ τοὺς φύλακας ἐφθείρε. καὶ πρὸς τὰς πύλας ἡπείρθη καθ' ἀς ὁ Πείσων προσήδρευε, τοὺς φρουροὺς τοὺς τὰ μέσα φυλάττοντας ὄλγους καθ' ἐκάστους ὅντας τρέπον, ὡστε τὸν Ἀσδρούβαν ἀμα τε πυνθάνεσθαι τὰ γενόμενα καὶ ὁρᾶν τὴν τῶν Ὀρμαίων δύναμιν μικροῦ πάσαν οὐσαν ἐντός. καὶ χρόνον μὲν τινα ἀντέσχων, ἐπείτα τὴν μὲν ἅλλην πόλιν ἐξέλιπον, εἰς δὲ τὸν Κάθωνα τὴν τε Βύρσαν κατέφυγον. εἴτε ὁ Ἀσδρούβας πάντας τοὺς τῶν Ὀρμαίων αἰχμαλώτους ἀπέκτεινεν, ὡς ἀπόγνωσιν συγγνώμης σχόντες οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι προδομότερον ἀντικαρτερήσωσι; πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ὡς προδίδοντας ἑαυτοὺς διεχρήσατο. καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων περιεστάφαρε μὲν αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀπετείχισεν, οὐ μὴν καὶ ταχέως εἴλε. τά τε γὰρ τείχη καρτερὰ ἦν καὶ οἱ ἐντός πολλοὶ ὄντες ἑξυμένῳ ἐν ὀλίγῳ χώρῳ ἡμύνοντο καὶ σίτον ἀφθόνοις ἐίχον. οἱ γὰρ Βίθιας ὁλκάδας ἀπὸ τῆς ἀντικρυ τῆς πόλεως ἡπείρου κατὰ κύμα καὶ ἄνεμον, ὀσάκις σφοδρῶς ἑπνει, ἐς τὸν λεμένα αὐτοῖς εἰσέπεμπε. πρὸς ὀπερ ὁ Σκιπίων μέγα ἔργον καὶ ἐπενοήσα καὶ ἐπετέλεσε· τὸν γὰρ εἰσπλοῦν τοῦ λεμένος

392
BOOK XXI

Zonaras 9, 29.

attack. When Piso too had now arrived, Scipio commanded him to encamp outside the wall opposite certain gates, and he sent other soldiers round to a little gate a long distance away from the main force, with orders as to what they must do. Then he himself about midnight took the strongest part of the army, got inside the wall, under the guidance of deserters, and hurrying round to a point inside the little gate, he hacked the bar in two, let in the men who were on the watch outside, and destroyed the guards. He then hastened to the gate opposite which Piso had his station, routing the intervening guards, who were only a few in each place, so that Hasdrubal by the time he found out what had happened saw that nearly the whole force of the Romans was inside. For a time, indeed, the Carthaginians withstood them; then they abandoned the remainder of the city and fled for refuge to Cotho and the Byrsa. Next Hasdrubal killed all the Roman captives, in order that the Carthaginians, in despair of pardon, might resist with greater zeal. He also made away with many of the natives on the charge that they were betraying their own cause. Scipio surrounded them with a palisade and walled them in, yet it was some time before he captured them. For their walls were strong, and the men inside, being many in number and confined in a small space, made a vigorous resistance. They were well off for food, too; for Bithias, taking advantage of wind and tide, whenever a heavy gale blew, would send merchantmen into the harbour to them from the mainland opposite the city. To overcome this opposition Scipio conceived and executed a remarkable undertaking, namely, the filling up of the narrow entrance

393
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

Zonaras 9, 29–30.

στενῶν ὄντα συνέχω, χαλεπῶς μὲν καὶ ἐπιπόνως, ὡμως μέντοι ὑπὸ πολυχειρίας τὸ ἔργον ἐξειργαστο. εἰργειν μὲν γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐπεχείρουν οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι, καὶ πολλαὶ μάχαι ἐν τούτῳ ἐγίνοντο, οὐ μέντοι καὶ κολύσαι τὸ χῶσαι ἦδυνηθησαν.

30. Οἱ οὖν Καρχηδόνιοι, τοῦ στόματος τοῦ λιμένος χασθέντος, τῇ τοῦ σίτου σπάνει δεινῶς ἑπιέσθησαν καὶ οἱ μὲν ηὐτομόλουν, οἱ δὲ ἐγκαρτεροῦντες ἔθνησικνον, οἱ δὲ τῶν νεκρῶν ἔγευντο. ὅθεν ἀνθυμήσας Ἀσδρούβας πρέσβεις πρὸς τὸν Σκιπίωνα περὶ σπονδῶν ἐπεμψε· καὶ ἔτυχεν ἂν τῆς ἀδείας, εἰ μὴ καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς ἀπασὶ καὶ τὴν σωτηρίαν καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν πρᾶξαι ἦδελθησε. διαμαρτῶν οὖν αὐτῆς εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν τὴν γυναῖκα κατέκλευσεν, ἐπεὶ τῷ Σκιπίωνι ὑπὲρ ἐαυτῆς καὶ τῶν τέκνων διεκπνευσάτο· καὶ τάλα διώκει τολμηρότερος γενόμενος διὰ τὴν ἀπόγνωσιν. αὐτὸς τε οὖν καὶ ἄλλοι ἀπονοία κρατοῦμενοι καὶ νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας ἐμάχοντο, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἤττώντο, τὰ δὲ ἐπεκράτουν, καὶ ἀντεμηχανόων πρὸς τὰς Ῥωμαικὰς μηχανάς. καὶ ὁ Βιθίας δὲ φρούριον τι ἐρυμον ἔχων καὶ ἐπὶ πολλὰ τῆς ἠπείρου προῖόν, τοὺς τε Καρχηδονίους ὄψελε καὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐκάκων. διὸ καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων τὸ στρατευμα διελών, τὸ μὲν τῇ Καρχηδόνι προσεδρεύει ἐτάξε, τὸ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ Βιθίαν ἐπεμψεν, ἐπιστήσας αὐτὸ τὸν ὑποστράτηγον τὸν Γάιον Δαῖλον καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκατέρωσε διεφοίτα ἀμφο ἐπισκοπῶν. καὶ ἦλω τὸ φρούριον. εἰτ' αὖθις πάση τῇ στρατιᾷ ἐπολυμορκεῖτο ἡ Καρχηδών.

394
BOOK XXI

Zonaras 9, 29–30.

to the harbour. The work was difficult and toilsome, but was nevertheless brought to completion, thanks to the great number of men employed. The Carthaginians, to be sure, undertook to check them, and many battles took place during the course of the work, but they were unable to prevent the filling of the channel.

30. So, when the mouth of the harbour had been filled, the Carthaginians were terribly oppressed by the scarcity of food; and some of them deserted, while others held out and died, and still others ate the dead bodies. Hence Hasdrubal, in discouragement, sent envoys to Scipio with regard to a truce, and would have obtained immunity, had he not desired to secure both safety and freedom for all the rest as well. After he had failed for this reason to accomplish his purpose, he confined his wife in the citadel because she had made overtures to Scipio looking to the safety of herself and her children; and in other respects he grew bolder in his conduct of affairs as a result of despair. He, therefore, and some others, mastered by frenzy, fought both night and day, sometimes losing and sometimes winning; and they devised engines to oppose the Roman engines. Moreover, Bithias, who held a strong fortress and scoured wide stretches of the mainland, was helping the Carthaginians and injuring the Romans. Hence Scipio also divided his army, assigning one half of it to invest Carthage, while he sent the other half against Bithias, placing at the head of it his lieutenant, Gaius Laelius. He himself went back and forth from one division to the other on visits of inspection. Finally the fortress was taken, and the siege of Carthage was once more conducted by the whole army.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

Zonaras 9, 30.

'Απογνώντες οὖν οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι μηκέτι ἐκά- 
terov teichos diassósa thai dýnasthai, eis ton tís 
Výrsis peribolov áte kai érwmóterov ánsekeu-
ánstanto, kai metakomísantos òsa ãðúvanto, káte-
pírasan vuktos to neármion kai tôn állyon tâ 
pleion, ònà tís ëx autôv òpheléias toûs polemiou 
stereísonw. ὡς δ' ëgenvon to ërhnov oî 'Rwmaíoi, 
ton lyména katéschon kai épî tîn Výrsan òrm-
ìsan, kai katasxhontes tás ékatérwthen autîs 
òikias oî mèn épî tôn tegov autôn épî tás áei 
ëxoménav ëvádîxov, oî dé touû toîxous diorússo 
kátwev déshèsan, ëwos pròs autîn tîn ákran 
âfíkounto. ëntaîtha dé genoménavo oukèti autíran 
ioi Karxhîdônoi, ìllâ èpëkhrumeûasvanto, plhû 
oû 'Asdrôbou. ëkeînos dé meta tôn autoimoîlwn (ò 
yár Skîtîwv oûk èspëíasato autóis) eis to 'A-
skalhpieîon àneilhíh méta tîs ynauikos kai tôn 
pâdivn, kànteûthen ïmûnmeto tòus proabálloan 
mèxris ou êmptrhsantos tòn vevô oûi autômoloi èpî 
tô tegov autôv ànëbhsan, tîn èsxhînh tûv yпорó 
anágkhn anaménontes' tòte yár ëssthèthes pròs tôn 
Skîtîwv ëthèn èkhetíran ëxhov. ïdôsa dé 
autôn ò ymph àntiðolóvnta òmovastî ànekalhsev, 
kai ëxonidíssasa òti èautîf tîn swthrían prâ 
ouk èptêrfen èkeîhê spèisasaða, tâ têvna ènë-
ðalenv eis tô pûr kai èautîh prôspetprífev.

'Elvos oûn òutô tîn Karxhîdôna Skîtîwv tî 
yerouvsia èptêsteile tâde "Karxhîdonv ëálw. tî 
oû kelleûste," ìanaugwstènthoûn oûn touûv boùlhn 
èbenvo perî tûv tî dévon poièin. kai o mèn 
Kátovn kataskâpsai tîn pólîn kai tûs Karxhî-
BOOK XXI

Zonaras 9, 30.

The Carthaginians, despairing, consequently, of being any longer able to save both walls, betook themselves to the enclosure of the Byrsa, since it was better fortified, at the same time transferring thither all the objects that they could. Then at night they burned the dockyard and most of the other structures, in order to deprive the enemy of any benefit from them. When the Romans became aware of their action, they occupied the harbour and hastened against the Byrsa. After occupying the houses on each side of it, some of the besiegers walked along on top of the roofs by successively stepping to those adjacent, and others by digging through the walls pushed onward below until they reached the very citadel. When they had got thus far, the Carthaginians offered no further opposition, but sued for peace—all except Hasdrubal. He, together with the deserters, to whom Scipio would grant no truce, crowded into the temple of Aesculapius along with his wife and children; and there he defended himself against the assailants until the deserters set fire to the temple and climbed to the roof to await the last extremity of the flames. Then, vanquished, he came to Scipio holding the suppliant branch. His wife witnessed his entreaties, and after calling him by name and reproaching him for securing safety for himself, when he had not allowed her to obtain terms, threw her children into the fire and then cast herself in.

Thus Scipio took Carthage; and he sent to the senate the following message: "Carthage is taken. What are your orders now?" When these words had been read, they took counsel as to what should be done. Cato expressed the opinion that they ought to
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

Zonaras 9, 30–31.

δούλους ἐξαφανίσαι δεῖν ἐγνωμάτευσεν, ὁ δὲ Νασικάς φείσασθαι τῶν Καρχηδονίων καὶ ἔτι συνεβούλευε. καντεύθεν εἰς ἀντιλογίαν πολλῆν προήχθη καὶ ἀμφισβήτησιν τὸ συνέδριον, ἔως ἐφ' τις ὦτι καὶ μη δὲ οὖδὲν ἐτεροῦν, ἀλλὰ γε ἑαυτῶν ἔνεκα φείσασθαι αὐτῶν ἀναγκαίων νομίζοιτο ἂν, ἵνα ἀνταγωνιστάς αὐτοὺς ἔχουτες ἀρετὴν ἁσκόσι, καὶ μὴ πρὸς ἡδονὰς καὶ τρυφῆν τράπωνται, τῶν δυναμένων αὐτοὺς καταναγκάζειν εἰς ἀσκησιν τῶν πολεμικῶν περιαρεθέντων, καὶ χεῖρος ὑπ' ἀνασκησίας γένωνται, ἀξιοχρέους ἀντιπολέμους μὴ ἔχοντες. ἐκ τούτων οὖν τῶν λόγων πάντες κατασκάψαι τὴν Καρχηδόνα ὁμογνωμόνησαν, μηποτε εἰρημήσεις ἐκεῖνους πιστεύσαντες ἀκριβῶς. καὶ πᾶσα ἄρδην ἀνάστατος γέγονεν, καὶ ἐπάρατον ἐψηφίσθη τὸ ἐπ' αὐτὴν κατοικῆσαι τινα. καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τῶν ἀλόντων οἱ μὲν πλείους εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον ἐνεβλήθθησαν κάκει διεφθάρθησαν, ὅλως δὲ τινὲς πλήν τῶν πάνω πρῶτων ἐπράθησαν οὕτωι γὰρ οἳ τε διηροὶ καὶ οὐ 'Ασδρουβᾶς καὶ οὐ Βιβλίας ἄλλοι ἄλλη τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐν φρουραῖς ἀδέσμοις κατεβίωσαν. οὐ δὲ Σκιυπίων δόξης τε ἐτυχε καὶ τιμῆς, καὶ Ἰῤῥηκανὸς οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ πάππου, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκείων ἐπεκέκλητο πράξεων.

31. Τότε δὲ καὶ Ἡ Κόρινθος κατεσκάφη, ἐπεὶ γὰρ οἱ τῶν Ἑλλήνων κορυφαίοτατοι ὑπὸ Παῦλου τοῦ Αἰμιλίου μετρικήσθησαν εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, οἱ λοιποὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον πρεσβείας τούς ἀνδρας ἀπήτουν, ὡς δ' οὐκ ἐπούχουν, καὶ τινὲς ἐκεῖνων τὴν οἰκαδὲ ἀπογόντες ἐπάνων ἑαυτοὺς διε-

398
raze the city and blot out the Carthaginians, whereas Scipio Nasica still advised sparing the Carthaginians. And thereupon the senate became involved in a great dispute and contention, until some one declared that for the Romans' own sake, if for no other reason, it must be considered necessary to spare them. With this nation for antagonists they would be sure to practise valour instead of turning aside to pleasures and luxury; whereas, if those who were able to compel them to practise warlike pursuits should be removed from the scene, they might deteriorate from want of practice, through a lack of worthy competitors. As a result of the discussion all became unanimous in favour of destroying Carthage, since they felt sure that its inhabitants would never remain entirely at peace. The whole city was therefore utterly blotted out of existence, and it was decreed that for any person to settle upon its site should be an accursed act. The majority of the men captured were thrown into prison and there perished, and some few were sold. But the very foremost men together with the hostages and Hasdrubal and Bithias spent the rest of their lives in different parts of Italy in honourable confinement. Scipio secured both glory and honour and was called Africanus, not after his grandfather, but because of his own achievements.

31. At this time also Corinth was destroyed. The chief men of the Greeks had been deported to Italy by Aemilius Paulus, whereupon their countrymen at first through embassies kept asking for the return of the men, and when their request was not granted, some of the exiles, in despair of ever
72 "Ὅτε ἦρξαν τής διαφορᾶς οἱ Ἀχαιοί, τοῖς Δακεδαμιονίοις ἐγκαλούντες (διηνέχθησαν γὰρ ἄλληλοις) ὡς τῶν συμβεβηκότων σφίσιν αἰτίοις γεγονόσι, Διαίον ὅτι ¹ μάλιστα τοῦ στρατηγοῦ αὐτοῦς ἐνάγοντος. καὶ τῶν Ἡ Ῥωμαίων καταλακτᾶς αὐτοῖς πολλάκις πεμψάντων ώς ἐπείσθησαν, ἁλλὰ καὶ τοὺς πρέσβεις, οὗ ἐκεῖνοι διασπάσαν πη τῷ Ἑλληνικῷ, ὅπως ἀσθενέστεροι ὄσιν, ἐθελήσαντες ἐπεμψάν, πρόφασιν τῷ μὴ δεῖν τὰς πόλεις τὰς τοῦ Φιλίππου γενομένας, ὅπως καὶ Κόρινθος ἦν ἢ τὸ ἀλλα ἀνθοῦσα καὶ ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ κρατιστεύουσα, μετέχειν αὐτοῦ ποιησά-

Zonaras 9, 31.

χρήσαντο, χαλεπῶς διέκειντο καὶ πένθος δημόσιον ἐποίησαντο, τοῖς τα Ῥωμαίων φρονοῦσι παρά σφίσιν ὅργηντο, οὗ μέντοι καὶ πολέμοι τῷ ἐπεδείξαντο, μέχρις οὗ τοὺς περιλποὺς τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐκεῖνων ἐκομίσαντο. τότε δὲ διενεχθέntes ἄλληλος οὗ τῇ ἰδικημένοι καὶ οἱ τὰ ἀλλότρια ἔχοντες ἐπολέμησαν. ἦρξαντο δὲ τῆς διαφορᾶς οἱ Ἀχαιοί, τοῖς Δακεδαμιονίοις ἐγκαλοῦντες ὡς αἰτίοις τῶν συμβεβηκότων αὐτοῖς καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων διαλλακτᾶς αὐτοῖς στειλάντων ώς ἐπεῖσθησαν, ἁλλὰ πρὸς πόλεμον ὄρμησαν, Κριτόλαοι προστησάμενοι. δεῖςα σὐν ὁ Μέτελλος μὴ

¹ Διαίον ὅτι Reim., διάγονους(ν) Mss.

400
BOOK XXI

The Achaeans began the quarrel, accusing the Lacedaemonians, with whom they were at variance, of having been the cause of their misfortunes; in this they were especially encouraged by Diaeus, the general. And although the Romans repeatedly sent mediators to them, they paid no heed; in fact they came very near slaying the envoys whom the Romans next sent to them. The ostensible mission of these envoys was to insist that the cities which had belonged to Philip, including Corinth,—in other respects a flourishing city and in addition the leader in the congress,—should not take part in that body; yet in reality it was their desire to disrupt the Greek alliance in some manner, so that the members might returning to their homes, made away with themselves. The Greeks were greatly distressed at this and made it a matter of public lamentation, besides showing anger toward any persons dwelling among them who favoured the Roman cause; yet they displayed no open signs of hostility until they got back the survivors among their hostages. Then those who had been wronged and those who had obtained a hold upon the goods of others fell into strife with one another and went to war. The Achaeans began the quarrel, accusing the Lacedaemonians of being the cause of their misfortunes. And although the Romans sent mediators to them, they paid no heed, but rather set their faces toward war, appointing Critolaus as their leader. Metellus was consequently afraid that
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

2 μενοι, παρ' όλιγον ἥλθον ἀποκτείναι. φυγῇ δ' οὖν¹ αὐτῶν ἐκ τοῦ 'Ακροκορίνθου, ἐν φ' ἦσαν, προαποχωρησάντων ἐπρεσβεύσαντο μὲν ἐς τὴν 'Ρώμην, ἀπολογούμενοι ύπερ τοῦ γεγονοτος' οὗ γὰρ ἐπ' ἐκείνους, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τοὺς Δακεδαιμόνιους τοὺς μετ' αὐτῶν δυνα τρομῆσαι ἐφασκοῦν. τῶν δὲ 'Ρωμαίων τὴν μὲν σκῆψιν αὐτῶν οὐκ ἔλεγξάντων (τοῖς τε γὰρ Καρχηδονίοις ἐτί ἐπολέμουν, καὶ τὰ τῶν Μακεδόνων οὐδέπω καλῶς βέβαια εἶχον), ἀνδρας δὲ στειλάντων,² καὶ τὴν ἁδειαν αὐτοῖς, ἀν μηδὲν ἐτι νεωτέρῳσι, δῶσειν ὑποσχομένοι, τὸ συνέδριον αὐτοῖς οὐ παρέσχου, ἀλλ' ἐς ἐτερὸν σφας σύλλογον, δὲ μεθ' ἐκμηνυν³ ἔμελλεν ἔσεσθαι, ἀνεβάλοντο.—U⁸ 8 (p. 384).

Zonaras 9, 31.

καὶ τῆς Μακεδονίας ἄψωνται (ἡδη γὰρ εἰς τὴν Θεσσαλίαν παρῆλθον), προαπήνητσεν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐτρέφαιτο.

Καὶ τοῦ 'Κρυστολάου πεσόντος διεξῆ διήρητο τὸ 'Ελληνικόν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ πρὸς εἰρήνην ἀπέκλιναν καὶ τὰ ὅπλα κάτεθεντο, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἕτι ἐστασίαζον τὸ Διαίφ τὰ πράγματα ἐπιτρέπαντες. ἃ μαθόντες οἱ ἐν τῇ 'Ρώμῃ ἔτι αὐτοὺς τῶν Μόμμιου ἐπεμψαν, δς τὸν μὲν Μέτελλου ἀπήλ- λαξον, αὐτὸς δὲ τοῦ πολέμου εἶχε το. καὶ των πληγής μέρει τῆς στρατιάς λαβὼν ἐξ ἐνέδρας, τοῦ Διαίφ καταδιώξαντος μέχρι τοῦ σφαῖ στρατιστέου τοῦ θεοῦ φεύγοντας, ἀντεπέκλιθε, καὶ

¹ δ' οὖν Bk., δουῦναι Mss. ² στειλάντων Leuncl., στειλάντες Mss. ³ μεθ' ἐκμηνυν Leuncl., μεθέγιμοι Mss.
BOOK XXI

be weaker. When the envoys had made their escape by flight from Acrocorinth, where they had been, the Greeks sent an embassy to Rome to offer explanations for what had occurred. It was not against Rome's representatives, they claimed, but against the Lacedaemonians who were with them that the attack had been made. The Romans, still occupied as they were with the war against the Carthaginians, and not as yet in firm control of the Macedonian situation, did not refute their plea, but sent out men,¹ and promised them pardon in case they would refrain from further disturbances. Yet these men were not given a hearing by the congress, but were put off until the next meeting, which was to occur six months later.

Zonaras 9, 31.

they might lay hands also on Macedonia, since they had already appeared in Thessaly; and so he went to meet them and routed them.

At the fall of Critolaus the Greek world was split asunder. Some of them inclined to peace and laid down their weapons, whereas others committed their interests to Diaeus and continued their strife. On learning this the people at Rome sent against them Mummius, who relieved Metellus and himself took charge of the war. When part of his army sustained a slight reverse through an ambuscade and Diaeus pursued the fugitives up to their own camp, Mummius sallied forth against him, routed him,

¹ It is possible that a numeral modifying "men" has dropped out; Reiske suggested ἄρδεια δὲ δέκα ("ten men").
DIO’S ROMAN HISTORY

Zonaras 9, 31.

τρεφάμενος αὐτὸν πρὸς τὸ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἦλθε χαράκωμα. ἀθροίσας δὲ δύναμιν ὁ Δίαιος πλείονα συμβαλεῖν αὐτοῖς ἐπεχείρησεν. ὡς δ’ οὐκ ἀντι- εξώρησαν οἱ Ρωμαίοι, κατεφράνησεν αὐτῶν, καὶ ἔς τὸ μέσον τῶν στρατοπέδων κοίλου ὄν προῆλθεν. ἵδοι οὖν τοῦτ' ὁ Μόμμιος, τῶν ἱππέων τινῶν λάθρα ἐπεμψεν, ἵν’ ἐκ πλαγίου αὐτοῖς ἐπιγένονται. καὶ ἐπεὶ ἐκείνοι προσβα- λόντες αὐτοὺς συνετάραξαν, ἐπήγαγε τὴν φάλαγγα κατὰ πρόσωπον, καὶ πολλοὺς ἐφόνευσεν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου Δίαιος μὲν ἄπογγος ἑαυτὸν ἀπέκτεινε, τῶν δ’ ἐκ τῆς μάχης περισσότερων οἱ μὲν Κορίνθιοι κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἐσκεδάσθησαν, οἱ δ’ ἄλλοι οἰκάδε ἔφυγον. ὅθεν καὶ οἱ ἐν τῷ τείχει Κορίνθιοι πάντας ἀπολωλέναι νομίζοντες ἔξελισσον τὴν πόλιν καὶ κενὴν αὐτὴν ἀνδρῶν ὁ Μόμμιος ἔλαβε. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα κακείνους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἑλλήνας ἀπόνως προσεποίησατο. καὶ τότε μὲν τά τε ὅπλα αὐτῶν καὶ ὁσα πρὸς τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἀνέκειντο καὶ τοὺς ἀνδριάντας τάς τε γραφᾶς καὶ εἰ τι ἄλλο πρὸς κόσμον εἰχον παρεῖλητο, πεμφθέντων δὲ οἱ τοῦ τε πατρὸς καὶ ἄλλων ἐπὶ καταστάσει τῶν ἀλόντων, τείχῃ τῇ τῶν περιέλθε καὶ ἐλευθέρους πάντας καὶ αὐτοῦν μους πλῆ τῶν Κορινθίων ἀφήκε. τῆς δὲ Κορίνθου τους τε οἰκήτορας ἀπέδωτο καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐδη- μοσίωσε, τά τε τείχῃ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα οἰκοδομήματα πάντα κατέσκαψε, φοβηθεὶς μὴ καὶ αὐθίς τινες πρὸς αὐτὴν οία μεγίστην συστώσων. ὦν δὲ μήτε τις ἐκείνων λάθη μήτε τῶν λουπῶν τις Ἑλλήνων πραθῇ ὡς Κορίνθιος, συνεκάλεσε, πρὶν ἐκφύησαι 404
BOOK XXI

Zonaras 9, 31.

and followed to the Achaean entrenchments. Diaeus
now gathered a larger force and undertook to give
battle to them, but, as the Romans did not come
out against them, he conceived a contempt for
them and advanced into the valley lying between
the camps. Mummius, seeing this, secretly sent
horsemen to assail them on the flank. After these
had attacked and thrown the enemy into confusion,
he brought up the phalanx in front and caused
considerable slaughter. Thereupon Diaeus killed
himself in despair, and of the survivors of the battle
the Corinthians were scattered over the country,
while the rest fled to their homes. Hence the
Corinthians within the wall, believing that all
their citizens had been lost, abandoned the
city, and it was empty of men when Mummius took
it. After that he won over without trouble both
that people and the rest of the Greeks. He now
took possession of their arms, all the offerings that
were consecrated in their temples, the statues, paint-
ings, and whatever other ornaments they had; and
as soon as his father and some other men were sent
out to arrange terms for the vanquished, he caused
the walls of some of the cities to be torn down
and declared them all to be free and independent
except the Corinthians. As for Corinth, he sold the
inhabitants, confiscated the land, and demolished
the walls and all the buildings, out of fear that
some states might again unite with it as the largest
city. To prevent any of them from remaining
concealed and any of the other Greeks from being
sold as Corinthians he assembled all those present
before disclosing his purpose, and after causing his
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

Zonaras 9, 31.

τὸ ποιητέον, πάντας τοὺς παρόντας, καὶ αὐτοὺς ἀφανῶς πως τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐγκυκλωσάμενος ἐκήρυξε τὴν τε τῶν ἄλλων ἑλευθερίαν καὶ τὴν τῶν Κορινθίων δούλωσιν. ἔπειτα προσέταξε πᾶσι τῶν παρεστηκότων σφίζῃ λαβέσθαι, καὶ οὔτω σαφῆ τὴν διάκρισιν αὐτῶν ἔποιήσατο.

Καὶ ἡ μὲν Κόρινθος οὖτος ἀνάστατος γέγονε, τὸ δ' ἄλλο Ἑλληνικὸν παραχρῆμα μὲν καὶ σφαγαίς καὶ χρημάτων ἐκλογὰς ἐκακώθη, ἔπειτα ἐν τῇ ἁδείᾳ καὶ ἐν εὐδαιμονίᾳ τοσαύτη ἐγένετο ὡστε λέγειν ὅτι, εἰ μὴ θἀττον ἐαλώκεισαν, οὐκ ἂν ἔσεσαντο.

