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POLYBIUS (born c. 208 B.C.) of Megalopolis in the Peloponnese (Morea), son of Lycortas, served the Achaean League in arms and diplomacy for many years, favouring alliance with Rome. From 168 to 151 he was hostage in Rome where he became a friend of Aemilius Paulus and his two sons, especially adopted Scipio Aemilianus whose campaigns he attended later. In late life he was trusted mediator between Greece and the Romans whom he admired; helped in the discussions which preceded the final war with Carthage; and, after 146 B.C., was entrusted by the Romans with details of administration in Greece. He died at the age of 82 after a fall from his horse. The main part of his famous historical work covers the years 264-146 B.C. With two introductory books, it described the rise of Rome to the destruction of Carthage and the domination of Greece by Rome. It is a great work; accurate, thoughtful, largely impartial, based on research, full of insight into customs, institutions, geography, causes of events and character of people; it is a vital and most interesting achievement of first rate importance, despite the incomplete state in which all but the first five of the forty books have reached us. Polybius’ overall theme is how and why the Romans spread their power as they did.
POLYBIUS
THE HISTORIES
WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY
W. R. PATON

IN SIX VOLUMES
III

CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS
HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS
LONDON
WILLIAM HEINEMANN LTD
MCMLXXIX
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THE HISTORIES OF
POLYBIUS
ΠΟΛΥΒΙΟΤ
ΙΣΤΟΡΙΩΝ ΠΕΜΠΤΗ

1 Τὸ μὲν οὖν κατὰ τὴν Ἀράτου τοῦ νεωτέρου ὑποτηγήγαν ἔτος ἑτύγχανε διεληλυθὸς περὶ τὴν τῆς Πλειάδος ἐπιτολήν· οὕτως γὰρ ἦγε τοὺς χρόνους τὸτε τὸ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἔθνος. διόπερ οὗτος μὲν ἀπετίθετο τὴν ἀρχήν, Ἐπήρατος δὲ παρελάμβανε τὴν τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἡγεμονίαν. Αἴτωλῶν δὲ Δωρί-μαχος ἔστρατήγηε. κατὰ δὲ τοὺς αὐτούς καίρους ἀρχομένης τῆς θερείας Ἀννίβας μὲν ἐκφανῶς ἤδη τὸν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πόλεμον ἀνειληφὼς, ὁμίλησα ἐκ Καυνῆς πόλεως καὶ διαβὰς τὸν Ἰβηρα ποταμὸν ἐνῆρχετο τῆς ἐπιβολῆς καὶ πορείας τῆς εἰς Ἰταλίαν·

2 Ῥωμαίοι δὲ Τιβέριον μὲν Σεμπρώνιον εἰς Λιβύην μετὰ δυνάμεως, Πόπλιον δὲ Κορυφίλου εἰς Ἰβηρίαν ἐξαπέστελλον. Ἀντίοχος δὲ καὶ Πτολεμαῖος ἄπτευντος τὰς προσβείας καὶ τὸ λόγῳ διεξάγει τὴν ὑπὲρ Κοίλης Συρίας ἀμφισβήτησιν, ἐνήρχον-το πολέμειν ἄλληλοις.

3 Ο δὲ βασιλεὺς Φιλίππος, ἐνδεχὴς ων σίτου καὶ χρημάτων εἰς τὰς δυνάμεις, συνήγε τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς διὰ τῶν ἀρχόντων εἰς ἐκκλησίαν. ἀθροισθέντος δὲ τοῦ πλῆθους εἰς Λύκιον κατὰ τοὺς νόμους, ὅρων τοὺς μὲν περὶ "Αρατον ἐθελοκακοῦντας διὰ τὴν περὶ τὰς
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BOOK V

1. The year of office of the younger Aratus came to an end at the rising of the Pleiades, a such being then the Achaean reckoning of time. On his retirement he was succeeded by Eperatus, Dorimachus being still the strategus of the Aetolians. Contemporaneously in the early summer, Hannibal, having now openly embarked on the war against Rome, had started from New Carthage, and having crossed the Ebro was beginning to march on Italy in pursuit of his plan; the Romans at the same time sent Tiberius Sempronius Longus to Africa with an army and Publius Cornelius Scipio to Spain, and Antiochus and Ptolemy, having abandoned the attempt to settle by diplomatic means their dispute about Coele-Syria, went to war with each other.

King Philip, being in want of corn and money for his army, summoned the Achaeans through their magistrates to a General Assembly. When this met at Aegium according to the law of the League, noticing that Aratus was little disposed to help him

a May 13th.
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ἐρχαίρεσιάς γεγενήμενην εἰς αὑτοὺς τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἀπελλῆν κακοπραγμοσύνην, τὸν δ’ Ἐπίρατον ἀπρακτόν ὄντα τῇ φύσει καὶ καταγινωσκόμενον ὑπὸ 8 πάντων, συλλογισάμενος ἐκ τῶν προειρημένων τὴν ἁγνοιαν τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἀπελλῆν καὶ Δεόντιον ἐκρίνειν ἀδίκας ἀντέχεσθαι τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἄρατον, πείσας ὅτι τοὺς ἀρχοντας μεταγαγεῖν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν εἰς Συκυώνα, λαβὼν τὸν τε πρεσβύτερον καὶ τὸν νεώτερον Ἄρατον εἰς τὰς χείρας, καὶ πάντων τῶν γεγονότων ἁναθεῖς ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀπελλῆν, παρεκάλει μένειν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τῆς ἅρχης αἱρέσεως. 10 τῶν δὲ συγκαταθεμένων ἐτοίμως, εἰσελθὼν εἰς τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς καὶ χρησάμενος συνεργοῖς τοὺς προειρημένους πάντα κατέπραξε τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἐπιβολὴν. πεντήκοντα μὲν γὰρ ἐδοξῆ σώλαντα τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς εἰς τὴν πρώτην ἁναζυγήν αὐτῷ δοὺς παραχρήμα τριμήνου μισθοδοτήσαι τὴν δύναμιν καὶ σίτου προσθεῖναι μυριάδας· τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν, ἔως ἄν παρὼν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ συμπολεμῆ, τάλαντα λαμβάνειν ἐκάστου μηνὸς παρὰ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἐπτακαίδεκα.

2 Ἡ ἴδιαν ἐν τούτων οἱ μὲν Ἀχαιοὶ διελύθησαν ἐπὶ τὸ σόλεις· τῷ δὲ βασιλεὶ βουλευομένῳ μετὰ τῶν φίλων, ἐπειδὴ συνήλθον αἱ δυνάμεις ἐκ τῆς παραχεμασίας, ἐδοξῆ χρῆσαι κατὰ θάλατταν τῷ 2 πολέμῳ. οὕτως γὰρ ἐπέπεισον μόνως αὐτὸς μὲν δυνήσεσθαι ταχέως πανταχόθεν ἐπιφαινέσθαι τοῖς πολεμίοις, τοὺς δ’ ὑπεναντίους ἤκιστ’ ἀν δύνασθαι 3 παραβοηθεῖν ἀλλήλους, ἀτε διεσπασμένους μὲν ταῖς χώραις, δεδιότας δ’ ἐκάστους περὶ σφῶν διὰ τὴν ἁθλητήτα καὶ τὸ τάχος τῆς κατὰ θάλατταν παρουσίας τῶν πολεμίων· πρὸς γὰρ Αιτωλοῦς
owing to the intrigues of Apelles against him at the late election, and that Eperatus was by nature no man of action and was held in contempt by all, he became convinced by these facts of the error that Apelles and Leontius had committed, and decided to take the part of Aratus. He therefore persuaded the magistrates to transfer the Assembly to Sicyon and there meeting the elder and younger Aratus in private and laying all the blame for what had happened on Apelles, he begged them not to desert their original policy. Upon their readily consenting, he entered the assembly and with the support of these statesmen managed to obtain all he wanted for his purpose. For the Achaeans passed a vote to pay him at once fifty talents for his first campaign, to provide three months' pay for his troops and ten thousand medimni of corn, and for the future as long as he remained in the Peloponnese fighting in alliance with them he was to receive seventeen talents per month from the League.

2. After passing this decree the Achaeans dispersed to their several cities. When the troops had mustered from their winter quarters, the king at a council of his friends decided to prosecute the war by sea. This, he was convinced, was the only way by which he could himself fall suddenly on his enemies from every side, while at the same time his adversaries would be deprived of the power of rendering assistance to each other, separated as they were geographically and each in alarm for their own safety owing to the rapidity and secrecy with which the enemy could descend on them by sea. For it was against the Aetolians, Lacedaemonians,
καὶ Λακεδαίμονιος ἔτι δ’ Ἡλείους ὁ πόλεμος
4 ἦν αὐτῷ. κριθέντων δὲ τούτων ἥθροιζε τάς τε
τῶν Ἀχαιῶν νῆς καὶ τάς σφετέρας εἰς τὸ Δέκαιον,
kai συνεχεὶς ποιούμενος ἀναπείρας ἐγύμναζε τοὺς
φαλαγγίτας καὶ συνείθιζε ταῖς εἰρεσίαις, προθύμως
αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸ παραγγελόμενον συνυπακούοντων
5 τῶν Μακεδόνων· πρὸς τε γὰρ τοὺς ἐν γῇ κυνύνους
ἐκ παρατάξεως γενναιότατοι πρὸς τε τὰς κατὰ
θάλατταν ἐκ τοῦ καιροῦ χρείας ἐτοιμότατοι,
λειτουργοὶ γε μὴν περὶ τὰς ταφρείας καὶ χαρα-
κοποίας καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν τοιαύτην ταλαιπωρίαν
6 φιλοπονώτατοι τινες, οίοις Ἡσίόδος παρεισάγει
τοὺς Αἰακίδας,
pολέμῳ κεχαρητότας ἤστε δαυτί.

7· Ὁ μὲν οὖν βασιλεὺς καὶ τὸ τῶν Μακεδόνων
πλῆθος ἐν τῷ Κορίνθῳ διέτριβε, περὶ τὴν κατὰ
8 θάλατταν ἁσκησιν καὶ παρασκευήν γινόμενος· ὁ
δ’ Ἀπελλῆς οὖτ’ ἐπικρατεῖν τοῦ Φιλίππου δυνά-
μενος οὔτε φέρειν τὴν ἐλάττωσιν παρορώμενος,
pοιεῖται συνωμοσίαν πρὸς τοὺς περὶ Λεόντιον
καὶ Μεγαλέαν, ὡστ’ ἑκείνους μὲν συμπαρόντας
ἐπ’ αὐτῶν τῶν καιρῶν ἑθελοκακεῖν καὶ λυμαίνεσθαι
τὰς τοῦ βασιλέως χρείας, αὐτὸς δὲ χωρισθεῖς εἰς
Χαλκίδα φροντίζειν ὡς μηδαμόθεν αὐτῷ χορηγία
9 παραγίνηται πρὸς τὰς ἐπιβολάς. οὖτος μὲν οὖν
τοιαῦτα συνθέμενος καὶ κακοτροπευσάμενος πρὸς
τοὺς προειρημένους ἀπήρευ εἰς τὴν Χαλκίδα,
σκύψεις τινὰς εὐλόγους πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα πορι-
10 σάμενος· κάκει διατρίβων οὖτως βεβαιῶς ἐτήρει
tὰ κατὰ τοὺς ὁρκοὺς, πάντων αὐτῷ πειθαρχοῦντων
κατὰ τὴν προγεγενημένην πίστιν, ὡστε τὸ τελευ-
and Eleans that he was fighting. Having resolved on this he collected at the Lechaeum the Achaean ships and his own, and by constant practice trained the soldiers of the phalanx to row. The Macedonians obeyed his orders in this respect with the utmost alacrity, for they are not only most intrepid in regular battles on land, but very ready to undertake temporary service at sea, and also industrious in digging trenches, erecting palisades and all such hard work, just as Hesiod represents the sons of Aeacus to be "joying in war as if it were a feast."

The king, then, and the bulk of the Macedonian army remained in Corinth occupied with this training and preparation. But Apelles, being unable either to keep Philip under his influence or to endure the diminishment of his power that resulted from the king's disregard, formed a conspiracy with Leontius and Megaleas by which these two were to remain with Philip and in the actual hour of need damage the king's service by deliberate neglect, while he himself would withdraw to Chalcis and take care that the supplies required for Philip's project should not reach him from any quarter. Having come to this mischievous understanding with these two colleagues, he left for Chalcis, alleging some plausible pretext to the king, and remaining there so effectually kept his sworn word, all yielding him obedience owing to his former credit at court, that
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taîon ἀναγκασθήναι τὸν βασιλέα δι’ ἀπορίαν ἐνέχυρα τιθέντα τῶν πρὸς τὴν χρείαν ἀργυρωμάτων ἀπὸ τούτων ποιεῖσθαι τὴν διαγωγὴν.
11 Ἡθροισμένων δὲ τῶν πλοίων, καὶ τῶν Μακεδόνων ἡδὴ ταῖς εἰρεσίαις κατηρτισμένων, συνομετρήσας καὶ μισθοδοτήσας ὁ βασιλεὺς τὴν δύναμιν ἀνήκθη, καὶ κατήρε δευτεραῖος εἰς Πάτρας, ἤχων Μακεδόνας μὲν ἐξακισχιλίους μισθοφόρους δὲ χιλίους καὶ 3 διακοσίους. κατὰ δὲ τούς αὐτοὺς καυροὺς Δωρίμαχος ὥς τῶν Αἰτωλῶν στρατηγὸς Ἀγέλαον καὶ Σκόταν ἐξαπέστειλε τοῖς Ἡλείοις μετὰ Νεοκρήτων πεντακοσίων. οὐ δὲ Ἡλείοι δεδιότες μὴ τὴν Κυλλήνην ὁ Φίλιππος ἐπιβάλησεν πολιορκεῖν, στρατιώτας τε μισθοφόρους συνήθροιζον καὶ τοὺς πολιτικοὺς ἤτοιμαζον, ὑχυροῦντο δὲ καὶ τὴν 2 Κυλλήνην ἐπιμελῶς. εἰς δὲ βλέπων ὁ Φίλιππος τοὺς τε τῶν Ἀχαιῶν μισθοφόρους καὶ τῶν παρ’ αὐτῷ Κρητῶν καὶ τῶν Γαλατικῶν ἵππεων τῶν, σὺν δὲ τούτως τῶν ἐξ Ἀχαίας ἐπιλέκτων εἰς δισχιλίους πεζοὺς ἀθροίζας ἐν τῇ τῶν Δυμαίων πόλει κατέλειπεν, ἀμα μὲν ἐφεδρείας ἔχοντας ἀμα δὲ προφυλακῆς τάξιν πρὸς τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἡλείας 3 φόβον. αὐτὸς δὲ ἐτι πρότερον γεγραφὼς τοῖς Μεσσηνίοις καὶ τοῖς Ἡπειρώταις, ἐτὶ δὲ τοῖς Ἀκαρνάσι καὶ Σκερδιλάιδα, πληροῦν ἐκάστοτε τὰ παρ’ αὐτοῖς πλοία καὶ συναντῶν εἰς Κεφαλληνίαν, ἀναχθεῖ εἰκ τῶν Πατρῶν κατὰ τὴν σύνταξιν ἔπλευ, καὶ προσέσχε τῆς Κεφαλληνίας κατὰ Πρόνοιος. 4 ὅρων δὲ τὸ τε πολιομάτιον [τοὺς Πρόνοοι] δυσπολιορκητὸν ὄν καὶ τὴν χώραν στενὴν παρέπλευ τῷ στόλῳ, καὶ καθωρημένη ἐπάγε τὴν τῶν Παλαίων 5 πόλεις. συνιδὼν δὲ ταύτῃ τὴν χώραν γέμοισαν.
at length the king was in such want of money that he was compelled to pawn some of the plate in use at his table and subsist on the proceeds.

When the ships were collected, the Macedonians being now well instructed in rowing, the king, after issuing rations of corn to his troops and paying them, put to sea, and on the second day arrived at Patrae with six thousand Macedonians and twelve hundred mercenaries. 3. At about the same time Dorimachus, the Aetolian strategus, dispatched to the Eleans Agelaus and Scopas with five hundred Neo-Cretans. The Eleans, afraid of Philip’s attempting to besiege Cyllene, were collecting mercenaries, preparing their civic force and carefully strengthening Cyllene. Philip, aware of this, collected a force consisting of the Achaean’s mercenaries, a few of his own Cretans, some Gaulish horse and about two thousand picked infantry from Achaea, and left it in Dyme to act both as a reserve and as a protection against the danger from Elis. He himself, after first writing to the Messenians, Epirots, and Acaeanians and to Scerdilaïdas to man their ships and meet him at Cephallenia, put out from Patrae, as he had agreed, and reached Pronni on the coast of Cephallenia. Observing that this small town was difficult to take by siege, and that the position was a confined one, he sailed past it with his fleet and anchored off Palus, where, finding the country full
σίτου καὶ δυναμένην τρέφειν στρατόπεδου, τήν μὲν δύναμιν ἐκβιβάσας προσεστρατοπέδευσε τῇ πόλει, τὰς δὲ ναύς συνορμίσας τάφρῳ καὶ χάρακι περιέβαλε, τοὺς δὲ Μακεδόνας ἐφήκε σιτολογεῖν.
6 αὐτὸς δὲ περιήγη τῇ πόλιν, ἐπισκοπῶν πῶς δυνατὸν εἳ προσάγειν ἑργα τῷ τείχει καὶ μηχανάς, βουλόμενος ἁμα μὲν προσδέξασθαι τοὺς συμμάχους
7 ἀμα δὲ τὴν πόλιν ἐξελεῖν, ἤν πρῶτον μὲν Αἰτωλῶν παρέληται τὴν ἀναγκαιοτάτην ὑπηρεσίαν (ταῖς γὰρ τῶν Κεφαλληνίων ναυσὶ χρώμενοι τὰς τ᾽ εἰς Πελοπόννησον ἐποιοῦντο διαβάσεις, καὶ τὰς Ἡπειρωτῶν ἔτι δ᾽ Ἀκαρνάνων ἐπόρθουν παραλίας).
8 δεύτερον δ᾽ ἵνα παρασκευάσῃ μὲν αὐτῷ παρα-
σκευάση δὲ τοῖς συμμάχοις ὄρμητηριον εὑρέσει
9 κατὰ τῆς τῶν πολεμίων χώρας. Ἡ γὰρ Κεφαλληνία κεῖται μὲν κατὰ τὸν Κορινθιακὸν κόλπον ὡς εἰς τὸ
10 Σικελικὸν ἀνατείνουσα πέλαγος, ἐπίκειται δὲ τῆς μὲν Πελοπόννησον τοῖς πρὸς ἀρκτον καὶ πρὸς ἐσπέραν μέρει κεκλιμένοις, καὶ μάλιστα τῇ τῶν Ἡλείων χώρα, τῆς δ᾽ Ἡπείρου καὶ τῆς Αἰτωλίας ἔτι δὲ τῆς Ἀκαρνανίας τοῖς πρὸς μεσημβρίαν καὶ
4 πρὸς τὰς δύσεις μέρεσιν ἐστραμμένοις. διὸ καὶ πρὸς τε τὴν συναγωγὴν τῶν συμμάχων εὐφυῶς ἐχούσης καὶ κατὰ τῆς τῶν πολεμίων καὶ πρὸ τῆς τῶν φίλων χώρας εὐκαύρως κειμένης, ἐσπευδὴ χειρωσάμενος ὑφ᾽ αὐτὸν ποιήσασθαι τὴν νῆσον.
2 συνθεωρῶν δὲ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα πάντα μέρη τῆς πόλεως τὰ μὲν θαλάττῃ τὰ δὲ κρημνοῖς περιεχόμενα, βραχὺν δὲ τινὰ τόπον ἐπίπεδον αὐτῆς ὑπάρχοντα, τὸ πρὸς τὴν Ζάκυνθου ἐστραμμένον, τῇ δὲ διενοεῖτο προσάγειν ἑργα καὶ τῇ τὴν ὅλην συνίστασθαι
3 πολιορκίαι. ὃ μὲν οὖν βασιλεὺς περὶ ταῦτα καὶ
10
of corn and capable of providing subsistence for an army, he disembarked his forces and encamped before the town. Beaching his ships close together and surrounding them with a trench and palisade he sent out the Macedonians to gather in the corn. He himself made the circuit of the city to see how the wall could be attacked by siege-works and machines. He intended to wait here for his allies and at the same time to take the town, in order in the first place to deprive the Aetolians of their most indispensable aid—for they used the Cephalenian ships to cross to the Peloponnese and to plunder the coasts of Epirus and Acarnania—and next to provide for himself and his allies a base favourably situated from which to descend on the enemy's territory. For Cephalenia lies off the Gulf of Corinth, stretching out to the Sicilian Sea, and overlooks the north-western part of the Peloponnese, especially Elis and the south-western districts of Epirus, Aetolia, and Acarnania. 4. Since, therefore, it was a convenient rendezvous for the allies and a favourable site for attacking enemy and defending friendly territory, he was very anxious to get the island into his hands. Observing that all the other parts of the city were surrounded either by the sea or by cliffs, and that the only little piece of level ground was on the side facing Zacynthus, he decided to throw up works and open the siege here. While
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πρὸς τούτοις ἦν· κατὰ δὲ τὸν καύρον τούτον πεντεκαίδεκα μὲν ἦκον λέμβοι παρὰ Σκερδυλαίδον (τοὺς γὰρ πλείστους ἐκκυλήθη πέμψας διὰ τὰς γενομένας ἐπιβουλὰς καὶ παραχὰς περὶ τοὺς κατὰ 4 τὴν Ἰλλυρίδα πολιδυνάστας), ἦκον δὲ καὶ παρ’ Ἡπειρωτῶν καὶ παρ’ Ἀκαρνάνων ἐτὶ δὲ Μεσσηνίων
5 οἱ διαταχθέντες σύμμαχοι· τῆς γὰρ τῶν Φιαλέων πόλεως ἔξωμεθείσης ἀπροφασίστως τὸ λοιπὸν ἦδη
6 μετείχον Μεσσηνίων τοῦ πολέμου. τῶν δὲ πρὸς τὴν πολιορκίαν ἠτομασμένων διαθεὶς τὰ βέλη καὶ
toὺς πετροβόλους κατὰ τοὺς ἀρμόζοντας τόπους πρὸς τὸ κωλὺειν τοὺς ἄμυνομένους, παρακαλέσας
toὺς Μακεδόνας ὁ βασιλεὺς προσῆκε τὰς μηχανὰς
toῖς τείχεσι καὶ διὰ τούτων τοῖς ὀργάσασι
7 ἐνεχείρει. ταχὺ δὲ τοῦ τείχους ἐπὶ δύο πλέθρα
kρεμασθέντος διὰ τὴν ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις προθυμίαν
tῶν Μακεδόνων, ἐγγίσας τοῖς τείχεσιν ὁ βασιλεὺς
παρῆκε τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει τίθεσθαι πρὸς αὐτὸν τὴν
8 εἰρήνην. τῶν δὲ παρακούοντων ἐμβαλὼν πῦρ τοῖς
ἐρείπμασιν ὅμοι πάν τὸ διεστυλωμένον κατέβαλε
9 τείχος. οὗ γενομένου πρώτους ἐφήκε τοὺς πελ-
tαστάς τοὺς ὑπὸ Λεόντιον ταττομένους, σπειρηδὸν
tάξιας καὶ παραγγείλας βιάζεσθαι διὰ τοῦ πτώματος.
10 οί δὲ περὶ τὸν Λεόντιον τηροῦντες τὰ πρὸς τὸν
Ἀπελλῆν συγκείμενα τρὶς ἕξις τοὺς νεανίσκους,
ὑπερβάντας τὸ πτώμα, διέτρεψαν τοῦ μῆ τελε-
11 σιουργῆσαι τὴν κατάληψιν τῆς πόλεως, προδι-
εθαρκότες μὲν τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους τῶν κατὰ
μέρος ἡγεμόνων, ἐθελοκακοῦντες δὲ καὶ παρ’
12 ἔκαστον ἀποδελιώντες αὐτοῖ. τέλος ἐξέπεσον ἐκ
tῆς πόλεως πολλὰς πληγὰς λαβόντες, καὶ περ
13 εὐχερῶς δυνάμενοι κρατήσαι τῶν πολεμίων. ὁ
the king was thus occupied, fifteen boats arrived from Scerdilaïdas, who had been prevented from sending the major part of his fleet owing to plots and disturbances among the city despots throughout Illyria, and there came also the contingents ordered from Epirus, Acarnania, and Messene; for now that Phigaleia had been taken, the Messenians had no longer any hesitation in taking part in the war. All being now ready for the siege, the king placed his balistae and catapults at the proper spots for holding back the garrison, and after addressing the Macedonians brought his machines up to the walls and began to open mines under their cover. The Macedonians worked with such goodwill that about two hundred feet of the wall was soon undermined, and the king now approached the wall and invited the garrison to come to terms. On their refusal he set fire to the props and brought down all that part of the wall which had been underpinned, upon which he first of all sent forward the peltasts under Leontius, drawing them up in cohorts and ordering them to force their way through the breach. But Leontius, faithful to his agreement with Apelles, three times in succession deterred the soldiers after they had actually passed the breach from completing the conquest of the city, and having previously corrupted some of the principal officers and himself making a deliberate exhibition of cowardice on each occasion, he was finally driven out of the city with considerable loss, although he might easily have overcome the enemy. The king, when he saw that the
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de βασιλεὺς ὐρὼν ἀποδειλώντας μὲν τοὺς ἡγεμόνας, τραγματίας δὲ καὶ πλείους γεγονότας τῶν Μακεδόνων, τῆς μὲν πολιορκίας ἀπέστη, περὶ δὲ τῶν ἔξεστι ἐβουλεύετο μετὰ τῶν φίλων.

5 Κατὰ δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς καυροὺς Δυκοῦργος μὲν εἰς τὴν Μεσσηνίαν ἐξεστρατεύκει, Δωρίμαχος δὲ τοὺς ἡμίσεις ἔχων Αἰτωλῶν εἰς Θεταλίαν ἔπετοιητο τὴν ὁρμήν, ἄμφοτεροι πεπεισμένοι τὸν Φίλιππον ἀποστάσεων τῆς τῶν Παλαιέων πολιορκίας. ὤπερ ὤν ἦκον πρέσβεις πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα παρὰ τε Ἀκαρνάνων καὶ παρὰ Μεσσηνίων, οἱ μὲν παρὰ τῶν Ἀκαρνάνων παρακαλοῦντες αὐτὸν ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν τῶν Αἰτωλῶν χώραν καὶ τὸν τε Δωρίμαχον ἀποστήσαι τῆς εἰς τὴν Μακεδονίαν ὁρμής καὶ τὴν χώραν τῶν Αἰτωλῶν ἐπελθεῖν καὶ πορθῆσαι 3 πάσαν ἀδεῶς, οἱ δὲ παρὰ τῶν Μεσσηνίων δεόμενοι σφίσι βοηθεῖν, καὶ διδάσκοντες ὅτι τῶν ἐτησίων ἡδή στάσιν ἐχόντων δυνατὸν ἐστὶ τὴν παρακομιδὴν ἐκ τῆς Κεφαλληνίας εἰς τὴν Μεσσηνίαν ἐν ἢμέρα 4 ποιήσασθαι μᾶς: διόπερ οἱ περὶ Γόργον τὸν Μεσσηνίων αἰφνίδιον καὶ πραγματικὴν ἐσομένην 5 συνίστασαν τὴν ἐπὶ τὸν Δυκοῦργον ἐπίθεσιν. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Λεόντιον, τηροῦντες τὴν αὐτῶν ὑπόθεσιν, συνήγουν τοὺς περὶ τοῦ Γόργον ἐκτενῶς, θεωροῦντες ὅτι συμβηκεῖ τὴν θερείαν εἰς τέλος ἀπρακτον 6 γενέσθαι τῷ Φιλίππῳ. πλεῦσαι μὲν γὰρ εἰς τὴν Μεσσηνίαν ῥάδιον ἦν, ἀναπλεῦσαι δὲ ἐκείθεν τῶν ἐτησίων ἐπεχόντων ἀδύνατον: ἐξ οὗ δὴλον ἦν ὡς ὁ μὲν Φιλίππος ἐν τῇ Μεσσηνίᾳ μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως συγκλεισθεῖς ἀναγκασθῆσαι τὸ λοιπὸν μέρος τοῦ βέρους ἀπρακτος μένειν, οἱ δὲ Αἰτωλοὶ τὴν Θεταλίαν καὶ τὴν "Ἡπειρον ἐπιπορευόμενοι κατασυρόθι
commanding officers were playing the coward and
a great number of the soldiers were wounded,
abandoned the siege and consulted his friends about
the next step to be taken.

5. About the same time Lycurgus had marched
out to invade Messenia, and Dorimachus with half
the Aetolian forces had attacked Thessaly, both
under the belief that they would draw away Philip
from the siege of Palus. Embassies reached the
king on the matter from the Acarnanians and
Messenians; those from Acarnania pressing him to
invade Aetolia and thus force Dorimachus to abandon
his attack on Macedonia, at the same time over-
running and plundering unhindered the whole of
Aetolia, while the Messenians implored him to
come and help them, pointing out to him that now
that the Etesian winds had set in, he could easily
cross from Cephallenia to Messenia in a single day.
In consequence, as Gorgus the Messenian urged,
his attack on Lycurgus would be unexpected and
sure of success. Leontius, still in pursuit of his
plan, vigorously supported Gorgus, seeing that thus
the summer would be entirely wasted by Philip.
For it was an easy enough thing to sail to Messene,
but to sail back again during the period of the
Etesian winds was impossible. The evident result
would be that Philip would be shut up in Messenia
with his army and have to spend the rest of the
summer in idleness, while the Aetolians would
overrun and plunder unmolested both Thessaly and
8 καὶ πορθοῦσι πᾶσαν ἅδεως. οὗτοι μὲν οἷν λυμεωνεύμενοι ταῦτα καὶ τοιαῦτα συνεβούλευν, οἳ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἀρατόν συμπαρόντες τῆς ἐναντίας 9 προέτασαν γνώμης. δεῖν γὰρ ἔφασαν εἰς τὴν Ἀιτωλίαν ποιεῖσθαι τὸν πλοῦν καὶ τούτων ἔχεσθαι τῶν πραγμάτων ἐξοστρατευκότων γὰρ τῶν Ἀι- τωλῶν μετὰ Δωριμάχου κάλλιστον εἶναι καιρὸν 10 ἐπελθεῖν καὶ πορθῆσαι τὴν Ἀιτωλίαν. οὗ δὲ βασιλεὺς τὰ μὲν ἀπιστῶν ήδη τοῖς περὶ τὸν Δεόν- τιον ἐκ τῆς περὶ τὴν πολιορκίαν ἔθελοκακήσεως, συναισθανόμενος δὲ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ περὶ τὸν Παλοῦντα διαβουλοῦν αὐτῶν τὴν κακοπραγμοσύνην, ἔκρινε χρῆσθαι τοῖς πράγμασι κατὰ τὴν Ἀρατοῦ γνώμην. 11 διόπερ Ἐπιρατόν μὲν ἔγραψε, τῷ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν στρατηγῷ, βοηθεῖν τοῖς Μεσσηνίοις ἀναλαβόντι τους Ἀχαιοὺς. αὐτὸς δὲ ἀναχθεὶς ἐκ τῆς Κεφαλ- ληνίας παρῆν δευτεραῖος εἰς Λευκάδα μετὰ τοῦ 12 στόλου νικτός. εὐτρεπισάμενος δὲ τὰ περὶ τὸν Διόρκτον, καὶ ταύτη διακομίσας τὰς ναῦς, ἐποιεῖτο τὸν ἀπόπλουν κατὰ τὸν Ἀμβρακικὸν καλούμενον 13 κόλπον. οὗ δὲ προειρημένος κόλπος ἐπὶ πολὺ προτεῖνων ἐκ τοῦ Σικελικοῦ πελάγους εἰς τοὺς μεσογαίους ἀνήκει τόπους τῆς Ἀιτωλίας, καθάπερ 14 καὶ πρότερον ἡμῖν εὑρηταί. διανύσας δὲ καὶ καθορμισθεὶς βραχὺ πρὸ ἡμέρας πρὸς τῇ καλούμενῇ Λιμναίᾳ, τοῖς μὲν στρατιώταις ἀριστοποιεῖσθαι παρήγγειλε καὶ τὸ πολὺ τῆς ἀποσκευῆς ἀποθεμένους εὐξώνους σφᾶς παρασκευάζειν πρὸς ἀνα- 15 ζυγὴν, αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς ὀδηγοὺς ἀθροίσας τὰ τε περὶ τοὺς τόπους καὶ τὰς παρακειμένας πόλεις 6 ἐπυνθάνετο καὶ διηρεύνα. κατὰ δὲ τὸν καιρὸν τούτον ἦκεν ἔχων Ἀριστοφαντὸς ὁ στρατηγὸς 16
Epirus. Such were Leontius' pernicious motives in tendering this advice. But Aratus, who was present, spoke in support of the opposite view, advising Philip to sail to Aetolia and give his whole attention to operations there; for as the Aetolians had left with Dorimachus on his expedition, it was an excellent opportunity for invading and pillaging Aetolia. The king had already entertained suspicions of Leontius owing to his deliberate cowardice at the siege, and perceiving now his treachery from the advice he gave to sail south, decided to yield to the opinion of Aratus. He therefore wrote to Eperatus the strategus of the Achaeans to give assistance to the Messenians with Achaean forces, and himself sailing from Cephallenia reached Leucas in the night after a two days' voyage. Having cleared the canal called Dioryctus he brought his ships through it and sailed up the Ambracian Gulf. This gulf, as I previously stated, runs up from the Sicilian sea for a long distance into the interior. Having passed up it he anchored a little before daylight at the place called Limnaea, where ordering his men to take their breakfast and then to get rid of the greater part of their encumbrances and lighten themselves for the march, he himself collected the local guides and made inquiries about the district and neighbouring cities.
πανδημεί τοὺς Ἀκαρνάνας· πολλὰ γὰρ καὶ δενὶ
πεπονθότες ἐν τοῖς ἀνώτεροις χρόνοις ὑπ᾽ Αἰτωλῶν
ἐκθύμως εἶχον πρὸς τὸ κατὰ πάντα τρόπον ἀμφι
σεθαι καὶ βλάψαι τοὺς Αἰτωλοὺς. διὸσπερ ἀσμέ
νως ἐπιλαβόμενοι τότε τῆς Μακεδόνων ἐπαρ
κείας ἦκον ἐν τοῖς ὀπλοῖς, οὐ μόνον ὅσοι ὁ νόμος
ἐπέταττε στρατεύειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων
3 τινές· οὐκ ἠλάττω δὲ τούτων ὅρμην εἶχον Ἡπει
ρώται διὰ τὰς παραπλησίους αἰτίας· διὰ δὲ τὸ
μέγεθος τῆς χώρας καὶ διὰ τὸ τῆς παρουσίας
αἱφνίδιον τῆς τοῦ Φιλίππου καθυστέρουν τῇ
4 συναγωγῇ τῶν καιρῶν. τῶν δ᾽ Αἰτωλῶν τοὺς
μὲν ἡμίσεις ἔχων Δωρίμαχος, καθάπερ εἶπον,
toὺς δ᾽ ἡμίσεις ἀπολεοίτες, νομίζον ἀξιόχρεων
πρὸς τὰ παράδοξα ταύτην τὴν ἐφεδρείαν ὑπάρχει
5 τῶν τε πόλεων καὶ τῆς χώρας. δὲ βασιλεῖς
ἀπολιπὼν φυλακῆν ἴκανήν τῆς ἀποσκευῆς, τότε
μὲν ἀναζευξάς ἐκ τῆς Λυμναίας δείλης καὶ προελθὼν
6 ὡς ἐξήκοντα στάδια κατεστρατοπέδευσε, δειπνο
ποιησάμενος δὲ καὶ βραχὺ διαναπαύσας τὴν
dύσμιν αὕτης ἄρμα, καὶ συνεχῶς νυκτοπορήσας
ἡκε πρὸς τὸν Ἀχελὼν ποταμὸν ἄρτι τῆς ἡμέρας
ἐπιφανοῦσθη, μεταξὺ Κωνώπης καὶ Στράτου,
σπεῦδων ἄφων καὶ παράδοξως ἐπὶ τὸν ἐν τοῖς
Θέρμωσ τόπον ἐπιβαλεῖν.
7 Οἴ δὲ περὶ τὸν Δεόντιον κατὰ δύο τρόπους
ὄρωντες τὸν μὲν Φιλίππου καθισμόμενον τῆς προ
θέσεως τοὺς δ᾽ Αἰτωλοὺς ἀδυνατήσοντας τοὺς
παροῦσι, καθ᾽ ἐνα μὲν ἣ ταχεῖα καὶ παράδοξος ἣ
2 τῶν Μακεδόνων ἐγεγόνει παρουσία, καθ᾽ ἐτερον δὲ
ἡ πρός γε τὸν ἐν τοῖς Θέρμωσ τόπον οὐδέποτ᾽ ἂν
ὕπολαβόντες Αἰτωλοὶ τολμήσαι τὸν Φιλίππον οὕτω
18
gus now arrived in full force; for the Acarnanians had suffered so much from the Aetolians in former times that they were passionately desirous of being revenged on them and doing them all possible injury; and therefore, availing themselves now gladly of the arrival of the Macedonians, they came in arms and not only those who were legally obliged to serve, but even some of the elder men. The spirit of the Epirotes was no less eager and for the same reason, but owing to the size of their country and the suddenness of Philip's arrival they were not able to gather their forces in time. As I said, Dorimachus had taken with him half of the total Aetolian levy and left the other half behind, thinking this force adequate for the protection of the towns and the country from a surprise attack. The king, leaving a sufficient guard for his baggage, began to march from Limnaea in the evening and having advanced about sixty stades encamped. Having supped and given his troops a little rest he again set out and marching all through the night reached the river Achelous at a spot between Conope and Stratus just as day was breaking, his object being to fall suddenly and unexpectedly on the district of Thermus.

7. Leontius saw that there were two circumstances which would lead to Philip's attainment of his purpose and render the Aetolians incapable of facing the situation, first the rapidity and unexpectedness of the Macedonian advance and secondly the fact that the Aetolians, never dreaming that Philip would so readily venture to throw himself into the country
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προχείρως αυτόν δοῦναι διὰ τὰς ὀχυρότητας τῶν τόπων ἐμελλὼν ἀπρονότητοι καὶ παντελῶς ἀπαρά-3 σκενοὶ ληφθῇσθαι πρὸς τὸ συμβαίνον· εἰς ἀ βλέποντες, καὶ τηροῦντες τὴν ἐαυτῶν πρόθεσιν, ὥντο δεῖν τὸν Φίλιππον περὶ τὸν Ἀχελῶνον στρατοπεδεύσαντα προσαναπαύσαι τὴν δύναμιν ἐκ τῆς νυκτοπορίας, σπουδάζοντες βραχείαν γε τοῖς Αἰτωλοῖς ἀναστροφὴν δοῦναι πρὸς τὴν βοή-4 θειαν. οἷς δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἀράτον θεωροῦντες τὸν μὲν καιρὸν ὡς ὄντα τῆς ἐπιβολῆς, τοὺς δὲ περὶ τὸν Λεόντιον προδήλως ἐμποδίζοντας, διεμαρτύ-ροντο τὸν Φίλιππον μὴ παρέναι τὸν καιρὸν μηδὲ 5 καταμέλειν. οἷς καὶ πεισθεὶς ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ προσκόπτων ἦδη τοῖς περὶ τὸν Λεόντιον ἐποιεῖτο 6 τὴν πορείαν κατὰ τὸ συνεχές· διαβὰς δὲ τὸν Ἀχελῶνον ποταμὸν προήγει συντόνως ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν Ἐρμοῦν· ἀμα δὲ προάγων ἐδήμου καὶ κατέφθειρε 7 τὴν χώραν. παρήγει δὲ ἐκ μὲν εὐωνύμων ἀπολιπῶν Στράτον Ἀγρίνιον Θεσπείζ, ἐκ δὲ δεξιῶν Κωνώπην 8 Λυσιμάχειαν Τριχώνιον Φύταιον. ἀφικόμενος δὲ πρὸς πόλιν τὴν καλουμένην Μέταπαν, ἦ κεῖται μὲν ἐπὶ αὐτῆς τῆς Τριχωνίδος λίμνης καὶ τῶν παρὰ ταύτην στενῶν, ἀπέχει δὲ σχεδὸν ἐξήκοντα 9 στάδια τοῦ προσαγωγευμένου Θέρμου, ταύτην μὲν ἐκλιπόντων τῶν Αἰτωλῶν εἰσαγαγῶν πεντα-κοσίους στρατιῶτας κατεῖχε, βουλομένου ἐφεδρεία χρῆσασθαι πρὸς τε τὴν εἰσοδον καὶ τὴν ἔξοδον 10 τὴν ἐκ τῶν στενῶν (Ἴστι γὰρ πάς ὁ παρὰ τὴν λίμνης τόπος ὅρεινός καὶ τραχύς, συνηγμένος τοῖς ὑλαῖς· διὸ καὶ παντελῶς στενὴν καὶ δυναδίδουν 11 ἔχει τὴν πάροδον). μετὰ δὲ ταύτα τοὺς μὲν μισθοφόρους προθέμενος πάσης τῆς πορείας, ἐπὶ
round Thermus owing to its great natural strength, would be caught off their guard and absolutely unprepared for such an occurrence. In view of this, then, and still pursuing his purpose, he recommended Philip to encamp near the Achealous and give his troops a longer rest after their night march, his object being to give the Aetolians a brief time at least to organize their resistance. Aratus, however, seeing that the time for the enterprise was now or never and that Leontius was evidently hampering it, implored Philip not to let the opportunity slip by delaying his advance. The king, displeased as he already was with Leontius, took this advice and continued his march. Crossing the Achealous he advanced briskly on Thermus plundering and devastating the country as he went, leaving as he proceeded Stratus, Agrinium, and Thestia on his left and Conope, Lysimachia, Trichonium, and Phytæum on his right. Reaching a town called Metapa, situated on Lake Trichonis and close to the neighbouring pass, at a distance of about six miles from Thermus, he occupied this place, which the Aetolians had abandoned, with a force of five hundred men serving to cover his entrance into the pass and secure his retreat: for all this bank of the lake is steep, rugged and wooded to the water's edge, so that the path along it is quite narrow and very difficult. After this, putting his mercenaries
δὲ τούτοις τοὺς Ἰλλυριώτας, ἔξης δὲ τοὺς πελταστὰς καὶ φαλαγγίτας ἔχων προήγε διὰ τῶν στενῶν, ἀπουραγοῦντων μὲν αὐτῶ τῶν Κρητῶν, δεξιῶν δὲ παρὰ πλάγια τῶν Θρακῶν καὶ ψιλῶν ἀντιπαρα-
poreuoμένων ταῖς χώραις. τὴν μὲν γὰρ ἐκ τῶν εὐωνύμων ἐπιφάνειαν τῆς πορείας ἡσφάλισθ' ἢ
λίμνη σχεδὸν ἐπὶ τριάκοντα στάδια. ἀνύσας δὲ
toūs προειρημένους τόπους, καὶ παραγενόμενος
πρὸς τὴν καλομένην κώμην Παμφίαν, ὦμοιως
καὶ ταύτην ἀσφαλισάμενον φρουρὰ προέβαιν πρὸς
tὸν Θέρμων, ὅδον οὐ μόνον προσάντη καὶ τραχείαν
diaφερόντως, ἀλλὰ καὶ κρημνοὺς ἔξ ἐκατέροις τοῦ
2 μέρους ἔχουσαν βαθεῖς, ὡστε καὶ λίαν ἐπισφαλῆ
καὶ στενὴν τὴν πάροδον εἶναι κατ' ἐνίος τόπους,
tῆς πάσης ἀναβάσεως οὐσίας σχεδὸν ἐπὶ τριάκοντα
3 στάδια. διανύσας δὲ καὶ ταύτην ἐν βραχεὶ χρόνῳ
diὰ τὸ τοὺς Μακεδόνας ἐνεργὸν ποιεῖσθαι τὴν
4 πορείαν ἦκε πολλῆς ὥρας ἐπὶ τὸν Θέρμων, καὶ
καταστρατοπεδεύσας ἐφῆκε τὴν δύναμιν τὰς τε
περιουκίδας κάωμας πορθεῖν καὶ τὸ τῶν Θερμίων
πεδίον ἐπιτρέχει, ὦμοιως δὲ καὶ τὰς οἰκίας τὰς ἐν
αὐτῶ τῷ Θέρμῳ διαρράξειν, οὕτως πλήρεις οὐ
μόνον σῖτον καὶ τῆς τοιαύτης χορηγίας ἀλλὰ καὶ
5 κατασκευὴ διαφερούσης τῶν παρ' Αἰτωλῶν. καθ’
ἐκαστὸν γὰρ ἐστο ἀγορᾶς τε καὶ πανηγύρεις ἐπιφα-
νεστάτας, ἐτι δὲ καὶ τὰς τῶν ἀρχαιστῶν καταστά-
σεις ἐν τούτω τῷ τόπῳ συντελοῦντων, ἐκαστοὶ
πρὸς τὰς ὑποδοχὰς καὶ τὰς εἰς ταῦτα παρασκευὰς
τὰ πολυτελέστατα τῶν ἐν τοῖς βίοις υπαρχόντων
6 εἰς τούτοις ἀπετίθεντο τὸν τόπον. χωρὶς δὲ τῆς
χρείας καὶ τὴν ἁσφάλειαν ἠλπίζον ἐνταύθῳ βεβαιο-
τάτην αὐτοῖς υπάρχειν διὰ τὸ μήτε πολέμιον
22
at the head of the column, the Illyrians behind them, and last of all the peltasts and heavy-armed soldiers, he advanced through the pass, with the Cretans guarding his rear and the Thracians and light-armed troops advancing parallel to him through the country on his right flank, his left flank being protected by the lake for a distance of about thirty stades. 8. Having got through this pass he reached a village called Pamphia, which he likewise garrisoned, and then continued his advance on Thermus by a path not only exceedingly steep and rugged, but having high precipices on each side, so that in some places the passage was very narrow and dangerous, the total ascent being about thirty stades. Having accomplished this also in a very short time, as the Macedonians marched at a great pace, he reached Thermus late in the evening, and encamping there, sent out his men to sack the surrounding villages and at the same time to loot the houses in Thermus itself, which were not only full of corn and other provisions, but more richly furnished than any in Aetolia. For as it is here that they hold every year a very splendid fair and festival, as well as the election of their magistrates, they all kept the most precious of their goods stored up in this place to be used for the proper reception of their guests and for the various needs of the festive season. Apart too from the need for their use, they thought it was far the safest place in which to store them, as no enemy had ever dared to invade this
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τετολμηκέναι μηδένα πώποτε εἰς τοὺς τόπους τούτους ἐμβαλεῖν, εἰναι τῇ φύσει τοιούτους ὡστε τῆς συμπάσης Αἰτωλίας οἴον ἀκροπόλεως ἔχειν
7 τάξιν. διόπερ ἐίρηνευμένης ἐκ παλαιοὶ τῆς χώρας πλήρεις ἦσαν ἀγαθῶν πολλῶν αἱ τῇ περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν
8 οἰκίαι καὶ πάντες οἱ πέριξ τοῦ. ἔκεινην μὲν ὄν τὴν νύκτα παντοδαπῆς γέμοντες ὕφελείς αὐτοῦ κατημισθησαν. ὡς δ' ἐπαύριον τῆς μὲν κατασκευῆς τὰ πολυτελέστατα καὶ τὰ δυνατὰ κομίζοντας διέλεγον, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ σωρεύοντες
9 πρὸ τῶν σκηνῶν ἐνεπίμπρασαν. ὅμοιος δὲ καὶ τῶν ὀπλων τῶν ἐν ταῖς στοαῖς ἀνακεμένων τὰ μὲν πολυτελῆ καθαίροντες ἀπεκόμιζον, τινὰ δ' ὕπιλλαττον, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ συναθροίσαντες πῦρ ἐνέβαλον. ἤν δὲ ταύτα πλείω τῶν μυρίων καὶ πεντακιςχιλίων.

9 Καὶ ἔως μὲν τούτου πάντα κατὰ τοὺς τοῦ πολέμου νόμους καλῶς καὶ δικαίως ἐπράττετο: τὰ δὲ μετὰ ταύτα πῶς χρῆ λέγεναι οὐκ οἶδα.

2 λαβόντες γὰρ ἐννοοῖν τῶν ἐν Δίῳ καὶ Δωδώνη πεπραγμένων τοῖς Αἰτωλοῖς τόσο τε στοὰς ἐνεπίμπρασαν καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν ἀναθημάτων διεφθείρον, ὅντα πολυτελῆ ταῖς κατασκευαῖς καὶ πολλῆς

3 ἐπιμελείας ἐνια τετευχότα καὶ διαπάνης. οὐ μόνον δὲ τῷ πυρὶ κατελυμῆναντο τᾶς ὀροφᾶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατέσκαψαν εἰς ἔδαφος. ἀνέτρεψαν δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀνδριάντας, ὄντας οὐκ ἐλάττους δισχιλίων· πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ διεφθείραν, πλὴν ὅσοι θεών ἐπίγραφας ἢ τύπους εἶχον· τῶν δὲ τοιούτων

4 ἀπέσχοντο. κατέγραφον δ' εἰς τοὺς τοίχους καὶ τὸν περιφερόμενον στίχον, ἢδη τότε τῆς ἐπιδεξιότητος τῆς Σάμου φυομένης, ὃς ἦν υἱὸς

24
district, and it was indeed, so to speak, the natural citadel of all Aetolia. Consequently, as it had enjoyed peace from time immemorial, the houses in the neighbourhood of the temple and all the places in the environs were full of every kind of valuables. For that night the army bivouacked on the spot laden with booty of every description, and next day they selected the richest and most portable portion of the household goods and making a heap of the rest in front of their tents set fire to it. Similarly as regards the suits of armour dedicated in the porticoes they took down and carried off the most precious, exchanged some for their own and collecting the rest made a bonfire of them. These were more than fifteen thousand in number.

9. Up to now all that had been done was right and fair according to the laws of war, but what shall I say of that which followed? For mindful of what the Aetolians had done at Dium and Dodona they burnt the colonnades and destroyed the rest of the rich and artistic votive offerings, some of which were most elaborate and expensive works. And not only did they damage the roofs of these buildings by the fire, but razed them to the ground. They also threw down the statues numbering not less than two thousand and destroyed many of them, sparing however, such as represented gods or bore inscribed dedications to gods. On the walls they scribbled the often quoted verse due to Samus, son of Chryso-
5 μὲν Χρυσογόνου σύντροφος δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως. ὃ δὲ στίχος ἦν ὃρας τὸ δίον οὕ βέλος διέπτατο;

6 καὶ μεγίστη δῆ καὶ παράστασις ἐπὶ τούτοις εἰσε τόν τε βασιλέα καὶ τοὺς περὶ αὐτῶν φίλους ὡς δικαίως ταῦτα πράττοντας καὶ καθηκόντως, ἀμυνομένους τοὺς ὁμοίους τὴν τῶν Αἰτωλῶν περὶ τὸ Δῆον ἄσέβειαν. ἐμοὶ δὲ τὰναντία δοκεῖ τούτων. εἶ δ' ὁρθὸς ὁ λόγος, σκοπεῖν εἰς μέσῳ πάρεστι χρωμένους οὐ χ ἐτέρους τισὶν ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς οἰκίας ταύτης παραδείγμασιν.

8 Ἀντίγονος ἐκ παρατάξεως νικήσας μάχῃ Κλεομένην τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Λακεδαίμονων ἐγκρατῆς ἐγένετο καὶ τῆς Σπάρτης, αὐτὸς τε ὄν κύριος ὁ βούλουτο χρῆσθαι καὶ τῇ πόλει καὶ τοῖς ἐμπολιτευμένοις τοσοῦτον ἀπείχε τοῦ κακῶς ποιεῖν τοὺς γεγονότας ύποχειρίους ὡς ἐκ τῶν ἐναντίων ἀποδοὺς τὸ πάτριον πολίτευμα καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, καὶ τῶν μεγίστων ἀγαθῶν αὐτῶς γενόμενοι καὶ κοινῇ καὶ κατ' ἰδίαν Λακεδαίμονίοις, οὕτως εἰς τὴν οἰκεῖαν ἀπηλλάγῃ. τοιγαροῦν οὐ μόνον ἐκρίθη παρ' αὐτῶν τὸν καιρὸν εὐεργέτης ἀλλὰ καὶ μεταλλάξας σωτήρ, οὐδὲ παρὰ μόνον Λακεδαίμονίοις ἀλλὰ παρὰ πάσι τοῖς Ἠλλησιν ἀθανᾶτο τέτευχε τιμῆς καὶ δόξης ἐπὶ τοῖς προειρημένοις. καὶ μὴν ὁ πρῶτος αὐτῶν αὐξήσας τὴν βασιλείαν καὶ γενόμενος ἀρχηγὸς τοῦ προσχήματος τῆς οἰκίας, Φίλιππος νικήσας Ἀθηναίους τὴν ἐν Χαιρωνεία μάχην οὐ τοσοῦτον ἦνυσε διὰ τῶν ὀπλῶν ὄσον διὰ τῆς ἐπιεικείας καὶ φιλανθρωπίας τῶν τρόπων τῷ μὲν γὰρ πολέμῳ καὶ τοῖς ὄπλοις αὐτῶν μόνων περιεγένετο καὶ κύριος
gonus and a foster-brother of the king, whose talent was beginning already at this date to reveal itself:

Seest thou how far the bolt divine a hath sped?

and the king and his intimates indeed had a perverse conviction that they were acting rightly and properly in thus retaliating upon the Aetolians for their sacrilegious treatment of Dium. I am quite of the opposite opinion, and we have the material at hand for judging if I am right or not, by taking examples not from elsewhere but from the previous history of this royal house.

When Antigonus after defeating Cleomenes king of the Lacedaemonians in a pitched battle became master of Sparta and had absolute authority to treat the city and citizens as he chose, so far from injuring those who were at his mercy, he restored to them on the contrary their national constitution and their liberty, and did not return to Macedonia before he had conferred the greatest public and private benefits on the Lacedaemonians. Not only therefore was he regarded as their benefactor at the time but after his death he was venerated as their preserver, and it was not in Sparta alone but throughout Greece that he received undying honour and glory in acknowledgement of this conduct. 10. Again Philip, who first raised their kingdom to the rank of a great power and the royal house to a position of splendour, did not, when he conquered the Athenians in the battle of Chaeronea, obtain so much success by his arms as by the leniency and humanity of his character. For by war and arms he only defeated and subjugated those who met him in the field, but

a Or “the Dium-bolt.”
κατέστη τῶν ἀντιταξιμένων, τῇ δ' εὐγνωμοσύνῃ καὶ μετριότητι πάντας Ἀθηναίοις ἁμα καὶ τὴν
3 πόλιν αὐτῶν ἔσχεν ὑποχείριον, οὐκ ἐπιμετρῶν τῷ
θυμῷ τοῖς πραπτομένοις, ἀλλὰ μέχρι τούτου πολε-
μῶν καὶ φιλονεικῶν, ἔως τοῦ λαβεῖν ἀφορμὰς πρὸς
ἀπόδειξιν τῆς αὐτοῦ πραστήτως καὶ καλοκαγαθίας.
4 τοιγαροῦν χωρὶς λύτρων ἀποστείλας τοὺς αἰχμαλώ-
tους καὶ κηδεύσας Ἀθηναίων τοὺς τετελευτηκότας,
ἔτι δὲ συνθείς Ἀντιπάτρῳ τὰ τοῦτον ὀστᾶ καὶ τῶν
ἀπαλλαττομένων τοὺς πλείστους ἀμφιέσας, μικρὰ
δαμάνῃ διὰ τὴν ἀγχίνοιαν τὴν μεγίστην πρᾶξιν
5 κατειργάσατο τὸ γὰρ Ἀθηναίων φρόνημα κατα-
πληξάμενος τῇ μεγαλοψυχίᾳ πρὸς πάν ἐτοίμους
6 αὐτοὺς ἔσχε συναγωνιστὰς ἀντὶ πολεμίων. τῇ δ' Ἀλέξανδρος; ἐκεῖνος γὰρ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἐξοργισθεὶς
Θηβαῖοις ὥστε τοὺς μὲν οἰκήτορας ἐξανδραποδί-
σασθαι τὴν δὲ πόλιν εἰς ἔδαφος κατασκάψαι, τῆς
γε πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς εὐσεβείας οὐκ ἁλιγώρησεν περὶ
7 τὴν κατάληψιν τῆς πόλεως, ἀλλὰ πλείστην ἐποιήσατο
πρόνοιαν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηδ' ἀκούσιον ἀμάρτημα γενέσθαι
8 περὶ τὰ ἑρᾶ καὶ καθόλου τὰ τεμένη. καὶ μὴν
ὅτε διαβάς εἰς τὴν 'Ασίαν μετεπορεύετο τὴν
Περσῶν ἀσέβειαν εἰς τοὺς 'Ελλήνας, παρὰ μὲν τῶν
ἀνθρώπων ἐπιειράθη λαβεῖν δίκην ἄξιαν τῶν σφίσι
πεπραγμένων, τῶν δὲ τοῖς θεοῖς καταπεφημισμένων
πάντων ἀπέσχετο, καὶ περὶ τῶν Περσῶν μάλιστα
περὶ τούτο τὸ μέρος ἐξαμαρτοῦντων ἐν τοῖς κατὰ
τὴν 'Ελλάδα τόποις.
9 'Ταῦτ' οὖν ἔχρην καὶ τότε Φίλιππον ἐν νῷ λαμβά-
νομά τα συνεχῶς μὴ οὕτως τῆς ἁρχῆς ὡς τῆς προαιρέ-
σεως καὶ τῆς μεγαλοψυχίας διάδοχον αὐτὸν ἀνα-
δεικνύει καὶ κληρονόμον τῶν προειρημένων ἀν-
28
by his gentleness and moderation he brought all the Athenians and their city under his domination, not letting passion push him on to further achievement, but pursuing the war and striving for victory only until he found a fair occasion for exhibiting his clemency and goodness. So he dismissed the prisoners without ransom, paid the last honours to the Athenian dead, entrusting their bones to Antipater to convey to their homes, gave clothes to most of those who were released, and thus at a small expense achieved by this sagacious policy a result of the greatest importance. For having daunted the haughty spirit of the Athenians by his magnanimity, he gained their hearty co-operation in all his schemes instead of their hostility. And take Alexander. Though so indignant with the Thebans that he sold the inhabitants into slavery and razed the city to the ground, yet he was so far from neglecting the reverence due to the gods when he captured the city, that he took the most anxious care that not even any unintentional offence should be committed against the temples and holy places in general. Even when he crossed to Asia to chastise the Persians for the outrages they had perpetrated against the Greeks, he strove to exact the punishment from men that their deeds deserved, but refrained from injuring anything consecrated to the gods, although it was in this respect that the Persians had offended most while in Greece.

With these examples constantly present to his mind Philip should now have shown himself to be the true heir and successor of those princes, not inheriting so much their kingdom as their high principles and
10 δρῶν. ὁ δὲ ἵνα μὲν καὶ συγγενὴς Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ Φιλίππου φαύνηται, μεγάλην ἐποιεῖτο παρ᾿ ὑλὸν τὸν βίον σπουδὴν, ἵνα δὲ ἦλωτήσῃ, οὐδὲ τὸν
11 ἐλάχιστον ἔσχε λόγον. τουγαρόν τάναντι τοῖς προειρημένοις ἀνδράσιν ἐπιτηδεύων τῆς ἐναντίας ἐτυχεῖ παρὰ πάσι δόξῃς, προβαίνων κατὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν. ὥν ἦν ἐν καὶ τὸ τότε πραχθὲν. τοῖς γὰρ Ἀἰτωλῶν ἀσεβῆσαι συνεξαμαρτάνων διὰ τὸν θυμὸν καὶ κακῷ κακὸν ἴωμενος οὐδὲν ᾔστο ποιεῖν
2 άτοπον. καὶ Σκόπτα μὲν καὶ Δωρίμαχῳ παρ᾿ ἐκαστὸν εἰς ἀσέλγειαν καὶ παρανομίαν ὠνείδιζε, τὴν ἐν Δωδώνῃ καὶ Δίω προφερόμενον ἀσέβειαν εἰς τὸ θείον· αὐτὸς δὲ παραπλῆσια ποιῶν οὐκ ᾔστε τῆς ὁμοίας ἐκείνους τεύξεσθαι δόξης παρὰ
3 τοῖς ἀκούσασι· τὸ μὲν γὰρ παραρέισθαι τῶν πολεμίων καὶ καταθείρειν φρούρια λιμένας πόλεις ἄνδρας ναῦς καρποὺς, τάλλα τὰ τούτοις παραπλῆσια, δι᾿ ἅν τοὺς μὲν ὑπενάντιας ἀσθενεστέρους ἀν τις ποιήσαι, τὰ δὲ σφέτερα πράγματα καὶ τὰς ἐπιβολὰς δυναμικωτέρας, ταῦτα μὲν ἀναγκάζουσιν οἱ τοῦ
4 πολέμου νόμοι καὶ τὰ τούτοι δίκαια δρῶν· τὸ δὲ μῆτε τοῖς ἰδίοις πράγμασιν ἐπικουρίᾳ μέλλοντα μηδὲ ἤντινοι παρασκευάζειν μῆτε τοῖς ἐκθροῖς ἑλάττωσιν πρὸς γε τῶν ἑνεστῶτα πολέμουν, ἐκ περιτοῦ καὶ ναοὺς ἁμά δὲ τούτοις ἀνδριάντας καὶ πάσαν δὴ τὴν τοιαύτην κατασκευὴν λυμαίνεσθαι πῶς οὐκ ἄν εἴποι τις εἶναι τρόπου καὶ θυμοῦ λυτ-
5 τῶν τῶν ἔργον· οὐ γὰρ ἐπ᾿ ἀπωλείᾳ δεῖ καὶ ἄφανσιμῷ τοῖς ἁγνῶσαι πολεμεῖν τοὺς ἁγαθοὺς ἄνδρας, ἀλλ᾿ ἐπὶ διορθώσει καὶ μεταθέσει τῶν ἡμαρτημένων, οὐδὲ συναναίρειν τὰ μηδὲν ἀδικοῦντα τοῖς ἡδικηκό-
σιν, ἀλλὰ συσσώζειν μᾶλλον καὶ συνεξαρείσθαι 30

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magnanimity. But, instead of this, though all through his life he was at great pains to prove that he was allied in blood to Alexander and Philip, he was not in the least anxious to show himself their emulator. Therefore since his practices were the reverse of theirs, as he advanced in years his general reputation came to be also the reverse. 11. His conduct on the present occasion is an instance of the difference. For in allowing his passion to make him the rival of the Aetolians in their impiety, and thus trying to cure one evil by another, he thought he was doing nothing wrong. He was constantly reproaching Scopas and Dorimachus with brutality and lawless violence, alleging their outrages on religion at Dodona and Dium, but never reflected that he himself by behaving in precisely the same manner would earn the same reputation among the very people he was addressing. For it is one thing to seize on and destroy the enemy’s forts, harbours, cities, men, ships, crops and other things of a like nature, by depriving him of which we weaken him, while strengthening our own resources and furthering our plans: all these indeed are measures forced on us by the usages and laws of war. But to do wanton damage to temples, statues and all such works with absolutely no prospect of any resulting advantage in the war to our own cause or detriment to that of the enemy must be characterized as the work of a frenzied mind at the height of its fury. For good men should not make war on wrong-doers with the object of destroying and exterminating them, but with that of correcting and reforming their errors, nor should they involve the guiltless in the fate of the guilty, but rather extend to those whom they
6 τοῖς ἀνατίοις τοὺς δοκοῦντας ἄδικεῖν. τυράννου
μὲν γὰρ ἑργὸν ἐστὶ τὸ κακῶς ποιοῦντα τῷ φόβῳ
dεσπόζειν ἄκουσίων, μισοῦμεν καὶ μισοῦντα τοὺς
ὑποταττομένους. βασιλέως δὲ τὸ πάντας εὐ ποιοῦ-
tα, διὰ τὴν εὐεργεσίαν καὶ φιλανθρωπίαν ἄγαπῶ-
μενον, ἑκόντων ἥγετοι καὶ προστατεῖν.
7 Μάλιστα δὲ ἢ τις καταμάθοι τὴν ἀμαρτίαν τὴν
τότε Φίλιππου, λαβῶν πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν τίνα διάληψιν
eἰκὸς ἢν Αὐτωλοὺς ἔχειν, εἰ τάναντια τοῖς εἰρημέ-
nοις ἔπραξε καὶ μῆτε τὰς στοὰς μῆτε τοὺς ἀνδριάντας
dιεφθείρε, μῆτ᾽ ἀλλο μηδὲν ἥκιστο τῶν ἀναθημά-
tων. ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οἶμαι τὴν βελτίστην ἢν καὶ
φιλανθρωποτάτην, συνειδότας μὲν αὐτοῖς τὰ περὶ
Δίον καὶ Δωδώνην πεπραγμένα, σαφῶς δὲ γινώσκον-
tας ὅθ᾽ ὁ Φίλιππος τότε καὶ πράξαι κύριος ἢν ὁ
βουληθείη, καὶ πράξας τὰ δεινότατα δικαίως ἢν
ἐδόκει τοῦτο πεποιηκέναι τὸ γε κατ᾽ ἐκεῖνος
9 μέρος, διὰ δὲ τὴν αὐτοῦ πραότητα καὶ μεγαλοπροχίαν
ουδὲν εἰλετο τῶν ὁμοίων ἐκεῖνος ἐπιτηδεύειν.
12 δὴ λοιπὸν γὰρ ἐκ τούτων ὡς εἰκὸς ἢν αὐτὸν μὲν κατα-
γινώσκειν, τὸν δὲ Φίλιππον ἀποδέχεσθαι καὶ
θαυμάζειν ὡς βασιλικῶς καὶ μεγαλοπροχίως αὐτοῦ
χρωμένου τῇ τε πρὸς τὸ θεῖον εὐσεβεία καὶ τῇ
2 πρὸς αὐτοῦς ὀργῇ. καὶ μὴν τὸ γε νικῆσαι τοὺς
πολεμίους καλοκαγαθία καὶ τοῖς δικαίοις οὐκ
ἐλάττω, μείζω δὲ παρέχεται χρείαν τῶν ἐν τοῖς
3 ὅπλοις κατορθωμάτων. οἶς μὲν γὰρ δι᾿ ἀνάγκην,
ois de katá proaíresin eikousin oi leipóntes:
kai ta meν meta megalón elattwmatón poieita
tei dióðhswin, ta de χωρίς bláthis pros to bélton
4 metaïthiσei touσ amartáνontas. to de mégistov,
ev ois meν to plëiostov esti tis práxeis toiv
32
think guilty the mercy and deliverance they offer to the innocent. It is indeed the part of a tyrant to do evil that he may make himself the master of men by fear against their will, hated himself and hating his subjects, but it is that of a king to do good to all and thus rule and preside over a willing people, earning their love by his beneficence and humanity.

We can but realize the gravity of Philip’s error by picturing to ourselves, what opinion of him the Aetolians would have held if he had done just the reverse, and had neither destroyed the colonnades and statues nor damaged any of the votive offerings. For my own part I think it would have been the best and kindest opinion, since they were conscious of their crimes at Dium and Dodona and would have been well aware that Philip was now at liberty to do exactly what he wished, and even if he acted most ruthlessly would be held to have done right as far at least as concerned themselves, but that owing to his gentle and magnanimous spirit he had chosen to avoid acting in any respect as they had done. 12. It is evident from this, that they would naturally have condemned themselves, and approved and admired Philip, as having acted nobly and like a king in thus respecting religion and curbing his just anger against themselves. And surely to conquer one’s enemies by generosity and equity is of far higher service than any victory in the field; for to arms the vanquished yield from necessity, to virtue from conviction; in the one case the correction of error is made with much sacrifice, in the other the erring are guided to better ways without suffering hurt. And, what is of greatest moment, in the one case the achievement is chiefly
ΤΗΣ ΠΙΣΤΑΡΟΜΕΝΩΝ, ΕΝ ΟΙΣ Ο ΑΥΤΟΤΕΛΗΣ Η ΒΙΚΗ ΓΙΝΕΤΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΗΓΟΥΜΕΝΩΝ.
8 "Ισως μεν οὔτε οὐκ ἄν τις αὐτῷ Φιλίττω οὐν τότε γενομένων πάσαν ἐπιφέροι τὴν αἰτίαν διὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν, τὸ πλεῖον δὲ τοῖς συνοδεύσας καὶ συμπράττουσι τῶν μὴ παρόντα τότε, ποτέρου τὴν τοιαύτην εἰκός
9 εἶναι συμβούλιαν. χωρὶς γὰρ τῆς κατὰ τὸν ὅλον βίον προαιρέσεως, ἐν ἣ περὶ μὲν "Ἀρατον οὔτεν ἄν εὔρεθῇ προτετές οὔδ' ἀκριτον, περὶ δὲ Δημήτριον τάναντι, καὶ δεῖγμα τῆς προαιρέσεως ἑκατέρων
10 εν παραπλησίοις ὁμολογούμενον ἔχομεν. ύπερ οὐ λαβόντες τὸν οὐκείον καιρὸν ποιησόμεθα τὴν ἀρμόζουσαν μνήμην.
13 Ὁ δὲ Φιλίττως (ἄπο γὰρ τούτων παρεξέβην) ὅσα δυνατὸν ἦν ἀγεν καὶ φέρειν ἀναλαβὼν ἐκ τοῦ Θέρμου προῆγε, ποιούμενος τὴν αὐτὴν ἐπάνοδον ἢ καὶ παρεγένετο, προβαλόμενος μὲν τὴν λείαν εἰς τούμπροσθεν καὶ τὰ βαρέα τῶν ὀπλῶν, ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς οὐραγίας ἀπολιπών τοὺς Ἀκαρνάνας καὶ 2 τοὺς μισθοφόρους, σπεύδων ὡς τάχιστα διανύσας τὰς δυσχωρίας διὰ τὸ προσδοκῶν τοὺς Αἰτωλοὺς ἐξάψεθαι τῆς οὐραγίας, πιστεύοντας ταῖς ὄχυρο-
3 της τῶν τόπων. ὁ καὶ συνέβη γενέσθαι παρὰ πόδας. οἱ γὰρ Αἰτωλοὶ προσβεβοθηκότες καὶ συνηθροισμένοι σχεδὸν εἰς τρισχιλιούς, ἐως μὲν ὁ Φιλίττως ἦν ἐπὶ τῶν μετεώρων, οὐκ ἡγηκόν ἄλλ’ ἐμενον ἐν τις τόποις ἄδηλοις, Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Τριχωνέως προεστῶτος αὐτῶν ἀμα δὲ τῷ κινήσαι τὴν οὐραγίαν ἐπέβαλον ἐυθέως εἰς τὸν
34
the work of subordinates, in the other the victory is solely due to the commander.