Ἡ μὲν οὖν Καρχηδών ἢ τε Κόρινθος αἱ ἀρχαῖαι ἐκεῖναι τοῦτο τέλος ἀμα ἔσχον, χρόνῳ δὲ πολλῷ ὑστερον ἀποκίναν Ἱρωμαίων λαβοῦσαι ἡμὴσαν αὕθες καὶ εἰς τὴν παλαίλαν ἐπανήλθον κατάστασιν.

406
soldiers to surround them in such a way as not to attract notice, he proclaimed the freedom of all except the Corinthians and the enslavement of these; then, instructing them all to lay hold of those standing beside them he was able to make an accurate distinction between them.

Thus was Corinth overthrown. The rest of the Greek world suffered momentarily from massacres and levies of money, but afterward came to enjoy such immunity and prosperity that they used to say that if they had not been captured promptly, they could not have been saved.

So this end simultaneously befell Carthage and Corinth, those ancient cities; but at a much later date they received colonies of Romans, became again flourishing, and regained their original position.
FRAGMENTS OF BOOK XXII

73 "Οτι Οὐρίαθος ἀνὴρ Λυσιτανός, ἀφανέστατος μὲν γένος ὡς γε τισὶ δοκεῖ ὦν, περιβοητότατα δὲ ταῖς πράξεσι χρησάμενος, ληστής τε γέγονεν ἕκ ποιμένος, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ στρατηγός. ἐπεφύκει γὰρ καὶ ἦσκητο τάχιστος μὲν διδιείᾳ τε καὶ φυγεῖν, ἵσχυρότατος δὲ ἐν σταδία μάχη 2 εἶναι καὶ τὴν τε προφήν τὴν ἀεὶ παροῦσαι καὶ τὸ ποτὸν τὸ προστυχοῦ ἡδίστα ἐλάμβανεν, ὑπαίθριος τε τὸν πλείω τοῦ βλου χρόνου διητατό, καὶ ταῖς αὐτοφυέσι στρωμναῖς ἦρκεῖτο. καὶ διὰ ταύτα παντὸς μὲν καύματος, παντὸς δὲ ψύχους κρείσσων ἢ, καὶ οὐθ' ὑπὸ λεμοῦ ποτε ἐπόνησεν οὖθ' ὑπὸ ἄλλης τινὸς ἀκεδίας ἐταλαμοῖρησεν, ἀτε καὶ πάντων τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐκ τῶν ἀεὶ παρόντων ὡς καὶ ἄριστων ἀπολαύων 3 ἰκανότατα. τοιοῦτον δ' αὐτῷ τοῦ σώματος καὶ ἐκ τῆς φύσεως καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἀσκήσεως ὑντος, πολὺ ταῖς 2 τῆς ψυχῆς ἀρεταῖς ὑπέρεφερε. ταχὺς μὲν γὰρ πᾶν τὸ δέον ἐπινοῆσαι 3 καὶ ποιῆσαι ἦν (τὸ τε γὰρ πρακτέον ἀμα ἐγίγνωσκε, καὶ τὸν καιρὸν αὐτοῦ ἡπίστατο), δεινὸς δὲ 4 τα ἐμφα-

1 γέγονεν Rk., γὰρ Ms. 2 ταῖς Val., és cod. 3 ἐπινοῆσαι Bs., ἐκνοῆσαι Ms. 4 δὲ Rk., γὰρ Mss.

408
FRAGMENTS OF BOOK XXII

VIRIATHUS was a Lusitanian, of very obscure origin, as some think, who gained great renown through his deeds, since from a shepherd he became a robber and later on also a general. He was naturally adapted and had also trained himself to be very swift both in pursuit and in flight, and of powerful endurance in a hand-to-hand conflict. He was glad enough to get any food that came to hand and whatever drink fell to his lot; most of his life he lived under the open sky and was satisfied with nature's bedding. Consequently he was superior to any heat or cold, and was never either troubled by hunger or annoyed by any other privation; for he found full satisfaction for all his needs in whatever he had at hand, as if it were the very best. And yet, possessed of such a physique, as the result both of nature and training, he excelled still more in his mental powers. He was swift to plan and accomplish whatever was needful, for he not only knew what must be done, but also understood the proper occasion for it; and he was equally clever at
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

νέστατα ἀγνοεῖν καὶ τὰ ἀφανέστατα εἰδέναι
4 προσποιήσασθαι. πρὸς δ' ἔτι καὶ στρατηγὸς
καὶ υπηρέτης αὐτὸς ἑαυτοῦ ἐς πάντα ὁμοίως
γνωρίμενοι, οὔτε ταπεινός οὔτε ἐπαχθής ἑωρᾶτο,
ἀλλ' οὔτω πρὸς τὴν τοῦ γένους ἀσθένειαν
καὶ πρὸς τὴν τῆς ἵσχυος ἀξίωσιν ἐκεκρατο ὡστε
μήτε χείρων των μήτε κρείσσων δοκεῖν εἶναι.
τὸ τε σύμπαν εἰπεῖν, οὔτε πλεονεξίας οὔτε
δυναστείας ἢ καὶ ὀργῆς ἐνεκα τῶν πόλεμων,
ἀλλὰ δι' αὐτὰ τὰ ἐργα αὐτοῦ ἐποιεῖτο, κακὸ τοῦτον
τὰ μάλιστα καὶ φιλοπόλεμος καὶ εὐπόλεμος
ἐλογίσθη.—V. 62 (p. 614).

74 "Οτι ὁ Κλαύδιος ὁ συνάρχων Μετέλλου, πρὸς
τε τὸ γένος ὁ γνωκωμένος καὶ τῷ Μετέλλῳ φθονῶν,
ἐλευθερῶν ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ λαχῶν ἄρχειν, καὶ πολέμου
οὐδέν ἀποδεδηγμένον εἶχε, καὶ ἐπεθύμησε πάντως
τινὰ ἐπικίνδυνον πρόφασιν λαβεῖν, καὶ Σαλάσσους
Γαλάτας μὴ ἐγκαλομένους τι ἐξεπόλεμωσε
τοὺς Ῥωμαίους. ἐσπέμφησι γὰρ ὡς συμβιβάζει
cαὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους περὶ τοῦ ὕδατος τοῦ ἔ
τα χρυσεῖα ἄναγκαιον διαφερομένους αὐτοῖς,
καὶ τὴν τε χώραν αὐτῶν πᾶσαν κατέδραμεν ...
ἐπέμψαν δὲ αὐτῷ οἱ Ῥωμαίοι ἐκ τῶν δέκα ἱερέων
δύο.—V. 63 (p. 617).

2 "Οτι Κλαύδιος, εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἀκριβῶς
ηπίστατο ὅτι οὐκ ἐνενικήκει, ἀλλ’ οὖν καὶ τὸτε

1 γένος Val., γεγονός Ms.
2 διαφερομένους αὐτοῖς Kuiper, διαφερομένους αὐτοῖς Ms.
BOOK XXII

feigning ignorance of the most obvious facts and knowledge of the most hidden secrets. Furthermore, he was not only general but his own assistant as, well in every undertaking, and was seen to be neither humble nor overbearing; indeed, in him obscurity of family and reputation for strength were so combined that he seemed to be neither inferior nor superior to any one. And, in fine, he carried on the war not for the sake of personal gain or power nor through anger, but for the sake of warlike deeds in themselves; hence he was accounted at once a lover of war and a master of war.

Claudius, the colleague of Metellus, impelled by pride of birth and jealousy of Metellus, since he had chanced to draw Italy as his province, where no enemy was assigned to him, was eager to secure by any means some pretext for a triumph; hence he set the Salassi, a Gallic tribe, at war with the Romans, although no complaints were being made against them. For he had been sent to reconcile them with their neighbours who were quarrelling with them about the water necessary for the gold mines, and he overran their entire country . . . the Romans sent him two of the ten priests.

Claudius, even though he realised perfectly well that he had won no victory, nevertheless even then
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

tosai'th yaperhfania 'echrhasth o'sth hip're mven

ton upnikion mhedena logon mhte ev t'h boule

mu'te ev to d'rmf pousas rhai, kathaper de

uparchonton oi pantos ait'en kai mhedais pshif-

shtai, ta es aita anafoma ait'hsai.—V. 64

(p. 617).

76 "Oti Mommios1 kal o 'Afrikanod pammplhth'

alhlon tois trpotois es pant a dieferon. o'men

gar epi te to swhronestaton kai meta akribheias,

mhedon o'm bous protimws, h'rev, kai pollous

men ek t'h boule, pollous de kal ek ton

iptwv ton te allwv ois ekastous euhteuen ev de

Mommios pros te to dhmotikwteron kai pro

to anbropiwteron ou't ait'hs twn khlida

prosebhke, kal sycha ton ev ekiven praxhventon,

2 osa ge kai evnedexeto, katelusen. es Tosou'ton

gar epieikeias fys ei proikon h evste kai t'h

Louko'llhch rhhsai te agal'mata pros t'n to

Tuchahov, o ek tou 'Ibhrkouv pol'mon kate-

skuvashe, kathersin, kai m'h boullhven tos aita

wv kai ier ev t'h anabheswv genovota apodvbnav

mhedmian orghn pousas rhai, all' ep to ekiven

onoma ta easotou lafrh peridevin anakeimena.

—V. 65 (p. 618).

77 "Oti polla kal esphalh kai aiscwvnh denv

oflevn potamov gar tina dia t'h ton Nou-

mavto'wv xorasa reonta boulhthel ek t'h arh'has

1 Mommios Val., klaadios Ms.
BOOK XXII

displayed such arrogance as not to say a word in either the senate or the assembly about the triumph; but acting as if it belonged to him in any case, even if no one should vote to that effect, he asked for the necessary funds.

As regards their characters, Mummius and Africanus were utterly different from each other in every respect. The latter performed his official duties [as censor] with the strictest integrity and with impartiality, not esteeming one person above another; indeed, he called to account many of the senators and many of the knights, as well as other individuals. Mummius, on the other hand, was more popular in his sympathies and more charitable; he not only attached no stigma himself to any one, but he even undid many of the acts of Africanus, whenever it was possible. In fact, he was of such an amiable nature that he even lent some statues to Lucullus for the consecration of the temple of Felicitas (which he had built from the booty gained in the Spanish war), and then, when that general was unwilling to return them on the ground that they had become sacred as a result of the dedication, he showed no anger, but permitted his own spoils to lie there offered up in the other’s name.

[Pompeius] also received many setbacks and incurred great disgrace. There was a river flowing through the country of the Numantines that he wished to
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

dienoxōn parastrēphai,1 ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς ἀγροὺς αὐτῶν ἐφείναι, τοῦτο μὲν ἵσχυρῶς πονηθεὶς ἐξειργάσατο, πολλοὺς δὲ στρατιώτας ἀποβαλὼν οὔτε τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ὄφελος ἐκ τῆς παρεκτροπῆς γενέσθαι ο.nih ἐκεῖνοι βλάβος . . .—V. 66 (p. 618).

78 "Ὅτι Καπίὼν 2 τοὺς μὲν πολεμίους οὐδὲν ὃ τι καὶ ἄξιον εἰπεῖν, τοὺς δὲ οἰκείους πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ ἔδρασεν, ὥστε καὶ κινδυνεύσαι ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀπολέσθαι. χαλεπῶς τε γὰρ αὐτοῦ καὶ τραχέως τοῖς τε ἄλλοις καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς ἰππεύσι χρω-μένου, πολλοὶ πολλὰ καὶ ἄτοπα ταῖς νυξίν ὃτι μάλιστα δίεσκοπτον καὶ διεθρόον, καὶ ἐφ' ὦσιν γε ἐκεῖνος διὰ τοῦτ' ἡγανάκτει, ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἐτώ-2 θαξοῦ, ὅπως ἐξοργίζοιτο. ὥστε οὖν τὸ πραττόμενον ἐνόηλον ἦν, ὑπεύθυνος δὲ οὐδεὶς εὐρίσκετο, ὑπο-τοπῆςας ὑπὸ τῶν ἰππέων αὐτὸ γέγνεσθαι, καὶ ἐς οὐδένα τρέψας δυνηθεὶς τὴν αἰτίαν, πᾶσιν αὐτοῖς τὴν ὀργήν ἔφερεν, καὶ ἐκέλευσεν αὐτοὺς ἐξακοσίους ὄντας τῶν ποταμῶν, ταρ' ὃ ἐστρα-τοπεδεύοντο, μετὰ μόνων ἰπποκόμων διαβῆναι, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ὄρους ἐφ' ὃ ὁ Ὀυριάθος ἡμύλησε ἐξυλίσσασθαι. προύπτευτο δὲ δὴ τοῦ κινδύνου πᾶσιν ὄντος, οἱ χιλιάρχοι καὶ οἱ ὑποστράτηγοι ἔδένατο 3 αὐτοῦ μὴ ἀπολέσαι σφᾶς. οἱ δὲ ἰππής ὀλίγων ἐπισχόντες ὡς καὶ ἐκείσων αὐτοῦ ἀκούσοντος, ἐπειδὴ μηδὲν ἐνεδίδου, ἰκετεύσαι μὲν αὐτοῦ ἀπή-ξίωσαν, οὔπερ πον καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἐγλέξετο, διολέσθαι δὲ μᾶλλον ἤ τι ἐπιεικὲς φθέγξασθαι

1 parastrēphai Val., parastrēphai Ms.
2 Kapiōn Val., kapiōn Ms.

414
BOOK XXII

turn aside from its ancient channel and let in upon their fields, and after tremendous exertions he accomplished this; but he lost many soldiers, and no advantage from turning it aside came to the Romans, nor yet any harm to the enemy . . .

Caepio accomplished nothing worthy of mention against the foe, but visited many injuries upon his own men, so that he even came near being killed by them. For he treated them all, and especially the cavalry, with such harshness and cruelty that a great number of unseemly jokes and stories were told about him during the nights; and the more he grew vexed at it, the more they jested in the endeavour to infuriate him. When it became known what was going on and no one could be found guilty,—though he suspected it was the doing of the cavalry,—since he could not fix the responsibility upon anybody, he turned his anger against them all, and he commanded them, six hundred in number, to cross the river beside which they were encamped, accompanied only by their grooms, and to bring wood from the mountain on which Viriathus was bivouacking. The danger was manifest to all, and the tribunes and lieutenants begged him not to destroy them. The cavalry waited for a little while, thinking he might listen to the others, and when he would not yield, they scorned to entreat him, as he was most eager for them to do, but choosing rather to perish utterly than to speak a respectful word to him, they
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλόμενοι ὃρμησαν ἐπὶ τὸ τεταγμένον· καὶ αὐτοῖς τὸ τε τῶν συμμάχων ἰππικὸν καὶ ἄλλοι ἔθελον τα ὅλης παρείνδαλον ὡς καὶ καταπρήσσοντες αὐτὸν. καὶ κατεκαύθη, εἰ μὴ προεξέφυγεν.—V. 67 (p. 618).

75 ὁ Ποσίλιος οὐτω κατεφόρησε τὸν Οὐρίαθον ὅστε καὶ ὑπὲρ σπονδῶν οἱ εὐθὺς, πρὶν καὶ μάχης των πειραθῆναι, προσπέμψα, τοὺς τε καὶ 

1 ἀποστάντων ἀπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐξαιτηθέντα τοὺς μὲν ἀποκτείνατε, ἐν οἷς καὶ ὁ κηδεστής αὐτοῦ, καὶ περ οἱ δάνῳ δύναμιν ἕχων, ἐφονεύθη, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐκδοῦναι, ὅν πάντων ὁ ὑπατος τὰς χειρὰς ἀπέκοψε. καὶ παντελῶς κατελύσατο, εἰ μὴ καὶ τὰ ὅπλα ἡτήθη τοῦτο γὰρ οὕτως οὕτε τὸ λοιπὸν πλήθος ὑπέμεινεν

2 ποιήσαι Polak, ὑπομειναὶ ἐποίησεν Mss.

3 ὑπέμεινεν ποιήσαι Polak, ὑπομειναὶ ἐποίησεν Mss.

416
BOOK XXII

set out on the appointed mission. And the horsemen of the allies and other volunteers accompanied them. They crossed the river, cut the wood, and piled it in all around the general’s quarters, intending to burn him to death. And he would have perished in the flames, if he had not fled away in time.

Popilius so terrified Viriathus that the latter immediately sent to him in regard to peace before they had made any trial of battle at all, killed some of the leaders of the rebels whose surrender had been demanded by the Romans (among these his son-in-law, though commanding his own force, was slain) and delivered up the rest, all of whom had their hands cut off by the consul’s order. And he would have agreed to a complete truce, if their weapons had not also been demanded; with this condition neither he nor the rest of the soldiers would comply.
FRAGMENTS OF BOOK XXIII

79 Ὄτι ἐλθόντων Νουμαντίνων πρέσβεων οἱ Ῥω-
μαῖοι ἔξω τοῦ τείχους ἐδέχαντο αὐτούς, ἵνα μὴ
καὶ βεβαιοῦν ἐκ τούτου τὰς σπονδὰς δόξωσι.
ξένια μέντοι σφίσι καὶ ὡς ἐξέπεμψαν, μὴ βουλη-
θέντες πὼ τὴν ἑπίδα αὐτῶν ὡς καὶ συναλλαγ-
2 σομένων ἀφελέσθαι. Ἐλεγον δὲ οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸν
Μαγκίνου τὴν τε ἀνάγκην τῶν ὁμολογημένων
καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν σεσωσμένων, ὅτι τε πάνθ' ὅσα
καὶ πρότερον ἐν τῇ Ἰβηρίᾳ ἐκέκτυντο εἶχον
ἡξίον τ' αὐτοὺς μὴ πρὸς τὴν παροῦσαν σφών
ἀδειαν ἄλλα πρὸς τὸν τότε περιστάντα τοὺς
στρατιώτας κίνδυνον ἐκλογίζεσθαι οὐχ ὅσα ἔδει
3 γεγονέναι, ἀλλ' ὅσα ἐνεδέχετο πραχθήναι. οἰ δὲ
Νουμαντίνοι πολλὰ μὲν περὶ τῆς προτέρας σφών
ἐς αὐτοὺς εὐνοίας, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ περὶ τῆς ἐκείνων
μετὰ ταῦτα ἀδικίας, ώφ' ἦς ἐς τὸν πόλεμον κατέ-
στησαν, τὴν τε τοῦ Πομπηίου ψευδορκίαν προ-
έφερον, καὶ τῆς τοῦ Μαγκίνου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων
σωτηρίας εὐφρενίαν ἀπήτουν. καὶ τὰς σπονδὰς
ἐξυπαν καὶ τὸν Μαγκίνου ἐκδοθήναι τοῖς Νουμα-
ντίνοις ἔγραψαν.—Uº 18 (p. 383) and καὶ τὸν Μάγ-
κινου—ἔγραψαν Suid. s.vv. ἔγνω and Μάγκινος.
418
FRAGMENTS OF BOOK XXIII

The Romans received the Numantine ambassadors, B.C. 136, on their arrival, outside the walls, in order that their reception might not seem to imply a ratification of the truce. However, they sent gifts of friendship notwithstanding, since they did not wish to deprive them as yet of the hope of coming to terms. The associates of Mancinus told of the necessity of the compact made and the number of the saved, and stated that they still held all their former possessions in Spain; and they besought their countrymen to look at the matter not in the light of their present immunity, but with reference to the danger that had at the time encompassed the soldiers, and to consider not what ought to have been done, but what had been possible. The Numantines, for their part, had much to say about their previous good-will toward the Romans and much also about the injustice of the latter, by reason of which they had been forced into war, and about the perjury of Pompeius; and they asked for kindly treatment in return for the preservation of Mancinus and the rest. But the Romans terminated the truce and also decided that Mancinus should be given up to the Numantines.
81 "Οτι ο Κλαύδιος πολλά δυν και ἀτοπα ὑπὸ τραχύτητος εἰργάσατο, εἰ μήπερ ὁ συνάρχων αὐτοῦ Κύων τος ἐκώλυσεν. ἔπιεικής γὰρ δυν καὶ ἕναντωτήν αὐτῷ φύσιν ἔχων ὀργή μὲν οὐδὲν οἱ ἀντέπραξεν, ἐνδιδοὺς δὲ πῃ καὶ πράως πως αὐτῷ χρώμενος οὕτως αὐτὸν μετεχειρίσατο ὡσε ἐλάχιστα πικράνασθαι.—V. 68 (p. 621).

82 "Οτι ο Φούριος ἐξήγαγεν ἐν τοῖς ὑποστρατήγοις τὸν Πομπήιον καὶ τὸν Μέτελλον, καίπερ καὶ ἑαυτῷ καὶ ἀλλήλοις ἑχθροῖς ὑπτας, ὅπως ὡς καὶ μέγα τι πράξων τὸν τε ἔλεγχον τῶν ἔργων ἀκριβῇ δι' αὐτῶν ποιήσηται, καὶ τὴν μαρτυρίαν τῆς ἁρετής καὶ παρὰ ἀκόντων σφῶν λάβῃ.—V. 69 (p. 621).
BOOK XXIII

Claudius by reason of his harshness would have done many outrageous deeds, had he not been restrained by his colleague Quintus.¹ For the latter, who was amiable and possessed exactly the opposite temperament, did not oppose him with anger in any matter, but in fact occasionally yielded to him, and by gentle behaviour so managed him that he found very few opportunities for irritation.

Furius took out among his lieutenants both Pompeius and Metellus, though they were hostile both to him and to each other; for, expecting to achieve some great success, he wished to have in them sure witnesses to his deeds and to receive the evidence of his prowess from their unwilling lips.

¹ Ap. Claudius Pulcher and Q. Fulvius Nobilior were censors in B.C. 136.
83 Ὄτι ὁ Γράκχος ὁ Τιβέριος ἐτάραξε τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων, καὶ περὶ καὶ γένους ἐς τὰ πρῶτα πρὸς τὸν πάππον τὸν Ἀφρικανὸν ἀνήκων, καὶ φύσει ἄξιος αὐτοῦ χρώμενος, τά τε τῆς παιδείας ἔργα ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα ἀσκήσεις, καὶ φρόνημα μέγα ἔχων. ὡσ φ' ἄρη πλεῖόν καὶ ἰσχυρότερα ταῦτα ἐκεκτητο, μᾶλλον ἐς τε φιλοτιμίαν ἀπ' αὐτῶν προήχθη, καὶ ἐπειδή ἄπαξ ἔξω τοῦ βελτίστου παρετράπῃ, καὶ 2 ἄκων ἐς τὸ κάκιστον ἐξώκειλε. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ αὐτῷ τὰ τῶν Νομαντίνων ἐπινίκια ἀπεψηφίσθη, καὶ αὐτός, τιμηθῆσθαι πρότερον ἄτε καὶ πρυτανεύσας αὐτὰ ἐλπίσας, οὕρ ὅπως τοιούτοι τινὶς ἔτυχεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσεκινδύνευσεν ἕκδοθήναι, ἐγὼ καὶ τὰ πράγματα οὖκ ἀπ' ἀρετῆς οὐδὲ ἐπ' ἀληθείας, 3 ἀλλ' ὡς ποὺ καὶ ἔτυχεν, ἔξεταζόμενα. ταύτην μὲν τὴν ὀδὸν τῆς δόξης ὡς οὐκ ἀσφαλῆ ἀφῆκε,
FRAGMENTS OF BOOK XXIV

Tiberius Gracchus caused an upheaval of the Roman state notwithstanding the fact that he belonged to one of the foremost families through his grandfather, Africanus, that he possessed a natural endowment worthy of the latter, had received a most thorough course of education, and had a proud spirit. For in direct proportion to the number and magnitude of the advantages he possessed was the allurement they offered him to follow his ambition; and when once he had turned aside from what was best, he drifted, quite in spite of himself, into what was worst. It began with his being refused a triumph over the Numantines; he had previously been hoping to be honoured inasmuch as he had conducted the negotiations, but so far from obtaining any such reward, he actually came near being delivered up. Then he decided that deeds were estimated not on the basis of worth or genuineness, but according to mere chance. So he abandoned this road to fame as

1 The excerptor is here guilty of carelessness, as the word προσανέβησα shows. This word is used of "obtaining" a truce or peace on behalf of another, and has no connection with a triumph. In place of "triumph" we should probably read
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

trópon de tina prōteússai pántωs ἐπιθυμησας, kai toúto diá toú ómílon mάllon ἢ tῆς βουλῆς ἐξεργάσεσθαι προσδοκήσας, ἐκείνῳ προσέθετο.— V. 70 (p. 621).

4 "Οτε Μάρκος 'Οκτάουνοι τῷ Γράκχῳ διὰ φιλονεικίαν συγγενικὴν ἑκὼν ἀντηγωνίζετο. kai ἕκ τούτων οὔδεν μέτριον ἐπράττετο, ἄλλ' ἀντι-

φιλονεικούντες περιγενέσθαι μάλλον ἀλλήλων ἢ
to kouyn óphelísa, pollla mēn kai biaia, ὡσπερ ἐν δυναστείᾳ τινὶ ἄλλ' οὗ δημοκρατία, ἐπραξαν,
pollla de kai ἄτοπα, ὡσπερ ἐν πολέμῳ τινὶ ἄλλ'

5 οὐκ εἰρήνη, ἔπαθον. τούτῳ μὲν γὰρ εἰς πρὸς ἑνα,
toúto de polloi kατὰ συστάσεις1 λοιδορίας τε

ἐπαχθεῖς καὶ μάχας, οὐχ οτι κατὰ τὴν ἄλλην

πόλιν ἄλλα καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ τῇ τε

ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐποιοῦντο, τῇ μὲν 2 προφάσει τῇ τοῦ

νόμου χρώμενοι, τῷ δὲ ἔργῳ καὶ ἐς τὰ ἄλλα

πάντα διασπευδόμενοι, ὡστε ἐν μηδείς ἄλληλων

6 ἐλαττοῦνται καὶ τούτων οὔτ' ἄλλο τι τῶν
eiθισμένων ἐν κόσμῳ συνέβαινεν οὕθ' ἀι ἄρχαι τὰ

νενομισμένα ἐπρασσον, τὰ δὲ δικαστήρια ἐπέπαυτο

καὶ συμβόλαιον οὔδὲν ἐγνόντετο, ἄλλη τε ταραχῇ
cai ἀκρισία3 πανταχοῦ πολλή ἢν καὶ ὅνωμα

πόλεως ἐφερον, στρατοπέδου δὲ οὔδεν ἀπείχον.4—

V. 71 (p. 622).

1 συστάσεις Rk., στάσεις Ms.

2 ἐποιοῦντο, τῇ μὲν Rk., ἐποιοῦντο, τῇ μὲν γὰρ Ms.

3 ἄλλη τε ταραχῇ καὶ ἀκρισία Val., ἄλλῃ ἢ τε ταραχῇ καὶ ἢ

ἀκρισία Ms.

4 ἀπείχον Val., εἶχον Ms.

424
BOOK XXIV

unsafe, and since he desired by all means to become a leader in some way, and believed that he could accomplish this better with the aid of the populace than with that of the senate, he attached himself to the former.

Marcus Octavius, because of a family feud with Gracchus, willingly became his opponent. Thereafter there was no semblance of moderation; but zealously vying, as they did, each to prevail over the other rather than to benefit the state, they committed many acts of violence more appropriate in a despotism than in a democracy, and suffered many unusual calamities appropriate to war rather than to peace. For in addition to their individual conflicts there were many who banded together and indulged in bitter abuse and conflicts, not only throughout the city generally, but even in the very senate-house and the popular assembly. They made the [proposed] law\(^1\) their pretext, but were in reality putting forth every effort in all directions not to be surpassed by each other. The result was that none of the usual business was carried on in an orderly way: the magistrates could not perform their accustomed duties, courts came to a stop, no contract was entered into, and other sorts of confusion and disorder were rife everywhere. The place bore the name of city, but was no whit different from a camp. therefore "treaty": "It began with the rejection of his treaty with the Numantines." Dio doubtless mentioned a triumph in connection with the honours expected.