Possibly indeed we should not attach the whole blame to Philip for what happened, taking his extreme youth into consideration, but rather attribute it to the friends who associated and co-operated with him, among whom were Aratus and Demetrius of Pharos. To pronounce which of the two was likely to give such advice is not difficult even for one who was not actually present. For apart from the general tenour of their lives, in which we never find Aratus to have been guilty of impulsiveness or want of judgement, while the contrary is true of Demetrius, we have an undisputed example of their divergent principles in the counsel they once both offered to Philip under similar circumstances. When the proper time comes I shall make due mention of this.  

13. We left Philip at Thermus. Taking all the booty which it was possible to drive or carry off he started from Thermus, returning by the same road as that by which he had come, and placing the booty and heavy-armed troops in front, and the Acarnanians and mercenaries in the rear. He was in great haste to get through the difficult pass, as he expected that the Aetolians, relying on the strength of the positions near it, would fall on his rear, as they actually did at once. They had gathered to defend their country to the number of about three thousand, and as long as Philip was on the heights did not approach him, but remained in certain hidden strongholds under the command of Alexander of Trichonium. As soon, however, as the rearguard had moved out of Thermus they entered the town

\[\text{See Bk. vii. chap. 11.}\]
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4 Θέρμον καὶ προσέκειντο τοῖς ἐσχάτοις. γυνομένης
de ταραχῆς περὶ τὴν οὐραγίαν, ἑτὶ μᾶλλον ἐκθύμως οἱ
παρὰ τῶν Αἰτωλῶν ἐπέκειντο καὶ προσέφερον τὰς
5 χειρὰς, πιστεύοντες τοῖς τόποις. ὁ δὲ Φίλιππος προ-
eιδῶς τὸ μέλλον ὑπὸ τινὰ λόφον ὑπεστάλκει τοὺς
Ἰλιριουσ ἐν τῇ καταβάσει καὶ τῶν πελταστῶν
6 τοὺς ἐπιτηδειοτάτους, διὸ διαναστάντων ἐπὶ τοὺς
ἐπικειμένους καὶ προπεπτωκότας τῶν ὑπεναντίων
tοὺς μὲν λοιποὺς τῶν Αἰτωλῶν ἀνοδία καὶ προτρο-
pάδην συνέβη φυγεῖν, ἐκατόν δὲ καὶ τριάκοντα
πεσεῖν, ἀλώνιον δὲ οὐ πολὺ τούτων ἐλάττους.
7 γενομένου δὲ τοῦ προτερήματος τούτου ταχέως
οἱ περὶ τὴν οὐραγίαν, ἐμπρήσαντες τὸ Πάμφιον
καὶ μετ’ ἀσφαλείας διελθόντες τὰ στενά, συνέμειξαν
8 τοῖς Μακεδόσιν. δὲ γὰρ Φίλιππος ἐστρατοπεδευ-
kὼς περὶ τὴν Μέταπαν ἐνταῦθα προσανεδέχετο
tοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς οὐραγίας. εἰς δὲ τὴν ὑστεραίαν
κατασκάψας τὴν Μέταπαν προῆγε, καὶ παρενεβαλε
9 περὶ τὴν καλομμένην πόλιν Ἀκρας. τῇ δὲ ἔξης ἅμα
προάγων ἐπόρθει τὴν χώραν, καὶ καταστρατοπε-
deύσας περὶ Κωνώπην ἐπέμεινε τὴν ἐχωμένην ἡμέ-
10 ραν. τῇ δὲ ἐπιουσίᾳ πάλιν ἀναζεύξας ἐποιεῖτο τὴν
πορείαν παρὰ τὸν Ἀχελώον ἔως ἐπὶ τὸν Στράτον.
διαβὰς δὲ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐπέστησε τὴν δύναμιν
14 ἐκτὸς βέλους, ἀποπειρώμενος τῶν ξνόν. ἐπυνθά-
nυτο γὰρ εἰς τὸν Στράτον συνδεδραμηκέναι τῶν
Αἰτωλῶν πεζοὺς μὲν εἰς τρισχίλιους, ἵππεις δὲ
περὶ τετρακοσίους, Κρῆτας δὲ εἰς πεντακοσίους.
2 οὐδενὸς δ’ ἐπεζεύγεα τολμῶντος αὐτὶς ἀρξάμενος
ἐκίνηε τοὺς πρῶτους, ποιούμενος τὴν πορείαν ὡς
3 ἐπὶ τὴν Δυναίαν καὶ τὰς ναῦς. ἅμα δὲ τῷ τὴν
οὐραγίαν παραλλάξαι τὴν πόλιν, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον
36
at once and attacked the last ranks. When the rearguard had thus been thrown into some confusion, the Aetolians fell on it with more determination and did some execution, being emboldened by the nature of the ground. But Philip, having foreseen this, had concealed under a hill on the descent the Illyrians and a picked force of peltasts, and when they sprang up from their ambush and charged those of the enemy who had advanced farthest in the pursuit of the rearguard, the whole Aetolian force fled in complete rout across country with the loss of one hundred and thirty killed and about as many prisoners. After this success the rearguard, setting fire to Pamphium, soon got through the pass in safety and joined the Macedonians, Philip having encamped at Metapa to wait for them there. Next day, after razing Metapa to the ground, he continued his march and encamped near a town called Acrae, and on the following day advanced laying the country waste, encamping that night at Conope, where he remained all the next day. On the following day he broke up his camp and marched along the Achelous upon Stratus, on reaching which he crossed the river and halted his army out of range, challenging the defenders to attack him. 14. For he had learnt that a force of three thousand Aetolian foot, four hundred horse, and five hundred Cretans was collected in Stratus. When no one came out against him he again set his van in motion and began to march for Limnaea and his fleet. When the rearguard had passed the town, a few
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διλέγου τῶν Αἰτωλικῶν ἅπερων ἐξελθόντες κατεπεί-4 ραβδον τῶν ἑσχάτων· ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ τε τῶν Κρητῶν πλῆθος ἐκ τῆς πόλεως καὶ των τῶν Αἰτωλικῶν συνήψαν τοὺς αὐτῶν ἔπεισιν, γνωμένης ὁλοσχερε-5 στέρας συμπλοκῆς ἡγαγάσθησαν ἐκ μεταβολῆς οἱ6 περὶ τὴν οὐραγίαν κινδυνεῦν. τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον7 ἀμφοτέρων ἐφάμιλλος ἢν ὁ κίνδυνος· προσβοηθη-8 σάντων δὲ τοὺς παρὰ τοῦ Φιλίππου μισθοφόροις9 τῶν Ἡλληνῶν ἐνέκλιναν καὶ σποράδην ἔβεγγον10 οἱ11 τῶν Αἰτωλῶν ἑπείς καὶ μισθοφόροι, καὶ τὸ μὲν12 πολὺ μέρος αὐτῶν ἔως εἰς τὰς πύλας καὶ πρὸς13 τὰ τείχη συνεδίωξαν οἱ παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως, κατ-14 7 ἐβαλον δ' εἰς ἐκατόν. ἀπὸ δὲ ταύτης τῆς χρείας15 λυτον οἱ μὲν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως τὴν ἠσχήμαν ἤγουν, οἱ16 δ' ἀπὸ τῆς οὐραγίας ἀσφαλῶς συνήψαν πρὸς τὸ17 στρατόπεδον καὶ τὰς ναὸς.
8 'Ο δὲ Φιλίππος καταστρατοπεδεύσας ἐν ὧρᾳ τούς19 θεοῖς ἑθυνε εὐχαριστηρία τῆς γεγενημένης αὐτῷ20 περὶ τὴν ἐπιβολὴν εὐροίας, ἀμα δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμό-21 νας ἐκάλει, βουλόμενος ἐστιάσαι πάντας. ἐδόκει22 γὰρ εἰς τόπους αὐτὸν δεδωκέναι παραβόλους, καὶ23 τοιούτους εἰς οὓς οὐδεὶς ἐτόλμησε πρῶτον24 στρατοπέδῳ παρεμβαλεῖν. ὁ δὲ οὖ μόνον ἐνέβαλε25 μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάν ὁ προέθετο26 συντελεσάμενος ἀσφαλῶς ἐποιήσατο τὴν ἐπάνοδον.27 δι' ᾧ περιχαρῆς ὥν οὕτως μὲν ἐγκέντει περὶ τὴν τῶν28 ἡγεμόνων ὑποδοχήν. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Μεγαλέαν καὶ29 Δεόντιον δυσχερῶς ἔφερον τὴν γεγενημένην ἐπιτυ-30 χίαν τοῦ βασιλέως, ὡς ἂν διατεταγμένοι μὲν πρὸς31 τὸν Ἀπελλῆν πᾶσας ἐμποδιείν ταῖς ἐπιβολαῖς32 αὐτοῖς, μὴ δυνάμενοι δὲ τοῦτο ποιεῖν, ἀλλὰ τῶν33 πραγμάτων αὐτοῖς κατὰ τούναντίον προχωροῦν-34
Aetolian horsemen to begin with sallied out to harass the hindmost men, and when all the Cretans from the town and some of the Aetolians came out to join their cavalry, the engagement became more general and the rearguard was forced to face about and engage the enemy. At first the fortunes of the battle were even, but when the Illyrians came to the help of Philip’s mercenaries, the Aetolian cavalry and mercenaries gave way and scattered in flight. The king’s troops pursued the greater part of them up to the gates and walls, cutting down about a hundred. After this affair, the garrison of the city took no further action and the rearguard safely reached the main army and the ships.

Philip, having pitched his camp early in the day, sacrificed a thank-offering to the gods for the success of his late enterprise and invited all his commanding officers to a banquet. It was indeed generally acknowledged that he had run great risk in entering such a dangerous country, and one that no one before him had ever ventured to invade with an army. And now he had not only invaded it, but had made his retreat in safety after completely accomplishing his purpose. So that he was in high spirits and was now preparing to entertain his officers. But Megaleas and Leontius on the contrary were much annoyed at the king’s success, for they had pledged themselves to Apelles to hamper Philip’s plans and had not been able to do so, the tide of
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tων ........................................... ἀλλ' ἦκὼν γε πρὸς τὸ δειπνον.

15 Ἡσαν μὲν οὖν εὐθέως ἐν ὑπονοίᾳ τῷ τε βασιλεῖ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις οὐχ ὀμοίως τοῖς λοιποῖς χαίροντες

2 ἔπὶ τοῖς γεγονόσιν προβαίνοντος δὲ τοῦ πότου,

κάπειτα γενομένης ἀκαρίας καὶ πολυποσίας ἀναγ-

καθέντες συμπεριφέρεσθαι ταχέως ἐξεθεάτριαν

3 αὐτοὺς. λυθείσης γὰρ τῆς συνομίας ὑπὸ τε τῆς μέθης καὶ τῆς ἀλογιστίας ἑλαυνόμενοι περι-

4 ἠγείροντες τὸν "Ἀρατον" συμμίθαντες δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἐπάνωδον αὐτῶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐλοίδόρουν,

5 μετὰ δὲ βάλλειν ἑνικεῖρησαν τοῖς λίθοις. προσ-

βοηθοῦντων δὲ πλεῦσιν ἀμφοτέροις θόρυβος ἢ καὶ κίνημα κατὰ τὴν παρεμβολήν. οὗ δὲ

βασιλεὺς ἀκοῦσὺν τῆς κραυγῆς ἑξαπέστειλε τοὺς ἑπιγνωσομένους καὶ διαλύσοντας τὴν ταραχήν.

6 ο μὲν οὖν "Ἀρατος παραγενομένων τούτων εἰπὼν

tὰ γεγονότα καὶ μάρτυρας παραπόνοντος τοὺς συμπαροντὰς ἀπηλλάττετο τῆς .......

χί-

7 ος ἔπὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ σκηνήν, οὐ δὲ Λεόντιος ἀλόγως

ποὺς κατὰ τὸν θόρυβον ἀπέρρευσε. τὸν δὲ Μεγαλεάν

καὶ Κρίνωνα μεταπεμψάμενος ὁ βασιλεὺς, ἔπαι

8 συνῆκε τὸ γεγονός, ἑπετίμα πικρῶς. οἱ δ' οὐχ

οίον ........... ἀλλ' ἐπεμέτρησαν φάσκοντες

οὐδὲ λήξειν τῆς προθέσεως, ἐώς ἄν τὸν μισθὸν

9 ἐπιθύσα τοῖς περὶ τὸν "Ἀρατον. οὐ δὲ βασιλεὺς

ὁργισθεὶς ἐπὶ τῷ ῥηθέντι παραχρῆμα, πρὸς ἐκκοσι

tάλαντα κατεγνύσας, ἐκέλευσεν αὐτοὺς εἰς φυλα-

16 κὴν ἀπαγαγεῖν. τῇ δ' ἐπαύριον ἄνακαλεσάμενος

tὸν "Ἀρατον παρεκάλει θαρρεῖ, ὅτι ποιήσεται

2 τὴν ἐνδεχομένην ἐπιστροφὴν τοῦ πράγματος. ὁ

dὲ Λεόντιος συνεῖς τὰ περὶ τὸν Μεγαλέαν ἴκε πρὸς
events having set against them. Still they came to the banquet.

15. From the very first their behaviour aroused the suspicions of the king and his guests, as they did not show the same joy as the rest at the recent events, but as the feast progressed and the drinking finally became excessive, they were obliged to join in the carousal and soon exhibited themselves in their true colours. For when the banquet had broken up, under the incitement of drink and passion they went about looking for Aratus and meeting him as he was on his way home, first of all abused him and then began to pelt him with stones. A number of people came up to help on both sides, and there was a great noise and commotion in the camp, until the king hearing the cries sent men to find out what was the matter and separate the disturbers. Aratus on their arrival, after telling them the facts and appealing to the testimony of those present, retired to his tent, and Leontius also slipped away in some mysterious manner. The king, when he understood what had happened, sent for Megaleas and Crinon and reprimanded them severely. Yet not only did they express no regret but aggravated their offence, saying that they would not desist from their purposes until they had paid out Aratus. The king was highly indignant at their language, and at once inflicted a fine of twenty talents on them and ordered them to be imprisoned until they paid it. 16. Next morning he summoned Aratus and bade him have no fear, as he would see that the matter was settled to his satisfaction. Leontius, hearing of what had happened to Megaleas, came to the royal tent
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tὴν σκηνὴν μετὰ τῶν πελταστῶν, πεπεισμένος καταπλήξεσθαι διὰ τὴν ἥλικιαν καὶ ταχέως εἰς 3 μετάνοιαν ἀξεῖν τὸν βασιλέα. συντυχῶν δ’ αὐτῷ προσεπυνθάνετο τῖς ἐτόλμησεν ἐπιβαλεῖν τὰς χεῖρας Μεγαλέα, καὶ τὸς εἰς τὴν φυλακὴν ἀπαγαγεῖν. 4 τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως ὑποστατικῶς αὐτοῦ φήσαντο συντεταχέναι, καταπλαγεῖσ ὁ Λεόντιος καὶ τι 5 προσανομώξας ἀπῆκε τεθυμωμένος. δ’ ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἀναχθεὶς παντὶ τῶν στόλων καὶ διάρας τὸν κόλπον, ὡς θάττον εἰς τὴν Ἑυκίδα καθωρμίσθη, τοῖς μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς τῶν λαφύρων οἰκονομίας τεταγμένοις περὶ ταῦτα συνέταξε γινομένους μὴ καθυστερεῖν, αὐτὸς δὲ συναγαγὼν τοὺς φίλους ἀπέδωκε κρίσιν τοῖς 6 περὶ τὸν Μεγαλέαν. τοῦ δ’ Ἱ. Ἀράτου κατηγορήσαντο ἀνέκαθεν τὰ πεπραγμένα τοῖς περὶ τὸν Λεόντιον, καὶ διελθόντος τὴν γενομένην ὑπ’ αὐτῶν ἐν Ἰ. Ἀργεία σφαγῆν, ἦν ἐποιήσαντο μετὰ τὸν Ἰ. Ἀντιγόνου χωρισμόν, καὶ τὰς πρὸς Ἡ. Ἀπελλῆς συνθήκας, 7 ἔτι δὲ τὸν περὶ τοὺς Παλαιεῖς ἐμποδισμόν, καὶ πάντα ταῦτα μετ’ ἀποδείξεως ἐνδεικνυμένου καὶ μαρτύρων, οὐ δυνάμενοι πρὸς οὐδὲν ἀντιλέγειν οἱ περὶ τὸν Μεγαλέαν κατεκρίθησαν ὁμοθυμαδὸν ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων. καὶ Κρίνων μὲν ἔμενεν ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ, τὸν δὲ Μεγαλέαν Λεόντιος ἀνεδέξατο τῶν χρημάτων. 9 Ἡ μὲν οὖν Ἡ. Ἀπελλοῦ καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸν Λεόντιον πράξεις ἐν τούτοις ἦν, παλιτροπὸν λαμβάνοντα 10 τὴν προκοπὴν ταῖς ἐξ ἀρχὴς αὐτῶν ἐλπίσων. ἔδοξαν μὲν γὰρ καταπληξάμενοι τὸν Ἰ. Ἀρατον καὶ μονοσαντες τὸν Φιλιππον ποιήσειν ὁ τι ἂν αὐτοὺς δοκῆ 17 συμφέρειν, ἀπέβη δὲ τούτων τάναντια. κατὰ δὲ τοὺς προειρημένους καιροὺς Λυκοῦργος ἐκ μὲν 42
accompanied by some peltasts, feeling confident that he would intimidate the king, who was but a boy, and soon make him change his mind. Coming into his presence he asked who had dared to lay hands on Megaleas and who had taken him to prison. But when the king confidently replied that he himself had given the order, Leontius was dismayed and with a muttered protest departed in a huff. The king now put to sea with his whole fleet and passing down the gulf, as soon as he came to anchor at Leucas ordered those who were charged with the disposal of the booty to dispatch this business, while he himself called a counsel of his friends and tried the case of Megaleas and Crinon. Aratus, who acted as accuser, recounted the malpractices of Leontius and his party from beginning to end, giving an account of the massacre they had perpetrated at Argos after the departure of Antigonus, their understanding with Apelles and their obstruction at the siege of Palus, supporting all his statements by proofs and bringing forward witnesses; upon which Megaleas and Crinon, having not a word to say in defence, were unanimously found guilty by the king's friends. Crinon remained in prison, but Leontius became surety for Megaleas' fine.

Such was the issue so far of the plot between Apelles and Leontius, which had progressed in a manner quite contrary to their expectation; for they had thought by intimidating Aratus and isolating Philip to do whatever they considered to be to their advantage, and the result was just the opposite.

17. Lycurgus at about the same time returned
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τῆς Μεσοπολείας οὐδὲν ἀξίων λόγου πράξας ἔπαυσε, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πάλιν ὁμίλησε ἐκ Δακεδαιμονος
2 κατελάβετο τὴν τῶν Τεγεατῶν πόλιν. τῶν δὲ σωμάτων ἀποχωρησάντων εἰς τὴν ἀκραν ἐπεβάλετο
πολυρκεῖν ταύτην, οὖνδαμῶς δὲ δυνάμενος ἀνύειν
οὐδὲν αὐτὸς ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς τὴν Σπάρτην.
3 Οἱ δὲ τῆς Ἑλλήνων καταδραμόντες τὴν Δυμαίαν
καὶ τοὺς βοηθήσαντας τῶν ἱππέων εἰς ἐνέδραν
ἐπαγαγόμενοι ῥαδίως ἐτρέψαντο, καὶ τῶν μὲν
Γαλατικῶν οὐκ ὀλίγον κατέβαλον, τῶν δὲ πολιτικῶν
ἀξιμαλώτους ἔλαβον Πολυμήδη τε τὸν
Αἰγιάν καὶ Δυμαίων Ἀγησίπολιν καὶ Διοκλέα.
5 Δωρίμαχος δὲ τὴν μὲν πρώτην ἐξοδὸν ἐπουθέσετο
μετὰ τῶν Αἰτωλῶν πεπεμμένος, καθάπερ ἐπάνω
προεῖπον, αὐτὸν μὲν ἀσφαλῶς κατασφείων τὴν
Θετταλίαν, τὸν δὲ Φίλιππον ἀναστήσεων ἀπὸ τῆς
6 περὶ τοὺς Παλαιείς πολυρκίας. εὑρὼν δὲ τοὺς περὶ
tὸν Ἰχυσόγονον καὶ Πετραίον ἐτοίμους ἐν Θετταλίᾳ
πρὸς τὸ διαικινδυνεύειν, εἰς μὲν τὸ πεδίον οὐκ
ἐθάρρη καταβαίνειν, ἐν δὲ ταῖς παρωρείαις προσ-
7 ανέχων διήγε. προσπεσόουσα δ' αὐτῷ τῆς τῶν
Μακεδόνων εἰς τὴν Αἰτωλίαν εἰσβολῆς, ἀφέμενος
τῶν κατὰ Θετταλίαν ἐβοήθει τούτους κατὰ στουδὴν.
catalabw δ' ἀπηλλαγμένους ἐκ τῆς Αἰτωλίας
toûs Makedonas ou tous μὲν ὑπελείπετο καὶ καθυστέ-
8 σεὶς πάντων. δ' δὲ βασιλεὺς ἀναχθεὶς ἐκ τῆς Δευκά-
dos, καὶ πορθήσας ἐν παράπλω τὴν τῶν Οἰλανθέων
χώραν, κατῆρα μετὰ τοῦ στόλου παντὸς εἷς Κόρινθον.
9 ὁμοιός δὲ τὰς νῆας ἐν τῷ Δεκαϊῷ τὴν τε δύναμιν
ἐξεβίβαζε καὶ τοὺς γραμματοφόρους διαπέστελλε
πρὸς τὰς ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ συμμαχίδας πόλεις,
δηλών τὴν ἡμέραν ἐν ἄ δεξίη πάντας μετὰ τῶν
44
from his expedition to Messenia without having accomplished anything worthy of mention; and starting again from Sparta shortly afterwards, occupied the town of Tegea and undertook the siege of the citadel, into which the inhabitants had retired. But being utterly unable to effect anything he returned again to Sparta.

The Eleans also overran the territory of Dyme and easily defeated the cavalry who came to oppose them by decoying them into an ambush, killing not a few of the Gauls and taking Polymedes of Aegium and Agesipolis and Diocles of Dyme prisoners.

Dorimachus had originally made his raid with the Aetolians, fully persuaded, as I said above, that he could overrun Thessaly undisturbed and would force Philip to raise the siege of Palus, but finding Chrysogonus and Petraeus in Thessaly ready to give him battle, he did not venture to descend into the plain, but kept to the slopes of the hills. On hearing of the Macedonian invasion of Aetolia he quitted Thessaly and hastened to defend his country, but found that the Macedonians had already left Aetolia, and so failed and was too late at all points.

The king put out from Leucas, and after pillaging the territory of Oeanthe as he coasted along, reached Corinth with his whole fleet. Anchoring his ships in the Lechaeum he disembarked his troops, and sent couriers to all the allied cities in the Peloponnese to inform them of the day on which they
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18 πόλει. ταύτα δὲ διαπραξάμενος, καὶ μείνας οὔδένα χρόνον ἐν τῇ Κορώνῳ, παρῆγγελε τοῖς Μακεδόσων ἀναξυγήν, ποιησάμενος δὲ τὴν πορείαν δι᾽ Ἀργους
2 ἦκε δευτεράιος εἰς Τέγεαν. προσαναλαβὼν δὲ τοὺς ἠθροισμένους τῶν Ἀχαιῶν προῆγε διὰ τῆς ὀρενής, σπουδάζων λαθεῖν τοὺς Λακεδαμιοῦνοις
3 ἐμβαλὼν εἰς τὴν χώραν. περιελθὼν δὲ ταῖς ἐρημίαις τεταρταῖοι ἑπέβαλε τοῖς καταντηκρὸν τῆς πόλεως λόφοις, καὶ παρῆγε, δεξίων ἐξών τὸ Μενελάων,
4 ἐπ᾽ αὐτὰς τὰς Ἀμύκλας. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαμιοῦνοι θεωροῦντες ἐκ τῆς πόλεως παράγοντο τὴν δύναμιν ἐκπλαγεὶς ἐγένοντο καὶ περίφοβοι, θαυμάζοντες
5 τὸ συμβαίνον. ἀκμὴν γὰρ ταῖς διανοίασι ἦσαν μετέωροι ἐκ τῶν προσπιττῶντων ὑπέρ τοῦ Φιλίππου περὶ τὴν καταφθορὰν τοῦ Θέρμου καὶ καθόλου ταῖς ἐν Αἰτωλίᾳ πράξεσι, καὶ τὶς ἐνεπεπτώκει θροὺς παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς ὑπέρ τοῦ τὸν Δυκοὺργον ἐκ-
6 πέμπειν βοηθήσοντα τοῖς Αἰτωλοῖς. ὑπέρ δὲ τοῦ τὸ δεινὸν ἦξειν ἐπὶ σφᾶς οὕτως ὄξεως ἐκ τη-
λικοῦτον διαστήματος οὐδὲ διενοεῖτο παράπαν αὐτῶν οὕτεις, ἀτε καὶ τῆς ἡλικίας ἐγούσης ἀκμήν εὑκαταφρόνητον τι τῆς τὸς βασιλέως. διὸ καὶ παρὰ δόξαν αὐτοῖς τῶν πραγμάτων συγκυρούντων
7 εἰκότως ἦσαν ἐκπλαγείς. ὁ γὰρ Φιλίππος τολμη-
ρότερον καὶ πρακτικότερον ἦ κατὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν χρώμενος ταῖς ἐπιβολαῖς εἰς ἀπορίαν καὶ δυσ-
8 χρηστίαν ἀπαντᾶς ἤγε τοὺς πολεμίους. ἀναχθεῖς
γὰρ ἐκ μέσης Αἰτωλίας, καθάπερ ἐπάνῳ προεῖπον, καὶ διανύσας ἐν νυκτὶ τὸν Ἀμβρακικὸν κόλπον εἰς
9 Λευκάδα κατηρεί· δύο δὲ μείνας ἡμέρας ἐνταῦθα, τῇ τρίτῃ ποιησάμενος ὑπὸ τὴν ἐωθινήν τὸν ἀνάπλουν, 46
must present themselves in arms at Tegea before bed-time. 18. After taking this step, having spent no time at all in Corinth, he ordered the Macedonians to break up their camp, and marching through Argos reached Tegea on the second day. Picking up there the Achaeans who had assembled, he advanced through the hilly country with the object of invading Laconia by surprise. Taking a circuitous route through an uninhabited district he seized on the fourth day the hills opposite Sparta and passing the city with the Menelaïum on his right made straight for Amyclae. The Lacedaemonians seeing from the city the army as it marched past were thunderstruck and in great fear, as they were completely surprised by what was happening. For they were still in a state of excitement over the news that had arrived about the doings of Philip in Aetolia and his destruction of Thermus, and there was some talk among them of sending Lycurgus to help the Aetolians, but no one ever imagined that the danger would descend on their heads so swiftly from such a long distance, the king’s extreme youth still tending to inspire contempt for him. Consequently, as things fell out quite contrary to their expectations, they were naturally much dismayed; for Philip had shown a daring and energy beyond his years in his enterprises, and reduced all his enemies to a state of bewilderment and helplessness. For putting to sea from the centre of Aetolia, as I above narrated, and traversing the Ambracian Gulf in one night, he had reached Leucas, where he spent two days, and setting sail on the morning of the third day he came
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dευτεραιός πορθήσας ἀμα τῆν τῶν Αἰτωλῶν
10 παραλίαν ἐν Λεχαίῳ καθωρμίσθη. μετὰ δὲ ταύτα κατὰ τὸ συνεχὲς ποιούμενος τὰς πορείας ἐβδομαίως ἑπέβαλε τοῖς ὑπὲρ τὴν πόλιν κειμένους παρὰ τὸ Μενελάιον λόφοις, ὡστε τοὺς πλείστους ὅρῳν τὸ γεγονός μὴ πιστεύειν τοὺς συμβαίνουσιν.

11 Οἱ μὲν οὖν Λακεδαιμόνιοι περιδειεῖσ γεγονότες διὰ τὸ παράδοξον ἡπόρουν καὶ δυσχρήστως διέκειντο πρὸς τὸ παρόν, ὦ δὲ Φίλιππος τῇ μὲν πρώτῃ κατε-2 στρατόπεδευσε περὶ τὰς Ἀμύκλες. αἱ δὲ Ἀμύκλαι καλούμεναι τόποι εστὶ τῆς Λακωνικῆς χώρας καλλιδενδρότατος καὶ καλλικαρπότατος, ἀπέχει 3 δὲ τῆς Λακεδαίμονος ὡς εἰκοσι σταδίους. ὑπάρχει δὲ καὶ τέμενος Ἀπόλλωνος ἐν αὐτῷ σχεδὸν ἐπιφανεῖστατον τῶν κατὰ τὴν Λακωνικὴν ἱερῶν. κεῖται δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἐν τοῖς πρὸς θάλατταν κεκλιμένοις 4 μέρεσιν. τῇ δ' ἐπιουσίᾳ πορθῶν ἀμα τὴν χώραν εἰς τὸν Πύρρου καλούμεναν κατέβη χάρακα. δύο δὲ τὰς έξῆς ἡμέρας ἐπιδραμὼν καὶ δηώσας τοὺς σύνεγγυς τόπους κατεστρατοπέδευσε περὶ τὸ Κάρ-5 νιον, ὅθεν ὀρμήσας ἤγε πρὸς Ἀσίνην, καὶ ποιησάμενος προσβολὸς οὐδὲν γε τῶν προύργου πε-ραίνων ἀνέξευξε, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐπιπορεύμενος ἔφθειρε τὴν χώραν πᾶσαν τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ Κρητικὸν 6 πέλαγος τετραμμένην ἐως Ταυάρου. μεταβαλό-μενος δ' αὕτης ἐποιεῖτο τὴν πορείαν παρὰ τὸν ναύσταθμον τῶν Λακεδαιμόνων, δ' καλεῖται μὲν Γύθιον, ἔχει δ' ἀσφαλῆ λιμένα, τῆς δὲ πόλεως 7 ἀπέχει περὶ τριάκοντα στάδια. τούτῳ δ' ἀπολιπὼν κατὰ πορείαν δεξιῶν κατεστρατοπέδευσε περὶ τὴν Ἐλείαν, ἤτις ἐστὶν ὡς πρὸς μέρος θεωρουμένη 8 πλείστη καὶ καλλίστη χώρα τῆς Λακωνικῆς. οὗθεν 48
to anchor next day in Lechaeum after pillaging the coast of Aetolia on his voyage. After thus marching without a break he gained upon the seventh day the hills near the Menelaïum that look down on Sparta. So that most of the Spartans though they saw what had happened, could not believe their eyes.

The Lacedaemonians, then, were in a state of the utmost terror at this unexpected invasion and quite at a loss how to meet it. Philip on the first day pitched his camp at Amyclae. The district of Amyclae is one of the most richly timbered and fertile in Laconia, and contains a temple of Apollo which is about the most famous of all the Laconian holy places. It lies between Sparta and the sea. Next day Philip, continuing to pillage the country on his way, marched down to what is called Pyrrhus' camp. After spending the next two days in overrunning and plundering the immediate neighbourhood he encamped at Carnium, and starting thence advanced on Asine, which he assaulted, but making no progress, took his departure and subsequently continued to lay waste all the country bordering on the Cretan Sea as far as Taenarum. Changing the direction of his march he next made for the arsenal of the Lacedaemonians, which is called Gythium and has a secure harbour, being about two hundred and thirty stades distant from Sparta. Leaving this place on his right he encamped in the district of Helos, which taken as a whole is the most extensive and finest in Laconia. Sending out his foragers
ἀφεῖς τὰς προνομὰς αὐτόν τε τὸν τόπον τοῦτον πάντα κατεπτυσάμενε καὶ διέθειερε τοὺς ἐν αὐτῷ καρποὺς, ἀφικνεῖτο δὲ ταῖς προνομαῖς καὶ πρὸς Ἀκρίας καὶ Λεύκας, ἐτὶ δὲ καὶ τὴν τῶν Βοιῶν χώραν.

20 Οἷς δὲ Μεσσηνίοι κομμασάμενοι τὰ γράμματα τὰ παρὰ τοῦ Φιλίππου τὰ περὶ τῆς στρατείας, τῇ μὲν ὀρμῇ τῶν ἄλλων οὐκ ἐλείποντο συμμάχων, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἔξοδον ἐποίησαν μετὰ σπουδῆς καὶ τοὺς ἀκμαιοτάτους ἀνδρὰς ἐξέπεμψαν, πεζοὺς μὲν δισχι-2 λίους ἐπιέεις δὲ διακοσίους· τῷ δὲ μῆκε τῆς ὁδοῦ καθυστερήσαντες τῆς εἰς τὴν Τέγεαν παρουσίας τοῦ Φιλίππου τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἔπορον τί δεόν εἶπ·

3 ποιεῖν, ἀγωνιώντες δὲ μὴ δόξαν ἐθελοκακεῖν διὰ τὰς προγεγενημένας περὶ αὐτούς ὑποφίας ὄρμησαν διὰ τῆς Ἀργείας εἰς τὴν Λακωνικῆν, βουλόμενοι 4 συνάψαι τοῖς περὶ τοῦ Φιλίππου. παραγενόμενοι δὲ πρὸς Γλυμπείας χωρίον, οἰ κεῖται περὶ τοὺς ὀρους τῆς Ἀργείας καὶ Λακωνικῆς, πρὸς τοῦτο κατεστρα-5 τοπεδεύσαν ἄπειρος ἁμα καὶ ῥαθύμως· οὔτε γὰρ τάφρον οὔτε χάρακα τῇ παρεμβολῇ περι-έβαλον, οὔτε τόπον εὐφυή περιέβλεψαν, ἀλλὰ τῇ τῶν κατοικοῦντων τὸ χωρίον εὐνοῖα πιστεύοντες 6 ἀκάκως πρὸ τοῦ τείχους αὐτοῦ παρενεβαλον. οὗ δὲ Λυκοῦργος, προσαγγελθείσης αὐτῷ τῆς τῶν Μεσσηνίων παρουσίας, ἀναλαβὼν τοὺς μοσθοφόρους καὶ τινας τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων προῆγε, καὶ συνάψας τοῖς τόποις ύπο τῆς ἐωθυνή ἐπέθετο τῇ στρατο-7 πεδείᾳ τολμήρως. οἰ δὲ Μεσσηνίοι τάλλα πάντα κακῶς βουλευσάμενοι, καὶ μάλιστα προελθεῖν εἰκ τῆς Τεγέας μήτε κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος ἁξιόχρεου ὑπάρ-χοντες μήτε πιστεύοντες ἐμπείροις, παρ' αὐτόν γε 50
from here he set fire to every part of it, destroying the crops, and carried his devastation even as far as Acriae, Leucae, and Boeae.

20. The Messenians, on receipt of Philip's dispatch demanding troops, were no less eager to comply than the other allies, and at once started on the expedition sending their finest troops, a thousand foot and two hundred horse. Owing, however, to the distance they missed Philip at Tegea and at first were at a loss what to do, but anxious as they were not to seem intentionally remiss owing to the suspicions they had incurred on previous occasions, they marched hastily through the territory of Argos to Laconia with the object of joining Philip. On arriving at a village called Gylmpeis, which lies on the borders of Argolis and Laconia, they encamped near it with an unmilitary lack of precaution; for they neither protected their camp with a trench and palisade, nor did they look round for a favourable spot, but relying in the simplicity of their hearts on the goodwill of the inhabitants pitched their camp just under the wall. Lycurgus, when the arrival of the Messenians was announced to him, set out with his mercenaries and a few Lacedaemonians, and reaching the place just as day was breaking, made a bold attack on the camp. The Messenians, who had acted foolishly in every way and especially in advancing from Tegea with such an inadequate force and without any expert advice, yet now when they were attacked
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tὸν κύδυνον κατὰ τὴν ἐπίθεσιν ὡμως τὸ δυνατὸν ἐκ τῶν πραγμάτων ἔλαβον πρὸς τὴν έαυτῶν σωτηρίαν· ἀμα γὰρ τῷ συνδεὶν ἐπιφανομένους τοὺς πολεμίους ἀφέμενοι πάντων σπουδῇ πρὸς τὸ χωρίον προσέφυγον. διόπερ Δυκούργος τῶν μὲν ἵππων ἐγκρατῆς ἐγένετο τῶν πλείστων καὶ τῆς ἀποσκευῆς, τῶν δ' ἀνδρῶν χωρία μὲν οὐδενὸς ἐκυρίευσε, τῶν δ' ἵππεων ὅκτω μόνον ἀπέκτεινε.

10 Μεσσήνην μὲν ὅν τοιαύτῃ περιπτετεία χρησάμενοι πάλιν δι' Ἀργοὺς εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν ἀν- 
11 εκομίσθησαν· ὃ δὲ Δυκούργος μετευρισθεὶς ἐπὶ τῷ γεγονότι, παραγενόμενος εἰς τὴν Δακεδαίμονα περὶ παρασκευῆς ἐγίνετο καὶ συνήδρευε μετὰ τῶν φίλων ὡς οὐκ ἔσων τὸν Φίλιππον ἐπανελθεῖν

12 ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἀνεν κύδυνον καὶ συμπλοκῆς. ὃ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἐκ τῆς Ἐλείας ἀναζευξας προῆγε, πορθῶν ἀμα τὴν χώραν, καὶ τεσσαρταῖος ἄθες εἰς τὰς Ἀμύκλας κατηρὲ παντὶ τῷ στρατεύματι περὶ μέσον ἕμερας. Δυκούργος δὲ διαταξάμενος περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος κυδύνου τοῖς ἴγεμόσι καὶ τοῖς φίλοις, αὐτὸς μὲν ἐξελθὼν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως κατελάβετο τοὺς περὶ τὸ Μενελάιον τόπους, ἔχουν τοὺς

21 πάντας οὐκ ἐλάττους δυσχελῶν, τοῖς δ' ἐν τῇ πόλει συνεθεῖο προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν, ὡς ἦταν αὐτοῖς αἴρῃ τὸ σύνθημα, σπουδῇ κατὰ πλείους τόπους ἐξαγαγόντες πρὸ τῆς πόλεως τὴν δύναμιν ἐκτάττωσι βλέπουσιν ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐρώταν, καθ' ὅν ἐλάχιστον τόπον ἀπέχει τῆς πόλεως δ' ποταμός.

3 Τὰ μὲν ὅν περὶ τὸν Δυκούργον καὶ τοὺς Δακε-
4 δαιμονίους ἐν τούτοις ἦν· ὡς δὲ μὴ τῶν τόπων ἀγνοουμένων ἀνυπότακτα καὶ κωφὰ γίνηται τὰ λεγόμενα, συνυποδεικτέον ὃν εἴη τὴν φύσιν καὶ
and in actual danger took the best means open to them to ensure their safety. For as soon as they saw the enemy coming up, they abandoned everything and hastily took refuge within the walls of the village. So that Lycurgus captured most of their horses and their baggage, but did not make a single prisoner and only killed eight cavalry soldiers.

The Messenians, then, having met with this reverse returned home by way of Argos. But Lycurgus was highly elated at his success; and on arriving at Sparta began to make preparations and hold councils of his friends, with the view of not allowing Philip to retire from the country without giving battle. The king, leaving the territory of Helos, now advanced laying the country waste, and on the fourth day about midday again descended on Amyclae with his whole army. 21. Lycurgus, after giving his orders for the approaching engagement to his officers and friends, himself sallied from the city and occupied the ground round the Menelaïum, his total force consisting of not less than two thousand men; but those who remained in the city he had ordered to be on the look out and when the signal was hoisted, to lead out their forces at several points with all speed, and draw them up facing the Eurotas, where the stream is at the shortest distance from the city. Such was the position of Lycurgus and the Lacedaemonians.

But lest owing to ignorance of the localities my narrative tend to become vague and meaningless, I must describe their natural features and relative
5 τάξιν αὐτῶν, ὅ δὴ καὶ παρ' ὅλην τὴν πραγματείαν πειρώμεθα ποιεῖν, συνάπτοντες καὶ συνοικεύοντες αἰὲ τοὺς ἀγνοομένους τῶν τόπων τοῖς γνωρίζο- 
6 μένοις καὶ παραδιδομένοις. ἑπεὶ γὰρ τῶν κατὰ πόλεμον κινδύνων τοὺς πλείους καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ 
κατὰ θάλατταν σφάλλουσιν αἱ τῶν τόπων διαφοραί, 
βουλόμεθα δὲ πάντες οὐχ οὐτώς τὸ γεγονός ὡς 
7 τὸ πῶς ἐγένετο γινώσκειν, οὐ παρολυγωρητέον 
τῆς τῶν τόπων ὑπογραφῆς ἐν οὐδ' ὅποια μὲν τῶν 
πράξεων, ἥκιστα δ' ἐν ταῖς πολεμικαῖς, οὐδ' 
ὀκνητέον ποτὲ μὲν λιμέσι καὶ πελάγεσι καὶ νῆσοι 
συγχρῆσθαι σημείοι, ποτὲ δὲ πάλιν ἱεροῖς, ὅρεσι, 
8 χώραις ἑπωνύμοις, τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον ταῖς ἐκ τοῦ 
περιέχοντος διαφοράις, ἐπειδὴ κοινόταται πᾶσιν 
9 ἀνθρώποις εἰσὶν αὐτοὶ. μόνως γὰρ οὕτως δυνάτον 
εἰς ἐννοιαν ἀγαγεῖν τῶν ἀγνοομένων τοὺς ἀκούον- 
10 τας, καθάπερ καὶ πρότερον εἰρήκαμεν. ἐστι δ' 
ἡ τῶν τόπων φύσις τοιαύτη ὑπὲρ ὑνὶν δὴ ὁ 
22 λόγος. τῆς γὰρ Σπάρτης τῷ μὲν καθὸλον σχήματι 
περιφεροῦσιν ὑπαρχοῦσας καὶ κειμένης ἐν τόπωι 
ἐπιτέδοις, κατὰ μέρος δὲ περιεχοῦσας ἐν αὐτῇ 
2 διαφόρους ἀνωμάλους καὶ βουνώδεις τόπους, τοῦ 
δὲ ποταμοῦ παραρρέοντος ἐκ τῶν πρὸς ἀνατολάς 
αὐτῆς μερῶν, ὡς καλεῖται μὲν Εὐρώτας γίνεται 
3 δὲ τῶν πλείω χρόνων ἀβατός διὰ τὸ μέγεθος, συμ- 
βαίνει τοὺς βουνοὺς ἐφ' ὃν τὸ Μενελαίον ἐστι πέραι 
μὲν εἰναι τοῦ ποταμοῦ, κεῖσθαι δὲ τῆς πόλεως κατὰ 
χειμερινᾶς ἀνατολάς, ὅντα τραχεῖς καὶ δυσβάτους 
καὶ διαφερόντως ψηλοῦς, ἐπικείεσθαι δὲ τῷ πρὸς 
4 τήν πόλιν τοῦ ποταμοῦ διαστήματι κυρίως, δ' οὖ 
φέρεται μὲν ὁ προευρημένος ποταμὸς παρ' αὐτὴν 
τὴν τοῦ λόφου ρίζαν, ἐστι δ' οὐ πλείον τὸ πάν 
54
positions, as indeed I attempt to do throughout my whole work, by bringing any places with which my readers are unacquainted into connexion and relation with those familiar to them from personal knowledge or reading. For seeing that in the majority of land and sea battles in a war defeat is due to difference of position, and since we all wish to know not so much what happened as how it happened, we must by no means neglect to illustrate by local descriptions events of any sort, and least of all those of a war, nor must we hesitate to adopt as landmarks harbours, seas, and islands, or again temples, mountains, and local names of districts, and finally differences of climate, as these latter are most universally recognized by mankind. For this, as I said on a former occasion, is the only way of making readers acquainted with places of which they are ignorant. The following, then, are the features of the country in question. 22. The general shape of Sparta is a circle; it lies in a country level on the whole but here and there with certain irregularities and hills. The river that runs past it on the east is called the Eurotas, and is usually too deep to be forded. The hills on which the Menelaïum stands are on the far side of the river to the south-east of the town, and are rocky, difficult to ascend, and of considerable height. They absolutely command the level space between the city and the river, which runs close along their foot, its distance from the city being not more than
διάστημα τριῶν ἡμισταδίων· δι' οὐ τὴν ἀνακομμῆν ἐδει ποιεῖσθαι κατ' ἀνάγκην τὸν Φιλιππον, ἐκ μὲν εὐνωμούµων ἔχοντα τὴν πόλιν καὶ τοὺς Λακεδαµονίους ἐτοίµους καὶ παρατεταγµένους, ἐκ δὲ δεξιῶν τὸν τε ποταµὸν καὶ τοὺς περὶ τὸν Λυκοῦργον ἐπὶ τῶν λόφων ἐφεστῶτας. ἔµεµχάνηντο δὲ τι πρὸς τοῖς ὑπάρχουσι καὶ τοιούτου οἱ Λακεδαµονίων· φράζαντες γὰρ τὸν ποταµὸν ἀνώθεν ἐπὶ τὸν µεταξὺ τόπον τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῶν βουνῶν ἐφῆκαν, οὐ διαβρόχου γεννηθέντος οὐχ οἶδον τοὺς ἱπποὺς ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἂν τοὺς πεζοὺς δυνατὸν ἦν ἐµβαίνειν. διόπερ ἀπελεύησεν πάρ' αὐτήν τὴν παράρειαν ὑπὸ τοὺς λόφους τὴν δύναµιν ἄγοντας δυσπαραβοθῆςτους καὶ µακρὸν αὐτοὺς ἐν πορείᾳ παραδιδόναι τοῖς πολεµίοις.

Εἰς ἅ βλέπων ὁ Φιλιππος, καὶ βουλευσάµενος μετὰ τῶν φίλων, ἀναγκαῖοτατον ἐκρίνε τῶν παρόντων τὸ τρέφασθαι πρὸς τοὺς περὶ τὸν Λυκοῦργον ἀπὸ τῶν κατὰ τὸ Μενελάιον τόπων. ἀναλαβὼν οὖν τοὺς τε µυσθοφόρους καὶ τοὺς πελταστὰς, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις καὶ τοὺς Ἰλλυρίους, προῆγε διαβὰ τὸν ποταµὸν ὅσ' ἐπὶ τῶν λόφων. ὁ δὲ Λυκοῦργος συνθεωρῶν τὴν ἐπινοιαν τοῦ Φιλίππου τοῦς µὲν µεθ' ἑαυτοῦ στρατιώτας ἴτοιµαξε καὶ παρεκάλει πρὸς τὸν κίνδυνον, τοῖς δὲ ἐν τῇ πόλει τῷ σηµείῳ ἀνέφηνεν· οὐ γενοµένου παραυτίκα τοὺς πολιτικοὺς, οἷς ἐπιµελές ἦν, ἐξῆγον κατὰ τὸ συντεταγµένων πρὸ τοῦ τείχους, ποιοῦτες ἐπὶ τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρατος τοὺς ἱππεῖς. ὁ δὲ Φιλιππος ἔγγισας τοῖς περὶ τὸν Λυκοῦργον τὸ µὲν πρῶτον αὐτοὺς ἐφῆκε τοὺς µυσθοφόρους, ἐξ οὐ καὶ συνέβη τὰς ἀρχὰς ἐπικυδεστέρως ἀγωνίζεσθαι τοὺς παρὰ τῶν Λακε-
a stade and a half. It was along there that Philip was forced to pass in his retreat with the town on the left hand and the Lacedaemonians drawn up outside it ready for him, and with the river on his right and across it Lycurgus’ force posted on the hills. The Lacedaemonians had contrived still further to strengthen their position by damming the river higher up and making it overflow all the ground between the town and the hills, over which, when thus soaked, it was impossible even for the infantry to pass, not to speak of the cavalry. Thus the only passage left for the army was close along the foot of the hills, which would expose them on the march to the enemy in a long narrow column, no part of which if attacked could expect support from the rest.

Philip, taking this into consideration and having consulted his friends, decided that the most immediate necessity was to drive Lycurgus away from the neighbourhood of the Menelaïum. Taking therefore his mercenaries, peltasts, and Illyrians, he crossed the river and made for the hills. Lycurgus, seeing what Philip had in view, got the men he had with him ready and addressed them in view of the approaching battle, and at the same time signalled to those in the town, upon which the officers in command there at once led out the troops, as had been arranged, and drew them up in front of the wall, placing the cavalry on the right wing. 23. Philip, on approaching Lycurgus, first sent the mercenaries along against him, so that at the beginning the Lacedaemonians fought with more
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daimoníwn àte kai toû kathoplismou kai tòv 3 tòpovn autoís ou mikra symballoúmenon. épei
de toûs mév pelastastás ó Filippos úpèbale toîs
ángwvízomévois éfedreías éxontas táxyn, toûs ò'
'Illwrióís úperáras ék plagíwn époieito tîn
èfodovn, tòte sunebh toûs mév parà toû Filíppou
muathofórous èpaprântas tî tòv 'Illiuvión kai
pelaststwv éfedreia polallaplasiws èpîrrwsothnai
pròs tòn kîndunov, toûs de parà toû 'Aukouyghou
catatplântas tîn tòn bârewn òplwn èfodovn
ègyklánantas fuveîn. èpesevon mév ouv autwv eis
èkatón, èálwsoyn de mikrû plleious. oî de loutoi
diefuvon eis tîn pòlin. ò de 'Aukouyghos autôs
taîs ènoûdias órmhshs nûkturw met' òlîgyon èpouî-
6 sato tîn eis pòlin paródovn. Filippos de toûs mév
lófovs toîs 'Illiuvión katekalâbeta, toûs ò' euvçónous
èxwn kai pelaststás èpanhîe pròs tîn dûmann.
7 'Aratoûs de kata tòn kairôn touton, àgvwv ek tòn
'Amiklûn tîn fálagnh, súnegvns hîn ëdh tîh
8 pòlews. ò mév ouv basileús diabhâs tòn potamòvn
èphôrpes toîs euvçónous kai pelaststais, èti de
tòs èppèuvn, èwvs tà bârèa tòv òplwn òp' autous
tòus bouvnoû ãsphálwv diheî tâs ðrasîrías.
9 tòv ò' èk tîh pòlewv èpibálloûmenov ègheirein toíûs
èfedreouvûs tòv èppèvwn, kai genomênhs sümplokhês
10 ðloscherestérass, kai tòv pelaststwv euvçóvous
àgvwnisamévous, kai peri touton tòn kairôv ò Fil-
îppos ðmolohugménou prôtérmia polhshs, kai
sûndwzás toûs tòn 'Akedamîmovn èppèv eis tâs
pûlai, metà taûta diaðhàs ãsphálwv tòn ðrîwton
àpourâgeto tòis autôs fálagnhítas.
24 "Hndh de tîs òbras súnavhshs, àpavanakalómenos
58
success, favoured as they were in no small degree by the ground and their heavier armour. But as soon as Philip had sent the peltasts to take part in the fight acting as a supporting force, and getting round the enemy with his Illyrians charged them on the flank, his mercenaries encouraged by this support fought with much greater spirit, while Lycurgus' force dreading the charge of the heavier troops gave way and ran. About a hundred were killed and rather more taken prisoners, the remainder escaping to the town: Lycurgus himself passing along the hills made his escape with a few others into the city. Philip, leaving the Illyrians in occupation of the hills, returned to his army with his light infantry and peltasts. Meanwhile Aratus had left Amyclae with the phalanx and was now close to Sparta. The king crossing the river remained with his light troops, peltasts, and cavalry to cover the heavy armed troops until they had traversed the narrow passage under the hills. When the Spartans from the city attempted an attack on the cavalry which was performing this service, the action became general, and the peltasts displaying great gallantry, Philip gained here too a distinct advantage, and after pursuing the Spartan horse up to the gates, recrossed the Eurotas in safety and placed himself in the rear of his phalanx.

24. The day was now far advanced, and Philip
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αὐτοῦ στρατοπεδεύειν περὶ τὴν ἑκ τῶν στενῶν
2 ἐξοδον ἔχρησατο στρατοπεδείᾳ, κατὰ σύμπτωμα
tῶν ἡγεμόνων περιβαλλόμενων τοιοῦτον τόπον οἷον
οὕκ ἄν ἄλλον τις εὐροὶ βουλόμενος εἰς τὴν χώραν
τῆς Λακωνικῆς παρ’ αὐτὴν τὴν πόλιν ποιεῖσθαι
3 τὴν εἰσβολὴν. ἦστι γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς ἄρχης τῶν προευρη-
μένων στενῶν, ὅταν ἀπὸ τῆς Τεγέας ἡ καθόλου
tῆς μεσογαίου παραγινόμενος ἐγγίζῃ τις τῇ Λακε-
dαίμονι, τότος ἀπέχων μὲν τῆς πόλεως δύο μάλιστα
σταδίους, ἐπὶ αὐτοῦ δὲ κείμενος τοῦ ποταμοῦ.
4 τούτῳ δὲ συμβαῖνει τὴν μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν καὶ
τὸν ποταμὸν βλέπονσαν πλευρὰν περιέχεσθαι πάσαν
ἀπορρώγι μεγάλη καὶ παντελῶς ἀπροσίτω. τὸ
δ’ ἐπὶ τοὺς κρημνοῖς τούτους χωρίον ἐπὶπεδῶν ἔστι
καὶ γεώδες καὶ κάθυγρον, ἀμα δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὰς
εἰσαγωγὰς καὶ τὰς ἐξαγωγὰς τῶν δυνάμεων
5 εὐφυῶς κείμενον, ὅστε τὸν στρατοπεδεύσαντα ἐν
αὐτῷ καὶ κατασχόντα τὸν ὑπερκείμενον λόφον
δοκεῖν μὲν <μὴ>1 ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ στρατοπεδεύειν διὰ
tὴν παράθεσιν τῆς πόλεως, στρατοπεδεύειν δὲ ἐν
καλλίστῳ, κρατοῦντα τῆς εἰσόδου καὶ τῆς διόδου
6 τῶν στενῶν. πλὴν δ’ γε Φίλιππος καταστρατο-
πεδεύσας ἐν τούτῳ μετ’ ἀσφαλείας τῇ κατὰ πόδας
ἡμέρα τῆς μὲν ἀποσκευὴν προαπέστειλε, τὴν δὲ
dύναμιν ἐξέταξεν ἐν τοῖς ἐπιπέδοις εὐσύνοπτον
7 τοῖς ἑκ τῆς πόλεως. χρόνον μὲν οὖν τινα βραχὺν
ἔμεινε, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα κλίνας ἐπὶ κέρας ἤγε ποιοῦ-
8 μενος τὴν πορείαν ὡς ἐπὶ Τέγεαν. συνάψαι δὲ
toῖς τόποις ἐν οἷς 'Αντίγονος καὶ Κλεομένης συνε-
στήσαντο τὸν κίνδυνον, αὐτοῦ καταστρατοπέδευσε.
9 τῇ δ’ ἐξῆς θεασάμενος τοὺς τόπους καὶ θύσας τοῖς

1 μὴ added by translator.
being obliged to encamp on the spot availed himself of a site just at the end of the narrow passage, his officers having by chance chosen as a camping ground the most advantageous spot it would be possible to find for anyone wishing to invade Laconia by passing close by the city of Sparta. For there is at the entrance of the narrow passage I described above, as one approaches Lacedaemon coming from Tegea or from any part of the interior, a certain site distant at the most two stades from the town and lying close to the river. On the side which looks to the town and the river it is entirely surrounded by a lofty and quite inaccessible cliff; but the ground at the top of the precipice is flat, covered with soil, and well supplied with water, and also very favourably situated for the entry or exit of an army, so that anyone encamping on it and holding the hill above it would seem to have chosen for his camp a somewhat insecure position owing to the vicinity of the city, but is really encamped in the best possible position, as he commands the entrance and passage of the narrows. Philip, then, having encamped here in safety, sent on his baggage on the following day and marshalled his troops on the level ground in full view of those in the city. He waited for a short time and then wheeling round began to march towards Tegea. On reaching the site of the battle between Antigonus and Cleomenes, he encamped there, and next day after inspecting the field and sacrificing to
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θεοίς ἐφ’ ἐκατέρου τῶν λόφων, δὲν ὦ μὲν ὁ Ἑλληνικὸς ὁ δ’ Ἑβραῖς καλεῖται, μετὰ ταῦτα προῆγγε στερροροποιή-

10 σάμενος τήν οὐρανίαν. ἀφικόμενος δ’ εἰς Τέγεαν
cαι λαφυροπωλήσας πάσαν τήν λείαν, καὶ μετὰ
tαῦτα ποιησάμενος δι’ Ἀργοὺς τήν πορείαν, ἤκε

11 μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως εἰς Κόρινθον. παρόντων δὲ

12 προσβεβλητών παρὰ τε Ῥώδιων καὶ Χίων περὶ δια-

15 λύσεως τοῦ πολέμου, χρηματίσας τούτοις καὶ

17 συνυποκριθείς καὶ φήσας ἑτοίμος εἶναι διαλύσθαι
cαι νῦν καὶ πάλαι πρὸς Αἰτωλοὺς, τούτους μὲν

19 ἐξέπεμπτε διαλέγεσθαι κελεύσας καὶ τοῖς Αἰτωλοῖς

21 περὶ τῆς διαλύσεως, αὐτὸς δὲ καταβάς εἰς τὸ

22 Λέχαιον ἐγίνετο περὶ πλοῦν, ἐχών τυπαὶ πράξεις

25 ὀλοσχερεστέρας ἐν τοῖς περὶ Φωκίδα τόποις.

26 Κατὰ δὲ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον οἱ περὶ τὸν Λεόντιον

27 καὶ Μεγαλέαν καὶ Πτολεμαίον, ἔτι πεπεισμένοι

28 καταπλήξεσθαι τὸν Φιλιππὸν καὶ λύσει τῶν τοιούτω

29 τρόπω τὰς προαγωγημένας ἁμαρτίας, ἐνέβαλον

31 λόγους εἰς τε τοὺς πελατσάς καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ

32 λεγομένου παρὰ τοῖς Μακεδονῖς ἄγηματος, ὃτι

33 κινδυνεύουσι μὲν ὑπὲρ πάντων, γίνεται δ’ αὐτοῖς

34 οὗτοι τῶν δικαίων, οὔτε κομίζονται τὰς ὕφελείας

35 τὰς γινομένας αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῶν ἐθισμῶν. δι’ οὖν

36 παράξεναν τοὺς οἰκείους συντραφέντας ἐγχειρή-

37 σαὶ διαρτάζειν μὲν τὰς τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων φίλων

38 καταλύσεις, ἐκβάλλειν δὲ τὰς θύρας καὶ κατακόπτειν

39 τὸν κέραμον τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως αὐλῆς. τούτων

40 δὲ συμβαλώντων καὶ τῆς πόλεως ὅλης ἐν θορύβῳ

41 καὶ παραχθη λαχαστώσης, ἄκουσας δ’ Φιλιππὸς ἦκε

42 μετὰ σπουδῆς ἐκ τοῦ Λεχαίου θέων εἰς τὴν πόλιν, καὶ

43 συναγαγὼν εἰς τὸ θέατρον τοὺς Μακεδόνας τὰ μὲν

44 παρεκάλει τὰ δ’ ἐπέπληττε πάσων ἐπὶ τοῖς πεπραγ-
the gods on each of the hills Olympus and Evas, he resumed his march, taking care to strengthen his rearguard. Reaching Tegea he there held a sale of all his booty, and afterwards marching through Argolis arrived with his army at Corinth. Here embassies from both Rhodes and Chios awaited him with proposals for bringing the war to an end. He received them both, and dissembling his real intentions told them that he was and always had been quite ready to come to terms with the Aetolians, and sent them off to address the Aetolians in the same sense, and he then went down to Lechaeum and prepared to take ship, as he had some very important business in Phocis.

25. In the meanwhile Leontius, Megaleas, and Ptolemæus, still entertaining the hope of intimidating Philip and thus retrieving their former errors, disseminated among the peltasts and the body of troops which the Macedonians call the Agema suggestions to the effect that they were in risk of losing all their privileges, that they were most unfairly treated and did not get in full their customary largesses. By this means they excited the lads to collect in a body, and attempt to plunder the tents of the king’s most prominent friends, and even to pull down the doors and break through the roof of the royal apartments. The whole city was thrown thereby into a state of disturbance and tumult, and Philip, on hearing of it, came running up in hot haste from Lechaeum to Corinth, where he called a meeting of the Macedonians in the theatre and addressed them there, exhorting them all to resume discipline and rebuking them severely for their
6 μένοις. θορύβου δ᾽ ὄντος καὶ πολλῆς ἀκρισίας, καὶ τῶν μὲν οἰομένων δεῖν ἄγειν καὶ καλεῖν τοὺς αὐτούς, τῶν δὲ διαλύεσθαι καὶ μηδὲν μησικακεῖν, 
7 τότε μὲν ὑποκριθεὶς ὡς πεπεισμένος καὶ παρα- 
καλέσας πάντας ἐπανῆθεν, σαφῶς μὲν εἰδὼς 
τοὺς ἀρχηγοὺς τῆς κωνῆσεως γεγονότας, οὐ προσ-
ποιηθεὶς δὲ διὰ τὸν καιρὸν.

26 Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ταραχὴν ταύτην οἱ μὲν ἐν τῇ 
Φωκίδι προφανείσαν πράξεις ἐμποδίσμοις τινας 
2 ἔσχον· οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Λεόντιον ἀπεγνωκότες τὰς 
ἐν αὐτοῖς ἔλπιδας διὰ τὸ μηδὲν σφίσι προχωρεῖν 
τῶν ἐπιοουμένων, κατέφευγον ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀπελλῆν 
καὶ διαπεμπόμενοι συνεχῶς ἐκάλουν αὐτὸν ἐκ 
τῆς Χαλκίδος, ἀπολογίζομενοι τὴν περὶ σφᾶς 
ἀπορίαν καὶ δυσχρηστίαν ἐκ τῆς πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα 
3 διαφορᾶς. συνέβανε δὲ τὸν Ἀπελλῆν πεποιηθαὶ 
τὴν ἐν τῇ Χαλκίδι διατριβήν ἐξουσιαστικότερον 
4 τοῦ καθήκοντος αὐτῷ· τὸν μὲν γὰρ βασιλέα νέον 
ἐτὶ καὶ τὸ πλεῖον ὑφ᾽ αὐτοῦ ὄντα καὶ μηδενὸς 
κύριον ἀπεδείκνυε, τὸν δὲ τῶν πραγμάτων χειρι-
σμὸν καὶ τὴν τῶν ὅλων ἐξουσίαν εἰς αὐτὸν ἐπαν-
5 ἤγε. διότι οἱ τε ἀπὸ Μακεδονίας καὶ Θετταλίας 
ἐπιστᾶται καὶ χειρισταὶ τὴν ἀναφορὰν ἐποιοῦντο 
πρὸς ἐκεῖνον, αἰ τε κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα πόλεις ἐν 
τοῖς ψηφίσμασι καὶ τιμαῖς καὶ δωρεαῖς ἐπὶ βραχὺ 
μὲν ἐμνημόνευν τοῦ βασιλέως, τὸ δ᾽ ὅλον αὐτοῖς 
6 ἤν καὶ τὸ πᾶν Ἀπελλῆς. ἐφ᾽ οίς Φίλιππος 
πυθανόμενος πάλαι μὲν ἐσχετλίαζε καὶ δυσχέρως 
ἐχερε τὸ γνώμενον ἀτε καὶ παρὰ πλευρὰν ὄντος 
Ἀράτου καὶ πραγματικῶς ἐξεργαζομένων τὴν 
ὑπόθεσιν· ἀλλ᾽ ἐκαρτέρει, καὶ πᾶσιν ἄδηλος ἢν 
7 ἐπὶ τί φέρεται καὶ ἐπὶ ποῖας ὑπάρχει γνώμης. ὁ
conduct. Upon this there was a mighty hubbub and much confusion of counsel, some advising that the offenders should be arrested and called to account, while others were in favour of coming to terms and granting a general amnesty, upon which the king, pretending for the time that he was convinced, addressed some words of exhortation to the whole army without distinction and took his departure, well knowing who the originators of the sedition had been, but pretending ignorance owing to the pressure of circumstances.

26. After these disturbances the king's Phocian schemes met with some impediments, but Leontius renouncing all hope of achieving anything by his own efforts, owing to all his plans having failed, appealed to Apelles, sending frequent messages to him to come back from Chalcis, alleging his own helplessness and embarrassment owing to his difference with the king. Now Apelles during his stay in Chalcis had assumed more authority than his position warranted, giving out that the king was still young and was ruled by him in most matters and could do nothing of his own accord, and taking the management of affairs and the supreme power into his own hands. Consequently the prefects and officials in Macedonia and Thessaly referred all matters to him, while the Greek cities in voting gifts and honours made little mention of the king, but Apelles was all in all to them. Philip, who was aware of this, had long been annoyed and aggrieved at it, especially as Aratus was always by him and took the most efficient means to work out his own project, but he bore with it for the time and let no one know what action he contemplated and what his real opinion
8' Ἀπελλῆς ἀγνώστα καθ' αὐτόν, πεπεισμένος
δ', ἐὰν εἰς ὅψιν ἔλθη τῷ Φιλίππῳ, πάντα κατὰ
tὴν ἐαυτοῦ γνώμην διοικήσειν, ὠρμήσε τοῖς περὶ
tὸν Λεόντιον ἐπικοινώσασθαι ἐκ τῆς Χαλκίδος.
3 παραγενομένου δ' εἰς τὴν Κόρινθον αὐτοῦ, μεγάλην
σπουδὴν ἔποιοῦστο καὶ παρῴξυσαν τοὺς νέους εἰς
tὴν ἀπάντησιν οἱ περὶ τὸν Λεόντιον καὶ Πτολε-
μαίον καὶ Μεγαλέαν, ὄντες ἡγεμόνες τῶν τε
πελταστῶν καὶ τῶν ἅλλων τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων
9 συστημάτων. γενομένης δὲ τῆς εἰσόδου τραγικῆς
dιὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἀπαντησάντων ἡγεμόνων καὶ
στρατιωτῶν, ἦκε πρὸς τὴν αὐλήν ὁ προειρημένος
10 εὐθέως ἐκ πορείας. βουλομένου δ' αὐτοῦ κατὰ
tὴν προεγεγερμένην συνήθειαν εἰςεναί, παρακατ-
ἐσχε τοῖς τῶν ῥαβδούχων κατὰ τὸ συντεταγμένον,
11 φήσας οὐκ εὐκαίρως ἔχειν τὸν βασιλέα. ξε-
νισθεὶς δὲ καὶ διαπορήσας ἔπὶ πολὺν χρόνον διὰ
tὸ παράδοξον ὁ μὲν Ἀπελλῆς ἐπανήγει διατετραμ-
μένος, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ παραχρήμα πάντες ἀπέρρεουν
ἀπ' αὐτοῦ προφανῶς, ἕστε τὸ τελευταῖον μόνον
μετὰ τῶν ἱδίων παίδων εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν αὐτοῦ
12 κατάλυσιν. βραχεῖς γὰρ δὴ πᾶν καυρὸν πάντας
μὲν ἀνθρώπους ὡς ἐπίπαν ὑψοῦσι καὶ πάλιν
ταπευοῦσιν, μάλιστα δὲ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις.
13 ὅτε δὲ πᾶν τάξις ἄβακών ψήφοις· ἐκεῖνα τὰ
14 ἐπὶ τῶν ἄβακών ψήφοις· ἐκεῖνα τὰ ἐπὶ τῶν
τῶν ἄβακών ψήφοις. ἐκεῖνα τὰ ἐπὶ τῶν τοῖς
ψηφίζοντος βούλησιν ἀρτί χαλκοῦ καὶ παραντὶ καὶ
τόπος ἤσχύνουσι, ὃ τε περὶ τὰς αὐλὰς κατὰ τὸ
τῶν βασιλέως νεύμα μακάριοι καὶ παρὰ πόδες
ἐλευθορίαν. ὁ δὲ Μεγαλέας ὁ ὂρὼν παῖς
66
was. Apelles, ignorant of his own true position and convinced that if he had a personal meeting with Philip he would order matters exactly as he wished, left Chalcis and hastened to the help of Leontius. On his arrival at Corinth Leontius, Ptolemaeus, and Megaleas, who were in command of the peltasts and the other crack corps, were at much pains to work up the soldiers to give him a fine reception. After entering the city in great pomp owing to the number of officers and soldiers who had flocked to meet him, he proceeded without alighting to the royal quarters. He was about to enter as had been his former custom, when one of the ushers, acting by order, stopped him, saying that the king was engaged. Disconcerted by this unexpected rebuff, Apelles after remaining for some time in a state of bewilderment withdrew much abashed, upon which his followers at once began to drop away quite openly, so that finally he reached his lodging accompanied only by his own servants. So brief a space of time suffices to exalt and abase men all over the world and especially those in the courts of kings, for those are in truth exactly like counters on a reckoning-board. For these at the will of the reckoner are now worth a copper and now worth a talent, and courtiers at the nod of the king are at one moment universally envied and at the next universally pitied. Megaleas seeing that the result of Apelles' intervention had not been at all what he expected, was beset by fear, and made preparations
15 δρασμὸν ἐγένετο. δ' Ἡ Ἀπελλῆς ἐπὶ μὲν τὰς συνοισίας καὶ τοιαύτα τῶν τιμῶν παρελαμβάνετο, τῶν δὲ διαβούλων καὶ τῆς μεθ' ἡμέραν συν-περιφορᾶς οὐ μετείχε. ταῦτ' δ' ἦς ἡμέραις ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ τὰς κατὰ τὴν Φωκίδα πράξεις πάλιν ἐκ τοῦ Λεχαίου ποιούμενος τὸν πλοῦν ἐπιστάσατο
27 τὸν Ἦ Ἀπελλῆν. διαπεσοῦσθαὶ δ' αὐτῷ τῆς ἐπιβολῆς οὔτος μὲν αὕτῳ ἐξ Ἐλατείας ἀνέστρεφε, κατὰ δὲ τὸν καιρὸν τούτον ὁ Μεγαλέας εἰς τὰς Ἀθῆνας ἀπεχώρησε, καταλιπὼν τὸν Λεόντιον ἐγγυητὴν
2 τῶν εἰκοσι ταλάντων. τῶν δ' ἐν ταῖς Ἀθηναίς στρατηγῶν οὐ προσδεξαμένων αὐτὸν μετήλθε
3 πάλιν εἰς τὰς Θήβας. δ' ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀναχθεὶς ἐκ τῶν κατὰ Κιρραν τόπων κατέπλευσε μετὰ τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν εἰς τὸν τῶν Σικυωνίων λιμένα, κάκειθεν ἀναβὰς εἰς τὴν πόλιν τοὺς μὲν ἄρχοντας παρρητῆσατο, παρὰ δ' Ἄρατον καταλύσας μετὰ τούτου τὴν πᾶσαν ἐποιεῖτο διαγγειρῆν, τῷ δ'
4 Ἦ Ἀπελλῆ πυνέταξε πλεῖν εἰς Κόρινθον. προσπεσόντων δὲ τῶν κατὰ τὸν Μεγαλέαν αὐτῷ τοὺς μὲν πελταστὰς, ὃν ἤγεῖτο Λεόντιος, εἰς τὴν Τριφυλίαν ἐξαπέστειλε μετὰ Ταυρίων πῶς τοὺς ἄρρητας κατεπειγοῦσθας, τούτων δ' ἀφορμησάντων ἀπαγαγεῖν ἐκέλευσε τὸν Λεόντιον πρὸς τὴν ἀνα-
5 δοχῆν. συνέντες δ' οἱ πελτασται τὸ γεγονός, διαπειραμένου τινὰ πρὸς αὐτοὺς τοῦ Λεοντίου, πρεσβευτὰς ἐξαπέστειλαν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, παρακαλοῦντες, εἰ μὲν πρὸς ἄλλο τι πεποίηται τὴν ἀπαγωγὴν τοῦ Λεοντίου, μή χωρίς αὐτῶν πολὺ-
6 σασθαί τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐγκαλουμένων κρίσιν, εἰ δὲ μὴ, ὅτι νομοδεί μεγαλείως παρολιγωρείον καὶ καταγωνώσκεσθαι πάντες (εἰςον γὰρ ἀεὶ τὴν
68
for flight. Apelles was now invited to state banquets and received other such honours, but took no part in councils and was not admitted to the king's intimacy. When a few days afterwards the king again sailed from Lechaeum on his Phocian enterprise he took Apelles with him. 27. Upon the project falling through, the king set out from Elatea on his return, and meanwhile Megaleas left for Athens, leaving Leontius to meet his bail of the twenty talents; but when the Athenian strategi refused to receive him, he returned to Thebes. The king sailing from the neighbourhood of Cirrha reached the harbour of Sicyon with his guard, and going up to the city declined the invitation of the magistrates, but taking up his quarters in Aratus' house spent his whole time in his society, ordering Apelles to take ship for Corinth. On hearing the news about Megaleas, he sent away the peltasts who were under the command of Leontius to Triphylia with Taurion, on the pretence of some urgent service, and as soon as they had left ordered Leontius to be arrested to his bail for Megaleas. The peltasts, however, heard what had happened, as Leontius had sent them a messenger, and dispatched a deputation to the king, begging him, if he had arrested Leontius on any other charge, not to try the case in their absence, for if he did so they would all consider it a signal slight and affront—
τοιμάτην ἱσηγορίαν Μακεδόνες πρὸς τοὺς βασιλεῖς). 7 εἰ δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἐγγύην τοῦ Μεγαλέου, διότι τὰ χρήματα κατὰ κοινὸν εἰσενέγκαντες ἐκτίσσουσιν 8 αὐτοῖ. τὸν μὲν οὖν Λεόντιον ο ὁ βασιλεὺς παροξυθεῖς, θάττον ἦ προέθετο, διὰ τὴν τῶν πελτατῶν φιλοτιμίαν ἐπανείλετο. οἱ δὲ παρὰ τῶν Ῥωμίων καὶ Χίων πρέσβεις ἐπανήκουν ἐκ τῆς Ἀιτωλίας ἀνοχάς τε πεποιημένου τριακονθημέρους, καὶ πρὸς τὰς διαλύσεις ἐτούμους φᾶσκοντες εἶναι 2 τοὺς Ἀιτωλοὺς, καὶ τεταγμένοι ρήτην ἧμέραν εἰς ἦν ἡξίουν τὸν Φίλιππον ἀπαντῆσαι πρὸς τὸ Ῥίον, ὑποχνούμενοι πάντα πονήσει τοὺς Ἀιτωλοὺς 3 ἔφ᾽ οὗ συνθέσθαι τὴν εὐρήνην. ὁ δὲ Φίλιππος δεξάμενος τὰς ἀνοχάς, τοῖς μὲν συμμάχους ἐγραφὲ διασαφῶν τέμπεων εἰς Πάτρας τοὺς συνεδρεύσοντας καὶ βουλευσομένους ὑπὲρ τῆς πρὸς Ἀιτωλοὺς διαλύσεως, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐκ τοῦ Δεξαίου κατέπλευσε 4 δευτεραῖος εἰς τὰς Πάτρας. κατὰ δὲ τὸν καρπὴν τούτον ἐπιστολαί τινες ἀνεπέμφθησαν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Φωκίδα τόπων παρὰ τοῦ Μεγαλέα διαπεμπόμεναι πρὸς τοὺς Ἀιτωλοὺς, ἐν αἷς ἦν παράκλησις τε τῶν Ἀιτωλῶν, θαρρεῖν καὶ μένειν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ, διὸτι τὰ κατὰ τὸν Φίλιππον ἔξω τελέως ἔστι διὰ τὴν ἀχορηγίαν πρὸς δὲ τούτοις κατηγορία τινὲς τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ λοιδορία 5 φιλαπεχθεῖς ἦσαν. ἀναγνοὺς δὲ ταύτας, καὶ νομίσας πάντων τῶν κακῶν ἀρχηγὸν εἶναι τὸν Ἀπελλῆν, τοῦτον μὲν εὐθείως φυλακὴν περιστήσας ἐξαπέστειλε μετὰ σπουδῆς εἰς τὸν Κόρινθον, ἀμα 6 δὲ καὶ τὸν νιών αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν ἐρώμενον, ἐπὶ δὲ τὸν Μεγαλέαν εἰς τὰς Θῆβας Ἀλέξανδρον ἐπεμψε, προστάξας ἄγειν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς πρὸς τὴν 70
with such freedom did the Macedonians always address their kings—but if it was on account of his bail for Megaleas, they would subscribe among themselves and pay it off. But this warm support of Leontius by the peltasts served only to exasperate the king, who for this reason put Leontius to death sooner than he had purposed.