\(^1\) The law proposed by Gracchus.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

"Oti ò Grákchos tòis strateuoménois èk toû ómílon và mouvs tìnáés épikouroýntas ègrafe, kai tà dikasthíria àpò tîs bouhlís èpî tòus ìspéas metíhe, fýron kai tarássow pánta tà kathetikóta, òpws èk ge toûton àsfaleías tìnous èpilá-bhentai. kai òws oudèn ouóde èntauða autò fì proechoírei, allà kai èp' ezódw tîs arxhès hèn kai èmmelven àpallaìgeis autíhs autíka toûs èchroíous úpopblh-thshseis, èpexèríshe kai ès to èpîon ètos metà tòu àdelfou dìmarihshai kai tòn pè theron úpatoù àpodeiçai, mhèn mhèi' èmphein mhèí' úpoxhshseis tiswn òknwv. kai pè nthimn èstheta pollakies ènedúeto, tîn te mhíræa kai tà païdia ès tò plhðos parîge súndeúmena.—V. 72 (p. 622).

"Oti Skipeíon ò 'Afrikànavos fílotimías plleíoun para tò prosohkon to te àrmóxou tî ìallh autòù àretê èchrîto. oukówn ouóde twòn àntistasiástwôn1 tis autò fìavnónti efhshh, allà kai èkeínoi, kàiper bárutaton autòn sphií nomìzontes elnavi, èpóthešai' chrhshmòn te ògar pròs tà koula èwrov, kai deinov ouóden ouóxi òn sfeìs pàthein ap' autòù 2 prosedókwn. úpeoxairheýntos de toûton pánta avthi tò twòn duname twòn ëpantwhi, òaste èp' àdeias toûs geowmóus pásoan òs eîphei tîn 'Italían pòrèìsai. kai moi ès toûto òti màlìsta àpoxh-

1 àntistasiástwôn Dind., àntistasiástwôn Ms.
BOOK XXIV

Gracchus was proposing certain laws for the benefit of those of the populace serving in the army, and was transferring the courts from the senate to the knights, disturbing and overturning all established customs in order that he might be enabled to lay hold on safety in some wise. And when not even this proved of advantage to him, but his term of office was drawing to a close, when he would be immediately exposed to the attacks of his enemies, he attempted to secure the tribuneship for the following year also, in company with his brother, and to appoint his father-in-law consul; and to obtain this end he did not hesitate to make any statement or promise anything whatsoever to people. Often, too, he put on mourning and brought his mother and children into the presence of the populace to join their entreaties to his.

Scipio Africanus indulged his ambition more than was fitting or compatible with his general excellence. Consequently 1 none of his rivals took pleasure in his death, but, although they thought him a great obstacle in their way, even they felt his loss. For they saw that he was valuable to the state and they never expected that he would cause any serious trouble even to them. But after he was out of the way the whole power of the nobles was again diminished, so that the land commissioners ravaged at will practically all Italy. And this in particular

1 Apparently this particle refers back to some eulogistic remark about Scipio omitted by the excerptor.
ψαὶ δοκεῖ τὸ τε πλῆθος τῶν λάθων τῶν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κατενεχθέντων καὶ ἐς ναοὺς τὲ τινας ἐμπεσόντων καὶ ἀνθρώπους ἀποκτεινάντων, καὶ τὰ δάκρυα τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος. ἔκλαυσε γὰρ ἔπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας, ὡστε τοὺς Ῥωμαίους κατακόψαι τὸ βρέτας καὶ καταποντῶσαι ἐκ συμβουλῆς μάντεων ψηφίσαοι.—V. 73 (p. 625).

1 δοκεῖ inserted by Val. 2 τὲ Bk., γὴ Ma. 3 ἔκλαυσε γὰρ v. Ῥεγw., ἔκλαυσεν γὰρ ἔκλαυσεν Ms.
BOOK XXIV

seems to me to have been the meaning of the mass of stones that had poured down from heaven, falling upon some of the temples and killing men, and of the tears of Apollo. For the god had wept for three days, so that the Romans on the advice of the soothsayers voted to hew the statue in pieces and to sink it in the sea.
FRAGMENTS OF BOOK XXV

85 "Оτι о Γράκχος την μεν γνώμην ὀμοίαν τῷ ἀδελφῷ εἶχεν, πλὴν καθ’ ὅσον ἐκεῖνος μὲν ἀπ’ ἀρετῆς ἐς φιλοτιμίαν καὶ ἐς αὐτῆς ἐς κακίαν ἔξωκειλεν, οὕτος δὲ ταραχόθης τε φύσει ἤν καὶ ἐκὼν ἐπονηρεύετο, τῇ δὲ δὴ παρασκευῇ τῶν λόγων πολὺ αὐτοῦ προέφερε. καὶ διὰ ταῦτα ταῖς τε ἐπινοιαῖς κακοτροπωτέραις καὶ ταῖς τόλμαις προχειροτέραις τῇ τε αὐθαδείᾳ πλείον πρὸς 2 πάντας ὀμοίως ἔχρητο. πρῶτος τε ἐν τοῖς συλλόγοις μεταξὺ δημηγορῶν ἐβαδίζε, καὶ τὸν βραχίονα πρῶτος ἀπεγύμνωσεν, ὡστε μηδέτερον αὐτῶν κακὸν ἐξ ἐκείνου νομισθῆναι. καὶ ἔπειδη γε πολλῆ μὲν πυκνότητι ἐνθυμημάτων πολλῆ δὲ καὶ σφοδρότητι ὠνομάτων ἐπίταν ἐνθυμηγόρει, καὶ ἐκ τούτου οὔτε κατέχειν ῥάδιως ἑαυτὸν ἐδύνατο καὶ 5 πολλάκις ἐς ἢ οὐκ ἦθελεν εἰπεῖν ἐξε-φέρετο, αὐλητὴν ἐπήγετο, καὶ παρ’ ἐκείνου ὑπαν- λοίπως ὁ ἐρρυθμίζετο καὶ ἐμετρίαζεν, ἢ καὶ εἰ 3 πη καὶ δῆς ἔξεπιπτεν καθῆστατο. τοιοῦτος οὖν

1 μὲν added by Val. 2 πάντας v. Herw., πάντα Ms. 3 δημηγορῶν Bk., δημηγορίων Ms. 4 αὐτῶν κακὸν Salmius, κακὸν αὐτῶν Ms. 5 καὶ Bk., καὶ ἔπειδη Ms.
FRAGMENTS OF BOOK XXV

Gracchus had the same principles as his brother; only the latter had drifted from excellence into ambition and thence into baseness, whereas this man was naturally turbulent and played the rogue voluntarily; and he far surpassed the other in his gift of language. For these reasons his designs were more mischievous, his daring more spontaneous, and his arrogance greater toward all alike. He was the first to walk up and down in the assemblies while delivering a speech and the first to bare his arm; hence neither of these practices has been thought improper since his time. And because his speaking was generally characterised by great condensation of thought and vigour of language and he consequently was unable to restrain himself easily, but was often led to say more than he wished, he used to bring in a flute-player, and from him, as he played an accompaniment, he would gain moderation and self-control; or, if even then he managed to get out of bounds, he would stop. This was the sort of man
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

δή τις ὧν τῇ τε πολιτείᾳ ἐπέθετο, καὶ οὐδὲν ἀπώμοτον οὔτε εἰπεῖν οὔτε πρᾶξαι ποιούμενος μέγιστος δι’ ἔλαχιστον παρά τε τῷ ὀμίλῳ καὶ τοῖς ἱππεύσιν ἐγένετο. τὸ τε γενναίον καὶ τὸ βουλεύον πᾶν, εἰ ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἐβεβιώκει, ... ¹ νῦν δ' ὑπὸ τῆς πολλῆς δυναστείας ἐπίφθονος καὶ τοῖς στασιώταῖς γενόμενος ταῖς ἑαυτοῦ τέχναις ἔσφαλη.—V. 74 (p. 625).

¹ Lacuna recognized by Val.
BOOK XXV

who attacked the constitution, and, by assuming no speech or act to be forbidden, in very brief time gained the greatest influence with the populace and the knights. All the nobility and the senatorial party, if he had lived longer, [would have been overthrown], but, as it was, his great power caused him to be hated even by his followers, and he was overthrown by his own methods.

B.C. 121
FRAGMENTS OF BOOK XXVI

87 "Ότι αἱ ἱέρειαι τὸ πλεῖστον αὐταῖ τοῦ τε ὀλέθρου καὶ τῆς αἰσχύνης ὁφλοῦ, συχνοὶς δὲ δῆ καὶ ἄλλοις μεγάλων κακῶν αἰτιαὶ ἐγένοντο, ἢ τε πόλεις ἀπασα ἀπ’ αὐτῶν ἐταράχθη. ἐκλογιζόμενο γὰρ ὅτι τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ νόμου ἄχραντα καὶ τὰ ὑπὸ τῆς θρησκείας ἁγία έκ τε τοῦ φόβου τῆς τιμωρίας κόσμια ἐλευμάνθη, οὐδὲν ὃ τι οὐχ ὑπετόπουν τῶν αἰσχίστων καὶ ἀνοσιωτάτων δύ-2 νασθαὶ γενέσθαι. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὰς κολάσεις οὐ μόνον τῶν ἐλεγχθέντων ἄλλα καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πάντων τῶν αἰτιαθέντων μίσει τοῦ συμβεβηκότος ἐπούσαντο. οἴδην οὐκ ἐκ γυναικείας ἐτι ἄσελ-γείας, ἄλλῃ ἐκ δαίμονιας τινὸς ὄργῆς σύμπαντα τὰ ³ κατ’ αὐτὰς συμβήναι ἔδοξεν.—V. 75 (p. 626).

3 "Ὅτι τρεῖς ἁμα ἦνδρωθησαν, καὶ αὐτῶν Μαρκία μὲν αὐτή τε καθ’ αὐτὴν καὶ πρὸς ἑνα τινὰ ἱππέα ἦσχυνθη, καὶ διέλαθεν, εἰ μὴ τηρή τις τῶν ἄλλων ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἄρθείσα καὶ ἐκείνην προσκατέλαβεν. Αἰμπλία δὲ καὶ Δικηνία πλήθος

¹ φόβου Val., φόβουν Ms. ² ἐπὶ ἄσελγειας Bs., αἰτίας ἀλγείν Ms. ³ τὰ added by Rk. ⁴ αὐτή Reim., τῆς Ms.

434
FRAGMENTS OF BOOK XXVI

The priestesses bore the chief punishment and shame themselves, but they proved the source of great evils to various others as well, while the entire city was agitated on their account. For the people, considering that what was immaculate by law and sacred by religion and decent through fear of punishment had been polluted, were ready to believe that anything most shameful and unholy might be done. For this reason they visited punishment, not only on the convicted, but also on all the rest who had been accused, to show their hatred of what had occurred. Hence the whole affair in which the women were concerned seemed now to have been due not so much to feminine incontinence as to the wrath of some god.

Three had known men at the same time. Of these Marcia had acted by herself, granting her favours to one single knight, and would never have been discovered, had not the investigation into the cases of the others extended and involved her also; Aemilia and Licinia, on the other hand, had a multitude of
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

εραστῶν ἔσχον καὶ δι' ἄλληλων ὑβρίζοντο. τὸ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτον ὀλύνοις τισὶν ἰδίᾳ καὶ δι’ ἀπορ-4 ρήτων ὡς καὶ μόνος ἐκάστῳ συνεγίγνοντο· ἐπειτὰ αὐτὰ τε πάντα τὸν καὶ ὑποπτεύσαι μηνύσαι τέ τι δυνάμενον ἐς σωπὴν ἀναγκαίαν μισθὸ τῆς ὀμιλίας προκατελάμβανον, καὶ οἱ προδειλεγμένοι σφίσι ταῦθ’ ὀρῶντες ἔφερον, ἵνα μὴ κατάφωροι τῇ ἀγανακτῆσει γένονται. ὡστε καὶ καθ’ ἕνα καὶ κατὰ πολλοὺς, τούτο μὲν ἰδίᾳ, τούτο δὲ καὶ κουνῆ, τοῖς τὲ ἄλλοις ὀμιλεῖν, καὶ τῷ μὲν τῆς Αἴμιλίας ἀδελφῷ τὴν Δικιννίαν, τῷ δὲ ταύτης 5 τὴν Αἴμιλιαν συνεῖναι. καὶ ταύτα μὲν οὕτω 1 γυρνόμενα ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐλάθεν, καὶ πολλών μὲν ἀνδρῶν, πολλῶν δὲ καὶ γυναικῶν, καὶ ἐλευθέρων καὶ δοῦλων, συγγιγνωσκόντων δμῶς 2 ἐπὶ μακρό- τατον ἔλαθε, πρὸν δὴ Μάνιός τις, ὀσπερ ποι ὑπηρέτης καὶ συνεργὸς ἐγεγονεί, κατεμήνυσεν αὐτό, ὅτι μήτε ἐλευθερίας μὴ ἀλλοῦ μηδενὸς ἦν ἡπίστευν ἐτύχεν. καὶ ἦν γὰρ οὐ προαγωγεῦσαι 3 μόνων ἀλλὰ καὶ διαβαλεῖν συγκρούσαι τέ τινας δεινότατος . . .—V. 76 (p. 626).

88 Ὅτι ἦν 4 μὲν ποι τὸ ποι καθ’ αὐτὰ ταύτα δόξαν αὐτῷ φέροντα, πρὸς δὲ δὴ τὴν τοῦ Κάτωνος συμφοράν, καὶ ὅτι καὶ ἐπιεικεῖα πολλῇ πρὸς τοὺς στρατιώτας

1 οὕτω Bs., οὐ Ms. 2 δμῶς Dind., δμῶς δικὸς Ms.
3 προσαγωγεύσαι Val., προσαγωγεύσαι Ms.
4 Ὅτι ἦν St., ὅτι τῷ μάρκῃ δρούσφ ἦν Ms.
lovers and carried on their wanton behaviour with each other's help. At first they surrendered themselves to some few privately and secretly, telling each man that he was the only one favoured. Later they themselves bound every one who could suspect and inform against them to certain silence in advance by the price of intercourse with them, and those who had previously enjoyed their favours, though they saw this, yet had to put up with it in order not to be detected through a display of their vexation. So besides holding commerce with various others, now singly, now in groups, sometimes privately, sometimes all together, Licinia enjoyed the society of the brother of Aemilia, and Aemilia that of Licinia's brother. These doings were hidden for a very long time, and though many men and many women, both freemen and slaves, were in the secret, it was kept concealed for a very long period, until one Manius, who seems to have been the first to assist and cooperate in the whole evil, gave information of the matter, because he had not obtained freedom nor any of the other objects of his hope. And since he was very skilful not only at leading women into prostitution, but also in sowing slander and discord among them, . . .

This was calculated to bring him [Marcus Drusus] B.C. 112 glory, first of itself, and secondly in the light of Cato's disaster;¹ and because he also had shown great

¹ In his campaign against the Scordisci, a Thracian tribe, in B.C. 114.

437
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

89 "Оτι το Ἰουγούρθα ο Μέτελλος προσπέμψαντι οἱ ύπερ τῆς εἰρήνης πολλὰ καθ' ἐν ἐκαστον ὡς καὶ μόνον ἐπέταξε, καὶ οὔτως ὀμήρους τε παρ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁπλα τοὺς τε ἐλέφαντας καὶ τοὺς αἰχ-μαλώτοις τοὺς τε αὐτομόλους ἔλαβε. καὶ τούτους μὲν πάντας ἀπέκτεινεν, οὐ κατελύσατο δέ, ὅτι ὁ Ἰουγούρθας οὐκ ἡβουλήθη πρὸς αὐτῶν, μὴ συλληφθῇ, ἐλθεῖν, καὶ ο Μάριος ὁ τε Γναιὸς ἐνεπόδωσαν.—U 19 (p. 385).

2 Ἡν μὲν γὰρ καὶ τὴν ἄλλως καὶ στασιώδης καὶ ταραχώδης καὶ παντὸς μὲν τοῦ συφετώδους, ἀφ' οὕτω καὶ ἐπεφύκει, φίλος, παντὸς δὲ τοῦ γεν-ναίου καθαιρέτης. καὶ γὰρ εἰπέιν τι καὶ ὑπο-σχέσθαι καὶ ψεύσασθαι καὶ ἐπιορκῆσαι, εἶν φ' πλεονεκτήσειν ἢ πληρίζεν, ἐτοιμότατα ἐτόλμα, τὸ τε συκοφαντήσαι τινα τῶν ἀρίστων καὶ τὸ ἐπαι-νέσαι αὐ τῶν κακίστων ἐν παιδίῳ ἐτίθετο. καὶ μοι μήδεις θαυμάσῃ εἰ τοιοῦτος τις ὁν ἐπὶ πλείστον ἔλαβεν ἐν ὡς ἐκακοῦργεν ἐκ τε γὰρ τῆς περιτεχνήσεως καὶ ἐκ τῆς τύχης, ἢ παράπαν τὰ πρῶτα ἄγαθὰ ἐχρήσατο, καὶ ἀρετῆς δόξαν ἐκτήσατο.—V. 78 (p. 629).

1 ὁ added by Leuncl.
2 In the Ms. Ἡν is preceded by δὲ ο ἁμρίος, evidently added by the excerptor; cf. Frg. 88, note 4.
3 Δ' Στ., ἄμ' Ms.

438
BOOK XXVI

leniency towards the soldiers and seemed to have made success of more importance than the truth, he likewise secured a renown greater than his deeds deserved.

When Jugurtha sent to Metellus in regard to peace, the latter made many demands upon him, one by one, as if each were to be the last, and in this way got from him hostages, arms, the elephants, the captives, and the deserters. All of these last he killed; but he did not conclude peace, since Jugurtha, fearing to be arrested, refused to come to him and since Marius and Gnaeus stood in the way.

For he [Marius] was in general seditious and turbulent, friendly to all the rabble, from which he had sprung, and ready to overthrow all the nobility. He ventured with perfect readiness any statement, promise, lie, or false oath wherever he hoped to profit by it. Blackmailing one of the best citizens or commending the veriest rascal he thought mere child’s play. And let no one be surprised that such a man could conceal his villainies for so long a time; for, as a result of his exceeding cleverness and the good fortune which he uniformly enjoyed in the fullest measure, he actually acquired a reputation for virtue.

1 Perhaps an error for Gauda.
3 "Οτι τον Μετέλλου και δι' ἐκεῖνο ῥᾶν διαβαλεῖν,1 ὁ Μάριος ἰδυνήθη, ὅτι ο μὲν ἐν τε τοῖς εὐπατρίδαις ἐξητάξετο καὶ τὰ τοῦ πολέμου ἀριστα διεχείριζεν,2 αὐτὸς δὲ3 ἐξ ἀφανεστάτου καὶ ἀδηλοτάτου ἐς τὸ μέσον παριέναι ἤρχετο (οἱ γὰρ πολλοὶ ἐτοίμως τὸν μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ φθόνου καθήρουν, τὸν δὲ πρὸς τὰς ἐπαγγελίας ήνζουν), καὶ μάλιστ' ὅτι ἐλογοποιήθη τὸν Μετέλλου παριεμένω τότε πρὸς τὰς ἀρχαιστίας τῷ Μαρίῳ εἶπεῖν ὅτι "ἄγαπαν ὀφέλεις ἀν μετὰ τοῦ νίεσος μου" (μειράκιον δὲ ἐκεῖνος ἦν) "ὑπατεύσης."—V. 79 (p. 630).

4 "Οτι τῷ Μετέλλῳ ἤρχετο ὁ Γαύδας,4 ὅτι μὴ τοὺς αὐτομόλους μὴτε φρουρᾶν στρατιωτῶν Ῥωμαίων αἰτήσας παρ' αὐτοῦ ἔλαβεν, ἢ καὶ ὅτι ἐγγὺς αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἐκαθέζετο, ὅπερ ὡς πλήθει τοῖς τε βασιλεύσι καὶ τοῖς δυνάσταις παρὰ τῶν ὑπάτων ἐδίδοτο.—V. 80 (p. 630).

5 "Οτι τῆς Κιρτας5 καθ' ὁμολογίαν ἀλούσης ὁ Βόσχος ἑπεκηρυκεύσατο τῷ Μαρίῳ, καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα τὴν τοῦ Ἰουνούρθου ἀρχὴν μισθὸν τῆς μεταστάσεως ἤτει, ἔπειτα μὴ τυχών αὐτῆς ἀπλῶς ἥξισε συμβῆναι. καὶ ὁ μὲν πρέσβεις ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἐπεμψεν, ὁ δὲ Ἰουνούρθας τούτων οὕτω6

1 διαβαλεῖν Val., διαλαβείν Ms.
2 διεχείριζεν Val., διαχείριζειν Ms.
3 δὲ Val., τε Ms. 4 Γαύδας Val., μάριος Ms.
5 Κιρτας Urs., σκιρτας Ms.
6 οὕτω Be., οὐ Ms.

440
BOOK XXVI

Marius was the more easily able to calumniate Metellus for the reason that the latter belonged to the patricians and was conducting the war in excellent fashion, whereas he himself was just beginning to come forward from a very obscure and humble origin into public notice. The multitude was of course readily inclined to overthrow Metellus through envy, and to advance Marius for his promises; but they were particularly influenced by the report that Metellus had said to Marius, when the latter was asking for his discharge on account of the elections: "You ought to be satisfied if you get to be consul along with my son." Now this son was a mere lad.

Gauda was angry at Metellus because in spite of his requests he had received from him neither the deserters nor a garrison of Roman soldiers, or else because he could not sit near him—a privilege ordinarily accorded by the consuls to kings and potentates.

After Cirta had capitulated, Bocchus made overtures to Marius; and first he demanded the empire of Jugurtha as the price of his defection, but later, failing to obtain this, simply asked for a truce. So he sent envoys to Rome; but Jugurtha, while

B.C. 106
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

γνωμόνων ἀπεχώρησεν ἐς τὰ ἐρημώτατα τῆς ἑαυτοῦ γῆς.—U 20 (p. 385).

6 Ὅτι ὁ Μάριος πρέσβεις τοῦ Βόκχου κομματικος οὐκ ἔφη αὐτῷ συνδήσεσθαι, εἰ μὴ τῶν Ἰουγούρθων ἑκδοτον παρ' αὐτοῦ λάβοι· δὲ καὶ γέγονεν.—U 21 (p. 386).
BOOK XXVI

this was taking place, retired to the most desolate portions of his own territory.

Marius received the envoys of Boechus, but said he would make no compact with him unless he should receive Jugurtha as a prisoner at his hands; and this was actually brought about.
FRAGMENTS OF BOOK XXVII

90 "Ὅτι Τόλοσσαν¹ πρῶτον μὲν ἐνσπουδάσαν οὖσαν
toῖς Ῥωμαῖοις, στασιάσασαν δὲ πρὸς τὰς τῶν
Κίμβρων ἔλπιδας ὡς καὶ τοὺς φρουροὺς δεθήναι,
προκατέσχου τυχτὸς ἔξαπίνης ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων
ἐσαχθέντες, καὶ τὰ ιερὰ διήρπασαν, καὶ ἄλλα
χωρίς χρήματα πολλὰ ἔλαβον· τὸ γὰρ χωρίον
ἀλλος τε παλαιόπλουτον ἦν, καὶ τὰ ἀναθήματα
ἀ ποτὲ οἱ Γαλάται οἱ μετὰ Βρέννου στρατεύ-
sαντες ἐκ τῶν Δελφῶν ἐσύλησαν εἰχεν. οὐ
μέντοι καὶ αξιόλογὸν τι ἀπ’ αὐτῶν τοῖς οίκοι
Ῥωμαῖοις περιεγένετο, ἀλλ’ αὐτοὶ ἐκείνοι τὰ
πλεῖον ἐσφετερίσαντο. καὶ ἔπι τούτῳ συχνοὶ
eὐθύνθησαν.—V. 81 (p. 630).

91 "Ὅτι ὁ Σερουῖλος ὑπὸ τοῦ πρῶς τὸν συνάρχοντα
φθόνου (τὰ μὲν γὰρ ² ἄλλα ἔξ ἱσον οἱ ἐπετέ-
τραπτο, τῷ δὲ δὴ ἀξιώματι οἶα ὑπατεύοντος
αὐτοῦ ἡλαττοῦτο) πολλῶν καὶ κακῶν αἵτων τῷ
στρατεύματι ἔγενετο. καὶ γὰρ ὁ Μάλλιος ³ μετὰ
θάνατον Σκαύρου ⁴ τὸν Σερουῖλον μετεπέμψατο· ὁ

¹ Τόλοσσαν Val., τόλοσσα Ms.
² γὰρ added by Dind.
³ γὰρ ὁ Μάλλιος supplied by Rk.
⁴ Σκαύρου Val., σκάρου Ms.

444
FRAGMENTS OF BOOK XXVII

Tolosa, which had formerly been in alliance with the Romans, but had revolted, as a result of the hopes placed in the Cimbri, even to the point of keeping the garrison in chains, was suddenly occupied at night by the Romans, after they had been admitted by their friends. They plundered the temples and obtained much money besides; for the place was wealthy from of old, containing among other things the offerings of which the Gauls under the leadership of Brennus had once despoiled Delphi. No treasure of importance, however, reached the Romans at home, but the soldiers themselves appropriated the most of it; and for this a number were called to account.

Servilius became the cause of many evils to the army by reason of his jealousy of his colleague; for, though he had in general equal authority, his rank was naturally diminished by the fact that the other was consul. After the death of Scaurus, Mallius had sent for Servilius; but the latter replied that each of
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἔκατερον δεῖν φυλάτ-2 τειν. έίτα ἐλπίσας τὸν Μάλλιον καθ’ ἑαυτὸν τι κατορθώσειν, ἐφθάνησεν αὐτῷ, μὴ μόνος εὐδοκε-μήσῃ, καὶ ἠλθε μὲν πρὸς αὐτόν, οὔτε δὲ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ χωρίῳ ἡμίσατο οὔτε τῷ βούλευμα κοινῶν ἐποιήσατο, ἀλλ' ὡς καὶ πρότερος αὐτοῦ τοῖς Κύμβροις συμμίξων, τὴν τε δόξαν τοῦ πολέμου 3 πᾶσαν ἀποισόμενον, ἐν μέσῳ ἱδρύθη. καὶ τὸ μὲν¹ πρῶτον φοβερόν καὶ ὡς τοὺς πολέμους, μέχρι οὗ ἡ διαφορὰ αὐτῶν ἐλάνθανεν, ἐγένοντο, ὡς καὶ ἐς ἐπιθυμίαν σπουδὰν αὐτοὺς προαγαγεῖν· ὡς δὲ πρὸς Μάλλιον ὑπατεύοντα διεκπεραί-σαντο, οἱ Σεροῦλιοι ἤγανάκτησεν ὅτι μὴ πρὸς έαυτὸν ἐπρεσβεύσαντο, καὶ οὔτε τὶ συμβατικὸν ἀπεκρίνατο, ὅλιγον τε καὶ τὸν πρεσβευτὰς διέφθειρεν.—V. 82 (p. 630).

4 Ἡμεῖς οἱ στρατιώται τῶν Σεροῦλιοι ἤγανακασαν πρὸς Μάλλιον ἐλθεῖν καὶ μετ’ αὐτοῦ βουλευσασθαι περὶ τῶν παρόντων. τοσοῦτον δὲ ὁμοφρονῆσαι ἐδέσαν ὡστε καὶ ἔχθινος ἤ πρόσθεν ἤσαν ἐκ τῆς συνουσίας ἐγένοντο· ἐς τὸ γὰρ φιλονεικίαν καὶ λοιδορίας προαχθέντες² αἰσχρῶς διελύθησαν.—V. 83 (p. 633).

92 Ὡτι Γναῖος Δομήτιος δίκην τῷ Σκαύρῳ λαχών, ἐπειτα ἐπείδη τῶν οἰκετῶν τας προσελθὼν αὐτῷ πολλὰ καὶ χαλεπὰ κατὰ τοῦ δεσπότου μηνύσειν

¹ μὲν inserted by Val.
² προαχθέντες St., προαχθέντες Ms.
BOOK XXVII

them ought to guard his own province. Then, suspecting that Mallius might gain some success by himself, he grew jealous of him, fearing that he might secure the glory alone, and went to him; yet he neither encamped in the same place nor entered into any common plan, but took up a position between Mallius and the Cimbri, with the evident intention of being the first to join battle and so of winning all the glory of the war. Even thus they inspired their enemies with dread at the outset, as long as their quarrel was concealed, to such an extent that they were brought to desire peace; but when the Cimbri made overtures to Mallius, as consul, Servilius became indignant that they had not directed their embassy to him, gave them no conciliatory reply, and actually came near slaying the envoys.

The soldiers forced Servilius to go to Mallius and consult with him about the situation. But far from reaching an accord, they became as a result of the meeting even more hostile than before; for they fell into strife and abuse, and parted in a disgraceful fashion.

After Gnaeus Domitius had brought suit against Scaurus, one of the latter's slaves approached him and offered to give much damaging evidence against his
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

ὑπέσχετο, οὐκ ἐπολυπραγμόνησεν, καὶ προσέτι
ςυλλαβῶν αὐτὸν παρέδωκε τῷ Σκαύρῳ.—V. 84
(p. 633).

93 "Οτι Πούπλιος Δικίνιος Νέρουας στρατηγῶν
ἐν τῇ νήσῳ, καὶ μαθῶν ὅτι οὐκ ἐν δίκη τινὰ
περὶ τοὺς δούλους γίγνοιτο, ἦ καὶ λημμάτων
ἀφορμᾶς ζητῶν (καὶ γὰρ ήυ οὐκ ἀδώρος), περι-
ήγειλεν ἀφικνεῖσθαι πρὸς έαυτὸν πάντας τοὺς
αἵτιομένους τι τοὺς δεσπότας σφῶν, ὡς καὶ
2 βοηθήσων αὐτοῖς. ἐξ οὖν τούτου ἐκείνων¹ τε
πολλοὶ συνιστάμενοι οἱ μὲν ἀδικεῖσθαι τι ἐλέγον,
οἱ δὲ καὶ ἄλλο τι τοὺς δεσπότας ἐνεκάλουν,
νομίζοντες καὶρὸν² εἰληφέναι τοῦ πάντα ὡς
ἐβούλοντο πρὸς³ αὐτοὺς ἀναιμωτί διαπράξασθαι,
καὶ οἱ ἐλεύθεροι συμφυρονέσταντες ἀνθισταντό
3 σφίοι καὶ οὐδαμὴ ὑφίεντο. φοβηθεὶς οὖν ὁ
Δικίνιος τὴν σύστασιν αὐτῶν ἑκατέρων, μὴ καὶ
μέγα τι δεῶν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐλαττωθέντων γένηται,
οὐδένα τῶν δούλων προσεδέξατο, ἀλλ' ἀπέπεμψεν
αὐτοὺς ὡς μηδὲν κακὸν πεισομένους ἢ μηδὲν
γε ἐτί ταράξαι τῷ διασκεδασθῆναι δυνησομένους.
οἱ δὲ δεῖσαντες τοὺς δεσπότας, ὦτι καὶ τὴν
ἀρχὴν ἐπικαλεῖσαι τι αὐτοῖς ἐτόλμησαν, συνε-
στράφησαν καὶ κοινολογονόμενοι πρὸς λρετέλας
ἐτράποντο.—V. 85 (p. 633).

94 "Οτοί τῶν βαρβάρων ἡττημένων, καὶ συχνῶν
ἐκείνων Rk., καὶ ἐκείνων Ms. ² καὶρὸν supplied by Val.
³ πρὸς supplied by Bk.
BOOK XXVII

master; but Domitius did not investigate the matter, and moreover arrested the fellow and handed him over to Scaurus.

Publius Licinius Nerva, who was praetor in the island, on learning that the slaves were not being justly treated in some respects, or else because he sought an occasion for profit,—for he was not inaccessible to bribes,—sent round a notice that all who had any charges to bring against their masters should come to him and he would assist them. Accordingly, many of them banded together, and some declared they were being wronged and others made known other grievances against their masters, thinking they had secured an opportunity for accomplishing all that they wished against them without bloodshed. The freemen, after consultation, resisted them and would not make any concessions. Therefore Licinius, inspired with fear by the united front of both sides and dreading that some great mischief might be done by the defeated party, would not receive any of the slaves, but sent them away, thinking that they would suffer no harm or that at any rate they would be scattered and so could cause no further disturbance. But the slaves, fearing their masters because they had dared to raise their voices at all against them, organized a band and by common consent turned to robbery.

After the defeat of the barbarians, though many

VOL. II.

449
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

ἐν τῇ μάχῃ πεσόντων, ὁλγοὶ διεσώθησαν. ἐφ' ὕπερ ὁ Μάριος τούτος παραμυθούμενος τε ἀμα καὶ ἀμεβόμενος, πᾶσαν αὐτοῖς τὴν λείαν ἔπευσιν ἀπέδοτο, ὅπως μηδὲν δόξῃ προϊκά τινι κεχαρίσθαι. καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν ὁ Μάριος, καίπερ ἐν τῷ πλήθει μόνοι πρότερον, ὅτι ἐξ αὐτοῦ γεγονὼς ἦν καὶ ὅτι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ηὔξητο, εἵ φερόμενος, τότε καὶ τοὺς εὐπατρίδας ὑπ' ὅν ἐμεσεῖτο εξενίκησεν, ὡστε πρὸς πάντων ὁμοίως καὶ ἐπαινεῖσθαι. τὴν τε ἀρχὴν καὶ ἐς τὸ ἐπιών ἔτος, ὅπως καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ προσκατεργάσηται, παρ' ἐκόντων καὶ ὅμογνωμοινότων αὐτῶν ἔλαβεν.—V. 86 (p. 633).

2 Ὅτι ὡς ἀπαξ ἐπέσχον, πολὺ τοῦ θυμοῦ οἱ Κύμβροι παρελύθησαν, κὰκ τούτων καὶ ἀμβλύτεροι καὶ ἀσθενέστεροι καὶ ταῖς ψυχαῖς καὶ τοῖς σώμασιν ἐγένοντο. αὐτοῖς δὲ ὅτι ἐν τε οἰκίαίς ἐκ τῆς πρόσθεν υπαιθρίων διαίτης κατέλυνόν, καὶ λουτροῖς θερμοῖς ἀντὶ τῆς πρόσθεν ψυχρολωσίας ἐχρόντο, καρυκείας τε καὶ ἡδυσμάτων ἐπιχωρίων διεπίμπλαντο, κρέα πρότερον ὡμᾶ σιτούμενοι, καὶ τῷ οίνῳ τῇ τε μέθη κατακορεῖς παρὰ τὸ ἐθος ἐγίγνοντο. ταῦτα γὰρ τὸ τε θυμοειδὲς αὐτῶν πᾶν ἔξεκοψε καὶ τὰ σώματα ἐθηλύνεν, ὡστε μῆτε τοὺς πόνους ἐτὶ μῆτε τὰς ταλαιπωρίας, μὴ καῦμα, μὴ ψύχος, μὴ ἀγρυπνίαν, φέρειν.—V. 87 (p. 633).

93, 4 Ὅτι οἱ Μεσσηνιοὶ νομίζοντες μηδὲν δεινὸν πείσεσθαι, πάντα τὰ πλείστων ἅξια καὶ τημωτάτα ἐκεῖσε ὑπεξέθεντο. μαθὼν δὲ τοῦτο Ἀθη-

450
BOOK XXVII

had fallen in battle, some few were saved. Whereupon Marius, by way of encouraging and rewarding these [the soldiers], sold all the plunder to them at a nominal price, to prevent its being thought that he had bestowed favours outright upon any one. By this act Marius, who previously had enjoyed the favour of the populace alone, because sprung from that class and raised to power by it, now won over even the nobles by whom he had been hated, so that he was praised by all alike. He received from a willing and harmonious people a reëlection for the following year, to enable him to complete his conquests.

The Cimbri, when once they had halted, lost much of their spirit and consequently became enfeebled and sluggish in both mind and body. The reason was that in place of their former outdoor life they lodged in houses, and instead of their former cold plunges they used warm baths; whereas they had been wont to eat raw meat, they now gorged themselves with richly spiced dishes and relishes of the country, and they steeped themselves, contrary to their custom, in wine and strong drink. These practices extinguished all their fiery spirit and enervated their bodies, so that they could no longer bear toils or hardships, whether heat or cold or loss of sleep.

The people of Messana, not expecting to meet with any harm, had deposited in that place for safe-keeping all their most valuable and precious possessions. Athenio, a Cilician who held the chief
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

νίων, δόσπερ¹ που τὸ μέγιστον κράτος τῶν λη-
στευόντων Κίλιξ ὤν εἶχεν, ἐπέθετο αὐτοῖς δημο-
τελῇ τινα ἐορτήν ἐν τῷ προαστεῖῳ ἁγιοις, καὶ
ἐκεῖνων τε πολλοὺς σκεδασθέντας ἀπέκτεινε καὶ
τὴν πόλιν ὀλέγου κατὰ κράτος εἶλεν. χωρίον
dὲ τι Μάκελλαν εὐφρέκης τειχισάμενος ἵσχυρος
τὴν γῆν ἐκακούργει.—V. 88 (p. 634).

¹ δόσπερ Val., δόσπερ Ms.
command of the robbers, on learning this, attacked them while they were celebrating a public festival in the suburbs, killed many of them as they were scattered about, and almost took the city by storm. After building a wall to fortify Macella, a strong position, he proceeded to do great injury to the country.
FRAGMENTS OF BOOK XXVIII

95 "Οτι ο νινις ο του Μετέλλου ουτω και ιδια και δημοσια παντας υπερ του του πατερα κατελθειν ικετευεν οστε και Πλος, τουτ έστιν Ευσεβης, επονομασθηναι.—V. 92 (p. 638).

2 "Οτι ο Φουριος έχθραν τω Μετέλλω ουτως έσχεν δη του ιππου αυτου τιμητευων αφειλετο. —V. 93 (p. 638).

3 "Οτι Πουτπιον Φουριον γραφεντα έψ οις δημαρχηςας επεποιηκει απεκτειναν εν αυτη τη εκκλησια οι Ρωμαιοι, αξιωτατον μεν που απολεσθαι ουτα (και γαρ ταραχωδης ήν, και το Σατουρνίνω το τε Γλαυκια πρωτον 1 συστας μετεβαλετο, και προς τους αντιστασιωτας αυτων αυτομολησας σφισι συνεπεθετο), ου μεντοι και προσηκοατα τουτω τω τροπω φθαρηναι. και τοποτο μεν εν δικη δη τωι γεγονεναι εδοξεν . . . —V. 89 (p. 637).

97 "Οτι του Ρουτιλιου αγαθου οντος ανδρος

1 πρωτον St., πρωτοις Ms.
FRAGMENTS OF BOOK XXVIII

The son of Metellus besought everybody to such an extent both in private and in public to let his father return from exile that he received the cognomen Pius, i.e. Dutiful.

Furius cherished such enmity against Metellus because the latter when censor had taken his horse away.

Publius Furius, under indictment for the acts he had performed while tribune, was slain by the Romans in the very assembly. He richly deserved to die, to be sure, for he was a seditious person, who after first joining Saturninus and Glauceia had veered about, deserted to the opposing faction, and joined them in attacking his former associates; yet it was not proper for him to perish in just this way. This deed, then, seemed to have a certain justification.

Rutilius, an upright man, they most unjustly con-
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

ἀδικώτατα κατεψηφίσαντο· ἐσήχθη γὰρ ἐς δικαστήριον ἐκ κατασκευασμοῦ τῶν ἱππέων ὡς δωροδοκὴ . . . 

1 Κύντρῳ Μουκίῳ, καὶ ἐξημώθη ὑπ' αὐτῶν χρήμασι. ταύτα ἐποίησαν θυμῷ φέροντες ὅτι πολλὰ περὶ τὰς τελωνίας πλημμελοῦντας ἐπέσηκεν.2—V. 90 (p. 637).

2 Ὅτι ὁ Ῥουτίλιος ἀπελογήσατο μὲν γενναιότατα, καὶ οὐδὲν ὦ τι οὐκ εἶπεν ὃν ἄν· ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς συκοφαντούμενος καὶ πολὺ πλείων τὰ τῶν κοινῶν ἢ τὰ ἐαντοῦ ὀδυρόμενος φθέγξαιτο, ἐάλω δὲ, καὶ τῆς γε οὐσίας εὐθύς ἐξέστη. ἔξω ὁμήρου ὧν ἦκαστα ἐφωράθη μηδὲν οἱ προσήκουσαν καταδίκην ὀφλήσας· πολλῷ τε γὰρ σμικρότερα κεκτημένος εὐθέθη ἢ οἱ κατήγοροι ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας αὐτῶν ἐσφετηρίσθαι ἐπεκάλουν, καὶ πάντα ἐκεῖνα ἐς δικαίας καὶ νομίμους ἄρχας τῆς κτήσεως ἀνήγαγεν. οὕτω μὲν ἐπηρεάσθη, καὶ τινα ὁ Μάριος αἰτίαν τῆς ἁλώσεως αὐτοῦ ἔσχεν ἀρίστῳ γὰρ καὶ εὐδοκιμοῦτα ἀυτῷ ὀντὶ ἐβαρύνετο. διόπερ καὶ ἐκεῖνος τῶν τε πραττομένων ἐν τῇ πόλει καταγνώσας, καὶ ἀπαξίωσας τοιούτῳ ἔτι ἀνθρώπος συζήσας, ἐξεχώρησε μηδενὸς ἀναγκάζοντος, καὶ ἐς αὐτὴν γε τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐλθὼν τέως μὲν ἐν Μυτιλήνῃ διήγεν.

1 No indication of lacuna in Ms. Bs. suggests δωροδοκήσας ὑποστρατηγῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ Κύντρῳ, adopted in the translation.
2 ἐπέσηκεν Val. (in translation), ἐπέσηκεν Ms.
3 ἄν supplied by Bk.
BOOK XXVIII

demned; for he was brought into court by a precon-
certed plan of the knights on the charge of having
received bribes [while serving in Asia as lieutenant
under] Quintus Mucius, and was fined by them.
They did this in their anger because he had ended
many of their irregularities in connection with the
collecting of taxes.

Rutilius made a very noble defence, saying every-
thing which an upright man would naturally say
who was being blackmailed and who grieved far more
for the condition of the state than for his own
fortunes; he was convicted, however, and immediately
stripped of his property. This process more than
anything else revealed the fact that he had in no
wise deserved the sentence passed upon him. For he
was found to possess much less than his accusers had
charged him with having appropriated from Asia, and
he could trace all that he had back to just and lawful
sources of acquisition. Such was his unworthy
treatment, and Marius was not without a hand in his
conviction; for a man so excellent and of such good
repute had been an annoyance to him. Therefore
Rutilius, indignant at the conduct of affairs in the city,
and disdaining to live longer in the company of such
a creature, withdrew, though under no compulsion,
and actually went back to Asia. There for a time
he dwelt in Mytilene; then, after that place had
DIO’S ROMAN HISTORY

4 ἐπειτα ἐκείνης ἐν τῷ Μιθριδατικῷ πολέμῳ κακωθείσης ἐς Σμύρναν μετφικίσθη, κάνταυθα κατεβί, οὔδε ἦθελεν ἐπανελθεῖν οἴκαδε. καὶ νῦν γε παρὰ τούτῳ ἦττον οὔτε ἐν εὐκλείᾳ οὔτε ἐν περιουσίᾳ ἐγένετο· πολλὰ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ Μούκιος, πλεῖστα δὲ καὶ δῆμου καὶ βασιλῆς ὅσοι ποτὲ ἐπετείραντο αὐτοῦ ἐχαρίσαντο, ὡστε πολὺ πλεῖων αὐτὸν τῆς ἀρχαίας οὐσίας ἐχειν. —V. 91 (p. 637).

96 Ἡσαν γὰρ καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς στασίαρχοι, τὸ δὲ δὴ πλείστου κράτος τῶν μὲν Μάρκος, τῶν δὲ Κόντος εἶχον, δυναστείας τε ἐπιθυμηταὶ καὶ φιλοτιμίας ἀπληστοί, καὶ ἀπ’ αὐτῶν καὶ ἐς τὸ 2 φιλόνεικον προπετέστατοι ὅντες. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐκ τοῦ ὁμοίου ἐκέκτηντο, προέφερον δὲ Δροῦς μὲν τῷ γένει καὶ τῷ πλούτῳ, τῇ τε ἐς τοὺς ἀεὶ δεομένους αὐτοῦ ἀφειδῶς ἀναλώσει, ὁ δὲ τῷ τε θράσει πολλῷ καὶ τῇ τόλμῃ, ταῖς τε προεπιβουλαῖς καὶ ταῖς ὑπ’ αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματα κακοθείεις. ὡθεν οἷς ἀπεικότως τὰ μὲν ἐκ τῶν ὁμοίων, τὰ δὲ ἐκ τῶν διαφόρων ἀντίρροσοι τρόπων τινὰ ἀλλήλους ὅντες τὴν ὁρᾶσιν ἐπὶ πλείστου ἠγειραν, ὡστε αὐτὴν καὶ ἀποθανόντων αὐτῶν μεῖναι.—V. 94 (p. 638).

3 Ὡτι ὁ Δροῦς καὶ ὁ Καστίων ἰδίων ἀλλήλους ἔχθραν ἐκ φιλίας πολλῆς καὶ γάμων ἐπαλλαγῆς

458
BOOK XXVIII

suffered injury in the Mithridatic war, he removed to Smyrna and there lived to the end of his life without any desire to return home. And yet in all this he suffered not a whit either in reputation or wealth. For he received many gifts from Mucius and a vast number from all the peoples and kings as well who had ever had dealings with him, until he possessed far more than his original wealth.

There were other factional leaders, but the greatest influence was possessed by Marcus \(^1\) in the one group, and by Quintus \(^2\) in the other; these men were eager for power, insatiate in their ambition, and consequently very prone to strife. These qualities they possessed in common; but Drusus had the advantage of birth, and also of wealth, which he lavishly expended upon those who at any time made demands upon him, while the other greatly surpassed him in audacity and daring, and by the timeliness of his plots, as well as his malignity in carrying them out. It was not strange, therefore, since they balanced each other in a way, partly by their likenesses and partly by their differences, that they brought the discord to such a high pitch that it continued even after the death of both.

Drusus and Caepio, formerly great friends and united by mutual ties of marriage, became personal

\(^1\) M. Livius Drusus. \(^2\) Q. Servilius Caepio.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

ποιησάμενοι καὶ ἐς τὰ πολιτικὰ αὐτὴν προήγαγον.
—V. 95 (p. 638).

4 Διῶν κὴ βιβλίῳ "καὶ τοῖς ὑπάτοις ἐπιβουλεύοντα."—Bekk. Anecd. 136, 30.

5 κὴ βιβλίῳ Διῶν "οὐχ ὅπως οὐκ ἔπεισέ τινας καἰ περ τινὰ ἄληθῆ λέγων."—Ib. 166, 8.

460
BOOK XXVIII

enemies of each other and carried their feud even into politics.

Dio, Book XXVIII. "And plotting against the consuls." ¹

Dio, Book XXVIII. "Not only did he fail to convince any, in spite of the fact that he spoke the truth in part."

¹ Said of M. Livius Drusus, on trial before the senate.
FRAGMENTS OF BOOK XXIX

98 "Ωτι ο Δουπος τους ευπατρίδας τους συστρατευομένους οι ός και τα βουλεύματα αυτού τως εναντίοις έξαγγέλλοντας υποπτεύσας, ἐπέστειλε περὶ αυτῶν τῇ βουλῇ πρὶν τι α... 1 καὶ τούτον οὕτως ἄλλως σφᾶς... 2 ὑπὸ τῆς στάσεως ἔχοντας ἐτή καὶ μᾶλλον συνεβαλεν. κἂν ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἐταράχθησαν, εἰ μὴ τινας τῶν Μαρσῶν ἐφωράθησαν ἀναμιμνήμενοι τοις προνομεύουσι τῶν Ῥωμαίων, καὶ ἐς τὸ τάφρευμα ός καὶ σύμμαχοι σφῶν συνεσιόντες, καὶ πολυπραγμονοῦντες τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ λεγόμενα καὶ δρώμενα, καὶ τοῖς σφέτεροις έξαγγέλλοντες. καὶ οὕτως ὅργιζόμενοι τοῖς ευπατρίδαις ἐπαύσαντο.—V. 96 (p. 641).

2 "Ωτι ο Μάριος υποπτεύσας τῶν Δουπον καίτερ συγγενὴ δυνα, φθόνῳ τε καὶ ἐλπίδι τοῦ καὶ υπατον τὸ ἐβδομον, ώς καὶ μόνον ἀν τὰ παρόντα κατορθώσαντα, ἀποδειχθῆναι, τρίβειν ἐκέλευεν ... 1 Lacuna recognized by Val., who supplied ἀκριβῶς εἰδέναι ("know accurately").
2 Lacuna recognized by Rk., who suggested εὐνοικῶς πρὸς ἄλληλους ("well disposed toward each other"); Bs. improves to εὐνοικῶς ἄλληλοις.

462
FRAGMENTs OF BOOK XXIX

Lupus, suspecting that the patricians making the campaign with him were revealing his plans to the enemy, sent word about them to the senate before [he had any definite information], and in consequence, inasmuch as they were not [well disposed toward each other] to begin with, because of their strife, he set them still more at variance. And the disturbance would have been even more serious, had not some of the Marsians been detected mingling with the foraging parties of the Romans and entering the ramparts under the guise of allies, where they took note of what was said and done in the camp and reported it to their own men. Accordingly they ceased to be angry with the patricians.

Marius suspected Lupus, although a relative, and through jealousy and the hope of being appointed consul for even the seventh time, as the only man who could bring success out of the existing situation, bade him delay; their men, he said, would have

1 There is a deep-seated error here, due no doubt to the excerptor’s carelessness. According to Orosius (5, 18, 11), it was Lupus, the consul, who was suspicious of the motives of his lieutenant Marius in advising him to postpone a conflict.
**DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY**

σφάς μὲν γὰρ καὶ ... \(^1\) τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἔξειν ἔλεγεν, ἐκεῖνος δὲ οὐ δυνῆσεσθαι ἐπὶ πλεῖον, ἀτε τοῦ πολέμου ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ αὐτῶν ὄντος, ἀνταρκέσαι. — V. 97 (p. 641).

3 "Οτι οἱ Πικένται τοὺς μὴ συναποστάντας σφίσι ἐχειρώσαντο, καὶ τούτοις ἐν ἑπόψει τῶν φίλων ἐνύβριζον, καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν τὰς κόμας σὺν τῷ δέρματί ἐκ τῶν κεφαλῶν ἀπέσπασαν. — V. 98 (p. 641).

\(^1\) Lacuna recognized by Rk.; v. Herw. would supply \& \& ("even thus").
BOOK XXIX

provisions [even though they delayed], whereas the other side would not be able to hold out for any considerable time, since the war was in their country.

The Picentes overcame those who had not joined their rebellion and abused them in the sight of their friends, while from the heads of their wives they tore out the hair along with the skin.
FRAGMENTS OF BOOKS XXX–XXXV

99 "Οτι ο Μιθριδάτης πρέσβεων ἥκοντων Ἡρωμαίων οὐδὲν ἐκίνησεν, ἀλλ' ἀνταιτιασάμενος τινα, καὶ προσαποδείξας τοὺς πρέσβεις τὸ πλῆθος τῶν χρημάτων δὲν τῷ τε κοινῷ καὶ ἰδίῳ τοῖς ἀναλώκει, ἥσυχαν ἔσχεν. ὁ δὲ Νικομήδης τῇ συμμαχίᾳ αὐτῶν ἐπαρθείς καὶ χρημάτων δεθείς ἐσέβαλεν ἐς τὴν χώραν αὐτοῦ. —Uo 22 (p. 386).

1 Δίωνος λα' βιβλίω "καὶ τῷ Μιθριδάτη αὐτὸς πρὸς τοῦ δήμου καὶ πρὸς τῆς βουλῆς προστετάχθαι." —Bekk. Anecd. 166, 18.

2 "Οτι ο Μιθριδάτης πρέσβεις ἀπέστειλεν ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην, ἄξιων, εἰ μὲν φίλον τὸν Νικομήδην νομίζουσι, πείσαι αὐτὸν ἢ καὶ καταναγκάσαι τὰ δικαία οἱ ποιήσαι, εἰ δὲ μὴ, αὐτῷ γε ἐπιτρέψαι τὸν ἐχθρὸν ἀμώνασθαι. οἱ δὲ οὐχ οτι τι ἐπραξα ὃν ἤθελεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπηπείλησαν αὐτῷ, ἄν μὴ τῷ Ἀρισταρχάνῃ τὴν Καππαδοκίαν ἀποδότα καὶ πρὸς τὸν Νικομήδην εἰρήνην ἄγη. τούς τε πρέσβεις αὐτοῦ αὐθημερὸν ἀπέπεμψαν, καὶ

1 ἥκοντων Bk., ὃντων Mss. 2 προσαποδείξας Rk., προσαποδείξας Mss. 3 αὐτοῦ Leuncl., αὐτῶν Mss. 4 ἢ καὶ Bs., ἢ Mss.

466
FRAGMENTS OF BOOKS XXX–XXXV

Mithridates, when the Roman envoys arrived, did not create any disturbance, but after bringing some counter-charges and also exhibiting to the envoys the amount of the wealth which he had lavished on the state and on private individuals, he remained quiet. Nicomedes, however, elated by the Romans' alliance and being in need of money, invaded his territory.

Dio, Book XXXI. "And he had been appointed against Mithridates by both the people and the senate." ¹

Mithridates dispatched envoys to Rome requesting the people, if they deemed Nicomedes a friend, to persuade or else compel him to act justly toward him, or if not, to allow him [Mithridates] to take measures against his foe. But they, so far from doing anything he wished, even threatened him with punishment if he should not give back Cappadocia to Ariobarzanes and remain at peace with Nicomedes. They sent away his envoys the same day and further-

¹ According to Th. Reinach this has reference to Flaccus or Sulla.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

προσαπηγόρευσαν αὐτῷ μηκέτι μηδένα ἄλλον, ἀν μὴ πεθαρχὴ σφισι, πέμψαι.—U 23 (p. 386).

2a Δίωνος λα' βιβλίφ "τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ὡς καὶ ἐπικουρίας τινὸς παρ’ ἑαυτῷ δεομένων ἐπι- μνησθεῖς."—Bekk. Anecd. 137, 20.

100 "Ὅτι Κάτων ἁστικῶν καὶ ἀφηλικεστρον τὸ 1 πλεῖον τοῦ στρατοῦ ἔχων ἐς τὰ ἄλλα ἦττον ἔρρωτο, καὶ ποτε ἐπιτιμήσαε σφισι, ὅτι μήτε πονεῖν μήτε τὰ παραγγελλόμενα προθύμως ποι- εῖν ἥθελον, ἐπιτολμήσας ὅλιγον κατεχώσθη βληθεῖς ὑπ’ αὐτῶν. καὶ ἐτεθνήκει γ’ ἀν εἰ λίθων εὐπορήκεσαν: ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ χωρίον ἐν δοὺς συνειληκατο ἐγεωργεῖτο 3 καὶ δίνηκαν κατὰ τύχην ἥν, οὐδὲν ὑπὸ βῶλων ἔπαθεν. συνελήφθη δὲ οἱ στά- σεως ἄρξας Γάιος Τίτιος, ἀνὴρ ἀγοραῖος καὶ ἐκ δικαστηρίων τὸν βίον ποιούμενος, τῇ τε παρρησίᾳ μετὰ ἀναισχυνίας κατακορεῖ χρόμενος, καὶ ἐς τὸ ἀστυν ἐς τοὺς δημάρχους ἐπέμψθη, οὐκ ἐκο- λάσθη δὲ.—V. 99 (p. 641).