28. The Rhodian and Chian embassies now returned from Aetolia, where they had concluded a truce for thirty days. They reported that the Aetolians were ready to come to terms, and stated that they had themselves named a day on which they begged Philip to meet the Aetolians at Rhium, when they undertook that the latter would make peace at any price. Philip accepted the truce, and writing to his allies with the request to send commissioners to Patrae to meet him and confer about the conditions of peace with the Aetolians, proceeded there himself by sea from Lechaeum, arriving on the second day. Just then certain letters were sent to him from Phocis, which Megaleas had addressed to the Aetolians exhorting them to persist in the war with confidence, since Philip's fortunes were at their last ebb owing to scarcity of supplies: the letters also contained certain accusations against the king coupled with venomous personal abuse. On reading them and being convinced that all the mischief was originally due to Apelles, he placed him in custody and at once dispatched him to Corinth together with his son and his minion, sending at the same time Alexander to Thebes to arrest Megaleas and bring him before the
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7 ἐγγύην. τοῦ δ' Ἀλεξάνδρου τὸ προσταχθὲν ποιήσαντος οὖχ ὑπέμεινε τὴν πρᾶξιν ὁ Μεγαλέας, ἀλλ' 8 αὐτῷ προσήνεγκε τὰς χεῖρας. περὶ δὲ τὰς αὐτὰς ἡμέρας συνέβη καὶ τὸν Ἀπελλῆν μεταλλάξαι τὸν βίον, ἀμα δὲ καὶ τὸν ύδων καὶ τὸν ἔρωμενον.  
9 Οὕτω μὲν οὖν τῆς ἀρμοζούσης τυχόντες κατα- 
stroφῆς ἐξέλιπον τὸν βίον, καὶ μάλιστα διὰ τὴν 
29 εἰς Ἀρατόν γενομένην ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀσέλγειαν. οἱ  
δ' Ἀιτωλοὶ τὰ μὲν ἔσπευδον ποιήσασθαι τὴν 
eἰρήνην πιεζόμενοι τῷ πολέμῳ, καὶ παρὰ δόξαν 
2 αὐτοῖς προχωροῦντων τῶν πραγμάτων (ἐλπί- 
σαντες γὰρ ὡς παιδίων νηπίων χρήσασθαι τῷ 
Φιλίππῳ διὰ τῇ τὴν ἡλικίαν καὶ τὴν ἀπειρίαν, τὸν 
mὲν Φιλίππον εὕρον τέλειον ἀνδρα καὶ κατὰ τὰς 
ἐπιβολὰς καὶ κατὰ τὰς πράξεις, αὐτοὶ δ' ἐφάνησαν 
eὐκαταφρόνητοι καὶ παιδαριώδεις ἐν τοῖς κατὰ 
3 μέρος καὶ τοῖς καθόλου πράγμασιν), ἀμα δὲ 
προσπιτούσης αὐτοῖς τῆς τε περὶ τοὺς πελταστὰς 
γενομένης ταραχῆς καὶ τῆς τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἀπελλῆν 
καὶ Λεοντιον ἀπωλείας ἐλπίσαντες μέγα τι καὶ 
δυσχερές κίνημα περὶ τὴν αἰλίην εἶναι, παρεῖλκον 
ὑπέρτιθεμενοι τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ Ρίον ταχθεῖσαν ἤμεραν.  
4 δ' δὲ Φιλίππος ἀσμένως ἐπιλαβόμενος τῆς προ- 
φάσεως ταύτης διὰ τὸ θαρρεῖν ἐπὶ τῷ πολέμῳ, 
καὶ προδιειληφώς ἀποτρίβεσθαι τὰς διαλύσεις, 
tότε παρακαλῆσας τοὺς ἀπηντηκότας τῶν συμ- 
mάχων οὐ τὰ πρὸς διαλύσεις πράττειν ἄλλὰ 
tὰ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον, ἀναχθεῖς αὕτω ἀπέπλευσεν 
5 εἰς τὸν Κόρινθον. καὶ τοὺς μὲν Μακεδόνας διὰ 
Θετταλίας ἀπέλυσε πάντας εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν παρα- 
χειμάσωντας, αὗτος δ' ἀναχθεῖς ἐκ Κεγχρεῶν καὶ 
παρὰ τὴν Ἀττικήν κομισθεῖς δι' Ἐυρίπου κατ- 
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magistrates to answer to his bail. Upon Alexander’s executing this order, Megaleas did not await the issue, but died by his own hand, and at about the same time, Apelles, his son and his favourite also ended their lives. Thus did these men meet with the end they deserved, and it was chiefly their outrageous conduct to Aratus that brought them to ruin.

The Aetolians were on the one hand anxious to make peace, since the war told heavily on them and things were turning out far otherwise than they had expected. 29. For while they had hoped to find a helpless infant in Philip, owing to his tender years and inexperience, they really found him to be a grown-up man, both in his projects and in his performances, while they had shown themselves contemptible and childish both in their general policy and in their conduct of particular operations. But on the news reaching them of the outbreak among the peltasts and the deaths of Apelles and Leontius, they flattered themselves that there was some serious trouble at the Court and began to procrastinate, proposing to defer the date that had been fixed for the conference at Rhium. Philip, gladly availing himself of this pretext, as he was confident of success in the war, and had made up his mind from the outset to shuffle off the negotiations, now begged the representatives of the allies who had arrived to meet him at Patrae not to occupy themselves with terms of peace but with the prosecution of the war, and himself sailed back to Corinth. Dismissing all his Macedonian troops and sending them through Thessaly home to winter, he took ship at Cenchreae and coasting along Attica
6 ἔπλευσεν εἰς Δημητριάδα, κακεὶ Πτολεμαῖον, ὅσ ἦν ἐτὶ λοιπὸς τῆς τῶν περὶ τὸν Λεόντιον ἐταιρείας, κρίνας ἐν τοῖς Μακεδόσιν ἀπέκτεινεν.

7 Κατὰ δὲ τοὺς καρποὺς τούτους Ἀννίβας μὲν εἰς Ἰταλίαν ἐμβεβηληκὼς ἀντεστρατοπέδευεν ταῖς τῶν Ῥωμαίων δυνάμεις περὶ τὸν Πάδον καλοῦμενον

8 ποταμόν, Ἀντίοχος δὲ τὰ πλεῖστα μέρη Κούλης Συρίας κατεστραμμένος αὐτὺς εἰς παραχεμασίαν ἀνέλυσε, Δυκοῦργος δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Δακεδαῖ-

9 μονίων εἰς Αἰτωλίαν ἔφυγε, καταπλαγεῖς τοὺς ἐφόροις. οἱ γὰρ ἐφοροὶ, προσπεσοῦσας αὐτοὺς ὑψοῦς διαβολῆς ὡς μέλλοντος αὐτοῦ νεωτερίζεων, ἀθροίσαντες τοὺς νέους νυκτὸς ἦλθον ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν· ὃ δὲ προαισθήμενος ἐξεχώρησε μετὰ τῶν ἰδίων οἰκετῶν.

30 Τοῦ δὲ χειμώνος ἐπιγενομένου, καὶ Φιλίππου μὲν τοῦ βασιλέως εἰς Μακεδονίαν ἀπηλλαγμένου, τοῦ δ’ Ἔπηράτου τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τῶν Ἁχαιῶν καταπεφρονημένου μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτικῶν νεα-

νίσκων κατεγνωσμένου δὲ τελέως ὑπὸ τῶν μισ-

θοφόρων, οὔτ' ἐπειθάρχει τοῖς παραγγελλομένοις οὐδεὶς οὔτ' ἦν ἔτομοι οὐδὲν πρὸς τὴν τῆς χώρας

2 βοήθειαν. εἰς δ' Ἐλέφας Πυρρίας ὁ παρὰ τῶν Αἰτωλῶν ἀπεσταλμένος στρατηγὸς τοῖς Ἡλείοις, ἔχων Αἰτωλῶν εἰς χιλίους καὶ τριακοσίους καὶ

τοὺς τῶν Ἡλείων μισθοφόρους, ἀμα δὲ τούτοις πολιτικοὺς πεζοὺς μὲν εἰς χιλίους ἐππείς δὲ δια-

κόσιος, ὡστ' εἶναι τοὺς πάντας εἰς τρισχιλίους,

3 οὐ μόνον τὴν τῶν Δυσμαίων καὶ Φαραῖων συνεχῶς

4 ἐπόρθησε χώραν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν τῶν Πατρέων. τὸ

dὲ τελευταῖον ἐπὶ τὸ Παναχαϊκὸν ὄρος καλοῦμενον

ἐπιστρατοπεδεύσας, τὸ κείμενον ύπὲρ τῆς τῶν 74
passed through the Euripus to Demetrias. Here he put on his trial before a Macedonian court and executed Ptolemaeus, the last survivor of Leontius’ band of conspirators.

The contemporary events were as follows. Hannibal had now entered Italy and encamped near the river Po opposite the Roman forces, Antiochus after subduing the greater part of Coele-Syria retired into winter-quarters, and Lycurgus the king of Sparta escaped to Aetolia for fear of the ephors. For the ephors, to whom he had been falsely accused of entertaining revolutionary designs, collected the young men and came to his house at night, but having received warning he escaped with his servants.

30. It was now winter; King Philip had left for Macedonia, and Eperatus the Achaean strategus was treated with contempt by the civic soldiers and utterly set at naught by the mercenaries, so that no one obeyed orders, and no preparations had been made for protecting the country. Pyrrhias, the general sent by the Aetolians to Elis, observed this; and taking about thirteen hundred Aetolians, the mercenaries of the Eleans and about a thousand foot and two hundred horse of their civic troops, so that he had in all about three thousand men, not only laid waste the territories of Dyme and Pharae but even that of Patrae. Finally establishing his camp on the so-called Panachaean Mountain which
Πατρέων πόλεως, ἐδήσαν πᾶσαν τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ Ἡρών,
καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ Αἴγιον κεκλιμένην χώραν. λοιπὸν
αἱ μὲν πόλεις κακοπαθοῦσαί καὶ μὴ τυγχάνοουσα
βοηθείας δυσχερᾶς πως εἴχον πρὸς τὰς εἰσφοράς,
οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται τῶν ὦφωνών παρελκομένων καὶ
καθυστεροῦντων τὸ παραπλήσιον ἑποίοιν περὶ τὰς
βοηθείας· ἐξ ἂμφοτὲν δὲ τῆς τοιαύτης ἀνταποδόσεως
γνωμηνίας ἐπὶ τὸ χείρον προῆβαινε τὰ πράγματα
καὶ τέλος διελύθη τὸ ἄεινον. πάντα δὲ ταῦτα
συνέβαινε γίνεσθαι διὰ τὴν τοῦ προεστῶτος ἀπο
μίαν. ἐν τοιαύτῃ δ' ὄντων διαθέσει τῶν κατὰ
tοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς, καὶ τῶν χρόνων ἢδη καθηκόντων,
'Επήρατος μὲν ἀπετίθετο τὴν ἅρχην, οἱ δ' Ἀχαιοὶ
tῆς θερείας ἐναρχομένης στρατηγὸν αὐτῶν ἂρατον
κατέστησαν τὸν πρεσβύτερον.

8 Καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὴν Εὐρώπην ἐν τούτοις ἦν·
ἡμεῖς δ' ἐπειδὴ κατὰ τῇ τῶν χρόνων διαίρεσιν
καὶ κατὰ τὴν τῶν πράξεων περιγραφῆν ἀρμόζοντα
τόπον εἰλήφαμεν, μεταβάντες ἐπὶ τὰς κατὰ τὴν
Ἀσίαν πράξεις τὰς κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ὀλυμπιάδα
τοῖς προειρημένοις ἐπιτελεσθείσας αὕτης ὑπὲρ

31 ἐκείνων ποιησόμεθα τὴν ἐξήγησιν, καὶ πρῶτον
ἐπιχειρήσομεν δηλοῦν κατὰ τὴν ἐξ ἄρχης πρόθε-
σιν τὸν ὑπὲρ Κοίλης Συρίας Ἀντόχου καὶ Πτο-

2 λεμαίῳ συστάντα πόλεμον, σαφῶς μὲν γινώσκοντες
ὅτι κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τούτον, εἰς δὲν ἐλήφαμεν τῶν
Ἐλληνικῶν, ὥσπερ οὐπώ κρίνεσθαι συνέβαινε καὶ
πέρας λαμβάνειν αὐτῶν, αἱροῦμενοι δὲ τὴν τοιαύτην
ἐπιστασιν καὶ διαίρεσιν τῆς ἐνεστώτης διηγήσεως.

3 τοῦ μὲν γὰρ μὴ τῆς τῶν κατὰ μέρος καιρῶν ἀκρι-
βείας διαμαρτάνειν τοὺς ἀκούοντας ἰκανὴν τοῖς
φιλομαθοῦσι πεπείσμεθα παρασκευάζειν ἐμπειρίαν
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overlooks Patrae he pillaged all the country in the direction of Rhium and Aegium. The consequence was, that the cities suffering severely and getting no help were by no means disposed to pay their contributions, and the soldiery, as their pay had been deferred and was much in arrears, were as little inclined to give help. So citizens and soldiers thus playing into each others’ hands, things went from bad to worse and finally the mercenaries disbanded—all this being the consequence of the chief magistrate’s imbecility. The above was the condition of affairs in Achaea, when his year having now expired, Eperatus laid down his office, and the Achaeans at the beginning of summer elected the elder Aratus their strategus.

Such was the position in Europe. Now that I have arrived at a place that is suitable both chronologically and historically, I will shift the scene to Asia, and turning to the doings there during this same Olympiad will again confine my narrative to that field. 31. And in the first place, in pursuit of my original design, I will attempt to give a clear description of the war between Antiochus and Ptolemy for Coele-Syria. I am perfectly aware that at the date I chose for breaking off my narrative of events in Greece this war was on the point of being decided and coming to an end, but I deliberately resolved to make a break here in this history and open a fresh chapter for the following reasons. I am confident that I have provided my readers with sufficient information to prevent them from going wrong about the dates of particular events by my parallel
sek toû tâs ekkástwn arxâs kai sunteleias parupsomênâs, kath' opoiouz éçinontos kairowûs tês úpokemieînhs olyumpiâdos kai twn 'Ellinikôn
4 prâxeus, tô d' evparakoloiôthentôn kai saphi gínësai tîn diëghenwn oudèn anagkaiôteron épì taûtis tês olympeîadâs ëgouméth einai toû mè sumplekékei alhîlas tîs prâxeus, allà xwrízein
5 kai diarireîn autâs kath' òson estî dunatóv, mècrus an épî tās èxhîs olympeîadâs ëlthôntes kai' ètos arxîmêthra gráfein tîs katâllìla geneoménas prâ
6 ëxeis. èpetî gar ou tînà tâ dè parà pâsou gegovínta gráfein prôpômêthâ, kai scheidôn òs èpetên megísthî
7 tîn prôgegonotôn èpibolh kexhrîmêthâ tîs ëstoðias, kathàper kai prôteron pou dedelolômaven, dêon an eîn megísthîn ëmmás pousîsai prônouan kai toû cheirismou kai tîs oikonomías, òna kai kata'merous kai katholou saffes toû sûtangma
8 gîntai tîs pragmatèias. didî kai òvn breqhî prôsanadramótites peri tîs 'Antrîkhoun kai Ptoleuç
9 maion basileias, peirariosmêthâ lâmbânwn arxâs omyologouuménavs kai gnovriçoménavs peri tîn légesisai
32 mellôntwn, òpeti estî pântwv anagkaiôstaton. oi mèn garî arxaiou tîn arxhîn èmmwv toû pântos einai fâskontes, megísthîn parhînouv pousîsai
2 dokouîntes dhî lêghen úperbolikos ëllipisteíteron moi fâîrontai tîs ëllhtheias eîrhekînav. tharrrîn
3 pântos, allà kai prôs toû telos diateînev. òwvs garî arxasai tînos kalwes oivîn te mè prôperila-
78
recapitulations of general history, in which I state in what year of this Olympiad and contemporaneously with what events in Greece each episode elsewhere began and ended. But in order that my narrative may be easy to follow and lucid, I think it most essential as regards this Olympiad not to interweave the histories of different countries, but to keep them as separate and distinct as possible until upon reaching the next and following Olympiads I can begin to narrate the events of each year in the chronological order. For since my design is to write the history not of certain particular matters but of what happened all over the world, and indeed, as I previously stated, I have undertaken, I may say, a vaster task than any of my predecessors, it is my duty to pay particular attention to the matter of arrangement and treatment, so that both as a whole and in all its details my work may have the quality of clearness. I will therefore on the present occasion also go back a little and try in treating of the reigns of Antiochus and Ptolemy to take some generally recognized and accepted starting-point for my narrative: the most necessary thing to provide for. 32. For the ancients, saying that the beginning is half of the whole, advised that in all matters the greatest care should be taken to make a good beginning. And although this dictum is thought to be exaggerated, in my own opinion it falls short of the truth. One may indeed confidently affirm that the beginning is not merely half of the whole, but reaches as far as the end. For how is it possible to begin a thing well without having present in one's mind the completion of one's project, and without knowing its scope, its relation to other things,
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4 βάλλεται τούτο ποιεῖν; πῶς δὲ πάλιν οἶνον τε συγκεφαλαμώσασθαι πράγματα δεόντως μὴ συν-αναφέροντα τὴν ἁρχὴν, πόθεν ἡ πῶς ἡ διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὰς ἐνεστώσας ἀφίκται πράξεις; διόπερ οὐχ ἐὼς τοῦ μέσου νομίζοντας διατείνειν τὰς ἁρχὰς ἀλλ’ ἐὼς τοῦ τέλους, πλείστην περὶ ταῦτας ποιητέων σπουδὴν καὶ τοὺς λέγοντας καὶ τοὺς ἀκούοντας περὶ τῶν ὀλων. ὅ δὴ καὶ νῦν ἡμεῖς πειρασόμεθα ποιεῖν.

33 Καίτοι γ’ οὖκ ἀγνοοῦ διότι καὶ πλείους ἔτεροι τῶν συγγραφέων τὴν αὐτὴν ἔμοι προεῖναι φωνήν, φάσκοντες τὰ καθὸλου γράφειν καὶ μεγίστην τῶν προγεγονότων ἐπιβεβλήσατα πραγματείαν’ περὶ δὲν ἑγὼ, παραιτησάμενος Ἔφορον τὸν πρῶτον καὶ μόνον ἐπιβεβλημένον τὰ καθὸλου γράφειν, τὸ μὲν πλεῖω λέγειν ἢ μνημονεύειν τινὸς τῶν ἄλλων ἐπ’ ὅνόματος παρῆσον, μέχρι δὲ τούτου μυθήσομαι, διότι τῶν καθ’ ἡμᾶς των γραφόντων ἱστορίαν ἐν τρισὶν ἢ τέταρτων ἐξηγησάμενοι σελίδων ἡμῖν τὸν Ῥωμαίον καὶ Καρχηδονίων πόλεμον φασὶ τὰ καθὸλου γράφειν. καίτοι διότι πλείσται μὲν καὶ μέγισται τότε περὶ τε τὴν Ἰβηρίαν καὶ Λυβίαν ἐτὶ δὲ τὴν Σικελίαν καὶ Ἰταλίαν ἐπετελέσθησαν πράξεις, ἐπιφανέστατος δὲ καὶ πολυχρονώτατος ὁ κατ’ Ἀννίβαν πόλεμος γέγονε πλήν τοῦ περὶ Σικελίαν, πάντες δὲ ἠγακάσθηµεν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀποβλέπειν διὰ τὸ μέγεθος, δεδιότες τὴν συντέλειαν τῶν ἀποβησόμενων, τὸσ οὔτως ἐστὶν ἀδαίης ὁς οὐκ οἴδει; ἀλλ’ ἐνυιοὶ τῶν πραγματευομένων οὐδ’ ἐφ’ ὅσον οἱ τὰ κατὰ καιροὺς ἐν ταῖς χρονογραφίαις ὑπομνηματιζόμενοι πολιτικῶς εἰς τοὺς τοίχους, οὐδ’ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο μνησθέντες πάσας φασὶ τὰς κατὰ
and the object for which one undertakes it? And again how is it possible to sum up events properly without referring to their beginnings, and understanding whence, how, and why the final situation was brought about? So we should think that beginnings do not only reach half way, but reach to the end, and both writers and readers of a general history should pay the greatest attention to them. And this I shall endeavour to do.

33. I am not indeed unaware that several other writers make the same boast as myself, that they write general history and have undertaken a vaster task than any predecessor. Now, while paying all due deference to Ephorus, the first and only writer who really undertook a general history, I will avoid criticizing at length or mentioning by name any of the others, and will simply say thus much, that certain writers of history in my own times after giving an account of the war between Rome and Carthage in three or four pages, maintain that they write universal history. Yet no one is so ignorant as not to know that many actions of the highest importance were accomplished then in Spain, Africa, Italy, and Sicily, that the war with Hannibal was the most celebrated and longest of wars if we except that for Sicily, and that we in Greece were all obliged to fix our eyes on it, dreading the results that would follow. But some of those who treat of it, after giving a slighter sketch of it even than those worthy citizens who jot down occasional memoranda of events on the walls of their houses, claim to
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τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ βάρβαρον περιεληφέναι πράξεις.

6 τούτου δ’ ἐστὶν αὕτου ὦτι τὸ μὲν τῷ λόγῳ τῶν μεγίστων ἔργων ἀντιποιήσασθαι τελείως ἐστὶ

ῥάδιον, τὸ δὲ τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐφικέσθαι τωδὲ

7 τῶν καλῶν οὐκ εὐμαρέσ. διό καὶ τὸ μὲν ἐν μέσῳ

κεῖται καὶ πάσι κοινῷ ὡς ἐπος εἰπεῖν τοὺς μόνον

τολμᾶν δυναμένους ὑπάρχει, τὸ δὲ καὶ λίαν ἐστὶ

σπάνιον καὶ σπανίος συνεξεδραμε κατὰ τὸν βίον.

8 ταῦτα μὲν ὧν προϊέθην εἰπεῖν χάριν τῆς ἀλα-

ζονείας τῶν ὑπερηφανοῦντων ειαυτοῦ καὶ τὰς

ἰδίας πραγματείας· ἐπὶ δὲ τὴν ἀρχῆν ἐπάνειμι

τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ προβῆσεως.

34 Ὡς γὰρ θάττον Πτολεμαῖος ὁ κληθεὶς Φιλοπάτωρ,

μεταλλάξαντος τοῦ πατρός, ἐπανελόμενος τὸν ἀδελφὸν Μάγαν καὶ τοὺς τοῦτος συνεργοῦντας

2 παρέλαβε τὴν τῆς Ἀιγύπτου δυναστείαν, νομίζας

τῶν μὲν οἰκείων φόβων ἀπολελύσθαι δι’ αὐτοῦ καὶ

diὰ τῆς προειρήμενης πράξεως, τῶν δ’ ἐκτὸς

κυνδύνων ἀπηλλαχθαί διὰ τὴν τύχην, ’Αντιγόνου

μὲν καὶ Σελεύκου μετηλαχότων, ’Αντιόχου δὲ

καὶ Φιλίππου τῶν διαδεδεμένων τὰς ἁρχὰς

παντάπασι νέων καὶ μόνον οὐ παίδων ὑπαρχόντων,

3 καταπιστεύσας διὰ ταῦτα τοὺς παροῦς καυροῖς

πανηγυρικῶτερον διῆγε τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν,

4 ἀνεπίστατον μὲν καὶ δυσεντευκτὸν αὐτὸν παρα-

σκευάζων τοὺς περὶ τὴν αὐλὴν καὶ τοῖς ἀλλοις

τοῖς τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἀιγύπτου χειρίζουσιν, ὀλίγωρον

dὲ καὶ ράθυμον ὑποδεικνύων τοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν ἐξώ

5 πραγμάτων διατεταγμένοις, ὑπὲρ ὧν οἱ πρότερον

οὐκ ἔλαττω μείζω δ’ ἐποιοῦντο σπουδὴν ἢ περὶ

6 τῆς κατ’ αὐτὴν τὴν Ἀιγύπτου δυναστείας. τοι-

γαροῦ ἐπέκειντο μὲν τοῖς τῆς Συρίας βασιλεύσι

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have comprised in their work all events in Greece and abroad. This depends on the fact that it is a very simple matter to engage by words in the greatest undertakings, but by no means easy to attain actual excellence in anything. Promise therefore is open to anyone and the common property of all, one may say, who have nothing beyond a little audacity, while performance is rare and falls to few in this life. I have been led into making these remarks by the arrogance of those authors who extol themselves and their own writings, and I will now return to the subject I proposed to deal with.

34. When Ptolemy surnamed Philopator, at the death of his father, after making away with his brother Magas and his partisans, succeeded to the throne of Egypt, he considered that he had freed himself from domestic perils by his own action in thus destroying his rivals, but that chance had freed him from danger abroad, Antigonus and Seleucus having just died and their successors, Antiochus and Philip, being quite young, in fact almost boys. Secure therefore in his present good fortune, he began to conduct himself as if his chief concern were the idle pomp of royalty, showing himself as regards the members of his court and the officials who administered Egypt inattentive to business and difficult of approach, and treating with entire negligence and indifference the agents charged with the conduct of affairs outside Egypt, to which the former kings had paid much more attention than to the government of Egypt itself. As a consequence they had been always able to menace the kings of
καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν, Κοίλης Συρίας
7 καὶ Κύπρου κυριεύοντες: παρέκειντο δὲ τοῖς κατὰ
tὴν Ἀσίαν δυνάσταις, ὡμοίως δὲ καὶ ταῖς νῆσοις,
δεσπόζοντες τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων πόλεων καὶ τῶν
καὶ λιμένων κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν παραλίαν ἀπὸ Παμ-
φυλίας ἔως Ἑλλησπόντου καὶ τῶν κατὰ νυσιμά.
8 χειαν τῶν· ἐφήδρευν δὲ τοῖς ἐν τῇ Ἀρακῇ
καὶ τοῖς ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ πράγμασι, τῶν καὶ Ἀἴων
καὶ Μαρώνειαν καὶ πορρώτερον ἑτὶ πόλεων
9 κυριεύοντες. καὶ τῷ τοιούτῳ τρόπῳ μακρὰν
ἐκτετακότες τὰς χεῖρας, καὶ προβεβλημένου πρὸ
αὐτῶν ἐκ πολλοῦ τὰς δυναστείας, οὐδέποτε
περὶ τῆς καὶ Ἀἴγυπτου ἡγούμενον ἀρχῆς. διὸ
καὶ τὴν σπουδὴν εἰκότως μεγάλην ἐποιοῦντο
10 περὶ τῶν ἔξω πραγμάτων. ὁ δὲ προειρημένοις
βασιλεὺς ὀλυγώρως ἔκαστα τούτων χειρίζων διὰ
τούς ἀπρεπεῖς ἔρωτας καὶ τὰς ἀλόγους καὶ συν-
χεῖς μέθας, εἰκότως ἐν πάνυ βραχεὶ χρόνῳ καὶ
τῆς ψυχῆς ἁμα καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπιβουλοῦσ εὐρε
11 καὶ πλεῖον, δὴν ἐγένετο πρῶτος Κλεομένης ὁ
Σπαρτιάτης.

35 Οὗτος γὰρ, ἔως μὲν ὁ προσαγορευόμενος Εὐερ-
γέτης ἔξη, πρὸς δὲ ἐποιήσατο τὴν κοινωνίαν τῶν
πραγμάτων καὶ τὰς πίστεις, ὅγε τὴν ἡσυχίαν,
πεπεισμένος ἂεὶ δι᾽ ἐκείνου τευξεσθαι τῆς καθη-
κύσης ἐπικουρίας εἰς τὸ τὴν πατρῷαν ἀνακτή-
2 σασθαι βασιλεῖαν· ἔπει δὲ ἐκεῖνος μὲν μετῆλλαξε,
προῆι δ’ ὁ χρόνος, οἱ δὲ κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα καροὶ
μόνον οὐκ ἔπ’ ὄνοματος ἐκάλουν τὸν Κλεομένης
μετηλλαχότος μὲν Ἀντιγόνου, πολεμουμένων δὲ
τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, κοινωνοῦντων δὲ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων
Ἀιτωλοὶς τῆς πρὸς Ἀχαιοὺς καὶ Μακεδόνας
84
Syria both by sea and land, masters as they were of Coele-Syria and Cyprus, and their sphere of control also extended over the lesser kingdoms of Asia Minor and the islands, since they had the chief cities, strong places and harbours in their hands all along the coast from Pamphylia to the Hellespont and the neighbourhood of Lysimachia; while by their command of Aenus, Maronea and other cities even more distant, they exercised a supervision over the affairs of Thrace and Macedonia. With so long an arm and such a far advanced fence of client states they were never in any alarm about the safety of their Egyptian dominions, and for this reason they naturally paid serious attention to foreign affairs. But this new king, neglecting to control all these matters owing to his shameful amours and senseless and constant drunkenness, found, as was to be expected, in a very short time both his life and his throne threatened by more than one conspiracy, the first being that of Cleomenes the Spartan.

35. Cleomenes, during the lifetime of Ptolemy Euergetes, to whom he had linked his fortunes and pledged his word, had kept quiet, in the constant belief that he would receive sufficient assistance from him to recover the throne of his ancestors. But after the death of this king, as time went on, and circumstances in Greece almost called aloud for Cleomenes, Antigonus being dead, the Achaeans being engaged in war, and the Spartans now, as Cleomenes had from the first planned and purposed,
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ἀπεχθείας κατὰ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐπιβολὴν καὶ πρὸ- 3 θεσιν τὴν Κλεομένους, τότε δὴ καὶ μᾶλλον ἣμαγ- κάζετο σπεῦδεν καὶ φιλοτιμεῖσθαι περὶ τῆς ἐξ 4 Ἀλεξανδρείας ἀπαλλαγῆς. διότερ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐντεύξεις ἐποιεῖτο παρακαλῶν μετὰ χορηγίας τῆς 5 καθηκούσης καὶ δυνάμεως αὐτῶν ἐκπέμψα, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα παρακολούμενος ἥξιον μετὰ δεήσεως μόνον αὐτῶν ἀπολύσαμενε τῶν ἱδίων οἰκετῶν· τοὺς γὰρ καιροὺς ἰκανὰς ὑποδεικνύειν ἀφορμάς αὐτῶ πρὸς τὸ καθικέσθαι τῆς πατρίδος ἀρχῆς. 6 ὁ μὲν οὖν βασιλεὺς οὔτ' ἐφιστάναιν [ἐν] οὐδενὶ τῶν τοιούτων οὔτε προνοούμενος τοῦ μέλλοντος διὰ τὰς προειρημένας αἰτίας εὐθὺς καὶ ἀλόγως 7 ἀεὶ παρῆκουε τοῦ Κλεομένους· οὶ δὲ περὶ τὸν Σωσίβιον (οὗτος γὰρ μάλιστα τότε προεστάτει τῶν πραγμάτων) συνεδρεύσαντες τοιαύτας τινὰς 8 ἐποιήσαντο περὶ αὐτοῦ διαλήψεις, μετὰ μὲν γὰρ στόλου καὶ χορηγίας ἐκπέμπειν αὐτὸν οὐκ ἔκρινον καταφρονοῦντες τῶν ἐξω πραγμάτων διὰ τὸ μετηλλαχέανε τὸν Ἀντίγονον καὶ νομίζειον μάταιον 9 αὐτοῖς ἔσεσθαι τὴν εἰς ταῦτα δαπάνην. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἡγούμην μὴ ποτὲ μετηλλαχότος μὲν Ἀντίγονον, τῶν δὲ λουπῶν μηδενὸς ὑπάρχοντος ἀντιπάλου, ταχέως ἀκούστε τα κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ποιησάμενος ύφ' αὐτῶν βαρὺς καὶ φοβερὸς αὐτὸς 10 ὁ Κλεομένης ἀνταγωνισθῆς σφίσι γένεται, τεθεα- μένος μὲν ὑπ' αὐγάς αὐτῶν τὰ πράγματα, κατ- εγγυώκως δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως, θεωρῶν δὲ πολλὰ τὰ παρακρεμάμενα μέρη καὶ μακρὰν ἀπεστασμένα τῆς βασιλείας καὶ πολλὰς ἀφορμὰς ἔχοντα πρὸς 11 πραγμάτων λόγον· καὶ γὰρ ναῦς ἐν τοῖς κατὰ Σάμον ἦσαν τόποις οὐκ ὀλίγαι καὶ στρατιωτῶν 86
sharing the hatred of the Aetolians for the Achaeans and Macedonians, he was positively compelled to bestir himself and do his best to get away from Alexandria. Consequently, he at first approached Ptolemy more than once with the request that he would furnish him with adequate supplies and troops for an expedition; but as the king would not listen to this, he earnestly besought him to allow him to leave with his own household, for the state of affairs, he said, held out a sufficiently fair prospect of his recovering his ancestral throne. The king, however, who for the reasons I stated above neither concerned himself at all with such questions, nor took any thought for the future, continued in his thoughtlessness and folly to turn a deaf ear to Cleomenes. Meanwhile Sosibius, who, if anyone, was now at the head of affairs, took counsel with his friends and came to the following decision with regard to him. On the one hand they judged it inadvisable to send him off on an armed expedition, as owing to the death of Antigonus they regarded foreign affairs as of no importance and thought that money they expended on them would be thrown away. Besides which, now that Antigonus was no more and there was no general left who was a match for Cleomenes, they were afraid that he would have little trouble in making himself the master of Greece and thus become a serious and formidable rival to themselves, especially as he had seen behind the scenes in Egypt and had formed a poor opinion of the king, and as he was aware that many parts of the kingdom were loosely attached or disjoined by distance, thus offering plenty of opportunity for intrigue—for they had a good many ships at Samos and a con-
12 πλήθος ἐν τοίς κατ’ ἰδίως Ἐφεσον. διὰ ταῦτα ταῦτην μὲν οὖν τὴν ἐπιβολήν, ὅστε ἐκπέμπειν αὐτὸν μετὰ χορηγίας, ἀπεδοκιμάσαν διὰ τὰς προειρημένας αἰτίας· τὸ γε μὴν ὁλυγωρήσαντας ἄνδρα τοιούτον ἐξαποστείλαι, πρόδηλον ἐχθρὸν καὶ πολέμιον,
13 οὐδαμῶς ἠγούντο σφίσι συμφέρειν. λοιπὸν ἢν ἂκοντα κατέχειν. τοῦτο δ’ ἀυτόθεν καὶ χωρίς λόγου πάντες μὲν ἀπεδοκιμάζον, οὐκ ἄσφαλες νομίζοντες εἶναι λέοντι καὶ προβάτωι ὁμοῦ ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἔπαυλιν· μάλιστα δὲ τοῦτο τὸ μέρος ὁ Σωσίβιος
36 ύφεσράτο διὰ τινα τοιαύτην αἰτίαν. καθ’ ὅν γὰρ καρυδὸν ἐγίνοντο περὶ τὴν ἀναίρεσιν τοῦ Μάγα καὶ τῆς Βερενίκης, ἀγωνίσοντες μὴ διασφαλίσαι τῆς ἐπιβολῆς, καὶ μάλιστα διὰ τῆς Βερενίκης τόλμας, ἣν αὐτόκαζοντο πάντας αἰκάλλευ τοὺς περὶ τὴν αὐλήν καὶ πᾶσιν ὑπογράφειν ἐλπίδας, ἔαν κατὰ λόγον
2 αὐτοῖς χωρῆση τὰ πράγματα. τότε δὴ κατανοῶν ὁ Σωσίβιος τὸν Κλεομένην δεόμενον μὲν τῆς ἐκ τῶν βασιλέων ἐπικουρίας, ἔχοντα δὲ γνώμην καὶ πραγμάτων ἀληθινήν ἔννοιαν, ὑπογράφων αὐτῷ μεγάλας ἐλπίδας ἀμα συμμετέδωκε τῆς ἐπιβολῆς.
3 θεωρῶν δ’ αὐτὸν ὁ Κλεομένης ἐξεπτομένον καὶ μάλιστα δεδίστα τοὺς ξένους καὶ μυσθοφόρους, θαρρεῖν παρεκάλει. τοὺς γὰρ μυσθοφόρους βλάψεων
4 μὲν αὐτὸν οὐδέν, ὑφελήσειν δ’ ὑπισχεῖτο. μᾶλλον δ’ αὐτοῦ θαυμάσαντος τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν “οὐχ ὀρᾶς” ἐφ’ “διὸτι σχεδὸν εἰς τρισχιλίους εἰσὶν ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου ξένοι καὶ Κρήτες εἰς χιλίους; οἶς ἦν νεύσωμεν ἥμεις μόνον, ἐτοίμως ὑπουρ-
siderable military force at Ephesus. These, then, were the reasons which made them dismiss the project of sending Cleomenes off with supplies for an expedition; but at the same time they thought it would by no means serve their interests to send away such an eminent man after inflicting a slight on him, as this was sure to make him their enemy and antagonist. The only course left then was to keep him back against his will, and this they all indeed rejected at once and without discussion, thinking it by no means safe for a lion to lie in the same fold as the sheep, but it was especially Sosibius who was apprehensive of the effects of such a measure for the following reason. 36. At the time when they were plotting the murder of Magas and Berenice, being in great fear of their project failing chiefly owing to the high courage of Berenice, they were compelled to conciliate the whole court, holding out hopes of favour to everyone if things fell out as they wished. Sosibius on this occasion observing that Cleomenes was in need of assistance from the king, and that he was a man of judgement with a real grasp of facts, confided the whole plot to him, picturing the high favours he might expect. Cleomenes, seeing that he was in a state of great alarm and in fear chiefly of the foreign soldiers and mercenaries, bade him be of good heart, promising him that the mercenaries would do him no harm, but would rather be helpful to him. When Sosibius showed considerable surprise at this promise, "Don't you see," he said, "that nearly three thousand of them are from the Peloponnese and about a thousand are Cretans, and I need but make a sign to these men and they will all put themselves
5 γῆσουσι πάντες. τούτων δὲ συστραφέντων τίνας ἄγωνισ; ἡ δὴ λοιπὸν ἔφη τοὺς ἀπὸ Συρίας καὶ 6 Καριάς στρατιώτας; τότε μὲν οὖν ἤδεως ὁ Σωσίβιος ἀκούσας ταῦτα διπλασίως ἐπερρώσθη
7 πρὸς τὴν κατὰ τής Βερενίκης πράξεως μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα θεωρῶν τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως ῥαθυμίαν ἀεὶ τὸν Λόγον ἀνενεώτο, καὶ πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν τὴν τοῦ Κλεομένους τόλμαν ἐλάμβανε καὶ τὴν τῶν ξένων
8 πρὸς αὐτὸν εὐνοιαν. διὸ καὶ τότε μάλιστα παρέστησε τῷ τε βασιλεί καὶ τοῖς φίλοις ὁμιλῆσαι οменно εἰς τὸ προκαταλέσθαι καὶ συγκλείσαι τὸν
9 Κλεομένην. πρὸς δὲ τὴν ἐπίνοιαν ταύτην ἐχρήσατο συνεργήματι τοιούτω τυπί.

37 Νικαγόρας τις ἤν Μεσσήνιος· οὕτως ὑπήρχε πατρικός ξένος Ἀρχιδάμου τοῦ Λακεδαιμονίων βασι-
2 λέως. τὸν μὲν οὖν πρὸ τοῦ χρόνου βραχεῖα τις ἤν τοῖς προερημένοις ἐπιπλοκῇ πρὸς ἄλληλους· καθὸ δὲ
καὶ ρήμαν Ἀρχιδάμος ἐκ τῆς Σπάρτης ἐφυγε δείσα
tὸν Κλεομένην καὶ παρεγένετ' εἰς Μεσσήνιαν, οὐ
μόνον οἰκία καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀναγκαίοις ὁ Νικαγόρας
αὐτὸν ἐδέξατο προθύμως, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ τὴν ξέξης
συμπεριφοράν ἐγένετο τις αὐτοῖς ὀλοσχερῆς εὐνοια
3 καὶ συνήθεια πρὸς ἄλληλους· διὸ καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα,
tοῦ Κλεομένους ὑποδεικνύον ἐλπίδα καθόδου καὶ
dιαλύσεως πρὸς τὸν Ἀρχιδάμον, ἐδωκεν αὐτὸν ὁ
Νικαγόρας εἰς τὰς διαπόστολας καὶ τὰς ὑπὲρ τῶν
4 πίστεων συνθήκας. ὃν κυρωθέντων ὁ μὲν Ἀρχί-
δαμος εἰς τὴν Σπάρτην κατήγει πιστεύσας ταῖς
5 διὰ τοῦ Νικαγόρου γεγενημένας συνθήκας, ὁ δὲ
Κλεομένης ἀπαντῆσας τὸν μὲν Ἀρχιδαμον ἐπαν-
eἰλετο, τοῦ δὲ Νικαγόρου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν
6 συνόντων ἐφείσατο. πρὸς μὲν οὖν τοὺς ἔκτος ὁ
90
joyfully at your service. Once they are united whom have you to fear? The soldiers from Syria and Caria I suppose!” At the time Sosibius was delighted to hear this and pursued the plot against Berenice with doubled confidence, but afterwards, when he witnessed the king’s slackness, the words were always coming back to his mind, and the thought of Cleomenes’ daring and popularity with the mercenaries kept on haunting him. It was he therefore who on this occasion was foremost in instigating the king and his friends to take Cleomenes into custody before it was too late. To reinforce this advice he availed himself of the following circumstance.

37. There was a certain Messenian called Nicagoras who had been a family friend of Archidamus the king of Sparta. In former times their intercourse had been of the slightest, but when Archidamus took flight from Sparta for fear of Cleomenes, and came to Messenia, Nicagoras not only gladly received him in his house and provided for his wants but ever afterwards they stood on terms of the closest intimacy and affection. When therefore Cleomenes held out hopes to Archidamus of return and reconciliation, Nicagoras devoted himself to negotiating and concluding the treaty. When this had been ratified, Archidamus was on his way home to Sparta, relying on the terms of the agreement brought about by Nicagoras, but Cleomenes coming to meet them put Archidamus to death, sparing Nicagoras and the rest of his companions. To the
Νικαγόρας ὑπεκρίνετο χάριν ὃφείλειν τῷ Κλεο-
μένει διὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ σωτηρίαν, ἐν αὐτῷ γε μὴν
βαρέως ἐφερε τὸ συμβεβηκός, δοκῶν αἴτιος
7 γεγονέναι τῷ βασιλεί τῆς ἀπωλείας. οὗτος ὁ
Νικαγόρας ἔπποσ ἄγων κατέπλευσε βραχεὶς χρόνω
8 πρῶτον εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν. ἀποβαίνων δὲ
ἐκ τῆς νεώς καταλαμβάνει τὸν τῇ Κλεομένῃ καὶ
tὸν Πανέα καὶ μετ’ αὐτῶν Ἰππίτων ἐν τῷ λιμένι
9 παρὰ τῇ κρηπίδα περιπατοῦντας. ἤδην δ’ ὁ
Κλεομένης αὐτὸν καὶ συμμίξας ἥσσαξετο φιλο-
10 φρόνως, καὶ προσεπύθητο τῇ παρείᾳ. τοῦ δὲ
eἰτόντος ὁτι παραγέγονεν ἔππος ἄγων, “ἐβοῦ-
λόμην ἂν σε” ἔφη “καὶ λίαν ἀντὶ τῶν ἔππων
cυνάδους ἄγεω καὶ σαμβύκας. τούτων γὰρ ὁ νῦν
11 βασιλεὺς κατεπείνεται.” τότε γοῦν ἐπιγελάσας
ὁ Νικαγόρας ἐσιώπησε, μετὰ δὲ τῶν ἥμερας
ἐπὶ πλείων ἐλθὼν εἰς τὰς χεῖρας τῷ Σωσίβιῳ διὰ
τοὺς ἔππος εἶπε κατὰ τοῦ Κλεομένου τὸν ἄρτι
12 ῥηθέντα λόγον, θεωρῶν δὲ τὸν Σωσίβιον ἢδέως
ἀκούσαν πᾶσαν ἐξέθετο τὴν προϋπάρχουσαν ἐαυτῷ
πρὸς τὸν Κλεομένην διαφορὰν. ὅν ο Σωσίβιος
ἐπιγνώσθηκα τὰ ἀλλοτρίως πρὸς τὸν Κλεομένην διακελ-
μενον, τὰ μὲν παραχρῆμα δοὺς, α δέ εἰς τὸ κύλλον
ἐπαγγελέμενον, συνέπεσε γραψάντα κατὰ τοῦ
Κλεομένου ἐπιστολήν ἀπολιπεῖν ἐσφραγισμένην,
2 ἵν’ ἐπειδὰν ὁ Νικαγόρας ἐκπλείσθη μετ’ ὅλλας
ἡμέρας, ὁ παῖς ἀνενέγκῃ τὴν ἐπιστολήν πρὸς
3 αὐτὸν ὡς ὑπὸ τοῦ Νικαγόρου πεμφθείσαν. συνερ-
γήσαντος δὲ τοῦ Νικαγόρου τὰ προειρημένα, καὶ
tῆς ἐπιστολῆς ἀνευθεῖσας ὑπὸ τοῦ παιδὸς πρὸς
τὸν Σωσίβιον μετά τὸν ἐκπλοῦν τοῦ Νικαγόρου,
4 παρὰ πόδας ἀμα τὸν οἰκέτην καὶ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν
outside world, Nicagoras pretended to be grateful to Cleomenes for having spared his life, but in his heart he bitterly resented what had occurred, for it looked as if he had been the cause of the king's death. This Nicagoras had arrived not long ago at Alexandria with a cargo of horses and on disembarking he found Cleomenes, with Panteus and Hippitas, walking on the quay. When Cleomenes saw him he came up to him and greeted him affectionately and asked him on what business he had come. When he told him he had brought horses to sell, Cleomenes said, "I very much wish you had brought catamites and sackbut girls instead of the horses, for those are the wares this king is after." Nicagoras at the time smiled and held his tongue, but a few days afterwards, when he had become quite familiar with Sosibius owing to the business of the horses, he told against Cleomenes the story of what he had recently said, and noticing that Sosibius listened to him with pleasure, he gave him a full account of his old grievance against that prince. 38. When Sosibius saw that he was ill-disposed to Cleomenes, he persuaded him by a bribe in cash and a promise of a further sum to write a letter against Cleomenes and leave it sealed, so that a few days after Nicagoras had left his servant might bring him the letter as having been sent by Nicagoras. Nicagoras entered into the plot, and when the letter was brought to Sosibius by the servant after Nicagoras had sailed, he at once took
ΤΗΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΑ. ΤΟΥ ΜΕΝ ΠΑΙΔΟΣ
ΦΑΣΚΟΝΤΟΣ ΝΙΚΑΙΩΡΑΝ ἈΠΟΛΥΤΕΙΝ ΤΗΝ ἘΠΙΣΤΟΛΗΝ,
Εὐτειλίμενον ἈΠΟΔΟΥΝΑΙ ΣΩΣΙΒΙΛΧ, ΤΗΣ Δ' ἘΠΙΣΤΟΛΗΣ
ΔΙΑΣΑΦΟΥΣΙΣ ΌΤΙ ΜΕΛΛΕΙ ΚΛΕΟΜΕΝΗΣ, ΕἬΝ ΜΗ ΠΟΙΩΝΤΑΙ
ΤΗΝ ΕΞΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΗΝ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΜΕΤΑ ΤΗΣ ἈΡΜΟΖΟΥΣΗΣ
ΠΑΡΑΣΚΕΥΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΧΟΡΗΓΙΑΣ, ἘΠΑΝΙΣΤΑΣΘΑΙ ΤΟΙΣ ΤΟΥ
ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΠΡΑΓΜΑΣΙΝ, ΕΥΘΕΩΣ Ο ΣΩΣΙΒΙΟΣ ΛΑΒΟ-
ΜΕΝΟΣ ΤΗΣ ἈΦΟΡΜΗΣ ΤΑΥΤΗΣ ΠΑΡΩΞΥΝΕ ΤΟΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΑ
ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥΣ ἉΛΛΟΥΣ ΦΙΛΟΥΣ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟ ΜΗ ΜΕΛΛΕΙΝ ἈΛΛΑ
ΦΥΛΑΞΑΣΘΑΙ ΚΑΙ ΣΥΓΚΛΕΙΣΑΙ ΤΟΝ ΚΛΕΟΜΕΝΗΝ. ΓΕΝΟ-
ΜΕΝΟΥ ΔΕ ΤΟΥΤΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΙΝΟΣ ἈΠΟΔΟΘΕΙΣΘΑΙ ΟΙΚΙΑΣ
ΑΥΤΩ ΠΑΜΜΕΓΕΘΟΥΣ ἙΠΟΙΕΙΤΟ ΤΗΝ ΔΙΑΤΡΙΒΗΝ ἘΝ
ΤΑΥΤΗ ΠΑΡΑΦΥΛΑΤΤΟΜΕΝΟΣ, ΤΟΥΤΩ ΔΙΑΦΕΡΏΝ ΤΩΝ
ἍΛΛΩΝ ΤΩΝ ὙΠΗΓΜΕΝΩΝ ΕΙΣ ΤΑΣ ΦΥΛΑΚΑΣ, ΤΩ
ΠΟΙΕΙΣΘΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΔΙΑΙΤΑΝ ΕΝ ΜΕΞΩΝΙ ΔΕΣΜΩΤΗΡΙΩ.
ΕΙΣ ΑΔ ΒΛΕΠΩΝ Ο ΚΛΕΟΜΕΝΗΝ, ΚΑΙ ΜΟΧΘΗΡΑΣ ἙΛΠΙΔΑΣ
ἘΧΩΝ ΥΓΕΡ ΤΟΥ ΜΕΛΛΟΝΤΟΣ, ΠΑΙΝΤΟΣ ΠΡΑΓΜΑΤΟΣ
ἘΚΡΙΝΕ ΠΕΙΡΑΝ ΛΑΜΒΑΝΕΙΝ, ΟΥΧ ΟΥΤΩΣ ΠΕΠΕΙΣΜΕΝΟΣ
ΚΑΤΑΚΡΑΤΗΣΕΙΝ ΤΗΣ ΠΡΟΘΕΣΕΩΣ (ΟΥΔΕΝ ΓΑΡ ΕἬΧΕ
ΤΩΝ ΕΥΛΟΓΩΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΗΝ ἘΠΙΒΟΛΗΝ), ΤΟ ΔΕ ΠΛΕΙΟΝ
ΕΥΘΑΝΑΤΙΣΑΙ ΣΠΟΥΔΆΖΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΜΗΔΕΝ ΑΝΆΞΙΟΝ ὙΠΟ-
ΜΕΙΝΑΙ ΤΗΣ ΠΕΡΙ ΑΥΤΟΝ ΠΡΟΓΕΓΕΝΗΜΕΝΗΣ ΤΟΛΜΗΣ,
ΑΜΑ ΔΕ ΚΑΙ ΛΑΜΒΆΝΩΝ ΕΝ ΒΩ ΤΟ ΤΟΙΟΫΤΟΝ, ὉΣ Γ'
ΕΜΟΙ ΔΟΚΕΙ, ΚΑΙ ΠΡΟΤΙΘΕΜΕΝΟΣ, ὌΠΕΡ ΕΩΘΕ ΣΥΜ-
ΒΑΙΝΕΙΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟΥΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΦΡΟΝΑΣ ΤΩΝ ΑΝΔΡΩΝ.
both servant and letter to the king. The servant said that Nicagoras had left the letter with orders for him to deliver it to Sosibius, and as the letter stated that Cleomenes, unless he were furnished with a properly equipped expeditionary force, intended to revolt against the king, Sosibius at once availed himself of this pretext for urging the king not to delay, but to take the precaution of placing him in custody. This was done, a huge house being put at his disposal in which he resided under watch and ward, differing from ordinary prisoners only in that he had a bigger jail to live in. Seeing his position and having but poor hopes of the future, Cleomenes decided to make a dash for freedom at any cost, not that he really believed he would attain his object—for he had nothing on his side likely to conduce to success—but rather desiring to die a glorious death without submitting to anything unworthy of the high courage he had ever exhibited, and I suppose that there dwelt in his mind and inspired him those words of the hero which are wont to commend themselves to men of dauntless spirit:

"Tis true I perish, yet I perish great:
Yet in a mighty deed I shall expire,
Let future ages hear it, and admire."

39. Waiting then for a day on which Ptolemy 220 B.C. made an excursion to Canobus he spread a report among his guards that he was going to be set at liberty by the king, and upon this pretence he enter-

* II. xxii. 304, Pope's translation.
αἰτίαν αὐτὸς τε τοὺς αὐτοῦ θεράποντας εἰστία, καὶ τοῖς φυλάττουσιν ἵρεια καὶ στεφάνους ἁμα
2 δὲ τούτοις οἶνον ἐξαπέστειλε. τῶν δὲ χρωμένων τούτοις ἀνυπονοήτως καὶ καταμεθυσθείσιν, παρα-
λαβῶν τοὺς συνόντας φίλους καὶ τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν παίδας, περὶ μέσου ἡμέρας λαθῶν τοὺς φύλακας
3 ἔξηλθε μετ᾽ ἐγχειρίδιων. προάγοντες δὲ καὶ συντυ-
χόντες κατὰ τὴν πλατείαν Πτολεμαίων τῷ τότε ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως ἄπολεμμενοι, καταπληξίαμενοι τῷ παραβόλῳ τοὺς συνόντας αὐτῷ, τοῦτον μὲν κατασπάσαντες ἀπὸ τοῦ τεθρίππου παρέκλεισαν,
τὰ δὲ πλήθη παρεκάλουν ἐπὶ τὴν ἔλευθερίαν.
4 οὖνδενος δὲ προσέχοντος αὐτοῖς οὔδέ συνεξιστα-
μένου διὰ τὸ παράδοξον τῆς ἐπιβολῆς, ἐπιστρέψαντες ὤρμησαν πρὸς τὴν ἀκραν ὡς ἀναστάσαντες ταύτης
tὰς πυλίδας καὶ συγχρησόμενοι τοῖς εἰς τὴν
5 φυλακὴν ἀπηγμένους τῶν ἀνδρῶν. ἀποσφάλευτε
δὲ καὶ ταύτης τῆς ἐπιβολῆς διὰ τὸ τοὺς ἐφεστῶτας
προαισθομένους τὸ μέλλον ἀσφαλίσασθαι τὴν
πύλην, προσήνεγκαν αὐτοῖς τὰς χεῖρας εὐψύχως
πάνω καὶ Λακωνικῶς.
6 Κλεομένης μὲν οὖν οὔτω μετήλλαξε τὸν βίον,
ἀνὴρ γενόμενος καὶ πρὸς τὰς ὁμιλίας ἐπιδέξιος
cαὶ πρὸς πραγμάτων οἰκονομίαν εὐφιγή καὶ
συλλήβδην ἡγεμονικὸς καὶ βασιλικὸς τῇ φύσει
μετὰ δὲ τούτων οὖ πολὺ κατόπων Θεόδοτος ὁ
tetagméneos ἐπὶ Κοίλης Συρίας, ἡν τὸ γένος
Aías, τὰ μὲν καταφρονήσας τοῦ βασιλέως
ciā tēn ἁσέλγειαν τοῦ βίου καὶ τῆς ὀλής αἰρέσεως,
2 τὰ δὲ διαπιστῆσας τοῖς περὶ τὴν αὐλῆν διὰ τὸ
μικροῖς ἐμπροσθεν χρόνους ἀξιολογοῦσας παρασχό-
μενος χρείας τῷ βασιλεῖ περὶ τε τάλλα καὶ περὶ
96
tained his own attendants, and sent presents of meat, garlands, and wine to the guards. When the soldiers, suspecting nothing, had indulged freely in these good things and were quite drunk, he took the friends who were with him and his own servants and at about midday they rushed out of the house unnoticed by the guards, and armed with daggers. As they advanced they met in the square with Ptolemy who had been left in charge of the city, and overawing his attendants by the audacity of their attack, they dragged him from his chariot and shut him up, and now began to call on the people to assert their freedom. But when no one paid any attention or consented to join the rising, as the whole plan had taken everyone completely by surprise, they retraced their steps and made for the citadel with the intention of forcing the gates and getting the prisoners to join them. But when this design also failed, as the guards of the prison got word of their intention and made the gates fast, they died by their own hands like brave men and Spartans.

Thus perished Cleomenes, a man tactful in his bearing and address, with a great capacity for the conduct of affairs and in a word designed by nature to be a captain and a prince.

40. The next conspiracy shortly after this was that of Theodotus the governor of Coele-Syria, an Aetolian by birth. Holding the king in contempt owing to his debauched life and general conduct and mistrusting the court circles, because after recently rendering important service to Ptolemy in various ways and especially in connexion with the
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tὴν πρώτην ἐπιβολὴν Ἀντιόχου τοὺς κατὰ Κοίλην Συρίαν πράγμασι μὴ οἶον ἐπὶ τούτους τυχεῖν τινὸς χάριτος, ἀλλὰ τούναντῖον ἀνακληθεὶς εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν παρ’ ὅλιγον κινδυνεύσαι τῷ
βίῳ, διὰ ταύτας τὰς αἰτίας ἐπεβάλετο τότε λαλεῖν Ἀντιόχῳ καὶ τὰς κατὰ Κοίλην Συρίαν πόλεις ἐγχειρίζειν. τοῦ δ’ ἀσιμένως δεξαμένου τὴν ἐλπίδα, ταχεῖαν ἔλαμβανε τὸ πρᾶγμα τὴν οἰκονομίαν.

4 Ἡνα δὲ καὶ περὶ ταύτης τῆς οἰκίας τὸ παραπλῆσιον ποιήσωμεν, ἀναδραμόντες ἐπὶ τὴν παράληψιν τῆς Ἀντιόχου δυναστείας ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν καιρῶν ποιησόμεθα κεφαλαιώδη τὴν ἐφοδον ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ μέλλοντος λέγεσθαι πολέμου.

5 Ἀντίοχος γὰρ ἦν μὲν νῦσ νεώτερος Σελεύκου τοῦ Καλλινίκου προσαγωρευθέντος, μεταλλάξαντος δὲ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ διαδεξαμένου τάδελφον Σελεύκου τὴν βασιλείαν διὰ τὴν ἥλικιαν τὸ μὲν πρῶτον τοῖς ἄνω τόποις μεθιστάμενος ἐποιεῖτο τὴν δια-

6 τριβήν, ἐπεὶ δὲ Σέλευκος μετὰ δύναμεως ὑπερβαλὼν τῶν Ταύρων ἐδολοφονήθη, καθάπερ καὶ πρότερον εἰρήκαμεν, μεταλαβὼν τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτὸς ἐβασιλεύσε, διαπιστεύων τὴν μὲν ἐπὶ τάδε τοῦ Ταύρου δυνα-

7 στείαν Ἀχαίῳ, τὰ δ’ ἄνω μέρη τῆς βασιλείας ἐγκεχειρικῶς Μόλωνι καὶ τάδελφῳ τῷ Μόλωνος Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, Μόλωνος μὲν Μηδίας ὑπάρχοντος σατράπου, τάδελφοὶ δὲ τῆς Περσίδος· οἱ κατα-

41 μονή κατα-

θρούσαντες μὲν αὐτοῖς διὰ τὴν ἥλικιαν, ἐλπίσαντες δὲ τῶν Ἀχαίων ἐσεθαὶ κοινωνὸν σφίζει τῆς ἐπιβολῆς, μάλιστα δὲ φοβούμενοι τὴν ὁμότητα καὶ κακο-

πραγμοσύνην τὴν Ἐρμείου τοῦ τότε προεστῶτος τῶν ὅλων πραγμάτων, ἀφίστασθαι καὶ διαστρέφειν 98
first attempt of Antiochus on Coele-Syria, he had not only received no thanks for this but on the contrary had been recalled to Alexandria and had barely escaped with his life, he now formed the project of entering into communication with Antiochus and handing over to him the cities of Coele-Syria. Antiochus gladly grasped at the proposal and the matter was soon in a fair way of being accomplished.