101 "Ὅτι πάντες τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐφόνευν κελεύ- σαντος Μιθριδάτου οἱ Ἀσιανοὶ, πλὴν καθ’ ὅσον Τραλλιανοὶ οὐδένα ἀπέκτειναν, Θεόφιλον δὲ τίνα Παφλαγόνα ἐμισσώσαντο, ὡσπερ ποὺ ἦττον σφων ἀπόλλυσθαι μελλόντων, ἢ καὶ διαφέρον ἀυτῶς ὕφ’ ὅτου σφαγήσωντο.—V. 100 (p. 642).

2 "Ὅτι οἱ Ἐράκες ἀναπεισθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ Μιθρι- 1 τὸ Val., τὸ τε Ms.
2 ποιεῖν supplied by Rk.
3 ἐγεωργεῖτο Naber, ἐγεώργητο Ms.

468
more ordered him never to send anyone else, unless he should render them obedience.

Dio, Book XXXI. "But recalling the others as in need of some assistance from him." ¹

Cato, the greater part of whose army was from the city and rather too old for service, had little authority at best; and once, when he ventured to rebuke them because they were unwilling to work hard or obey orders readily, he came near being buried under the shower of missiles which they hurled at him. And he would certainly have been killed, if they had had plenty of stones; but since the site where they were assembled was under cultivation and happened to be very wet, he received no hurt from the clods of earth. The man who began the mutiny, Gaius Titius,² was arrested; he had been a lounging about the Forum, making his living in the courts, and was excessively and shamelessly outspoken. He was now sent to the city to the tribunes, but escaped punishment.

All the Asiatics, at the bidding of Mithridates, massacred the Romans; only the people of Tralles did not personally kill anyone, but hired [for the purpose] a certain Theophilus, a Paphlagonian,—just as if they themselves were more likely thus to escape destruction, or as if it made any difference to the victims by whom they were to be slaughtered.

The Thracians, at the instigation of Mithridates,

¹ This refers to Mithridates and the people of Asia, according to von Gutschmid.
² Properly Gaius Titinius (Sisenna).
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

dátou tēn te Ἡπειρον καὶ τάλλα τα μέχρι τῆς Δωδώνης κατέδραμον, ὡστε καὶ τὸ τοῦ Διὸς ἱερὸν συλῆσαι.—V. 101 (p. 642).

102. "Ὅτι ὁ Κίννας, ἐπειδή τάχιστα τῆν ἀρχὴν παρέλαβεν, οὐδὲν οὔτω τῶν πάντων ἐπιστημάζεις ὡς καὶ τὸν Σύλλαβα ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐκβάλειν, πρόβασις μὲν τὸν Μιθριδάτην¹ ποιησάμενος, ἔργω δὲ ἐπιθυμήσας αὐτὸν ἀπαρτήσαι οἰ, ὅπως μὴ ἐγγύθεν ἐφεδρεύων ἐμπιστὸν πρὸς ἄ ἐπραττε γένηται. καὶ τοῖς τῇ² τοῦ Σύλλου σπουδῇ ἀπεδέδεικτο, καὶ οὐδὲν ὦ τὶ ὑπὸ κατὰ γνώμην αὐτοῦ 2 πράξεων ὑπέσχητο.³ ὁ γὰρ Σύλλας τὴν τε ἀνάγκην τοῦ πολέμου ὅρων καὶ τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ γλυκόμενος, τὰ τε ἄλλα τὰ οἶκοι πρὸς τὸ ἐπιτη- δειότατον ἐαυτῷ πρὸς ἐξομηθήναι κατεστῆσαι, καὶ τὸν Κίνναν Γναῖόν⁴ τε τινὰ Ὀκτάουν ὄσι- δόχους ἀπέφηνεν, ἐλπίσας μάλιστα ἀν οὔτω καὶ 3 ἀπὸν ἴσχυσαι. τοῦτὸν μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ τὰ ἐπιτεκέα ἔπαινομενον ὑπίστατο καὶ οὐδέν παρακινήσεις ἐνόμιζεν, ἔκεινον δὲ εὖ μὲν ἦδει κακὸν ἄνδρα ὅντα, οὐκ ἦθελησε δὲ ἐκπολεμῶσαι δυνάμενον τὸ τε ἄντων ἦδη, καὶ ἐτοίμος, ὡς γε⁵ καὶ ἔλεγε καὶ ὄμνυεν, ἔχοντα πᾶν οἱ ὅτιον ὑποργῆσαι. 4 αὐτὸς τε οὖν, καὶ τοῖς δεινοτάτοις ἄν τὰς τοῦ γνῶμας τῶν ἀνθρώπων συνιδεῖν καὶ τὰς φύσεις τῶν πραγ-

¹ Μιθριδάτην Val., μιθριδάτην Ms. ² τῇ inserted by Rk.
³ ὑπέσχητο Bk., ὑπέσχετο Ms. ⁴ Γναῖόν Val., γναῖον Ms.
⁵ ὡς γε Rk., ὡστε Ms. ⁶ οἱ inserted by Kuiper.

470
BOOKS XXX–XXXV

overran Epirus and the rest of the country as far as Dodona, going even to the point of plundering the temple of Zeus.

Cinna, as soon as he took possession of the office, was anxious about no one thing so much as driving Sulla out of Italy. He made Mithridates his excuse, but in reality wanted Sulla to get out of his way so that he might not, by keeping watch close at hand, prove a hindrance to the objects he himself was trying to carry out. And yet he owed his election to the other's support and had promised to do everything according to his pleasure. For Sulla, who saw the necessity of the war and was eager for its glory, had before starting arranged everything at home for his own best interests. Among other things he appointed Cinna and one Gnaeus Octavius to be his successors, hoping in this way to retain the most power even while absent. For he understood that Octavius was commended for his amiability, and he thought he would cause no trouble; the other he well knew to be a base fellow, but he did not wish to make an enemy of him, because the man already had some influence of his own and was prepared, as he had repeatedly said and declared on oath, to assist him in every way whatsoever. Thus Sulla himself, adept as he was at seeing through the minds of men and reasoning out

471
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

μάτων συλλογίσασθαι, πάνυ ἐν τούτῳ διεσφάλη,
καὶ πόλεμον τῇ πόλει μέγαν κατέλυτεν.—
V. 102 (p. 642).

5 "Ὅτι Ὄκτανιος φύσει βραδὺς ἦν πρὸς τὰ
πολιτικά.—V. 103 (p. 642).

6 "Ὅτι οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τοῦ ἐμφυλίου πολέμου ἐνε-
στηκότος τὸν Μέτελλον μετεπέμψατο, κελεύ-
σαντες βοήθειν.—U² 24 (p. 386).

7 "Ὅτι οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι στασιάσαντες πρὸς ἀλλήλους
τὸν Μέτελλον μετεπέμψατο, κελεύσαντες αὐτῷ
πρὸς τοὺς Σαυνίτας, ὡς ποτ' ἄν δύνηται, συμ-
βῆναι· οὐτοὶ γὰρ ἔτη τότε μόνοι τὴν Κατανίαν
καὶ τὴν ἑπέκεινα αὐτῆς ἕκακούργουν. ὁ δὲ τού-
τοις οὐκ ἐσπείσατο· τὴν τε γὰρ πολιτείαν ἦξιον
οὐχ ἐαυτοῖς μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς θυτομοληκόσι
πρὸς σφᾶς δοθῆναι, καὶ οὕτε τὴν λείας ἢν
εἰχον ἀποδοῦναι ᾗ θέλον, καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους
τοὺς τε αὐτομόλους σφῶν πάντας ἀπότου, ὡστε
μὴ δὲ τοὺς βουλευτὰς τὴν εἰρήνην ἔτι τὴν πρὸς
αὐτοὺς ἑπὶ τούτοις ἐλέσθαι.—U² 9 (p. 385).

8 "Ὅτι ἐπειδὴ ὁ Κίννας τὸν νόμον τὸν περὶ τῆς
καθόδου τῶν φυγάδων ἀνενεώσατο, ὁ Μάριος οἱ
τε ἄλλοι οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ ἐκπεσόντες ἐσεπῆδησαν ἐς
τὴν πόλιν μετὰ τοῦ λοιποῦ στρατοῦ κατὰ πάσας
ἀμα τὰς πύλας, καὶ ἐκεῖνας τε ἐκλεισαν ὡστε
μὴ ἐνα διαδρᾶναι, καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἐνυγχα-
νοντάς σφιοι ἐξειργάσαντο, μὴ δένα αὐτῶν ἀπο-

1 ἀποδοῦναι Reim., ἀποδοθῆναι Mss.

472
the nature of things, made a grave mistake in the present instance and bequeathed a great war to the state.

Octavius was naturally slow in managing public business.

The Romans, when civil war broke out, sent for Metellus, urging him to help them.

The Romans, having become at odds with one another, sent for Metellus, bidding him come to terms with the Samnites as best he might; for at this time they alone were still ravaging Campania and the district beyond it. Nevertheless, he did not conclude a truce with them, since they demanded that citizenship be given not alone to themselves but also to those who had deserted to their side, refused to give up any of the booty which they had, and demanded back all the captives and deserters from their own ranks. As a result even the senators no longer chose to make peace with them on these terms.

When Cinna again brought forward the law regarding the return of the exiles, Marius and those who had been expelled with him rushed into the city with the rest of the army by all the gates at once; these they shut, so that no one could make his escape, and then slew every man they met, making no distinctions,
 Dio's Roman History

κρίνοντες, ἀλλὰ πᾶσιν αὐτοῖς ὀμοίως ὡς πολε- 
μίοις χρώμενοι. μάλιστα δὲ τοὺς τί ἐχοντας 
ἐπιθυμία χρημάτων ἐφθειρόν, καὶ τοὺς τε παίδας 
καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας σφων ὑβρίζουν, ὡσπερ τινὰ ἄλλο- 
τρίαν πόλειν ὑμηραποδισμένου. καὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς 
tῶν ἐλλογιμωτάτων ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα ἀνετίθεσαν. 
καὶ ἦν τὸ 1 θέαμα οὐδὲν τι τοῦ ὀλέθρου αὐτῶν 
πραότερον: τά τε γάρ ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ὅρῳς προσ- 
παρίστη νομίζειν ὅτι, ὡσα πολεμίων ἀκροστολίοις 
οἱ προπάτορές σφων ἐκεκοσμήκεσαν, ταῦτα τότε 
tαις τῶν πολιτῶν κεφαλαῖς ἀπεκκοσμεῖτο.

10 Τοσαύτη γὰρ ἐν λόγῳ ἦ τε ἐπιθυμία καὶ ἡ 
ἀπληστία τῶν φόνων τῶν Μάριον κατέσχεν 
όστε, ἐπειδὴ τὸ πλείστον τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀπεκτόνει 
καὶ οὐκέτ', οὐδεὶς ὁ ἐξολέσαι ἐγλίχετο ἐπὶ τῶν 
νοῦν ἄτε ἐν τοσαύτῃ ταραχῇ ἐπήει, σύνθεσα τοῖς 
στρατιώταις δοῦναι σφάττειν πάντας ἔξης οἷς ἀν 
tῶν προσιόντων μὴ ὀρέξῃ τὴν χειρα. πρὸς γὰρ 
tοῦτο τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων πράγματα ἀφίκετο ὡστε 
μὴ μόνον ἀκρίτως μηδ' ἀπ' ἐχθρὰς, ἀλλὰ καὶ 
πρὸς τὴν οὐκ ἐκτασίν τῆς ἐκείνου χειρὸς ἀπόλ- 
λυσθαι. καὶ (ὅτι γὰρ, ὡσπερ εἰκός, ἐν τε ὅχλῳ 
καὶ ἐν θορύβῳ τοσοῦτο οὐδ' αὐτῷ τῷ Μαρίῳ ἐπι- 
μελέσ, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ δυνατῶν οὐδ' εἰ πάνυ ἐβούλετο, 
κατὰ γνώμην τῇ χειρὶ χρῆσθαι) πολλοὶ κακ 
tούτον μᾶτην ἀπέθανον, οὗς οὐδαμῆς οὐδαμῶς 
ἀποκτεῖναι ἐδείτο. τὸ μὲν οὖν σύμπαν τῶν τότε 2

1 τὸ St., τὸ τε Ms. 2 τὸτε Rk., τε γὰρ Ms.

474
BOOKS XXX–XXXV

but treating them all alike as enemies. They took especial pains to destroy those who possessed any property, because they coveted wealth; and they abused the children and wives of the victims as if they had enslaved some foreign city. The heads of the most eminent citizens they fastened to the rostra, and that sight was no less cruel than had been their destruction; for, aside from other considerations, the thought might occur to the spectators that what their ancestors had graced with the ships’ beaks of the enemy was now being disgraced by the heads of the citizens.

For, in short, so great a desire and insatiable passion for slaughter possessed Marius that when he had killed most of his enemies and could no longer, because of the great confusion prevailing, think of anyone whom he wished to destroy, he gave the word to the soldiers to slay everyone in turn of the passers-by to whom he should not extend his hand. For Roman affairs had come to this, that a man had to die not only without trial and without having incurred enmity, but even for the mere reason that Marius did not stretch out his hand. Now naturally amid so great a throng and such confusion it was not only no object to Marius to make the gesture, but it was not even possible, however much he wished it, to use his hand as he pleased. Hence many died needlessly—men whose death he did not in the least desire. The total number of those who
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

ἀποθανόντων ἀνεξεύρετον ἐστὶν πέντε γὰρ ὅλαις ἡμέρας καὶ νυξὶν ἵσαις αἱ σφαγαὶ ἐγένοντο.—
V. 104 (p. 642).

11a Δίων λα' βιβλίῳ "κάνταυθα ἀπογνως μηδεν οἵ τῶν θεῶν ἐπαρκέσειν ἕαυτὸν διεχρήσατο."—

12 "Οτι θυόντων τῶν Ἑρωμαίων ἰσταμένου τοῦ ἔτους τὰ ἐσιτήρια, καὶ τῇ ἕγεμονίᾳ τὰς εὐχὰς
κατὰ τὰ πάτρια ποιουμένων, ο νίδας Μαρίων δήμαρχον τῶν αὐθεντίας ἀποκτείνας τὴν κεφαλὴν
αὐτοῦ τοῖς ὑπάτοις ἔπεμψε, καὶ ἄλλον ἀπὸ τοῦ Καπιτωλίου κατεκρήμνυσεν, ὡπερ οὐδεὶς ἄλλος ἔπετόνθει, καὶ δύο στρατηγοὺς καὶ πυρὸς καὶ ὕδατος εἰρήκεν.—V. 105 (p. 645).

104 "Οτι ὁ ὑποστράτηγος Φλάκκου Φιμβρίας 2 ἐς Βυζάντιον ἔλθοντι αὐτῷ ἐστασίασεν. ἦν γὰρ
ἐς πάντα δὴ τολμηρότατος καὶ προπετέστατος,
δόξης τε ὁποιασοῦν ἐραστής καὶ παντὸς τοῦ ἀμείνονος ὁλὸγροσ. ἐξὶ δὲν που καὶ τότε, ἄφ' ὁπερ ἀπήρεν ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥώμης, ἀρετὴν τε ἐς χρήματα καὶ σπουδὴν περὶ τοὺς στρατιῶτας προσποιησάμενος ἀνήρτησάτο τε αὐτοῦ καὶ τῷ
2 Φλάκκῳ συνεκρούσεν. ἦδυνήθη δὲ τοῦτο ποιήσαι,
ὅτι ἐκεῖνος χρημάτων τε ἀπληστὸς ἦν καὶ οὐκ ἡγάπα τὰ περιγυμνόμενα σφετεριζόμενος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς τῶν στρατιωτῶν τροφῆς, ἕκ

1 εὐχᾶς Rk., ἀρχὰς Ms.
2 Φιμβρίας Val., φιμβρίας Ms. (and so elsewhere, except § 6).

476
perished at this time is beyond finding out; for the slaughter continued through five whole days and an equal number of nights.

Dio, Book XXXI. "And then, despairing of receiving any help from the god, he made away with himself."

While the Romans were offering the usual sacrifice at the beginning of the new year and making their vows for their magistrates according to ancestral rites, the son of Marius slew a tribune with his own hands and sent his head to the consuls, hurled another from the Capitol—a fate which had never befallen such an official—and forbade two praetors the use of fire and water.

Fimbria, the lieutenant of Flaccus, revolted against his superior when the latter reached Byzantium. For he was in all matters very bold and headstrong, passionately fond of any notoriety whatsoever and contemptuous of all his superiors. This led him at that time, after his departure from Rome, to feign an incorruptibility in respect to money and a zeal for the soldiers, which bound them to him and set them at variance with Flaccus. He was able to accomplish this for the reason that Flaccus was insatiable in regard to money, not being content to appropriate what was left over, but enriching himself even from the soldiers' allowance for food and from the

1 Perhaps L. Cornelius Merula, the flamen Dialis.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

τε τῆς λείας, ἧν ἴδιαν ἑκάστοτε ἐνόμιζεν εἶναι, ἐχρηματίζετο.—V. 112 (p. 650).

3 Ὅτι ἐπειδή πρὸς τὸ Βυζάντιον ἀφίκοντο Φλάκκος καὶ Φιμβρίας, καὶ ὁ Φλάκκος ἔξω τοῦ τείχους αὐτοῦς αὐλίσασθαι κελεύσας ἐστὶν πόλιν ἔσηλθε, παραλαβὼν1 τούτο ὁ Φιμβρίας χρήματα τῆς αὐτῶν εἰληφέναι κατητριῶτε, καὶ διέβαλλε λέγων ὡς ἔκεινος μὲν ἔδοξεν τρυφήν,2 σφείς δὲ ὕπο σκηναῖς ἐν χειμώνι ταλαπωρῶντο. οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται ἐς τὸ ἄστυ θυμῶ ἔπεσον, καὶ τινας τῶν ἐμπεσόντων σφίασιν ἀποκτείναντας ἐς τᾶς ὁικίας ἐσκεδάσθησαν.—V. 113 (p. 650).

4 Ὅτι διαφοράς τινὸς τῷ Φιμβρία πρὸς τὸν ταμίαν γενομένης ἠπείλησεν αὐτῷ ὁ Φλάκκος ἅκοντα ἐς Ὁρῶν ἀποστέμψειν, λοιδορησάμενον τὸ τι διὰ τοῦτο αὐτῷ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἀφεῖλε τοῦ δὲ Φιμβρίας ἐς τὴν ἀποπορείαν δὴθεν ἐπαχθέ- στατα στειλάμενος πρὸς τοὺς στρατιῶτας τοὺς ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ἀφίκετο, καὶ ὡς ἐπὶ τῇ ἁφόδῳ αὐτοὺς ἢσπάζετο, γράμματα τῇ ἦτει, καὶ ἐαυτὸν 5 ὡς καὶ ἀνάξια πεπονθὼς ὀδύρετο· μεμνημέναι τῇ σφισὶ ἢν ὑποργήκει, καὶ φυλακὴν σφών ποιεῖσθαι, αἰνιττόμενος ἐς τὸν Φλάκκον ὡς καὶ ἐπιβουλεύσοντα αὐτοῖς, παρήκει. καὶ μαθὼν τὰ λεγόμενα δεχομένους καὶ ἐαυτῷ εὐνοιαν ἔχοντας καὶ ἐς ἔκεινον ὑποτεύοντας, ἀνέβη ἐπὶ μετέφρον καὶ προσπαρώξυνε σφας, ἀλλὰ τε τινα τοῦ

1 παραλαβὼν Βα., παραλαβὼν δὲ Ms.
2 τρυφή Gros., τρυφῶν Ms.

478
BOOKS XXX-XXXV

booty, which he invariably considered as belonging to him.

When Flaccus and Fimbria had arrived at Byzantium and Flaccus, after commanding them to encamp outside the wall, had gone into the city, Fimbria seized the occasion to accuse him of having taken money, and denounced him, declaring that he was living in luxury within, whereas they were enduring hardships under the shelter of tents, in storm and cold. The soldiers then angrily rushed into the city, killed some of those that fell upon them, and scattered to the various houses.

On the occasion of some dispute between Fimbria and the quaestor, Flaccus threatened to send him back to Rome, willing or not, and when the other consequently made some abusive reply, he deprived him of his command. Fimbria set out ostensibly upon his return to Rome with the worst possible will and upon reaching the soldiers at Byzantium greeted them as if he were on the point of departure, asked for letters, and lamented his fate, claiming to have suffered undeservedly. He urged them to remember the services he had done them and to be on their guard; this was a hidden reference to Flaccus, implying that he had designs upon them. And finding that they accepted his story and were well disposed toward him and suspicious of the general, he mounted an eminence and went on to arouse their anger by

479
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

Φλάκκου κατηγορήσας, καὶ ὅτι προδώσει αὐτοὺς ὕπο χρημάτων, ὥστε τοὺς στρατιώτας Θέρμων τῶν ἑπιτεταγμένων σφίσιν ἀπελάσαι.—V. 114 (p. 650).

6 "Ὅτι ὁ Φιμβρίας ἄνδρας πολλοὺς οὓς πρὸς τὸ δικαίωμα τοῦ Ὠρῆς συμφορώτατον, ἀλλὰ ὅργῃ καὶ ἐπιθυμίᾳ φόνων ἀπώλλυεν. τεκμήριον δὲ, σταυροῦσ ποτε πολλούς, οἷς προσδέων αὐτούς καὶ αἰκιζόμενος διεχρήτο, γενέσθαι προστάξας, ἔπειτ' ἐπείδη πολὺ πλείους τῶν θανατωθησομένων εὑρέθησαν ὄντες, ἐκέλευσεν ἐκ τῶν περιστηκότων τινὰς συλληφθῆναι καὶ πρὸς τοὺς λοιποὺς προσδέθηναι, ἦνα μὴ μάτην δόξω λαῖει γεγονέναι.—V. 115 (p. 653).

7 "Ὅτι ὁ αὐτὸς τὸ Ἰλιον λαβὼν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ὅσους ἡφυκήθη μηδενὸς φεισάμενος κατεχρήσατο, καὶ τὴν πόλιν πᾶσαν ὅλην κατέπρησεν. εἰλή δὲ αὐτοὺς οὐ κατὰ τὸ ἱσχυρόν, ἀλλ' ἀπατήσας· ἔσαυνον γὰρ τινὰ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τῇ προσβείᾳ τῇ πρὸς τὸν Σύλλαν πεμφθείσῃ ποιησάμενος, καὶ διαφέρειν μηδὲν ὁποτέρῳ ὕπερσεντα (ἀμφωτεροὺς γὰρ σφας Ὀμαῖοι εἶναι) εἰσέπν, ἔπειτα ὡς παρὰ φίλους αὐτοὺς ἐσῆλθε καὶ ἐξειργάσατο ταῦτα.—V. 116 (p. 653).

8 Ἐν δὲ λγ. βιβλίῳ (Δίων) "δι' οὖν ταῦτα ἐκεῖνοι τὸν μὲν ἄλλον χρόνον οὔτε τι προσπεποιεῖτο αὐτῶν . . . "—Bekk. Anecd. 165, 15.

1 φόνων Val., φόνων Ms. 2 ὁποτέρῳ Rk., ei ὁποτέρῳ Ms. 480
accusing Flaccus of various other faults, and finally charging that he was going to betray them for money; hence the soldiers drove away Thermus, who had been assigned to take charge of them.

Fimbria destroyed many men, not to serve the best ends of justice nor to secure the greatest benefit to Rome, but out of anger and lust of slaughter. Here is a proof. On one occasion he had ordered a large number of stakes to be prepared, to which he would then bind the condemned and flog them to death; and when these were found to be far in excess of the number who were to be put to death, he commanded some of the bystanders to be seized and bound to the extra stakes, that they might not seem to have been prepared in vain.

The same man on capturing Ilium slaughtered as many persons as he could, sparing none, and all but burned the whole city to the ground. And yet he had taken the place not by storm, but by guile. For after bestowing some praise on them for the embassy sent to Sulla and stating that it made no difference with which one of the two they came to terms, since he and Sulla were both Romans, he thereupon went in among them as among friends and did these deeds.

[Dio], Book XXXIII. "For this reason, then, he [Sulla?] had up to this time neither been laying claim to any of those . . ."
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

106 "Οτι ο Μέτελλος ύπο Κίννον ἠτηθεὶς ἐς τὸν Σύλλαν ἦκε καὶ πλεῖστα αὐτῷ συνήρατο. πρὸς γάρ τοι τὴν δόξαν τῆς τε δικαιοσύνης αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς εὐσεβείας οὐκ ὀλγού καὶ τῶν τάναντια τῷ Σύλλᾳ πραττόντων, νομίζαντες αὐτὸν οὐκ ἀκρίτως οἱ συνεῖναι ἄλλα τὰ τε δικαίωτερα καὶ τὰ τῇ πατρίδι συμφορώτερα ὅτις αἱρέσθαι, προσεχώρησαν σφίςι.—V. 117 (p. 653).

107 "Οτι ο Πομπήιος νίος ἦν τοῦ Στράβωνος, συνεκρίθη δὲ ύπὸ Πλούταρχου Ἀγνησιάρφ τῷ Δακηδαμονίῳ. ἀχθόμενος δὲ τοῖς τῆς πόλεος ἔχουσι ἐξωρμήθη ἐς τὸ Πικηνὸν αὐτὸς ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ, οὐδὲ ἐς ἄνδρας πω πάνυ τελών, καὶ παρ' ἐκεῖνων χεῖρά τινα διὰ 1 τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς ἡγεμονίας ἀδροίσας δυναστείαν ἰδιαν συνιστή, καὶ ζήθη ἐλλόγωμον τι πρᾶξαι καθ' ἑαυτόν καὶ τῷ Σύλλᾳ προσεχώρησε. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἀπὸ 2 τούτων ἀρξάμενος οὐδὲν μείων ἐκεῖνον ἐγένετο, ἀλλ' ὁσπερ που καὶ ἡ ἐπίκλησις αὐτῷ προσετέθη, μέγας νῦξήθη.—V. 118 (p. 653).

Δίων λγ' βιβλίῳ "καὶ γὰρ γελοιόν ἐστιν, ἐν Καμπανίᾳ τε αὐτοῦ ὄντος καὶ δυναμένου διὰ ταχέων ὅν αἰτίαν ἔχει λόγον ὑποσχεῖν, ἐμὲ ὑπερδικεῖν."—Bekk. Anecd. 177, 30.

Δίων λγ' βιβλίῳ "πῶς δ' ἂν τις πιστεύσειν αὐτῷ;"—Ib. 162, 19.

1 διὰ Rk., παρὰ Ms.
2 ἀπὸ supplied by Rk.
BOOKS XXX–XXXV

Metellus after being defeated by Cinna came to B.C. 83 Sulla, and was of the greatest assistance to him. For in view of his reputation for justice and filial devotion not a few of those even who were opposed to Sulla's policy decided that it was not without reason that Metellus was associating with him but that he was choosing what was really juster and more advantageous for the country, and hence they went over to that side.

Pompey was the son of Strabo, and has been compared by Plutarch with Agesilaus, the Lacedaemonian. Being angry with those who held the city, he proceeded on his own account to Picenum before he had quite yet come to man's estate, and thanks to his father's former rule there he gathered from the inhabitants a small band and set up a sovereignty of his own, thinking to perform some famous exploit by himself; then he joined Sulla. And from this beginning he became no less a man than his chief, but, even as his title indicates, grew to be Great.

Dio, Book XXXIII. "For it is ridiculous when he [Scipio?] is in Campania and able quickly to give his answer to the charges brought against him, for me to plead in his behalf."  

Dio, Book XXXIII. "But how could anyone believe him [Sulla?]"  

1 The reference to Plutarch is hardly by Dio, as he is not in the habit of naming his authorities. Cf. Fr. 40, 5.
2 von Gutschmid believes §§ 2 and 3 are from the speech of Sertorius to his troops in defence of Scipio. Cf. Appian, B.C. 1, 85.
"Οτι ο Σύλλας τὸ στράτευμα παρέδωκεν άνδρι μὴτ’ ἄλλως ἐπαινουμένῳ, καὶ πολλοὺς ἐκ τῶν ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς συγγενομένων οἱ ἔχων καὶ ἐμπειρίας καὶ πράξει προφέροντας, οἷς ἡπού καὶ ἐς ἐκεῖνο τοῦ χρόνου πρὸς πάντα τὰ ἀναγκαῖα ὡς καὶ πιστοτάτως ἐκέχρητο. καὶ πρὶν μὲν νικήσαι ἐδείτο τὸ αὐτῶν καὶ ταῖς ἀπ’ αὐτῶν ὠφέλιας ἀπεχρῆτο· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐγγυτέρω τῆς ἐπιτίδος τοῦ παντελῶς κρατῆσειν ἐγένετο, οὐδένα αὐτῶν ἐτι λόγον ἐποιεῖτο, τοῖς δὲ κακίστοις καὶ μήτε ἐν περιφανεῖᾳ γένους μὴτε ἐν δόξῃ ἀρετῆς οὕσι 2 μᾶλλον ἐπίστευσεν. αὐτῶν δὲ ὅτι τοὺς μὲν τοιούτους πρὸς πάντα αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ χείριστα ἔτοίμους ὅντας ὑποργεῖν ἔωρα, καὶ χάριν τε ἐαυτῷ πλείστην καὶ ἐλαχίστον τῶν τύχωσιν ὀφειλῆσειν, καὶ μήθ᾽ ὑπερφρονῆσειν ποτὲ μήτε τῶν ἐργῶν ἢ τῶν βουλευμάτων ἀντιποίησεσθαι 3 ἐνόμιζεν, τὸ δ’ ἀρετὴν ἔχον οὕτε συγκακουργεῖν οἱ ἐθελῆσειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐαυτῷ ἐπιτιμῆσειν, καὶ τὰ γέρα τῶν εὐεργετημάτων κατ’ ἄξιαν ἀπαιτῆσειν, καὶ μηδεμίαν χάριν ἐπ’ αὐτῶς ἀτε καὶ ὀφειλόμενα σφισὶ ἀπολαμβάνοντας ἔξειν, τὰς τε πράξεις καὶ τὰς συμβουλίας ὡς καὶ ἐαυτῶν οὕσι προσποιήσεσθαι.—V. 119 (p. 654).

1 The sentence is obviously incomplete. Reiske supplied μὴτ’ ἐν στρατηγίᾳ ("neither in generalship") before μὴτ', while Bs. assumes the loss of several words after ἐπαινουμένῳ.
2 οἷς Val., ὡς Ms.
3 ἀντιποίησεσθαι Val., ἀντιποίησασθαι Ms.
BOOKS XXX–XXXV

Sulla handed over the army to a man [Ofella] a.c. 82 commended [neither for his generalship nor] otherwise, in spite of the fact that he had many who had been with him from the beginning, superior in skill and experience, whom up to that time he had employed in all emergencies as being thoroughly reliable. Before his victory he had been accustomed to make requests of them and to avail himself freely of their services; but as he drew nearer to his dream of absolute power, he no longer took any account of them, but reposed his trust rather in the basest men, and in those who were neither conspicuous for their family nor possessed of a reputation for uprightness. The reason was that he saw that such persons were ready to assist him in all his projects, even the basest; and he thought they would be most grateful to him if they should obtain even the smallest favours, and moreover would never feel themselves his superiors nor lay claim to either his deeds or his plans. The virtuous element, on the other hand, would not be willing to help him in his evil-doing but would even rebuke him; they would demand rewards for benefits conferred, according to merit, would feel no gratitude for them but accept them as their due, and would claim his deeds and plans as their own.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

109 "Οτι ὁ Σύλλας νικήσας τοὺς Σαυνίτας μέχρι μὲν δὴ ὅπως τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης διαπρέπης ἦν, καὶ ὄνομα ἀπὸ τῶν στρατηγημάτων καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν βουλευμάτων μέγιστον ἔσχε, φιλανθρωπία τε καὶ εὐσεβεία πολὺ προέχειν ἔνομίζετο, ὡστε καὶ τὴν τύχην σύμμαχον ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρετῆς πάντας ἐξειν αὐτὸν ἕγεισθαι. μετὰ δὲ δὴ τούτο τοσαύτην μεταβολὴν ἐποιήσατο ὡστε μὴ ἄν ἕν τοῦ αὐτοῦ τινα φάναι ταύτα τε καὶ τὰ ἐπειτὰ εἶναι. οὕτως, ὡς ἐοικεν, οὐκ ἤγεγκεν έντυχήσας. καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνα ἀ ἐως ἁσθενῆς ἤν ἄλλοις ἑπεκάλει, καὶ ἐτερα πλεῖον καὶ ἀτοπώτερα ἐπραξε, βουλόμενος μὲν του καὶ ἀεὶ αὐτά, ἐλεγκθεὶς δὲ ἐν τῇ ἔξοντι. ἀφὶ οὔπερ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἐδοξῇ τισιν ἡ κακοπραγία μέρος οὐκ ἔλαχιστον ἐχειν τῆς ἀρετῆς.³

3 ο γὰρ Σύλλας ὡς τάχιστα ⁴ τῶν Σαυνιτῶν ἐκράτησε καὶ τέλος τῷ πολέμῳ ἐπιτεθεικέναι ἐνόμισε (τὰ γὰρ δὴ λοιπὰ ἐν οὔδειν λόγῳ ἐποιεῖτο), μετεβάλετο, καὶ ἐαυτὸν μὲν ἔξω τε τῶν τειχῶν τρόπου τινὰ καὶ ἐν τῇ μάχῃ κατέλιπεν, τὸν δὲ δὴ Κίνναν καὶ τὸν Μάριον τοὺς τε ᾽αλλοὺς τοὺς μετ’ αὐτὸν γενομένους πάντας ἀμα υπερέβαλεν. οᾶσα γὰρ μηδένα τῶν ὅμων τῶν ὅθεν ἁντιπολεμησάντων οἱ ἐδρασε, ταύτα τὸτε τὴν πατρίδα καθάπερ καὶ ⁴ ἐκείνῃ οὐκήσας ἐξειργάσατο. τούτῳ μὲν γὰρ ἄθη-

¹ μηδ’ ἐν Bk., μηδὲ Ms. ⁡ ² ὡς supplied by Val.
³ τῆς ἀρετῆς supplied by Cary, τῆς ἀρετῆς αὐτοῦ Bs.
⁴ ὡς τάχιστα Dind., τάχιστα ὡς Ms.
⁵ τοὺς τε supplied by Bs., space of some six letters in Ms.
Sulla up to the day that he conquered the Samnites had been a conspicuous figure, possessing the greatest renown for his generalship and his plans, and was believed to be a very superior man both in humaneness and piety, so that all believed he had Fortune as an ally because of his excellence. But after this event he changed so much that one would not say his earlier and his later deeds were those of the same person. Thus it would appear that he could not endure good fortune. For he now committed acts which he had censured in other persons while he was still weak, and a great many others still more outrageous. He had doubtless always desired to act thus, but revealed himself only in the day of his power. This fact produced a strong conviction in the minds of some that adversity has not a little to do with virtue. Thus Sulla, as soon as he had conquered the Samnites and thought he had put an end to the war,—for he considered the rest as of no account,—changed his course, and leaving behind his former self, as it were, outside the wall on the field of battle, proceeded to outdo Cinna and Marius and all their successors combined. Treatment that he had accorded to none of the foreign peoples who had opposed him he bestowed upon his native land, as if he had actually subdued that also. In the first place,
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

μερόν τάς κεφαλὰς τοῦ τε Δαμασίππου καὶ τῶν συνεξετασθέντων αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸ Πραινέστε πέμψας ἀνεσκολόπισε, καὶ τῶν παραδόντων σφᾶς ἔθελον τὰς συχνοὺς ὡς καὶ ἄκοντας ἕλων ἀπέκτεινεν. 5 καὶ τῆς ύστεραίας τοῖς τε βουλευταῖς ἐς τὸ Ἔννειον, ωσ καὶ ἀπολογιούμενος τι αὐτοῖς, καὶ τῶν ξωγηθεὶσι ἐς τὸν ἁγρόν τοῦ δημόσιου καλούμενον ὡς καὶ ἐς τὸν κατάλογον αὐτοὺς ἑσγράψων συνελθέον κελεύσας, τούτους ἁμα δι' ἐτέρων ἐφόνευσε (καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἀνθρώπων ἀναμε- χθέντες σφίσι παραπώλουντο), καὶ ἐκεῖνοι αὐτὸς 2 πικρότατα διελέξατο.—V. 120 (p. 654).

6 ὁ φόνος τῶν ἐαλωκότων καὶ τότε οὐδὲν ἦττον ὑπὸ τοῦ Σύλλου ἑγίγνετο, καὶ αὐτῶν ἄτε ἐγγὺς τοῦ ναοῦ θυσικότων πολὺς μὲν θόρυβος πολὺς δὲ καὶ θρήνος οἰμογαί τε καὶ ὀδυρμοί ἐς τὸ συνέδριον ἐσέπιπτον, 3 ὡστε τὴν γερουσίαν ἄμφο- τέρωθεν ἐκταράττεθαι. καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ πόρρω ἔτι τοῦ τι καὶ αὐτοὶ δεινὸν πείσεθαι προσδοκαίν ἦσαν, οὕτως ἀνόσια αὐτοῦ καὶ λέγουτος ἁμα καὶ πράττοντος. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πολλοὶ, ἄτε ἐπ' ἄμφω- τέρως έν ταύτῃ περιαλγοῦντες, ἑπεθύμουν τῶν ἔξω καὶ αὐτοὶ τῶν ἕδη ἀπολλυμένων εἶναι, ἢν 8 παύσωνται ποτε φοβούμενοι. ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ μὲν

1 ἀπολογιούμενος Bk., ἀπολογοῦμενός Ms.
2 αὐτὸς Rk., αὐτοῖς Ms.
3 ἐσέπιπτον Bk., συνέπιπτον Ms.

488
he promptly sent the heads of Damasippus and his followers to Praeneste and had them stuck on poles; and many of those who voluntarily surrendered he killed as if he had captured them without their consent. The next day he ordered the senators to assemble at the temple of Bellona, as if he were going to make some defence of his conduct, and ordered the captives to meet at the so-called "public field," as if he would enroll them in the lists; and while these were slain by others at his command (and there perished along with them many persons from the city who were mixed in among them), he himself addressed a very bitter speech to the senators.

The massacre of the prisoners was going on just the same even then under Sulla's direction, and as they were being killed near the temple, the great uproar and lamentation that they made, their cries and wails, invaded the senate-house. Thus the senators were doubly alarmed; for they had now about come to the point of expecting that they themselves, too, would suffer some terrible fate, so unholy were both his words and his deeds. Therefore many, tortured by this twofold anguish, were wishing that they themselves belonged to the number of men already perishing outside, in order that they might gain respite at last from fear. Their fate, however, was postponed,

1 The *villa publica*.  

489
DIO’S ROMAN HISTORY

ἀνεβεβλητο, οί δ’ ἄλλοι κατεσφάγησαν καὶ ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἐρρίφησαν, ὥστε τὸ τοῦ Μιθριδάτου πολὺ δεινὸν νομισθὲν, ὅτι ποτὲ πάντας τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ἑσσὲ Ρωμαίους ἐν μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ ἀπέκτεινεν, ἐν βραχεὶ πρὸς τὸ 1 πλῆθος καὶ πρὸς τὸν τρόπον τῶν τότε φονευθέντων νομισθήναι. οὐδὲ ἐν- ταῦθα τὸ δεινὸν ἔστη, ἀλλ' ὀσπερ ἀπὸ φυ- κτωρίας τίνος ἐκείθεν αἱ σφαγαὶ ἀρξάμεναι καὶ ἐν τῷ ἀστεί καὶ ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ταῖς τε πόλεσι ταῖς ἐν τῇ Ἑσσῇ πάσαις ἐγένοντο. πολλοὺς μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸς ὁ Σύλλας, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ ὁ ἑταῖροι αὐτοῦ, οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ ἄληθείας, οἱ δὲ καὶ προσποιούμενοι, ἐμίσουν, ὅπως ἐκ τῆς τῶν ἔργων ὀμοιότητος τὸ τε ὀμόθεσι οἱ ἐνδεικνύοντες καὶ τὴν φιλίαν βεβαιώντες, μὴ 2 ἐκ τοῦ διαφόρου αὐτὸς 3 ὑποπτευ- θῶς τε 4 καταγγέλωσεν τι αὐτοῦ καὶ διὰ τούτο 10 κινδυνεύσωσιν. ἐσφαζον δὲ καὶ ὅσους πλου- τοῦντας ἢ καὶ ἄλλοις πὼς ὑπερέχοντας σφών ἐώρων, τοὺς μὲν φθόνῳ, τοὺς δὲ διὰ τὰ χρήματα· πλεῖστοι γὰρ ἐν τῷ τοιοῦτῳ καὶ τῶν μέσων, καὶ μηδετέρως συναίρονται . . . , 5 ἵδιον τι ἔγκλημα τὸ κατ' ἄρετὴν ἢ καὶ γένει πλούτῳ τέ τινος προέχειν λαμβάνοντες. καὶ ἀσφάλεια συνεμεία οὐδενὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐν κράτει τινὶ ἄδικεῖν βουλο- μένους εὑρίσκετο.—V. 121 (p. 657).

1 τὸ supplied by Rk.  2 μὴ supplied by Val.  3 αὐτῷ Rk., αὐτῶν Ms.  4 τε Rk., τε καὶ Ms.  5 μηδετέρως συναίρωνται . . . Bs., μηδὲ ετέρας εἰς συναίρωντες Ms. 490
while the rest were slaughtered and thrown into the river, so that the deed of Mithridates, deemed so terrible, in slaughtering all the Romans in Asia in one day, was regarded as of slight importance in comparison with the number now massacred and their manner of death. Nor did the horror stop here, but the massacres which began at this point, as if by a kind of signal, occurred in the country and in all the cities of Italy, as well as in the capital. Many, of course, were objects of Sulla's hatred, many also of that of his followers; but, while with some this hatred was genuine, with others it was a mere pretence. They wished to show that they were like him by doing like deeds, and so strengthen their place in his friendship; thus they would not, by reason of any dissimilarity, be suspected of disapproving some of his deeds, and so incur danger. They proceeded to murder all whom they saw to surpass them either in wealth or in any other respect, some out of envy and others on account of their possessions. For under such conditions many neutral persons even, though they may take neither side, become the objects of some private complaint, as surpassing someone in excellence or wealth and family, [and so perish?]. No safety was to be found for any one against those possessing any power who wished to commit injustice.
11 "Oti toiauta symphorai twn 'Rwmwn periésxov. tì gar an tis tas twn xóntwn ùbreis légoi, al pollai men peri tas xunaiakas, pollai de peri tois paìdas tois eugenestátous kai ëlllogimw- tátous katháper aíxmalwton éngynontos; ou mìn allà ékeína, kai òper xaléspása ónta, tì ògon ómóiotróphi toùn ëdhe sphi ki xumbèbhektwn oísta

12 tois ge ëketois toúnton òdsw ëdókei eiwn. òws de oík ëxírkei to Øllla, ouù ëgëpta ta aúta ëtérwos drwv, allà tis aútì póthos ësghe kai en tì polutropia twn fónou polw pántwn peri- eína, òwser tina ñrèthn òdswan ton òmgë en taìs muìfôniai tìnd ëttásthai, tìna kainóita ëxe- ðhke xaleukowménon pínaka, ës òn eñegrafhe ta

13 ónòmata. ou méntoi ge ëttoun pánta òsia kai peri ënguneto,1 ouðè en to òsphalei òi mì ës tì xaleukowmata ëngegramménoi ësan. pollloi men gar oi mìn xòntes oi de kai teðvnikêtes en' òdeía twn àpoktevnántwn sfásí proswenegráknon, òswte en toútov òmgën dievegkei tôn prágma, tì te deinvóteti tì te xalópía aútoù páwn pántas xalepandhînai.

14 tì te gar xunákia òwser tis ãnagrfh béoulw- twn ë katálwgos stratwonton novmèmenvon ëxetì- ÷heto, kai svnëtheou en' aúta pántes òi òel ëpari- óntes2 spoudh, katháper tìnad ñrìssthn ëpaneggélvan ëxonta. kai pollloi men xunagvnesís, ëdhe de òines kai

1 ënguneto Val., ãgynetai Ms. 2 ëpari-óntes Bk., ãpari-óntes Ms.
BOOKS XXX–XXXV

Such calamities encompassed Rome. But why narrate the outrages offered to the living, in many cases to women, and in many to the noblest and most distinguished boys, as if they were captives taken in war? Nevertheless, these deeds, though most distressing, still by reason of their similarity to others previously experienced seemed endurable to such persons at least as were not involved in them. But Sulla was not satisfied, nor was he content to do the same as others; a certain longing came over him to go far beyond all others in the variety also of his murders, as if there were some virtue in being excelled by none even in blood-guiltiness. Accordingly he brought forward a new device, a whitened tablet, on which he inscribed the names. Nevertheless everything went on as before, and not even those whose names were not inscribed on the tablets were safe. For the names of many, some living and others actually dead, were added to the lists so that the slayers might gain immunity; thus in this respect the procedure marked no new departure, yet equally by its terror and by its strangeness it angered absolutely every one. The tablets were exposed like some register of senators or list of approved soldiers, and all those passing by from time to time would rush up eagerly to it in crowds, just as if it contained some favourable announcement; then many would find

493
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

έαυτος εὐρισκὼν ἐγγεγραμμένος, κάκ τούτον τὸ πάθος οἰα ἐξαιτιναίρω κακῷ φοβερότερον σφας κατελάμβανεν καὶ συχνὸι καὶ ἀπὶ αὐτοῦ τούτον 15 γνωρίζομεν διώλλυντο. καὶ ἢν οὐδενὶ ἐξώ τῶν ἐκ τῆς ἐταιρείας ἀσφαλεῖς οὔδέν. εἴτε γὰρ προσίοι τις τοῖς 3 λευκόμασιν, αἰτίαν ὡς καὶ πολυπραγ- μονῶν τι εἶχεν, εἴτε μὴ προσίοι, δυσχεραίνειν ἔδοκει. καὶ ὃς τε ἀναλεγόμενος ἢ καὶ ἑπερωτῶν τινα τὰ ἐγγεγραμμένα ὑπόπτος, ὃς καὶ περὶ ἑαυτοῦ τι τῶν τε ἑταίρων ζητῶν, ἐγώ, καὶ ὁ μὴ ἀναγιγνώσκων μηδὲ πυνθανόμενος ἀχθεσθαί 16 τοῖς ὑπωπτεύετο καὶ διὰ τούτο καὶ ἐμισεῖτο. τὸ τε δακρύσαι ἢ καὶ γελάσαι θανάσιμον τὸ παραχρῆμα ἐγώ, καὶ διὰ τούτο καὶ πολλοὶ, οὐχ ὅτι καὶ εἰπόν τι ἢ καὶ ἑπράξαν ὃν ἀπείρητο, ἀλλὰ ὅτι καὶ ἐσκυθρόπτασαν ἢ καὶ ἐμειδίσασαν, ἐφθείροντο. οὕτω καὶ τὰ σχῆματα αὐτῶν ἀκρι- βῶς ἔτηρείτο, καὶ οὐκ ἐξῆν οὐδενὶ οὔτε ἐπὶ φίλῳ ὁδύρασθαι οὔτε ἐπὶ ἕχθρῳ ἐφησθήναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ 17 ἐκεῖνοι ὡς καὶ χλευάζοντές τινα ἐσφάζοντο. καὶ προσέτι καὶ αἰ 5 ἐπικλήσεις συχνοὶ πράγματα παρεῖχον ἀγνοοῦντες γάρ τινας τοὺς ἐπικεκρηγμένους ἐπὶ πάντας οὕς ἐβούλοντο τὰς ἐπωνυμίας αὐτῶν ἦγον, καὶ πολλοὶ διὰ τούτων ἀνθ' ἑτέρων ἀπέθανον. ὥστε καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ταραχῆ, τῶν

1 ἐγγεγραμμένος Polak, ἐγγεγραμμένος κτείνεσθαι Ms.
2 φοβερότερον Kuiper, φοβερόν Ms.
3 τοῖς added by Bk. 
4 φίλῳ Rk., φίλων Ms.
5 αἰ added by Rk.

494
relatives' names inscribed, and some, indeed, their own, whereupon their fate, because of the suddenness of the calamity, became the more terrible, and many of them, making themselves known by their very behaviour, perished. There was no safety at all for any one outside of Sulla's circle. For if a man approached the tablets, he incurred censure as a busybody, whereas, if he failed to approach, he was regarded as a malcontent. The man who read the list or asked any one a question about what was written there became suspected of enquiring about himself or his companions, and the one who did not read or enquire was suspected of being displeased at it and for that reason incurred hatred. Tears or laughter proved fatal on the spot; hence many were destroyed, not because they had said or done anything forbidden, but because they either frowned or smiled. So carefully were their attitudes observed; and it was permitted to no one either to mourn over a friend or to exult over an enemy, but even these were slain on the ground that they were jeering at somebody. Furthermore many found trouble in their very names: for some who were unacquainted with the proscribed applied their names to whomsoever they pleased, and thus many perished in the place of others. This resulted in
 Dio's Roman History

μὲν ὡς ποτὲ ἐβούλοντο τὸν προστυχόντα ὀνομαζόντων, τῶν δὲ ἀρνούμενων μὴ οὗτω καλεί-θαι, γίγνεσθαι. ἐφονεύοντο δὲ ὦ μὲν ἀγνοοῦντες ὅτι τελευτήσουσιν, οἱ δὲ καὶ προειδότες, πανταχοῦ ὁποτερ ἐτύγχανον ὄντες· καὶ οὐδὲν ἦν αὐτοῖς χωρίον, οὐχ ὤσιον, οὐχ ἵερόν, οὐτ' ἀσφαλές οὔτ' ἀσυλον. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἐξαίφνης, πρὶν μαθεῖν τὴν ἐπικρεμαμένην συμφοράν, ἢ καὶ ἀμα τῇ πῦστει αὐτῆς, διαφθειρόμενοι τῇ γοῦν εὐτυχία·

τῆς μὴ προεκφοβήσεως ἐπεκουφίζοντο· οἱ δὲ δὴ προαισθόμενοι τοῦ δεινοῦ καὶ κατακρυπτόμενοι χαλεπώτατα ἀπῆλλασσον· οὔτε γὰρ ἀποχρῆσαι μὴ φοράθειν ἐτόλμωσον, οὔτ' αὖ κατὰ χώραν μένειν μὴ καὶ προδοθεῖν ὑπέμενον. πλείστοι δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν συνώντων καὶ φιλτάτων σφίζει προεδό-θησαν καὶ ἀπώλοντο. κάκ τούτου τῇ προσδοκίᾳ τοῦ ἀεὶ τῶν θάνατον προσδέχεσθαι οὐχ ὅτι οἱ ἐς τὰ πινάκια ἐγγεγραμμένοι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ ὀμοίως ἐπασχον.—V. 122 (p. 658).

"Οτα πάντων τῶν σφαξομένων ὑποδόν αἱ κεφαλαὶ ἐς τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀγορὰν ἐκομίζοντο καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ βίηματος ἐξετίθεντο, ὥστε ὅσα περὶ τᾶς προγραφᾶς συνεβαινεν, ταῦτα καὶ περὶ ἕκεινας γίγνεσθαι.—V. 123 (p. 662).

1 τῶν προστυχόντα Rk., τῶν προστυχόντων Ms.
2 ὁποτερ ἐτύγχανον Val., ὁποτ οἰκείως Val., ἀκούγεται Ms.
3 εὐτυχία Val., ἀτυχία Ms.
4 οὔτε Bk., οὔ Ms.
5 μὴ καὶ Val., καὶ μὴ Ms.
6 τοῦ Bs., τὸ Ms.
7 οὐχ οὔτε Bs., οὔτε οὐχ Ms.
great confusion, since some would apply to any they met whatever names they pleased, and the others would deny that these were their names. Some were murdered while still ignorant of the fact that they were to die, and others, who knew it in advance, were slain anywhere that they happened to be; no place, either profane or sacred, was safe or inviolate for them. Some, to be sure, by perishing suddenly before learning of the catastrophe hanging over them, or indeed at the very moment of receiving the news, were fortunate in being relieved of the terror preceding death; but those who learned of their danger in advance and hid themselves were in a wretched plight. They neither dared to withdraw, for fear of being detected, nor could they endure to remain where they were for fear of betrayal. Very many of them were actually betrayed by their associates and those dearest to them, and so perished. Consequently, as a result of this state of constant expectation of death, not only those whose names were inscribed suffered, but the rest also in equal measure.

The heads of all those slaughtered in whatever place were brought to the Roman Forum and exposed on the rostra, so that the same scenes were being enacted around them as around the proscription lists.
"Ότι τῶν Κρητῶν πρεσβευσαμένων πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, καὶ ἐλπιζόντων τὰς τε παλαιὰς σπον-δὰς ἀνανεώσεσθαι καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἐνεργείαν τῆς τοῦ ταμίου τῶν τε συστρατιωτῶν αὐτοῦ σω-τηρίας εὑρήσεσθαι, οὕτω ὅργην μᾶλλον ὅτι μὴ ἐάλωσαν λαβόντες ἢ χάριν αὐτοῖς ὅτι μὴ ἔκεινος ἐφθείραν γνώντες, οὕτ' ἄλλως μέτριον τι ἀπεκρί-ναντο, καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους τοὺς τε αὐτομόλους ἀπαντας παρ’ αὐτῶν ἀπήτησαν. καὶ ὅμηρους χρήματα τε πολλὰ αἰτήσαντες, τὰς τε ναῦς τὰς μείζους καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας τοὺς κορυφαίους ἑξαίτη-σαντες, οὐκ ἀνέμειναν τὴν οἴκοθεν αὐτῶν ἀπό-κρισιν, ἀλλὰ τῶν ὑπάτων αὐτίκα τὸν ἔτερον ταύτα τε ληφόμενον καὶ πολεμήσοντα σφίσιν, δι’ ἕκατον, ὁσπερ οὐκ ἐμελλοῦν, ἐξέπεμψαν· οἱ γὰρ ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς, πρὶν αἰτηθῆναι τι τοιοῦτο καὶ κρα-τῆσαι, μὴ θελήσαντες ὁμολογήσαι πῶς ἄν μετὰ τὴν νίκην τοσαύτα τε ἁμα καὶ τοιαύτα προστατ-τόμενοι ἤγεγκαν; τούτο τε ὅσιον σαφώς εἰδότες, καὶ προσυπποτεύσαντες τοὺς πρέσβεις ἐπιχει-ρήσειν τινάς, ἢς καὶ κωλύσωτας τὴν στρατείαν, διαφθείραι χρήμασιν, ἐξηφίσαντο ἐν τῇ βουλῇ μηδένα αὐτοῖς μηδὲν δανείσαι.—U 29 (p. 388). Ἐν λε’ βιβλίῳ (Δίων) "ἡ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἠμῶν προσποιήσαι." —Bekk. Anecd. 165, 18.

1 ἀνανεῶσεσθαὶ Leuncl., ἀνανεῶσασθαί Mss.
2 αὐτοῦ Be., αὐτῶν Mss. 3 ἐμελλοῦν Urs., ἐμελλέν Mss.
4 οἱ Urs., ς Mss. 5 σαφῶς Leuncl., σφάς Mss.
6 διαφθείραι Rk., διαφθαρῆναι and διαφθαρῆσαι Mss.
BOOKS XXX–XXXV

The Cretans sent an embassy to the Romans, hoping b.c. 70 to renew the old treaty and furthermore to obtain some kindness in return for saving the quaestor and his soldiers. But the Romans, possessed rather with anger at their failure to subdue the Cretans than with gratitude to them for not destroying their men, returned no mild answer, but among other things demanded back from them all the captives and deserters. They also demanded hostages and large sums of money, required the larger ships and the chief men to be given up, and would not wait for an answer from the envoys’ country, but sent out one of the consuls immediately to take over the things surrendered and to make war upon them if they failed to give them up—as proved to be the case. For why should these men, who had refused to make terms in the beginning, before any such demand had been made and before they had conquered, now submit, after their victory, to demands of such a nature? The Romans, clearly realizing this fact and suspecting, furthermore, that the envoys would try to corrupt some persons with money, so as to hinder the expedition, voted in the senate that no one should lend them anything.