Now that I may perform for this royal house what I have done for that of Egypt, I will go back to Antiochus' succession to the throne and give a summary of events between that date and the outbreak of the war I am about to describe. Antiochus was the younger son of Seleucus Callinicus, and on the death of his father and the succession to the throne of his elder brother Seleucus, he at first resided in the interior, but when Seleucus crossed the Taurus with his army and was assassinated, as I have already stated, he succeeded him and began to reign, entrusting the government of Asia on this side of Taurus to Achaeus and that of the upper provinces to Molon and his brother Alexander, Molon being satrap of Media and Alexander of Persia. 41. These brothers, despising the king on account of his youth, and hoping that Achaeus would associate himself with them in their design, dreading at the same time the cruelty and malice of Hermeias, who was now at the head of the government, entered on a revolt,
2 ἐνεχείρησαν τὰς ἀνω σατραπεῖας. δὲ Ἐρμείας ἦν μὲν ἀπὸ Καρίας, ἐπέστη δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ πράγματα Σελεύκου τάδελφου ταύτην αὐτῷ τὴν πίστιν ἐγχειρίσαντος, καθ’ οὖς καρούς ἐποιεῖτο τὴν
3 ἐπὶ τὸν Ταύρον στρατεύαν. τυχῶν δὲ ταύτης τῆς ἐξουσίας πάσι μὲν ἐφθόνει τοῖς ἐν ὑπεροχαῖς ὦν τῶν περὶ τὴν αὐλήν, φύσει δὲ ὦμος ὃν τῶν μὲν τὰς ἀγνοιὰς ἐπὶ τὸ χείρον ἐκδεχόμενος ἐκόλαξε, τοῖς δὲ χειροποιήτοις καὶ ὕευδεὶς ἐπιφέρων αἰτίας ἀπαραίτητος ἦν καὶ πυκρὸς δυκαστής.
4 μάλιστα δ’ ἐσπευδὸς καὶ περὶ παντὸς ἐποιεῖτο βουλόμενος ἐπανελέσθαι τὸν ἀποκομίσαντα τὰς δυνάμεις τὰς Σελεύκων συνεξελθοῦσας Ἐπιγένην, διὰ τὸ θεωρεῖν τὸν άνδρα καὶ λέγειν καὶ πράττειν δυνάμενον καὶ μεγάλης ἀποδοχῆς ἀξιοῦμενον παρὰ
5 τοῖς δυνάμεσιν. ὥν δὲ ταύτης τῆς προθέσεως ἐπείχεν, βουλόμενος αἱ τῶν ὀρμῆς ἐπιλαβέσθαι καὶ προφάσεως κατὰ τοῦ προειρημένου. ἀθροισθέντος δὲ τοῦ συνεδρίου περὶ τῆς τοῦ Μόλωνος ἀποστάσεως, καὶ κελεύσαντος τοῦ βασιλέως λέγειν ἐκαστὸν τὸν φαινόμενον περὶ τοῦ πῶς δεῖ χρῆσθαι
7 τοῖς κατὰ τοὺς ἀποστάτας πράγμασι, καὶ πρῶτον συμβουλεύοντος Ἐπιγένεως διότι δεῖ μὴ μέλλειν ἄλλ’ ἐκ χειρός ἔχεσθαι τῶν προκειμένων, καὶ πρῶτον καὶ μάλιστα τὸν βασιλέα συνάπτειν τοῖς
8 τόποις καὶ παρ’ αὐτοὺς ἐϊναι τοὺς καρούς· οὕτως γὰρ ἢ τὸ παράπαν ὀυδὲ τολμήσεων ἀλλοτριοπραγεῖν τοὺς περὶ τὸν Μόλωνα, τοῦ βασιλέως παρόντος καὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἐν ὦξει γενομένου μετὰ συμ-
9 μέτρου δυνάμεως, ἢ καὶ ὅλως τολμήσωσι καὶ μεύνωσι ἐπὶ τῆς προθέσεως, ταχεῖς αὐτοὺς συναρπασθέντας ὑπὸ τῶν ὄχλων ὑποχειρίους παρα-
attempting to engage the upper satrapies in it. This Hermeias was a Carian who had been in power ever since Seleucus, Antiochus' brother, on leaving for his expedition against Attalus had entrusted him with the government. Having attained this position of authority he was jealous of all the holders of prominent posts at court, and as he was naturally of a savage disposition, he inflicted punishment on some for errors which he magnified into crimes, and trumping up false charges against others, showed himself a cruel and relentless judge. The man above all others whom he was particularly desirous of destroying was Epigenes, who had brought back the army that had been left under the command of Seleucus, as he saw he was capable both as a speaker and as a man of action and enjoyed great popularity with the soldiery. He was quite determined on this, but was biding his time on the look out for some pretext for attacking Epigenes. When the council was called to discuss the revolt of Molon, and the king ordered everyone to state his opinion as to how the rebellion should be dealt with, Epigenes was the first to speak and advised not to delay but to take the matter in hand at once. It was of the first importance, he said, that the king should proceed to the spot and be present at the actual theatre of events; for thus either Molon would not venture to disturb the peace, once the king presented himself before the eyes of the people with an adequate force, or if in spite of this he ventured to persist in his project, he would be very soon seized upon by the populace and delivered up to
δοθήσεσθαι τῷ βασιλεί· ταῦτα λέγοντος ἔτι τοῦ προειρημένου διοργισθεὶς 'Ερμείας πολὺν ἐφήσεν αὐτὸν χρόνον ἐπίβουλον ὅντα καὶ προδότην τῆς βασιλείας διαλελθέναι, νῦν δὲ καλῶς ποιοῦντα φανερὸν ἐκ τῆς συμβουλῆς γεγονέναι, σπουδάζοντα μετ' ὀλίγων ἐγχειρίσαι τὸ τοῦ βασιλέως σῶμα τοῖς ἀποστάταις. τότε μὲν οὖν οἶον ὑποθύψας τὴν διαβολὴν παρῆκε τὸν Ἐπιγένην, πικρίαν ἄκαιρον μᾶλλον ἡ δυσμένειαν ἐπιφήνας· αὐτὸς δὲ κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ γνώμην τὴν μὲν ἐπὶ τὸν Μόλωνα στρατείαν, κατάφοβος ὃν τὸν κίνδυνον, ἐξέκλινε διὰ τὴν ἀπειρίαν τῶν πολεμικῶν, ἐτὶ δὲ τὸν Πτολεμαίον ἑσποῦδαξε στρατεύειν, ἀσφαλὴ τοῦτον εἶναι πεπεισμένος τὸν πόλεμον διὰ τὴν τοῦ προειρημένου βασιλέως ῥαθυμίαν. τότε μὲν οὖν καταπληξίμενος τοὺς ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ πάντας ἐπὶ μὲν τὸν Μόλωνα στρατηγοὺς ἐξέπεμψε μετὰ δυνάμεως Ἐξένων καὶ Θεόδοτον τὸν ἡμιόλιον, τὸν δ' Ἀντίοχον παρώξυνε συνεχῶς οἴομενος δεῖν ἐπιβάλλειν τὰς χείρας τοῖς κατὰ Κοίλην Συρίαν πράγμασιν, μόνως οὕτως ὑπολαμβάνων, εἰ πανταχόθεν τῷ νεανίσκῳ περισταῖ πόλεμος, οὕτε τῶν πρότερον ἡμαρτημένων ὑφέξεων δίκας οὐτε τῆς παρούσης ἐξουσίας κωλυθήσεσθαι διὰ τὰς χρείας καὶ τοὺς ἀεὶ περισταμένους ἀγῶνας τῷ βασιλεί καὶ κινδύνονς. διὸ καὶ τὸ τελευταίων ἑπιστολὴν πλάσας ὥς παρ' Ἀχαιοῦ διαπεσταλμένην προσήνεγκε τῷ βασιλεῖ, διασαφοῦσαν ὅτι Πτολεμαῖος αὐτὸν παρακαλεῖ πραγμάτων ἀντιποιήσασθαι, καὶ φησὶ καὶ
the king. 42. Before Epigenes had even finished his speech, Hermeias flew into a passion and exclaimed that for long Epigenes had been in secret a plotter and a traitor to the kingdom, but that now he had revealed his evil intentions by the advice he had offered, his design being to put the king's person undefended, except by a small force, at the mercy of the rebels. For the present Hermeias contented himself with thus laying the train of the slander and did not further molest Epigenes, affecting to have been guilty rather of a mistimed outburst of ill-temper than to have shown a spirit of enmity. The motives of the opinion he himself delivered were that he was disinclined owing to his lack of military experience to take the command in the campaign against Molon, as he dreaded the danger, while he was most anxious to take the field against Ptolemy, since he felt sure that the war there would be a safe one owing to that king's faineance. On the present occasion he overawed the whole Council and appointing Xenon and Theodotus surnamed Hemiolius to the command of the force sent against Molon, continued to work upon the king, advising him to seize on Coele-Syria, thinking that thus only by involving the young prince in wars on every side he could secure immunity from punishment for his former malpractices and freedom in the continued exercise of his present authority, owing to the pressure of affairs and the constant struggles and perils that the king would have to face. Finally, in pursuit of this purpose he forged and brought to the king a letter supposed to have been sent by Achaeus setting forth that Ptolemy urged him to usurp the government, promising to help all his
ρανοὶ καὶ χρήμασι σορηγήσεως πρὸς πᾶσας τὰς ἐπιβολάς, ἐὰν ἀναλάβῃ διάδημα καὶ φανερὸς
8 γένηται πᾶσιν ἀντιποιούμενος τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἢν τοῖς πράγμασιν ἔχειν αὐτὸν καὶ νῦν, τῆς δὲ ἐπιγραφῆς αὐτῶ φθονοῦντα τὸν ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης διδόμενον ἀποτρίβεσθαι στέφανον.
9 'Ὁ μὲν οὖν βασιλεὺς πιστεύσας τοῖς γραφομένοις ἔτοιμος ἢν καὶ μετέωρος στρατεύειν ἐπὶ Κολῆν
43 Συρίαν. ὅντος δὲ αὐτοῦ κατὰ τοὺς καίρους τούτους περὶ Σελεύκειαν τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ Ζεύγματος, παρὴν Διόγνητος ὁ ναύαρχος ἕκα Καππαδοκίας τῆς περὶ τὸν Εὐξεινον, ἄγων Λαοδίκην τὴν Μιθριδάτου τοῦ βασιλέως θυγατέρα, παρθένον οὖσαν, γυναίκα
2 τῷ βασιλεῖ κατωνομασμένην. ὃ δὲ Μιθριδάτης εὔχετο μὲν ἀπόγονος εἶναι τῶν ἑπτὰ Περσῶν ἐνὸς τῶν ἐπανελομένων τὸν μάγον, διατετηρήκει δὲ τὴν δυναστείαν ἀπὸ προγόνων τῆς ἑξ ἀρχῆς αὐτοῖς διαδοθείσαν ὑπὸ Δαρείου παρὰ τὸν Εὐξεινον
3 πόντον. 'Αντίοχος δὲ προσδεξάμενος τὴν παρθένον μετὰ τῆς ἁρμοζούσης ἀπαντήσεως καὶ προστασίας εὐθέως ἐπετελεῖ τοὺς γάμους, μεγαλοπρεπῶς καὶ
4 βασιλικῶς χρώμενος ταῖς παρασκευαῖς. μετὰ δὲ τὴν συντελείαν τῶν γάμων καταβὰς εἰς 'Αντίοχειαν, βασίλισσαν ἀποδείξας τὴν Λαοδίκην, λοιπὸν ἐγίνετο περὶ τὴν τοῦ πολέμου παρασκευῆν.
5 Κατὰ δὲ τοὺς καίρους τούτους Μόλων ἔτοιμος παρασκευακῶς πρὸς πᾶν τοὺς ἐκ τῆς ἱδίας σα-
τραπείας ὅχλους διὰ τε τὰς ἐλπίδας τὰς ἐκ τῶν ὦφελειῶν καὶ τοὺς φόβους, οὐς ἐνειργάσατο
toῖς ἡγεμόνων ἀνατατικὰς καὶ ἰσχυρὲς εἰσφέρων
6 ἐπιστολάς παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως, ἔτοιμον δὲ συν-
ἀγωνιστὴν ἔχων τὸν ἁδελφὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, ἰσοφα-
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undertakings with ships and money, once he assumed the diadem and claimed in the sight of all that sovereignty which as a fact he now exercised, although scrupling to take the title and declining the crown which Fortune offered him.

The king quite taken in by this letter was ready and eager to invade Coele-Syria. 43. He was now near Seleucia, the city at the crossing of the Euphrates, and there he was joined by Diognetus, the admiral from Cappadocia Pontica, bringing Laodice, the daughter of Mithridates, a virgin, the affianced bride of the king. Mithridates claimed to be a descendant of one of those seven Persians who had killed the Magus, and he had preserved in his family the kingdom on the Pontus originally granted to them by Darius. Antiochus received the maiden on her approach with all due pomp and at once celebrated his nuptials with right royal magnificence. After the wedding was over he went down to Antioch, where he proclaimed Laodice queen and henceforth busied himself with preparations for the war.

Meanwhile Molon, having worked upon the troops in his own satrapy till they were ready for anything, by the hopes of booty he held out and the fear which he instilled into their officers by producing forged letters from the king couched in threatening terms, having also a ready coadjutor in his brother
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λισμένος δὲ καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὰς παρακειμένας σατραπείας διὰ τῆς τῶν προεστῶτων εὕνοιας καὶ δωροδοκίας, ἔξεστράτευσε μετὰ μεγάλης δυνάμεως 7 ἐπὶ τοὺς τοῦ βασιλέως στρατηγοὺς. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὴν Ξένωνα καὶ Θεόδωτον καταπλαγέντες τὴν
8 ἐφόδιον ἀνεχώρησαν εἰς τὰς πόλεις. ὡς δὲ Μόλων κύριος γενόμενος τῆς Ἀπολλωνιάτιδος χώρας εὐπορεῖτο ταῖς χορηγίαις ὑπερβαλλόντως. ἦν δὲ φοβερὸς μὲν καὶ πρὸ τοῦ διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς
44 δυναστείας· τὰ τε γὰρ ἰπποφόρβια πάντα τὰ βασιλικὰ Μήδιος ἐγκεχείρισται, σίτον τε καὶ θρεμμάτων πλῆθος ἀναρίθμητον παρ’ αὐτοῖς ἐστι.
2 περὶ γε μὴν τῆς ὁχυρότητος καὶ τοῦ μεγέθους τῆς
3 χώρας οὐδ’ ἂν εἰπεῖν δύνατ’ ἀξίως οὔδείς. ἡ γὰρ Μηδία κεῖται μὲν περὶ μέσην τὴν Ἀσίαν, διαφέρει δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὸ μέγεθος καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἐἰς θύσιν ἀνάτασιν πάντων τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν τόπων ὡς
4 πρὸς μέρος θεωρομένη. καὶ μὴν ἐπίκειται τοῖς ἀλκιμωτάτοις καὶ μεγίστοις ἡθεσι. πρόκειται γὰρ αὐτῆς, παρὰ μὲν τὴν ἑω καὶ τὰ πρὸς ἀνατολὴς μέρη, τὰ κατὰ τὴν εἰρήμων πεδία τὴν μετοχὺ
5 κειμένην τῆς Περσίδος καὶ τῆς Παρθανίας· ἐπί-
6 κεῖται δὲ καὶ κρατεὶ τῶν καλουμένων Κασπίων ὕπλων, συνάπτει δὲ τοῖς Ταπύρων ὀρέσσι, ἀ δὴ τῆς Ὑρκανίας θαλάσσης οὐ πολὺ διέστηκε. τοῖς δὲ πρὸς μεσημβρίαν κλίμασι καθήκει πρὸς τε τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν καὶ τὴν Ἀπολλωνιάτιν χώραν, παράκειται δὲ τῇ Περσίδι, προβεβλημένη τὸ
7 Ζάγγου ὄρος, δ’ τὴν μὲν ἀνάβασιν ἔχει πρὸς ἑκατὸν στάδια, διαφορὰς δὲ καὶ συγκλείσεις πλείους ἔχουν ἐν αὐτῷ διέξευκται κοιλάσι, κατὰ δὲ τῶς τόπων αὐλῶσιν, οὐς κατοικοῦσι Κοσσαίοι καὶ Κορβήματι
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Alexander, and having secured the support of the neighbouring satrapies by gaining the favour of their governors with bribes, marched out with a large army against the king's generals. Xenon and Theodotus, terror-struck by his approach, withdrew into the towns, and Molon making himself master of the territory of Apollonia was now abundantly furnished with supplies. Even previously he had been a formidable antagonist owing to the importance of the province over which he ruled. 44. For all the royal herds of horses are in charge of the Medes, and they possess vast quantities of corn and cattle. It is difficult indeed to speak in adequate terms of the strength and extent of the district. Media lies in central Asia, and looked at as a whole, is superior in size and in the height of its mountain-ranges to any other district in Asia. Again it overlooks the country of some of the bravest and largest tribes. For outside its eastern border it has the desert plain that separates Persia from Parthia; it overlooks and commands the so-called Caspian Gates, and reaches as far as the mountains of the Tapyri, which are not far distant from the Hyrcanian Sea. Its southern portion extends as far as Mesopotamia and the territory of Apollonia and borders on Persia, from which it is protected by Mount Zagrus, a range which has an ascent of a hundred stades, and consisting as it does of different branches meeting at various points, contains in the intervals depressions and deep valleys inhabited by the Cossaei,
καὶ Κάρχοι καὶ πλείω γένη βαρβάρων ἑτερα, διαφέρειν δοκοῦντα πρὸς τὰς πολεμικὰς χρέιας.
8 τὸῖς δὲ πρὸς τὰς δύσεις μέρεσι κεμένοις συνάπτει τοῖς Σατραπείοις καλουμένοις· τούτοις δὲ συμβαίνει μὴ πολὺ διεστάναι τῶν ἔθνων τῶν ἐπὶ τὸν
9 Εὐζεινών καθηκόντων πόλεων. τὰ δ’ ἐπὶ τὰς ἄρκτους αὐτῆς τετραμμένα μέρη περιέχεται μὲν Ἕλληνας καὶ τοῖς Ἀσιατικοῖς, ἐτὶ δὲ Καδουσίοις
10 καὶ Ματιανοῖς, ὑπέρκειται δὲ τῶν συναπτόντων
11 πρὸς τὴν Μαιώτιν τοῦ Πόντου μέρων. αὐτὴ δὲ ἡ Μηδία διεζευκτικὲ πλείοσιν ὀρέσιν ἀπὸ τῆς ἡμῶν ἑως πρὸς τὰς δύσεις, ὥν μεταξὺ κεῖται πεδία
45 πληθύνοντα πόλεις καὶ κώμαις. κυριεύων δὲ ταύτης τῆς χώρας βασιλικὴν ἔχοντος περίστασιν, καὶ πάλαι μὲν φοβερὸς ἦν, ὡς πρότερον εἶπα, διὰ τὴν
2 ὑπεροχὴν τῆς δυναστείας· τότε δὲ καὶ τῶν τοῦ βασιλέως στρατηγῶν δοκοῦντων παρακεχωρηκέναι τῶν ὑπαίθρων αὐτῶ, καὶ τῶν ἱδίων δυνάμεων ἐπηρμένων ταῖς ὀρμαῖς διὰ τὸ κατὰ λόγον σφίσι προχωρεῖν τὰς πρῶτας ἐλπίδας, τελέως ἐδόκει φοβερὸς εἶναι καὶ ἀνυπόστατος πάσι τοῖς τὴν
3 Ἅσιαν κατοικοῦσι. διὸ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐπεβάλετο διαβὰς τὸν Τίγρινον πολυρκεῖν τὴν Σελεύκειαν·
4 κωλυθείσης δὲ τῆς διαβάσεως ὑπὸ Ζευξίδος διὰ τὸ καταλαβέσθαι τὰ ποτάμια πλοῖα, τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἀναχωρῆσας εἰς τὴν ἐν τῇ Ἐπικυρίῳ λεγομένη στρατοπεδεύσαν παρεσκεύαζε ταῖς δυνάμεις τὰ πρὸς τὴν παραχεμασίαν.
5 Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἀκούσας τὴν τε τοῦ Μόλωνος ἐφόδου καὶ τὴν τῶν ἱδίων στρατηγῶν ἀναχωρήσαν αὐτὸς μὲν ὅτι ἐτοιμὸς πάλιν ἐπὶ τὸν Μόλωνα στρατεύειν, ἀποστάσ τῆς ἐπὶ τὸν Πτολεμαίων ὀρμῆς, καὶ
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Corbrenae, Carchi and other barbarous tribes with a high reputation for their warlike qualities. On the western side it is bounded by the so-called Satrapies, which are not far distant from the tribes whose territories descend to the Euxine Sea. On the north it is surrounded by the Elymaeans, Aniaracae, Cadusii, and Matiani and overlooks those parts of the Pontus which join the Palus Maeotis. Media itself has several mountain chains running across it from east to west between which lie plains full of towns and villages. 45. Molon therefore being master of this country, which might rank as a kingdom, was already, as I said sufficiently formidable owing to his superior power; but now that the royal generals, as it seemed, had retired from the field before him, and that his own troops were in high spirits, owing to their expectation of success having been so far fulfilled, he seemed absolutely terrible and irresistible to all the inhabitants of Asia. He first of all, therefore, formed the project of crossing the Tigris and laying siege to Seleucia, but on being prevented from crossing by Zeuxis who had seized the river boats, he withdrew to his camp at Ctesiphon and made preparations for quartering his troops there during the winter.

The king, on hearing of Molon's advance and the retreat of his own generals, was himself prepared to abandon the campaign against Ptolemy and take the field against Molon, thus not letting slip the
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6 μὴ προτέσθαι τοὺς καιροὺς· Ἑρμείας δὲ τηρῶν τὴν ἔξ ἀρχὴς πρόθεσιν ἐπὶ μὲν τὸν Μόλωνα Ξενοίταν τὸν Ἀχαΐον ἐξεπεμψε στρατηγὸν αὐτοκράτορα μετὰ δυνάμεως, φήσας δεῖν πρὸς μὲν τοὺς ἀποστάτας στρατηγοὺς πολεμεῖν, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς βασιλεῖς αὐτὸν ποιεῖσθαι τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τὰς ἐπιβολὰς

7 καὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν ὀλων ἀγώνας, αὐτὸς δὲ διὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν ὑποχείριον ἔχων τὸν νεανίσκον προῆγε, καὶ συνήθροιζε τὰς δυνάμεις εἰς Ἀτάμειαν, ἐντεύθεν δ’ ἀναζεύξας ἤκε πρὸς τὴν Λαοδίκειαν.

8 ἂφ’ ἦς ποιησάμενος τὴν ὄρμην ὁ βασιλεὺς μετὰ πάσης τῆς στρατιᾶς, καὶ διελθὼν τὴν ἔρημον, ἐνέβαλεν εἰς τὸν αὐλῶνα τὸν προσαγορεύομενον

9 Μαρσύαν, ὃς κεῖται μὲν μεταξὺ τῆς κατὰ τὸν Λέβανον καὶ τὸν Ἀντιλίβανον παρωρείας, συν-ἀγεται δ’ εἰς στενὸν ὑπὸ τῶν προειρημένων ὄρων.

10 συμβαίνει δὲ καὶ τοῦτον αὐτὸν τὸν τόπον, ἢ στενῶ-τατός ἐστι, διείργεσθαι τενάγεσι καὶ λίμνας, εἰς ὅν ὁ μυρεικὸς κείρεται κάλαμος. ἐπίκειται δὲ τοῖς στενοῖς ἐκ μὲν θατέρου μέρους Βρόχοι προσαγορεύομενόν τι χωρίον, ἐκ δὲ θατέρου

3 καταλαβὼν δὲ τὸν Θεόδοτον τὸν Αἰτωλῶν προ-κατεληφότα τὰ Γέρρα καὶ τοὺς Βρόχους, τὰ δὲ παρὰ τὴν λίμνην στενὰ διωχυρωμένον τάφροις καὶ χάραξι καὶ διειληφότα φυλακαίς εὑκαίροις;

4 τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐπεβάλετο βιάζεσθαι, πλεῖον δὲ πάσχων ἢ ποιῶν κακὰ διὰ τὴν ὀχυρότητα τῶν τόπων καὶ διὰ τὸ μένειν ἐτί τὸν Θεόδοτον ἀκέραιον

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time for action; but Hermeias, adhering to his original design, sent Xenoetas the Achaean against Molon with an army to take the chief command: saying that to fight against rebels was the business of generals, but that against kings the king himself should plan the operations and command in the decisive battles. As he had the young king wholly subject to his influence, he set out and began to assemble his forces at Apamea, from which he proceeded to Laodicea. From this town the king took the offensive with his whole army and crossing the desert entered the defile known as Marsyas, which lies between the chains of Libanus and Antilibanus and affords a narrow passage between the two. Just where it is narrowest it is broken by marshes and lakes from which the perfumed reed is cut, (46) and here it is commanded on the one side by a place called Brochi and on the other by Gerrha, the passage between being quite narrow. After marching through this defile for several days and reducing the towns in its neighbourhood, Antiochus reached Gerrha. Finding that Theodotus the Aetolian had occupied Gerrha and Brochi and had fortified the narrow passage by the lake with a trench and stockade, posting troops in suitable spots, he at first decided to force his way through, but as he suffered more loss than he inflicted owing to the strength of the position and the fact that Theodotus remained as staunch as ever, he desisted from the
5 ἀπέστη τῆς ἑπιβολῆς. διὸ καὶ τοιαύτης οὕσης τῆς περὶ τοὺς τόπους δυσχρηστίας, προσπεσόντος αὐτῶν Ξενοίταν ἐπταϊκέναι τοῖς ὀλοίς καὶ τὸν Μόλωνα πάντων τῶν ἄνω τόπων ἐπικρατεῖν, ἀφείμενος τούτων ὠρμήσε τοῖς οἰκείοις πράγμασι βοηθῆσων.

6 Ὅ γαρ Ξενοίτας ὁ στρατηγὸς ἀποσταλεῖς αὐτοκράτωρ, καθάπερ ἐπάνω προείπα, καὶ μειζόνος ἐξουσίας ἦ κατὰ τὴν προσδοκίαν τυχῶν, ὑπερ-οπτικῶτερον μὲν ἔχρητο τοῖς αὐτῷ φίλοις, θρα-σύτερον δὲ ταῖς πρὸς τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἑπιβολαῖς. οὐ μὴν ἄλλα καταζεύγας εἰς τὴν Σελεύκειαν, καὶ μεταπεμψάμενος Διογένην τὸν τῆς Σουσιανῆς ὑπαρχον καὶ Πυθιάδην τὸν τῆς Ἐρυθρᾶς θαλάττης, ἐξῆγε τὰς δυνάμεις, καὶ λαβὼν πρόβλημα τὸν Τίγριν ποταμὸν ἀντεστρατοπέδευσέ τοῖς πολεμίοις.

7 πλειόνων δὲ διακολυμβώντων πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ Μόλωνος στρατοπεδείας, καὶ δηλούντων ως, ἐὰν διαβῆ τὸν ποταμόν, ἀπαν ἀπονεύσει πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸ τοῦ Μόλωνος στρατόπεδον (τῷ μὲν γαρ Μόλωνι φθονεῖν, τῷ δὲ βασιλεῖ τὸ πλῆθος εὖνου ὑπάρχειν διαφερόντως), ἔπαρθείς τούτοις ὁ Ξενοίτας ἐπεβάλετο διαβαίνειν τὸν Τίγριν. ἕποδείξας δὲ διότι μέλλει ξεγνυνῆν τὸν ποταμὸν κατὰ τινα νησίζοντα τόπον, τῶν μὲν πρὸς τοῦτο τὸ μέρος ἑπιτηθείν μεθ᾽ ἠτοίμασε, διὸ καὶ συνέβη κατα-φρονήσαι τούς περὶ τὸν Μόλωνα τῆς ἀποδεικνυ-μένης ἑπιβολῆς, τὰ δὲ πλοῖα συνήθροιζε καὶ κατήρτιζε καὶ πολλὴν ἑπιμελείαν ἐποιεῖτο περὶ τούτων. ἐπιλέξας δὲ ἐκ παντὸς τοῦ στρατεύματος τοὺς εὐρωστοτάτους ἐππείς καὶ πεζοὺς, ἐπὶ τῆς παρεμβολῆς ἀπολιπων Ζεὺς καὶ Πυθιάδην παρῆλθε 112
attempt. So that finding himself in this difficult position, when the news reached him that Xenoetas had suffered total defeat and that Molon was in possession of all the upper provinces he gave up this expedition and hastened to return to the relief of his own dominions.

For Xenoetas, when, as I stated above, he was appointed to independent command and found himself possessed of more authority than he had ever expected to hold, began to treat his friends somewhat disdainfully and to be too audacious in his schemes against his enemies. Reaching, however, Seleucia and sending for Diogenes, the governor of Susiana, and Pythiades, the governor of the coasts of the Persian Gulf, he led out his forces and encamped opposite the enemy with the Tigris on his front. When numerous deserters swam over from Molon’s camp and informed him that if he crossed the river, Molon’s whole army would declare for him—for the soldiers were jealous of Molon and exceedingly well disposed to the king—Xenoetas, encouraged by this intelligence, decided to cross the Tigris. He first of all made a show of attempting to bridge the river at a place where it forms an island, but as he was not getting ready any of the material required for this purpose, Molon took little notice of the feint. Xenoetas, however, was all the time engaged in collecting and fitting out boats with all possible care. Selecting from his whole army the most courageous of the infantry and cavalry, he left Zeuxis and Pythiades in charge of the camp, and
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νυκτὸς ὡς ὀγδοήκοντα σταδίους ὑποκάτω τῆς
12 τοῦ Μόλωνος στρατοπεδείας, καὶ διακομίσας τοῖς πλοίοις τὴν δύναμιν ἀσφαλῶς νυκτὸς ἐτί κατ-
εστρατοπεδεύσε, λαβὼν εὐφυὴ τόπον, ὥς συνέβαινε κατὰ μὲν τὸ πλεῖστον ὑπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ περι-
έχεσθαι, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν ἔλεσιν ἡσφαλίσθαι καὶ τέλμασιν. ὁ δὲ Μόλων συνεις τὸ γεγονός ἐξαπ-
έστειλε τοὺς ἐππείς ὡς κωλύσων τοὺς ἐπιδιαβαϊ-
νοντας βαδίως καὶ συντρίψων τοὺς ἦδη διαβεβη-
2 κότας· οὐ καὶ συνεγγύσαντες τοῖς περί τὸν Ξενοίταν διὰ τὴν ἁγνοιαν τῶν τόπων οὐ προσεδέοντο τῶν πολεμίων, αὐτοῖ δ’ ὑφ’ αὐτῶν βαπτιζόμενοι καὶ καταδύνοντες ἐν τοῖς τέλμαιν ἁχρηστοὶ μὲν ἦσαν ἀπαντες, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ διεθάρησαν αὐτῶν. ὁ δὲ Ξενοίτας πεπεισμένος, εὰν πλησιάσῃ, μετα-
βαλέσθαι τάς τοῦ Μόλωνος πρὸς αὐτῶν δυνάμεις, 4 προελθὼν παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν καὶ συνεγγύσας παρεστρατοπεδεύσε τοῖς ὑπεναντίοις. κατὰ δὲ τὸν καιρὸν τούτον ὁ Μόλων, εἴτε καὶ στρατηγή-
ματος χάριν εἴτε καὶ διαπιστήσας ταῖς δυνάμεις, μή τι συμβῇ τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ξενοίτου προσδοκιμένων, ἀπολιπτῶν ἐν τῷ χάρακι τὴν ἀποσκευὴν ἀνέξευξε νυκτὸς, καὶ προῆλε σύντονον ποιούμενος τὴν 5 πορείαν ὡς ἐπὶ Μηδίας. ὁ δὲ Ξενοίτας ὑπολαβὼν πεφευγέναι τὸν Μόλωνα καταπεπληγμένου τὴν ἔφοδον αὐτοῦ καὶ διαπιστοῦντα ταῖς ἱδίαις αὐτοῦ δυνάμεις, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐπιστρατοπεδεύσας καταλάβετο τὴν τῶν πολεμίων παρεμβολῆν, καὶ διεπεραίων πρὸς αὐτὸν τοὺς ἱδίους ἐππείς καὶ τὰς τούτων ἀποσκευὰς ἐκ τῆς Ζεύξιδος παρεμβολῆς· 6 μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα συναθροίσας παρεκάλει τοὺς πολ-
λοὺς θαρρεῖν καὶ καλὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχειν ὑπὲρ τῶν 114
proceeded by night to a point about eighty stades below Molon's camp, where he took his forces safely across in the boats and encamped while it was still night on an advantageous position, the greater part of which was surrounded by the river and the rest protected by pools and marshes. 47. Molon when he was aware of what had happened, sent off his cavalry thinking to prevent easily any further troops from crossing and to crush the force that had already crossed. On approaching Xenoetas' force, unfamiliar as they were with the country, they had no need of any effort on the part of the enemy, but plunging or sinking by the impetus of their own advance into the pools and swamps were all rendered useless, while not a few perished. Xenoetas, fully confident that on his approach Molon's troops would desert to him, advanced along the river bank and encamped next the enemy. But Molon now, either as a ruse, or from lack of confidence in his men and fear lest Xenoetas' expectations might be fulfilled, leaving his baggage in his camp, abandoned it under cover of night and marched hastily in the direction of Media. Xenoetas, supposing that Molon had taken to flight from fear of being attacked by him and from mistrust in his own troops, first attacked and occupied the enemy's camp and next brought across from the camp of Zeuxis his own cavalry and their baggage. After this he called a meeting of his soldiers and exhorted them to be of good courage and hope for a happy issue of the war,
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7 ὁλων ὡς πεθευγότος τοῦ Μόλωνος. ταῦτα δὲ εἴπων ἐπιμέλεσθαί παρῆγγειλε καὶ θεραπεύεν αὐτοὺς ἄπασιν, ὡς ἐκ ποδὸς ἀκολουθήσων πρῶτοι ὑπεναντίοις. οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ κατατεθαρρηκότες, καὶ παντοδαπῆς ἐπειλημμένου χορηγίας, ὄρμησαν πρὸς ἀπόλαυσιν καὶ μέθην καὶ τὴν ταῖς τοιαύταις δόμαις παρεπομένην ῥαθυμίαν. ὃ δὲ Μόλων διανύσας ἰκανόν τινα τόπον καὶ δειπνοποιησάμενος παρῆν ἐξ ὑποστροφῆς, καὶ καταλαβὼν ἐρριμμένους καὶ μεθύοντας πάντας προσέβαλε τῷ χάρακι τῶν πολέμιων ὑπὸ τὴν ἕωθινήν. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ξενοίταν ἐκπλαγέντες ἐπὶ τοὺς συμβαίνουσι διὰ τὸ παραδοξον, ἄδυνατοίνυντες δὲ τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐγείρεν διὰ τὴν κατέχονσαν αὐτοὺς μέθην, αὐτοὶ μὲν ἀλόγως ὀρμήσαντες εἰς τοὺς πολέμιους διεθά- 4 ρήσαν, τῶν δὲ κομμωμένων οἱ μὲν πλείους ἐν αὐταῖς ταῖς στιβάσι κατεκόπτησαν, οἱ δὲ λουποὶ ῥυπτοῦντες ἑαυτοὺς εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν ἐπειρώντο διαβαίνειν πρὸς τὴν ἀντίπερα στρατοπεδεῖαν· οὐ μὴν ἀλλ’ οἱ πλεῖοι καὶ τούτων ἀπώλυντο. 5 καθόλου δὲ ποικιλὴ τις ἢν ἀκροσία περὶ τὰ στρα- τόπεδα καὶ κυδομός· πάντες γὰρ ἐκπλαγεῖσι καὶ 6 περιδεείς ᾦσαν, ἀμα δὲ καὶ τῆς ἀντίπερα παρεμ- βολῆς ὑπὸ τὴν ὅψιν οὖσης ἐν πάνιν βραχεὶ δια- στήματι τῆς μὲν τοῦ ποταμοῦ βίας καὶ δυσχρηστίας ἐξελαυθάνουτο διὰ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν τὴν πρὸς τὸ 7 σύζεσθαι, κατὰ δὲ τὴν παράστασιν καὶ τὴν ὀρμήν τὴν πρὸς τὴν σωτηρίαν ἐρρίπτουν ἑαυτοὺς εἰς τὸν ποταμόν, ἐνίεσαν δὲ καὶ τὰ ὑποξύγια σὺν ταῖς 8 ἄποσκευαῖς ὡς τοῦ ποταμοῦ κατὰ τινα πρόνοιαν αὐτοῖς συνεργήσοντος καὶ διακομιοῦντος ἀσφαλῶς 9 πρὸς τὴν ἀντίπερα κεμένην στρατοπεδείαν. ἐξ

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as Molon had fled. When he had finished this address he ordered them all to attend to their wants and refresh themselves, as he intended to start at once next morning in pursuit. 48. The soldiers, filled with confidence and with abundance of provisions at hand, fell to feasting and drinking and lapsed into the state of negligence consequent on such excess. But Molon, after proceeding for a considerable distance and giving his men their supper, returned and reappeared at the spot, where, finding all the enemy scattered about and drowned in wine, he fell upon the camp in the early dawn. Dismayed by the unexpected attack and unable to awake the soldiers owing to their drunken condition, Xenoetas dashed madly into the ranks of the foe and perished. Most of the sleeping soldiers were killed in their beds, while the rest threw themselves into the river and attempted to cross to the camp on the opposite bank, most of these, however, also losing their lives. The scene in the camp was altogether one of the most varied confusion and tumult. The men were all in the utmost dismay and terror, and the camp across the river being in sight at quite a short distance, in their longing to escape they forgot the dangerous force of the stream, and losing their wits and making a blind rush for safety threw themselves into the river and forced the baggage animals with their packs to take to the water also, as if the river would providentially help them and carry them across to the camp opposite. So that the picture presented
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...

11 καὶ τῆς τούτου στρατοπεδείας. συντελεσάμενος δὲ τὰ προειρημένα παρῆν μετὰ τοῦ στρατοπέδου

12 πρὸς τὴν Σελεύκειαν. παραλαβόν δὲ καὶ ταύτην ἐξ ἐφόδου διὰ τὸ πεσευγεῖαι τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ζεῦξιν, ἀμα δὲ τοὺς τὸν Διομέδοντο τὸν ἐπιστάτην τῆς Σελεύκειας, λοιπὸν ἠδὴ προάγων ἀκοιτὶ

13 κατεστρέφετο τὰς ἀνω σατραπείας. γενόμενος δὲ κύριος τῆς τε Βαβυλωνίας καὶ τῆς περὶ τὴν

14 Ἐρυθρὰν ἀλατταν ἤκε πρὸς Σοῦσα. τὴν μὲν οὖν πόλειν ἐξ ἐφόδου καὶ ταύτην κατέσχε, τῇ δὲ ἀκρᾳ προσβολάς ποιούμενος οὐδὲν ἦνε τῷ φθάσαι Διογένην τὸν στρατηγὸν εἰς αὐτὴν παρεισπεσόντα.

15 διὸ καὶ ταύτης μὲν τῆς ἐπιβολῆς ἀπέστη, καταλιπὼν δὲ τοὺς πολιορκήσοντας κατὰ τάχος ἀνέζευξε, καὶ κατήρε μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως πάλιν

16 εἰς Σελεύκειαν τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ Τίγριδι. πολλὴν δὲ ποιησάμενος ἐπιμέλειαν ἐνταῦθα τοῦ στρατοπέδου καὶ παρακαλέσας τὸ πλῆθος ὠρμησὲ πρὸς τὰς ἐξὶς πράξεις, καὶ τὴν μὲν Παραποταμίαν μέχρι πόλεως Εὐρώπου κατέσχε, τὴν δὲ Μεσοποταμίαν ἐως Δούρων.

17 Ἑκτόχοσ δὲ τούτων αὐτῷ προσπεσόντων, ὡς ἐπάνω προείπον, ἀπογνώστι τὸν κατὰ Κοῖλην Ἔλπιδας ὠρμησὲ πρὸς ταύτας τὰς ἐπιβολάς.

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by the stream was indeed tragical and extraordinary, horses, mules, arms and corpses, and every kind of baggage being swept down by the current together with the swimmers. Molon took possession of Xenoetas' camp and afterwards crossing the river in safety, as he met with no opposition, Zeuxis having fled before his attack, took the camp of the latter also. After these successes he advanced with his army on Seleucia. He took it at the first assault, as Zeuxis and Diomedon, the governor of the city, had abandoned it, and advancing now at his ease, reduced the upper Satrapies. After making himself master of Babylonia and the coasts of the Persian gulf he reached Susa. This city he also took at the first assault, but the assaults he made on the citadel were unsuccessful, as the general Diogenes had thrown himself into it before his arrival. Abandoning this attempt, he left a force to invest it and hurried back with the rest of his army to Seleucia on the Tigris. Here he carefully refreshed his troops and after addressing them started again to pursue his further projects, and occupied Parapotamia as far as the town of Europus and Mesopotamia as far as Dura.

Antiochus, on intelligence reaching him of these events, abandoned, as I stated above, his designs on Coele-Syria and turned his whole attention to the
49 ἐν δὲ καιρῷ πάλιν ἀθροισθέντος τοῦ συνεδρίου, καὶ κελεύσαντος λέγειν τοῦ βασιλέως ὑπὲρ τοῦ πῶς δεὶ χρῆσθαι ταῖς ἐπὶ τὸν Μόλωνα παρασκευαῖς, αὕτης ἦσσον καταρξαμένου καὶ λέγοντος περὶ τῶν ἐνεστῶτων, ὡς ἔδει μὲν πάλαι μὴ μέλλειν κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ συμβουλίαν πρὸ τοῦ τηλικαῦτα προτερήματα λαβεῖν τοὺς ἐχθρούς, οὗ μὴν ἄλλα καὶ νῦν ἔτι φάσκοντος δεῖν ἔχειραὶ τῶν πραγμάτων, πάλιν Ἐρμείας ἄκριτως καὶ προπετῶς ἐξοργισθεὶς ἢρξατο λοιδορεῖν τὸν εἰρημένον, ἀμα δὲ χορτικῶς μὲν αὐτὸν ἐγκωμιάζων, ἀστόχοις δὲ καὶ ἤσυχεὶς ποιοῦμεν κατηγορίας Ἐπιγένους, μαρτυρομένος δὲ τὸν βασιλέα μὴ παριδεῖν οὕτως ἀλόγως μηδ' ἀποστήναι τῶν περὶ Κόλης Συρίας ἐλπίδων, προσέκοπτε μὲν τοῖς πολλοῖς, ἐλύπει δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἀντίοχον, μόλις δὲ κατέπαυσε τὴν ἀψιμαχίαν, πολλῆς ποιησαμένου τοῦ βασιλέως σπουδὴν εἰς τὸ διαλύειν αὐτοὺς. δόξαντος δὲ τοῖς πολλοῖς Ἐπιγένους ἀναγκαίοτερα καὶ συμφωνώτερα λέγειν, ἐκυρώθη τὸ διαβοῦλον στρατεύειν ἐπὶ τὸν Μόλωνα καὶ τούτων ἔχεσθαι τῶν πράξεων. ταχὺ δὲ συνυποκριθεὶς καὶ μεταπεσὼν Ἐρμείας, καὶ φήσας δεῖν ἀπαντᾶς τὸ κρίθεν ἀπροφασίστως ποιεῖν, ἐτοιμὸς ἦν καὶ πολὺς πρὸς ταῖς παρασκευαῖς.

50 Ἀθροισθεῖσσον δὲ τῶν δυνάμεως εἰς Ἀπάμειαν, καὶ τινὸς ἐγγενομένης στάσεως τοῖς πολλοῖς ὑπὲρ τῶν προσοφελομένων ὃψων, λαβὼν ἐπτομένον τὸν βασιλέα καὶ δεδιότα τὸ γεγονός κίνημα.
The council having once more met and the king having requested advice as to the measures to be taken against Molon, Epigenes was again the first to give his view of the situation, which was that, as he had advised, there should have been no initial delay allowing the enemy to gain such advantages, but that now as before he maintained his opinion that the king must take the matter in hand with vigour. Upon which Hermeias, flying for no reason into a violent passion, began to abuse him. By singing his own praises in the worst taste, bringing against Epigenes a number of false and random accusations and adjuring the king not to desist from his purpose and abandon his hope of conquering Coele-Syria for so slight a show of reason, he not only gave offence to most of the council, but displeased Antiochus himself, and it was with difficulty that he was persuaded to put an end to the altercation, the king having shown great anxiety to reconcile the two men. The general opinion being that the action recommended by Epigenes was most to the purpose and most advantageous, the council decided that the king should take the field against Molon and make the matter his sole concern. Upon this Hermeias, pretending that he had suddenly come round to the same opinion, said that it was the duty of everyone to give unhesitating support to this decision and showed himself very willing and active in making preparations for war.

50. When the army assembled at Apamea and a mutiny broke out among the soldiers on account of some arrears of pay that were owing to them, observing that the king was very nervous and alarmed at such a movement taking place at so critical a
Διὰ τὸν καυμὸν, ἐπηγγείλατο διαλύσεων πᾶσι τὰς συμμετοχὰς, ἐὰν αὐτῷ συγχωρήσῃ μὴ στρατεύειν 3 μετ’ αὐτῶν τὸν Ἐπιγένην. οὖ γὰρ οἶδον τ’ εἶναι τῶν κατὰ λόγον οὐδὲν πράττεσθαι κατὰ τὴν στρατεύαν τηλικαύτης ἐν αὐτοῖς ὁργῆς καὶ στάσεως ἔγγεγεγειμένης. δ’ ἐδὲ βασιλεὺς δυσχερῶς μὲν ἥκουσε καὶ περὶ παντὸς ἐποιεῖτο σπουδᾶζων διὰ τὴν ἐμπειρίαν τῶν πολεμικῶν συστρατεύεων αὐτῶ 5 τὸν Ἐπιγένην, περιεχόμενος δὲ καὶ προκατειλημένος οἰκονομίας καὶ φυλακαίς καὶ θεραπείαις ὑπὸ τῆς Ἐρμείου κακοποθείας οὐκ ἡν αὐτοῦ κύριος· διὸ καὶ τοὺς παροῦν εἰκῶν συνεχώρησε τοὺς ἀξιομενοὺς. τοῦ δ’ Ἐπιγένους κατὰ τὸ προσταχθὲν ἀναχωρήσαντος εἰς ἤματιον . . . οἱ μὲν οὖν 7 ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ κατεπλάγησαν τῶν φθόνον, αἱ δὲ δυνάμεις τυχόσσω ὧν αξιομενῶν ἐκ μεταβολῆς εὐνοϊκῶς διέκειτο πρὸς τὸν αὐτῶν τῆς τῶν ὑψωτάτων διορθώσεως, πλὴν τῶν Κυρρηστῶν. 8 οὕτω δ’ ἐστασίασαν, καὶ σχεδὸν εἰς ἐξακοσάκιοις ὄντες τὸν ἄρματον ἀπέστησαν, καὶ πολλὰς δὴ τινας ἁγίας ἐπὶ χρόνον ἴκανον παρέσχον· τέλος δὲ μάχη κρατήθησατε ὑπὸ τινός τῶν τοῦ βασιλέως στρατηγῶν οἱ μὲν πλείστοι διεφθάρησαν, οἱ δὲ περιλειφθέντες παρέδοσαν ἑαυτοὺς εἰς τὴν τοῦ 9 βασιλέως πίστιν. ο’ δ’ Ἐρμείας τοὺς μὲν φίλους διὰ τὸν φόβον τᾶς δὲ δυνάμεις διὰ τὴν εὐχρηστίαν ύπ’ ἑαυτῶν πεποιημένος, ἀναζεύξας προῆγε μετὰ τοῦ βασιλέως. περὶ δὲ τὸν Ἐπιγένην πράξεων συνεστῆσατο τοιαύτην, λαβὼν συνεργὸν τὸν ἀκρο- 11 φύλακα τῆς Ἀπαμείας Ἀλεξίων. γράφας ὡς παρὰ Μόλωνος ἀπεσταλμένην ἐτυστολήν πρὸς τὸν Ἐπι- γένην, πείθει τινὰ τῶν ἐκείνου παίδων ἐλπίδι 122
time, Hermeias engaged to discharge the whole sum due, if the king would consent that Epigenes should take no part in the campaign; as he said there would be no chance otherwise of anything being properly managed in the army in view of the bitterness of the quarrel between them. The king was displeased at this request, and would fain have refused, being anxious for Epigenes to accompany him on the campaign owing to his military capacity, but beset as he was and preoccupied through Hermeias' nefarious machinations by court etiquette and by a host of guards and attendants, he was not his own master, so that he gave way and acceded to the request. When Epigenes retired, as he was bidden, into civil life, the members of the council were intimidated by this consequence of Hermeias' jealousy, but the troops upon their demands being met experienced a revulsion of feeling and grew well disposed to the man who had procured payment of their pay. The Cyrrhestae, however, were an exception, as they to the number of about six thousand mutinied and quitted their quarters, giving considerable trouble for some time; but finally they were defeated in a battle by one of the king's generals, most of them being killed and the rest surrendering at discretion. Hermeias, having thus subjected to his will the councillors by fear and the troops by doing them a service, left Apamea and advanced in company with the king. With the connivance of Alexis, the commandant of the citadel at Apamea, he now engaged in the following plot against Epigenes. Forging a letter supposing to have been sent by Molon to Epigenes, he seduced by promise
μεγάλας ψυχαγωγήσας, εἰςενέγκαντα πρὸς τὸν Ἑπιγένην καταμιζέα τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τοῖς ἐκείνου
12 γράμμασιν. οὐ γενομένου παρῆν εὐθέως Ἀλεξίς, καὶ διηρώτα τὸν Ἑπιγένην μὴ τινας ἐπιστολὰς
13 κεκόμισται παρὰ τοῦ Μόλωνος. τοῦ δὲ ἀπευπο-
μένου πικρῶς ἐρευνῶν ἦτει. ταχὺ δὲ παρεισελθὼν
εὐρε τὴν ἐπιστολὴν, ἥ χρησάμενος ἀφορμῇ παρα-
14 χρήμα τὸν Ἑπιγένην ἀπέκτεινεν. οὐ συμβάντος
ὁ μὲν βασιλεὺς ἐπείσθη δικαίως ἀπολωλέαν τὸν
Ἑπιγένην, οἱ δὲ περὶ τὴν αὐλὴν ὑπώπτευον μὲν
τὸ γεγονός, ὅγιον δὲ τὴν ἱσυχίαν διὰ τὸν φόβον.
51 Ἀντίοχος δὲ παραγενόμενος ἐπὶ τὸν Ἕφρατήν
καὶ προσαναλαβὼν τὴν δύναμιν αὕτης ἡξώρμα, καὶ
dιανύσας εἰς Ἀντίοχειαν τὴν ἐν Μυγδονίᾳ περὶ
tροπᾶς χειμερινᾶς ἐπέμεινε, θέλων ἀποδέξασθαι τὴν
2 ἐπιφορὰν καὶ τὴν ἀκμὴν τοῦ χειμῶνος. μείνας
dὲ περὶ τετταράκονθή ἡμέρας προῆγεν εἰς Δίββαν.
3 ἀποδοθέντος δὲ ἐκείσε διαβουλίου ποία δὲι προάγεν
ἐπὶ τὸν Μόλωνα καὶ πώς πόθεν κεχρήσθαι ταῖς
eἰς τὰς πορείας χορηγίαις (ἐτύγχανε γὰρ ὁ Μόλων
4 ἐν τοῖς περὶ Βαβυλῶνα τόποις ὑπάρχων), Ἐρμεία
μὲν ἐδόκει παρὰ τὸν Τίγριν ποιεῖσθαι τὴν πορείαν,
προβαλλομένους τούτον τε καὶ τὸν Δύκον ποταμὸν
5 καὶ τὸν Κάπρον, Ζεῦξις δὲ λαμβάνων πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν
tὴν ἀπώλειαν τὴν Ἑπιγένειον, τὰ μὲν ἡγώνια
λέγειν τὸ φαινόμενον, τὰ δὲ προδήλου τῆς ἀγνοίας
οὕσης τῆς κατὰ τὸν Ἐρμείαν μόλις ἐθάρρησε
6 συμβουλεύειν ὅτι διαβατέον εἰς τὸν Τίγριν, ἀπο-
λογιζόμενος τὴν τε λοιπὴν δυσχέρειαν τῆς παρὰ
tὸν ποταμὸν πορείας, καὶ διότι δὲοι διανύσαντας
ἰκανοὺς τόπους, μετὰ ταῦτα διελθόντος ὁδὸν
ἐρημὸν ἠμερῶν ἔξι, παραγενέσθαι πρὸς τὴν Βασί-
of a large reward one of Epigenes' slaves and persuaded him to take it and mix it up with Epigenes' papers. This having been done, Alexis at once appeared and asked Epigenes if he had received any letters from Molon. Upon his denying it with some acerbity, Alexis demanded to search his house and on entering it very soon found the letter, and on this ground at once put Epigenes to death. The king was induced to believe that Epigenes had merited his fate, and the courtiers, though they had their suspicions, were afraid to utter them.

51. Antiochus, on reaching the Euphrates, gave his troops a rest and then resumed his march. Arriving at Antioch in Mygdonia at about the winter solstice, he remained there, wishing to wait until the extreme rigour of the winter should be over. After passing forty days there he went on to Libba, and at a council held to determine what was the best line of advance against Molon and whence supplies for the march should be obtained—Molon being now in the neighbourhood of Babylon—Hermeias advised marching along the Tigris, so that their flank should be covered by this river and by the Lycus and Caprus. Zeuxis, having the fate of Epigenes before his eyes, was afraid of the consequences if he stated his own view, but nevertheless, as Hermeias was obviously wrong, he plucked up courage to advise crossing the Tigris, giving as his reasons the general difficulty of the march along the river, and the fact that they would, after passing through a considerable extent of country, have to undertake a six days' march through the desert
7 Λυκήν διώρυχα καλουμένην· ἢς προκαταληφθείσης ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἀδύνατον μὲν γενέσθαι τὴν διάβασιν αὐτῆς, ἐπισφαλῆ δὲ προφανῶς τὴν διὰ τῆς ἐρήμου πάλιν ἀποχώρησον, καὶ μάλιστα διὰ τὴν ἐσομένην ἐνδεικνύσιν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων. ἐκ δὲ τοῦ διαβῆναι τὸν Τίγριν πρόδηλον μὲν ἀπεδείκνυε τὴν μετάνοιαν καὶ πρόσκλισιν τῷ βασιλεί τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀπολλωνίατιν χώραν ὥσπερ διὰ τὸ καὶ νῦν αὐτοὺς μὴ κατὰ προαίρεσιν ἀνάγκη δὲ καὶ φόβω
9 ποιεῖν Μόλωνι τὸ προστατόμενον, πρόδηλον δὲ τὴν δαφύλειαν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων τοῖς στρατοπέδοις
10 διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν τῆς χώρας. τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, ἀπέφανε διακλεισθημένον τὸν Μόλωνα τῆς εἰς τὴν Μηδίαν ἐπανόδου καὶ τῆς εἴς ἐκείνων τῶν τόπων ἐπαρκείας, ἥδιν ἀναγκασθησθαί διακλεισθήναι αὐτοῦ, ἢ μὴ θέλοντος τούτο ποιεῖν ἐκείνου μεταβαλεῖσθαι τὰς δυνάμεις ταχέως πρὸς τὰς τοῦ βασιλέως ἐλπίδας. κριθείσης δὲ τῆς τοῦ Ζεύξιδος γνώμης, παρατείκα διελόντες τὴν δύναμιν εἰς τρία μέρη κατὰ τριττοὺς τόπους τοῦ ποταμοῦ
2 διεπεραίων τὸ πλῆθος καὶ τὰς ἀποσκευάς. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ποιησάμενοι τὴν πορείαν ὡς ἐπὶ Δοῦρων ταύτης μὲν τῆς πόλεως ἔλυσαν είς ἐφόδου τῆς πολιορκίας (ἐτύγχανε γὰρ ὑπὸ τινος τῶν τοῦ
3 Μόλωνος ἡγεμόνων πολιορκομένη), χρησάμενοι δὲ κατὰ τὸ συνεχές ἐντεύθεν ταῖς ἀναζηγαίς ὁγδοαι τὸ καλούμενον Ὀρεικόν ὑπερέβαλον καὶ κατήραν εἰς Ἀπολλωνίαν.
4 Μόλων δὲ κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς καιροὺς πυθόμενος τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως παρουσίαν, καὶ διαπιστῶν τοῖς περὶ τὴν Σουσιανὴν καὶ Βαβυλώνιαν ὥχλοις διὰ τὸ προσφάτως καὶ παραδόξως αὐτῶν ἐγκρατῆς
before reaching the king's canal. As this was held by the enemy, it would be impossible to cross, and a subsequent retreat through the desert would obviously be attended with great risk, especially as they would be badly off for provisions. If, on the contrary, they crossed the Tigris, he pointed out that the population of the Apolloniatis would evidently resume their allegiance and join the king, since it was not by their own choice but from necessity and fear that they now yielded obedience to Molon. It was also evident, he said, that the army would be plenteously furnished with provisions owing to the fertility of the country. But the most important consideration was that Molon's retreat to Media and his sources of supplies from that province would be cut off, and that therefore he would be obliged to give battle, or if he refused, his troops would soon go over to the king. 52. Zeuxis' advice was approved, and dividing the army into three parts they speedily crossed the river with their baggage at three different places, and marching on Dura, which city was then besieged by one of Molon's generals, forced the enemy at their first assault to raise the siege. Advancing hence and marching continuously for eight days they crossed the mountain called Oreicum and arrived at Apollonia.

Meanwhile Molon had heard of the king's arrival, and mistrusting the population of Susiana and Babylonia, as his conquest of these provinces was so
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γεγονέναι, φοβούμενος δὲ καὶ τῆς εἰς Μηδίαν ἐπανόδου μὴ διακλεισθῆ, διέγνω ξεγγύειν τὸν
5 Τίγριν καὶ διαβιβάζειν τὰς δυνάμεις, σπεύδων, εἰ δύνατο, προκαταλαβέσθαι τὴν τραχείαν τῆς
'Ἀπολλωνιάτιδος διὰ τὸ πιστεύειν τῷ πλήθει τῶν
σφενδονητῶν τῶν προσαγορευομένων Κυρτίων.
6 πράξας δὲ τὸ κριθὲν ταχείαν ἐποιεῖτο καὶ σύντονον
7 τὴν πορείαν. ἀμα δὲ τοῦ τε Μόλωνος συνάπτοντος
toῖς προειρημένοις τόποις καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐκ
tῆς 'Ἀπολλωνίας ὀρμήσαντος μετὰ πάσης δυνά-
μεως, συνέβη τοὺς ὑπ' ἀμφοτέρων προαποστα-
λέντας εὐλαβους ἀμα συμπεσεῖν ἐπὶ τινα ὑπερ-
8 βολάς.' οἱ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον συνεπέλεκτον καὶ
κατεπείραζον ἄλληλων, ἐν δὲ τῷ συνάιμας τὰς παρ'
ἀμφοῖν δυνάμεις ἀπέστησαν. καὶ τότε μὲν ἀνα-
χωρήσαντες εἰς τὰς ἱδίας παρεμβολὰς ἐστρα-
tοπέδευσαν τετταράκοντα σταδίους ἀπ' ἄλληλων
9 διεστῶτες τῆς δὲ νυκτὸς ἐπιγενομένης συλλο-
γισάμενος ὁ Μόλων ὡς ἐπισφαλῆς γίνεται καὶ
dύσχρηστος τοῖς ἀποστάταις πρὸς τοὺς βασιλεῖς
ὁ μεθ' ἡμέραν καὶ κατὰ πρόσωπον κίνδυνος,
ἐπεβάλετο νυκτὸς ἐγχειρεῖν τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἀντίοχον.
10 ἐπιλέξας δὲ τοὺς ἐπιτηδειοτάτους καὶ τοὺς ἁκμαῖο-
tάτους ἐκ παντὸς τοῦ στρατοπέδου περιήγη κατὰ
tινας τόπους, θέλων ἐξ ὑπερδεξίου ποιῆσασθαι
11 τὴν ἐπίθεσιν. γνοὺς δὲ κατὰ τὴν πορείαν δέκα
νεανίσκους ἀθρόους ἀποκεχωρηκότας πρὸς τὸν
12 Ἀντίοχον, ταύτης μὲν τῆς ἐπινοίας ἀπέστη, ταχὺ
d' ἐκ μεταβολῆς ποιησάμενος τὴν ἀποχώρησιν
cαι παραγενόμενος εἰς τὸν έαυτοῦ χάρακα περὶ
tὴν ἐσωθῇν πάν τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐνέπλησε θορύβου
13 καὶ ταράχης' δείσαντες γὰρ ἐκ τῶν ὑπ’ ὕπνων οἱ κατὰ
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recent and sudden, fearing also that his return to Media might be cut off, he decided to bridge the Tigris and cross it with his army, being anxious if possible to gain the hilly part of the territory of Apollonia, as he relied on the numbers of his force of slingers known as Cyrtii. Having crossed the river he advanced marching rapidly and uninterruptedly. He was approaching the district in question at the very time that the king had left Apollonia with the whole of his army, and the light infantry of both, which had been sent on in advance, came into contact in crossing a certain range of hills. At first they engaged in a skirmish with each other, but on the main bodies coming up they separated. The armies now withdrew to their separate camps, which were distant from each other about forty stades, but when night set in Molon, reflecting that a direct attack by day on their king by the rebels would be hazardous and difficult, determined to attack Antiochus by night. Choosing the most competent and vigorous men in his whole army, he took them round in a certain direction, with the design of falling on the enemy from higher ground. But learning on his march that ten soldiers in a body had deserted to Antiochus, he abandoned this plan and retiring hastily appeared about daybreak at his own camp, where his arrival threw the whole army into confusion and panic; for the men there, started

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τὸν χάρακα διὰ τὴν τῶν προσιόντων ἐφοδιον
14 μικροῦ δεῖν ἐξέπεσον ἐκ τῆς παρεμβολῆς. Μόλων
μὲν οὖν, καθ’ ὅσον ἐδύνατο, κατεπράνευ τὴν
53 γεγενημένην ἐν αὐτοῖς ταραχὴν· ὦ δὲ βασιλεὺς
ἐτοιμὸς ὤν πρὸς τὸν κύνδυνον ἀμα τῷ φωτὶ τὴν
2 δύναμιν εἰκίνει πᾶσαν ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος. ἐπὶ μὲν
οὖν τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρως ἔταξε πρῶτοι τοὺς ξυστο-
φόρους ἐπιπείς, ἐπιστήμασι Ἀρδυν, κεκριμένον
3 ἀνδρὰ περὶ τὰς πολεμικὰς πράξεις· τοῦτοι δὲ
παρέθηκε τοὺς συμμαχικοὺς Κρήτας, ὧν εὐχοντο
Γαλάται Ἡμίναγες· παρὰ δὲ τοῦτον ἔθηκε
to απὸ τῆς Ἐλλάδος ξένους καὶ μισθοφόρους,
οἳς ἐπόμενον παρενέβαλε τὸ τῆς φάλαγγος σύστημα.
4 τὸ δ’ ευώνυμον κέρας ἀπέδωκε τοῖς ἐταῖροις
προσαγορευομένοις, οὓς ἐπιπείσων. τὰ δὲ θηρία
πρὸ τῆς δυνάμεως ἐν διαστήμασι κατέστησε,
5 δέκα τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὄντα. τὰ δ’ ἐπιτάγματα τῶν
πεζῶν καὶ τῶν ἐπιπέων ἐπὶ τὰ κέρατα μερίσας
κυκλοῦν παρήγγειλε τοὺς πολεμίους, ἐπειδὰν συμ-
6 βάλωσιν. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα παρεκάλει τὰς δυνάμεις
ἐπιπορευόμενος διὰ βραχέων τὰ πρέποντα τοῖς
καυροῖς. καὶ τὸ μὲν εὐώνυμον κέρας Ἐρμεία καὶ
7 Ζευξίδι παρέδωκε, τὸ δὲ δεξιὸν αὐτὸς ἐίχε. Μόλων
δὲ δύσχρηστον μὲν ἐπονήσατο τὴν ἐξαγωγήν,
tαραχώδη δὲ καὶ τὴν ἔκταξιν διὰ τὴν ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ
8 προγεγενημένην ἀλογίαν· οὐ μὴν ἄλλα τοὺς μὲν
ἰππεῖς ἐφ’ ἐκάτερον ἐμερίσατο κέρας, στοχαζό-
μενος τῆς τῶν ὑπεναντίων παρατάξεως, τοὺς δὲ
θυρεαφόρους καὶ Γαλάτας καὶ καθόλου τὰ βαρέα
τῶν ὁπλῶν εἰς τὸν μεταξὺ τόπον ἔθηκε τῶν ἐπιπέων.
9 ἔτι δὲ τοὺς τοξότας καὶ σφενδονίτας καὶ συλλήβδην
τὸ τοιοῦτο γένος ἐκτὸς τῶν ἐπίπεων παρ’ ἐκάτερα
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out of their sleep by the advancing force, were very nearly rushing out of the camp. Molon, however, quieted the panic as far as he could, (53) and at dawn the king, who was quite prepared for the battle, moved his whole army out of camp. On his right wing he posted first his lancers under the command of Ardys, an officer of proved ability in the field, next them the Cretan allies and next them the Gallic Rhigosages. After these he placed the mercenaries from Greece and last of all the phalanx. The left wing he assigned to the cavalry known as "Companions." His elephants, which were ten in number, he posted at certain intervals in front of the line. He distributed his reserves of infantry and cavalry between the two wings with orders to outflank the enemy as soon as the battle had begun. After this he passed along the line and addressed his troops in a few words suitable to the occasion. He entrusted the left wing to Hermeias and Zeuxis and took command of the right wing himself. As for Molon, in consequence of the absurd panic that occurred during the night, it was with difficulty that he drew out his forces from camp, and there was much confusion in getting them into position. However, he divided his cavalry between his two wings, taking into consideration the enemy's disposition, and between the two bodies of cavalry he placed the scutati, the Gauls, and in general all his heavy-armed troops. His archers, slingers, and all such kind of troops he posted beyond the cavalry on either wing,
10 παρενέβαλε, τὰ δὲ δρεπανηφόρα τῶν ἀρμάτων
11 προεβάλετο τῆς δυνάμεως εὖ διαστάσει. καὶ τὸ
μὲν εὐώνυμον κέρας Νεόλαω παρέδωκε τάδελφῳ
54 τὸ δὲ δεξιὸν αὐτὸς εἶχε. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ποιησα-
mένων τῶν δυνάμεων τὴν ἐπαγωγὴν, τὸ μὲν
δεξιὸν κέρας τοῦ Μόλωνος διετήρησε τὴν πίστιν
καὶ συνέβαλε τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ζεύξιν ἐρωμένως, τὸ
δὲ εὐώνυμον ἀμα τῷ συνιὸν εἰς ὁπιν ἐλθεῖν τῷ
2 βασιλεῖ μετεβάλετο πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους· οὗ
γενομένου συνεβή τοὺς μὲν περὶ τὸν Μόλωνα
diατραπήναι, τοὺς δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπιρρωσθήναι
3 διπλασίως. δὲ δὲ Μόλων συννοήσας τὸ γεγονὸς
καὶ πανταχόθεν ἢδη κυκλούμενος, λαβὼν πρὸ
ὀφθαλμῶν τὰς ἐσομένας περὶ αὐτὸν αἰκίας, ἐὰν
ὑποχείριος γένηται καὶ ζωγρία ληφθῇ, προσ-
4 ἤνεγκε τὰς χεῖρας ἑαυτῷ. παραπλησίως δὲ καὶ
πάντες οἱ κουνωνήσαντες τῆς ἐπιβολῆς, φυγόντες
εἰς τοὺς οἰκείους ἑκαστοῦ τόπους, τὴν αὐτὴν ἐποι-
5 ᾧσαντο τοῦ βίου καταστροφῆν. δὲ δὲ Νεόλαος
ἀποφυγὼν ἐκ τῆς μάχης, καὶ παραγενόμενος εἰς
tὴν Περσίδα πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν τοῦ Μόλωνος
ἀδελφόν, τὴν μὲν μητέρα καὶ τὰ τοῦ Μόλωνος
tέκνα κατέσφαξε, μετὰ δὲ τὸν τούτων θάνατον
ἐπικατέσφαξεν αὐτὸν, πείσας τὸ παραπλήσιον
6 ποιῆσαι καὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον. δὲ δὲ βασιλεὺς
dιαρπάσας τὴν παρεμβολὴν τῶν πολεμίων, τὸ
μὲν σῶμα τοῦ Μόλωνος ἀνασταυρῶσα προσέταξε
7 κατὰ τὸν ἐπιφανέστατον τόπον τῆς Μηδίας, δὲ
καὶ παραχρῆμα συνετέλεσαν οἱ πρὸς τούτοις τε-
tαγμένοι· διακομίσαντες γὰρ εἰς τὴν Καλλωνίτων
πρὸς αὐταῖς ἀνεσταύρωσαν ταῖς εἰς τὸν Ζάγρου
8 ἀναβολαίς· μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ ταῖς δυνάμεσιν ἐπιτιμή-
and his scythed chariots at intervals in front of his line. He gave the command of his left wing to his brother Neolaus and took command of the right wing himself. 54. When the armies now advanced against each other, Molon's right wing remained faithful and vigorously engaged Zeuxis' force, but the left wing, as soon as they closed and came in sight of the king, went over to the enemy, upon which Molon's whole force lost heart, while the confidence of the king's army was redoubled. Molon, aware of what had happened and already surrounded on every side, haunted by the tortures he would suffer if he were taken alive, put an end to his life, and all who had taken any part in the plot escaped each to his home and perished in a like manner. Neolaus, escaping from the battle to his brother Alexander in Persia, killed his mother and Molon's children and afterwards himself, persuading Alexander to follow his example. The king after plundering the enemy's camp ordered Molon's body to be crucified in the most conspicuous place in Media. This sentence was at once executed by the officials charged with it, who took the body to the Callonitis and crucified it at the foot of the ascent to Mount Zagrus. After this Antiochus rebuked the rebel troops at some length, and then
σας διὰ πλειόνων καὶ δόυς δεξιάν συνέστησε τοὺς ἀποκομισθέντας αὐτοὺς εἰς Μηδίαν καὶ κατα-
στησμένοις τὰ κατὰ τὴν χώραν. αὐτὸς δὲ καταβᾶς εἰς Σελεύκειαν καθίστατο τὰ κατὰ τὰς
pέριξ σατραπείας, ἥμερως χρώμενος πᾶσι καὶ
νουνεχῶς. Ἐρμείας δὲ τηρῶν τὴν αὐτοῦ προαί-
ρεσιν ἐπέφερε μὲν αἵτια τοῖς ἐν τῇ Σελεύκεια
cαὶ χιλίοις ἐξημίου ταλάντοις τὴν πόλιν, ἐγυγάδευν
dὲ τοὺς καλομένους Ἀδεγάνας, ἀκρωτηριάζων
dὲ καὶ φονεύων καὶ στρεβλῶν πολλοὺς διέφθειρε
tῶν Σελεύκεων. ἂ μόλις βασιλεύσ, τὰ μὲν πείθων
tὸν Ἐρμείαν, ἃ δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ γνώμην
χειρίζων, τέλος ἔπραυνε καὶ κατέστησε τὴν πόλιν,
ἐκατὸν καὶ πεντήκοντα τάλαντα μόνον ἐπιτίμων
αὐτοὺς πραξάμενος τῆς ἀγνοίας. ταῦτα δὲ δι-
ουκῆσας Διογένῃ μὲν στρατηγὸν ἀπέλυπε Μηδίας,
Ἀπολλόδωρον δὲ τῆς Σουσιανῆς. Τύχωνα δὲ τὸν
ἀρχιγραμματέα τῆς δυνάμεως στρατηγὸν ἐπὶ τοὺς
κατὰ τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν θάλασσαν τόπους ἐξαπέστειλε.

Τὰ μὲν οὖν κατὰ τὴν Μόλωνος ἀπόστασιν καὶ
tὸ διὰ ταῦτα γενόμενον κίνημα περὶ τὰς ἄνω
σατραπείας τουαύτης ἐτυχε διορθώσεως καὶ κατα-
55 στάσεως: ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἐπαρθεὶς τῷ γεγονότι
προτερήματι, καὶ βουλόμενος ἀναταθῆναι καὶ
καταπλήξασθαι τοὺς ὑπερκειμένους ταῖς ἑαυτοῦ
σατραπείας καὶ συνορεύσας δυνάστας τῶν βαρ-
βάρων, ἕνα μήτε συγχρονεῖν μήτε συμπολεμεῖν
τολμῆσι τοῦ ἀποστάταις αὐτοῦ γνωμένοις, ἐπε-
βάλεστο στρατεύειν ἄτρι αὐτοὺς, καὶ πρῶτον ἐπὶ
2 τὸν Ἀρταβαζάννην, ὃς ἐδόκει βαρύτατος εἶναι καὶ
πρακτικῶτατος τῶν δυναστῶν, δεσπόζεων δὲ καὶ
τῶν Σατραπείων καλομένων καὶ τῶν τούτοις
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giving them his right hand in sign of pardon charged certain officers with the task of conducting them back to Media and setting affairs there in order. He himself went down to Seleucia and restored order to the neighbouring satrapies, treating all offenders with mildness and wisdom. But Hermeias, keeping up his character for harshness, brought accusations against the people of Seleucia and fined the city a thousand talents; sent the magistrates called Adeiganes into exile and destroyed many of the Seleucians by mutilation, the sword, or the rack. It was with much difficulty that the king, by talking over Hermeias or by taking matters into his own hands, at length succeeded in quieting and pacifying the citizens, imposing a fine of only a hundred and fifty talents in punishment for their offence. After arranging these matters he left Diogenes in command of Media and Apollodorus of Susiana, and sent Tychon, the chief secretary of the army, to take the command of the Persian gulf province.

Thus were the rebellion of Molon and the consequent rising in the upper satrapies suppressed and quieted. 55. Elated by his success and wishing to overawe and intimidate the barbarous princes whose dominions bordered on and lay beyond his own provinces, so as to prevent their furnishing anyone who rebelled against him with supplies or armed assistance, the king decided to march against them and in the first place against Artabazanes, who was considered the most important and energetic of these potentates, being master of the so-called
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3 συντερμονούντων ἑθνών. Ἐρμείας δὲ κατὰ τοὺς καιροὺς τούτους ἐδεδείξε σὲ τὴν εἰς τοὺς ἀνω τόπους στρατεύει διὰ τὴν κίνδυνον, ὑρέγετο δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς πρόθεσιν τῆς ἐπὶ τὸν Πτολε-

μαίον στρατεύεις. οὐ μὴν ἄλλα προσπέσοντος ύδων

γεγονέναι τῷ βασιλεί, νομίσας καὶ παθεῖν ἄν
ti τὸν Ἀντίοχον ἐν τοῖς ἀνω τόποις ὑπὸ τῶν

βαρβάρων καὶ παραδοῦναι καιροῦ αὐτῷ πρὸς

ἐπαναίρεσιν, συγκατέθετο τῇ στρατείᾳ, πεπειμέ-

νος, ἔαν ἐπανέλθησαι τὸν Ἀντίοχον, ἐπιτροπεύων

tοῦ παιδίου κύριος ἔσεσθαι τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτὸς.

6 κρυβέντων δὲ τούτων ὑπερβαλόντες τὸν Ζάγρον

7 ἐνέβαλον εἰς τὴν Ἀρταβαζάνου χώραν, ἢ παρά-

κείται μὲν τῇ Μηδία, διειργοῦσις αὐτήν τῆς ἀνὰ

μέσον κειμένης ὁρεινῆς, ὑπέρκειται δ' αὐτῆς τινὰ

μέρη τοῦ Πόντου κατὰ τοὺς ὑπὲρ τὸν Φάσιν
tόπους, συνάπτει δὲ πρὸς τὴν Ἰρκανίαν θάλατταν,

8 ἔχει δὲ πλῆθος ἀνδρῶν ἀλκίμων καὶ μάλλον ἱππέων,

αὐτάρκης δὲ καὶ ταῖς λουπαῖς ἐστὶ ταῖς πρὸς

9 τὸν πόλεμον παρασκευαίς. ταύτην δὲ συμβαίνει
tὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ Περσῶν ἐτὶ διατηρεῖσθαι, παρ-

10 οραθείσης αὐτῆς ἐν τοῖς κατ’ Ἀλέξανδρον καιροῖς.

ὁ δ' Ἀρταβαζάνης καταπλαγεῖς τὴν ἐφόδου τοῦ

βασιλέως, καὶ μάλιστα διὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν (τελέως

γὰρ ἥδη γηραιός ἦν), εἴξας τοῖς παρούσιν ἐποιή-

σατο συνθήκας εὐδοκομομένας Ἀντίοχω.

56 Τούτων δὲ κυρωθέντων Ἀπολλοφάνης ὁ ἱατρὸς,

ἀγαπώμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως διαφερόντως,

θεωρῶν τὸν Ἐρμείαν οὐκέτι φέροντα κατὰ σχῆμα

tὴν ἐξουσίαν, ἔγωγε νέαν καὶ περὶ τοῦ βασιλέως,

tὸ δὲ πλεῖον ὑπώπτευε καὶ κατάφοβοι ἤν ὑπὲρ

2 τῶν καθ’ αὐτόν. διὸ λαβὼν καιρὸν προσφέρει

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satrapies and the tribes on their borders. But Hermeias at that time was afraid of an expedition into the interior owing to its danger and continued to yearn for the campaign against Ptolemy which he had originally planned. When, however, the news came that a son had been born to Antiochus, thinking that possibly in the interior Antiochus might meet with some misfortune at the hands of the barbarians and give him an opportunity of compassing his death, he gave his consent to the expedition, feeling sure that if he could put Antiochus out of the way he would be himself the child's guardian and master of the kingdom. The campaign once decided on, they crossed the river Zagrus into the territory of Artabazanes which borders on Media, from which it is separated by the intervening chain of mountains. Above it lies that part of Pontus which descends to the river Phasis. It reaches as far as the Caspian Sea and has a large and warlike population chiefly mounted, while its natural resources provide every kind of warlike material. The principality still remains under Persian rule, having been overlooked in the time of Alexander. Artabazanes, terror-struck at the king's attack, chiefly owing to his years as he was quite an old man, yielded to circumstances and made terms which satisfied Antiochus.

56. After the ratification of this treaty Apollophanes, the king's physician and a great favourite of his, seeing that Hermeias no longer put any restraint on his arbitrary exercise of authority, became anxious for the king's safety and was still more suspicious and fearful on his own account. So when he found a suitable occasion he spoke to
Τῶ βασιλεί λόγων, παρακάλων μὴ βραθμεῖν μηδ’ ἀνυπονότητον εἶναι τῆς Ἑρμείου τόλμης, μηδ’ ἐως τούτου περιμεῖναι μέχρις ἂν οὐ τοῖς ὑμοίουσιν τάδελφῳ παλαιᾷ συμπτώμασιν. ἀπέχειν δ’ οὔ μακράν αὐτῶν ἔφη τοῦ κυνδύνου, δὶό προσέχειν ἥξιον καὶ βοηθεῖν κατὰ σπουδὴν αὐτῶ τε καὶ τοῖς φίλοις. τοῦ δ’ Ἀντίοχον πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀνθρομολογημένου διότι καὶ δυσαρεστεῖ καὶ φοβεῖται τὸν Ἑρμείαν, ἐκείνω δὲ μεγάλην χάριν ἔχειν φήσαντος ἐπὶ τῶ κηδεμονικῶς τετολμηκέναι περὶ τούτων εἰπεῖν πρὸς αὐτὸν, ὁ μὲν Ἀπολλοφάνης εὐθαρσῆς ἐγένετο τῷ δοκεῖν μὴ διεφεύγει τῆς αἱρέσεως καὶ διαλήψεως τῆς τοῦ βασιλείας, ὁ δ’ Ἀντίοχος ἥξιον τὸν Ἀπολλοφάνην συνεπιλαβέσθαι μὴ μόνον τοῖς λόγοις ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις τῆς αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τῶν φίλων σωτηρίας. τοῦ δὲ πρὸς πάν ἔτοιμως ἔχειν φήσαντος, συμφρονήσαντες μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ προβαλόμενοι σκῆψιν ὡς σκοτωμάτων τινῶν ἐπιπεπτωκότων τῷ βασιλείᾳ, τὴν μὲν θεραπεῖαν ἀπέλυσαν ἐπὶ τινας ἡμέρας καὶ τοὺς εἴθισεν παρευτακτεῖν, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς φίλους ἐλαβον ἐξουσίαν, οἶς βούλουντο, κατ’ ἱδίαν χρηματίζειν διὰ τὴν τῆς ἐπισκέψεως πρόβασιν. ἐν οἷς καιρῶ κατασκευασάμενοι τοὺς ἐπιτηδείους πρὸς τὴν πράξειν, πάντων ἔτοιμως αὐτοῖς συνυπακούοντον διὰ τὸ πρὸς τὸν Ἑρμείαν μῖσος, ἐγίνοντο πρὸς τὸ συντελεῖν τὴν ἐπιβολὴν. φασκόντων δὲ δεῖν τῶν ἰατρῶν ἀμα τῷ φωτὶ ποιεῖσθαι τοὺς περιπάτους ὑπὸ τὸ ψύχος τὸν Ἀντίοχον, ὁ μὲν Ἑρμείας ἦκε πρὸς τὸν ταχθέντα καιρόν, ἀμα δὲ τούτω καὶ τῶν φίλων οἱ συνειδότες τὴν πράξιν, οἵ δὲ λοιποὶ καθυστέρουν διὰ τὸ πολὺ παρηλλάχθαι.
the king, entreating him not to neglect the matter or shut his eyes to Hermeias' unscrupulousness and wait until he found himself face to face with a disaster such as befel his brother. "And the danger," he said, "is not so very remote." He begged him therefore to give heed to it and lose no time in taking measures to save himself and his friends. Upon Antiochus confessing that he also disliked and suspected Hermeias, and assuring him that he was most grateful to him for having taken upon himself to speak to him on the subject with such affectionate regard, Apollonophanes was much encouraged by finding that he had not misestimated the king's sentiment and opinion, while Antiochus begged Apollonophanes not to confine his help to words but to take practical steps to assure the safety of himself and his friends. Apollonophanes said he was ready to do anything in the world, and after this they agreed on a plan. Pretending that the king was attacked by fits of dizziness, he and his physicians relieved of their functions for a few days his usual civil and military attendants, but they were themselves enabled to admit any of their friends to interviews under the pretence of medical attendance. During these days they prepared suitable persons for the work in hand, all readily complying owing to their detestation of Hermeias, and now they set themselves to execute their design. The doctors having ordered early walks in the cool of the morning for the king, Hermeias came at the appointed hour accompanied by those of the king's friends who were privy to the plot, the rest being behindhand as the
12 καίρον. διόπερ ἀποσπάσαντες αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς στρατοπεδείας εἷς τινα τόπον ἔρημον, καὶ ταῦτα μικρὸν ἀπονεύσαντο τοῦ βασιλέως ὡς ἐπί τι τῶν ἀναγκαίων, ἔξεκέντησαν. Ἦρμειας μὲν οὖν τούτω τῷ τρόπῳ μετήλλαξε τὸν βίον, οὐδεμίαν ὑποσχών τιμωρίαν ἀξίαν τῶν αὐτῶ πεπραγμένων· 14 ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἀπολυθεὶς φόβου καὶ δυσχρηστίας πολλῆς ἐπανήγει ποιούμενος τὴν πορείαν ὡς ἐπ’ οἴκον, πάντων τῶν κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἀποδεχομένων τὰς τε πράξεις αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰς ἐπιβολὰς, καὶ μᾶλιστα κατὰ τὴν δίοδον ἐπισημαινομένων τὴν Ἦρμείου 15 μετάστασιν. ἐν δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὴν Ἀπάμειαν αἰ μὲν γυναῖκες τὴν γυναίκα τὴν Ἦρμείου κατέλευσαν, οἱ δὲ παιδεῖς τοὺς νεῖς.

57 Ἦρμειος δὲ παραγενόμενος εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν, καὶ διαφεῖς τὰς δυνάμεις εἰς παραχειρίαν, 2 διεπέμπτο πρὸς τὸν Ἀχαιόν, ἐγκαλῶν καὶ διαμαρτυρόμενος πρῶτον μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ τετολμηκέναι διάδημα περιθέσθαι καὶ βασιλεά χρηματίζειν, δεύτερον δὲ προλέγων ὡς οὐ λανθάνει κοινοπραγῶν Πτολεμαιῶν καὶ καθόλου πλείω τοῦ δέντος κυνούμενοι. ὃ γὰρ Ἀχαιός, καθ’ οὗς καίρους ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀρταβάζανην ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐστράτευε, πεισθεὶς καὶ παθεῖν ἀν τι τὸν Ἦρμειον, καὶ μὴ παθόντος 3 ἐλπίσας διὰ τὸ μῆκος τῆς ἀποστάσεως φθάσεων ἐμβαλὼν εἰς Συρίαν καὶ συνεργοῖς χρησάμενος Κυρρήστας τοῦς ἀποστάτας γεγονόσι τοῦ βασιλέως ταχέως ἀν κρατήσαι τῶν κατὰ τὴν βασιλείαν πραγμάτων, ὑμησθε μετὰ πᾶσης δυνάμεως ἐκ 4 Ἀλεξίας. παραγενόμενος δ’ εἰς Δαοδίκειαν τὴν ἐν Φρυγία διαδημά τε περιέθετο καὶ βασιλεύς 140
king took the air at a far earlier hour than usual. So they drew Hermeias away from the camp till they reached a solitary spot and then upon the king's retiring for a short distance as if for some necessary occasion, they stabbed Hermeias with their poniards. So perished Hermeias, meeting with a punishment by no means adequate to his crimes. Thus freed from a source of fear and constant embarrassment, the king set out on his march home, all in the country approving his actions and designs and bestowing during his progress the most hearty applause of all on the removal of Hermeias. The women in Apamea at this time stoned the wife of Hermeias to death and the boys did the like to his sons.

57. Antiochus, on arriving at home, dismissed his troops for the winter. He now sent to Achaeus messages of remonstrance, protesting in the first place against his having ventured to assume the diadem and style himself king, and next informing him that it was no secret that he was acting in concert with Ptolemy and generally displaying an unwarranted activity. For Achaeus, while the king was absent on his expedition against Artabazanes, feeling sure that Antiochus would meet with some misfortune and even if this were not the case, hoping owing to the king's being so far away to invade Syria before his return and with the assistance of the Cyrrhestae, who were in revolt, to make himself master speedily of the whole kingdom, set out on his march from Lydia with a large army. On reaching Laodicea in Phrygia he assumed the diadem
τότε πρώτον ἐτόλμησε χρηματίζειν καὶ γράφειν πρὸς τὰς πόλεις, Γαρσνήριδος αὐτὸν τοῦ φυγάδος εἰς τούτο τὸ μέρος μάλιστα προτρεπαμένου. προάγον-
τος δὲ κατὰ τὸ συνεχὲς αὐτοῦ, καὶ σχεδὸν ἤδη
περὶ Λυκαινίαν ὄντος, αἱ δυνάμεις ἐστασίασαν
δυσαρεστούμεναι τῷ δοκεῖν γίνεσθαι τὴν στρατεύα
ἐπὶ τὸν κατὰ φύσιν αὐτῶν ἕξ ἀρχῆς ὑπάρχουντα
7 βασιλέα. διότι ἂν Ἀχαιῶν συνεὶς τὴν ἐν αὐτοῖς
dιατροπὴν τῆς μὲν προκειμένης ἐπιβολῆς ἀπέστη,
βουλόμενος δὲ πεισθῆναι τὰς δυνάμεις ὡς οὐδ' ἔξ ἀρχῆς ἐπεβάλετο στρατεύειν εἰς Συρίαν, ἐπιστρέ-

8 ψας πορθεὶ τὴν Πισιδικήν, καὶ πολλὰς ὀφελείας
παρασκευάσας τῷ στρατόπεδῳ, πάντας εὐνοὺς
αὐτῷ καὶ πεπιστευκότας ἔχων ἐπανήλθε πάλιν
 eius τὴν οἰκείαν.

58 ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς σαφῶς ἐκαστα τούτων ἐπεγνωκίζως,
πρὸς μὲν τὸν Ἀχαιῶν διεσέπημεν τὸ συνεχῶς ἀνατευιο-
μενος, καθάπερ ἐπάνω προεῖπον, πρὸς δὲ ταῖς
ἐπὶ τὸν Πτολεμαῖον παρασκευὰς ὅλος καὶ πᾶς
2 ἦν. διὸ καὶ συναθροίσας εἰς Ἀπάμειαν τὰς
dυνάμεις ὑπὸ τὴν ἐαρινὴν ὑραν, ἀνέδωκε τοῖς
φίλοις διαβούλιον πῶς χρηστέον ἐστὶ ταῖς εἰς

3 Κοῖλην Συρίαν εἰσβολαίς. πολλῶν δ' εἰς τούτο
τὸ μέρος ῥηθέντων καὶ περὶ τῶν τόπων καὶ περὶ
παρασκευῆς καὶ περὶ τῆς κατὰ τὴν ναυτικὴν
dύναμιν συνεργείας, Ἀπολλοφάνης, ὑπὲρ οἷς καὶ
πρότερον εἴπαμεν, τὸ γένος ὤν Σελευκεὺς, ἐπέτεμε

4 πᾶσας τὰς προειρημένας γνώμας. ἔβη γὰρ εὐθὲς
eἶναι τὸ Κοῖλης μὲν Συρίας ἐπιθυμεῖν καὶ στρα-
tευεῖν ἐπὶ ταύτην, Σελευκείαν δὲ περιορᾶν ὑπὸ
Πτολεμαίου κρατουμένην, ἀρχηγέτων οὖσαν καὶ
σχεδὸν ὡς εἰπεῖν ἐστίαν ὑπάρχουσαν τῆς αὐτῶν
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and for the first time ventured to take the title of king and use it in his letters to towns, taking this step chiefly at the instigation of the exile Garsyeris. He continued to advance and was nearly in Lycaonia when his troops mutinied, the cause of their dissatisfaction being that, as it now appeared, the expedition was against their original and natural king. Achaeus, therefore, when he was aware of their disaffection, abandoned his present enterprise and wishing to persuade the soldiers that from the outset he had had no intention of invading Syria, turned back and began to plunder Pisidia, and having thus provided his soldiers with plenty of booty and gained the goodwill and confidence of them all, returned to his own province.

58. The king, who was perfectly well informed about all these matters, continued, as I above stated, to remonstrate with Achaeus and at the same time devoted his whole attention to preparing for the war against Ptolemy. Accordingly, collecting his forces at Apamea in early spring, he summoned a council of his friends to advise as to the invasion of Coele-Syria. Many suggestions having been made in this respect about the nature of the country, about the preparations requisite and about the collaboration of the fleet, Apollophanes, a native of Seleucia, of whom I have already spoken, cut short all these expressions of opinion. For, as he said, it was foolish to covet Coele-Syria and invade that country while permitting the occupation by Ptolemy of Seleucia which was the capital seat and, one might almost say, the sacred hearth of their
5 δυναστείας. ἡν, χωρὶς τῆς αἰσχύνης ἡν περιποιεῖ
νὸν τῇ βασιλείᾳ φρουρουμένη διὰ τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ
βασιλέων, καὶ πρὸς πραγμάτων λόγον μεγίστος
6 ἐχεῖν καὶ καλλίστας ἀφορμᾶς. κρατουμένην μὲν
γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν μέγιστον ἐμπόδιον εἶναι
7 πρὸς πάσας αὐτοῖς τὰς ἐπιβολάς· οὐ γὰρ ἂν
ἐπινοῆσαι ἀεὶ προβαίνει, οὐκ ἐλάττονος δεῖσθαι
προνοίας καὶ φυλακῆς αὐτοῖς τοὺς οἰκείους τόπους
dιὰ τὸν ἀπὸ ταύτης φόβον τῆς ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους
8 παρασκευῆς. κρατηθείσαν γε μὴν οὐ μόνον ἐφή
δύνασθαι βεβαίως τηρεῖν τὴν οἰκείαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ
πρὸς τὰς ἀλλὰς ἐπινοίας καὶ προθέσεις καὶ κατὰ
естественнον καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν μεγάλα δύνασθαι συνεργεῖν
9 διὰ τὴν εὐκαιρίαν τοῦ τόπου. πεισθέντων δὲ
πάντων τοῖς λεγομένοις, ἔδοξε ταύτην πρῶτην
10 ἔζαιρεὶ τὴν πόλιν· συνεβαίνει γὰρ Σελεύκειαν ἐπὶ
tότε κατέχεσθαι φρουρᾶς ὑπὸ τῶν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου
βασιλέων ἐκ τῶν κατὰ τὸν Εὐεργέτην ἐπικληθέντα
11 Πτολεμαίων καρων, ἐν οἷς ἐκείνοις διὰ τὰ Βερενίκης
συμπώματα καὶ τὴν ὑπὲρ ἐκείνης ὅργην στρατεύ-
σας εἰς τοὺς κατὰ Συρίαν τόπους ἐγκρατῆς ἐγένετο
ταύτης τῆς πόλεως.

59 Οὐ μὴν ἀλλ᾽ Ἀντίοχος κριθέντων τούτων
Διογνήτῳ μὲν τῷ νααρχῷ παρήγγειλε πλεῖν ὡς
ἐπὶ τῆς Σελευκείας, αὐτὸς δ᾽ ἐκ τῆς Ἀπαμείας
δρμῆσας μετὰ τῆς στρατιᾶς, καὶ περὶ πέντε
σταδίους ἀποχῶν τῆς πόλεως, προσεσσατροπέ-
2 δευσε κατὰ τὸν ἐπιπόδρομον. Θεόδωτον δὲ τὸν
Ἡμιδλίου ζητήσασθείλε μετὰ τῆς ἀρμοζούσης δυνάμεως
ἐπὶ τοὺς κατὰ Κοίλῃ Συρίαν τόπους, κατα-
ληφόμενον τὰ στενὰ καὶ προκαθησώμενον ἁμα τῶν
3 αὐτοῦ πραγμάτων. τὴν δὲ τῆς Σελευκείας θέσιν
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empire. Apart from the disgrace inflicted on the kingdom by this city being garrisoned by the kings of Egypt, it was of first-class practical importance. "While held by the enemy" he said, "it is the greatest possible hindrance to all our enterprises; for in whatever direction we decide to advance, the precautions we have to take to protect our own country from the menace of this place give us just as much trouble as our preparations for attacking the enemy. Once, however, it is in our hands, not only will it securely protect our own country, but owing to its advantageous situation it will be of the greatest possible service for all our projects and undertakings by land and sea alike." All were convinced by these arguments, and it was decided to capture this city in the first place. For Seleucia had been garrisoned by the kings of Egypt ever since the time of Ptolemy Euergetes, when that prince, owing to his indignation at the murder of Berenice, invaded Syria and seized on this town.

59. As soon as this decision had been taken, Antiochus ordered his admiral Diognetus to sail to Seleucia, while he himself, leaving Apamea with his army, came and encamped at the hippodrome about five stades from the town. He sent off Theodotus Hemiolius with a sufficient force to Coele-Syria to occupy the narrow passage and protect him on that side. The situation of Seleucia and the nature of its
καὶ τὴν τῶν πέριξ τῶν ιδιότητα τοιαύτην έχειν
4 τὴν φύσιν συμβαίνει. κειμένης γὰρ αὐτῆς ἐπὶ
θαλάττῃ μεταξὺ Κιλικίας καὶ Φοινίκης, ὁρὸς
5 ἐπίκειται παμμέγεθες, ὁ καλοῦσι Κορυφαίον. ὃ
πρὸς μὲν τὴν ἀφ’ ἐσπέρας πλευρὰν προσκλύει τὸ
καταλήγον τοῦ πελάγους τοῦ μεταξὺ κειμένου
Κύπρου καὶ Φοινίκης, τοῖς δ’ ἀπὸ τῆς ἁγίας μέρεσι
ὑπέρκειται τῆς 'Αντιόχεων καὶ Σελευκείων χώρας.
6 ἔν δὲ τοῖς πρὸς μεσημβρίας αὐτοῦ κλίμασι τὴν
Σελευκείαν συμβαίνει κεῖσθαι, διεζευγμένην φάρ
ραγγι κοίλη καὶ δυσβάτω, καθήκουσαν μὲν καὶ
περικλωμένην ὡς ἐπὶ θαλατταν, κατὰ δὲ τὰ
πλείστα μέρη κρημνοῖς καὶ πέτραις ἀπορρώξι
7 περιεχομένην. ὑπὸ δὲ τὴν ἐπὶ θαλατταν αὐτῆς
νεώσαν πλευρὰν ἐν τοῖς ἐπιπέδοις τὰ τ’ ἐμπόρια
καὶ τὸ προάστειον κεῖται, διαφερόντως τετει
8 χυμένων. παραπλησίως δὲ καὶ τὸ σύμπαν τῆς
πόλεως κύτσος τείχεσι πολυτέλεσιν ἡσφαλίσσαι,
κεκόσμηται δὲ καὶ ναιοὶ καὶ ταῖς τῶν οἰκοδομη-
9 μάτων κατασκευαῖς ἑκπρεπῶς. πρόσβασιν δὲ μίαν
ἐχει κατὰ τὴν ἀπὸ θαλάττῆς πλευρὰν κλιμακωτὴν
καὶ χειροποιήτων, ἐγκλάμασι καὶ σκαλώμασι πυκνοῖς
10 καὶ συνεχέσι διειλημμένην. ὃ δὲ καλοῦμεν ὁ Ὁρὸν
tῆς ποταμὸς οὐ μακρὰν αὐτῆς ποιεῖται τὰς ἐκβολὰς,
ὅς τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ ρεύματος λαμβάνων ἀπὸ τῶν
κατὰ τὸν Λίβανον καὶ τὸν Ἀντιλίβανον τόπων,
καὶ διανύσας τὸ καλοῦμεν Ἀμύκης πεδίων, ἐπ’
αὐτὴν ἱκνεῖται τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν, δ’ ἦς φερόμενος,
11 καὶ πάσας ὑποδεχόμενος τὰς ἄνθρωπείας λύμας
diὰ τὸ πλῆθος τοῦ ρεύματος, τέλος οὐ μακρὰν τῆς
Σελευκείας ποιεῖται τὴν ἐκβολὴν εἰς τὸ προειρη-
μένον πέλαγος.
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surroundings are as follows. It lies on the sea between Cilicia and Phoenicia, and above it rises a very high mountain called Coryphaeum, washed on its western side by the extreme waters of the sea separating Cyprus from Phoenicia, but overlooking with its eastern slopes the territories of Antioch and Seleucia. Seleucia lies on its southern slope, separated from it by a deep and difficult ravine. The town descends in a series of broken terraces to the sea, and is surrounded on most sides by cliffs and precipitous rocks. On the level ground at the foot of the slope which descends towards the sea lies the business quarter and a suburb defended by very strong walls. The whole of the main city is similarly fortified by walls of very costly construction and is splendidly adorned with temples and other fine buildings. On the side looking to the sea it can only be approached by a flight of steps cut in the rock with frequent turns and twists all the way up. Not far from the town is the mouth of the river Orontes, which rising in the neighbourhood of Libanus and Antilibanus and traversing what is known as the plain of Amyce, passes through Antioch carrying off all the sewage of that town by the force of its current and finally falling into the Cyprian Sea near Seleucia. 147
60 Ὁ Ἀντίοχος δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον διεσπέρασεν πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιστάτας τῆς πόλεως, προτείνων χρήματα καὶ πλῆθος ἐλπίδων ἐφ’ ὧ παραλαβεῖν ἀνευρισκόμενος τὴν ἐκ τῶν ὅλων ἐφεστῶτας, ἐφθείρε τινας τῶν κατὰ μέρος ἡγεμόνων, οἷς πυστεύσας ἤτοιμαζέ τὴν δύναμιν ὡς κατὰ μὲν τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐπιστάσεως τόπου τοῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ ποιημένος τὰς προσβολὰς, κατὰ δὲ τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς ἡπείρου τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ 3 στρατοπέδου. διελθὼν οὖν εἰς τρία μέρη τῆς δύναμις, καὶ παρακάλεσας τὰ πρέποντα τῷ καιρῷ, καὶ δωρεὰς μεγάλας καὶ στεφάνους ἐπὶ ἀνδραγαθία καὶ τοῖς ἱδιώτασι καὶ τοῖς ἡγεμόνι προκηρύξας, 4 Ζειζίδι μὲν καὶ τοῖς μετ’ αὐτοῦ παρέδωκε τοὺς κατὰ τὴν ἐπ’ Ὁ Ἀντίοχειαν φέρονθαι πύλην τόπους, Ἐρμογένει δὲ τοὺς κατὰ τὸ Διοσκοῦριον, Ὁ Ἀρδυὶ δὲ καὶ Διογνήτῳ τάς κατὰ τὸ νεώριον καὶ τὸ 5 προάστειον ἐπέτρεψε προσβολὰς διὰ τὸ πρὸς τοὺς ἐνδοθεὶς αὐτῷ τοιαύτας τωσ ἐγενέναι συνθήκας, ὡς ἐὰν κρατήσῃ τὸ προάστειόν μετὰ βίας, οὕτως 6 ἐγκειρησθησόμενης αὐτῷ καὶ τῆς πόλεως. ἀποδοθέντος δὲ τοῦ συνθήματος πάντας ἀμα καὶ πανταχόθεν ἐνεργόν ἐποιοῦντο καὶ βίαιον τὴν προσβολήν· τομηρότατα μέντοι προσέβαλον οἱ περὶ τοῦ Ἅρδυν καὶ Διογνήτου διὰ τὸ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους 7 τόπους, εἰ μὴ τετραποδῆτι πρόπον τινὰ προσπλεκόμενον βιάζοντο, τὴν γε διὰ τῶν κλημάκων προσβολῆν μὴ προσέσθαι παράπαν, τὰ δὲ νεώρια καὶ τὸ προάστειον ἐπιδέχεσθαι τὴν προσφορὰν καὶ στάσιν καὶ πρόσθεσιν τῶν κλημάκων ἅσφαλῶς. 8 διὸ τῶν μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ τοῖς νεώριοις τῶν δὲ περὶ τὸν Ὁ Ἀρδυν τοῖς προάστειοις προσηρευκότων

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60. Antiochus first of all sent messages to those in charge of the town, offering them money and promising all kinds of rewards if he were put in possession of the place without fighting. But being unable to persuade the officers in command, he corrupted some of their subordinates, and relying on their assistance he got his forces ready, intending to deliver the attack on the seaward side with the men of his fleet and on the land side with his army. He divided his forces into three parts, and after addressing them in terms suitable to the occasion, and promising both the private soldiers and officers great rewards and crowns for valour, he stationed Zeuxis and his division outside the gate leading to Antioch, Hermogenes was posted near the Dioscurium, and the task of attacking the port and suburb was entrusted to Ardys and Diognetus, since an agreement had been come to with the king's partisans within, that if he could take the suburb by storm, the town would be delivered up to him. On the signal being given, a vigorous and powerful assault was simultaneously delivered from all sides, but the men under Ardys and Diognetus attacked with the greatest dash, because, while at the other points an assault by scaling-ladders was altogether out of the question, unless the men could scramble up clinging more or less on all fours to the face of the cliff, yet ladders could safely be brought up and erected against the walls of the port and suburb. So when the men from the fleet set up their ladders and made a determined attack on the port, and the force under Ardys in like manner assaulted the
τὰς κλίμακας καὶ βιαζομένων εὐρώστως, τῶν δ' ἐκ τῆς πόλεως οὐ δυναμένων τούτοις βοηθεῖν διὰ τὸ κατὰ πάντα τόπον περιστάναι τὸ δεινὸν, ταχέως συνεβή τὸ προαύστειν ὑποχείριον γενέσθαι
9 τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἀρδυν. οὐ κρατηθέντος εὐθέως οἱ δυσθαρμένοι τῶν κατὰ μέρος ἰχνεμόνων, προστρέχοντες πρὸς τὸν Λεώντιον τὸν ἐπὶ τῶν ὄλων, ἐκπέμπειν ὄντος δεῖν καὶ τίθεσθαι τα πρὸς Ἀντίοχον πρὶν ἡ κατὰ κράτος ἀλώναι τὴν πόλιν.
10 ὁ δὲ Λεώντιος ἁγιοῦν μὲν τὴν διαφθορὰν τῶν ἰχνεμόνων, καταπεπληγμένους δὲ τὴν διατροπὴν αὐτῶν, ἐξέφευγε τοὺς θησομένους τὰς πίστεις ύπὲρ τῆς τῶν εν τῇ πόλει πάντων ἀσφάλειας πρὸς τὸν Ἀντίοχον. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς δεξάμενος τὴν ἐντεῦξιν συνεχώρησε δώσειν τοῖς ἐλευθέροις τὴν ἀσφάλειαν· οὔτοι δὲ ἦσαν εἰς ἔξοχοθεῖν.
61 παραλαβὼν δὲ τὴν πόλιν οὖ μόνον ἐφείσατο τῶν ἐλευθέρων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς πεφευγότας τῶν Σελευκείων καταγαγὼν τὴν τε πολιτείαν αὐτοῖς ἀπέδωκε καὶ τὰς ὄντικας· ἦσφαλίσατο δὲ φυλακαίς τὸν τε λιμένα καὶ τὴν ἀκραίαν.
2 "Επὶ δὲ περὶ ταύτα διατρίβοντος αὐτοῦ, προσπεσόντων παρὰ Θεοδότου γραμμάτων ἐν οἷς αὐτὸν ἐκάλει κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐγχειρίζων τὰ κατὰ Κοίλην Συρίαν, πολλῆς ἀπορίας ἦν καὶ δυσχρηστίας πλήρης ύπὲρ τοῦ τί πρακτεύων καὶ πῶς χρηστέον
3 ἐστὶ τοῖς προσαγγελλομένοις. ὁ δὲ Θεοδότος ὁν τὸ γένος Ἀιτωλὸς καὶ μεγάλας παρεσχημένος τῇ Πτολεμαίου βασιλείᾳ χρείας, καθάπερ ἐπάνω προείπον, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις οὐχ οἷον χάριτος ἦξωμένους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ βίῳ κεκυκλωκότι καθο ὁν καιροὺς Ἀντίοχος ἐποιεῖτο τὴν ἐπὶ Μόλωνα
4 150
suburb, and no help could come from the city, as all points were threatened at once, the suburb very soon fell into the hands of Ardys. Once it was taken, the subordinate officers who had been corrupted rushed to the commander Leontius advising him to come to terms with Antiochus before the town had been stormed. Leontius, ignorant as he was of the treachery of his officers, but much alarmed by their loss of heart, sent out commissioners to Antiochus to treat for the safety of all in the city. 61. The king received them and agreed to spare the lives of all the free population, numbering about six thousand, When put in possession of the city he not only spared the free inhabitants, but brought home the Seleucian exiles and restored to them their civic rights and their property. He placed garrisons in the port and citadel.

On a letter reaching him while thus occupied from Theodotus, inviting him to come at once to Coele-Syria, which he was ready to put in his hands, he was much embarrassed and much at a loss to know what to do and how to treat the communication. Theodotus, an Aetolian by birth, had, as I previously mentioned, rendered great services to Ptolemy’s kingdom, but in return for them had not only received no thanks, but had been in danger of his life at the time of Antiochus’ campaign against
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5 strateîan, tōte katagynwkokws toû basilews kai
diþpiosthikws toûs peri tûn auîñ, katalabômênos
diâ meîn autû Ptolemaïda diâ de Panaîtôlou
6 Tûrôn, èkàleî tôn 'Antîoxôn metà spoudhês. ò de
basileûs kai tâs èpî tôn 'Achaid'é epîbolâs ùper-
thèmenos kai tâlla pânta pàrêrga poimhâmênos
ânèxeûze metà têîs dûnamwos, poioûmênos tîn
7 pôrêian h kai prôsèthn. dielbhn de tôn èpîkaloû-
menos auînãa Maîsâván, katastratopèdêse peri
tà stenâ tà kata Gêrра pròs tê metaxû keîmîn
8 lîmnh. pûnathanîmênos de Nikôlao eston parâ Ptole-
maîou strathtgon prôskathôshai têî Ptolemaîdi
polôrkoûnta tòn Theôdoton, tà meîn barêa tûn
ôplwv ãpêlêiêste prôstâzax tûs ãgoumênoi polô-
lorkeîn tûs Braîchous, tû keîmênon èpî têîs lîmnhs
eîaî têîs parôdou ãwriôn, autûs de tûs euziônow
ânalabhîn prôhîge, boulîmênos lîsai tîn polior-
kîan. ò de Nikôlaos prôteron ãdê pêtusmênos
têîn toû basilewos parousîan autûs meîn ãnêxhôrshê, tûs
de peri Lagonàron tòn Krîtha kai Dôrûmênth
 tôn Autwlon èxapéstêile prôkatalhûmênon tà
10 stenâ tà peri Bêrîntôn- òiîs prosoûlûv ò basileûs
êx èfôdoi kai trêplâmênos èpîstratopèdês têîs
62 stenôîs. prosoadeâmênos de kai têîn loîthn dûnamn
êntâthâ, kai parakalêsan tà prêponta tais
prokeîmênais epîbolaios, metà taûta prôghagê
metà pâssth têîs dûnamwos, eûtharshê kai meteîrophos
2 ãn prôs tâs ùpograîmêvnes ãltidhê. âpanth-
sântwv de tûn peri tòn Theôdoton kai Panaîtôlou
autô kai tûn ãma toûtous filwn, âpodeadeâmênoi
toûtous filanðrîwos pârelabe têîn tê Tûrôn
kai Ptolemaîda kai tâs en taûtau parakseuvâs,
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Molon. He now, being disgusted with the king and mistrusting the courtiers, had himself seized on Ptolemais and sent Panaetolus to seize on Tyre, and he urgently invited Antiochus to come. The king, putting off his expedition against Achaeus and treating all other matters as of secondary importance, advanced with his army, marching by the same route as on the former occasion. Passing through the defile called Marsyas, he encamped at the narrow passage near Gerra by the lake that lies in the middle. Learning that Ptolemy's general Nicolaus was before Ptolemais besieging Theodotus there, he left his heavy-armed troops behind, giving the commanders orders to besiege Brochi, the place that lies on the lake and commands the passage, while he himself advanced accompanied by the light-armed troops, with the object of raising the siege of Ptolemais. But Nicolaus, who had heard of the king's arrival, left the neighbourhood himself, but sent Lagoras the Cretan and Dorymenes the Aetolian to occupy the pass near Berytus. The king assaulted their position, put them to flight and encamped himself close to the pass. 62. There he waited until the arrival of the rest of his forces, and then after addressing his men in such terms as his designs required, advanced with the whole army, being now confident of success and eagerly anticipating the realization of his hopes. On Theodotus, Panaetolus, and their friends meeting him, he received them courteously and took possession of Tyre, Ptolemais, and the material of war in these places, including
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3 en ais 

4 Δυπνήτω παρέδωκε τῷ ναυάρχῳ προσπεσόντος 

5 τὰ πότιμα τῶν υδάτων ἀμφατείς, τῆς μὲν ἐπὶ 

6 πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπάγεσθαι. τῶν δὲ πόλεων αἱ μὲν 

7 Οὶ δὲ περὶ τὸν Πτολεμαίον τοῦ μὲν ἐκ χειρὸς 

8 εἰχον διὰ τὴν ἀδυναμίαν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον γὰρ αὐτοῖς 

9 πρὸς τὸ παρόν. ἐβουλεύσαντο γὰρ γίνεσθαι μὲν 

10 αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ τοῦ Πτολεμαίου διαλήψει αὐτὴ δ' ἦν 

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forty ships, twenty of them decked vessels admirably equipped, none with less than four banks of oars, and the remainder triremes, biremes, and pinnaces. These he handed over to his admiral Diognetus, and on news reaching him that Ptolemy had come out to Memphis and that all his forces were collected at Pelusium, where they were opening the sluices and filling up the wells of drinking water, he abandoned his project of attacking Pelusium, and visiting one city after another attempted to gain them either by force or by persuasion. The minor cities were alarmed by his approach and went over to him, but those which relied on their defensive resources and natural strength held out, and he was compelled to waste his time in sitting down before them and besieging them.

Ptolemy whose obvious duty it was to march to the help of his dominions, attacked as they had been in such flagrant defiance of treaties, was too weak to entertain any such project, so completely had all military preparations been neglected. 63. At length, however, Agathocles and Sosibius, who were then the king's chief ministers, took counsel together and decided on the only course possible under present circumstances. For they resolved to occupy themselves with preparations for war, but in the meanwhile by negotiations to make Antiochus relax his activity, pretending to fortify him in the opinion of Ptolemy he had all along entertained, which was that he would not venture to fight, but would by overtures and through his friends attempt to reason with him and
ἀποστήναι τῶν κατὰ Κοίλην Συρίαν τόπων.
4 κριθέντων δὲ τούτων οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἅγαθοκλέα καὶ Ἦσσίμιου ἐπὶ τούτῳ τὸ μέρος ταχθέντες ἐξεπεμπτον
5 ἐπιμελῶς τὰς προσβείας πρὸς τὸν Ἀντίοχον. ἀµὰ δὲ διαπεµψάµενοι πρὸς τε Ῥοδίους καὶ Βυζάντιος καὶ Κυζικηνοῦς, σὺν δὲ τούτοις Αἰτωλοῦς, ἐπεσπά-
6 σαντο προσβείας ἐπὶ τὰς διαλύσεις, αἰ καὶ παραγενό-
µενα µεγάλας αὐτοῖς ἐδοσαν ἀφορµᾶς, διαπρε-
σβευόµεναι πρὸς ἀµφιτέρους τοὺς βασιλεῖς, εἰς τὸ
λαβεῖν ἀναστροφὴν καὶ χρόνον πρὸς τὰς τοῦ πολέµου
7 παρασκευάς. ταῦταις τε δὴ κατὰ τὸ συνεχές
ἐχρηµάτιζον ἐν τῇ Μέµφιε προκαθήµενοι, παραπλη-
σίως δὲ καὶ τὰς παρὰ τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἀντίοχον
ἀπεδέχοντο, φιλανθρώπως ποιούµενοι τὰς ἀπαντή-
8 σεις. ἀνεκαλοῦντο δὲ καὶ συνήθροιζον εἰς τὴν
Ἀλεξάνδρειαν τοὺς µισθοφόρους τοὺς ἐν ταῖς
9 ἔξω πόλεσιν ὑπ' αὐτῶν µισθοδοτουµένους. ἐξαπε-
στέλλον δὲ καὶ ἔνωλόγους, καὶ παρασκεύαζον τοῖς
προὐπάρχονι καὶ τοῖς παραγινοµένοις τὰς σιταρ-
χίας. ὦσαύτως δὲ καὶ περὶ τὴν λουτὴν εὐγύνοντο
παρασκευὴν, ἀνὰ µέρος καὶ συνεχῶς διατρέχοντες
εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν, ἵνα µηδὲν ἐλλιπῆ τῶν
10 χορηγιῶν πρὸς τὰς προκειµένας ἐπιβολάς. τὴν
dὲ περὶ τὰ ὀπλα κατασκευὴν καὶ τὴν τῶν ἄνδρῶν
ἐκλογὴν καὶ διαίρεσιν Ἐχεκράτει τῷ Θετταλῷ καὶ
12 Φοξίδα τῷ Μελιταιεῖ παρέδοσαν, ἀµα δὲ τούτοις
Εὐρυλόχω τῷ Μάγνητι καὶ Σωκράτει τῷ Βοιωτίῳ.
13 σὺν οἷς ἦν καὶ Κυνοπίας Ἀλλαριώτης. εὐκαιρότατα
γὰρ δὴ τούτων ἐπελάβοντο τῶν ἄνδρῶν, οίτους
ἐτὶ Δηµητρίῳ καὶ Ἀντιγόνῳ συνατρευόµενοι κατὰ
ποσὸν ἐννοιαν εἰχον τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ καθόλου τῆς
14 ἐν τοῖς υπαίθροις χρείας. οὕτω δὲ παραλαβόντες
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persuade him to evacuate Coele-Syria. On arriving at this decision Agathocles and Sosibius, who were charged with the conduct of the matter, began to communicate with Antiochus, and dispatching embassies at the same time to Rhodes, Byzantium, Cyzicus, and Aetolia invited these states to send missions to further the negotiations. The arrival of these missions, which went backwards and forwards between the two kings, gave them ample facilities for gaining time to prosecute at leisure their warlike preparations. Establishing themselves at Memphis they continued to receive these missions as well as Antiochus' own envoys, replying to all in conciliatory terms. Meanwhile they recalled and assembled at Alexandria the mercenaries in their employment in foreign parts, sending out recruiting officers also and getting ready provisions for the troops they already had and for those they were raising. They also attended to all other preparations, paying constant visits to Alexandria by turns to see that none of the supplies required for their purpose were wanting. The task of providing arms, selecting the men and organizing them they entrusted to Echecrates the Thessalian and Phoxidas of Melita, assisted by Eurylochus the Magnesian, Socrates the Boeotian, and Cnopias of Allaria. They were most well advised in availing themselves of the services of these men, who having served under Demetrius and Antigonus had some notion of the reality of war and of campaigning in general. Taking the troops in
τό πλήθος ἐνδεχομένως ἐχείριζον καὶ στρατιωτικῶς. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ κατὰ γένι καὶ καθ' ἐκχιδίαν διελόντες ἀνέδοσαν ἐκάστοις τοὺς ἐπιτηδείους καθοπλισμούς, ὀλγυρήσαντες τῶν πρότερον αὐτοῖς ὑπαρχόντων· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα συνέταξαν ὁικείως πρὸς τὴν παροῦσαν χρέιαν, λύσαντες τὰ συστήματα καὶ τὰς ἐκ τῶν πρότερον ὁμοναμάτων καταγραφάς. ἔξις δὲ τούτου ἐγήμναξον, συνήθεις ἐκάστους ποιοῦντες οὐ μόνον τοῖς παραγγέλμασιν ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῖς οἰκείαις τῶν καθοπλισμῶν κινήσεσιν. ἐποίησαν δὲ καὶ συναγωγὰς ἐπὶ τῶν ὁπλῶν καὶ παρακλήσεις, ἐν αἷς μεγίστην παρείχοντο χρέιαν ὁ Ανδρόμαχος Ἀσπένδιος καὶ Πολυκράτης Ἀργείος, προσφάτως μὲν ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος διαβεβηκότες, συνήθεις δὲ ἀκμὴν ὄντες ταῖς Ἑλληνικαῖς ορμαίς καὶ ταῖς ἐκάστων ἐπινοίαις, πρὸς δὲ τούτους ἐπιφάνεις ὑπάρχοντες ταῖς τε πατρίσι καὶ τοῖς βιοῖς, Πολυκράτης δὲ καὶ μάλλον διὰ τὴν τῆς οἰκίας ἀρχαιότητα καὶ διὰ τὴν Μνασιάδου τοῦ πατρὸς δόξαν ἐκ τῆς ἀθλῆσεως· οὐ καὶ κατ' ἰδίαν καὶ κοινῇ παρακαλοῦντες ὀρμήν καὶ προδημιάν ἐνειργάσαντο καὶ τοῖς ἄνθρωποις πρὸς τὸν μέλλοντα κίνδυνον. εἶχον δὲ καὶ τὰς ἡγεμονίας ἐκαστοῖς τῶν προερημέμενων ἄνδρῶν οἰκείας ταῖς ἰδίαις ἐμπειρίαις. Εὐρύλοχος μὲν γὰρ ὁ Μάγνης ἤγειτο σχεδὸν ἄνδρῶν τρισχιλίων τοῦ καλουμένου παρὰ τοῖς βασιλεύσιν ἀγνήματος. Σωκράτης δὲ ὁ Βοιώτιος πελταστὰς ὑπ' αὐτὸν εἰχε διαχυλίους. ὁ δὲ Ἀχαίος Φεκίδας καὶ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Ὀρασέων, σὺν δὲ τούτους Ἀνδρόμαχος ὁ Ασπένδιος, συνεγύμναζον μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ τῇ φάλαγγα καὶ τοὺς μισθοφόρους Ἑλλήνας, ἤγοιντο δὲ τῆς μὲν φάλαγγος Ἀνδρόμαχος καὶ Πτολεμαῖος.
hand they got them into shape by correct military methods. 64. First of all they divided them according to their ages and nationalities, and provided them in each case with suitable arms and accoutrements, paying no attention to the manner in which they had previously been armed; in the next place they organized them as the necessities of the present situation required, breaking up the old regiments and abolishing the existing paymasters' lists, and having effected this, they drilled them, accustoming them not only to the word of command, but to the correct manipulation of their weapons. They also held frequent reviews and addressed the men, great services in this respect being rendered by Andromachus of Aspendus and Polycrates of Argos, who had recently arrived from Greece and in whom the spirit of Hellenic martial ardour and fertility of resource was still fresh, while at the same time they were distinguished by their origin and by their wealth, and Polycrates more especially by the antiquity of his family and the reputation as an athlete of his father Mnasiades. These two officers, by addressing the men both in public and in private, inspired them with enthusiasm and eagerness for the coming battle. 65. All the men I have mentioned held commands suited to their particular attainments. Eurylochus of Magnesia commanded a body of about three thousand men known as the Royal Guard, Socrates the Boeotian had under him two thousand peltasts, Phoxidas the Achaean, Ptolemy the son of Thraseas, and Andromachus of Aspendus exercised together in one body the phalanx and the Greek mercenaries, the phalanx twenty-five thousand strong being under the command of Andromachus and
τῶν δὲ μισθοφόρων Φοξίδας, οὕσης τῆς μὲν φάλαγγος εἰς δισμυρίους καὶ πεντακισχιλίους,
5 τῶν δὲ μισθοφόρων εἰς ὀκτακισχιλίους. τοὺς δ' ἦπεις τοὺς μὲν περὶ τὴν αὐλήν, οὗτας εἰς ἐπτα-
κοσίους, Πολυκράτης παρεσκεύαζε καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ Διβύς, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐγχωρίους· καὶ τούτων ἤγειτο πάντων, περὶ τρισχιλίους ὄντων τὸν
6 ἀριθμὸν. τοὺς γε μὴν ἀπὸ τῆς 'Ελλάδος καὶ πάν
τῶν μισθοφόρων ἦπειν πλῆθος 'Ἐθεκράτης ὁ Θεταλὸς διαφερόντως ἀσκήσας, οὗτας εἰς δισχιλίους, μεγίστην ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ κινδύνου παρ-
7 ἐσχετο χρείαν. οὖνειος δ' ἤττον ἐσπευδὴ περὶ
toύς ὑφ' αὐτοῦ ταττομένους Κνωπίας 'Ἀλλαριώτης, ἔχων τοὺς μὲν πάντας Κρήτης εἰς τρισχιλίους,
9 αὐτῶν δὲ τούτων χιλίους Νεόκρητας, ἐφ' ὁν
8 ἐτετάχει Φίλωνα τὸν Κνώσσιον. καθώπλυσαν δὲ
kai Διβύας τρισχιλίους εἰς τὸν Μακεδονικὸν τρόπον,
10 ἐφ' ὁν 'Ἀμμώνιος ὁ Βαρκαίως. τὸ δὲ τῶν
Αἰγυπτίων πλῆθος ἦν μὲν εἰς δισμυρίους φαλαγ-
γίτας, ὑπετάττετο δὲ διὸ οὐσιβίων. συνήχθη δὲ καὶ
Θρακῶν καὶ Γαλατῶν πλῆθος, ἐκ μὲν τῶν κατοίκων
cai tōn ἐπιγόνων εἰς τετρακισχιλίους, οἱ δὲ προσ-
φάτως ἐπισυναχθέντες ἦσαν εἰς δισχιλίους, ὁν
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Η μὲν οὖν Πτολεμαῖον παρασκευαζομένη δύναμις
tω τε πλήθει καὶ ταῖς διαφοραῖς τοσαύτη καὶ τοιαύ-
11 τη της ἤν. Ἀντίοχος δὲ συνεσταμένος πολυρκίαν
περὶ τὴν καλομένην πόλιν Δουρα, καὶ περαίνειν
ουδὲν δυνάμενος διὰ τε τὴν ὀχυρώτητα τοῦ τόπου
καὶ τὰς τῶν περὶ τὸν Νικόλαιον παραβοθείας,
2 συνάπτοντος ἤδη τοῦ χειμῶνος συνεχώρησε ταῖς
παρὰ τοῦ Πτολεμαίου προσβείαις ἀνοχάς τε ποιή-
Ptolemy and the mercenaries, numbering eight thousand, under that of Phoxidas. Polycrates undertook the training of the cavalry of the guard, about seven hundred strong, and the Libyan and native Egyptian horse; all of whom, numbering about three thousand, were under his command. It was Echecrates the Thessalian who trained most admirably the cavalry from Greece and all the mercenary cavalry, and thus rendered most signal service in the battle itself, and Cnopias of Allaria too was second to none in the attention he paid to the force under him composed of three thousand Cretans, one thousand being Neocretans whom he placed under the command of Philo of Cnossus. They also armed in the Macedonian fashion three thousand Libyans under the command of Ammonius of Barce. The total native Egyptian force consisted of about twenty thousand heavy-armed men, and was commanded by Sosibius, and they had also collected a force of Thracians and Gauls, about four thousand of them from among settlers in Egypt and their descendants, and two thousand lately raised elsewhere. These were commanded by Dionysius the Thracian.

Such were the numbers and nature of the army that Ptolemy was preparing. 66. Antiochus, who in the meanwhile had opened the siege of a town called Dura, but made no progress with it owing to the strength of the tribes and the support given it by Nicolaus, now as winter was approaching agreed with Ptolemy's envoys to an armistice of
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σασθαι τετραμήνους καὶ περὶ τῶν ὅλων εἰς πάντα
3 συγκαταβῆσθαι τὰ φιλάνθρωπα. ταῦτα δ’ ἔπρατ-
τε πλεῖστον μὲν ἀπέχων τῆς ἀληθείας, σπεῦδων
δὲ μὴ πολὺν χρόνον ἀποστάσθαι τῶν οἰκείων
τόπων, ἀλλ’ ἐν τῇ Σελεύκειᾳ ποιήσασθαι τὴν τῶν
δυνάμεων παραχειμασίαν διὰ τὸ προφανῶς τὸν
’Αχαίον ἐπιβουλεύειν μὲν τοῖς σφητέροις πράγμασι,
συνεργεῖν δὲ τοῖς περὶ τὸν Πτολεμαῖον ὄμολο-
4 γουμένως. τούτων δὲ συγχωρηθέντων ’Αντίόχος
τοὺς μὲν προσβευτὰς ἐξέπεμψε, παραγγείλας δια-
σαφεῖν αὐτῷ τὴν ταχιστὴν τὰ δόξαντα τοῖς περὶ
tὸν Πτολεμαῖον καὶ συνάπτειν εἷς Σελεύκειαιν.
5 ἀπολιπόν δὲ φυλακὰς τὰς ἀρμοζούσας ἐν τοῖς
tόποις καὶ παραδοῦσι Θεοδότῳ τὴν τῶν ὅλων
ἐπιμέλειαν ἐπανῆλθε, καὶ παραγενόμενος εἰς τὴν
Σελεύκειαν διαφῆκε τὰς δυνάμεις εἷς παραχειμασίαν.
6 καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἦδη τοῦ μὲν γυμνάζεων τοὺς όχλους
ωλιγώρει, πεπεισμένος οὐ προσδεχόμεθα τὰ πράγ-
ματα μάχης διὰ τὸ τωὸν μὲν μερῶν Κοίλης Συρίας
καὶ Φοινίκης ἦδη κυριεύειν, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς
ἐλπίζειν ἐξ ἐκόντων καὶ διὰ λόγον παραλῆψεσθαί,
7 μὴ τολμῶντων τὸ παράπαν τῶν περὶ τὸν Πτολεμαίον
eὶς τὸν περὶ τῶν ὅλων συγκαταβαίνειν κινδύνων.
8 ταύτην δὲ συνέβαλε τὴν διάληψιν καὶ τοὺς πρε-
σβευτὰς ἔχειν διὰ τὸ τὰς ἐντεύξεις αὐτοῖς τὸν
Σωσίβιον ἐν τῇ Μέμφει προκαθήμενον φιλανθρώ-
9 ποὺς ποιεῖσθαι, τῶν δὲ κατὰ τὴν ’Αλεξάνδρειαν
παρασκευῶν μηδέποτε τοὺς διαπεμπομένους πρὸς
tὸν ’Αντίόχον ἐὰν αὐτόπτας γενέσθαι.

67 Πλὴν καὶ τὸτε τῶν πρεσβευών ἀφικομένων οἱ
2 μὲν περὶ τὸν Σωσίβιον ἑτοίμοι πρὸς πᾶν, ὡ δ’
’Αντίόχος μεγίστην ἐποιεῖτο σπουδὴν εἰς τὸ
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four months, engaging to consent to a settlement of the whole dispute on the most lenient terms. This was however very far from being the truth, but he was anxious not to be kept long away from his own dominions, but to winter with his army in Seleucia, as Achaeus was evidently plotting against him and undiscguisedly acting in concert with Ptolemy. This agreement having been made he dismissed the envoys, instructing them to meet him as soon as possible at Seleucia and communicate Ptolemy's decision to him. Leaving adequate garrisons in the district, and placing Theodotus in general charge of it, he took his departure, and on reaching Seleucia dismissed his forces to their winter quarters and henceforward neglected to exercise his troops, feeling sure he would have no need to fight a battle, since he was already master of some portions of Coele-Syria and Phoenicia and expected to obtain possession of the rest by diplomacy and with the consent of Ptolemy, who would never dare to risk a general battle. This was the opinion held also by his envoys, as Sosibius, who was established at Memphis, always received them in a friendly manner, and never allowed the envoys he himself kept sending to Antiochus to be eyewitnesses of the preparations in Alexandria.

67. But, to resume, when on this occasion the ambassadors returned to Sosibius they found him prepared for any emergency, while the chief object of Antiochus was to prove himself in his interviews
καθάπαξ καὶ τοῖς ὀπλοῖς καὶ τοῖς δικαίοις ἐπὶ τῶν ἐντεύξεων καταπεριέναι τῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας. 3 ἡ καὶ παραγενομένων τῶν πρεσβευτῶν εἰς τὴν Σελεύκειαν, καὶ συγκαταβαινόντων εἰς τοὺς κατὰ μέρος υπὲρ τῆς διαλύσεως λόγους κατὰ τὰς ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ τὸν Σωσίβιον ἐντολάς, ὃ μὲν βασιλεὺς τὸ μὲν ἄρτι γεγονὸς ἀτύχημα καὶ προφανὲς ἀδίκημα περὶ τῆς ἐνεστώσης καταλήψεως τῶν περὶ Κοίλην Συρίαν τῶν οὐ δεινὸν ἐνόμιζε κατὰ τὰς δικαιο- 5 λογίας, τὸ δὲ πλείστον οὐδὲν ἀδικῆματι κατηριθμεῖτο τὴν πρᾶξιν, ὡς καθηκόντων αὐτῷ τινῶν ἀντιπεποιημένος, τὴν δὲ πρώτην Ἀντιγόνου τοῦ μονοφθάλμου κατάληψιν καὶ τὴν Σελεύκου δυναστείαν τῶν τόπων τούτων ἑκείνας ἔφη κυρωτάτας εἶναι καὶ δικαιοτάτας κτήσεις, καθ’ ὃς αὐτοῖς, οὐ Πτολεμαῖοι, καθήκουν τὰ κατὰ Κοίλην Συρίαν. 7 καὶ γὰρ Πτολεμαῖον διαπολεμήσαι πρὸς Ἀντίγονον οὖχ αὐτῷ, Σελεύκῳ δὲ συγκατασκευάζοντα τὴν 8 ἄρχην τῶν τόπων τούτων. μάλιστα δὲ τὸ κοινὸν ἐπιέζει πάντων τῶν βασιλέων συγχώρημα, καθ’ ὃς καρούς Ἀντίγονον νικήσαντες καὶ βουλευό- μενοι κατὰ προαιρέσιν ὁμόσε πάντες, Κάσσανδρος Λυσίμαχος Σελεύκος, ἔκρυμαν Σελεύκου τὴν ὅλην 9 Συρίαν ὑπάρχειν. οἱ δὲ παρὰ τοῦ Πτολεμαίου τάναντια τούτων ἐπειρώντο συνιστάνειν· τὸ τε γὰρ παρὸν ἰδίων ἀδίκημα καὶ δεινὸν ἐποίουν τὸ γεγονός, εἰς παρασπόνδημα τὴν Θεοδότου προδοσίαν 10 καὶ τὴν ἐφοδον ἀνάγοντες τὴν Ἀντιόχου, προεφέ- ροντο δὲ καὶ τὰς ἐπὶ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Λάγου κτή- σεις, φάσκοντες ἐπὶ τούτων συμπολεμήσαι Σελεύκῳ Πτολεμαίον ἐφ᾽ ὃ τὴν μὲν ὅλης τῆς Ἀσίας ἀρχήν

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with embassies coming from Alexandria decidedly superior both in military strength and in the justice of his cause. So that when the envoys arrived at Seleucia, and as they had been instructed by Sosibius, consented to discuss in detail the terms of the proposed arrangement, the king in his arguments did not pretend to regard as a serious grievance the recent loss they had suffered by his obviously unjust occupation of Coele-Syria, and in fact did not on the whole reckon this act to have been an offence at all, since, as he maintained, he had only tried to recover possession of what was his own property, the soundest and justest title to the possession of Coele-Syria, according to which it was not Ptolemy's but his own, being its original occupation by Antigonus Monophthalmus and the rule of Seleucus over the district. For Ptolemy, he said, had waged war on Antigonus in order to establish the sovereignty of Seleucus over Coele-Syria and not his own. But above all he urged the convention entered into by the kings after their victory over Antigonus, when all three of them, Cassander, Lysimachus, and Seleucus, after deliberating in common, decided that the whole of Syria should belong to Seleucus. Ptolemy's envoys attempted to maintain the opposite case. They magnified the wrong they were suffering and represented the grievance as most serious, treating the treachery of Theodotus and Antiochus' invasion as a distinct violation of their rights, adducing as evidence the occupation by Ptolemy, son of Lagus, and alleging that Ptolemy had aided Seleucus in the war under the stipulation, that while investing Seleucus with the sovereignty of the whole of Asia, he was to
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Σελεύκω περιθείναι, τα δὲ κατὰ Κοίλην Συρίαν
11 αυτῷ κατακτήσασθαι καὶ Φωνίκην. ἔλεγετο μὲν οὖν ταύτα καὶ παραπλήσια τούτους πλεονάκις ὑπ' ἀμφοτέρων κατὰ τὰς διαπρεσβείας καὶ τὰς ἐντεύ-ξεις, ἐπετελεῖτο δὲ τὸ παράπαν οὐδὲν ἀτε τῆς δικαιολογίας γινομένης διὰ τῶν κοινών φίλων, μεταξὺ δὲ μηδενὸς ὑπάρχοντος τοῦ δυνησομένου παρακατασχείν καὶ κωλύσαι τὴν τοῦ δοκοῦντος
12 ἀδικεῖν ὀρμήν. μάλιστα δὲ παρείχε δυσχρηστίαν ἀμφοτέρους τα περὶ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν· Πτολεμαῖος μὲν γὰρ ἐσπούδαξε περιλαβεὶν ταῖς συνθήκαις
13 αὐτοῦ, Ἀντίοχος δὲ καθάπαξ οὐδὲ λόγων ἥνεκετο περὶ τούτων, δεινὸν ἡγούμενος τὸ καὶ τολμᾶν τὸν Πτολεμαῖον περιστέλλειν τοὺς ἀποστάτας καὶ μνήμην ποιεῖσθαι περὶ τινος τῶν τοιούτων.

68 Διόπερ ἐτεί προσβεβοῦντες μὲν ἄλις εἶχον ἀμφό-τεροι, πέρας δ' οὐδὲν ἤγινετο περὶ τὰς συνθήκας, συνῆπτε δὲ τὰ τῆς ἠλικῆς ὄρας, Ἀντίοχος μὲν συνήγε τὰς δυνάμεις ὡς εἰσβαλῶν καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν καὶ καταστρεφόμενος τὰ κατα-λειπόμενα μέρη τῶν ἐν Κοίλῃ Συρίᾳ πραγμάτων,
2 οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Πτολεμαίον ὅλοσχερότερον ἐπιτρέ-ψαντες τῷ Νικολάῳ χορηγίας τε παρείχον εἰς τοὺς κατὰ Γάζαν τόπους δαψιλείς καὶ δυνάμεις ἐξέπεμπον
3 πεζικὰς καὶ ναυτικὰς, ὅν προσγενομένων εὐθαρσῶς ὁ Νικόλαος εἰς τὸν πόλεμον ἐνέβαε, πρὸς πᾶν τὸ παραγγελλόμενον ἐτοίμως αὐτῷ συνεργοῦντος Περι-
4 γένους τοῦ ναυάρχου· τούτου γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν ναυτικῶν δυνάμεων ἐξαπέστειλαν οἱ περὶ τὸν Πτολεμαίον, ἐχοῦτα καταφράκτους μὲν ναῦς τριάκοντα φορτη-
γοὺς δὲ πλείους τῶν τετρακοσίων. Νικόλαος δὲ
5 τὸ μὲν γένος ὑπήρχεν Αἰτωλός, τριβὴν δὲ καὶ τόλμαν
obtain Coele-Syria and Phoenicia for himself. These and similar arguments were repeated again and again by both parties in the course of the negotiations and conferences, but absolutely no result was arrived at, since the controversy was conducted by the common friends of both monarchs, and there was no one to interpose between them with the power of preventing and restraining any disposition that displayed itself to transgress the bounds of justice. The chief difficulty on both sides was the matter of Achaeus; for Ptolemy wished him to be included in the treaty, but Antiochus absolutely refused to listen to this, thinking it a scandalous thing that Ptolemy should venture to take rebels under his protection or even allude to such persons.

68. The consequence was that both sides grew weary of negotiating, and there was no prospect yet of a conclusion being reached, when, on the approach of spring, Antiochus collected his forces with the object of invading Coele-Syria both by land and sea and reducing the remainder of it. Ptolemy, entrusting the direction of the war entirely to Nicolaus, sent him abundant supplies to the neighbourhood of Gaza, and dispatched fresh military and naval forces. Thus reinforced Nicolaus entered on the war in a spirit of confidence, all his requests being readily attended to by Perigenes, the admiral, whom Ptolemy had placed in command of the fleet, which consisted of thirty decked ships and more than four hundred transports. Nicolaus was by birth an Aetolian, and in military experience and martial
6 παρὰ Πτολεμαίω στρατευομένων. προκαταλαβόμενος δὲ μέρει μὲν τινὶ τὰ κατὰ Πλάτανον στενά, τῇ δὲ λοιπῇ δυνάμει, μεθ’ ἕς αὐτὸς ἦν, τὰ περὶ Πορφυρέων πόλιν, ταύτῃ παρεφύλαττε τὴν εἰσβολὴν τοῦ βασιλέως, ὁμοῦ συνορμούσης αὐτῷ καὶ τῆς ναυτικῆς δυνάμεως. Ἀντίοχος δὲ παρελθὼν εἰς Μάραθον, καὶ παραγενομένων πρὸς αὐτὸν Ἀραδίων ὑπὲρ συμμαχίας, οὐ μόνον προσεδέξατο τὴν συμμαχίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν διαφορὰν τὴν προϋπάρχουσαν αὐτοῖς πρὸς ἀλλήλους κατέπαυσε, διαλύσας τοὺς ἐν τῇ νήσῳ πρὸς τοὺς τὴν ἥπειρον κατοικοῦντας τῶν Ἀραδίων. μετὰ δὲ ταύτα ποιησάμενος τὴν εἰσβολὴν κατὰ τὸ καλοῦμενον Θεοῦ πρόσωπον ἤκε πρὸς Βηρυτὸν, Βότρυν μὲν ἐν τῇ παρόδῳ καταλαβόμενος, Τριήρῃ δὲ καὶ Κάλαμον ἐμπρήσας. ἐντεύθεν δὲ Νίκαρχον μὲν καὶ Θεόδοτον προαιρέστελε, συντάξας προκαταλαβέσθαι τὰς δυσχωρίας περὶ τὸν Λύκον καλοῦμενον ποταμόν, αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν δύναμιν ἀναλαβὼν προῆλθε καὶ κατεστράτοπε-δευσε περὶ τὸν Δαμούραν ποταμόν, συμπαραπλέων-τος ἄμα καὶ Διογνήτου τοῦ ναυάρχου. παραλαβὼν δὲ πάλιν ἐντεύθεν τοὺς τε περὶ τὸν Θεόδοτον καὶ Νίκαρχον τοὺς ἢ καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως εὐξόμουσ, ὠρμησε κατασκεψάμενος τὰς προκατεχομένας ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ τὸν Νικόλαον δυσχωρίας. συνθεωρήσας δὲ τὰς τῶν τόπων ἱδιότητας, τότε μὲν ἀνεχώρησε πρὸς τὴν παρεμβολήν, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἡμέραν, καταλιπὼν αὐτοῦ τὰ βαρέα τῶν ὁπλῶν καὶ Νίκαρχον ἐπὶ τούτων, προῆγε μετὰ τῆς λοιπῆς δυνάμεως ἐπὶ τὴν προκειμένην χρείαν.

69 Τῆς δὲ κατὰ τὸν Δίβανον παρωρείας κατὰ τοὺς
courage was excelled by none of the officers in Ptolemy's service. He had occupied with part of his forces the pass of Platanus, and with the rest, which he commanded in person, that near the town of Porphyrius, and here he awaited the king's attack, the fleet being anchored along shore to support him. On Antiochus reaching Marathus, the people of Aradus came to him asking for an alliance, and he not only granted this request, but put an end to their existing civil dissensions, by reconciling those on the island with those on the mainland. After this, he advanced by the promontory called Theoprosopon and reached Berytus, having occupied Botrys on his way and burnt Trieres and Calamus. From hence he sent on Nicarchus and Theodotus with orders to occupy the difficult passes near the river Lycus, and after resting his army advanced himself and encamped near the river Damuras, his admiral Diognetus coasting along parallel to him. Thence once more taking with him the light-armed troops of his army which were under Theodotus and Nicarchus, he set out to reconnoitre the passes which Nicolaus had occupied. After noting the features of the ground he returned himself to the camp and next day, leaving behind under command of Nicarchus his heavy-armed troops, moved on with the rest of his army to attempt the passage.

69. At this part of the coast it is reduced by the
τόπους τούτους συγκλειούσης τήν παραλίαν εἰς στενὸν καὶ βραχὺν τόπον, συμβαίνει καὶ τούτον αὐτὸν ῥάξει δυσβάτω καὶ τραχεία διεξώσθαι, στενὴν δὲ καὶ δυσχερῆ παρ’ αὐτήν τὴν θάλατταν ἀπολειπούση πάροδον,
2 ἐφ’ ἦ τότε Νικόλαος παρεμβεβληκὼς, καὶ τούς μὲν τῷ τῶν ἄνδρῶν πλήθει προκατειληφῶς τόπους, τοὺς δὲ ταῖς χειροπούλτοις κατασκευαίς διησφαλισμένοις, ῥαδίως ἐπέπειστο κωλύσειν τῆς εἰσόδου
3 τόν Ἀντίοχον. ο ἔσεβε βασιλεὺς διελὼν εἰς τρία μέρη τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ μὲν ἐν Θεοδότῳ παρέδωκε, προστάξας συμπλέκεσθαι καὶ βιάζεσθαι παρ’ αὐτὴν
4 τῆν παρώρειαν τοῦ Διβάνου, τὸ δ’ ἐτερον Μενεδήμων, διὰ πλεύσιν ἐντελάμενος κατὰ μέσην πειράζειν
5 τὴν ῥάχων τὸ δὲ τρίτον πρὸς θάλατταν ἀπένειμε, Διοκλέα τὸν στρατηγὸν τῆς Παραποταμίας ἤγεμονα
6 συστήσας. αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ τῆς θεραπείας εἶχε τὸν μέσον τόπον, πάντα βουλόμενος ἐποπτεύειν
7 καὶ παντὶ τῷ δεομένῳ παραβοήθειν. ἀμα δὲ τούτοις ἔμετρυμένοι παρενέβαλον εἰς ναυμαχίαν οἱ περὶ τοῦ Διογνητοῦ καὶ Περγενῆν, συνάπτοντες κατὰ τὸ δυνατὸν τῇ γῇ καὶ πειρώμενοι ποιεῖν ὁμαίει μίαν ἐπιφάνειαν τῆς πεζομαχίας καὶ ναυμαχίας. πάντων δὲ ποιησαμένων ἀφ’ ἐνὸς σημείου καὶ παραγγέλματος ἐνὸς τὰς προσβολὰς, ὅ μὲν ναυμαχία πάρισιν εἶχε τὸν κίνδυνον διὰ τὸ καὶ τῷ πλήθει καὶ ταῖς παρασκευαῖς παραπλῆσιον
8 εἶναι τὸ παρ’ ἀμφότεροι ναυτικῶν, τῶν δὲ πεζῶν τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐπεκράτουν οἱ τῶν Νικόλαου, συγχρωμενοί ταῖς τῶν τόπων ὑψονται, ταχὺ δὲ τῶν περὶ τὸν Θεοδότον ἐκβιασμένων τοὺς ἐπὶ τῇ παρωρείᾳ, κατείτα ποιημένων εἰς ὑπερδεξίου τήν ἐφοδον, τραπέντες οἱ περὶ τοῦ Νικόλαον ἐφευγον
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slopes of Libanus to a small and narrow zone, and across this itself runs a steep and rocky ridge, leaving only a very narrow and difficult passage along the sea-shore. It was here that Nicolaus had posted himself, occupying some of the ground with a numerous force and securing other portions by artificial defences, so that he felt sure of being able to prevent Antiochus from passing. The king, dividing his force into three parts, entrusted the one to Theodotus, ordering him to attack and force the line under the actual foot of Libanus; the second he placed under the command of Menedemus, giving him detailed orders to attempt the passage of the spur in the centre, while he assigned to the third body under the command of Diocles, the military governor of Parapotamia, the task of attacking along the sea-shore. He himself with his bodyguard took up a central position, wishing to command a view of the whole field and render assistance where required. At the same time the fleets under Digenetus and Perigenes prepared for a naval engagement approaching as near as possible to the shore, and attempting to make the battle at sea and on land present as it were a continuous front. Upon the word of command for the attack being given simultaneously all along the line, the battle by sea remained undecided, as the two fleets were equally matched in number and efficiency, while on land Nicolaus' forces at first had the upper hand, favoured as they were by the strength of their position; but when Theodotus forced back the enemy at the foot of the mountain and then charged from higher ground, Nicolaus and his whole force turned and
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10 proteropáthyn ápantest. káta dé tìn phuğhìn épeseu
mèn autòn eis diuuglìous, zëugìa, de' éålwsan ouk
élástous touûw; oì de loipoi pántes ápechórësan
11 épì Sídòvno. ò de Përygënyũs épikudésteros òw
taís èlpìsí káta tìn vnaumaxían, sunnhewróësas
tò káta touû péouûs élástwma kai diatrapéis
ásphalwos èpouìsastot tìn ápochórësins eis touûs
autòus tôpoûs.