[Dio,] Book XXXV. “Or to assist our enemies.”
FRAGMENTS OF UNCERTAIN REFERENCE

Δίων ἐν Ἡρωμαῖκῇ ἱστορίᾳ

ὁλίγα μὲν γὰρ καὶ
tὰ κοινοτάτα τῶν πλοίων πρὸς τῇ γῇ ὀρμεύ. τὰ
dὲ ἐν πλείω καὶ μεῖζον μετέωρα διὰ τὰ τενάγη
ὑπεσαλευεν.—Etym. Magn., Photius and Suidas
s.v. ἑσάλευε, Suidas s.v. τενάγη, Apostol.

Tzetzes in Lycophr. Alex. 44.

Αὐσονία δὲ κυρίως, ὡς Δίων γράφει ὁ Κοκκει-
ανός, ἢ τῶν Αὐρούγκων γῆ μόνη λέγεται, μέσων
Καμπανῶν καὶ Οὐόλκων παρὰ θάλασσαν κει-
μένη, συχνόν δὲ μέχρι τοῦ Λατίου Αὐσονίαν
εἶναι ἐνόμισαν, ὡστε καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν Ἡταλίαν
απ’ αὐτὴς...

Tzetzes in Lycophr. Alex. 615.

Αὐσονίας γὰρ κυρίως, ὡσπερ καὶ περὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς
ἐιπον, οἱ Αὐρούγκοι λέγουται μέσων Καμπανῶν
καὶ Οὐόλκων κεῖμενοι: οἱ δὲ μέχρι Λατίου
Αὐσονίαν ἐνόμισαν εἰναι, ὡστε ἐκ τοῦτου τινὲς
καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν Ἡταλίαν φασίν.

2 The text is that of Scheer in his edition of the scholia
(1908).

500
FRAGMENTS OF UNCERTAIN REFERENCE

Dio, Roman History. "A few of the lightest boats were moored inshore; but most of them, being larger, rode at anchor in the open sea because of the shoals."

Tzetzes in Lycophr. Alex. 44.

The name Ausonia, according to Dio Cocceianus, is properly applied only to the land of the Aurunci, situated on the coast between the Campanians and Volsci. Yet many have supposed that Ausonia extended up to Latium, so that from it all Italy was called Ausonia.

Tzetzes in Lycophr. Alex. 615.

The name Ausonians, as I wrote near the beginning, is properly applied to the Aurunci situated between the Campanians and Volsci. Yet some have supposed that Ausonia extended up to Latium, so that from this circumstance some say that it was the whole of Italy.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

(1) Δίων "ευεργεσίαν¹ ὑμῖν² ὀφειλήσει."—Bekk. Anecd. 160, 17.

(2) Παρὰ Δίωνι "οὐκονον οὐδ' ἀρχοντες πρὶν διανομοθετήσαμεν περὶ ³ αὐτῶν ὑπομάζοντο."—
   Ibid. p. 164, 11.

(3) Δίων "οὔχ ὅπως ἐπεισδήσαν αὐτοῦ."—Ibid.
   p. 164, 23.

(4) Δίωνος ιθ' βιβλίῳ "καὶ τοὺς τε ἀντεπεξελθόντας οἱ ἀνέκοψαν."—Ibid. p. 124, 7.

(5) Δίων ιθ' βιβλίῳ "Ταραντίνοι μὲν οὖν οὐδὲν οὐδὲ ἐκείνου προτιμήσαντες."—Ibid. p. 165, 21.

(6) Δίων ιθ' βιβλίῳ "μᾶς καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ προσκατεργάσασθαι."—Ibid. p. 166, 11.

(7) Δίων καθ' βιβλίῳ "διν τὰ μὲν βία ἤρει, τὰ δὲ καὶ ὁμολογία παρίστατο."—Ibid. p. 166, 5.

(8) Δίων ἰδ' βιβλίῳ "ἐφ' ὃ καὶ τὴν τε χῶραν σφῶν παντελῶς ἐκλίπωσιν."—Ibid. p. 140, 17.

(9) Δίων ἰδ' μυς' βιβλίῳ "καὶ οἱ ἐπτηποι τοῖς στρατιώταις ἱπούργησαν."—Ibid. p. 117, 32.

110, 1 Άδυνατον γὰρ ἐστὶ τάναντια τινὰ τοῖς ὁρθῶς ἔχουσι πράττοντα καὶ ἀγαθῶν τινὸς ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀπολαύσαι.—Max. Conf. Flor. f. 7r = M. p. 562.

2 Οὐ γὰρ αἱ ἐπικλῆσεις καὶ τοὺς τρόπους τῶν ἀνθρώπων μεταβάλλουσιν, ἀλλ' ὅπως ἄν τις τὰ

¹ εὐεργεσίαν Dind., εὐεργεσίαν Ms. ² ὑμῖν Bk., ὑμῶν Ms.
³ perì supplied by Cary. ⁴ τοῖς Mai, τοῖς οὖν Ms.
FRAGMENTS OF UNCERTAIN REFERENCE

(1) Dio: "He will owe you kindness."
(2) In Dio: "Hence they were not even styled magistrates until the law\(^1\) had been passed concerning them(?)"
(3) Dio: "Not only did they fail to obey him."
(4) Dio, Book XIX. "And they drove back those who made a sortie against him."
(5) Dio, Book XIX. "The Tarentines, accordingly, paying no heed even to him(?)"
(6) Dio, Book XIX. "Easier to accomplish(?) the rest also."
(7) Dio, Book XXII. "Of which he took some by force, and gained others by capitulation."
(8) Dio, Book L.\(^2\) "On condition that they quit their country entirely."
(9) Dio, Book XLVI.\(^2\) "And the horses were of service to the soldiers."

It is impossible for any one who acts contrary to right principles to derive any benefit from them.

For titles do not change the characters of men, but one makes titles take on new meanings according

\(^1\) The *lex curiata de imperio*.
\(^2\) These numbers are certainly corrupt.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

πράγματα μεταχειρίζεται, τοιαύτας καὶ ἐκεῖνας
δοκεῖν εἶναι πολλοὶ καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν μοναρχοῦντες ἀγαθῶν αἰτίου τοῖς ἀρχομένοις γίγνονται,
διὸ καὶ βασιλεῖα τὸ τοιοῦτον ὄνομαζεται, πολλοὶ
δὲ δημοκρατοῦμενοι μυρία κακὰς αὐτοὺς ἔργαζονται.—Max. Conf. Flor. f. 50r = M. p. 556.

3 Πέφυκεν γὰρ ὡς ἀεὶ πρὸς τὰς γνώμας τῶν ἀρχόντων τυποῦσθαι καὶ τὸ ὑποχείριον.—Max.
Conf. Flor. f. 51r = M. p. 560.

4 Οὐδὲν γὰρ καὶ στράτευμα καὶ τάλλα πάντα
όσα ἀρχῆς τῖνος δεῖται οὕτως οὕτως οὕτε ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον
οὕτε ἐπὶ τὸ κρείττον προὰγει ὡς ὁ τε πρόπος καὶ
ἡ δίαιτα τοῦ ἐπιστατοῦντος αὐτῶν πρὸς γὰρ τὰς
γνώμας τὰς τε πράξεις τῶν ἡγουμένων σφίσιν οἱ
πολλοὶ ἐξομοιοῦνται, καὶ ὅποιαν ἄν ἐκείνους
δρόμοντας ἴδωσι, τοιαύτα καὶ αὐτοὶ, οἱ μὲν ὡς
ἀληθῶς, οἱ δὲ καὶ προσποιούμενοι, πράττουσιν.—
Max. Conf. Flor. f. 51r = M. p. 556.

5 Φιλεῖ πως λυπεῖν μᾶλλον τινας τῶν μὴ προσ-
δοκηθέντων ἀρχῆν ὡσα ἃν ἐν ἑλπίδι γενόμενα
διαπέσῃ τὰ μὲν γὰρ πόρρω σφῶν νομίζουσιν
εἶναι ἥττον αὐτῶν ὡς καὶ ἀλλοτρίων ἐφίεναι,
tῶν δὲ ἐγγὺς ἐλθόντες ἄχθονται ὡς καὶ σικεῖων

6 Πολλῷ κρείττον ἄρτι κατορθώσαντας τῷ ἐξο-
τυπηθῆναι ἡ πταίσαντας ἔλεηθῆναι.—M. p. 558.

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1 τοιαύτας καὶ ἐκεῖνας Bk., τοιαύτα καὶ ἐκεῖνα MSS.
2 αὐτοὺς Dind., αὐτοῖς and αὐτοῖς MSS.
3 οὕτως inserted by Bs.
FRAGMENTS OF UNCERTAIN REFERENCE

to one's management of affairs. Many monarchs are the source of blessings to their subjects, whence such a state is called a kingdom; whereas many who live under a democracy work innumerable evils to themselves.

The subject class is wont ever to shape itself according to the opinions of its rulers.

For nothing leads on an army, or anything else requiring some control, to better or worse like the character and habits of the person presiding over it. The majority naturally imitate the opinions and deeds of their leaders, and do whatever they see them doing, some from real inclination and others as a mere pretence.

Hopes that come to nothing are somehow wont to grieve some people more than the loss of things never expected at all. For they regard the latter objects as remote and so covet them less, as if they belonged to others; whereas, after coming very near to the former, they are grieved as if deprived of their rightful possessions.

It is much better to win some success and be envied than to fail and be pitied.
INDEX TO VOLUMES I. AND II.

Note.—M'. = Manlius. M. = Marcus. Dates are all B.C.

Abelux, a Spaniard, II. 131
Aborigines, the, I. 3
Acarnanians, the, II. 293
Acerae, town in Campania, II. 49, 157
Achaean, the, in alliance with
Philip, II. 207, 287; defeat
Androthas, II. 293; capture
Sparta, II. 309; quarrel with
Lacedaemonians, II. 401; de-
feated by Mummius, II. 405
Achaea, devastated by Sulpicius,
II. 207
Achradina, a part of Syracuse,
II. 177
Acilius, M., custodian of Sibylline
books, I. 75
Acrocorinth, II. 403
Adherbal, Carthaginian leader,
II. 5
Adramyttium, town in Mysia,
II. 383
Aestates, son of Numitor, I. 13
Aegimurus, island near Carthage,
II. 373
Aegithallus, town in Sicily, II. 7
Aemilia, a Vestal, II. 435 f.
Aemilius. See Barbula, Lepidus,
Papus, Paulus, Scaurus
—— error for Mamilius (Vitulus),
I. 375 n., 401 n.
Aeneas, ancestor of Romans I.
3–11, of Segestans I. 401
—— son of Silvius, I. 11
Aenus, a river, II. 41
—— a town in Thrace, II. 329
Aequi, the, at war with Rome,
I. 116, 165 f., 171, 189 f.
Aesculapius, temple of, at Car-
thage, II. 397
Aetolians, the, pay court to
Pyrrhus, I. 305; aid Romans
against Philip, II. 187, 207, 229;
join Philip, II. 231, 279; aid
Romans at Cynoscephale, II. 293;
leaders in rebellion, II. 303; aid
Antiochus, II. 309, 313 f.; sue
for peace, II. 325 f.
Africa, invaded by Romans in
1st Punic war, I. 410 ff., 433 f.;
II. 3, 17; in 2nd Punic war,
II. 73, 129, 165, 213, 225, 233 f.,
245 ff., 261 f., 273; in 3rd Punic
war, II. 369; term defined, II.
273. See also II. 307, 321,
331 n.
Africans, the, ruled by Carthage,
I. 379; in Carthaginian army,
I. 397, 423; desert, I. 165 f.
Africanus, title conferred on two
Scipios: (a) II. 273, 315, 321 f.,
329 f., 375, 399; (b) II. 399, 413,
427
Agathocles, tyrant of Syracuse,
I. 313, 357
Agesilaus, II. 483
Agis, Tarentine general, I. 303,
309
Agrigentines, the, I. 405
Agrigentum, I. 401 f.; II. 173,
195
Agrippa. See Menenius
Agron, king of the Ardiaeans, II. 33
Agyllaeanus (Carites), I. 367
Alba Longa, I. 9–11, 15, 33, 37, 41;
II. 267, 363 f.
INDEX TO VOLUMES I. AND II.

Alban Mount, the, I. 5, 11, 189, 419
Albans, the, I. 33–37
Albinus, P. Postumius (con. trib. 414), I. 187 f.
—— L. Postumius (cos. 234, 229, 215), II. 27, 39, 165
—— error for Megellus, I. 287
Albula, old name of the Tiber, I. 11
Aleria, city in Carales, I. 413
Alexander the Great, II. 337, 351, 355
—— king of Epirus, I. 237 n.
—— Macedonian pretender, II. 387
Alexandria, besieged by Antiochus, II. 361
Allius, error for Dasius, II. 193 f.
Allius, a Celtiberian magistrate, II. 199
Alps, the, II. 19, 41, 49, 63, 331; crossed by Hanubal, II. 71, 93
Ambracia, besieged by Romans, II. 325 f.
Amphipolis, II. 345, 349
Amphilochus, brother of Numitor, I. 11–15
Amynander, king of Athamania, II. 279, 311
Ancus Marcus, king of Rome, I. 39–47; his sons, I. 49, 53, 57
Ancys, city in Galatia, captured by Romans, II. 325
Andiscus, Macedonian pretender, II. 383 f.
Anaxarchus, Corinthian leader, II. 293
Andius, L. (pr. 168), II. 349 f.
Antioch, II. 363
Antiochus III., the Great, II. 275, 293, 303–9, 355, 359, 363; at war with Rome, II. 311–321
—— IV., II. 321, 329, 355, 359 f.
—— V., II. 361 f.
Antium, town in Latium, II. 231
Apamea, town in Syria, II. 363
Apollo, oracle of, at Delphi, I. 70 ff., 191 f., cf. II. 235; temple of, on Capitoline, II. 39; his statue sheds tears, II. 429
—— cape of, near Carthage, II. 239
Apollonia, city in Illyria, I. 373; II. 37, 169, 233, 283, 309
Apulia, I. 309, 327, 351, 355; II. 153 f., 194, 213
Apulians, the, I. 355; II. 153 f.
Apustius, L., legatus in 2nd Mac. war, II. 277 f., 283
Archimedes, the mathematician, defends Syracuse, II. 171 f., 177
Ardea, city of the Rutuli, I. 7, 79, 83
Ardiaeus, the, people of Illyria,
II. 33 f., 51
Argos, I. 365; II. 289, 301
Argyrippa, town in Apulia, later Arpi, II. 133 f.
Artarates IV., king of Cappadocia, II. 303, 325, 359
—— V., king of Cappadocia, II. 359
Ariminum, II. 21, 47, 329 n.
Ariobarzanes I., king of Cappadocia, II. 467
Aristarchus, a Tarentine, I. 313
Arpi, town in Apulia, II. 135
Arretium, II. 105
Arruns, son of Tarquinius Superbus, I. 79 f.
Artemis, festival of, at Syracuse, II. 175
Ascanius, son of Aeneas, I. 5–11
Asculum, town in Picenum, I. 351
Asia, II. 307, 313 f., 327, 457, 469, 491 cf.
Asiatics, the, II. 469
Asiaticus, title given to Lucius Scipio, II. 321 f.
Aspis. See Clupea
Atella, town in Campania, II. 185
Athamnians, the, II. 279
Athenians, the, II. 287
Atheno, Clician brigand, II. 451 f.
Athens, II. 277
Attius. See Calatinus, Regulus, Serranus
Atratinus, L. Sempronius (cens. 443), I. 181
Atdatus I., king of Pergamum, II. 229, 283, 287, 291, cf. 301
—— II., II. 317, 357 f., 385
Attius Navius. See Navius
Athyrian hill, the, in Illyria (?), II. 39
Aulius, river in Apulia, II. 135
Augurinus, M. Minucius (cos. 458), II. 165 f.
—— L. Minucius, in charge of grain supply, I. 185
INDEX TO VOLUMES I. AND II.

Aurelius. See Cotta
Aurunci, the, II. 501
Auruncus, Postumius Cominius (cos. 501), I. 105 f.
Ausonia, II. 501
Ausonians, the, II. 501
Aventinus, an Alban king, I. 11 f.
Avernian woods, the, I. 271

Baebius. See Tamphilus
Bagradas, river in Africa, I. 425
Balaeres, the islands, II. 221
Banno, a Carthaginian leader in Spain, II. 103
Barbatus, M. Horatius (cos. 449), I. 175 f.

— T. Quinctius Capito (cos. 443), I. 181
Barbula, L. Asmilius (cos. 281), I. 301 f., 309
Barca, ancestor of Hamilcar, I. 405; used as part of Hamilcar's name, II. 11 n., 17, 55
Basilinnae, error for Casilinum, II. 159
Bastitania, II. 203
Bebræcès, the, II. 57
Bellona, temple of, II. 489
 Beneventum, II. 169, 175; (battle of, I. 363)
Bithia, Numidian cavalry leader, II. 393 f., 399
Bithynia, II. 229, 321 f., 331, 383
Bithynians, the, II. 383
Bithys, son of Cotys, a Thracian prince, II. 351 f.

Blæsus, C. Sempronius (cos. 253), I. 435
Blattius, II. 193 n.
Bocchus, king of Mauretania, II. 441 f.
Bodes, Carthaginian commander, I. 407
Boeotia, II. 287, 291, 311 f.
Bol, the, Cisalpine Gauls, II. 19 f., 31, 45, 163, 311

Brennus, name of two Gallic kings:
(a) I. 209; (b) II. 323, 445
Brundisium, I. 373; II. 33, 169
Bruttians, the, I. 361 f., 369
Bruttium, II. 169, 197, 212, 233
Britulus, Papius, a prominent Samnite, I. 255
Brutus, C. Junius (cos. 277), I. 359 f.

— Lucius Junius, expels Tarquins, I. 79-97

Byrsa, citadel of Carthage, II. 393, 397
Byzantium, II. 479
Byzes, Thracian prince, II. 387

Cacus, monster destroyed by Hercules, I. 17
Casceius, C. (mili. trib. 260), I. 407

See Metellus
Caedicius, M. announces coming of Gauls, I. 209
Caeplio, Cn. Servilius (cos. 253), I. 435

— Q. Servilius (cos. 140), II. 415
— Q. Servilius, opponent of Drusus, II. 459
Caeritiae, the, I. 367
Caesar, Julius, I. 109
Calabria, I. 373; II. 135, 169, 175
Calatinus, A. Attilius (cos. 258), I. 415-19, (cos. 254) 435; (dictator, 249) II. 7
Calauri (Calabrians), the, II. 135
Calpuricus. See Flammos, Piso
Calvinus, T. I. Veturius (cos. 321), I. 261-67
Calvis, C. Licinius (Stolo), (trib. 376-67), I. 221-25
Camarina, city in Sicily, I. 417
Camerium, town in Latium, I. 107
Camillus, M. Furius, I. 159 n., 191 f., 201-05, 215 f., 221, 227 f., 355; II. 351

— L. Furius (cos. 349), I. 235
Campania, I. 281 f., 333; II. 109 f., 119, 151 f., 169, 473, 483; cf. Capua
Campanians, the, I. 313; II. 151, 183 f., 501; cf. Capuans
Cannae, battle of, II. 183, 199 f., 145, 149 f., 157, 181, 213, 295
Canusium, town in Apulia, II. 145 f.
Capitol (Capitoline), the, I. 77 f., 107, 169, 211-19; II. 45, 191, 229, 477
Capitolinus (M. Manlius), I. 217 f.
Cappadocia, II. 303, 323, 359, 467
Capua, I. 331; II. 109, 175; revolts, II. 151 f., 163 f.; siege of, II. 170-85
Capuans, the, I. 261; II. 153; cf. II. 183 f.
Capys, an Alban king, I. 11
Caraceni, the, people of central Italy, I. 373

509
INDEX TO VOLUMES I. AND II.

Carthage, coveted by Pyrrhus, I. 307; 1st war with Rome, I. 379–449; II. 3–17; in war with mercenaries, etc., II. 17–27; 2nd war with Rome, II. 55–275; 3rd war with Rome, II. 367–99, 403; later rebuilt, II. 407; See also II. 305 f., 327

— New, in Spain, II. 31, 197, 215

Carthaginians, the, I. 357 f., 369 f., and in passages cited under Carthage

Carthalo, Carthaginian leader in 1st Punic war, II. 7 f.

— envoy of Hannibal, II. 187

Carvillus. See Maximus

Casilinum, siege of, II. 159 n.

Cassius. See Longinus, Viscellinus

Cato, M. Porcius, the Censor, II. 295–99, 313, 329, 369

— C. Porcius (cos. 114), II. 437

— L. Porcius, II. 469

Catulus (C.) Lutatius (cos. 242), II. 13–17

— C. Lutatius (cos. 220), II. 49

Caudine Forks, battle of, I. 257 n.

Celtiberia, II. 203

Celtiberians, II. 190–203, 299

Celts (Gauls), I. 227

Cenchreae, harbour of Corinth, II. 287

Censorinus, L. Marcius (cos. 149), II. 369, 373

Centenius, C. (propr. 217), II. 109

Cento, C. Claudius, legatus in Greece, II. 277

Cephalenlia, II. 327

Cerro, Q. Lutatius (cos. 241), II. 17

Cethegus, M. Cornelius (cos. 204), II. 237–7

— C. Cornelius (cos. 197), II. 291

Chalced, city in Euboea, II. 289, 309–13

Cimbri, the, in Gaul, II. 445 f., 451

Cincinnatus, Cn. Manilius (cos. 480), I. 155

— L. Quinctius, the dictator, I. 165 f., 185

Cines, in the service of Pyrrhus, I. 303–07, 337, 347 f.

Cina, L. Cornelius (cos. 87–84), II. 471 f., 483, 487

Cirta, royal city of Syphax, II. 258, 441

Claudius, App. (Sabinus), (cos. 471), I. 169

— App. (Crassinus), a decemvir, I. 169–75

— App. (Caecus), (cos. 296), I. 273, 277, 347 f.

— App. (Caudex), (cos. 264), I. 385–99

— App. (Pulcher), (cos. 143), II. 411, 421

Cillneas, Claudius, in Corsica, II. 23

Cloelia, honoured by Porsenna, I. 103

Clupea, town on African coast, I. I. 425, 433; II. 387

Columnia, Porsenna's secretary, I. 101 f.

Clusium, town in Etruria, I. 207 f.

Collatia, town in Latinum, I. 85

Collatinus. See Tarquinius

Cominius, Pontius, I. 215

— See Auruncus

Corbulo, a town of the Aequi, I. 167

Corcyra, II. 37, 169, 187

Cordus, cognomen of Mucius, I. 103

Corinth, II. 289, 293, 399–407

Corinthians, II. 39, 405 f.

Coriolanus, Cn. Marcius, I. 135 f., 139–51

Coriolini, town of the Volsci, I. 135 f.; cf. 151

Cornellius, P. (pr. 234), II. 27

— See Cethegus, Coissus, Scipio

Corsica, I. 413; II. 21

Coriscans, the, II. 23, 27 f., 129

Coruncanius, Tl. (cos. 280), I. 331 f.

Corvinus, M. Valerius, I. 235 f.

Cossura, island near Africa, I. 433 f.

Cossus, A. Cornelius (dict. 322), I. 253

Cotha, part of Carthage, II. 393

Cotta, C. Aurelius (cos. 252, 248), I. 437; II. 7

— C. Aurelius (cos. 200), II. 285

Cotys, a Thracian prince, II. 349

Cranites, hills in Samnium, I. 359

Crassus, M. Otacilius (cos. 263), I. 399 f.

— P. Licinius (cos. 205), II. 233

— P. Licinius (cos. 171), II. 385

Cretans, the, II. 357, 499; cf. II. 345, 349

Creusa, wife of Aeneas, I. 5, 9

Crispinus, T. Quinctius (cos. 208), II. 207
INDEX TO VOLUMES I. AND II.

Critolaus, Greek general, II. 401 f.
Croton, I. 361, 369 f.
Cumae, I. 103
Curtilat, Alban brothers, I. 35 f.
Curitius, See Dentatus
Curitor, L. Papilius (dictator 325), I. 249, 253, (cos. 319) 269 f.
Curritius, M., devotes himself, I. 229–35
—See Philo
Cybele, See Pessinus
Cynocephale, battle of, II. 291
Cyprus, II. 305, 361
Cyrene, II. 361

Dalmatians, the, II. 365
Damasippus (L. Junius Brutus), II. 489
Dardania, II. 387
Dardanians, the, II. 279
Dasius, a citizen of Salapia, II. 193 n.
Daunii, the, II. 133 f.
Decla, commander of garrison at Rhegium, I. 311–15
Declius, See Mus.
Delphi, I. 79 f., 189; II. 161, 347, 445
Demaratus, father of Tarquinius Priscus, I. 48
Demetrius, city in Thessaly, II. 229, 239
Demetrius, of Pharos, II. 37 f., 51 f.
—son of Philip, II. 293, 315, 333
—I., king of Syria, II. 359, 363, 383
Democritus, Aetolian general, II. 313
Demosthenes, I. 303
Dentatus, M. Curitius (cos. 290), I. 289
Diasius, Achaean general, II. 401–05
Diana, temple of, at Rome, I. 59
Diomed, I. 133
Diomed, Plain of, II. 133 f.
Dionysia, celebration of, at Tarentum, I. 297
Diom, a town in Macedonia, II. 337
Dodona, I. 309; II. 471
Dolabella, Cornelius (pr. 211), II. 179
Domitius, Cn. Ahenobarbus (trib. 104), II. 447
Drepanum, town in Sicily, I. 413, II. 9–13

Drusus, M. Livius (cos. 112), II. 437 f.
—M. Livius (trib. 91), II. 459 f.
Duilius, C. (cos. 280), I. 405–13
Dyrrachium, II. 365. See also Epidamnus

Ebusus, one of the Balearic isles, II. 221
Egypt, I. 367; II. 231, 303 f., 359 f.
Elatea, town in Greece, II. 287
Eileius, river in Macedonia, II. 341
Epidamnus, II. 37. See also Dyrrachium
Epilope, the, I. 331, 355; II. 315, 363
Epipius, I. 303 f., 313, 365; II. 167, 237, 337, 349 f., 471
Eryx, town in Sicily, I. 413; II. 7; cf. II. 11 n.
Etruria, I. 77, 391; II. 19, 45, 101, 107
Etruscans, the, I. 7, 51, 59, 153–59, 187, 281, 295, 375, 399; II. 101, 205; as soothsayers, I. 77, 191, 275. See also Faliscans, Veil, etc.
Euboea, II. 309, 313
Eumenes, II., king of Pergamum, II. 301, 315 f., 339, 347, 357 f.
Europe, II. 57, 293 f., 305, 317
Euxine sea, II. 41
Evander, Cretan in employ of Perseus, II. 347

Fabius, the, Roman gens, I. 155–59
Fabius, K. (Vibulanus) (cos. 481), I. 153 f.
—K. (Dorso), priest, I. 213
—M. (Ambustus), I. 221
—M. (Ambustus) (cos. 360), I. 249 f.
—Q. (Maximus Gurges) (cos. 292), I. 281–87, 375
—C. (Pictor) (cos. 269), I. 371 f.
—Q. (aedile 265), I. 373 f.
—Numerius (cos. 247), II. 9 f.
Fabius, See Euboea
Faliscans, the, I. 187, 201 f. 281; II. 19
INDEX TO VOLUMES I. AND II.