70' Antíóchos dé tìn dúnamin ánalaðwv ëke kai
2 katestrapatopédeusse pròs tìn Sídòvno. tò mév ouû
katapeirázein tûs pólées apègnw dia tìn pro-
úpárchosan autòthi daimíleian tûschorrhíasai kai tò
pûlhos tûn ènuikóntwv kai sunmetēforwv án-
3 dráwv. ánalaðwv dé tûn dúnamin autòs mév èpouëi-
to tûn pórëían òs èpì Filòterías, Diougìtw dé
sunéteze tûv naarâphv pálwv èxónti tás vàs ãpo-
4 pleûv eis Tûrón. h dé Filòtería keîta par' autûn
5 tûn lìmvin eis ën ò kaloûmenos 'Iordâñûs potamwos
eisbálwv èxiìsi pálwv eis tû pédià tû peri tûn

5 Skuvðwv pálwv prosagoróveuvnévn. geûmenos dé
6 kàthi òmològían ègkraitìs àmfoterwv tòwn proerph-
5wv póléswv, èuthâraçws èsoxe pròs tás melloûsws
épibolás dia tò tûn ùpoteagmènîn chrwàtan tûs
pólëswv taûtais rádòsw dúnasothai pantì tû stratof-
pêuw vòrhygeín kai dawílì pàraskeuázein tà kata-
6 epéíngotà pròs tûn chréían. ãsphalwsmenos dé
5 frouraçwv taûta ùperevbàle tûn òréwvho kai parèh
6 épì 'Atabúmwn, ð keîta mév èpì lôfou màstoeidûs,
tûn dé pròbasin èxei pleûv h ùvëntekaidëka vàs-
7 ðwv. chròsmenos dé kàta tûn kàiron [touûw]
dévra kai stratfeyhmati kàteschà tûn pûlìv
8 prokalèsmenos gàp eis àkrobolìsmûn touûs àpò
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fled precipitately. About two thousand of them perished in the rout, and an equal number were taken prisoners, the rest retreating to Sidon. Peri-genes, who had high hope of success in the sea battle, when he saw the defeat of the army, lost confidence and retired in safety to the same place.

70. Antiochus, with his army, came and encamped before Sidon. He refrained from making any attempt on the town, owing to the abundance of supplies with which it was furnished and the numbers of its inhabitants and of the forces which had taken refuge in it, but taking his army, marched himself on Philoteria, ordering the admiral Diognetus to sail back to Tyre with the fleet. Philoteria lies off the shore of the lake into which the river Jordan falls, and from which it issues again to traverse the plains round Scythopolis. Having obtained possession of both the above cities, which came to terms with him, he felt confident in the success of his future operations, as the territory subject to them was easily capable of supplying his whole army with food, and of furnishing everything necessary for the expedition in abundance. Having secured both by garrisons, he crossed the mountainous country and reached Atabyrium, which lies on a conical hill, the ascent of which is more than fifteen stades. By an ambuscade and a stratagem employed during the ascent he managed to take this city too: for having provoked the garrison to sally out and skirmish, he
τῆς πόλεως καὶ συγκαταβιβάσας ἐπὶ πολὺ τοὺς προκυνδυνεύοντας, κάπειτα πάλιν ἐκ μεταβολῆς τῶν φευγόντων καὶ διαναστάσεως τῶν ἐγκαθημένων 9 συμβαλῶν πολλοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν ἀπέκτεινεν, τέλος δ’ ἐπακολουθήσας καὶ προκαταπληξάμενος ἐξ 10 ἐφόδου παρέλαβε καὶ ταύτην τὴν πόλιν. κατὰ δὲ τῶν καυρῶν τοῦτον Κεραιάς, εἰς τῶν ὑπὸ Πτολεμαίων ταττομένων υπάρχων, ἀπέστη πρὸς αὐτῶν· ὥς χρησάμενος μεγαλοπρεπῶς πολλοὺς ἐμετεώρισε 11 τῶν παρὰ τοὺς ἐναντίον τίτημοις ἡγεμόνων. Ἰππόλοχος γοῦν δ’ Θετταλὸς οὐ μετὰ πολὺ τετρακοσίους ἔππεις ἤκεν ἐχών πρὸς αὐτὸν τῶν ὑπὸ Πτολεμαίων ταττο- 12 μένων. ἀσφαλισάμενος δὲ καὶ τὸ Ἀταβύριον ἀνέξευσε, καὶ προάγων παρέλαβε Πέλλα καὶ 71 Καμοῦν καὶ Γεφροῦν. τουαύτης δὲ γενομένης τῆς εὐροίας οἱ τὴν παρακειμένην Ἀραβίαν κατοικοῦντες, παρακαλέσαντες σφᾶς αὐτοὺς, ὀμοθυμιαδὸν αὐτῷ 2 προσέθεντο πάντες. προσλαβῶν δὲ καὶ τὴν παρὰ τούτων ἑλπίδα καὶ χορηγίαν προῆγε, καὶ κατασχὸν εἰς τὴν Γαλάτων γίνετ’ ἐγκρατής Ἀβίλων καὶ τῶν εἰς αὐτὰ παραβεβοηθηκότων, ἃν ἤγειτο Νικίας 3 ἀναγκαῖος ὄν καὶ συγγενὴς Μεννέου. καταλει- πομένων δ’ ἐτὶ τῶν Γαδάρων, ἃ δοκεῖ τῶν κατ’ ἐκεῖνοις τοὺς τόπους ὀχυρότητι διαφέρειν, προσ- στρατοπεδεύσας αὐτοὺς καὶ συντησάμενος ἔργα ταχέως κατεπλήξατο καὶ παρέλαβε τὴν πόλιν. 4 μετὰ δὲ ταύτα πυθανόμενος εἰς τὰ Ῥαββατάμανα τῆς Ἀραβίας καὶ πλείους ἡθρουμένους τῶν πολε- μίων πορθεῖν καὶ κατατρέχειν τὴν τῶν προσκεχω- ρηκότων Ἀράβων αὐτῷ χώραν, πάντ’ ἐν ἐλάττων θέμενος ἄρμησε καὶ προσεστρατοπέδευσε τοῖς βουνοῖς ἕφ’ ὧν κείθαι συμβαίνει τὴν πόλιν. 174
enticed those of them who were in advance to follow his own retreating troops for a considerable distance down hill, and then turning the latter round and advancing, while those concealed issued from the ambuscade, he attacked the enemy and killed many of them; and finally following close on them and throwing them into panic took this city also by assault. At this time Ceraeas, one of Ptolemy’s officers, deserted to him, and by his distinguished treatment of him he turned the head of many of the enemy’s commanders. It was not long indeed before Hippolochus the Thessalian came to join him with four hundred horse who were in Ptolemy’s service. After garrisoning Atabyrium also, he advanced and took Pella, Camus, and Gephyrus. 71. The consequence of this series of successes was that the Arab tribes in the neighbourhood, inciting each other to this step, unanimously adhered to him. Strengthened by the prospect of their help and by the supplies with which they furnished him, he advanced and occupying Galatis, made himself master also of Abila and the force which had come to assist in its defence under the command of Nicias, a close friend and relative of Menneas. Gadara still remained, a town considered to be the strongest in that district, and sitting down before it and bringing siege batteries to bear on it he very soon terrified it into submission. In the next place, hearing that a considerable force of the enemy was collected at Rabbatamana in Arabia and was occupied in overrunning and pillaging the country of the Arabs who had joined him, he dismissed all other projects and starting off at once encamped under the hill on which the town lies. After making
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5 perielthōn δὲ καὶ συνθεασάμενος τὸν λόφον κατὰ δύο τόπους μόνον ἔχοντα πρόσοδον, ταύτη προσέβαινε καὶ κατὰ τούτους συνίστατο τοὺς τόπους
6 τὰς τῶν μηχανημάτων κατασκευᾶσ. ἀποδοὺς δὲ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τῶν ἔργων τῶν μὲν Νικάρχω τῶν δὲ Θεοδότῳ, τὸ λοιπὸν αὐτὸς ἦδη κοινὸν αὐτὸν παρεσκεύαζε κατὰ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ τὴν ἐπίσκε-
7 ψιν τῆς ἐκατέρου περὶ ταῦτα φιλοτιμίας. πολλὴν δὲ ποιομένων σπουδὴν τῶν περὶ τὸν Θεόδοτον καὶ Νικάρχον, καὶ συνεχῶς ἀμιλλωμένων πρὸς ἀλλήλους περὶ τοῦ πότερος αὐτῶν φθάσει κατα-
8 βαλῶν τὸ προκείμενον τῶν ἔργων τείχος, ταχέως συνέβη καὶ παρὰ τὴν προσδοκίαν ἐκάτερον πεσεῖν
9 τὸ μέρος· οὗ συμβάντως ἐποιοῦντο καὶ νύκτωρ [μὲν] καὶ μεθ’ ἤμέραν προσβολάς καὶ πᾶσαν προσέφερον βίαν, οὐδένα παραλειπόντες καιρόν.
10 συνεχῶς δὲ καταπειράζοντες τῆς πόλεως οὐ μὴν ἤλθον τῆς ἐπιβολῆς οὐδὲν διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν εἰς τὴν πόλιν συνδεδραμηκότων ἄνδρῶν, ἔως οὖν τῶν αἰχμαλώτων τινὸς ὑποδείξαντος τὸν ὑπόνομον δὴ οὗ κατέβαινον ἐπὶ τὴν ὑδρείαν οἱ πολιορκούμενοι, τούτων ἀναρρήξαντες ἀνέφραξαν ὑλή καὶ λίθοις καὶ
11 παντὶ τῷ τοιοῦτῳ γένει. τότε δὲ συνεϊσάντες οἱ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν διὰ τὴν ἀνυδρίαν παρέδοσαν
12 αὐτοὺς. οὗ γενομένου κυριεύσας τῶν Ῥαββατα-
13 μάνων ἐπὶ μὲν τούτων ἀπέλιπε Νικάρχον μετὰ φυλακῆς τῆς ἁρμοζούσης· Ἰππόλοχον δὲ καὶ Κεραίαν τοὺς ἀποστάντας μετὰ πεζῶν πεντα-
14 κυρισιλίων ἐξαποστείλας ἐπὶ τοὺς κατὰ Σαμάρειαν τόπους, καὶ συντάξας προκάθησαν καὶ πάσι τὴν ἀσφάλειαν προκατασκευάζειν τοῖς ὑπ’ αὐτῶν τατ-
a circuit of the hill and observing that it was only accessible at two spots, he approached it there and chose those places for setting up his battering engines. Placing some of them in charge of Nicarchus and others under Theodotus, he devoted himself henceforth to directing and superintending their respective activities. Both Theodotus and Nicarchus displayed the greatest zeal, and there was continuous rivalry as to which would first cast down the wall in front of his machines; so that very shortly and before it was expected, the wall gave way in both places. After this they kept delivering assaults both by night and day, neglecting no opportunity and employing all their force. Notwithstanding these frequent attempts they met with no success owing to the strength of the force collected in the town, until a prisoner revealed to them the position of the underground passage by which the besieged went down to draw water. This they burst into and filled it up with wood, stones, and all such kinds of things, upon which those in the city yielded owing to the want of water and surrendered. Having thus got possession of Rabbatamana, Antiochus left Nicarchus in it with an adequate garrison, and now sending the revolted leaders Hippolochus and Ceraeas with a force of five thousand foot to the district of Samaria, with orders to protect the conquered territory and assure the safety of all the troops he had left in it, he returned with his army.
Πτολεμαίδος, ἐκεῖ ποιεῖσθαι διεγνωκὼς τὴν παρα-
χεμασίαν.

72 Κατὰ δὲ τὴν αὐτὴν θερείαν Πεδνηλισσεῖς πολι-
ορκοῦμενοι καὶ κινδυνεύοντες ὑπὸ Σελεγέων δι-
2 επέμψαντο περὶ βοηθείας πρὸς Ἀχαιῶν. τοῦ δ’ ἀσμένοις ὑπακούσαντος οὐτοὶ μὲν εὐθαρσῶς ὑπ-
έμενον τὴν πολιορκίαν, προσανέχοντες ταῖς ἐλπίδις
3 τῆς βοηθείας, ὁ δ’ Ἀχαιῶς προχειρισάμενος Γαρσύ-
ηριν μετὰ πεζῶν ἐξακισχιλίων, ἐππέων δὲ πεντα-
κοσίων, ἐξαπέστειλε σπουδὴ παραβοηθήσοντα τοῖς
4 Πεδνηλισσεῦσιν. οἱ δὲ Σελεγεῖς συνέντευς τὴν παρου-
σίαν τῆς βοηθείας προκατελάβοντο τὰ στενὰ τὰ
περὶ τὴν καλουμένην Κλίμακα τῷ πλειονὶ μέρει
τῆς έαυτῶν δυνάμεως, καὶ τὴν μὲν εἰσβολὴν τὴν
ἐπὶ Σάπορδα κατείχον, τὰς δὲ δίδοσι καὶ προσ-
5 βάσεις πάσας ἐφθειρον. ὁ δὲ Γαρσύηρις ἐμβαλὼν
εἰς τὴν Μιλνᾶδα καὶ καταστρατοπεδεύσας περὶ
tὴν καλουμένην Κρητῶν πόλιν, ἐπεὶ συνήθησετο
προκατεχομένων τῶν τόπων ἀδύνατον οὕσαν τὴν
εἰς τούμπροσθεν πορείαν, ἐπινοεῖ τινα δόλον τοιοῦ-
6 τον. ἀναζεύξας ἦγε πάλιν εἰς τούπισον τὴν πορείαν
ὡς ἀπεγνωκὼς τὴν βοήθειαν διὰ τὸ προκατέχεσθαι
7 τοὺς τόπους. οἱ δὲ Σελεγεῖς προχείρως πιστεύ-
σαντες, ὡς ἀπεγνωκότος βοηθεῖν Γαρσύηριδος, οἱ
μὲν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀπεχώρησαν, οἱ δ’ εἰς τὴν
8 πόλιν διὰ τὸ κατεπείγειν τὴν τοῦ σίτου κομιδὴν. ὁ
dὲ Γαρσύηρις εἷς ἐπιστροφῆς ἐνεργὸν πουησάμενος
tὴν πορείαν ἦκε πρὸς τὰς ὑπερβολάς, καταλαβὼν
dὲ ἐρήμους ταῦτας μὲν ἡσφαλίσατο φυλακαῖς,
9 Φάύλλον ἐπὶ πάντων ἐπιστῆσας, αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ
tῆς στρατιάς εἰς Πέργην κατάρας ἐνετεῦθεν ἐποιεῖτο
tὰς διαπρεσβείας πρὸς τε τοὺς ἀλλοὺς τοὺς τὴν
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to Ptolemais, where he had decided to pass the winter.

72. During the same summer the people of Pednelissus, being besieged by those of Selge and in danger of capture, sent a message to Achaeus asking for help. Upon his readily agreeing, the Pednelissians henceforth sustained the siege with constancy, buoyed up by their hopes of succour, and Achaeus, appointing Garsyeris to command the expedition, dispatched him with six thousand foot and five hundred horse to their assistance. The Selgians, hearing of the approach of the force, occupied with the greater part of their own troops the pass at the place called the Ladder: holding the entrance to Saporda and destroying all the passages and approaches. Garsyeris, who entered Milyas and encamped near Cretopolis, when he heard that the pass had been occupied and that progress was therefore impossible, bethought himself of the following ruse. He broke up his camp, and began to march back, as if he despaired of being able to relieve Pednelissus owing to the occupation of the pass; upon which the Selgians, readily believing that Garsyeris had abandoned his attempt, retired some of them to their camp and others to their own city, as the harvest was near at hand. Garsyeris now faced round again, and by a forced march reached the pass, which he found abandoned; and having placed a garrison at it under the command of Phayllus, descended with his army to Perge, and thence sent embassies to the other
Πυθικηῆς κατοικοῦντας καὶ πρὸς τὴν Παμφυλίαν,
υποδεικνύων μὲν τὸ τῶν Σελγέων βάρος, παρακαλῶν
dὲ πάντας πρὸς τὴν Ἀχαιοῦ συμμαχίαν καὶ πρὸς
τὴν βοήθειαν τοῖς Πεδνηλισσεῦσι. οἱ δὲ Σελγεῖς
κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τούτον, ὀστραγγόν ἐξαποστεῖλαν
μετὰ δυνάμεως, ἠλπίσαν καταπληξάμενοι
ταῖς τῶν τόπων ἐμπειρίαις ἐκβαλεῖν τὸν Φάυλλον
ἐκ τῶν ὄχυρωμάτων. οὐ καθικόμενοι δὲ τῆς
προθέσεως, ἀλλὰ πολλοὺς ἀποβαλόντες τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐν ταῖς προσβολαῖς, ταύτης μὲν τῆς ἔλπιδος ἀπέστησαν, τῇ δὲ πολιορκία καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις οὐχ ἦττον ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἡ πρὸ τοῦ προσεκαρτέρουν.

3 τοῖς δὲ περὶ Γαρσύρην Ἕτενενεῖς μὲν οἱ τῆς Πυθικῆς τὴν ὑπὲρ Σίδης ὀρεινὴν κατοικοῦντες ὀκτακυκλίους ὀπλίτας ἔπεμψαν, Ἀσπενίδων δὲ τοὺς

4 ἡμίσεις. Σιδήται δὲ τὰ μὲν στοχαζόμενοι τῆς πρὸς Ἀντίσχον εὔνοιας, τὸ δὲ πλεῖον διὰ τὸ πρὸς Ἀσπενίδων μίσος, οὐ μετέσχον τῆς βοήθειας.

5 οὖ δὲ Γαρσύρης ἀναλαβὼν τὰς τε τῶν βεβοηθηκότων καὶ τὰς ἵδιας δυνάμεις ἕκε πρὸς τὴν Πεδνηλισσόν, πεπεσιμένος ἐξ ἐφόδων λύσεω τῆν πολιορκίαν οὐ καταπληστομένω δὲ τῶν Σελγέων λαβὼν σύμμετρον

6 ἀπόστημα κατεστρατοπέδευσε. τῶν δὲ Πεδνηλισσέων πιεζόμενων υπὸ τῆς ἐνδείας, οἱ Γαρσύρης σπεύδων ποιεῖν τὰ δυνατά, δισχίλιοι ἔτοιμας ἁνδρᾶς καὶ δοὺς ἐκάστῳ μέδιμνων πυρῶν νυκτὸς

7 εἰς τὴν Πεδνηλισσόν εἰσέπεμπε. τῶν δὲ Σελγέων συνεντῶ τὸ γινόμενον καὶ παραβοηθησάντων συνέβη τῶν μὲν ἁνδρῶν τῶν εἰσφερόντων κατακοπῆι τοὺς πλείστους, τοῦ δὲ σιτοῦ παντὸς κυριεύσαι

8 τοὺς Σελγεῖς. οἷς ἐπαρθένες ἐνεχείρησαν οὐ μόνον τὴν πόλιν ἄλλα καὶ τοὺς περὶ τὸν Γαρσύρη-

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Pisidian cities and to Pamphylia, calling attention to the growing power of Selge and inviting them all to ally themselves with Achaeus and assist Pednelissus. 73. Meanwhile the Selgians had sent out a general with an army, and were in hopes of surprising Phayllus owing to their knowledge of the ground and driving him out of his entrenchments. But on meeting with no success and losing many of their men in the attack, they abandoned this design, continuing, however, to pursue their siege operations more obstinately even than before. The Etennes, who inhabit the highlands of Pisidia above Side, sent Garsyeris eight thousand hoplites, and the people of Aspendus half that number; but the people of Side, partly from a wish to ingratiate themselves with Antiochus and partly owing to their hatred of the Aspendians, did not contribute to the relieving force. Garsyeris now, taking with him the reinforcements and his own army, came to Pednelissus, flattering himself that he would raise the siege at the first attack, but as the Selgians showed no signs of dismay he encamped at a certain distance away. As the Pednelissians were hard pressed by famine, Garsyeris, who was anxious to do all in his power to relieve them, got ready two thousand men, and giving each of them a medimnus of wheat, tried to send them in to Pednelissus by night. But the Selgians, getting intelligence of this, fell upon them, and most of the men carrying the corn were cut to pieces, the whole of the grain falling into the hands of the Selgians. Elated by this success they now undertook to storm not only the city, but the
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ρων πολιορκεῖν· ἔχουσι γάρ δή τι τολμηρόν ἂei καὶ
9 παράβολον ἐν τοῖς πολεμίωσι οἱ Σελγεῖς. δι᾿ ἄ
καὶ τότε καταλιπότενς φυλακὴν τὴν ἀναγκαίαν
τοῦ χάρακος, τοῖς λοιποῖς περιστάντες κατὰ πλεῖονς
tόπους ἄμα προσέβαλον εὐθαρσῶς τῇ τῶν ὑπεναντί-
10 ων παρεμβολῆ. πανταχόθεν δὲ τοῦ κινδύνου παρα-
δόξως περιεστῶτος, κατὰ δὲ τινὰς τόπους καὶ
tοῦ χάρακος ἣδη διασπωμένου, θεωρῶν ὁ Γαρσύψ-
ρις τὸ συμβαίνον καὶ μοχθηρὰς ἐλπίδας ἐχὼν ὑπὲρ
tῶν ὁλῶν ἐξέπεμψε τοὺς ἱππεῖς κατὰ τινὰ τόπον
11 ἀφυλακτοῦμενον· οὕς νομίσαντες οἱ Σελγεῖς κατα-
πεπληγμένους καὶ δεδομένο τὸ μέλλον ἀποχωρήσειν
12 οὐ προσέσχον, ἀλλ᾿ ἀπλῶς ὠλιγώρησαν. οἱ δὲ
περιππεύσαντες καὶ γενόμενοι κατὰ νυότον τοῖς
πολεμίωις ἐνέβαλον, καὶ προσέφερον τὰς χεῖρας
13 ἐρρωμένως. οὐ συμβαίνοντος ἀναθαρσίαντες οἱ
τοῦ Γαρσύψριδος πεζοί, καίπερ ἣδη τετραμμένοι,
pάλιν ἐκ μεταβολῆς ἡμύνοντο τοὺς εἰσπίπτοντάς·
14 εξ οὐ περιεχόμενοι πανταχόθεν οἱ Σελγεῖς τέλος
15 εἰς φυγὴν ὄρμησαν. ἀμα δὲ τούτοις οἱ Πεδνηλισ-
σεῖς επιθέμενοι τοὺς ἐν τῷ χάρακι καταλειφθέντας
16 εξέβαλον. γενόμενης δὲ τῆς φυγῆς ἐπὶ πολὺν τόπον
ἔπεσον μὲν οὐκ ἐλάττους μυρίων, τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν
οἱ μὲν σύμμαχοί πάντες εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν, οἱ δὲ
Σελγεῖς διὰ τῆς ὀρενής εἰς τὴν αὐτῶν πατρίδα
κατέφυγον.

74 Ὅ δὲ Γαρσύψρις ἀναζεύξας ἐκ ποδὸς εἴπετο
τοῖς φεύγουσιν, σπεύδων διελθεῖν τὰς δυσχωρίας
καὶ συνεγγίσαι τῇ πόλει πρὶν ἡ στήναι καὶ βουλεύ-
σαθαί τι τοὺς πεφευγότας ύπὲρ τῆς αὐτοῦ παρον-
2 σίας. οὕτως μὲν οὖν ἦκε μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως πρὸς
3 τὴν πόλιν· οἱ δὲ Σελγεῖς δυσελπιστοῦντες μὲν
camp of Garsyeris; for the Selgians always show a bold and dare-devil spirit in war. Leaving, therefore, behind only the forces that were necessary to guard their camp, with the rest they surrounded and attacked with great courage that of the enemy in several places simultaneously. Attacked unexpectedly on every side, and the stockade having been already forced in some places, Garsyeris, seeing the state of matters and with but slender hopes of victory, sent out his cavalry at a spot which had been left unguarded. The Selgians, thinking that these horsemen were panic-struck and that they meant to retire for fear of the fate that threatened them, paid no attention to this move, but simply ignored them. But this body of cavalry, riding round the enemy and getting to his rear, delivered a vigorous onslaught, upon which Garsyeris' infantry, although already retreating, plucked up courage again and facing round defended themselves against their aggressors. The Selgians were thus surrounded on all sides, and finally took to flight, the Pednelissians at the same time attacking the camp and driving out the garrison that had been left in it. The pursuit continued for a great distance, and not less than ten thousand were killed, while of the rest the allies fled to their respective homes, and the Selgians across the hills to their own city.

74. Garsyeris at once broke up his camp and followed closely on the runaways, hoping to traverse the passes and approach the city before the fugitives could rally and resolve on any measures for meeting his approach. Upon his arriving with his army before the city, the Selgians, placing no reliance on
ΤΗΛ ΤΩΤΩΣ ΤΩΝ ΣΥΜΜΑΧΩΝ ΔΙΑ ΤΗΝ ΚΟΙΝΗΝ ΠΕΡΙΠΕΤΕΙΑΝ, ΕΚΠΕΠΛΗΓΜΕΝΟΙ ΔΕ ΤΑΙΣ ΨΥΧΑΙΣ ΔΙΑ ΤΟ ΓΕΓΟΝΟΣ ΑΤΥΧΗΜΑ, ΠΕΡΙΦΟΒΟΙ ΤΕΛΕΩΣ ΉΣΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΠΕΡΙ ΣΦΩΝ 4 ΑΥΤΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΣ ΠΑΤΡΙΔΟΣ. ΔΙΩ ΣΥΝΕΛΘΌΝΤΕΣ ΕΙΣ ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑΝ ΕΒΟΥΛΕΥΣΑΝΤΟ ΠΡΕΣΒΕΥΤΗΝ ΕΚΠΕΜΠΕΝ ΕΝΑ ΤΩΝ ΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ ΔΟΓΜΑΣΩΝ, ΩΣ ΕΓΕΓΟΝΕΙ ΜΕΝ ΕΠΙ ΠΟΛΥ ΣΥΝΗΒΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΞΕΝΟΣ 'ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΜΕΤΑΛΛΑ- 5 ΞΑΝΤΟΣ ΤΩΝ ΒΙΟΝ ΕΠΙ ΘΡΆΚΗΣ, ΔΟΘΕΙΣΗΣ Δ' ΕΝ ΠΑΡΑΚΑ- ΤΑΘΗΚΗ ΚΑΙ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΗΣ ΑΥΤΩ ΤΗΣ 'ΑΧΑΙΟΥ ΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΗΣ ΓΥΝΑΙΚΟΣ ΕΤΕΤΡΟΦΕΙ ΤΑΥΤΗΝ ΩΣ ΨΥΓΑΤΕΡΑ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΑ- 6 ΦΕΡΟΝΤΩΣ ΕΠΕΦΙΛΟΣΤΟΡΓΗΚΕ ΤΗΝ ΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΝ. ΔΙ' ΑΝΟΜΙΖΌΝΤΕΣ ΟΙ ΣΕΛΥΕΙΣ ΕΥΦΥΕΣΤΑΤΟΝ ΕΧΕΝ ΠΡΕΣΒΕΥΤΗΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΑ ΠΕΡΙΕΣΤΩΤΑ ΤΟΥΤΟΝ ΕΞΑΠΕΣΤΕΙΛΑΝ. 7 ΩΣ ΠΟΥΗΣΑΜΕΝΟΣ ΙΔΙΑ ΤΗΝ ΕΥΝΤΕΥΞΙΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΓΑΡΣΥΗΡΙΝ, ΤΟΣΟΥΤΟ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΗΝ ΠΡΟΑΙΡΕΣΙΝ ΑΠΈΣΧΕ ΤΟΥ ΒΟΗΘΕΙΝ ΤΗΝ ΠΑΤΡΙΔΙ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΟ ΔΕΟΝ ΩΣΤΕ ΤΑΝΑΝΤΙΑ ΠΑΡΕΚΑΛΕΙ ΤΟΝ ΓΑΡΣΥΗΡΙΝ ΣΠΟΥΔΗ ΠΕΜΠΕΝ ΕΠΙ ΤΟΝ 'ΑΧΑΙΟΥ, 8 ΑΝΑΔΕΧΟΜΕΝΟΣ ΕΥΧΕΙΡΙΕΝ ΑΥΤΟΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΠΟΛΙΝ. ΩΣ ΜΕΝ ΟΥΝ ΓΑΡΣΥΗΡΙΣ ΔΕΞΑΜΕΝΟΣ ΕΤΟΙΜΟΣ ΤΗΝ ΕΛΣΤΙΔΑ, ΠΡΟΣ ΜΕΝ ΤΟΝ 'ΑΧΑΙΟΥ ΕΞΕΠΕΜΒΕΥ ΤΟΥΣ ΕΠΙΥΠΑΠΟΜΕΝΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΑΣΑΦΗΣΟΝΤΑΣ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ ΕΝΕΣΤΩΤΩΝ, 9 ΠΡΟΣ ΔΕ ΤΟΥΣ ΣΕΛΥΕΙΣ ΆΝΟΧΑΣ ΠΟΥΗΣΑΜΕΝΟΣ ΕΙΛΚΕ ΤΟΝ ΧΡΟΝΟΝ ΤΩΝ ΣΥΝΘΗΚΩΝ ΑΕΙ ΥΠΕΡ ΤΩΝ ΚΑΤΑ ΜΕΡΟΣ ΑΝΤΙΛΟΓΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΣΚΗΡΕΙΣ ΕΙΦΕΡΟΜΕΝΟΣ ΧΆΡΙΝ ΤΟΥ ΠΡΟΣΔΕΞΑΣΘΑΙ ΜΕΝ ΤΟΝ 'ΑΧΑΙΟΥ, ΔΟΥΝΑΙ ΔΕ ΑΝΑΣΤΡΟΦΗΝ ΤΩ ΛΟΓΒΑΣΕΙ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΑΣ ΕΥΝΤΕΥΞΕΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΡΑΣΚΕΒΑΣ ΤΗΣ ΕΠΙΒΟΛΗΣ.

75 ΚΑΤΑ ΔΕ ΤΟΝ ΚΑΙΡΟΝ ΤΟΥΤΟΝ ΠΛΕΟΝΑΚΙΣ ΣΥΜΠΟΡΕΟΜΕΝΩΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΆΛΛΗΛΟΥΣ ΕΙΣ ΣΥΛΛΟΓΟΝ, ΕΓΝΙΣΤΟ ΤΙΣ ΣΥΝΗΘΕΙΑ ΤΩΝ ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΣΤΡΟΤΟΠΕΔΟΥ ΠΑΡΕΙΑΙΩΝΤΩΝ 2 ΠΡΟΣ ΤΑΣ ΣΥΤΑΡΧΙΑΣ ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΠΟΛΙΝ. ΔΕΗ ΚΑΙ ΠΟΛΛΑΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΠΟΛΛΑΚΙΣ ΉΔΗ ΠΑΡΑΙΤΟΝ ΓΕΓΟΝΕ ΤΗΣ
their allies, who had suffered equally with themselves, and thoroughly dispirited by the disaster they had met with, fell into complete dismay for themselves and their country. Calling a public assembly, therefore, they decided to send out as commissioner one of their citizens named Logbasis, who had often entertained and had been for long on terms of intimacy with that Antiochus who lost his life in Thrace, and who, when Laodice, who afterwards became the wife of Achaeus, was placed under his charge, had brought up the young lady as his own daughter and treated her with especial kindness. The Selgians sent him therefore, thinking that he was especially suited to undertake such a mission; but in a private interview with Garsyeris he was so far from showing a disposition to be helpful to his country, as was his duty, that on the other hand he begged Garsyeris to send for Achaeus at once, engaging to betray the city to them. Garsyeris, eagerly catching at the proposal, sent messengers to Achaeus inviting him to come and informing him of what was doing, while he made a truce with the Selgians and dragged on the negotiations, raising perpetual disputes and scruples on points of detail, so that Achaeus might have time to arrive and Logbasis full leisure to communicate with his friends and make preparations for the design.

75. During this time, as the two parties frequently met for discussion, it became a constant practice for those in the camp to enter the city for the purpose of purchasing provisions. This is a practice which has proved fatal to many on many occasions. And

* Antiochus Hierax, son of Antiochus II.
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ἀπωλείας. καὶ μοι δοκεῖ πάντων τῶν ζῶν εὐπαραλογιστῶς ὑπάρχειν ἀνθρώπος, δοκοῦν
3 εἶναι πανουργότατον. πόσαι μὲν γὰρ παρεμβολαὶ καὶ φρούρια, πόσαι δὲ καὶ πηλίκαι πόλεις
4 τούτω τῷ τρόπῳ παρεσπόνδηται; καὶ τούτων οὔτω συνεχῶς καὶ προφανῶς πολλοὶς ἥδη συμβε-
βηκότων οὐκ οἶδ᾽ ὅτις καίνοι τινες αἰεὶ καὶ νέοι
5 πρὸς τὰς τοιαύτας ἀπάτας πεφύκαμεν. τούτου δ᾽
αὐτοῖν ἔστω ὅτι τὰς τῶν πρότερον ἐπτακότων ἐν
ἐκάστοις περιπετείας οὐ ποιοῦμεθα προκείρουσ,
ἀλλὰ σῖτον μὲν καὶ χρημάτων πλῆθος ἐτὶ δὲ τείχων
καὶ βελῶν κατασκευᾶς μετὰ πολλῆς ταλαιπωρίας
καὶ δαπάνης ἐτομαζόμεθα πρὸς τὰ παράδοξα τῶν
6 συμβαινόντων, ὅ δ᾽ ἐστὶ βραστὸν μὲν τῶν οὖντων,
μεγίστας δὲ παρέχεται χρέας ἐν τοῖς ἐπισφαλέσι
καροῖς, τούτου πάντες κατολιγυροῦμεν, καὶ ταῦτα
δυνάμενοι μετ᾽ εὐσχήμονον ἀναπαύσεως ἁμα καὶ
dιαγωγῆς ἐκ τῆς ἱστορίας καὶ πολυπραγμοσύνης
περιποιεῖσθαι τὴν τοιαύτην ἐμπειρίαν.
7 Πλὴν ὁ μὲν Ἀχαῖος ἤκε πρὸς τὸν καρόν, οἳ δὲ
Σελγεῖς συμμίζοντες αὐτῷ μεγάλας ἔσχον ἐλπίδας
8 ὡς ὀλοσχεροῦσι τινος τευχόμενοι φιλανθρωπίας. ὅ δὲ
Λόγβασις ἐν τούτῳ τῷ καρῷ κατὰ βραχὺ συνη-
θροικῶς ἐις τὴν ἰδίαιν οἰκίαν τῶν ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου
παρεισόντων στρατιώτῶν, συνεβούλευε τοῖς πολι-
9 ταις μὴ παρείναι τὸν καρὸν, ἀλλὰ πράττειν
βλέποντας εἰς τὴν ύποδεικνυμένην φιλανθρωπίαν
ὑπ᾽ Ἀχαίοι, καὶ τέλος ἐπιθυμεῖν ταῖς συνθήκαις
παντημεῖ βουλευσαμένους ύπὲρ τῶν ἐνεστῶτων.
10 ταχὺ δὲ συναθροισθείσης τῆς ἐκκλησίας οὗτοι μὲν
ἐβουλεύοντο, καλέσαντες καὶ τους ἀπὸ τῶν φιλακεί-

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indeed it seems to me that man, who is supposed to be the most cunning of all animals, is in fact the most easily duped. For how many camps and fortresses, how many great cities have not been betrayed by this means? And though this has constantly happened in the sight of all men, yet somehow or other we always remain novices and display all the candour of youth with regard to such tricks. The reason of this is that we have not ready to hand in our memories the various disasters that have overtaken others, but while we spare no pains and expense in laying in supplies of corn and money and in constructing walls and providing missiles to guard against surprises, we all completely neglect the very easiest precaution and that which is of the greatest service at a critical moment, although we can gain this experience from study of history and inquiry while enjoying honourable repose and procuring entertainment for our minds.

Achaeus, then, arrived at the time he was expected, and the Selgians on meeting him had great hopes of receiving the kindest treatment in every respect from him. Meanwhile Logbasis, who had gradually collected in his own house some of the soldiers from the camp who had entered the town, continued to advise the citizens, in view of the kindly feelings that Achaeus displayed, not to lose the opportunity but to take action and put a finish to the negotiations, holding a general assembly to discuss the situation. The meeting soon assembled and the discussion was proceeding, all those serving on guard having been summoned, so that the matter...
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76 νοώς· ὁ δὲ Δόγβασις ἀποδοῦσ τὸ σύνθημα τοῦ καιροῦ τοῖς ὑπεναντίοις ἦτοιμαζε τοὺς ἠθροισμένους κατὰ τὴν οἰκίαν, διεσκενάζετο δὲ καὶ καθωπλίζετο μετὰ 2 τῶν νεῶν αὐτὸς ἀμα πρὸς τὸν κίνδυνον. τῶν δὲ πολεμίων ὃ μὲν Ἀχαιός τοὺς ἡμίσεις ἔχων προεβαίνει πρὸς αὐτὴν τὴν πόλιν, ὁ δὲ Γαρσύπηρ ὁ τοὺς ὑπολειπόμενους ἀναλαβὼν προῆγεν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ Κεσβέδιον καλούμενον. τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶ μὲν Διὸς ἱερόν, 3 κεῖται δ' εὐφυῶς κατὰ τῆς πόλεως· ἀκρας γὰρ λαμβάνει διάθεσιν. συνθεσαμένου δὲ των κατὰ τύχην αἰτόλου τὸ συμβαίνον καὶ προσαγγείλαντον πρὸς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ Κεσβέδιον ὁμοίων μετὰ σπουδῆς, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τὰ φυλακεῖα, τὸ δὲ πλῆθος ὑπὸ τὸν θυμὸν ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ Δόγβασιος. 4 καταφαινοῦσ δὲ τῆς πράξεως γενομένης οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὸ τέγος ἀναβάντες, οἱ δὲ ταῖς αὐλείοις βιασάμενοι, τὸν τε Δόγβασιν καὶ τοὺς νεῶν, ἀμα δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους πάντας αὐτὸν κατεφόνευσαν. 5 μετὰ δὲ ταύτα κηρύξαντες τοῖς δούλοις ἐλευθερίαν καὶ διελόντες σφαῖρας αὐτοὺς ἔβοηθον ἐπὶ τοὺς 6 εὐκαίρους τῶν τόπων. ὁ μὲν οὖν Γαρσύπηρ ἱδὼν προκατεχόμενον τὸ Κεσβέδιον ἀπέστη τῆς 7 προθέσεως· τοῦ δ' Ἀχαιοῦ βιαζομένου πρὸς αὐτὰς τὰς πύλας ἔξελθοντες οἱ Σελγεῖς ἐπτακοσίους μὲν κατέβαλον τῶν Μυσῶν, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἀπέστησαν 8 τῆς ὅρμης. μετὰ δὲ ταύτην τὴν πράξιν ὁ μὲν Ἀχαιὸς καὶ Γαρσύπης ἀνεχώρησαν εἰς τὴν αὐτῶν 9 παρεμβολὴν, οἱ δὲ Σελγεῖς δεδομένοι μὲν τὰς ἐν αὐτοῖς στὰσεις, δεδομένες δὲ καὶ τὴν τῶν πολεμίων ἐπιστρατοπεδείαν, ἔξεσαμεν μεθ' ἱκτηρίων τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους, καὶ σπουδὰς ποιησάμενοι διελύσαντο 10 τὸν πόλεμον ἐπὶ τούτους, ἐφ' ὧν παραχρῆμα μὲν 188
might be decided for good and all. 76. Meanwhile Logbasis had given the signal to the enemy that the moment had come, and was getting ready the soldiers collected in his house and arming himself and his sons for the coming fight. Achaeus with half of his forces was advancing on the city itself, and Garsyeris with the rest was approaching the so-called Cesbedium, which is a temple of Zeus and commands the city, being in the nature of a citadel. A certain goat-herd happened to notice the movement and brought the news to the assembly, upon which some of the citizens hastened to occupy the Cesbedium and others repaired to their posts, while the larger number in their anger made for Logbasis' house. The evidence of his treachery being now clear, some mounted the roof, and others, breaking in through the front gate, massacred Logbasis, his sons, and all the rest whom they found there. After this they proclaimed the freedom of their slaves, and dividing into separate parties, went to defend the exposed spots. Garsyeris, now, seeing that the Cesbedium was already occupied, abandoned his attempt, and on Achaeus trying to force an entrance through the gates, the Selgians made a sally, and after killing seven hundred of the Mysians, forced the remainder to give up the attack. After the action Achaeus and Garsyeris withdrew to their camp, and the Selgians, afraid of civil discord among themselves and also of a siege by the enemy, sent their elders out in the guise of suppliants, and making a truce, put an end to the war on the following terms. They were to pay at once 400 talents and
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doûnai tetrakóssia tálanta kai toûs tón Pedeñhís-
séon aîxmalwtoûs, metà dé tina xhrónon ëtera prosotheînai triakóssia.

11 Σελγείς μὲν οὖν διὰ τὴν Δογβάσιος ἀσέβειαν τῇ
πατρίδι κινδυνεύσαντες, διὰ τὴν σφετέραν εὐτολ-
μίαν τὴν τε πατρίδα διετήρησαν καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν
οὐ κατήχουσαν καὶ τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν αὐτοῖς πρὸς

77 Λακεδαίμονίους συγγένειαν Ἀχαῖος δὲ ποιησά-
μενός υφ' ἕαυτὸν τὴν Μυλώνα καὶ τὰ πλείστα
μέρη τῆς Παμφυλίας ἀνέζευξε, καὶ παραγενόμενος
eis Σάρδεις ἐπολέμει μὲν Ἀττάλω συνεχῶς,
ἀντείνετο δὲ Προσσία, πᾶσι δ' ἧν φοβερὸς καὶ
βαρὺς τοῖς ἐπὶ τάδε τοῦ Ταύρου κατοικοῦσι.

2 Κατὰ δὲ τὸν καιρὸν καθ' ὅπερ Ἀχαῖος ἐποιεῖτο τὴν
ἐπὶ τοὺς Σελγείς στρατεύσας Ἀττάλος ἔχον τοὺς
Ἀγοσάγας Γαλάτας ἐπεπορεύετο τὰς κατὰ τὴν
Ἀἰολίδα πόλεις καὶ τὰς συνεχεῖς ταύτας, ὡς
πρότερον Ἀχαῖος προσεκεχώρηκεισαν διὰ τὸν
3 φόβον. ὥν αἱ μὲν πλεῖοις ἐθελοντὴν αὐτῶ ἐποιεῖ-
θεντο καὶ μετὰ χάριτος, ὀλίγαι δὲ τινες τῆς βιας
προσεδέηθησαν. ἦσαν δ' αἱ τότε μεταθέμεναι
πρὸς αὐτὸν πρῶτον μὲν Κύμη καὶ Σμύρνα καὶ
Φώκαια: μετὰ δὲ ταύτας Ἀιγαίεις καὶ Τημηνίται
5 προσεκεχώρησαν, καταπλαγέντες τὴν ἔφοδον. ὥκον
δὲ καὶ παρὰ Θηῖων καὶ Κολοφωνίων πρέσβεις
6 ἐγχειρίζοντες σφᾶς αὐτοὺς καὶ τὰς πόλεις. προσ-
δεξάμενος δὲ καὶ τούτους ἐπὶ ταις συνθήκαις αἰς
καὶ τὸ πρότερον, καὶ λαβὼν ὁμήρους, ἐχθριμάσε
τοῖς παρὰ τῶν Σμυρναίων πρεσβευταῖς φίλαν-
θρώπος διὰ τὸ μάλιστα τούτους τετηρηκέναι τὴν
7 πρὸς αὐτὸν πίστιν. προελθὼν δὲ κατὰ τὸ συνεχές
καὶ διοβᾶς τὸν Δύκου ποταμὸν προῆγεν ἐπὶ τὰς
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to give up the Pednelissian prisoners, and they engaged to pay a further sum of 300 talents after a certain interval.

Thus the Selgians, after nearly losing their country owing to the impious treachery of Logbasis, preserved it by their own valour and disgraced neither their liberty nor their kinship with the Lacedaemonians. 77. Achaeus, now, after subjecting Milyas and the greater part of Pamphylia, departed, and on reaching Sardis continued to make war on Attalus, began to menace Prusias, and made himself a serious object of dread to all the inhabitants on this side of the Taurus.

At the time when Achaeus was engaged in his expedition against Selge, Attalus with the Gaulish tribe of the Aegosagae visited the cities in Aeolis and on its borders, which had formerly adhered to Achaeus out of fear. Most of them joined him willingly and gladly, but in some cases force was necessary. The ones which went over to his side on this occasion were firstly Cyme, Smyrna, and Phocaea, Aegae and Temnus subsequently adhering to him in fear of his attack. The Teians and Colophonians also sent embassies delivering up themselves and their cities. Accepting their adhesion on the same terms as formerly and taking hostages, he showed especial consideration to the envoys from Smyrna, as this city had been most constant in its loyalty to him. Continuing his progress and crossing the river Lycus he advanced on the Mysian com-
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tων Μυσών κατοικίας, ἀπὸ δὲ τούτων γενόμενος
8 ἢκε πρὸς Καρσέας. καταπληξάμενος δὲ τούτους, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τοὺς τὰ Δίδυμα τείχη φυλάττοντας, παρέλαβε καὶ ταῦτα τὰ χωρία, Θεμιστοκλέους αὐτὰ παραδόντος, ὃς ἔτυγχανε στρατηγὸς ὑπ’ Ἀχαιῶν καταλαμβάνεις τῶν τόπων τούτων. 9 ὡρμήσας δὲ ἐνεπέθεν καὶ κατασύρας τὸ Ἅπιας πεδίον ὑπερέβαλε τὸ καλούμενον ὄρος Πελεκάντα καὶ κατέξευξε περὶ τὸν Μέγιστον ποταμὸν.

78 Οὐ γενομένης ἐκλείψεως σελήνης, πάλαι δυσχερῶς φέροντες οἱ Γαλάται τὰς ἐν ταῖς πορείαις κακοπαθεῖας ἀτε ποιούμενοι τὴν στρατείαν μετὰ γυναικῶν καὶ τέκνων, ἐπομένων αὐτῶν τούτων ἐν ταῖς ἀμάξαις, τότε σημειωσάμενοι τὸ γεγονὸς οὐκ ἂν ἐφασαν ἔτι προελθεῖν εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν. ὡδὲ βασιλεὺς Ἀτταλὸς χρείαν μὲν εἰς αὐτῶν οὐδεμίαν ὀλοκερνητικῷ κομιζόμενος, θεωρῶν δ’ ἀποσπωμένους ἐν ταῖς πορείαις καὶ καθ’ αὐτῶν στρατοπεδεύοντας καὶ τὸ ὄλον ἀπειθοῦντας καὶ πεφρονηματισμένους, εἰς ἀμηχανίαν ἐνεπίπτετεν οὗ τὴν τυχοῦσαν ἀμα μὲν γὰρ ἡγωνία μὴ πρὸς τὸν Ἅπιαν ἀπονεύσαντες συνεπίθυμον τοῖς αὐτοῖς πράγμασιν, ἀμα δ’ ύφεωράτε τὴν ἔξακολουθοῦσαν αὐτῷ φήμη, εἰ δὲ περιστήσας τοὺς στρατιώτας διαφθείρῃ πάντας τοὺς δοκοῦντας διὰ τῆς ἱδίας πίστεως πεποιηθοῦσαν τὴν εἰς τὴν Ἁπίαν διάβασιν. διὸ τῆς προειρημένης ἀφορμῆς λαβόμενος ἐπηγγείλατο κατὰ μὲν τὸ παρὸν ἀποκαταστήσειν αὐτοὺς πρὸς τὴν διάβασιν καὶ τόπων δῶσειν εὐφυή πρὸς κατοικίαν, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα συμπράξειν εἰς ὅποσα ἂν αὐτῶν παρακαλῶσι τῶν δυνατῶν καὶ καλῶς ἐχόντων.

6 "Ἀτταλὸς μὲν οὖν ἀποκαταστήσας τοὺς Αἰγο-
munities, and after having dealt with them reached Carseae. Overawing the people of this city and also the garrison of Didymateiche he took possession of these places likewise, when Themistocles, the general left in charge of the district by Achaeus, surrendered them to him. Starting thence and laying waste the plain of Apia he crossed Mount Pelecas and encamped near the river Megistus.

78. While he was here, an eclipse of the moon took place, and the Gauls, who had all along been aggrieved by the hardships of the march—since they made the campaign accompanied by their wives and children, who followed them in wagons—considering this a bad omen, refused to advance further. King Attalus, to whom they rendered no service of vital importance, and who noticed that they detached themselves from the column on the march and encamped by themselves and were altogether most insubordinate and self-assertive, found himself in no little perplexity. On the one hand he feared lest they should desert to Achaeus and join him in attacking himself, and on the other he was apprehensive of the reputation he would gain if he ordered his soldiers to surround and destroy all these men who were thought to have crossed to Asia relying on pledges he had given them. Accordingly, availing himself of the pretext of this refusal, he promised for the present to take them back to the place where they had crossed and give them suitable land in which to settle and afterwards to attend as far as lay in his power to all reasonable requests they made.

Attalus, then, after taking the Aegosagae back to the
σάγας εἰς τὸν Ἐλλήσσωντον, καὶ χρηματίσας φιλανθρώπως Λαμψακηνοῖς Ἀλεξανδρεύσιν Ἰλιεύσι διὰ τὸ τετηρηκέναι τούτους τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν πίστιν, ἀνεκώρησε μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως εἰς Πέργαμον.

79 Ἀντίοχος δὲ καὶ Πτολεμαῖος, τῆς ἑαυτῆς ὄρας ἐνυσταμένης, ἐτοίμας ἔχοντες τὰς παρασκευὰς ἐγίνοντο πρὸς τῷ διὰ μάχης κρίνειν τὴν ἔφοδον.

2 οἱ μὲν οὖν περὶ τὸν Πτολεμαῖον ἄρμησαν ἐκ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας ἔχοντες πεζῶν μὲν εἰς ἔπτα μυριάδας, ἵππεις δὲ πεντακισχίλιες, ἐλέφαντας ἐβδομήκοντα

3 τρεῖς. Ἀντίοχος δὲ γνώσι τῆν ἔφοδον αὐτῶν συνῆγε τὰς δυνάμεις. ἦσαν δὲ αὐτοὶ Δᾶμι μὲν καὶ Καρμανοὶ καὶ Κίλικες εἰς τὸν τῶν εὐξώνων τρόπον καθωπλισμένοι περὶ πεντακισχίλιους· τούτων δ' ἀμα τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν εἶχε καὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν Βύττακος ὁ

4 Μακεδών. ὑπὸ δὲ Θεόδοτον τὸν Αιτώλλον τὸν ποιησάμενον τὴν προδοσίαν ἦσαν ἐκ πάσης ἐκλεγμένοι τῆς βασιλείας, καθωπλισμένοι δ' εἰς τὸν Μακεδονικὸν τρόπον, ἄνδρες μύριοι· τούτων οἱ

5 πλείονες ἀργυράσπιδες. τὸ δὲ τῆς φάλαγγος πλῆθος ἦν εἰς δισμυρίοις, ἦσι ἡγεῖτο Νίκαρχος καὶ

6 Θεόδοτος ὁ καλούμενος ἡμιόλος. πρὸς δὲ τούτους Ἀγριάνες καὶ Πέρσαι, τοξόται καὶ σφενδονηται, διαχιλιοὶ. μετὰ δὲ τούτων χίλιοι Ὀράκες, ὄν

7 ἡγεῖτο Μενέδημος Ἀλαβανδεύς. ύπήρχον δὲ καὶ Μήδων καὶ Κισσίων καὶ Καδουσίων καὶ Καρμανῶν οἱ πάντες εἰς πεντακισχίλιους, οίς ἀκούειν Ἀσπα-

8 σιανόν προσετέτακτο τοῦ Μήδου. Ἀραβεὶς δὲ καὶ τυχε τῶν τούτων προσχώρων ἦσαν μὲν εἰς μυρίους,

9 ύπετάττοντο δὲ Ζαβδιβήλω. τῶν δ' ἀπὸ τῆς Ἐλλάδος μισθοφόρων ἦγεῖτο μὲν Ἰππόλοχος Θετ-

10 τάλος, ύπήρχον δὲ τὸν ἀριθμὸν εἰς πεντακισχίλιους. 194
Hellespont and entering into friendly negotiations with the people of Lampsacus, Alexandria Troas, and Ilium, who had all remained loyal to him, returned with his army to Pergamum.

79. By the beginning of spring Antiochus and Ptolemy had completed their preparations and were determined on deciding the fate of the Syrian expedition by a battle. Now Ptolemy started from Alexandria with an army of seventy thousand foot, five thousand horse, and seventy-three elephants, and Antiochus, on learning of his advance, concentrated his forces. These consisted firstly of Daae, Carians, and Cilicians, light-armed troops about five thousand in number organized and commanded by Byttacus the Macedonian. Under Theodotus the Aetolian, who had played the traitor to Ptolemy, was a force of ten thousand selected from every part of the kingdom and armed in the Macedonian manner, most of them with silver shields. The phalanx was about twenty thousand strong and was under the command of Nicarchus and Theodotus surnamed Hemiolius. There were Agrianian and Persian bowmen and slingers to the number of two thousand, and with them two thousand Thracians, all under the command of Menedemus of Alabanda. Aspasianus the Mede had under him a force of about five thousand Medes, Cissians, Cadusians, and Carians. The Arabs and neighbouring tribes numbered about ten thousand and were commanded by Zabdibelus. Hippolochus the Thessalian commanded the mercenaries from Greece, five thousand
10 Κρήτας δὲ χιλίους μὲν καὶ πεντακοσίους εἶχε τοὺς μετ’ Ευρυλόχου, χιλίους δὲ Νεόκρητας τοὺς ὑπὸ Ζέλυν τὸν Γορτύνιον ταττομένους. οἷς ἀμα συνήσαν ἀκοντισταὶ Λυδοὶ πεντακόσιοι καὶ Κάρδακες οἱ μετὰ Λυσιμάχου τοῦ Γαλάτου χίλιοι. τῶν δ’ ἱππέων ἦν τὸ πάν πλῆθος εἰς ἐξακισχίλιους. εἶχε δὲ τῶν μὲν τετρακισχίλιων τὴν ἡγεμονίαν Ἀντί- πατρος ὁ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀδελφίδοις, ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν ἐτέτακτο Θεμίσων. καὶ τῆς μὲν Ἀντίοχου δυνάμεως τὸ πλῆθος ἦν πεζοὶ μὲν ἐξακισμύριοι καὶ δυσχίλιοι, σὺν δὲ τούτως ἱππεῖς ἐξακισχίλιοι, θηρία δὲ δυοὶ πλείω τῶν ἐκατόν.

80 Πτολεμαῖος δὲ ποιησάμενος τὴν πορείαν ἐπὶ Πηλούσιον τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ πόλει 2 κατέξευξε, προσαναλαβὼν δὲ τοὺς ἐφελκομένους καὶ σιτομετρήσας τὴν δύναμιν ἐκίνησε, καὶ προῆγε ποιούμενος τὴν πορείαν παρὰ τὸ Κάσιον καὶ τὰ 3 Βάραθρα καλούμενα διὰ τῆς ἀνύδρου. διανύσας δ’ ἐπὶ τὸ προκείμενον πεμπτάιον κατεστρατοπέδευσε πεντήκοντα σταδίους ἀποσχὼν Ῥαφίας, ἢ κεῖται μετὰ Ῥωνοκόλουρα πρῶτῃ τῶν κατὰ Κοίλην 4 Συρίαν πόλεων ως πρὸς τὴν Αἰγύπτου. κατὰ δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς καιροὺς Ἀντίοχος ἦκε τὴν δύναμιν ἔχων, παραγενόμενος δ’ εἰς Γάζαν καὶ προσανα- λαβὼν ἐνταῦθα τὴν δύναμιν αὐξά ν ἐπῆξε βάδην. καὶ παραλλάξας τὴν προειρημένην πόλιν κατε- στρατοπέδευσε νυκτός, ἀποσχὼν τῶν ὑπεναντίων 5 ως δέκα σταδίους. τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον ἐν τούτῳ τῷ διαστήματι γεγονότες ἀντεστρατοπέδευνον ἀλ- 6 λῆλοις· μετὰ δὲ τινὰς ἡμέρας Ἀντίοχος, ἀμα τόπον βουλόμενος εὐφυέστερον μεταλαβεῖν καὶ ταῖς δυνα- μέσοις ἑμποίησαι θάρσος, προσεστρατοπέδευσε τοῖς 196
in number. Antiochus had also fifteen hundred Cretans under Eurylochus and a thousand Neo-cretans under Zelys of Gortyna. With these were five hundred Lydian javelineers and a thousand Cardaces under Lysimachus the Gaul. The cavalry numbered six thousand in all, four thousand of them being commanded by Antipater the king’s nephew and the rest by Themison. The whole army of Antiochus consisted of sixty-two thousand foot, six thousand horse, and a hundred and two elephants.

80. Ptolemy, marching on Pelusium, made his first halt at that city, and after picking up stragglers and serving out rations to his men moved on marching through the desert and skirting Mount Casius and the marshes called Barathra. Reaching the spot he was bound for on the fifth day he encamped at a distance of fifty stades from Raphia, which is the first city of Coele-Syria on the Egyptian side after Rhinocolura. Antiochus was approaching at the same time with his army, and after reaching Gaza and resting his forces there, continued to advance slowly. Passing Raphia he encamped by night at a distance of ten stades from the enemy. At first the two armies continued to remain at this distance from each other, but after a few days Antiochus, with the object of finding a more suitable position for his camp and at the same time wishing to encourage
perί τόν Πτολεμαίον, ὡστε μὴ πλείον τῶν πέντε
7 σταδίων τοὺς χάρακας ἀπέχειν ἄλληλων. ἐν δὲ
cαιρῷ περὶ τε τάς ύδρείας καὶ προνομὰς ἐγίνοντο
συμπλοκαὶ πλείους, ὃμοιώς δὲ καὶ μεταξὺ τῶν
στρατοπέδων ἀκροβολισμοὶ συνίσταντο, ποτὲ μὲν
ἰππέων ποτὲ δὲ καὶ πεζῶν.

81 Κατὰ δὲ τὸν καιρὸν τούτον Θεόδωτος Αἰτωλικὴ
mὲν, οὐκ ἀνάνδρω δὲ ἐπεβάλετο τόλμη καὶ πράξει.
2 συνειδῶς γὰρ ἐκ τῆς προγεγενημένης συμβιώσεως
tην τοῦ βασιλέως αἴρεσιν καὶ δίαιταν ποιά τις ἤν,
εἰςπορεύεται τρίτος γενόμενος ὑπὸ τὴν ἐωθικὴν
3 εἰς τὸν τῶν πολεμίων χάρακα. κατὰ μὲν οὖν τὴν
ὄψιν ἄγνωστος ἦν διὰ τὸ σκότος, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐσθήτα
καὶ τὴν ἄλλην περικοπὴν ἀνεπισήμαντο διὰ τὸ
4 ποικίλην εἶναι κακέων τὴν ἐνδομενίαν. ἐστοχα-
σμένος δ' ἐν ταῖς πρὸτερον ἡμέραις τῆς τοῦ βασι-
λέως σκηνῆς διὰ τὸ παντελῶς σύνεγγυς γίνεσθαι
tοὺς ἀκροβολισμοὺς, ὥρμησε θρασεύς ἐπ' αὐτὴν,
cαὶ τοὺς μὲν πρῶτους πάντας διελθὼν ἔλαθε,
5 παραπεσόν δ' εἰς τὴν σκηνήν ἐν ἣν χρηματίζειν
eἰώθηκε καὶ δειπνεῖν ὁ βασιλεὺς, πάντα τόπον ἐρευ-
νήσας τοῦ μὲν βασιλέως ἀπέτυχε διὰ τὸ τὸν Πτολε-
μαίον ἐκτὸς τῆς ἐπιφάνειας καὶ χρηματιστικῆς
6 σκηνῆς ποιεῖοθα τὴν ἀνάπαυσιν, δύο δὲ των τῶν
αὐτοῦ κοιμώμενων τραυματίσας καὶ τὸν ἱατρὸν
τοῦ βασιλέως 'Ανδρέαν ἀποκτείνας ἀνεχώρησε
μετ' ἀσφαλείας εἰς τὴν έαυτοῦ παρεμβολήν, βραχέα
θορυβθῆτες ἦδη περὶ τὴν τοῦ χάρακος ἐκπτωσιν,
7 τῇ μὲν τόλμῃ συντετελεκὼς τὴν πρόθεσιν, τῇ δὲ
προνοία διεσφαλμένος διὰ τὸ μὴ καλῶς ἐξητακέναι
ποῦ τὴν ἀνάπαυσιν ὁ Πτολεμαῖος εἰώθη εἰςεἰσθαί.
82 Οἱ δὲ βασιλεῖς πένθ' ἡμέρας ἀντιστρατοπε-
his troops, encamped so near Ptolemy that the distance between the two camps was not more than five stades. Skirmishes were now frequent between the watering and foraging parties, and there was occasional interchange of missiles between the cavalry and even the infantry.

81. During this time Theodotus made a daring attempt, which, though characteristic of an Aetolian, showed no lack of courage. As from his former intimacy with Ptolemy he was familiar with his tastes and habits, he entered the camp at early dawn with two others. It was too dark for his face to be recognized, and there was nothing to attract attention in his dress and general appearance, as their army also was mixed. He had noticed on previous days the position of the king's tent, as the skirmishes had come up quite near to the camp, and making boldly for it, he passed all the first guards without being noticed and, bursting into the tent in which the king used to dine and transact business, searched everywhere. He failed indeed to find the king, who was in the habit of retiring to rest outside the principal and official tent, but after wounding two of those who slept there and killing the king's physician Andreas, he returned in safety to his own camp, although slightly molested as he was leaving that of the enemy, and thus as far as daring went accomplished his enterprise, but was foiled only by his lack of foresight in omitting to ascertain exactly where the king was in the habit of sleeping.

82. The kings after remaining encamped opposite
δεύσαντες ἀλλήλοις, ἐγνωσαν ἀμφότεροι διὰ μάχης
2 κρίνειν τὰ πράγματα. καταρχομένων δὲ τῶν περὶ
tὸν Πτολεμαῖον κυνεῖν τὴν δύναμιν ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος
eὐθέως οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀντίοχον ἀντεξῆγον. καὶ τὰς
μὲν φάλαγγας ἀμφότεροι καὶ τοὺς ἐπιλέκτους
tοὺς εἰς τὸν Μακεδονικὸν τρόπον καθωπλισμένους
3 κατὰ πρόσωπον ἄλληλων ἔταξαν, τὰ δὲ κέρατα
Πτολεμαῖοι μὲν ἐκάτερα τούτοις συνίστατο τὸν
τρόπον. Πολυκράτης μὲν εἶχε μετὰ τῶν ὕφ᾽ ἑαυτὸν
4 ἐπέσω τὸ λαιὸν κέρας· τούτου δὲ καὶ τῆς φάλαγγος
μεταξὺ Κρῆτες ἦσαν παρ᾽ αὐτοὺς τοὺς ἐπιπείς,
ἐξῆς δὲ τούτως τὸ βασιλικὸν ἁγήμα, μετὰ δὲ
τούτως οἱ μετὰ Σωκράτους πελτασταῖ, συνάπτον-
tες τοὺς Λίβυους τοὺς εἰς τὸν Μακεδονικὸν τρόπον
5 καθωπλισμένους. ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρας Ἐχε-
κράτης ἤν ὁ Θετταλὸς ἐχὼν τοὺς ὕφ᾽ αὐτὸν ἐπιπείς·
παρὰ δὲ τούτον ἐκ τῶν εὐνώμων ἱσταντο Γαλάται
6 καὶ Θράκες· ἐξῆς δὲ τούτοις Φοξίδας εἶχε τοὺς
ἀπὸ τῆς Ἐλλάδος μισθοφόρους, συνάπτοντας τοῖς
7 τῶν Λιγυπτίων φαλαγγίταις. τῶν δὲ θηρίων τὰ
μὲν τετταράκοντα κατὰ τὸ λαιὸν ἦν, ἐφ᾽ οὔ Πτολε-
μαῖος αὐτὸς ἐμελλε ποιεῖσθαι τὸν κίνδυνον, τὰ δὲ
τριάκοντα καὶ τρία πρὸ τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρατος ἑτέτακτο
8 κατ᾽ αὐτοὺς τοὺς μισθοφόρους ἐπιπεῖς. Ἀντίοχος
δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἐξῆκοντα τῶν ἐλεφάντων, ἐφ᾽ ὕν ἦν
Φίλιππος ὁ σύντροφος αὐτοῦ, πρὸ τοῦ δεξιοῦ
κέρατος προέστησε, καθ᾽ ὁ ποιεῖσθαι τὸν κίνδυνον
9 αὐτὸς ἐμελλε πρὸς τοὺς περὶ τὸν Πτολεμαῖον· τού-
tων δὲ κατόπιν διαχελίους μὲν ἐπιπεῖς τοὺς ὑπ᾽
Ἀντίπατρον ταπτομένους ἐπέστησε, διαχελίους δὲ
10 ἐν ἐπικαμπτίῳ παρενέβαλε. παρὰ δὲ τοὺς ἐπιπεῖς
ἐν μετώπῳ τοὺς Κρῆτας ἐστησε· τούτοις δ᾽ ἐξῆς
200
each other for five days both resolved to decide matters by a battle. The moment that Ptolemy began to move his army out of camp, Antiochus followed his example. Both of them placed the phalanxes of the picked troops armed in the Macedonian fashion confronting each other in the centre. Ptolemy’s two wings were formed as follows. Polycrates with his cavalry held the extreme left wing, and between him and the phalanx stood first the Cretans, next the cavalry, then the royal guard, then the peltasts under Socrates, these latter being next those Lybians who were armed in the Macedonian manner. On the extreme right wing was Echecrates with his cavalry, and on his left stood Gauls and Thracians, and next them was Phoxidas with his Greek mercenaries in immediate contact with the Egyptian phalanx. Of the elephants forty were posted on the left where Ptolemy himself was about to fight, and the remaining thirty-three in front of the mercenary cavalry on the right wing. Antiochus placed sixty of his elephants under the command of his foster-brother Philip in front of his right wing, where he was to fight in person against Ptolemy. Behind the elephants he posted two thousand horse under Antipater and two thousand more at an angle with them. Next the cavalry facing the front, he placed the Cretans, then the
Τότε ποτέ τούς ἀπὸ τῆς Ἐλλάδος χιλιάδες μισθοφόρους· μετὰ δὲ τούτων καὶ τῶν εἰς τὸν Μακεδονίκον τρόπον καθωπλισμένων τοὺς μετὰ Βυττάκου τοῦ Μακεδόνος ὁντας πεντακισχιλίους παρενέβαλε. τῆς δ’ εὐωνύμου πάξεως ἐπ’ αὐτῷ μὲν τὸ κέρας ἐθηκε δισχιλίους ἐπεῖς, ὃν ἤγειτο Θεμίσων, παρὰ δὲ τούτους Κάρδακας καὶ Λυδοὺς ἄκοντιστάς, ἐξῆς δὲ τούτους τοὺς ὑπὸ Μενέδημον εὐξώνους, ὁντας εἰς τρισ-χιλίους, μετὰ δὲ τούτους Κισσίους καὶ Μήδους καὶ Καρμανίους, παρὰ δὲ τούτους Ἀραβας ἀμα τοῖς προσχωροις, συνάπτουτας τῇ φάλαγγι. τὰ δὲ κατάλοιπα τῶν θηρίων τοῦ λαιοῦ κέρατος προεβάλ-λετο, τῶν βασιλικῶν τίνα γεγονότα παίδων ἐπιστή-σας Μυῖσκον.

83 Τούτου δὲ τῶν τρόπων τῶν δυνάμεων ἐκτεταγμέ-
νων ἐπιπαρήσαν οἱ βασιλεῖς ἀμφότεροι κατὰ πρόσωπον τὰς αὐτῶν πάξεις παρακαλοῦντες ἀμα τοῖς ἤγειοις καὶ φίλοις. μεγίστας δ’ ἐν τοῖς φαλαγγίταις ἐλπίδας ἐχοντες ἀμφότεροι πλείστην καὶ σπουδὴν καὶ παράκλησιν ἐπονύντο περὶ ταῦτας τὰς πάξεις, Πτολεμαῖο μὲν Ὕνόρομάχου καὶ Σωσσίβου καὶ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς Ὅρισιν, τῷ δὲ Θεοδότου καὶ Νικάρχου συμπαρακαλοῦντων διὰ τὸ παρ’ ἐκατέρω τούτους ἔχειν τὰς τῶν φαλαγ-γιτῶν ἤγειονιας. ἂν δὲ παραπλῆσις ὁ νοῦς τῶν ὑπὸ ἐκατέρου παρακαλομένων· ὦδιον μὲν γὰρ ἐργὸν ἐπιφανὲς καὶ κατηξιωμένον προφέρεσθαι τοῖς παρακαλομένως οὐδέτερος αὐτῶν εἰχε διὰ τὸ προσφάτως παρειληφέναι τὰς ἀρχὰς, τῆς δὲ τῶν προγόνων δόξης καὶ τῶν ἐκείνως πεπραγμένων ἀναμνήσκοντες φρόνημα καὶ θάρσος τοῖς φα-λαγγίταις ἐπειρόντω παριστάναι. μάλιστα δὲ τὰς 202
mercenaries from Greece and next these the five thousand armed in the Macedonian fashion under the command of Byttacus the Macedonian. On his extreme left wing he posted two thousand horse under the command of Themison, next these the Cardacian and Lydian javelineers, then three thousand light-armed troops under Menedemus, after these the Cissians, Medes, and Carmanians, and finally, in contact with the phalanx, the Arabs and neighbouring tribes. His remaining elephants he placed in front of his left wing under the command of Myiscus, one of the young men who had been brought up at court.