Falto, P. Valerius (cos. 233), II. 19
Faunus, father of Latinus, I. 5
Faustus, a shepherd, I. 15
Felicitas, temple of, II. 418
Fidenates, the, I. 41
Fimbria, C. Flavius, lieutenant of
Flaccus, II. 477-81
Flaccus, Q. Valerius (pr. 241), II. 13
— Q. Fulvius (cos. 237), II. 21,
179 f., 183 f.
— L. Valerius (legatus 191), II.
313
— L. Valerius (cos. 86), II. 467 n.,
477-81
Flamininus, T. Quintius (cos. 198),
II. 287-93, 301 f., 309, 313 f.
— L. Quintius, brother of pre-
ceding, II. 287, 293
Flamininus, C. (cos. 223, 217), II.
47 f., 103-07
— C. (cos. 187), II. 327, 329 n.
Flamma, L. Volumnius (cos. 296),
I. 273, 277
— M. Calpurnius, mill. trib. in
Sicily, I. 417
Florus, C. (cos. 259), I. 413 f.
Fufetius, Mettius, leader of Albans,
I. 33, 37
Fulvius. See Nobilior
Furius, L. (praetor 200), II. 285
— P. (trib. 100), II. 455
— See Medullinus, Facilius,
Philius
Gabii, town in Latium, I. 71 f.
Gades, city in Spain, II. 215, 219
Gaius, leader of plebs, I. 119
Galatia, II. 323
Galba, P. Sulpicius (cos. 211, 200),
II. 207, 229, 257 n., 277-83
Galeagra, tower on wall of Syracuse,
II. 175
Gallus, Q. Ougnius (cos. 269), I.
371 f.
Gauda, Numidian prince, II. 439 n.,
441
Gaul, I. 19, 57
— Asiatic (Galatia), II. 323
Gauls, the, capture Rome, I. 207-15,
219; later wars with, I. 235 f.,
273 f., 293 n.; II. 19 f., 39-45,
283-91, 295; other references, I.
237 n., 405; II. 13, 31, 71, 89,
97, 101, 211, 329, 445. See also
Boil and Insubres
Gauls, Asiatic (Galatians), II. 323 f.
Geminus, P. Servilius (cos. 252, 248),
I. 437
— Cn. Servilius (cos. 217), II.
103 f., 127 f.
Gentius, Illyrian king, II. 339,
349 f.
Gisco, father of Hasdrubal, II. 203,
213, 223, 241
Glabrio, M. Aelius (cos. 191), II.
311-15
Glaucia, C. Servilius, II. 455
Gracchus, Cloelius, an Aeolian
general, I. 165
— T. Sempronius (cos. 238),
II. 19
— T. Sempronius (cos. 215),
II. 149, 163, 169, 175
— T. Sempronius (trib. 187),
II. 329
— T. Sempronius (trib. 133),
II. 423-27
— C. Sempronius (trib. 123),
II. 431 f.
Greece, I. 75, 169, 305, 341, 365 ;
II. 31, 149, 167, 207, 277, 287,
303-07, 317, 337, 385
Greeks, the, II. 41, 221, 277, 293,
301 f., 311, 335, 365, 399-407
— Asiatic, II. 321
Gulussa, son of Massinissa, II. 381
Gymnesiae (Gymnesian islands),
the Greek name for the Baleares,
II. 219 f.
Haeamus, mountain range in Thrace,
II. 41
Hamilcar, son of Barca, I. 405 f.,
418, 417 f., 421-29; II. 3 f., 9 f.,
15, 17 f., 29 f., 55
— general in 2nd Punic war, II.
283 f., 291
Hannibal, son of Gisco, general in
1st Punic war, I. 401 f., 407, 411,
419
— son of Hamilcar, I. 405; II.
55-275 passim, 305 f., 315, 321,
331
Hanno, name of several Cartha-
ginian generals in 1st Punic war:
(a) 1. 385, 389-93; (b) I. 403 f.;
(c) 419, 423 f.; (d) II. 5; (e) II.
13 f.; (f) II. 23 f.
— the Great, II. 81, 151
INDEX TO VOLUMES I. AND II.

Hanno, son of Hasdrubal, II. 241 f.
— name of other commanders in 2nd Punic war, II. 169, 195, 251, 261
Hasdrubal, general in 1st Punic war, II. 441
— son-in-law of Hamilcar Barca, II. 31, 35
— a leader in Carthage, II. 81
— brother of Hannibal, in Spain, II. 103, 165 f., 189, 201 f.; in Italy, 209–18, 219
— son of Gisco, II. 203 f., 213, 223, 241–45, 249 f., 261
— general in 3rd Punic war, II. 371–75, 381, 387, 391–99
Hellepsont, the, II. 315
Heraclea, town in Sicily, I. 403, 423; II. 173
— town in Greece, II. 313
Hercules, Pillars of, II. 57, 221
Hersilia, wife of Romulus, I. 17 f.
Hiero, tyrant of Syracuse, I. 371, 381 f., 393 f., 399 f., 403, 437; II. 9, 15 f., 129
Himeria, in Sicily, I. 457
Himilco, general in 2nd Punic war, II. 173
— surnamed Phameas, II. 373, 379 f.
Hippo, city in Africa, II. 9, 387
Horatius, slays the Curtat, I. 37
— M. (Pulvillus) (cos. 509), I. 99
— See Barbatus
Hostilius, Tullus, Roman king, I. 33, 37–41
Hyasusae, error for Pityusae, II. 221
Iapigia, II. 135
Iapigians, the, II. 133
Iberians, Greek name for Spaniards, II. 59
Iberus, river in Spain, II. 57 f., 85, 103, 129, 187, 221, 297 f.
Icilius, L. (trib. 456–55), I. 173
Ilergetes, the, Spanish tribe, II. 199
Ilturgitani, the, Spanish tribe, II. 213
Illum, II. 481
Illyria (Illyricum), I. 305, 373; II. 39, 53
Illyrians, the, II. 51, 279, 365; cf. II. 33
Ilus, a name for Ascanius, I. 5

Indibilis, Spanish chieftain, I. 199, 219
Insu-bras, the, Gallic tribe in Italy, II. 41–45, 49, 283
Ionian Gulf, the, II. 311, 373; II. 31 f., 133, 277, 305, 365
Island, the, at Syracuse, II. 177
Issa, island on Illyrian coast, II. 33, 37, 51
Issaeans, the, II. 33
Ister, the, II. 41, 49
Ithmian games, II. 39
Iulus, son of Ascanius, I. 11

January, I. 29
Janus, I. 29
Jugurtha, II. 439–43
Julius. See Caesar and Proclus
Junius. See Brutus, Pera, Pullos, Silanus
Jupiter, supposed father of Scipio, II. 191; altar to, I. 275; temple to, II. 231, 315
Juventius, P. (praetor, 149), II. 385

Lacedaeonians, the, II. 401 f.; cf. 259
Laelius, C., in 2nd Punic war, II. 251 f., 267
— C., in 3rd Punic war, II. 395
Laenas, C. Popilius, envoy to Antiochus, II. 355, 361
— M. Popilius (cos. 130), II. 417
Laevinus, P. Valerius (cos. 280), I. 317–25, 331 f.
— M. Valerius (praetor 215, cos. 211), II. 169, 179, 185 f., 195
Lamia, city in Greece, II. 313
Larissa, city in Thessaly, II. 293, 335
Latin, the, I. 3–9, 41, 51, 59, 69, 107 f., 148, 237–47; II. 245
Latinus, king of the Aborigines, I. 5–11
— Alban king, I. 11
Lautium, I. 5; II. 179, 501
Laurentia, wife of Faustulus, I. 15

VOL. II.

L L
INDEX TO VOLUMES I. AND II.

Laurentum, town in Latium, I. 5-7
Lavinia, daughter of Latinus, I. 5-11
Lavinium, town in Latium, I. 5, 9 f.
Lentulus, L. Cornelius (cos. 237), II. 21, 71, 75
— Ca. Cornelius (cos. 201), II. 271
— Cornelius (praetor 198), II. 291
Lepidus, M. Aemilius (cos. 232), II. 29 f.
— M. Aemilius (mili. trib. 190), II. 319
— M. Aemilius (cos. 187), I. 327, 329 n.
Lencas, island west of Greece, II. 293
Libya, I. 273, 331 n.
Libyssea, town in Bitinia, II. 331
Licinius, a Vestal, II. 435 f.
Liguria, II. 27, 31, 101, 233
Ligurians, the, II. 19 f., 27, 101, 283 f.
Lilybaenum, town in Sicily, I. 435; II. 3-7
Lipara, one of the Aeolian islands, I. 407, 417, 421, 437
Litterum, town in Campania, II. 323
Livius. See Drusus and Salinator
Locri (Locris), I. 361 f.; II. 205 f.
Locrians, the, I. 363; II. 23
Lollius, a Samnite conspirator, I. 371 f.
Longinus, Q. Cassius (mili. trib. 252), I. 437
Longus, Ti. Sempronius (cos. 218), II. 87, 90 f.
Lucania, I. 317, 363; II. 175, 209
Lucanians, the, I. 317, 361 f., 369; cf. II. 157
Lucretia, ravished by Sextus Tarquin, I. 83-89
Lucretius, C. (praetor 171), II. 335
Lucullus, L. Licinius, II. 413
Lucumo, original name of Tarquinii Priscus, I. 43
Lupus, P. Rutulius (cos. 90), II. 463
Luscinus, C. Fabricius (cos. 222, 278), I. 287 f., 295, 335, 339-45, 355, 365
Lutatius. See Catulus, Cercius
Lycaonia, II. 323
Lydia, II. 363
Lysias, II. 363
Lysimachia, in Thrace, II. 305, 317
Macedonia, II. 41, 53, 315, 383 f., 403; wars with: (1) II. 167 f., 187, 207 f., 220-33; (2) II. 257 n., 271-83, 287-95; (3) III. 338-53
Macedonians, the, II. 277 f., 333, 345
Macellum, town near Messana, II. 453
Macerinus, M. (cos. 443), I. 181
Maelius, Sp., conspiracy of, I. 185
Mahrbaral, Carthaginian leader, II. 145
Malleolus, M. (cos. 232), II. 29
Mallius. See Maximus
Mamertines, the, I. 313 f., 371, 383-95
Manchus, L. Hostilius (legatus 148), II. 391
— C. Hostilius (cos. 137), II. 419
Mandonius, Spanish leader, II. 199, 219
Manlius, M. (cos. 149), II. 369, 373 f., 379 f.
Manius, Etruscan soothsayer, I. 275 f.
— a slave, II. 437
Manilius, the Roman gens, I. 219
Manlius. See Capitolinus, Cincinnatus, Torquatus, Vulso
— M. Claudius (cos. 183), II. 331
Marcia, a Vestal, II. 435
Marcus, Ancus. See Ancus
— a soothsayer, II. 139 n.
— See Censorinus and Septimius
Marcus, a soothsayer. See Marcus
Marius, C., II. 439, 443, 451, 457, 463, 473-77, 487
Mareno, town in Thrace, II. 329
Mars, I. 319
Marsilias, the, II. 463
Maso, C. Papirius (cos. 231), II. 29
Mastanbal, son of Masinissa, II. 381
INDEX TO VOLUMES I. AND II.

Matho, M'. Pomponius (cos. 233), II. 27
Maximus, Sp., Carvilius (cos. 293, 272), I. 281, 369
— Sp. Carvilius (cos. 234), II. 27
— Valerius (dict. 494), I. 235
— M'. Valerius (cos. 283), I. 399
— Cn. Mallius (cos. 105), II. 445 f.
Media, II. 303
Mediolanum, capitol of Insubres, II. 49
Medullinus, Sp. Furius (cos. 431), I. 153
Megacles, officer of Pyrrhus, I. 323
Megagia, part of Carthage, II. 391
Mesagopalis, II. 311
Megellius, L. Postumius (cos. 291), I. 287
— L. Postumius (cos. 262), I. 401 n.
Menenius, Agrippa (cos. 503), I. 105, 121 f.
— T. (cos. 477), 157 f., 159 n.
Merula, L. Cornelli, priest, II. 477 n.
Messana, I. 313, 371, 383 f., 391–99, 405, 425; II. 451
Messapia, II. 135
Mestus (Nestus), river of Thrace, II. 387
Metapontum, II. 197
Metellus, L. Caecilius (cos. 251), I. 437–41; II. 7
— Q. Caecilius (cos. 206), II. 231
— Q. Caecilius (cos. 146), II. 385 f., 403, 411, 421
— Q. Caecilius (cos. 108), I. 439 f., 455
— Q. Caecilius (Pius), II. 455, 473, 483
Meton, a Tarantine, I. 301 f.
Mettius, Fufetius, ruler of Alba, I. 33, 37
Merentius, Etruscan king, I. 7–9
Micipsa, son of Masinissa, II. 379 f.
Milo, officer of Pyrrhus, I. 309, 337, 357, 361, 365–69
Minucius. See Augurinus and Rufus
Mithridates, II. 459, 467–71, 491
Mucius. See Scaevola
Mugillanus, L. Papirius (cens. 443), I. 181
Mummius, L. (cos 146), II. 408 f., 413
Mus, P. Declus (cos. 340), I. 239
— P. Declus (cos. 295), I. 277
— P. Declus (cos. 279), I. 351 f.
Muses, temple of, I. 27
Mutis, town in Sicily, II. 415
Mutinian, Carthaginian cavalry commander, II. 195
Myins, II. 325
Mytilene, II. 457
Nabis, tyrant of Sparta, II. 289, 301 f., 309
Nar, river in Umbria, II. 109
Narbonenses, the, I. 57, 83
Narnia, town in Umbria, II. 107
Naupactus, II. 315
Navius, Attus, an augur, I. 49 f.
Neapolis, city in Campania, I. 331, II. 151 f.
— city in Africa, II. 387
Neptune, temple of, II. 231
Nero, C. Claudius (cos. 207), II. 175, 179 f., 187 f., 209–13, (censor 204) 245 f.
— T. Claudius (cos. 202), II. 261 f.
Nerva, P. Licinius (pr. 103), in Sicily, II. 449
Nestus, river in Thrace, II. 387 n.
Nicias, physician of Pyrrhus, I. 355, 365
Nico, a Tarentine leader, I. 367
Nicomachus, commander of garrison at Croton, I. 361
Nicomedes II., king of Bithynia, II. 383
— III., II. 467
Noblius, M. Fulvius (cos. 189), II. 325 f.
— Q. Fulvius (cens. 136), II. 421
Nola, city in Campania, II. 157, 163
Norba, town in Latium, I. 139
Nuceria, city in Campania, II. 153–57
Numa, king of Rome, I. 25–29, 33, 39, 43
Numantines, the, II. 413, 419, 423
Numidius, river in Latium, I. 5
Numidians, the, II. 387; cf. II. 257
Numitor, father of Rhea Silvia, I. 13 f.
Ocean, the, II. 57
Ocrisia, mother of Servius Tullius, I. 55
INDEX TO VOLUMES I. AND II.

Octavius, C. (pr. 168), II. 345, 349, 363
Octavius, M. (trib. 133), II. 425
— Cn. (cos. 87), II. 471 f.
Oreila, Q. Lucretius, II. 485
Olbia, city in Sardinia, I. 413
Olympus, mountain in Macedonia, II. 341 f.
— mountain in Bithynia, II. 325
Oppius, Servius, a decemvir, I. 171, 175
Opus, city in Greece, II. 229
Oreus, city in Eburoea, II. 229
Oricum, city in Epirus, II. 169
Orophernes, alleged son of Arlathes, II. 359

Pacilius, C. Furius (cos. 251), I. 437
Paetinus, Servius Fulvius (cos. 255), I. 433
Paetus, Sex. Aelius (cos. 198), II. 239
Palatine (or Palatium), the, I. 15; II. 237
Pamphylia, II. 315, 323
Pan, I. 19
Panormus, city in Sicily, I. 435 f.; II. 9
Paphlagonia, II. 325

Papirius. See Cursor, Maso, Mugilanus
Papius. See Brutulus
Papus, Q. Aemilius (cos. 278), I. 355, (cens. 275) I. 365
— L. Aemilius (cos. 225), II. 45
Pastis, Alban king, I. 11
Paterculus, C. Sulpiicius (cos. 258), I. 419
Paulus, L. Aemilius (cos. 219, 216), II. 51, 135 f., 141, 145
— L. Aemilius (cos. 168), II. 341-53, 389, 399
— M. Aemilius (cos. 255), I. 433
Pedicull, the, II. 133
Pelias, small island near Drepanum, II. 9 f.

Peloponneseus, II. 39, 327
Pera, M. Junius (cos. 280, dict. 216), II. 31, 149, 159 f.
Pergamum, II. 317
Perseus, king of Macedonia, II.
333-55, 383, 387
Persians, the, II. 313

Pharnaces. See Hilmico
Pharos, island off Epirus, II. 53
Philip IV., king of Macedonia, I. 365
— son of Perseus, II. 349, 355
— of Megalopolis, II. 311
Philius, Q. Marcius (cos. 169), II. 337
Philo, C. Curtius (cos. 445), I. 179
Philius, P. Furius (cos. 223), II. 47 f.
— L. Furius (cos. 136), II. 421
Phocis, II. 287
Phoenicia, II. 317
Phrygia, II. 325
Picentes, the, II. 465
Picenum, II. 45, 483
Phineas, Illyrian prince, II. 35, 51
Pisidia, II. 323
Piso, L. Calpurnius (cos. 149), II. 387, 391 f.
Pityuses, islands near Spain, II. 221 n.
Placentia, II. 287, 329 n.
Plautius, error for Blattius, II. 193 f.
Plautius, winner of stadium races, II. 39
Plutarch, I. 308; II. 483
Po, the, II. 45, 97
Pompeius, Q. (cos. 141), II. 413, 419 f.
Porcius, II. 483
Porcennus. See Matho
Pontius, Herennius, Samnite leader, I. 257 n.
— See Cominius
Popillius. See Laenas
Porsena, Etruscan king, I. 101 f.
Postumius, M., I. 159 n.
— L., envoy to Tarentines, I. 299 f.
— See Albinus, Auruncus, Megellus
Potilus, Herius, a Samnite, I. 415
Prænesta, I. 271, 317; II. 489
Privernum, I. 247
Procas, Alban king, I. 13
Procus, Julius, a knight, I. 23
Prosperina, temple of, pillaged, I. 365

516
INDEX TO VOLUMES I. AND II.

Prusias I., king of Bithynia, II. 229, 321, 351
--- II., π. 357, 383
Ptolemy II., Philadelphus, king of Egypt, I. 367 f.
--- IV., Philopator, II. 231
--- V., Epiphanes, π. 303 f., 359
--- VI. and VII., sons of preceding, II. 359 f.
Pubilcola, P. Valerius (cos. 509), I. 97, 103 f., 113
Publilhoratil, Roman triplets, I. 35 f.
Pulcher, See Claudius
Pulex, M. Servillus (cos. 202), II. 263
Pullus, L. Junius (cos. 249), π. 5 f.
Pydna, town in Macedonia, π. 337, 343 f., 385
Pyrenees, the, π. 57, 87, 225
Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, I. 303–65; II. 277, 325
Pythia, priestess at Delphi, I. 189;
--- π. 16
Quirinal, the, II. 25
Quirinus, I. 19, 25
Quirites, the, I. 23
Regulus, M. Atilius (cos. 294), I. 279
--- M. Atilius (cos. 256), I. 421–31, 435, 441–49
--- C. Atilius (cos. 250), π. 3
--- C. Atilius (cos. 225), π. 43
Remus, brother of Romulus, I. 13–17
Rhea Illa, mother of Romulus and Remus, I. 13
Rhesium, I. 311–15, 363, 369 f., 386 ff.; π. 235
Rhodians, the, II. 283, 287, 301, 315, 341 f., 355 f.
Rhodope, mountain range in Thrace, π. 41
Rhone, the, π. 87
Romans, passim
Rome, passim
Romulus, I. 13–17, 21 f., 29, 33, 97
--- 277
Rufius, P. Cornelius (cos. 290), I. 287 f., 359 f., 365
Rufus, M. Minucius Rufus (master of horse 217), II. 49, 117–25
--- Q. Minucius (cos. 197), II. 291
--- P. Rutilius, II. 455–59
Rutulus. See Fabius
Rutilius. See Rufus
Rutilius, the, I. 7, 95, 205
Rutulus, error for Brutulus
Sabines, the, I. 25, 41, 51, 105 f., 115, 171, 175
Sacred Way, the, I. 25
Saguntines, the, II. 55 f., 61, 167
Saguntum, II. 167
Salapia, town in Apulia, II. 193, 207
Salapians, the, II. 207
Salassus, the tribe of Cisalpine Gauls, II. 411
Salentia, district in Calabria, II. 135
Salentini, the, II. 135
Sallii, priests, I. 27; Sallii Collini, I. 39
Salarius, M. Livius (cos. 219, 207), II. 51, 209–13, (cens. 204) 245 f.
Samnites, the, I. 283–85, 295, 359, 369, 415; II. 117, 473, 487;
cf. II. 151
Samnium, I. 267, 281, 359–63; II. 113, 163, 169, 175
Samothrace, II. 345
Sardinia, I. 307, 379, 401, 413 f., 419, 429; II. 10, 25–29, 161, 167,
245, 253
Sardinians, the, II. 25 f., 41, 129
Saturn, I. 20
Saturninus, II. 455
Scaevola, C. Mucius Cordus, I. 101 f.
--- Q. Mucius (cos. 95), II. 459
Scaurus, M. Aemilius, II. 445
Scipio, L. Cornelius (cos. 259), I. 413 f.
--- Cn. Cornelius (cos. 260, 254), I. 407, 423, 435
--- Cn. Cornelius (cos. 222), II. 49, 93, 101 f., 129 f., 165, 175,
189, 213, 235
--- Cn. Cornelius (cos. 203), error for Cn. Caesio, II. 247
--- P. Cornelius (Asina) (cos. 221), II. 49
--- P. Cornelius (cos. 218), II. 87–98, 97 f., 145, 165, 175, 189,
213
INDEX TO VOLUMES I. AND II.

— L. Cornelius Asilicus, II. 203 f., 315 f., 321 f., 329
— P. Cornelius Nasica (cos. 191), II. 235, 311
— P. Cornelius Nasica Corculum (cos. 155), II. 305, 369, 399
— P. Cornelius Nasica Serapio (cos. 138), II. 367, 385
— P. Cornelius (Africanus Minor), II. 375-81, 387-99, 413, 427
— L. Cornelius Asilicus (cos. 83), II. 483 n.
Scodra, city in Dalmatia, II. 349
Scordisci, a Thracian tribe, II. 457 n.
Segesta, I. 401, 407, 413
Seleucus IV., king of Syria, II. 305, 317, 329, 368
Sempronius. See Ataratinus, Baelusus, Gracchus, Tuditanus
Senia, town in Umbria, II. 209
Septimius, L. Marcius, chosen leader of armies in Spain in 211, II. 193
Serranus, A. Atillius (pr. 192), II. 309
Servilius, C. (cos. 203), II. 247
— See Caepio, Geminius, Pulex
Servius Tullius, king of Rome, I. 53-63
Severus, Roman emperor, II. 351
Sextius, L. a tribune, I. 223 f.
Sibyl, the, I. 73 f.; II. 39, 133 f.
Sicinius, Cn. (propraet. 171), II. 335
Siculus, L., plebeian leader, I. 173
Silanus, M. Junius, in Spain with Scipio, II. 191, 203 f.
Silvia (Rhea), I. 13
Silvius, Alban king, I. 7-11
Sisnup, I. 195
Sienna, C. Titinius, II. 469 n.
Smyrna, II. 459
Sophonisba, daughter of Hasdrubal, II. 223 f., 239, 253-57, 269 n.
Spain, II. 19, 20 f., 55 f., 69, 73, 101, 129 f., 137, 145, 165 f., 175, 181, 187 f., 235, 295 f., 419. See also Numantines and Saguntines
Spaniards, the, II. 29 f., 59, 89, 165, 203, 251
Sparta, I. 429; II. 301 f., 309
Spartilium, II. 109
Stolo. See Calvis
Strabo, father of Pompey, II. 483
Succo, city in Spain, II. 215
Sulci, city in Sicily, I. 419
Sulla, II. 467 n., 471, 481-95
Sulpicius. See Galba, Paterculus, Rufus
Sutrium, town in Etruria, I. 217
Syphax, king of Numidia, II. 213, 223-27, 237-45, 249-57
Syracusans, the, I. 357 f., 399; II. 173, 183 f.
Syracusus, I. 359, 371, 395, 399-401; II. 169-79
Syria, II. 321, 355, 359, 363, 367, 383
Tampillus, Cn. Baebius (pr. 199), II. 287
— M. Baebius (pr. 192), II. 309
Tanaquil, wife of Tarquinius Priscus, I. 53
Tappulus, P. Villius (cos. 199), II. 287
Tarentum, I. 297-301, 311, 315, 319, 330, 355 f., 361-65; II. 175, 195 f.
Tarentines, the, I. 295-303, 307, 313-19, 335, 359, 347, 359, 367 f., 381; II. 133, 183, 197, 503
Tarpeia. I. 17
Tarpeian Mount (= Capitoline), I. 77; cf. 219
Tarquinii, city in Etruria, I. 48, 91
Tarquinius, Arruns, I. 79-81
— Collatinus, husband of Lucretia, I. 83-87, 93
— Priscus, I. 43-57
— Sextus, I. 71 f., 85-89
— Superbus, I. 57, 61-79, 83 f., 91 f., 103
— Titus, I. 79-81
Tatius, king of the Sabines, I. 17
Taulantii, the, an Illyrian tribe, II. 365
Taygetus, II. 301
Tempe, Vale of, II. 387, 341
INDEX TO VOLUMES I. AND II.

Teuta, queen of the Ardiaeans, II. 35, 51
Theophrastus, a Paphlagonian, II. 469
Thermopylae, II. 311 f.
Thermus, Minucius, with Flaccus in Asia, B.C. 86, II. 481
Thessaly, II. 287–91, 309 f., 329, 335 f., 341, 355, 403; cf. 279
Thraces, the, II. 339, 469
Tiber, the, I. 11, 15, 209, 371; II. 83, 109, 179, 313
Tiberinus, an Alban king, I. 11
Tiberius, See Coruncanlus
Tolosa, city in Gaul, II. 445
Torquatus, T. Manlius (cos. 340), I. 227, 239–43, 247
—— A. Manlius (cos. 241), II. 19
—— T. Manlius (cos. 235, 224), II. 167, 179
Trelles, city in Asia Minor, II. 469
Tripolis, city in Syria, II. 363
Trientea, mother of Pinnes, II. 51
Trokans, the, II. 133
Troy, I. 3, 11. See Ilium
—— old name of Lavinium, I. 5
Tuditanus, P. Sempronius (cos. 204), II. 233, 237, 245
Tullia, daughter of Servius Tullius, I. 61 f., 91
Tullius, Attius, Volscian leader, I. 141
—— Servius, Roman king, I. 53–63
—— Spurius, a Latin, I. 53
Tullus, Hostilius, king of Rome, I. 38, 37–41
Tusculum, the, I. 221
Tuscum, I. 165
Tyndaris, town in Sicily, I. 421
Tyrrhenian Sea, the, I. 413
Umbrians, the, I. 295
Utica, II. 245, 263, 381
Valeriana, error for Baleares
Valerius, L., Roman admiral, I. 297 f.
—— See Falto, Maximus
Varro, M. Terentius (cos. 216), II. 119 n., 135–41, 145, 149
Varus, Licinius (cos. 238), II. 21 f.
Velius, the, I. 21, 59, 189, 207
Venus, I. 189–91
Verginius, L., father of Verginia, I. 173 f.
—— Opiter (cos. 502), I. 107
Vermina, son of Syphax, II. 257, 285
Verrucosus, See Fabius
Vesta, temple of, I. 25
Vestals, the, I. 13, 27, 51
Veturia, mother of Coriolanus, I. 145–49
Via Flaminia, II. 329 n.
Vibius Virius, Capuan leader, II. 181
Victory, statue of, I. 275; II. 129
Villius, See Tappius
Virilius, Lusitanian chief, II. 409 f., 415 f.
Viscellus, Sp. Cassius (cos. 502), I. 107, 151
Vitulus, Q. Mamilius (cos. 262), I. 401 n.
Volsci, the, I. 111, 115, 137–149
Volcini, I. 375 f.
Volumnia, wife of Coriolanus, I. 143–49; II. 501
Volumnius, See Flamma
Vulso, L. Manlius (cos. 256, 250), I. 423 f.; II. 3
—— Cn. Manlius (cos. 189), II. 321–25
Xanthippus, Spartan leader in service of Carthage, I. 429–33
Zeus, temple of, II. 471
Zeuxis, general of Antiochus, II. 319
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