83. The armies having been drawn up in this fashion, both the kings rode along the line accompanied by their officers and friends, and addressed their soldiers. As they relied chiefly on the phalanx, it was to these troops that they made the most earnest appeal, Ptolemy being supported by Andromachus, Sosibius and his sister Arsinoë and Antiochus by Theodotus and Nicarchus, these being the commanders of the phalanx on either side. The substance of the addresses was on both sides very similar. For neither king could cite any glorious and generally recognized achievement of his own, both of them having but recently come to the throne, so that it was by reminding the troops of the glorious deeds of their ancestors that they attempted to inspire them with spirit and courage. They laid the greatest
84 Ἐπεὶ δὲ παριῶν ἦκε μετὰ τής ἀδελφῆς Πτολεμαίος μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ πάσης τῆς σφετέρας παρατάξεως εὐώνυμον, Ἀντίοχος δὲ μετὰ τῆς βασιλικῆς ἦλθε ἐπὶ τὸ δεξίον, σημηνάντες τὸ πολεμικὸν συνέβαλον πρῶτον τοῖς θηρίοις. ὅλιγα μὲν σῶν τῶν παρὰ Πτολεμαίον συνήρεισε τοῖς ἑαυτοῖς· ἐφ᾿ ὧν ἐποίουν ἀγώνα καλὸν οἱ πυρηνικοὶ συμμετείχατε, ἐκ χειρὸς ταῖς σαρίσας διαδοτίζόμενοι καὶ τυπτόντες ἄλληλους, ἐτὶ δὲ καλλίω τὰ θηρία, βιαομαχοῦντα καὶ συμπέπτοντα κατὰ πρόσωπον αὐτοῖς. ἔστι γὰρ ἡ τῶν ζῴων μάχη τοιαύτη τις. συμπλέξαντα καὶ παρεμβαλόντα τοὺς ὀδόντας εἰς ἄλληλους ὤθει τῇ βίᾳ, διερείδομεν περὶ τῆς χώρας, ἔως ἂν κατακρατήσαν τῇ δυνάμει θάτερον παρώσῃ τὴν θατέρου προνομὴν· ὅταν δ᾿ ἀπαξ ἐγκλίναν πλάγιον λάβῃ, τιτρώσκει τοῖς ὀδοὺσι καθάπερ οἱ ταῦροι τοῖς κέρασιν. τὰ δὲ πλείστα τῶν τοῦ Πτολεμαίου θηρίων ἀπεδειλίᾳ τὴν μάχην, ὁπερ ἐθος ἐστὶ ποιεῖν 6 τοῖς Διβυκοῖς ἐλέφασι· τὴν γὰρ ὀσμὴν καὶ φωνὴν οὐ μένουσιν, ἄλλα καὶ καταπεπληγμένου τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὴν δύναμιν, ὡς γ᾿ ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, φεύγουσιν εὐθέως ἐξ ἀποστήματος τούς Ἰνδικοὺς ἐλέφαντας. 7 δὲ καὶ τότε συνέβη γενέσθαι. τούτων δὲ διαταραχ—
stress, however, on the rewards which they might be expected to bestow in the future, and urged and exhorted both the leaders in particular and all those who were about to be engaged in general to bear themselves therefore like gallant men in the coming battle. So with these or similar words spoken either by themselves or by their interpreters they rode along the line.

84. When Ptolemy and his sister after their progress had reached the extremity of his left wing and Antiochus with his horse-guards had reached his extreme right, they gave the signal for battle and brought the elephants first into action. A few only of Ptolemy’s elephants ventured to close with those of the enemy, and now the men in the towers on the back of these beasts made a gallant fight of it, striking with their pikes at close quarters and wounding each other, while the elephants themselves fought still better, putting forth their whole strength and meeting forehead to forehead. The way in which these animals fight is as follows. With their tusks firmly interlocked they shove with all their might, each trying to force the other to give ground, until the one who proves strongest pushes aside the other’s trunk, and then, when he has once made him turn and has him in the flank, he gores him with his tusks as a bull does with his horns. Most of Ptolemy’s elephants, however, declined the combat, as is the habit of African elephants; for unable to stand the smell and the trumpeting of the Indian elephants, and terrified, I suppose, also by their great size and strength, they at once turn tail and take to flight before they get near them. This is what happened on the present occasion; and when Ptolemy’s elephants were thus thrown into confusion
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θέντων καὶ πρὸς τὰς αὐτῶν τάξεις συνωθουμένων τὸ μὲν ἁγιμα τὸ τοῦ Πτολεμαίου πιεζόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν θηρίων ἐνέκλυνε, τοῖς δὲ περὶ τὸν Πολυκράτην καὶ τοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦτον ἅπευσοι διατεταγμένοις οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀντίοχον ὑπὲρ τὰ θηρία περικερῶντες καὶ προσπέπτοντες ἐνέβαλον. ἅμα δὲ τούτοις, τῶν ἑλεφάντων ἐντός, οἱ περὶ τὴν φάλαγγα τῶν Ἑλλήνων μισθοφόροι προσπεσόντες τοὺς τοῦ Πτολεμαίου πελταστὰς ἐξέφωσαν, προσυγκεκυκτῶν ἦδη καὶ τὰς τούτων τάξεις τῶν θηρίων. τὸ μὲν οὖν εὐώνυμον τοῦ Πτολεμαίου τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον πιεζόμενον ἐνέκλυνε πᾶν, Ἐξεκράτης δ’ ὁ τὸ δεξιὸν ἔχων κέρας τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐκαρακόει τὴν τῶν προερημένων κεράτων σύμπτωσιν, ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸν μὲν κονιορτὸν ἐώρα κατὰ τῶν ἱδίων φερόμενον, τὰ δὲ παρ’ αὐτοῖς θηρία τὸ παράπαν οὐδὲ προσεῖναι τολμῶντα τοῖς υπεναντίοις, τῷ μὲν Φοξίδα παρήγαγει τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἔχοντι μισθοφόρους συμβαλεῖν τοῖς κατὰ πρόσωπον ἀντιτεταγμένοις, αὐτὸς δ’ ἔξαγαγεν κατὰ κέρας τοὺς ἅπεισι καὶ τοὺς ὑπὸ τὰ θηρία τεταγμένους τῆς μὲν ἐφόδου τῶν θηρίων ἐκτὸς ἐγεγόνει, τοὺς δὲ τῶν πολεμίων ἅπεισι οὕς μὲν ύπεραῖρων οἷς δὲ κατὰ κέρας ἐμβάλ- λων ταχέως ἐτρέψατο. τὸ δὲ παραπλήσιον ὁ τε Φοξίδας καὶ πάντες οἱ περὶ αὐτὸν ἐποίησαν· προσ- πεσόντες γὰρ τοῖς Ἀραβι καὶ τοῖς Μηδίοις ἤναγκα- 5 σαν ἀποστραφέντας φεύγειν προτροπάδην. τὸ μὲν οὖν δεξιὸν τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἀντίοχον ἐνίκα, τὸ δ’ εὐ- 6 ὄνυμον ἥττατο τὸν προειρημένον τρόπον. αἱ δὲ φάλαγγες, ἀμφοτέρων τῶν κεράτων αὐταὶς ἐμι- λιμένων, ἕμενον ἀκέραιοι κατὰ μέσον τὸ πεδίον, ἀμφιρύστους ἔχουσαι τὰς ὑπὲρ τοῦ μέλλοντος 206
and driven back on their own lines, Ptolemy's guard gave way under the pressure of the animals. Meanwhile Antiochus and his cavalry riding past the flank of the elephants on the outside attacked Polycrates and the cavalry under his command, while at the same time on the other side of the elephants the Greek mercenaries next the phalanx fell upon Ptolemy's peltasts and drove them back, their ranks having been already thrown into confusion by the elephants. Thus the whole of Ptolemy's left wing was hard pressed and in retreat. 85. Echecrates who commanded the right wing at first waited for the result of the engagement between the other wings, but when he saw the cloud of dust being carried in his direction, and their own elephants not even daring to approach those of the enemy, he ordered Phoxidas with the mercenaries from Greece to attack the hostile force in his front, while he himself with his cavalry and the division immediately behind the elephants moving off the field and round the enemy's flank, avoided the onset of the animals and speedily put to flight the cavalry of the enemy, charging them both in flank and rear. Phoxidas and his men met with the same success; for charging the Arabs and Medes they forced them to headlong flight. Antiochus' right wing then was victorious, while his left wing was being worsted in the manner I have described. Meanwhile the phalanxes stripped of both their wings remained intact in the middle of the plain, swayed alternately by hope and fear.
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7 ἐλπίδας. κατὰ δὲ τὸν καίρον τούτον Ἀντίοχος μὲν συνηγωνύζετο τῷ κατὰ τὸ δεξίον κέρας προτε- 
8 ρήματι, Πτολεμαῖος δὲ τὴν ἀποχώρησιν ὑπὸ τὴν 
φάλαγγα πεποιημένος τότε προσελθὼν εἰς μέσον 
καὶ φανεῖς ταῖς δυνάμεις τοὺς μὲν ὑπεναντίους 
κατεπλήξατο, τοῖς δὲ παρ’ αὐτοῦ μεγάλην ὀρμήν 
ἔνειργάσατο καὶ προθυμίαν. διὸ καὶ καταβαλόντες 
παραχρῆμα τὰς σαρίσας οἱ περὶ τοῦ Ἀνδρόμαχον 
καὶ Σωσίβιον ἐπῆγον. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἐπίλεκτοι τῶν 
Συριακῶν βραχὺν τινὰ χρόνον ἀντέστησαν, οἱ τε 
μετὰ τοῦ Νικάρχου ταχέως ἐγκλίναντες ὑπεχώρουν.
11 δ’ Ἀντίοχος, ὡς ἀν ἄπειρος καὶ νέος, ὑπολαμβά-
νοι εκ τοῦ καθ’ ἐαυτὸν μέρους καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ παρα-
πλησίως αὐτῷ πάντα νικᾶν ἐπέκειτο τοῖς φεύ-
12 γουσιν. ὅπερ δὲ ποτὲ τῶν προσβυτέρων τινὸς
ἐπιστήσατο αὐτόν, καὶ δεῖξαντος φερόμενον τὸν
κοινωτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς φάλαγγος ἐπὶ τὴν ἐαυτῶν
παρεμβολήν, τότε συννοήσας τὸ γυνόμενον ἀνατρέ-
χειν ἐπειράτο μετὰ τῆς βασιλικῆς ἅλης ἐπὶ τὸν
13 τῆς παρατάξεως τόπον. καταλαβὼν δὲ τοὺς παρ’
αὐτοῦ πάντας πεφευγότας, οὕτως ἐποιεῖτο τὴν
ἀποχώρησιν εἰς τὴν Ῥαφίαν, τὸ μὲν καθ’ αὐτὸν
μέρος πεπεισμένος νικᾶν, διὰ δὲ τὴν τῶν ἄλλων
ἀγεννίαν καὶ δειλίαν ἑσφάλθαι νομίζειν τοῖς ὀλοῖς.

86 Πτολεμαῖος δὲ διὰ μὲν τῆς φάλαγγος τὰ ὀλα
διακρίνας, διὰ δὲ τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρατος
ἐπpestow καὶ μισθοφόρων πολλοὺς ἀποκτείνας κατὰ
τὸ δίωγμα τῶν ὑπεναντίων, τότε μὲν ἀναχωρήσας
2 ἐπὶ τῆς ὑπαρχοῦσης ἡλίσθη παρεμβολῆς, τῇ δ’
ἐπαύριον τοὺς μὲν ἰδίους νεκροὺς ἀνελόμενος καὶ
θάψας, τοὺς δὲ τῶν ἐναντίων σκυλεύσας, ἀνέζευξε,
3 καὶ προῆγε πρὸς τὴν Ῥαφίαν. δ’ Ἀντίοχος ἐκ τῆς
208
Antiochus was still occupied in pursuing his advantage on the right wing, but Ptolemy having retired under shelter of the phalanx suddenly came forward and showing himself to his troops caused consternation among the enemy and inspired his own men with increased alacrity and spirit. Lowering their pikes, therefore, the phalanx under Andromachus and Sosibius advanced to the charge. For a short time the picked Syrian troops resisted, but those under Nicarchus quickly turned and fled. Antiochus all this time, being still young and inexperienced and supposing from his own success that his army was victorious in other parts of the field too, was following up the fugitives. But at length on one of his elder officers calling his attention to the fact that the cloud of dust was moving from the phalanx towards his own camp he realized what had happened, and attempted to return to the battle-field with his horse-guard. But finding that his whole army had taken to flight, he retired to Raphia, in the confident belief that as far as it depended on himself he had won the battle, but had suffered this disaster owing to the base cowardice of the rest.

86. Ptolemy having thus obtained a decisive victory by his phalanx, and having killed many of the enemy in the pursuit by the hands of the cavalry and mercenaries of his right wing, retired and spent the night in his former camp. Next day, after picking up and burying his own dead and despoiling those of the enemy, he broke up his camp and advanced on Raphia. Antiochus after his flight had wished to
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φυγῆς ἐβούλετο μὲν εὐθέως ἕξω στρατοπεδεύειν, συναθροίσας τοὺς ἐν τοῖς συστήμασι πεφευγότας, τῶν δὲ πλείστων εἰς τὴν πόλιν πεποιημένων τῆν ἀποχώρησιν ἤναγκάσθη καὶ αὐτὸς εἰσελθεῖν. 4 οὕτως μὲν οὖν ὑπὸ τὴν ἐωθινὴν ἐξαγαγὼν τὸ σωζόμενον μέρος τῆς δυνάμεως διέστειρε πρὸς Γάζαν, κακεὶ καταστρατοπεδεύσας καὶ διαπεμψάμενος περὶ τῆς τῶν νεκρῶν ἀναιρέσεως ἐκήθευσε τοὺς 

5 τεθνεώτας ὑποστόλους. ἦσαν δὲ οἱ τετελευτηκότες τῶν παρ' Ἀντιόχου πεζοὶ μὲν οὐ πολὺ λείποντες μυρίων, ἵππεις δὲ πλείους τριακοσίων. ξωγρία δὲ ἐάλωσαν ὑπὲρ τοὺς τετρακισχίλιους. 6 ἐλέφαντες δὲ τρεῖς μὲν παραχρῆμα, δύο δὲ ἐκ τῶν τραυμάτων ἀπέθανον. τῶν δὲ παρὰ Πτολεμαίου πεζοὶ μὲν εἰς χιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους ἔτελευτήσαν, ἵππεις δὲ εἰς ἐπτακοσίους. τῶν δὲ ἐλέφαντων ἐκκαίδεκα μὲν ἀπέθανον, ἤρέθησαν δὲ αὐτῶν οἱ πλείους.

7 Ἡ μὲν οὖν πρὸς Ὁραίαν μάχη γενομένη τοῖς βασιλεύσι περὶ Κοίλης Συρίας τοῦτον ἀπετελέσθη. 8 τὸν τρόπον μετὰ δὲ τὴν τῶν νεκρῶν ἀναίρεσιν Ἀντίόχος μὲν ἐποιεῖτο τὴν ἀποχώρησιν εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως, Πτολεμαῖος δὲ τὴν τε Ὁραίαν καὶ τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις ἐξ ἑφόδου παρελάμβανε, πάντων τῶν πολιτευμάτων ἀμιλλωμένων ὑπὲρ τοῦ φθάσαι τοὺς πέλας περὶ τὴν ἀποκατά-

9 στασιν καὶ μετάθεσιν τὴν πρὸς αὐτόν. ἦσας μὲν οὖν εἰώθασι πάντες περὶ τοὺς τοιούτους καιροὺς ἀρμόζεσθαι πως ἂεὶ πρὸς τὸ παρόν μάλιστα δὲ τὸ κατ᾽ ἐκείνους τοὺς τόπους γένος τῶν ἀνθρώπων εὐφυές καὶ πρόχειρον πρὸς τὰς ἕκ τοῦ καιροῦ χάρι-

10 τας. τότε δὲ καὶ τῆς εὐνοίας προκαθηγομένης 210
take up at once a position outside the town collecting the scattered groups of fugitives; but as most of them had taken refuge in the city, he was compelled to enter it himself also. At daybreak he left for Gaza at the head of the surviving portion of his army, and encamping there sent a message asking for leave to collect his dead whom he buried under cover of this truce. His losses in killed alone had amounted to nearly ten thousand footmen and more than three hundred horsemen, while more than four thousand had been taken prisoners. Three of his elephants perished in the battle and two died of their wounds. Ptolemy had lost about fifteen hundred foot and seven hundred horse, killed; sixteen of his elephants were killed and most of them captured.

Such was the result of the battle of Raphia fought by the kings for the possession of Coele-Syria. After paying the last honours to the dead Antiochus returned to his own kingdom with his army, and Ptolemy took without resistance Raphia and the other towns, each community endeavouring to anticipate its neighbours in going over to him and resuming its allegiance. Possibly all men at such times are more or less disposed to adapt themselves to the needs of the hour, and the natives of these parts are naturally more prone than others to bestow their affections at the bidding of circumstances. But at this juncture it was only to be expected that they
πρὸς τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀλέξανδρείας βασιλεῖς εἰκό-
tως τοῦτο συνέβαινε γίνεσθαι· τῇ γὰρ οἰκίᾳ ταύτῃ
μᾶλλον ἀεὶ τῶς οἱ κατὰ Κοίλην Συρίαν ὀχλοὶ
1 προσκλάνουσι· διόπερ οὐκ ἀπέλειπτον ὑπερβολὴν
ἀρεσκείας, στεφάνους καὶ θυσίας καὶ βωμοῖς καὶ
παντὶ τῷ τοιούτῳ τρόπῳ τιμῶντες τὸν Πτολεμαίον.

87 Ἀντίοχος δὲ παραγενόμενος εἰς τὴν ἐπώνυμον
αὐτοῦ πόλιν εὐθέως ἐξέπεμψε τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἀντί-
pατρὸν τὸν ἀδελφιδοῦν καὶ Θεόδοτον τὸν ἡμιόλιον
πρεσβευτὰς πρὸς τὸν Πτολεμαίον ὑπὲρ εἰρήνης
καὶ διαλύσεως, ἀγωνίας τὴν τῶν ὑπεναντίων
2 ἐφοδον· ἦπιστει μὲν γὰρ τοὺς ὀχλοὺς διὰ τὸ γεγονός
ἐλάττωμα περὶ αὐτῶν, ἐφοβεῖτο δὲ τὸν Ἀχαϊόν,
3 μὴ συνεπιθηται τοῖς καιροῖς. Πτολεμαῖος δὲ
τούτων οὐδὲν συλλογιζόμενος, ἀλλ’ ἁσμενίζων ἐπὶ
tῷ γεγονότι προτερήματι διὰ τὸ παράδοξον καὶ
συλλήβδην ἐπὶ τῷ Κοίλην Συρίαν ἐκτήσθαι παρα-
dόξων, οὐκ ἄλλοτριος ἢν τῆς Ἰσημερίας ἢν ὑπὲρ τὸ
δέον οἰκεῖος, ἐλκόμενος ὑπὸ τῆς συνήθους ἐν τῷ
4 βίῳ βασιλείας καὶ καχέξιας. πλὴν παραγενομένων
τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἀντίπατρον, βραχέα προσαναταθεῖς
καὶ καταμεμψάμενος ἐπὶ τοὺς πεπραγμένους τὸν
5 Ἀντίοχον συνεχώρησε σπονδᾶς ἐνιαυσίους. καὶ
τούτως μὲν ἐπικυρώσοντα τὰς διαλύσεις συνεξ-
6 ἀπέστειλε Σωσίβιον, αὐτὸς δὲ διατρίβας ἐπὶ τρεις
μῆνας ἐν τοῖς κατὰ Συρίαν καὶ Φοινίκην τόποις
καὶ καταστησάμενος τὰς πόλεις, μετὰ ταῦτα
καταλιπὼν τὸν Ἀνδρόμαχον τὸν Ἀσπένδιον στρα-
tήγον ἐπὶ πάντων τῶν προερημένων τόπων ἀνέζευξε
μετὰ τῆς ἀδελφῆς καὶ τῶν φίλων ἐπ’ Ἀλέξανδρείας,
7 παράδοξον τοῖς ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ λουποῦ
βίον προαιρέσει τέλος ἐπιτεθεικῶς τῷ πολέμῳ.
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should act so, as their affection for the Egyptian kings was of no recent growth; for the peoples of Coele-Syria have always been more attached to that house than to the Seleucidae. So now there was no extravagance of adulation to which they did not proceed, honouring Ptolemy with crowns, sacrifices, altars dedicated to him and every distinction of the kind.

87. Antiochus, on reaching the town which bears his name, at once dispatched his nephew Antipater and Theodotus Hemiolius to treat with Ptolemy for peace, as he was seriously afraid of an invasion by the enemy. For he had no confidence in his own soldiers owing to his recent reverse, and he feared lest Achaeus should avail himself of the opportunity to attack him. Ptolemy took none of these matters into consideration, but delighted as he was at his recent unexpected success and generally at having surpassed his expectations by regaining possession of Coele-Syria, was not averse to peace, in fact rather too much inclined to it, being drawn towards it by his indolent and depraved habit of life. When, therefore, Antipater and his fellow ambassador arrived, after a little bluster and some show of expostulation with Antiochus for his conduct, he granted a truce for a year. Sending back Sosibius with the ambassadors to ratify the treaty, he remained himself for three months in Syria and Phoenicia establishing order in the towns, and then, leaving Andromachus behind as military governor of the whole district, he returned with his sister and his friends to Alexandria, having brought the war to an end in a manner that astonished his subjects in view
8 Ἀντίοχος δὲ τὰ περὶ τὰς σπονδὰς ἀσφαλισάμενος πρὸς τὸν Σωσίβιον, ἐγίνετο κατὰ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς πρόθεσιν περὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀχαίον παρασκευὴν.

88 Τὰ μὲν οὖν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐν τούτοις ἦν· Ῥόδιοι δὲ κατὰ τοὺς προερημένους καιροὺς ἐπειλημμένοι τῆς ἀφορμῆς τῆς κατὰ τὸν σεισμὸν τὸν γενόμενον παρ΄ αὐτοῖς βραχεῖ χρόνῳ πρότερον, ἐν ὃ συνέβη τὸν τε κολοσσὸν τὸν μέγαν πεσεῖν καὶ τὰ πλείστα τῶν τειχῶν καὶ τῶν νεωρίων, 2 οὕτως ἔχειριζον νουνεχώς καὶ πραγματικῶς τὸ γεγονός ὡς μὴ βλάβης διορθώσεως δὲ μάλλον 3 αὐτοῖς αἰτιὸν γενέσθαι τὸ σύμπτωμα. τοσοῦτον ἄγνοια καὶ βαθυμία διαφέρει παρ΄ ἀνθρώποις ἐπιμελείας καὶ φρονήσεως περὶ τε τοὺς κατ’ ἱδίαν βίους καὶ τὰς κοινὰς πολιτείας, ὡστε τοῖς μὲν καὶ τὰς ἐπιτυχίας βλάβην ἐπιφέρειν, τοῖς δὲ καὶ τὰς περιπετείας ἐπανορθώσεως γίνεσθαι παρατίας. 4 οἱ γοῦν Ῥόδιοι τότε παρὰ τὸν χειρισμὸν τὸ μὲν σύμπτωμα ποιοῦντες μέγα καὶ δεινόν, αὐτοὶ δὲ σεμνῶς καὶ προστατικῶς κατὰ τὰς προσβείας χρώμενοι ταῖς ἐντεύξεσι καὶ ταῖς κατὰ μέρος ὁμιλίαις, εἰς τούτ’ ἡγαγον τὰς πόλεις, καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς βασιλείς, ὡστε μὴ μόνον λαμβάνειν δωρεὰς ὑπερβαλλούσας, ἀλλὰ καὶ χάριν προσοφείλειν αὐτοῖς 5 τοὺς διδόντας. Ἰέρων γὰρ καὶ Γέλων οὐ μόνον ἔδωκαν ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ πέντε ἄργυρίον τάλαντα πρὸς τὴν εἰς τὸ ἔλαιον τοὺς ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ χορηγίαν, τὰ μὲν παραχρῆμα τὰ δὲ ἐν χρόνῳ βραχεῖ παντελῶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ λέβητας ἄργυροὺς καὶ βάσεις 6 τοῦτων καὶ τινας ὕδριας ἀνέθεσαν, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις εἰς τὰς θυσίας δέκα τάλαντα καὶ τὴν ἐπαύξησιν τῶν πολιτῶν ἀλλὰ δέκα χάριν τοῦ τὴν πᾶσαν εἰς 214
of his character in general. Antiochus after conclud-
ing the treaty with Sosibius occupied himself with
his original project of operations against Achaeus.

88. Such was the state of matters in Asia. At
about the time I have been speaking of the Rhodians,
availing themselves of the pretext of the earth-
quake which had occurred a short time previously
and which had cast down their great Colossus and
most of the walls and arsenals, made such sound
practical use of the incident that the disaster was
a cause of improvement to them rather than of
damage. So great is the difference both to individuals
and to states between carefulness and wisdom on the
one hand, and folly with negligence on the other, that
in the latter case good fortune actually inflicts damage,
while in the former disaster is the cause of profit. The
Rhodians at least so dealt with the matter, that by
laying stress on the greatness of the calamity and
its dreadful character and by conducting themselves
at public audiences and in private intercourse with
the greatest seriousness and dignity, they had such
an effect on cities and especially on kings that not
only did they receive most lavish gifts, but that the
donors themselves felt that a favour was being con-
ferred on them. For Hiero and Gelo not only gave
seventy-five silver talents, partly at once and the
rest very shortly afterwards, to supply oil in the
gymnasium, but dedicated silver cauldrons with their
bases and a certain number of water-pitchers, and
in addition to this granted ten talents for sacrifices
and ten more to qualify new men for citizenship, so
7 ἔκατον τάλαντα γενέσθαι δωρεάν. καὶ μὴν ἀτέλειαν τοῖς πρὸς αὐτοὺς πλοίῳμένους ἔδοσαν, καὶ
8 πεντῆκοντα καταπέλτας τριπήχεις. καὶ τελευταίον τοσαῦτα δόντες, ὡς προσοφείλοντες χάριν, ἔστησαν ἄνδριάντας ἐν τῷ τῶν Ῥοδίων δείγματι, στεφανοῦμενον τὸν δήμου τῶν Ῥοδίων ὑπὸ τοῦ
89 δήμου τοῦ Συρακοσίων. ἐπηγγείλατο δὲ καὶ Πτολεμαῖος αὐτοῖς ἀργυρίον τάλαντα τριακόσια καὶ σίτου μυριάδας ἀρταβῶν ἐκατόν, ξύλα δὲ ναυπηγήσιμα δέκα πεντήρων καὶ δέκα τριήρων, πεικωνιῶν τετραγώνων πήχεις ἐμμέτρους τετρακισμυρίους, 2 καὶ χαλκοῦ νομίσματος τάλαντα χίλια, στυπτίου
3 τρισχίλια, ὀθωνίων ἵστοσ τρισχίλιous, εἰς τὴν τοῦ κολοσσοῦ κατασκευήν τάλαντα τρισχίλια, οἰκοδομοὺς ἐκατόν, ὑπουργοὺς τριακόσιους καὶ πεντῆκοντα, καὶ τούτοις καθ’ ἐκαστὸν ἐτος εἰς ὁμώνυν
4 τάλαντα δεκατέτταρα, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις εἰς τοὺς ἀγώνας καὶ τὰς θυσίας ἀρτάβας σίτου μυρίας δισχίλιας, καὶ μὴν εἰς σιτομετρίαν δέκα τριήρων
5 ἀρτάβας δισμυρίας. καὶ τούτων ἐδωκε τὰ μὲν
6 πλείονα παραχρῆμα, τοῦ δ’ ἀργυρίου παντὸς τὸ τρίτον μέρος. παραπλησίως 'Αντίγονος ξύλα ἀπὸ ἐκκαίδεκαπήχους ἐως ὀκταπήχους εἰς σφηκίσκων λόγου μύρια, στρωτήρας ἐπταπήχεις πεντακισχίλιους, σιδήρου τάλαντα τρισχίλια, πίττης τάλαντα χίλια, ἀλλὰς ύμης μετρητὰς χιλίους, ἀργυρίου
7 πρὸς τούτοις ἐκατόν ἐπηγγείλατο τάλαντα, Χρυσῆς δ’ ἡ γυνὴ δέκα μὲν σίτου μυριάδας, τρισχίλια
8 δὲ μολίβδου τάλαντα. Σέλευκος δ’ ὁ πατὴρ ’Αντιώ-
as to bring the whole gift up to a hundred talents. They also relieved Rhodian ships trading to their ports from the payment of customs, and presented the city with fifty catapults three cubits long. And finally, after bestowing so many gifts, they erected, just as if they were still under an obligation, in the Deigma or Mart at Rhodes a group representing the People of Rhodes being crowned by the People of Syracuse. 89. Ptolemy also promised them three hundred talents of silver, a million artabae of corn, timber for the construction of ten quinqueremes and ten triremes, forty thousand cubits (good measure) of squared deal planking, a thousand talents of coined bronze, three thousand talents of tow, three thousand pieces of sail-cloth, three thousand talents (of bronze?) for the restoration of the Colossus, a hundred master builders and three hundred and fifty masons, and fourteen talents per annum for their pay, and besides all this, twelve thousand artabae of corn for the games and sacrifices and twenty thousand artabae to feed the crews of ten triremes. Most of these things and the third part of the money he gave them at once. Antigonus in like manner gave them ten thousand pieces of timber ranging from eight to sixteen cubits in length to be used as rafters, five thousand beams of seven cubits long, three thousand talents of silver, a thousand talents of pitch, a thousand amphorae of raw pitch and a hundred talents of silver, while Chryseis his wife gave them a hundred thousand medimni of corn and three thousand talents of lead. Seleucus, the father of Antiochus, besides exempting

*a* The Egyptian artaba is equal to the Attic *medimnus.

*b* A talent is about 57 lbs.
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χοι χωρίς μὲν ἀτέλειαν τοῖς εἰς τὴν αὐτὸν βασιλείαν πλούσιομένοις, χωρίς δὲ πεντήρεις μὲν δέκα κατηρτι-
9 σμένας σίτου δ' εἶκοσι μυριάδας, καὶ μὴν ξύλων καὶ ῥητίνης καὶ τριχὸς μυριάδας πηχῶν καὶ ταλάν-
90 των χιλιάδας. παραπλήσια δὲ τούτων Προσωΐας καὶ Μιθριδάτης, ἐτὶ δ' οἱ κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν ὄντες δυνάσται τότε, λέγω δὲ Λυσανίαν Ὄλυμπιον
2 Λιμναίον. τὰς γε μὴν πόλεις τὰς συνεπιλαμβανο-
μένας αὐτοῖς κατὰ δύναμιν οὐδ' ἀν ἔξαρπυμήσαυτο
3 ῥαδίως οὐδείς. ὥσθ' ὅταν μὲν τις εἰς τὸν χρόνον ἐμβλέψῃ καὶ τὴν ἄρχην ἀφ' οὗ συμβαίνει τὴν πόλιν αὐτῶν συνωκίσαθαι, καὶ λίαν θαυμάζειν ὡς βραχεῖ
χρόνῳ μεγάλῃν ἐπίδοσιν εἰληφῇ περί τοὺς κατ'
4 ἰδίαν βίους καὶ τὰ κοινὰ τῆς πόλεως. ὅταν δ' εἰς τὴν εὐκαρίαν τοῦ τόπου καὶ τὴν ἔξωθεν ἐπιφορὰν καὶ συμπλήρωσιν τῆς εὐδαιμονίας, μηκέτι θαυμά-
ζειν, μικρὸν δ' ἐλλείπειν δοκεῖν τοῦ καθήκοντος.
5 Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν εἰρήσθω μοι χάριν πρώτον μὲν τῆς Ἄρων περὶ τὰ κοινὰ προστασίας (ἐπαίνου γάρ εἰσιν ἄξιοι καὶ ζήλου), δεύτερον δὲ τῆς τῶν νῦν βασιλεῶν μικροδοσίας καὶ τῆς τῶν ἑθῶν καὶ
6 πόλεων μικροληψίας, ἢν μὴθ' οἱ βασιλεῖς τέτταρα καὶ πέντε προϊέμενοι τάλαντα δοκῶσι τι ποιεῖν μέγα καὶ ζητῶσι τὴν αὐτὴν ὑπάρχειν αὐτοῖς εὖν οἰκεῖαν καὶ τιμὴν παρὰ τῶν Ἐλλήνων ἢν οἱ πρὸ τοῦ βασι-
7 λείς εἰχον, αἰ τε πόλεις λαμβάνουσαι πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν τὸ μέγεθος τῶν πρότερον δωρεῶν μὴ λανθάνωσιν ἐπὶ μικρὸις καὶ τοῖς τυχοῦσι νῦν τὰς μεγίστας καὶ
8 καλλίστας προϊέμεναι τιμᾶς, ἀλλὰ πειρώνται τὸ

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Rhodians trading to his dominions from custom duties, presented them with ten quinqueremes fully equipped, two hundred thousand medimni of corn, ten thousand cubits of timber and a thousand talents of hair and resin. 90. Similar gifts were made by Prusias and Mithridates as well as by the other Asiatic princelets of the time, Lysanias, Olympichus, and Limnaeus. As for the towns which contributed, each according to its means, it would be difficult to enumerate them. So that when one looks at the comparatively recent date of the foundation of the city of Rhodes and its small beginnings one is very much surprised at the rapid increase of public and private wealth which has taken place in so short a time; but when one considers its advantageous position and the large influx from abroad of all required to supplement its own resources, one is no longer surprised, but thinks that the wealth of Rhodes falls short rather of what it should be.

I have said so much on this subject to illustrate in the first place the dignity with which the Rhodians conduct their public affairs—for in this respect they are worthy of all praise and imitation—and secondly the stinginess of the kings of the present day and the meanness of our states and cities, so that a king who gives away four or five talents may not fancy he has done anything very great and expect the same honour and the same affection from the Greeks that former kings enjoyed; and secondly in order that cities, taking into consideration the value of the gifts formerly bestowed on them, may not now forget themselves so far as to lavish their greatest and most splendid distinctions for the sake of a few mean and paltry benefits, but may endeavour to
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κατ' ἀξίαν ἐκάστοις τηρεῖν, ὦ πλείστων διαφέ-ρουσιν Ἠλλήνες τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων.

91 Ἅρτος δὲ τῆς θερμῆς ὄρας ἐνισταμένης, καὶ στρατηγοῦντος Ἀγήτα μὲν τῶν Ἁιτωλῶν, Ἅρατος δὲ παρειληφότος τὴν τῶν Ἀχαιῶν στρατηγίαν (ἀπὸ γὰρ τούτων ἐποιησάμεθα τοῦ συμμαχικὸς πολέμου τὴν ἐκτροπήν), Λυκοῦργος μὲν ὁ Σπαρτιά-2 τῆς ἐπανήκε τάλιν ἐξ Ἀιτωλίας· οὶ γὰρ ἐφοροῦν, ψευδὴ τὴν διαβολὴν εὐρόντες διʼ ἥν ἔφευγε, μετεπέμπτοντο καὶ μετεκαλύπτοντο αὕτως τὸν Λυκοῦργον.

3 οὖτος μὲν οὖν ἐτάττητο πρὸς Πυρρίαν τὸν Ἀιτωλόν, ὦς ἐτύγχανε τότε παρὰ τοῖς Ἡλείοις στρατηγός 4 ὦν, περὶ τῆς εἰς τὴν Μεσσηνίαν εἰσβολῆς. Ἅρατος δὲ παρειληφῆς τὸ τε ἕξινυκον τὸ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν κατεφθαρμένου ταῖς τε πόλεισιν ὀλιγώρως διακειμένας πρὸς τὰς εἰς τοῦτο τὸ μέρος εἰσφορὰς διὰ τὸ τὸν πρὸ αὐτοῦ στρατηγὸν Ἐπήρατον, ὃς ἐπάνω προεῖπα, κακῶς καὶ ραθύμως κεχρήθησαν τοῖς κουνῖς πράγ-5 μασιν. οὐ μὴν ἄλλα παρακαλέσας τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς, καὶ λαβὼν δόγμα περὶ τούτων, ἐνεργῶς ἐγίνετο 6 περὶ τὴν τοῦ πολέμου παρασκευήν. ὃν δὲ τὰ δόξαντα τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς ταῦτα, πεζοὺς μὲν τρέφειν μυσθοφόρους ὀκτακισχίλιους ἱππεῖς δὲ πεντα-κοσίους, τῶν δὲ Ἀχαϊκῶν ἐπιλέκτους πεζοὺς μὲν 7 τρισχιλίους ἱππεῖς δὲ τριακοσίους, εἰναὶ δὲ τού-των Μεγαλοπολίτας μὲν χαλκάσπιδας πεζοὺς μὲν πεντακοσίους ἱππεῖς δὲ πεντήκοντα, καὶ τοὺς 8 ἱσοὺς Ἀργείων. ἔδοξε δὲ καὶ ναῦς πλεῖν, τρεῖς μὲν περὶ τὴν Ἀκτὴν καὶ τὸν Ἀργολικὸν κόλπον, τρεῖς δὲ κατὰ Πάτρας καὶ Δύμην καὶ τὴν ταύτῃ θάλατταν.

92 Ἅρατος μὲν οὖν ταύτ’ ἐπραττε καὶ ταύτας 220
maintain the principle of estimating everything at its true value—a principle peculiarly distinctive of the Greek nation.

91. In the early summer of the year in which Agetas was strategus of the Aetolians and shortly after Aratus had entered on the same office in Achaea—that being the date at which I interrupted my narrative of the Social War—Lycurgus of Sparta came back from Aetolia; for the ephors, who had discovered that the charge on which he had been condemned to exile was false, sent to him and invited him to return. He began to make arrangements with Pyrrhias the Aetolian, who was then the strategus of the Eleans, for an invasion of Messenia. Aratus had found the mercenary forces of the Achaean disaffected and the cities not at all disposed to tax themselves for the purpose of maintaining them, a state of matters due to the incompetent and careless manner in which his predecessor Eperatus had, as I mentioned above, conducted the affairs of the League. However, he made an appeal to the Achaean, and obtaining a decree on the subject, occupied himself actively with preparations for war. The substance of the decree was as follows. They were to keep up a mercenary force of eight thousand foot and five hundred horse and a picked Achaean force of three thousand foot and three hundred horse, including five hundred foot and fifty horse from Megalopolis, all brazen-shielded, and an equal number of Argives. They also decided to have three ships cruising off the Acte and in the Gulf of Argolis and three more in the neighbourhood of Patrae and Dyme and in those seas.

92. Aratus, being thus occupied and engaged in
2 εξήρτυε τὰς παρασκευάς: ὁ δὲ Λυκούργος καὶ Πυρρίας διαπεμψάμενοι πρὸς ἂλληλους, ἵνα ταῖς αὐταῖς ἦμέραις ποιήσωνται τὴν ἕξοδον, προῆγον 3 εἰς τὴν Μεσσηνίαν. ὁ δὲ οστραγγίς τῶν Ἀχαιών συνεὶς τὴν ἐπιβολὴν αὐτῶν, ἤκειν ἔχων τοὺς μισθοφόρους καὶ τινας τῶν ἐπιλέκτων εἰς τὴν Μεγάλην 4 πόλιν παραβοηθήσων τοῖς Μεσσηνίοις. Λυκούργος δὲ ἐξορμήσας τὰς μὲν Καλάμας, χωρίον τι τῶν Μεσσηνίων, προδοσία κατέσχε, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα 5 προῆγε σπείδων συμμιξαὶ τοῖς Αἰτωλοῖς. ὁ δὲ Πυρρίας παντελῶς ἥλαφρος ἐξελθὼν ἐκ τῆς Ἡλιδος, καὶ κατὰ τὴν εἰσβολὴν τὴν εἰς Μεσσηνίαν εὐθέως 6 κωλυθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν Κυπαρισσέων, ἀνέστρεψεν. διόπερ ὁ Λυκούργος οὐτε συμμιξαὶ δυνάμενος τοῖς περὶ τὸν Πυρρίαν οὐτ’ αὐτὸς ἄξιόχρεως ὑπάρχων, ἐπὶ βραχὺ προσβολάς ποιησάμενος πρὸς τὴν Ἀνδανίαν ἀπρακτὸς αὖθις εἰς τὴν Ἐπάρτην ἀπηλλάγη. 7 Αρατος δὲ, διαπεσόμενος τοῖς πολεμίοις τῆς ἐπιβολῆς, τὸ κατὰ λόγον ποιῶν καὶ προνοούμενος τοῦ μέλλοντος συνετάξατο πρὸς τε Ταυρίωνα παρασκευάζειν ἵππεῖς πεντήκοντα καὶ πεζοὺς πεντακοσίους, καὶ πρὸς Μεσσηνίους, ὡς τούς ἵσους τούτους ἵππεῖς καὶ πεζούς ἐξαποστείλωσιν, 8 βουλόμενος τούτους μὲν τοῖς ἄνδρας παραφυλάττεσθαι τὴν τε τῶν Μεσσηνίων χώραν καὶ Μεγα- 9 λοπολίτων καὶ Τεγεατῶν, ἔτι δὲ τῶν Ἀργείων (αὐτῷ γὰρ αἱ χώραι συντερμονοῦσαι τῇ Δακωνικῇ πρόκεινται τῶν ἄλλων Πελοποννησίων πρὸς τὸν 10 ἀπὸ Δακεδαμονίων πόλεμον), τοῖς δ’ Ἀχαϊκοῖς ἐπιλέκτοις καὶ μισθοφόροις τὰ πρὸς τὴν Ἡλείαν καὶ τὴν Αἰτωλίαν ἐστραμμένα μέρη τῆς Ἀχαϊας τηρεῖν.

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these preparations, Lycurgus and Pyrrhias, after communicating with each other and arranging to start at the same time, advanced towards Messenia. The Achaean strategus, on getting word of their project, came to Megalopolis with the mercenaries and some of the picked Achaean force to help the Messenians. Lycurgus, moving out of Laconia, took by treachery Calamae, a strong place in Messenia, and then advanced with the object of joining the Aetolians. But Pyrrhias, who had left Elis with quite a slight force and who had at once met with a check at the hands of the people of Cyparissia as he was entering Messenia, returned. Lycurgus, therefore, as he neither could manage to join Pyrrhias nor was strong enough by himself, after delivering some feeble assaults on Andania, returned to Sparta without having effected anything. Aratus, after the failure of the enemy's project, took a very proper step in view of future contingencies by arranging with Taurion and the Messenians respectively to get ready and dispatch fifty horse and five hundred foot, designing to use these troops for protecting Messenia and the territories of Megalopolis, Tegea, and Argos—these being the districts which border on Laconia and are more exposed than the rest of the Peloponnesus to an inroad from thence—and to guard the parts of Achaea turned towards Aetolia and Elis with his picked Achaean force and his mercenaries.
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93 Ταῦτα δὲ ἀρμοσάμενος διέλυε τοὺς Μεγαλοπολῖτας πρὸς αὐτοὺς κατὰ τὸ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν δόγμα.

2 συνέβαλεν γὰρ τούτους προσφάτως ὑπὸ Κλεομένους ἐπταικότας τῇ πατρίδι, καὶ τὸ δὴ λεγόμενον ἐκ θεμελίων ἐσφαλμένον, πολλῶν μὲν ἐπιδείκθαι

3 πάντων δὲ σπανίζειν· τοῖς μὲν γὰρ φρονήμασιν ἔμενον, ταῖς δὲ χορηγίαις καὶ κοινῇ καὶ κατ'

4 ἰδίαιν πρὸς πᾶν ἀδυνάτως εἶχον. διότι ἂν ἀμφισβητήσεως φιλοτιμίας ὁργῆς τῆς ἐν ἀλλήλοις πάντα πλήρη· τούτῳ γὰρ δὴ φιλεῖ γίνεσθαι καὶ περὶ τὰ κοινὰ πράγματα καὶ περὶ τοὺς κατ᾽ ἰδίαιν βίους, ὅταν ἐλλίπωσον αἱ χορηγίαι τὰς ἐκαστῶν ἐπιβολὰς.

5 πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ἡμιφισθήτον ὑπὲρ τοῦ τειχισμοῦ τῆς πόλεως, φάσκοντες οἱ μὲν συνάγειν αὐτὴν δεῖν καὶ ποιεῖν τηλικαύτην ἥλικην καὶ τείχιζεως ἐπιβαλλόμενοι καθίζονται καὶ φυλάττειν καιροῦ περιστάντος δυνήσονται· καὶ γὰρ νῦν παρὰ τὸ

6 μέγεθος αὐτῆς καὶ τῆν ἐρημίαν ἐσφάλθαι. πρὸς δὲ τούτους εἰσφέρειν ὄντω τὸ δεῖν τοὺς κτηματικοὺς τὸ τρίτον μέρος τῆς γῆς εἰς τὴν τῶν προσλαμβανο-

7 μὲνοι ὁικητόρων ἀναπλήρωσιν. οἱ δ᾽ οὕτε τὴν πόλιν ἐλάττων ποιεῖν ὑπέμενον οὕτε τὸ τρίτον τῶν

8 κτήσεων εὐδόκους εἰσφέρειν μέρος, μάλιστα τε τῶν νόμων ὑπὸ Πρυτάνιδος γεγραμμένος πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐφιλονείκουν, δν ἔδωκε μὲν αὐτοῖς νομοθετήν Ἀντίγονος, ἢν δὲ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐκ

9 τοῦ Περιπάτου καὶ ταύτης τῆς αἱρέσεως. τοιαύτης δ᾽ οὐσίς τῆς ἀμφισβητήσεως ποιησάμενος "Αρατος τὴν ἐνδεχομένην ἐπιστροφὴν κατέπαυσε τὴν φιλο-

10 τιμίαν αὐτῶν. ἐφ᾽ οἷς δ᾽ ἐλήξαν τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους

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93. After having arranged this, he put an end to the intestine disputes of the Megalopolitans by a decree of the Achaeans. They had only recently been ejected from their city by Cleomenes, and as the saying is, utterly uprooted, and consequently they were in absolute want of many things and were ill provided with everything. It is true that they retained their high spirit; but in every respect the shortage of their supplies both in public and private was a source of weakness to them. In consequence disputes, jealousies, and mutual hatred were rife among them, as usually happens both in public and private life when men have not sufficient means to give effect to their projects. The first matter of dispute was the fortification of the city, some saying that it ought to be reduced to a size which would enable them to complete the wall if they undertook to build one and to defend it in time of danger. It was just its size, they said, and the sparseness of the inhabitants which had proved fatal to the town. The same party proposed that landowners should contribute the third part of their estates, for making up the number of additional citizens required. Their opponents neither approved of reducing the size of the city nor were disposed to contribute the third part of their property. The most serious controversy of all, however, was in regard to the laws framed for them by Prytanis, an eminent member of the Peripatetic school, whom Antigonus had sent to them to draw up a code. Such being the matters in dispute, Aratus exerted himself by every means in his power to reconcile the rival factions, and the terms on which they finally composed their difference were engraved
διαφορᾶς, γράψαντες εἰς στήλην παρὰ τὸν τῆς 'Εστίας ἀνέθεσαν βωμὸν ἐν Ὄμαρίω.

94 Μετὰ δὲ τὰς διαλύσεις ταύτας ἀναζεύξας αὐτὸς μὲν ἦκε πρὸς τὴν τῶν Ἀχαιῶν σύνοδον, τοὺς δὲ μισθοφόρους συνέστησε Λύκω τῷ Φαραεῖ διὰ τὸ τούτον ὑποστράτηγον εἶναι τότε τῆς συντελείας τῆς πατρικῆς. οἱ δ' Ἡλεῖοι δυσαρεστοῦμενοι τῷ Πυρρίᾳ πάλιν ἐπεσπάσαντο στρατηγὸν παρὰ τῶν Ἀιτωλῶν Ἐυριπίδαν, ὅς τηρήσας τὴν τῶν Ἀχαιῶν σύνοδον, καὶ παραλαβὼν ἱππεῖς μὲν ἐξήκοντα πεζοὺς δὲ δισχίλιοι, ἐξώδευσε, καὶ διελθὼν διὰ τῆς Φαραϊκῆς κατέδραμε τὴν χώραν ἐώς τῆς Ἀιγιάδος, περιελασάμενος δὲ λείαν ἰκανὴν ἐποιεῖτο τὴν ἀποχώρησιν ὡς ἐπὶ Δεόντων. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Λύκον συνέντες τὸ γεγονός ἐβοήθουν κατὰ σπουδήν, συνάψαντες δὲ τοῖς πολεμίους καὶ συμμιξάντες ἐξ ἐφόδου κατέβαλον μὲν αὐτῶν εἰς τετρακοσίους.

6 ξυγρίᾳ δ' ἐλαβον εἰς διακοσίους, ἐν οἷς ἦσαν ἐπιφανεῖς ἄνδρες, Φυσσίας Ἀντάνωρ Κλέαρχος Ἀνδρόλοχος Εὐανορίδας Ἀριστογείτων Νικάσιττος Ἀσπάσιος· τῶν δ' ὁπλῶν καὶ τῆς ἀποσκευῆς ἐκυρίευσαν πάσης. κατὰ δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς καροὺς ὅ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ναῦαρχος ἐξοδεύσας εἰς Μολυκρίαν, ἦκεν ἔχων οὐ πολὺ λείποντα τῶν ἐκατόν σωμάτων.

8 αὐτὶς δ' ὑποστρέψας ἔπλευσε πρὸς Χάλκεαν, τῶν δ' ἐκβοθησάντων ἐκυρίευσε δύο μακρῶν πλοίων αὐτάνδρων· ἔλαβε δὲ καὶ κέλητα περὶ τὸ 'Ρίον Ἀιτωλικὸν ὀμοῦ τῷ πληρώματι. συνδραμόντων δὲ τῶν τε κατὰ γῆν καὶ τῶν κατὰ θάλατταν λαφύρων περὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς καροὺς, καὶ συναχθεῖσας ἀπὸ τούτων προσόδου καὶ χορηγίας ἰκανῆς, ἐγένετο τοῖς τε στρατιώταις θάρσος ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν ὁμωνύμων 226
on a stone and set up beside the altar of Hestia in the Homarium.

94. After this settlement he left Megalopolis and went to take part in the Achaean Assembly, leaving the mercenaries under the command of Lycus of Pharae, who was then sub-strategus of the League. The Eleans, who were dissatisfied with Pyrrhias, now procured from the Aetolians the services of Euripidas, and he, waiting for the time when the Achaean Assembly met, took sixty horse and two thousand foot, and leaving Elis passed through the territory of Pharae and overran Achaea as far as that of Aegium. Having collected a considerable amount of booty, he was retreating towards Leontium, when Lycus, learning of the inroad, hastened to the rescue and encountering the enemy at once charged them and killed about four hundred, taking about two thousand prisoners, among whom were the following men of rank: Physsias, Antanor, Clearchus, Androlochus, Euanorides, Aristogeiton, Nicasippus, and Aspasius. He also captured all their arms and baggage. Just about the same time the Achaean naval commander made a landing at Molycria and came back with nearly a hundred captured slaves. Starting again he sailed to Chalceia, and on the enemy coming to the assistance of that town he captured two warships with their crews and afterwards took with its crew an Aetolian galley near Rhium. So that all this booty coming in from land and sea at the same time, with considerable benefit both to the exchequer and the commissariat, the soldiers felt confident that they would receive their
95 "Αμα δὲ τοῖς προειρημένοις Σκερδυλαϊδας, νομίζων ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀδικεῖσθαι διὰ τὸ τῶν χρημάτων ἔλλειπεν αὐτῷ τῶν κατὰ τὰς συντάξεις ὑμολογηθέντων ἀς ἐποιήσατο πρὸς Φίλιππον, ἐξαπέστειλε λέμβους πεντεκαίδεκα, μετὰ δόλου πουιόμενος τὴν ἐπιβολὴν τῆς κομιδῆς τῶν χρημάτων. οἱ καὶ κατέπλευσαν εἰς Λευκάδα, πάντων αὐτοῦ ὃς φιλίους προσδεχομένων διὰ τὴν γεγενημένην κωνοπραγίαν. ἄλλο μὲν οὖν ὦκ ἐφθασαν οὐδὲν ἔργασαν κακῶν, οὗτος ἐδυνηθησαν Ἀγαθίνω δὲ καὶ Κασσάνδρῳ τοῖς Κορινθίοις, ἐπιπλέουσι ταῖς Ταυρίωνοι ναυσὶ καὶ συγκαθορμισθείσων ὃς φιλίους μετὰ τεττάρων πλοίων, παραπονδήσαντες ἐπέθεντο, καὶ συλλαβόντες αὐτοὺς τε καὶ τὰ πλοῖα πρὸς Σκερδυλαῖδαν ἀπέπεμψαν. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ποιησάμενοι τὴν ἀναγωγὴν ἐκ τῆς Δευκάδος, καὶ πλεύσαντες ὃς ἐπὶ Μαλέας, ἐληξόμενο καὶ κατῆγον τοὺς ἐμπόρους.

5 Ἡδὴ δὲ τοῦ θερισμοῦ συνάπτοντος, καὶ τῶν περὶ τῶν Ταυρίωνα κατολιγωροῦντων τῆς τῶν ἁρτὶ βηθεισῶν πόλεων προφυλακῆς, Ἀρατος μὲν ἔχων τοὺς ἐπιλέκτους ἐφήδρευε τῇ τοῦ σίτου κομιδῇ περὶ τὴν Ἀργείαν, Εὐριπίδας δὲ τοὺς Αἰτωλοὺς ἔχων ἐξώδευσε, βουλόμενος κατασύραι τὴν τῶν Ἐρυταῖων χώραν. οἱ δὲ περὶ Δύκοι καὶ Δημόδοκοι τὸν τῶν Ἀχαϊῶν ἅπταρχὴν, συνέντες τὴν ἐκ τῆς Ἡλίδος τῶν Αἰτωλῶν ἐξοδοῦν, ἐπισυναγαγόντες τοὺς Δυμαίους καὶ τοὺς Πατρείς καὶ Φαραιές, σὺν δὲ τούτοις ἔχοντες τοὺς μισθοφόρους, ἐνέβαλον τὴν Ἡλείαν. παραγενόμενοι δ' ἐπὶ τὸ Φύξιον 228
pay and the cities that they would not be unduly burdened by war contributions.

95. Simultaneously with these events Scerdilaïdas, considering himself wronged by the king, as the sum due to him by the terms of their agreement had not been paid in full, sent out fifteen galleys with the design of securing payment by trickery. They sailed to Leucas where they were received as friends by everyone, owing to their previous co-operation in the war. The only damage, however, that they managed to do here, was that when the Corinthians Agathinus and Cassander who were in command of Taurion’s squadron anchored with four sail in the same harbour, regarding them as friends, they made a treacherous attack upon them, and capturing them together with the ships, sent them to Scerdilaïdas. After this they left Leucas, and sailing to Malea began to plunder and capture merchantmen.

It was now nearly harvest time, and as Taurion had neglected the task of protecting the cities I mentioned, Aratus with his picked Achaean force remained to cover harvesting operations in Argolis, and in consequence Euripidas with his Aetolians crossed the frontier with the view of pillaging the territory of Tritaea. Lycus and Demodocus, the commander of the Achaean cavalry, on hearing of the advance of the Aetolians from Elis, collected the levies of Dyme, Patrae, and Pharae and with these troops and the mercenaries invaded Elis. Reaching the place called Phyxium, they sent out
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καλούμενον τοὺς μὲν εὐζώνους καὶ τοὺς ἅπεις ἐφήκαν εἰς τὴν καταδρομὴν, τα δὲ βαρέα τῶν ὁπλῶν ἔκρυψαν περὶ τὸν προειρημένον τόπον. 9 ἐκβοηθήσαντων δὲ πανδημεῖ τῶν Ἡλείων ἐπὶ τοὺς κατατρέχοντας καὶ προσκειμένων τοῖς ἀποχωροῦσιν, ἐξαναστάντες οἱ περὶ τὸν Λύκον ἐπέθεντο τοῖς προπεπτωκόσι. τῶν δ’ Ἡλείων οὐ δεξαμένων τὴν ὀρμὴν ἄλλ’ ἐξ ἐπιφανείας τραπέντων, ἀπέκτειναν μὲν αὐτῶν εἰς διακοσίους, ἥγηρια δ’ ἔλαβον ὕγδορροντα, συνεκόμισαν δὲ καὶ τὴν περι-

11 ελαθεὶσαν λείαν ἁσφαλῶς. ἀμα δὲ τούτοις ο ναυ- αρχος τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ποιησάμενος ἀποβάσεις πλεο-


12 τρίψε δις. ἔλαβε δὲ καὶ Κλεόνικον τὸν Ναυτάκτιον, ὅς διὰ τὸ πρόξενος ὑπάρχει τῶν Ἀχαιῶν παρ-


96 Καὶ δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους Ἀγήτας δ’ τῶν Ἀιτωλῶν στρατηγός, συναγαγὼν πανδημεῖ τοὺς Ἀιτωλοὺς, ἐλεγκτήσας μὲν τὴν τῶν Ἀκαρνάνων χώραν, ἐπεπορεύθη δὲ πορθῶν πᾶσαν ἄδεως τὴν Ἡπειρον. οὐτος μὲν οὖν τοῦτα πράξας ἐπανελθὼν 3 διαφηκε τοὺς Ἀιτωλοὺς ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις. οἱ δ’ Ἀκαρνάνες ἀντεμβαλόντες εἰς τὴν Στρατικὴν καὶ πανικῷ περιπεσότες αἰσχρῶς μὲν ἁβλαβῶς γε μὴν ἐπανήλθουν, οὐ τολμησάντων αὐτοὺς ἐπιδιώξαι τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Στράτου διὰ τὸ νομίζειν ἐνέδρας ἕνεκα ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἀποχώρησιν.

4 Ἔγενετο δὲ καὶ περὶ Φανοτεῖς παλιμπροδοσία τοιύθεν τινὰ τρόπον. Ἀλέξανδρος οὔ τεταγμένος ἐπὶ τῆς Φωκίδος ὑπὸ Φιλίππου συνεστήσατο 230
their light-armed infantry and their cavalry to overrun the country, placing their heavy-armed troops in ambush near this place. When the Eleans with their whole force arrived to defend the country from pillage and followed up the retreating marauders, Lycus issued from his ambuscade and fell upon the foremost of them. The Eleans did not await the charge, but turned and ran at once on the appearance of the enemy, who killed about two hundred of them and captured eighty, bringing in all the booty they had collected in safety. At about the same time the Achaean naval commander made repeated descents on the coast of Calydon and Naupactus, ravaging the country and twice routing the force sent to protect it. He also captured Cleonicus of Naupactus, who since he was proxenus of the Achaeans, was not sold as a slave on the spot and was shortly afterwards set at liberty without ransom.

96. At the same period Agetas, the Aetolian strategus, with the whole Aetolian citizen force plundered Acarnania and overran the whole of Epirus, pillaging the country with impunity. After this performance he returned and dismissed the Aetolians to their several cities. The Acarnanians now made a counter-attack on the territory of Stratus and being overtaken by panic, effected a retreat, which if not honourable was at least unaccompanied by loss, as the garrison of Stratus were afraid of pursuing them since they suspected their retreat was a ruse to lead them into an ambush.

The following instance of treachery countered by treachery also took place at Phanoteus. Alexander, who had been appointed to the command in Phocis
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πράξων ἐπὶ τοὺς Αἰτωλοὺς διὰ τινὸς 'Ιάσονος, ὃς ἐστύγχανεν ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ τεταγμένος ἐπὶ τῆς τῶν 5 Φανοτέων πόλεως· ὃς διαπεμψάμενος πρὸς Ἀγήταν τὸν τῶν Αἰτωλῶν στρατηγὸν ὡμολόγησε τὴν ἀκραν αὐτοῖς παραδώσειν τὴν ἐν τοῖς Φανοτέσι, καὶ περὶ τούτων ὄρκους ἐποίησατο καὶ συνθήκας. 6 παραγενομένης δὲ τῆς ταχθείσης ἡμέρας ὁ μὲν Ἀγήτας ἦκεν ἔχων τοὺς Αἰτωλοὺς νυκτὸς πρὸς τοὺς Φανοτέις, καὶ τοὺς μὲν λοιποὺς ἐν ἀποστήματι κρύψας ἔμενε, τοὺς δὲ ἐπιτηδειοτάτους ἕκατον 7 ἐπιλέξας ἀπέστειλε πρὸς τὴν ἀκραν, ὁ δὲ 'Ιάσων τὸν μὲν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐτούμον εἶχε μετὰ στρατιωτῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει, τοὺς δὲ νεανίσκους παραλαβὼν κατὰ τοὺς ὄρκους εἰσήγαγε πάντας εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. 8 τῶν δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον εὐθέως ἐπεισδεσόμενων οἱ μὲν ἐπίλεκτοι τῶν Αἰτωλῶν ἐᾶλωσαν, ὁ δὲ Ἀγήτας ἐπιγενομένης τῆς ἡμέρας συνεἰς τὸ γεγονὸς αὐτὸς ἑπανήγει τὴν δύναμιν, οὐκ ἀνοικείων πράγματι περιπετευκῶς τοῖς πολλάκις ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ πραττόμενοι.

97 Κατὰ δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς καιροὺς Φίλιππος ὁ βασιλεὺς κατελάβετο Βυλάξωρα, μεγίστην ὀδοὺν πόλιν τῆς Παιονίας καὶ λίαν εὐκαίρως κειμένην πρὸς τὰς εἰσβολάς τὰς ἀπὸ τῆς Δαρδανικῆς εἰς Μακεδονίαν, ὥστε διὰ τῆς πράξεως ταύτης σχεδὸν ἀπολελύθην 2 τοῦ φόβου τοῦ κατὰ Δαρδανίους· οὐ γὰρ ἔτι ῥάδιον ἦν αὐτοῖς ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς Μακεδονίαν κρατοῦν- τος Φιλίππος τῶν εἰσόδων διὰ τῆς προειρημένης 3 πόλεως. ἀναφαλισάμενος δὲ ταύτην Χρυσόγονον μὲν ἐξεπέστειλε κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐπισυνάξοντα τοὺς 4 ἄνω Μακεδόνας, αὐτὸς δὲ παραλαβὼν τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Βοττίας καὶ τῆς 'Αμφαξίτιδος ἦκεν ἔχων εἰς 232
by Philip, made a plan for outwitting the Aetolians by the agency of a certain Jason whom he had placed in charge of Phanoteus. This Jason sent a message to Agetas the Aetolian strategus offering to betray the citadel of that town to him, and entered into an agreement to do so confirmed by oath. On the appointed day Agetas with his Aetolians came to Phanoteus under cover of night, and concealing the rest of his force at a certain distance sent on a picked body of a hundred to the citadel. Jason had Alexander ready in the city with some troops, and receiving these Aetolian soldiers he introduced them all into the citadel as he had sworn. Alexander now burst in at once with his men, and the hundred picked Aetolians were captured. Agetas, when day broke, perceived what had happened and withdrew his forces, having thus been the victim of a trick not dissimilar to many he had played on others.

97. At about the same time Philip occupied Bylazora, the largest town in Paeonia and very favourably situated as regards the pass from Dardania to Macedonia. So that by this conquest he very nearly freed himself from the fear of the Dardani, it being no longer easy for them to invade Macedonia, now that Philip commanded the passes by holding this city. After securing the place, he dispatched Chrysogonus with all speed to collect the levies of upper Macedonia and he himself with those of Bottia and Amphaxites arrived at Edessa.
"Εδεσσαν. προσδεξάμενος δ’ ἐνταῦθα τοὺς μετὰ Χρυσογόνου Μακεδόνας ἐξώρισε μετὰ πάσης τῆς δυνάμεως, καὶ παρῆν ἐκταῖος εἰς Λάρισαν. 5 κατὰ δὲ τὸ συνεχὲς ἐνεργῷ νυκτοπορίᾳ χρησάμενος ὕπτο τὴν ἐωθινὴν ἢκε πρὸς Μελίτειαν, καὶ προσθεὶς τὰς κλιμακίδας τοὺς τεῖχες κατεπείραζε τῆς πόλεως. τῷ μὲν οὖν αἰφνιδίῳ καὶ παραδόξῳ κατεπλήξατο τοὺς Μελίταιες, ὡστε βαδίζως ἄν κρατῆσαι τῆς πόλεως· τῷ δὲ παρὰ πολὺ γενέσθαι τὰς κλίμακας ἐλάττους τῆς χρείας διεβεύσθη τῆς πράξεως. ἐν οὖ η δὴ γένει μάλιστα ἂν τὶς ἐπιτιμή- 98 σει τοῖς ἤγουμένοις. εἰτε γάρ τινες μηδεμίαν πρόνοιαν ποιησάμενοι, μηδ’ ἐκμετρησάμενοι τείχη, κρημνοὺς, ἔτερα τῶν τοιοῦτων, δι’ ὅν ἐπιβάλλονται ποιείσθαι τὴν εἴσοδον, αὐτὸθεν ἀσκέπτως παραγίνονται πόλιν καταληψόμενοι, τὸς οὖν ἂν τοῖς τοιοῦ- τοις ἐπιτιμῆσειν; εἰτ’ ἐκμετρησάμενοι τὸ καθ’ αὐτοὺς, κάπετα τὴν κατασκευὴ τῶν κλιμάκων καὶ καθόλου τῶν τοιοῦτων ὅργανων, ἀ μικρὰν ἔχοντα τὴν ἀσχολίαν ἐν μεγάλῳ δίδωσι τῇ αὐτῶν πεῖραι, εἰκῇ καὶ τοῖς τυχόναι ἀνθρώποις ἐγχειρί- 3 ζουσι, πῶς οὖν ἄξιον ἐγκαλεῖν; οὐ γὰρ ἐστιν ἐπί τῶν τοιοῦτων πράξεων ἡ ποιήσαί τι τῶν δεόντων 4 ή μηδὲν παθεῖν δεινόν, ἀλλ’ ἀμα ταῖς ἀποτυχίαις ἐπεται βλάβη κατὰ πολλοὺς τρόπους, κατ’ αὐτὸν μὲν τὸν τοῦ πράττειν καιρὸν κίνδυνος περὶ τοὺς ἀρίστους τῶν ἀνδρῶν, ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον κατὰ τὰς ἀπολύσεις, ὅταν ἀπαξ καταφρονηθῶσι. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ λίαν τῶν τοιοῦτων ἐστὶ παραδείγματα· πλείους γὰρ ἂν εύροι τις τῶν ἀποτυγχανόντων ἐν ταῖς τοιαύταις ἐπιβολαῖς τοὺς μὲν ἀπολωλότας τοὺς δ’
Here he was joined by the Macedonians under Chrysogonus, and setting forth with his whole army reached Larisa on the sixth day. Pushing on vigorously all night without stopping, he arrived before Melitea at daybreak, and setting up his scaling-ladders, attempted to storm the town. He terrified the Meliteans so much by the suddenness and unexpectedness of the attack that he could easily have taken the town; but the attempt was foiled by the ladders being far too short for the purpose. 98. This is the sort of thing for which commanders deserve the severest censure. Who could indeed help blaming those who come up to a town with the expectation of taking it on the spur of the moment and without having given the matter the slightest thought, having made no preliminary examination, and no measurements of the walls, precipices, and suchlike approaches by which they hope to gain entrance to it? And they are equally blameworthy if, after getting as accurate measurements as possible, they entrust at random to unskilled hands the construction of ladders and similar engines which require only a little pains in the making, but on their efficiency so much depends. For in such enterprises it is not a question of either succeeding or getting off without disaster, but failure here involves damage of various kinds; firstly in the action itself, where the bravest men are those most exposed to danger, and more especially in the retreat, when once they have incurred the contempt of the enemy. There are only too many examples of such consequences; for we find that there are many more instances of those who have failed in such attempts either perishing
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eis tôn ἐσχατον παραγεγονότας κινδυνον τῶν
7 ἀβλαβῶς ἀπολελυμένων. πρὸς γε μὴν τὸ μέλλον
ὀμολογουμένως ἀπιστίας καὶ μίσος ἐξεργάζονται
καθ’ αὐτῶν, ἐτί δὲ φυλακὴν παραγγέλλουσι πᾶσιν.
8 οὐ γὰρ μόνον τοὺς παθοῦσιν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς συνεῖσι
τὸ γεγονὸς τρόπον τινὰ παράγγελμα δίδοται
9 προσέχειν αὐτοὺς καὶ φυλάττεσθαι. διότερον οὖνδὲ-
ποτε ταῖς τοιαύταις ἐπινοίαις εἰκῇ χρηστέου τοὺς
10 ἐπὶ πραγμάτων ταττομένους. οὐ δὲ τρόπος τῆς ἐκ-
μετρήσεως καὶ κατασκευῆς τῶν τοιούτων εὐχερῆς
11 καὶ ἄδιαπτωτός, ἐὰν λαμβάνῃ τε μεθοδικῶς. νῦν
μὲν οὖν τὸ συνεχεῖς τῆς διηγήσεως ἀποδοτέον· περὶ
δὲ τοῦ τοιούτου γένους πάλιν μεταλαβόντες ἁρμό-
ζοντα καυρὸν καὶ τόπον κατὰ τὴν πραγματείαν,
πειρασόμεθα συνυποδεικνύειν πῶς ἂν τις ἤκιστα
περὶ τὰς τοιαύτας ἐπιβολὰς ἀμαρτάνοι.
or being in extreme danger than of their getting away unhurt. Not only this, but by common consent they create distrust and hatred of themselves ever afterwards and bid all men be on their guard against them, for it is as though a warning is thus issued not only to the victims but to all who hear of the attempt to look well to themselves and be on the alert. Commanders therefore should never enter upon such projects without due consideration and care. The method of taking measurements and constructing ladders and so forth is quite easy and infallible, if we proceed scientifically. I must now resume my narrative, but when I find a suitable occasion and place in the course of this work for dealing with the subject again, I shall attempt to indicate the best means of avoiding mistakes in such undertakings.

99. Philip, foiled in this attempt, encamped near the river Enipeus, and brought up from Larisa and the other towns the siege material he had constructed during the winter, the chief objective of his whole campaign being the capture of Thebes in Phthiotis. This city is situated at no great distance from the sea, about three hundred stades away from Larisa, and commands both Magnesia and Thessaly, especially the territories of Demetrias in Magnesia and of Pharsalus and Pherae in Thessaly. It was now held by the Aetolians who made constant incursions from it, inflicting serious damage on the people of Demetrias, Pharsalus, and Larisa; for they
tàς καταδρομὰς ἐως ἐπὶ τὸ καλούμενον Ἀμυρικὸν
6 πεδίον. διότερ δ’ Φίλιππος οὐκ ἐν μικρῷ τιθέμενος
μεγάλην ἐποιεῖτο σπουδὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ κατὰ κράτος
7 ἐξελεῖν αὐτὴν. συναχθέντων δὲ καταπελτῶν μὲν
ἐκατὸν πεντήκοντα πετροβολικῶν δ’ ὀργάνων
πέντε καὶ εἰκοσι προσήλθε ταῖς Θήβαις, καὶ
dιελὼν τὸ στρατόπεδον εἰς τρία μέρη διέλαβε τοὺς
8 πέριξ τόπους τῆς πόλεως, καὶ τῷ μὲν ἐνὶ περὶ τὸ
Σκόπιον ἐστρατοπέδευσε τῷ δ’ ἄλλῳ περὶ τὸ κα-
λούμενον Ἡλιοτρόπιον, τὸ δὲ τρίτον εἰχὲ κατὰ τὸ
9 τῆς πόλεως ὑπερκείμενον ὅρος, τὰ δὲ μεταξὺ τῶν
στρατοπέδων τάφρω καὶ διπλῶ χάρακι διαλαβῶν
ὡχυρώσατο, πρὸς δὲ καὶ πύργους ἑυλίνους ἥσφα-
λίσατο, κατὰ πλέθρον στήσας αὐτοὺς μετὰ φυλακῆς
10 τῆς ἀρκούσης. ἐξῆς δὲ τούτοις τὰς παρασκευὰς
ἀθροίσας ὁμοῦ πάσας, ἦρξατο προσάγειν τὰ μηχανή-
ματα πρὸς τὴν ἀκραν.

100 Ἐπὶ μὲν οὖν ἡμέρας τρεῖς τὰς πρώτας
οὐδὲν ἠδύνατο προβιβάζειν τῶν ἔργων διὰ τὸ
γενναίως καὶ παραβόλως ἀμύνεσθαι τοὺς ἐκ
2 τῆς πόλεως· ἐπειδὴ δὲ διὰ τὴν συνεχείαν τῶν
ἀκροβολισμῶν καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν βελῶν οἱ προκυν-
dυνεύοντες τῶν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως οἱ μὲν ἐπεσον οἱ δὲ
κατετραμματίσθησαν, τότε βραχείας ἐνδόσεως γενο-
3 μένης ἦρξαντο τῶν ὀρυγμάτων οἱ Μακεδόνες. τῇ
dὲ συνεχεία, καίπερ ἀντιβαίνοντος τοῦ χωρίου,
4 μόλις ἐναταῖοι πρὸς τὸ τείχος ἐξίκοντο. μετὰ δὲ
tαῦτα ποιοῦμενοι τὴν ἐργασίαν ἐκ διαδοχῆς, ὡστε
μὴ ἡμέρας μὴτε νυκτὸς διαλείπεσιν, ἐν τρισὶ
ἡμέραις δύο πλέθρα τοῦ τείχους ὑπώρυξαν καὶ
5 διεστύλωσαν. τῶν δ’ ἑρευμάτων οὐ δυναμένων
ὑποφέρειν τὸ βάρος ἀλλ’ ἐνδόντων, πεσεὶν συνέβη
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frequently extended their inroads as far as the plain of the Amyrus. For this reason Philip regarded the matter as of no slight importance, and was most anxious to capture this city. Having got together a hundred and fifty catapults and twenty-five engines for throwing stones, he approached Thebes, and dividing his army into three parts, occupied the environs of the city, stationing one division at the Scopium, another at the place called the Heliotropium, and the third on the hill which overlooks the town. He fortified the intervals between the three camps by a trench and a double palisade, as well as by wooden towers, adequately manned at intervals of a hundred feet. After completing these lines, he collected all his material and began to bring his engines up to the citadel.

100. For the first three days he could not make any progress at all with his works owing to the reckless gallantry of the garrison's resistance. But when owing to the constant skirmishing and showers of missiles, some of them had fallen and others were wounded, the resistance was slightly relaxed, and the Macedonians began their mines. By unremitting exertion, notwithstanding the difficulties of the ground, they managed in nine days to reach the wall. After this they worked in relays without any interruption by night and day and in three days had undermined and underpinned two hundred feet of the wall. The props, however, could not support the weight, but gave way, so that the wall fell before
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tο τείχος προ τού πῦρ ἐμβαλεῖν τοὺς Μακεδόνας.
6 ἐνεργοῦν δὲ ποιησαμένων τὴν ἀνακάθαρσιν τοῦ πτώματος καὶ παρασκευασμένων πρὸς τὴν εἴσοδον καὶ μελλόντων ἢδη βιάζεσθαι, καταπλαγέντες
7 παρέδοσαν οἱ Θηβαῖοι τὴν πόλιν. δὲ Φίλιππος διὰ τῆς πράξεως ταύτης ἀσφαλισάμενος τὰ κατὰ τὴν Μαγνησίαν καὶ Θεταλίαν, ἀφείλετο τὰς μεγάλας ὄφελείας τῶν Αἰτωλῶν, ἀπεδείξατο δὲ καὶ ταῖς αὐτοῖς δυνάμεσιν ὅτι δικαίως ἐπανείλετο τοὺς περὶ τὸν Λεόντιον, ἐθελοκακήσαντας πρότερον
8 ἐν τῇ περὶ τοὺς Παλαιεῖς πολυρκία. γενόμενος δὲ κύριος τῶν Θηβῶν τοὺς μὲν ὑπάρχοντας οἰκήτορας ἑξηνδραποδίσατο, Μακεδόνας δὲ εἰσοικίσας Φίλιππον τὴν πόλιν ἀντὶ Θηβῶν κατωνόμασεν.
9 ὁδὴ δ' αὐτοῦ συντετελεσμένου τὰ κατὰ τὰς Θῆβας, πάλιν ἦκον ὑπὲρ τῶν διαλύσεων παρὰ τε Χῦων καὶ Ὀδίων καὶ Βυζαντίων πρέσβεις καὶ
10 παρὰ Πτολεμαίον τοῦ βασιλέως· οἷς παραπλησίον ἀποκρίσεις δοὺς ταῖς πρότερον, καὶ φήσας οὐκ ἀλλότριος εἰναι διαλύσεως, ἐπεμβε λεύσας αὐτοῦς
11 πείραν ὁμβάνεως καὶ τῶν Αἰτωλῶν. αὐτὸς δὲ τῆς μὲν διαλύσεως ὠλυγώρει, τοῦ δὲ πράττειν τι τῶν ἐξῆς ἀντείχετο.

101 Διόπερ ἀκούον τοὺς Σκερδιλαίδου λέμβους περὶ Μαλέαν ληζεσθαί καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἐμπόροις ὡς πολεμίως χρήσθαι, παρεσπονδηκέναι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἰδίων τινὰ πλούσιν ἐν Λευκάδι συνορμήσαντα,
2 καταρτίσας δύδεκα μὲν καταφράκτους γαὺς ὁκτὼ δ' ἀφράκτους τριάκοντα δ' ἡμιολίους ἔπλει δι' Εὐρίπου, σπεῦδον μὲν καταλαβεῖν καὶ τοὺς Ἰλλυριούς, καθόλου δὲ μετέωρος ὑπό ταῖς ἐπιβολαῖς ἐπὶ τὸν κατὰ τῶν Αἰτωλῶν πόλεμον διὰ τὸ
the Macedonians had set fire to them. They rapidly cleared away the ruins and were ready to enter the city, in fact just on the point of delivering the assault, when the Thebans in terror surrendered the town. Philip, having by this achievement ensured the security of Magnesia and Thessaly, deprived the Aetolians of their chief source of plunder, and at the same time made it clear to his own forces that he was quite right in putting Leontius to death, the failure of the siege of Palae having been due to his treachery. Having thus gained possession of Thebes, he sold into slavery the existing inhabitants, and planting a Macedonian colony in the town, changed its name to Philippi.

Just as he had settled affairs at Thebes further ambassadors arrived from Chios, Rhodes, and Byzantium and from King Ptolemy to mediate a peace. Giving them the same answer as on the previous occasion and telling them that he was by no means averse to peace, he sent them off enjoining them to approach the Aetolians also. He himself, however, paid no attention to the question of peace, but continued to prosecute operations.

101. Hearing, therefore, that the galleys of Scerdilaidas were committing acts of piracy off Cape Malea and treating all merchants as enemies, and that he had treacherously seized some Macedonian ships which were anchored near him at Leucas, he manned twelve decked ships, eight undocked ones, and thirty hemiolii, and sailed through the Euripus, being anxious to capture the Illyrians also, and altogether in high hopes of success in the war with the Aetolians, as he had hitherto had no news of what
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μηδέν πω συνεικέναι τῶν ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ γεγονότων. 3 συνέβαλε δὲ, καθ' οὓς καίρούς ἑπολιόρκει τὰς Θῆβας Φιλίππος, ἦττήθαι τῷ Ῥωμαίοις ὑπ' Ἀννίβου τῇ περὶ Τυρρηνίαν μάχῃ, τὴν δὲ φήμην ὑπὲρ τῶν γεγονότων μηδέπω προσπέπτωκέναι τοῖς Ἐλλησιν. ο ὁ Φιλίππος τῶν λέμβων ὑστέρησας καὶ καθορμισθεὶς πρὸς Κεγχρεαῖς τὰς μὲν καταφράκτους ναις ἐξαπέστειλε, συντάξας περὶ Μαλέαν ποιεῖσαν τὸν πλοῦν ὡς ἐπ' Αἰγαί καὶ Πατρῶν, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ τῶν πλοίων ὑπερισθησίας ἐν Λεχαῖῳ παρῆγγελλε πᾶσιν ὅρμεῖν. αὐτὸς δὲ κατὰ σπουδὴν ἤκει μετὰ φίλων ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν Νεμέων πανήγυριν εἰς Ἀργο. ἀρτι δ' αὐτοῦ θεωμένου τὸν ἄγωνα τὸν γυμνικόν, παρῆν ἐκ Μακεδονίας γραμματοφόρος διασαφῶν ὅτι λείπονται Ῥωμαίοι μάχῃ μεγάλῇ καὶ κρατεῖ τῶν ὑπάθρων Ἀννίβας. παραντίκα μὲν οὖν Δημητρίῳ τῷ Φαρίῳ μόνῳ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἐπέδειξε, σωπᾶν παρακελευσάμενος· δὲ καὶ λαβόμενος τῆς ἀφορμῆς ταύτης τὸν µὲν πρὸς τοὺς Αἰτωλοὺς ἑστε δεῖν τὴν ταχίστην ἀπορρίψαι πόλεμον, ἀντέχεσθαι δὲ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἰλλυρίδα πραγμάτων ἥξιον καὶ τῆς εἰς Ἰταλίαν διαβάσεως. τὰ µὲν γὰρ κατὰ τὴν Ἐλλάδα πάντα καὶ νῦν ἤδη ποιεῖν αὐτῷ τὸ προστατόμενον ἐφή καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ποιήσειν, Ἀχαϊῶν µὲν ἑθελοντὴν εὐνοούντων, Αἰτωλῶν δὲ καταπεπληγμένων ἐκ τῶν συμβε- βηκότων αὐτοῖς κατὰ τὸν ἑνεστῶτα πόλεμον· τὴν δ' Ἰταλίαν ἐφή καὶ τὴν ἐκεί διάβασαν ἀρχὴν εἶναι τῆς ὑπὲρ τῶν ὅλων ἐπιβολῆς, ἢν οὔτεν καθῆκεν μᾶλλον ἢ 'κείνης τον δὲ καίρον εἶναι νῦν, ἐπταυκό- των Ῥωμαίων. τοιούτοις δὲ χρησάμενοι λόγοι ταχεώς παρώρμησε τὸν Φιλίππον ὡς ἂν, οἷμαι.
was going on in Italy. It was while Philip was besieging Thebes that the Romans were defeated by Hannibal in Etruria, but the report of this event had not yet reached Greece. Philip missed the Illyrian galleys, and, anchoring off Cenchreae, sent off his decked ships with orders to sail round Cape Malea towards Aegium and Patrae: the rest of his vessels he dragged over the Isthmus, ordering them all to anchor at Lechaeum; and himself with his friends hastened to Argos to be present at the celebration of the Nemean festival. A little after he had taken his place to witness the games a courier arrived from Macedonia bringing the intelligence that the Romans had been defeated in a great battle, and that Hannibal was master of the open country. The only man to whom he showed the letter at first, enjoining him to keep it to himself, was Demetrius of Pharos. Demetrius seized on this opportunity to advise him to get the Aetolian war off his shoulders as soon as possible, and to devote himself to the reduction of Illyria and a subsequent expedition to Italy. The whole of Greece, he said, was even now and would be in the future subservient to him, the Achaeans being his partisans by inclination and the spirit of the Aetolians being cowed by what had happened during the war. An expedition, however, to Italy was the first step towards the conquest of the world, an enterprise which belonged to none more properly than to himself. And now was the time, after this disaster to the Roman arms.

By such words as these he soon aroused Philip's ambition, as I think was to be expected in
καὶ νέον βασιλέα καὶ κατὰ τὰς πράξεις ἑπιτυχῆ καὶ καθόλου τολμηρὸν εἶναι δοκοῦντα, πρὸς δὲ τούτως ἔξ ὁικίας ὁμομομένου τοιαύτης ἢ μάλιστα πως ἄει τῆς τῶν ὥλων ἔλπιδος ἐφιέται.

2 Πλὴν δ’ ἐγε Φίλιππος, ὡς εἶπον, τότε μὲν αὐτῷ τῷ Δημητρίῳ τὰ προσπεπτωκότα διὰ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς ἐδήλωσε, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα συνήγει τοὺς φίλους καὶ διαβούλιον ἀνεδίδου περὶ τῆς πρὸς Αἴτωλος διαλύσεως. ὁντων δὲ καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἄρατον οὐκ ἀλλοτρίων διεξαγωγῆς τῷ δοκεῖν ὑπερδεξίους ὁντας τῷ πολέμῳ ποιεῖαν ἡ τῆν διάλυσιν, οὕτως ὁ βασιλεύς, οὐδὲ τοὺς πρεσβευτὰς ἐτί προσδεξάμενος τους κοινῆ πράττοντας τὰ περὶ τὰς διαλύσεις, παραχρῆμα Κλεόνικον μὲν τὸν Ναυπάκτιον πρὸς τοὺς Αἴτωλοὺς διεσέμψατο (κατέλαβε γὰρ ἐτί τούτων ἐκ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας ἐπιμένοντα τὴν τῶν Ἀχαιῶν σύνοδον), αὐτὸς δὲ παραλαβὼν ἐκ Κορίνθου τὰς ναῦς καὶ τὴν πεζὴν δύναμιν ἦκεν ἐχων 6 εἰς Αἴγιον. καὶ προελθὼν ἐτὶ Δασιῶνα καὶ τὸν ἐν τοῖς Περιππίοις πύργον παραλαβὼν, καὶ συνυποκριθεὶς ὡς ἐμβαλῶν εἰς τὴν Ἡλείαν τοῦ μή δοκεῖν λίαν ἐτοιμὸς εἶναι πρὸς τὴν τοῦ πολέμου κατάλυσιν, μετὰ ταῦτα δὲς ἢ τρὶς ἀνακάμψαντος τοῦ Κλεόνικου, δεομένων τῶν Αἴτωλῶν εἰς λόγους 8 σφίσι συνελθείν ἐπήκουσε, καὶ πάντ’ ἀφεῖς τὰ τοῦ πολέμου πρὸς μὲν τὰς συμμαχίδας πόλεις γραμματοφόρους ἐξαπέστειλε, παρακαλῶν πέμπειν τοὺς συνεδρεύοντας καὶ μεθέξοντας τῆς ὑπὲρ τῶν διαλύσεων κοινολογίας, αὐτὸς δὲ διαβὰς μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ καταστρατοπεδεύσας περὶ Πάνορμον, ὡς ἔστι μὲν τῆς Πελοποννήσου λιμῆν, κεῖται δὲ καταντικρὺ τῆς τῶν Ναυπάκτιων πόλεως, ἀνέμενε 244.
the case of a king so young, who had achieved so much success, who had such a reputation for daring, and above all who came of a house which we may say had always been inclined more than any other to covet universal dominion.

Philip, then, as I said, communicated the news that reached him in the letter to Demetrius alone, and afterwards summoned a council of his friends to discuss the question of peace with the Aetolians. Aratus also was not disinclined to negotiate, as he thought it an advantage to come to terms now the war was going in their favour; and so the king, without even waiting for the joint embassies which were acting in favour of peace, at once sent Cleonicus of Naupactus to the Aetolians—he had found him still awaiting the meeting of the Achaean Assembly after his captivity—and taking his ships and his land forces from Corinth, came with them to Aegium. Advancing to Lasion and seizing on the castle in Perippia he made a feint of invading Elis, so as not to seem too ready to put an end to the war, and afterwards when Cleonicus had been backwards and forwards two or three times and the Aetolians begged him to meet them personally in conference, he consented to do so, and putting a stop to all hostilities sent couriers to the allied cities begging them to send representatives to the council to take part in the negotiations. Crossing himself with his army and encamping at Panormus, which is a harbour in the Peloponnese lying exactly opposite Naupactus, he
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10 τῶν συμμάχων συνέδρους. κατά δὲ τὸν καιρὸν τούτον καθ' ὄν ἔδει συναθροίζεσθαι τοὺς προερημένους, πλεύσας εἰς Ζάκυνθον δι' αὐτοῦ κατεστήσατο τὰ κατὰ τὴν νῆσον, καὶ παρῆν αὕθεις ἀναπλέων.

103 Ἡδὴ δὲ καὶ τῶν συνεδρῶν ἡθροισμένων ἐξέπεμψε πρὸς τοὺς Αἰτωλοὺς Ἄρατον καὶ Ταυρίωνα

2 καὶ τινὰς τῶν ἱκόντων ἅμα τούτοις, οἱ καὶ συμμίξαντες τοὺς Αἰτωλοὺς πανδημεῖ συνηθροισμένους εἰς Ναυπάκτων, βραχέα διαλεχθέντες καὶ θεωροῦντες αὐτῶν τὴν ὀρμήν τὴν πρὸς τὰς διαλύσεις, ἔπλεον εὖ ὑποστροφῆς πρὸς τὸν Φίλιππον

3 χάριν τοῦ διασαφῆσαι περὶ τούτων. οἱ δ' Αἰτωλοὶ σπεύδοντες διαλύσασθαι τὸν πόλεμον ἐξαπέστελλον ἅμα τούτοις πρέσβεις πρὸς τὸν Φίλιππον, ἀξιούντες παραγενέσθαι μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως πρὸς σφᾶς, ἵνα τῆς κοινολογίας ἐκ χειρὸς γυνομένης τύχῃ τὰ 4 πράγματα τῆς ἄρμοδος σίδηξεν. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ὀρμηθεὶς τοῖς παρακαλουμένοις διέπλευσε μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως πρὸς τὰ λεγόμενα Κοῖλα τῆς Ναυπακτίας, ἀ τῆς πόλεως εἰκοσι μάλιστα σταδίους

5 ἀφέστηκεν' στρατοπεδεύσασι δέ, καὶ περιλαβὼν χάρακι τὰς νῆας καὶ τὴν παρεμβολήν, ἔμενε προσ-

6 ανέχων τὸν καιρὸν τῆς ἐντεύξεως. οἱ δ' Αἰτωλοὶ χώρις τῶν ὄπλων ἦκον πανδημεῖ, καὶ διασχόντες ὡς δύο στάδια τῆς Φιλίππου παρεμβολῆς διεπέμ-

7 ποντο καὶ διελέγοντο περὶ τῶν ἐνεστώτων. τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον ὁ βασιλεὺς πάντας ἐξέπεμπτο τοὺς ἣκοντας παρὰ τῶν συμμάχων, κελεύσας ἐπὶ τούτοις προτείνειν τὴν εἰρήνην τοῖς Αἰτωλοῖς ὅστ' ἔχεω

8 ἀμφότεροις ἅ νῦν ἔχουσιν' δεξαμένων δὲ τῶν Αἰτωλῶν ἑτοίμως, τὸ λοιπὸν ἦδη περὶ τῶν κατὰ μέρος συνεχεῖς ἐγύνωντο διαποστολαὶ πρὸς ἄλληλους, 246
awaited the delegates of the allies. During the time when they were assembling he sailed across to Zacynthus and personally set the affairs of that island in order, returning afterwards to Panormus.

103. The delegates having now assembled, he sent to the Aetolians, Aratus, Taurion and some of those who had accompanied them. Meeting the Aetolians, who had assembled in full force at Naupactus, and after a short discussion observing how eager they were for peace, they sailed back to inform Philip of this. The Aetolians, who were most anxious to bring the war to an end, sent with them on their own part envoys to Philip, begging him to come and meet them with his army, so that they might be in close conference and arrive at a satisfactory solution of the questions at issue. The king deferred to their request, and sailed across with his army to the so-called "Hollows" of Naupactus, distant about twenty stades from the town. Encamping there he surrounded his ships and camp with a palisade, and waited there till the conferences should begin. The Aetolians arrived in full force without their arms and establishing themselves at a distance of about two stades from Philip's camp, began to send messages and discuss matters. The king in the first instance sent all the delegates from the allies, enjoining them to propose to the Aetolians to make peace on the condition of both parties retaining what they then possessed. The Aetolians readily consented to these terms, and henceforth there was a constant interchange of communications on points of detail. Most
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δεν τὰς μὲν πλείους παρήσομεν διὰ τὸ μηδέν ἔχειν
9 ἀξιον μνήμης, τῆς δ' Ἀγελάου τοῦ Ναυπακτίου
παρανέσεως ποιησόμεθα μνήμην, ἢ κατὰ τὴν
πρώτην ἐντεῦξιν ἐχρήσατο πρὸς τε τὸν βασιλέα
καὶ τοὺς παρόντας συμμάχους. ὃς ἐφ' ἔδειν μάλιστα
μὲν μηδέποτε πολεμεῖν τοὺς Ἑλλήνας ἀλλήλοις,
ἀλλά μεγάλην χάριν ἔχειν τοῖς θεοῖς εἰ λέγοντες
ἐν καὶ ταύτο πάντες, καὶ συμπλέκοντες τὰς χείρας
kαθάπερ οἱ τοὺς ποταμοὺς διαβαίνοντες, δύναντο
τὰς τῶν βαρβάρων ἐφόδους ἀποτριβόμενοι συσσώ-
2 ζειν σφᾶς αὐτοὺς καὶ τὰς πόλεις. οὐ μήν ἄλλο
εἰ τὸ παράπαν τοῦτο μὴ δυνατόν, κατὰ γε τὸ παρὸν
ἡξίου συμφρονεῖ καὶ φυλάττεσθαι προϊδομένους
τὸ βάρος τῶν στρατοπέδων καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ
3 συνεστῶτος πρὸς ταῖς δύσεις πολέμου. δήλον
γὰρ εῦνυ παντὶ τῷ καὶ μετρίως περί τὰ κοινὰ
σπουδάζοντι καὶ νῦν, ὡς εἰν τὸ Καρχηδόνιον
Ῥωμαίων ἐὰν τῇ Ῥωμαιοὶ Καρχηδονίων περι-
γένωντα τῷ πολέμῳ, διότι καὶ οῦνδένα τρόπον
εἰκός ἔστι τοὺς κρατήσαντας ἐπὶ ταῖς Ἰταλιωτῶν
καὶ Σικελιωτῶν μείναι δυναστείας, ἥξεων δὲ καὶ
διατενεῖν τὰς ἐπιβολὰς καὶ δυνάμεις αὐτῶν πέρα
4 τοῦ δέοντος. διόπερ ἥξιον πάντας μὲν φυλάξασθαι
5 τὸν καίρόν, μάλιστα δὲ Φίλιππον. εἶναι δὲ φυλακὴν,
ἐὰν ἁφέμενος τοῦ καταφθείρειν τοὺς Ἑλλήνας καὶ
ποιεῖν εὐχερώτους τοῖς ἐπιβαλλομένους κατὰ
tού ναντίων ὡς ὑπὲρ ἱδίων σώματος βουλεύται,
καὶ καθόλου πάντων τῶν τῆς Ἑλλάδος μερῶν ὡς
οἰκείων καὶ προσηκόντων αὐτῷ ποιῆται πρόνοιαν
6 τούτον γὰρ τὸν τρόπον χρωμάτου τοῖς πράγμασι
tοὺς μὲν Ἑλλήνας εὔνους ὑπάρξειν αὐτῷ καὶ
βεβαιότερον συναγωνιστὰς πρὸς τὰς ἐπιβολὰς, τοὺς
248
of these I shall pass over as they had nothing worthy of mention in them, but I shall report the speech that Agelaus of Naupactus made before the king and the allies at the first conference. It was as follows: (104) "It would be best of all if the Greeks never made war on each other, but regarded it as the highest favour in the gift of the gods could they speak ever with one heart and voice, and marching arm in arm like men fording a river, repel barbarian invaders and unite in preserving themselves and their cities. And if such a union is indeed unattainable as a whole, I would counsel you at the present moment at least to agree together and to take due precautions for your safety, in view of the vast armaments now in the field and the greatness of this war in the west. For it is evident even to those of us who give but scanty attention to affairs of state, that whether the Carthaginians beat the Romans or the Romans the Carthaginians in this war, it is not in the least likely that the victors will be content with the sovereignty of Italy and Sicily, but they are sure to come here and extend their ambitions beyond the bounds of justice. Therefore I implore you all to secure yourselves against this danger, and I address myself especially to King Philip. For you, Sire, the best security is, instead of exhausting the Greeks and making them an easy prey to the invader, on the contrary to take thought for them as for your own body, and to attend to the safety of every province of Greece as if it were part and parcel of your own dominions. For if such be your policy the Greeks will bear you affection and render sure help to you in case of attack, while foreigners will be less
Δ' ἐξοδεύειν ἢττον ἐπιβουλεύσεων αὐτοῦ τῇ δυναστείᾳ, καταπεπληγμένους τὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων πρὸς αὐτὸν πίστιν. εἰ δὲ πραγμάτων ὁρέγεται, πρὸς τὰς δύσεις βλέπειν αὐτὸν ἥξιον καὶ τοῖς ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ συνεστῶσι πολέμους προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν, ἵνα γενόμενος ἐφεδρὸς ἐμφρῶν πειραθῇ σὺν καίρῳ τῆς τῶν ὅλων ἀντιποιήσασθαι δυναστείας. εἶναι δὲ τὸν ἐνεστῶτα καιρὸν οὐκ ἀλλότριον τῆς ἐλπίδος ταῦτα. τὰς δὲ πρὸς τοὺς Ἑλλήνας διαφορὰς καὶ τοὺς πολέμους εἰς τὰς ἀναπαύσεις αὐτοῦ ὑπερτίθεσθαι παρεκάλει, καὶ μάλιστα σπουδάζειν περὶ τούτου τοῦ μέρους, ἵν' ἔχῃ τὴν ἐξουσίαν, ὅταν βούληται, καὶ διαλύσεθαι καὶ πολεμεῖν πρὸς αὐτοὺς· ὡς ἐὰν ἂπαξ τὰ προφανόμενα νῦν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐσπέρας νεφή προσδέχηται τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα τόποις ἐπιστήναι, καὶ λίαν ἀγωνιᾶν ἐφή μὴ τὰς ἀνοχὰς καὶ τοὺς πολέμους καὶ καθόλου τὰς παιδίας, ἃς νῦν παῖζομεν πρὸς ἄλληλους, ἐκκοπῆισθαι συμβῇ πάντων ἢμῶν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ὥστε καὶ εὐξασθαί τοῖς θεοῖς ὑπάρχειν ἢμῖν τὴν ἐξουσίαν ταύτην, καὶ πολεμεῖν ὅταν βουλώμεθα καὶ διαλύσθαι πρὸς ἄλληλους, καὶ καθόλου κυρίους εἰναι τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀμφισβητούμενον.

105 'Ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἀγέλαος τοιαύτα διαλεχθεῖς πάντας μὲν παρώρμησε τοὺς συμμάχους πρὸς τὰς διαλύσεις, μάλιστα δὲ τὸν Φίλιππον, οἰκεῖος χρησάμενος λόγους πρὸς τὴν ὁρμὴν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἤδη προκατεσκευασμένην ὑπὸ τῶν τοῦ Δημητρίου παραινέσεων. 2 διόπερ ἀνθομολογησάμενοι πρὸς σφᾶς ὑπὲρ τῶν κατὰ μέρος, καὶ κυρώσαντες τὰς διαλύσεις, ἔχωρίσθησαν κατάγοντες εἰς τὰς οἰκείας ἐκαστοὶ πατρί- δας εἰρήνην ἀντὶ πολέμου. 250
disposed to plot against your throne, impressed as they will be by the loyalty of the Greeks to you. If you desire a field of action, turn to the west and keep your eyes on the war in Italy, so that, wisely biding your time, you may some day at the proper moment compete for the sovereignty of the world. And the present times are by no means such as to exclude any hope of the kind. But defer your differences with the Greeks and your wars here until you have repose enough for such matters, and give your whole attention now to the more urgent question, so that the power may still be yours of making war or peace with them at your pleasure. For if once you wait for these clouds that loom in the west to settle on Greece, I very much fear lest we may all of us find these truces and wars and games at which we now play, so rudely interrupted that we shall be fain to pray to the gods to give us still the power of fighting with each other and making peace when we will, the power, in a word, of deciding our differences for ourselves."

105. Agelaus by this speech made all the allies disposed for peace and especially Philip, as the words in which he addressed him accorded well with his present inclination, Demetrius having previously prepared the ground by his advice. So that they came to an agreement on all the points of detail, and after ratifying the peace the conference broke up, each carrying back to his home peace instead of war.
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3 Taúta de pánta sunèbè genvésthai katà tôn trítov éniantvon tìs ékatostìs kai tetrapakoósths ólum-piádos, légou de tìn tìn Ἦρωμαίων περὶ Τυρρηνίαν màxhì kai tìn Ἀντίχων περὶ Κοιλην Συρίαν, éti de tás Ἀχαιῶν kai Φιλίππου πρός Αἰτωλίων diálýseis.

4 Tás mén ón Ἑλληνικᾶς kai tás Ἰταλικᾶς, éti de tás Διβυκᾶς πράξεις oustos ò kaiρòs kai touto tò diabouλión suvèplexe pròtou' ou gar éti Φιλιππος ou'd' ou tôn Ἑλλήνων προεστώτες ἄρχοντες pròs tás katà tìn Ἐλλάδα πράξεις ποιούμενου tás anàforas ou'te toutou poíleous ou'te tás diá-lýseis épotóúnto pròs álhlous, álly' hòdè pàntes pròs toutou én Ἰταλία skoπous apèblepov. tachèwos de kai perì toutou nèsiwta kai toutou tìn Ἀσίαν katóikouνtai to parapłhíon sunèbè genvésthai.

5 kai gar oui Φιλίππων dûsarestoúmenoi kai tiwes tôn Ἀττάλω διαφερομένων oukéti pròs Ἀντίχων kai Πτολεμαίων ou'de pròs mesèmbria kai tás ánatoλàs èneun, álly' êpì tìn èspéran apò touton tòv kairòv èblepov, kai tiwes mèn pròs Καρχηδόν vos oui de pròs Ἦρωμαίων èpressebènov. ùmoìwos de kai Ἦρωμαιο πρòs tout' Ἑλληνα, dèdiotè tìn tout Φιλίππου tòlmav, kai pròs ñómeni ì ñuvèpi-

6 ðëtai touti stòt perieóstòwos autòus kairoís. òmeïs ð' èpeidh kata tìn èz àrchiìn ùpòschein safûs, oìma, dedèixamen pòte kai ðw kai ð' ìs aítìas ài kata tìn Ἐλλάδα πράξεις suvèplákhsan tais ð' Ἰταλικᾶς kai Διβυκᾶς, looton katà tò suvèchès poíèsamenei tìn dièγèsew ùpèr tout' Ἑλληνικῶν èwos eis toutou kairoûs en oïs Ἦρωμαιο tìn perì Kànnav màxhì ÿttèthèsan, ëf' ñv tout' Ἰταλικῶν 252
All these events took place in the third year of the 140th Olympiad,—I mean the battle of the Romans in Etruria, that of Antiochus in Coele-Syria and the treaty of the Achaeans and Philip with the Aetolians.

It was at this time and at this conference that the affairs of Greece, Italy, and Africa were first brought into contact. For Philip and the leading statesmen of Greece ceased henceforth, in making war and peace with each other, to base their action on events in Greece, but the eyes of all were turned to the issues in Italy. And very soon the same thing happened to the islanders and the inhabitants of Asia Minor. For those who had grievances against Philip and some of the adversaries of Attalus no longer turned to the south and east, to Antiochus and Ptolemy, but henceforth looked to the west, some sending embassies to Carthage and others to Rome, and the Romans also sending embassies to the Greeks, afraid as they were of Philip's venture-some character and guarding themselves against an attack by him now they were in difficulties. Now that I have, as I promised, shown, I think clearly, how, when, and for what reason Greek affairs became involved with those of Italy and Africa, I shall continue my narrative of Greek history up to the date of the battle at Cannae in which the Romans were defeated by the Carthaginians, the decisive
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

πράξεων την καταστροφήν ἐποιησάμεθα, καὶ ταύτην τὴν βύβλον ἀφορισθὲς ἐξίσωσαντες τοῖς προερημένοις καιροῖς.

106 Ἀχαϊοι μὲν οὖν ὡς θάττον ἀπέθευτο τὸν πόλεμον, στρατηγὸν αὐτῶν ἐλόμενοι Τιμόξενον, ἀναχωρήσαντες εἰς τὰ σφέτερα νόμιμα καὶ τὰς διαγωγὰς,

2 ἂμ' Ἀχαϊοίς δὲ καὶ αἱ λοιπαὶ πόλεις αἱ κατὰ Πελοπόννησον, ἀνεκτῶντο μὲν τοὺς ἱδίους βίους, ἑθεράπευον δὲ τὴν χώραν, ἀνενεύντο δὲ τὰς πατρίους θυσίας καὶ πανηγύρεις καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς παρ' ἐκάστοις ύπάρχοντα νόμιμα.

3 σχεδὸν γὰρ ὡσανεὶ λήθην συνέβαινε γεγονέναι παρά τοῖς πλείστοις περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα διὰ τὴν

4 συνέχειαν τῶν προγεγονότων πολέμων. οὐ γὰρ οἶδ' ὡς αἰς ποτε Πελοπόννησοι, τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων οἰκειότατοι πρὸς τὸν ἦμερον καὶ τὸν ἀνθρώπων βίου, ἥκιστα πάντων ἀπολελαῦκασιν αὐτοῦ κατὰ γε τοὺς ἀνώτερον χρόνους, μᾶλλον δὲ πως κατὰ τὸν Εὐριπίδην ἦσαν αἰς πρασίμοιχοι τινες καὶ οὔποτε Ἰαυχοὶ δορὶ. τούτῳ δὲ μοι δοκοῦσιν πάσχειν εἰκότως· ἀπαντες γὰρ ἡγεμονικοὶ καὶ φιλελεύθεροι ταῖς φύσεις μάχονται συνεχῶς πρὸς ἄλληλους, ἀπαραχωρήτως διακείμενοι περὶ τῶν πρωτείων.

5 Ἀθηναίοι δὲ τῶν ἐκ Μακεδονίας φόβων ἀπελευντὸ καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἔχειν ἐδόκουν ἤδη

6 βεβαιῶς, χρώμενοι δὲ προστάταις Εὐρυκλείδα καὶ Μικῶν τῶν μὲν ἄλλων 'Ἐλληνικῶν πράξεων οὔδ' ὀποίας μετείχον, ἀκολουθοῦντες δὲ τῇ τῶν προεστῶτων αἵρεσι καὶ ταῖς τούτων ὁρμαῖς εἰς πάντας τοὺς βασιλεῖς ἐξεκέχυντο, καὶ μάλιστα τούτων εἰς

8 Πτολεμαίον, καὶ πάν γένος ὑπέμενον ψηφισμάτων 254
event with which I broke off my account of the war in Italy and will thus bring this book to a close, not overstepping the above date.

106. As soon as the Achaeans had the war off their shoulders, electing Timoxenus as their strategus and resumeing their normal customs and mode of life, they set themselves, like the rest of the Peloponnesian towns, to re-establishing their private fortunes, to repairing the damage done to their lands, and to reviving their traditional sacrifices and festivals and various local religious rites. Such matters had indeed almost sunk into oblivion owing to the late uninterrupted state of war. For somehow or other the Peloponnesians, who are above all men disposed to a quiet and sociable life, have enjoyed less of it in former times at least than any other people, having been rather as Euripides a expresses it "aye vexed with toil, their spears never at rest." It is only natural that this should be so, for as they are all naturally both ambitious of supremacy and fond of liberty, they are in a state of constant warfare, none being disposed to yield the first place to his neighbour.

The Athenians were now delivered from the fear of Macedonia and regarded their liberty as securely established. Following the policy and inclinations of their leading statesmen Eurycleidas and Micion, they took no part in the affairs of the rest of Greece, but were profuse in their adulation of all the kings, and chiefly of Ptolemy, consenting to every variety of decree and proclamation however humiliating,

a Euripides, fragm. 529 Nauck.
καὶ κηρυγμάτων, βραχύν τινα λόγον ποιούμενοι τοῦ καθήκοντος διὰ τὴν τῶν προεστῶτων ἀκρισίαν.

107 Πτολεμαίως γε μὴν εὐθέως ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν καιρῶν συνέβαινε γίνεσθαι τὸν πρὸς τοὺς Ἁγιοπτίους 2 πόλεμον. δὲ γὰρ προειρημένος βασιλεὺς καθοπλίσας τοὺς Ἁγιοπτίους ἑπὶ τὸν πρὸς Ἁντίοχον πόλεμον πρὸς μὲν τὸ παρὸν ἐνδεχομένως ἐβουλεύσατο, τοῦ δὲ μέλλοντος ἡστόχησεν φρονηματισθέντες 3 γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ περί Ῥαφίαν προτερήματος οὐκέτι τὸ προστατόμενον οἶοι τ' ἦσαν ὑπομένεων, ἀλλ' ἔξητον ἡγεμόνα καὶ πρόσωπον ὡς ἰκανοὶ βοηθεῖν ὅντες αὐτοῖς. δὲ καὶ τέλος ἐποίησαν, οὐ μετὰ πολὺν χρόνον.

4 Ἁντίοχος δὲ μεγάλῃ παρασκευῇ χρησάμενος ἐν τῷ χεμῶν, μετὰ ταῦτα τῆς θερείας ἐπιγενεμένης ὑπέρβαλε τὸν Ταύρον, καὶ συνθέμενος πρὸς Ἀτταλον τὸν βασιλέα κοινοπραγιάν ἐνίστατο τὸν πρὸς Ἀχαιόν πόλεμον.

5 Ἀτταλοὶ δὲ παρατά μὲν εὐδοκοῦντες τῇ γενομένῃ διαλύσει πρὸς τοὺς Ἁχαιοὺς ὡς ἂν μὴ κατὰ γνώμην αὐτοῖς τοῦ πολέμου προκεχωρηκότος (διὸ καὶ στρατηγὸν Ἀγέλαον εἰλοντο τὸν Ναυπάκτιον, δοκοῦντα πλείστα συμβεβληθαί πρὸς τὰς διαλύσεις), οὐδένα 6 χρόνον διαλυποῦντες δυσηρέστουν, καὶ κατεμέμφοντο τὸν Ἀγέλαον ὡς ὑποτεθημένον πάσας αὐτῶν τὰς ἐξωθεὶς ὑφελείας καὶ τὰς εἰς τὸ μέλλον ἐλπίδας διὰ τὸ μὴ πρὸς τινὰς πρὸς πάντας δὲ τοὺς Ἐλληνας 7 πεποίησθαι τῇ εἰρήνῃ. δὲ δὲ προειρημένος ἀνὴρ ὑποφέρων τὴν τοιαύτην ἀλογίαν καὶ μέμψιν παρακατείχε τὰς ὀρμᾶς αὐτῶν· διὸ καὶ καρτερέωι οὕτωι μὲν ἣγαγκάζοντο παρὰ φύσιν.

108 Ὅ δὲ βασιλεὺς Φίλιππος ἀνακομισθεὶς κατὰ 256
and paid little heed to decency in this respect owing to the lack of judgement of their leaders.

107. As for Ptolemy, his war against the Egyptians followed immediately on these events. This king, by arming the Egyptians for his war against Antiochus, took a step which was of great service for the time, but which was a mistake as regards the future. The soldiers, highly proud of their victory at Raphia, were no longer disposed to obey orders, but were on the look out for a leader and figure-head, thinking themselves well able to maintain themselves as an independent power, an attempt in which they finally succeeded not long afterwards.

Antiochus, after making preparations on a large scale during the winter, crossed the Taurus at the beginning of summer and, coming to an understanding with King Attalus, arranged for a joint campaign against Achaeus.

The Aetolians were at first quite satisfied with the terms of their peace with the Achaeans, as the fortune of the war had been adverse to them—they had in fact elected Agelaus of Naupactus as their strategus because they thought he had contributed more than anyone else to the peace—but in less than no time they began to be dissatisfied and to blame Agelaus for having cut off all their sources of booty and destroyed their future prospects by making peace with all the Greeks and not with certain states only. Agelaus, however, put up with these unreasonable complaints and kept them well in hand, so that they were obliged contrary to their nature to practise self-denial.

108. King Philip after the conclusion of peace
θάλατταν ἀπὸ τῶν διαλύσεων εἰς Μακεδονίαν, καὶ καταλαβὼν τὸν Σκερδιλαίδαν ἐπὶ τῇ προφάσει τῶν προσομελομένων χρημάτων, πρὸς ἁ καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν Λευκάδα πλοῖα παρεσπόνδυσε, καὶ τότε τῆς μὲν Πελαγονίας πόλισμα διηρπακότα τὸ προσαγο-
2 ρευόμενον Πισσαίον, τῆς δὲ Δασσαρήτιδος προσ-
ηγμένον πόλεις τὰς μὲν Φιβώτιδας ἐπαγγελίας, Ἀντιπάτρειαν Χρυσονύσσαν Γεροῦντα, πολλὴν δὲ καὶ τῆς συνορούσης τούτους Μακεδονίας ἐπιδεδρα-
3 μικρότα, παραυτικά μὲν ὄρμησε μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως ὡς ἀνακτήσασθαι σπουδάζων τὰς ἀφεστηκυῖας
4 πόλεις, καθὸλου δ᾽ ἔκρυνε πολέμειν πρὸς τὸν Σκερ-
διλαίδαν, νομίζων ἀναγκαιότατον εἶναι παρευ-
τρεπίσασθαι τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἰλλυρίδα πρὸς τε τὰς ἄλλας ἐπιβολὰς καὶ μάλιστα πρὸς τὴν εἰς Ἰταλίαν
5 διάβασιν. ὁ γὰρ Δημήτριος οὕτως ἔζεκαι τὴν
ἐλπίδα καὶ τὴν ἐπιβολὴν τῷ βασιλεὶ ταύτην συνεχώς ὡστε κατὰ τοὺς ὑπόνους τὸν Φίλιππον ταῦτῃ ὀνει-
6 ρώττει καὶ περὶ ταύτας εἶναι τὰς πράξεις. ἔποιε
dὲ ταῦτα Δημήτριος οὐ Φιλίππον χάριν (τούτω
μὲν γὰρ τρίτην ἑσώς ἐν τούτοις ἐνεμερίδα), μάλλον δὲ τῆς πρὸς Ἄρμαίους δυσμενείας, τὸ δὲ πλείστον ἐνεκεν αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν ἰδίων ἐλπίδων·
7 μόνως γὰρ οὕτως ἐπέπειστο τὴν ἐν τῷ Φάρῳ 
8 στείναν κατακτῆσαι πάλιν, πλὴν ὁ γε Φιλίππος
παραγός ἀνεκτήσατο μὲν τὰς προειρημένας
πόλεις, κατελάβετο δὲ τῆς μὲν Δασσαρήτιδος
Κρεώνιον καὶ Γεροῦντα, τῶν δὲ περὶ τῆν Δυνα-
9 μένων Πισσαίων Ἐργυσσῶν. ἐπιτελεσάμενος δὲ
tαῦτα διαφῆκε τὰς δυνάμεις εἰς παραχεμασίαν.
returned by sea to Macedonia, where he found that Scerdilaïdias, on the identical pretence of moneys still due to him which he had used to seize treacherously the ships at Leucas, had now pillaged a town in Pelagonia called Pissaeum, had got into his hands by menaces or by promises several cities of the Dassaretae, namely Antipatreia, Chrysondyon, and Gertus, and had made extensive inroads on the neighbouring parts of Macedonia. He therefore set forth at once with his army to recover as soon as possible the revolted cities, and decided to make war all round on Scerdilaïdias, thinking it most essential for his other projects and for his contemplated crossing to Italy to arrange matters in Illyria to his satisfaction. For Demetrius continued to fire these hopes and ambitions of the king with such assiduity that Philip in his sleep dreamt of nothing else than this, and was full of his new projects. Demetrius did not do this out of consideration for Philip, whose cause was, I should say, only of third-rate importance to him in this matter, but actuated rather by his hostility to Rome and most of all for the sake of himself and his own prospects, as he was convinced that this was the only way by which he could recover his principality of Pharos. Philip, then, advancing with his army recovered the cities I mentioned, took Creonium and Gerus in the Dassaretis, Enchelanae, Cerax, Sation, and Boei in the region of Lake Lychnis, Bantia in the district of the Caloecini and Orgyssus in that of the Pisantini. After these operations he dismissed his troops to winter quarters. This was
ΤΗΣ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΩΝ ΤΟΥ ΠΟΛΥΦΙΟΥΣ

...
the winter in which Hannibal after devastating the wealthiest part of Italy was going into winter quarters at Gerunium in Daunia, and the Romans had just elected Gaius Terentius Varro and Lucius Aemilius Paulus to the consulate.  

109. During the winter Philip took into consideration that for his enterprise he would require ships and crews to man them, not it is true with the idea of fighting at sea—for he never thought he would be capable of offering battle to the Roman fleet—but to transport his troops, land where he wished, and take the enemy by surprise. Therefore, as he thought the Illyrian shipwrights were the best, he decided to build a hundred galleys, being almost the first king of Macedonia who had taken such a step. Having equipped these fleets he collected his forces at the beginning of summer and, after training the Macedonians a little in rowing, set sail. It was just at the time that Antiochus crossed the Taurus, when Philip sailing through the Euripus and round Cape Malea reached the neighbourhood of Cephallenia and Leucas, where he moored and awaited anxiously news of the Roman fleet. Hearing that they were lying off Lilybaeum, he was encouraged to put to sea again and advanced sailing towards Apollonia.  

110. Just as he was approaching the mouth of the river Aoüs, which runs past Apollonia, his fleet was seized by a panic such as sometimes overtakes land forces. For some of the galleys in the rear, which had anchored off an island called
σθέντες εἰς τὴν νῆσον ἡ καλεῖται μὲν Σάσων κεῖται
dὲ κατὰ τὴν εἰσβολὴν τὴν εἰς τὸν Ἰόνιον πόρον,
ἕκον ὑπὸ νῦκτα πρὸς τὸν Φίλιππον φάσκοντες
συνωρμηκέναι των αὐτών πλέοντας ἀπὸ πορθμοῦ,
3 τούτοις δὲ ἀπαγγέλλειν ὅτι καταλείποιεν ἐν Ῥηγίῳ
πεντήρεις Ῥωμαϊκὰς πλεοῦσας ἐπ᾽ Ἀπολλωνίας
4 καὶ πρὸς Σκερδιλαῖδαν. ὁ δὲ Φίλιππος ὑπολαβὼν
ὅσον οὕτω τὸν στόλον ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν παρεῖναι, περί-
φοβος γενόμενος καὶ ταχέως ἀνασπάσας τὰς
ἀγκύρας αὐτὸς εἰς τούτισσον παρήγγειλε πλεῖν.
5 οὐδενὶ δὲ κόσμῳ ποιησάμενος τὴν ἄναξυγήν καὶ
τὸν ἀνάπλουν δευτεραίος εἰς Κεφαληνίαν κατήρε,
συνεχῶς ἡμέραν καὶ νῦκτα τὸν πλοῦν ποιούμενος.
6 βραχὺ δὲ τι βαρηῆςα ἐνταῖθα κατέμεινεν, ποιῶν
ἐμφασιν ὡς ἐπὶ τινας τῶν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ πράξεων
7 ἐπεστροφῶς. συνέβη δὲ ψευδῶς γενέσθαι τὸν
8 ὅλον φόβον περὶ αὐτόν. ὁ γὰρ Σκερδιλαῖδας
ἀκούων κατὰ χειμῶνα λέμβους ναυτηγεῖσθαι τὸν
Φίλιππον πλείους, καὶ προσδοκῶν αὐτοῦ τὴν
κατὰ θάλατταν παρουσίαν, διεσέκετο πρὸς τοὺς
Ῥωμαίους διασαφῶν τάτα καὶ παρακαλῶν βοη-
9 θεῖν, οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαίοι δεκανάζων ἀπὸ τοῦ περὶ τὸ
Διλύβαιον ἐξαπέστειλαν στόλου, ταύτην τὴν περὶ
tὸ Ῥήγιον ὀφθεῖσαν. τὴν Φίλιππος εἰ μὴ πτοηθεῖς
10 ἀλόγως ἐφυγεν, τῶν περὶ τὴν 'Ιλλυρίδα πράξεως
μάλιστ' ἀν τότε καθίκετο διὰ τὸ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους
πᾶσας ταῖς ἐπινοιαῖς καὶ παρασκευαῖς περὶ τὸν
Ἀννίβαν καὶ τὴν περὶ Κάνναν μάχην γίνεσθαι,
tῶν τε πλοίων ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ λόγον ἐγκρατῆς ἄν
11 ἐγεγόνει. νῦν δὲ διαταραχθεῖσ υπὸ τῆς προσαγ-
γελίας ἀβλαβῆ μὲν οὐκ εὐσχήμονα δὲ ἐποιήσατο
tὴν ἀναχώρησιν εἰς Μακεδονίαν.
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Sason lying at the entrance to the Ionian Sea, came in the night and informed Philip that some vessels which had crossed from the Sicilian Strait had anchored in the same roadstead and announced to them that they had left at Rhegium some Roman quinqueremes which were on their voyage to Apollonia to join Scerdilaïdas. Philip, in the belief that the Roman fleet would be upon him in less than no time, was seized by fear, and at once weighed anchor and gave orders to sail back. Quitting his anchorage and making the return voyage in thorough disorder he reached Cephallenia on the second day, travelling continuously by day and night. Plucking up a little courage he remained there pretending that he had returned to undertake some operations in the Peloponnese. As it turned out, the whole had been a false alarm. For Scerdilaïdas, hearing that Philip had been building a considerable number of galleys in the winter and expecting him to arrive by sea, sent to inform the Romans and beg for help, upon which the Romans sent a squadron of ten ships from their fleet at Lilybaeum, these being the ships that had been sighted off Rhegium. Had Philip not taken alarm so absurdly and fled before this squadron, now was the opportunity for him to make himself master of Illyria, the whole attention and all the resources of the Romans being concentrated on Hannibal and the situation after the battle of Cannae; and most probably the ships would have fallen into his hands also. But as it was the news upset him so much, that he made his way back to Macedonia without suffering any loss indeed but that of prestige.
111 Ἐπράχθη δὲ τι κατὰ τούτους τοὺς χρόνους καὶ
2 Προσεῖνα μνήμης ἄξιον. τῶν γὰρ Γαλατῶν, οὓς
dιεβίβασεν ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἄτταλος
eἰς τὸν πρὸς Ἀχαίον πόλεμον διὰ τὴν ἐπὶ ἄνδρειά
dόξαν, τούτων χωρισθέντων τοῦ προειρημένου
βασιλέως διὰ τὰς ἀρτὶ ῥηθείσας ὑποψίας καὶ
πορθοῦντων μετὰ πολλῆς ἀσελγείας καὶ βιας τὰς
ἐφ' Εὐληστόντων πόλεις, τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον καὶ πο-
3 λιορκεῖν τοὺς Ἰλιεῖς ἐπιβαλομένων, ἐγένετο μὲν
tις οὖκ ἀγενήσις περὶ ταῦτα πράξεις καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν
4 τὴν Τρώαδα κατοικοῦντων Ἀλεξάνδρειαν. Θεμίστην
gαρ ἐξαποστείλαντες μετ' ἄνδρων τετρακυκλών
ἐλυσαν μὲν τὴν Ἰλιέων πολιορκίαν, ἐξεβαλον δ' ἐκ
πάσης τῆς Τρώαδος τοὺς Γαλάτας ἐμποδίζοντες
ταῖς χορηγίαις καὶ διαλυμαινόμενοι τὰς ἐπιβολὰς
5 αὐτῶν. οἱ δὲ Γαλάται κατασχόντες τὴν Ἀρίσιβαν
καλυμένην ἐν τῇ τῶν Ἀβυδηνῶν χώρα, λουπὸν
ἐπεβοῦλευον καὶ προσεπολέμουν ταῖς περὶ τούτους
6 τοὺς τόπους ἐκτισμέναις πόλεσιν. ἐφ' οὓς στρα-
τεύσας μετὰ δυνάμεως Προσεῖος καὶ παραταξά-
μενος τοὺς μὲν ἄνδρας κατ' αὐτῶν τὸν κίνδυνον
ἐν χερῶν νόμῳ διέφθειρε, τὰ δὲ τέκνα σχεδὸν
ἀπαντὰ καὶ τᾶς γυναῖκας αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ παρεμβολῇ
κατέσφαξε, τὴν δ' ἀποσκευὴν ἐφήκε διαρτάσας
7 τοῖς ἡγωνισμένοις. πράξας δὲ ταῦτα μεγάλοι
μὲν ἀπέλυσε φόβου καὶ κίνδυνον τὰς ἐφ' Εὐληστόν-
του πόλεις, καλὸν δὲ παράδειγμα τοῖς ἐπιγυνϖμέ-
νοις ἀπέλυπτο τοῦ μὴ ῥαδίαν ποιεῖσθαι τοὺς ἐκ τῆς
Εὐρώπης βαρβάρους τὴν εἰς τὴν Ἀσιὰν διάβασιν.
8 Τὰ μὲν οὖν περὶ τὴν Ἐλλάδα καὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐν
tούτοις ἦν, τὰ δὲ κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν τῆς περὶ
Κάνναν μάχης ἐπιτελεσθείσης τὰ πλεῖστα μετ-
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111. At this same period Prusias also achieved something worthy of mention. On the occasion when the Gauls whom King Attalus had brought over from Europe for his war against Achaeus owing to their reputation for valour, left this king because of the suspicions I mentioned above and began to pillage the towns near the Hellespont with gross licentiousness and violence, finally attempting to take Ilium, the inhabitants of Alexandria Troas showed considerable gallantry. Dispatching Themistes with four thousand men they raised the siege of Ilium and expelled the Gauls from the whole of the Troad, cutting off their supplies, and frustrating their designs. The Gauls now occupied Arisba in the territory of Abydus and henceforth harassed the cities in the region either by secret plots or by open hostilities. Prusias, therefore, led an army against them, and after destroying all the men in a pitched battle, put to death nearly all the women and children in their camp and allowed his soldiers who had taken part in the battle to plunder the baggage. By this exploit he freed the cities on the Hellespont from a serious menace and danger, and gave a good lesson to the barbarians from Europe in future not to be over ready to cross to Asia.

Such was the state of affairs in Greece and Asia. The greater part of Italy, as I mentioned in the last
etióte to prois touj Karχη̄dovouj, katháper en tois
9 prò touj touj hmiw deðhlwtau. hmeis ðè vûn meûn
épi touj touj touj kairovn tis diyγhsews lixeðomev,
épeì didelhûðamev ðè periéçhe touj te kata touj
'Asiav kai touj 'Ellningwv pràxeouj h tettra-
10 kosûtê touj òlumppiàðow pròs tais ékatoû. ðè ðè
tû metà taujta bûblw, brhchëa prossanàmhnàntes
tûs [en taujta tû bûblw] prokataðkeûjs, épi touj
peri tûs 'Pomaiûw politeias lôgon èpâûmên kata
tûn en arxàiûs ùpôsschéûn.
BOOK V. 111. 8–10

Book, went over to the Carthaginians after the battle of Cannae. I choose this date for interrupting my narrative, having now described what took place in Asia and Greece during the 140th Olympiad. In the following Book, after a brief recapitulation of my introductory narrative, I will proceed according to my promise to treat of the Roman Constitution.
FRAGMENTA LIBRI VI

I. Ex Prooemio

2 Oūk ἀγνοῶ μὲν οὖν διότι τινὲς διαπορήσουσιν πῶς ἀφέμενοι τοῦ συνάπτεων καὶ προστιθέναι τὸ συνεχὲς τῆς διηγήσεως, εἰς τοῦτον ἀπεθέμεθα τὸν καιρὸν τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς προειρημένης πολιτείας ἀπό-

2 λογισμὸν· ἐμοὶ δὲ ὅτι μὲν ἢ ἢ ἄρχης ἐν τι τῶν ἀναγκαίων καὶ τοῦτο τὸ μέρος τῆς ὁλης προθέσεως,

3 ἐν πολλοῖς οἶμαι δὴλον αὐτὸ πεποιηκέναι, μάλιστα δὲ ἐν τῇ καταβολῇ καὶ προεκθέσει τῆς ἱστορίας, ἐν ἢ τοῦτο κάλλιστον ἔφαμεν, ἀμα δὲ ὕφελμὼτατον εἶναι τῆς ἡμετέρας ἐπιβολής τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν τῇ πραγματείᾳ τὸ γνώναι καὶ μαθεῖν πῶς καὶ τίνι γένει πολιτείας ἐπικρατήθεντα σχεδὸν πάντα τά κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐν οὐδὲ ὅλοις πενηχέοντα καὶ τρισὶν ἔτεσιν ὑπὸ μίαν ἄρχην τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἔπεσεν,

4 δὲ πρῶτον οὕς εὐρίσκεται γεγονός. κεκριμένον δὲ τοῦτον καιρὸν οὕς ἐώρων ἐπιτηδεῖότερον εἰς ἐπίστασιν καὶ δοκιμασίαν τῶν λέγεσθαι μελλόντων

5 ὑπὲρ τῆς πολιτείας τοῦ νῦν ἐνεστῶτος. καθάπερ ἡγὰρ οἱ κατ’ ἱδίαν ὑπὲρ τῶν φαύλων ἡ τῶν σπου-

δαίων ἀνδρῶν ποιούμενοι τὰς διαλήψεις, ἐπειδὰν ἀληθῶς πρόθωνται δοκιμᾶζειν, οὐκ ἐκ τῆς ἀπερι-

στάτου βαστώνης κατὰ τὸν βίον ποιούνται τὰς 268
FRAGMENTS OF BOOK VI

I.—FROM THE PREFACE

2. I am aware that some will wonder why I have deferred until the present occasion my account of the Roman constitution, thus being obliged to interrupt the due course of my narrative. Now, that I have always regarded this account as one of the essential parts of my whole design, I have, I am sure, made evident in numerous passages and chiefly in the prefatory remarks dealing with the fundamental principles of this history, where I said that the best and most valuable result I aim at is that readers of my work may gain a knowledge how it was and by virtue of what peculiar political institutions that in less than fifty-three years nearly the whole world was overcome and fell under the single dominion of Rome, a thing the like of which had never happened before. Having made up my mind to deal with the matter, I found no occasion more suitable than the present for turning my attention to the constitution and testing the truth of what I am about to say on the subject. For just as those who pronounce in private on the characters of bad or good men, do not, when they really resolve to put their opinion to the test, choose for investigation those periods of their life which they passed in composure and repose, but
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

ἐπισκέψεις, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἀτυχίαις περι-
peteiών καὶ τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἐπιτυχίαις κατορθωμάτων,
6 μόνον νομίζοντες εἶναι ταύτην ἀνδρὸς τελείου 
βάσανον τὸ τάς ὀλοσχερεῖς μεταβολὰς τῆς τύχης 
μεγαλοπρέπεις δύνασθαι καὶ γενναῖως ὑποφέρειν,
tὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον χρῆ θεωρεῖν καὶ πολιτείαν.
7 διόπερ οὐχ ὅρων ποιαν ἂν τις ἔξυπτεραν ἡ μείζονα 
λάβοι μεταβολὴν τῶν καθ’ ἡμᾶς τῆς γε ἡΡωμαίοις 
συμβάσεις, εἰς τοῦτον ἀπεθέμην τὸν καιρὸν τὸν 
ὑπὲρ τῶν προειρημένων ἀπολογισμὸν· γνοίη δ’ 
ἂν τις τὸ μέγεθος τῆς μεταβολῆς ἐκ τούτων.
[Exc. Vat. p. 369 Mai. 24. 4 Heys.]
8 "Ὅτι τὸ ψυχαγωγοῦν ἁμα καὶ τὴν ὁψελειαν ἐπι-
φέρον τοῖς φιλομαθοῦσι τούτ’ ἐστὶν ἢ τῶν αἰτιῶν 
9 θεωρία καὶ τοῦ βελτίωνος ἐν ἐκάστοις αἴρεσις. 
μεγίστην δ’ αἰτίαν ἡγητέον ἐν ἀπαντὶ πράγματι 
καὶ πρὸς ἐπιτυχίαν καὶ τοῦναντίον τὴν τῆς πολι-
tείας σύστασιν· ἐκ γὰρ ταύτης ἕπερ ἐκ πηγῆς οὐ 
μόνον ἀναφέρεσθαι συμβαίνει πάσας τὰς ἐπινοιας 
καὶ τὰς ἐπιβολὰς τῶν ἔργων, ἀλλὰ καὶ συντελεῖαν 
λαμβάνειν. [Exc. Vat. p. 370 M. 24. 30 H.]

II

3 Τῶν μὲν γὰρ Ἑλληνικῶν πολιτευμάτων ὁσα πολ-
λάκις μὲν ἡὔξηται, πολλάκις δὲ τῆς εἰς τὰναντία 
μεταβολῆς ὀλοσχερῶς πείραν εἰληφε, ῥάδιαν εἶναι 
συμβαίνει καὶ τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν προγεγονότων ἐξήγησιν 
2 καὶ τὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μέλλοντος ἀπόφασιν· τὸ τε γὰρ 
ἐξαγγείλαι τὰ γνωσκόμενα ῥάδιον, τὸ τε προειπεῖν 
ὑπὲρ τοῦ μέλλοντος στοχαζόμενον ἐκ τῶν ἡδὸν γεγο-
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seasons when they were afflicted by adversity or blessed with success, deeming the sole test of a perfect man to be the power of bearing high-mindedly and bravely the most complete reverses of fortune, so it should be in our judgement of states. Therefore, as I could not see any greater or more violent change in the fortunes of the Romans than this which has happened in our own times, I reserved my account of the constitution for the present occasion.

What chiefly attracts and chiefly benefits students of history is just this—the study of causes and the consequent power of choosing what is best in each case. Now the chief cause of success or the reverse in all matters is the form of a state's constitution; for springing from this, as from a fountain-head, all designs and plans of action not only originate, but reach their consummation.

II

ON THE FORMS OF STATES

3. In the case of those Greek states which have often risen to greatness and have often experienced a complete change of fortune, it is an easy matter both to describe their past and to pronounce as to their future. For there is no difficulty in reporting the known facts, and it is not hard to foretell the future
3 nōtōn eūmarēs. peri d' tēs 'Ρωμαιῶν οὔδ' ὅλως εὐχερές οὔτε peri tōn parōntwv exēghēsaθai diā tēn poikiliaν tēs politeiās, ouτe peri toû melλon-
tos proepeiν diā tēn āγνοιαν tōn progeγoντων peri autoûs idiomátωn kai kouνη kai kai' idiaν.

4 diόπερ oũ tēs τυχούσης ēπιστάσεως prōsdeiτai kai theωrías, eĩ melλoi tis tā diaphéroνta katharίwν ēn aŭtē̂ συνόψεσθαι.

5 Synibaiνει d' tōus plēσtous tōn boylomένων didaskalikōs ἦμῖν ὑποδεικνύειν peri tōn tōioutōn
trία γένη λέγειν politeiῶν, ὅν τό μὲν kalóωs
basiλieiαν, tō d' āριστoκρατίαν, tō d' tρῖτων

6 ðēmokratίαν. dokesi d' moĩ pān tis eικότωs αν ἐπαπορήσαυς πρὸς auτους, pōτερον ὡς μόνας taυτας
ἡ καὶ νῆ Δί̂ ὡς āρίστας ἦμῖν εἰσηγοῦνται tōn

7 politeiῶν. kat' āμφότερα γὰρ āγνοεῖν moi dokouei.

8 σαν· τοῦτον γὰρ τοῦ μέρους οὐ λόγῳ μόνον, ἀλλ'
ἐργῳ πεῖραν eιλήφαμεν, Λυκοῦργον σουτήσαντος
πρῶτον κατὰ τούτων τῶν τρόπων τὸ Δακεδαμονίων

9 polītēuma. καὶ μὴν οὐδ' ὡς μόνας taυτας prōs-
dekteōn· καὶ γὰρ μοναρχικάς καὶ τυραννικὰs ἦδη
tiṇas τεθεάμεθα politeiās, αἳ plēistütōn diapherousαι
basiλieiās parapλήσiων ἔχειν tī taυτη̂ dokingiōn·

10 ἡ καὶ συμβεῦονται καὶ συγχρὼνται pāntes οἱ
mοναρχοὶ καθ' ὅσον oιοὶ t̂ eisī tō tῆς basiλieiās

11 ónōmαt. καὶ μὴν ὀλγαρχικαὶ politeymαtα kai
plēiōn gēgōne, dokouνta parόmοiōn ἔχειν tī tōis
āριστοκρατικοῖς, αἳ plēi stoutōn ὡς ἔποσ eἰπεῖν diestα-

12 σων. ὀ d' auτός lógos kai peri dēmokratías. ὅτι

4 ὀ d' ἀληθὲς ἐστὶ tō leγόμενον ἐκ tōutōn συμφανές.

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by inference from the past. But about the Roman state it is neither at all easy to explain the present situation owing to the complicated character of the constitution, nor to foretell the future owing to our ignorance of the peculiar features of public and private life at Rome in the past. Particular attention and study are therefore required if one wishes to attain a clear general view of the distinctive qualities of their constitution.

Most of those whose object it has been to instruct us methodically concerning such matters, distinguish three kinds of constitutions, which they call kingship, aristocracy, and democracy. Now we should, I think, be quite justified in asking them to enlighten us as to whether they represent these three to be the sole varieties or rather to be the best; for in either case my opinion is that they are wrong. For it is evident that we must regard as the best constitution a combination of all these three varieties, since we have had proof of this not only theoretically but by actual experience, Lycurgus having been the first to draw up a constitution—that of Sparta—on this principle. Nor on the other hand can we admit that these are the only three varieties; for we have witnessed monarchical and tyrannical governments, which while they differ very widely from kingship, yet bear a certain resemblance to it, this being the reason why monarchs in general falsely assume and use, as far as they can, the regal title. There have also been several oligarchical constitutions which seem to bear some likeness to aristocratic ones, though the divergence is, generally, as wide as possible. The same holds good about democracies. 4. The truth of what I say is evident from the following considerations.
2 οὔτε γὰρ πάσαν δὴποι μοναρχίαν εὐθέως βασιλείαν ῥητέον, ἀλλὰ μόνην τὴν ἐξ ἐκόντων συγχωρουμένην καὶ τῇ γνώμῃ τὸ πλεῖον ἡ φόβῳ καὶ βίᾳ κυβερναίναι δυνατίναι, ἀλλὰ ταύτην, ἦτις ἂν κατὰ ἐκλογὴν ὑπὸ τῶν δικαιοτάτων καὶ φρονμομυτάτων ἀνδρῶν.

3 βραβεύσατι. παραπλησίως οὐδὲ δημοκρατίαν, ἐν ἡ πάν πλῆθος κύριον ἔστι ποιεῖν ὅ τι ποτ' ἂν αὐτὸ βουληθῇ καὶ πρόθεται· παρὰ δὲ ὃ πάτριον ἐστὶ καὶ σύνηθες θεοὺς σέβεσθαι, γονεῖς θεραπεύειν, πρεσβυτέρους αἰδεύσαν, νόμοις πείθεσθαι, παρὰ τοῖς τοιούποις συστήμασιν ὅταν τὸ τοῖς πλείοις.

4 δόξαν νυκαῖ, τούτῳ καλεῖν ἡ ἰδιαὶ δημοκρατίαν. διὸ καὶ γένη μὲν ἐξ ἐῖναι ῥητέον πολιτεῶν, τρία μὲν ἄ πάντες θιρυλοῦσι καὶ νῦν προείρηται, τρία δὲ τὰ τούτων συμφυή, λέγω δὲ μοναρχίαν, ὡλυγραχίαν, ὥλυγραχίαν. πρώτη μὲν οὖν ἀκατασκεύασται καὶ φυσικῶς συνίσταται μοναρχία, ταύτη δ' ἔπεται καὶ ἔκ ταύτης γεννᾶται μετὰ κατασκευῆς καὶ διορθώσεως βασιλείας. μεταβαλλοῦσης δὲ ταύτης εἰς τὰ συμφυή κακά, λέγω δ' εἷς τυραννίδ', αὖθις ἐκ τῆς τούτων καταλύσεως ἀριστοκρατία φύεται.

5 καὶ μὴν ταύτης εἰς ὡλυγραχίαν ἐκτραπείνης κατά φύσιν, τοῦ δὲ πλῆθους ὀργῆ μετελθόντος τὰς τῶν προεστῶτων ἀδικίας, γεννᾶται δήμοι. ἐκ δὲ τῆς τούτου πάλιν ὠβρεῖς καὶ παρανομίας ἀποπληροῦται.

6 συν χρόνοις ὡλυγρατία. γνοὺς δ' ἂν τις σαφεῖστατα περὶ τούτων ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐστιν οἰα δὴ νῦν εἶπον, ἐπὶ τὰς ἐκάστων κατὰ φύσιν ἀρχὰς καὶ γενέσεις καὶ μεταβολὰς ἐπιστήσας. ὁ γὰρ συμβόλων ἐκαστον αὐτῶν ὡς φύεται, μόνος ἂν οὗτος δύνατο
It is by no means every monarchy which we can call straight off a kingship, but only that which is voluntarily accepted by the subjects and where they are governed rather by an appeal to their reason than by fear and force. Nor again can we style every oligarchy an aristocracy, but only that where the government is in the hands of a selected body of the justest and wisest men. Similarly that is no true democracy in which the whole crowd of citizens is free to do whatever they wish or purpose, but when, in a community where it is traditional and customary to reverence the gods, to honour our parents, to respect our elders, and to obey the laws, the will of the greater number prevails, this is to be called a democracy. We should therefore assert that there are six kinds of governments, the three above mentioned which are in everyone's mouth and the three which are naturally allied to them, I mean monarchy, oligarchy, and mob-rule. Now the first of these to come into being is monarchy, its growth being natural and unaided; and next arises kingship derived from monarchy by the aid of art and by the correction of defects. Monarchy first changes into its vicious allied form, tyranny; and next, the abolition of both gives birth to aristocracy. Aristocracy by its very nature degenerates into oligarchy; and when the commons inflamed by anger take vengeance on this government for its unjust rule, democracy comes into being; and in due course the licence and lawlessness of this form of government produces mob-rule to complete the series. The truth of what I have just said will be quite clear to anyone who pays due attention to such beginnings, origins, and changes as are in each case natural. For he alone who has seen how each form
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

συνιδεῖν καὶ τὴν αὐξήσων καὶ τὴν ἀκμῆν καὶ τὴν μεταβολὴν ἐκάστων καὶ τὸ τέλος, τότε καὶ πῶς 13 καὶ ποῦ καταντήσει πάλιν· μάλιστα δ’ ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥωμαίων πολιτείας τούτον ἄρμοσεν τὸν τρόπον ὑπείληφα τῆς ἐξηγήσεως διὰ τὸ κατὰ φύσιν αὐτὴν ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς εἰληφέναι τὴν τε σύστασιν καὶ <τὴν> αὐξήσων.

5 Ἀκριβέστερον μὲν οὖν ἵσως ο περὶ τῆς κατὰ φύσιν μεταβολῆς τῶν πολιτειῶν εἰς ἀλλήλας διενεργεῖται λόγος παρὰ Πλάτωνι καὶ τισὺν ἐτέρους τῶν φιλοσόφων· ποικίλος δ’ ὦν καὶ διὰ πλειόνων 2 λεγόμενος ὁλίγους ἐφικτός ἐστών. διότι οὖν ἀνήκειν ὑπολαμβάνομεν αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὴν πραγματικὴν ἱστορίαν καὶ τὴν κοινὴν ἐπίνοιαν, τούτο 3 πειρασόμεθα κεφαλαίως διελθεῖν· καὶ γὰρ ἄν ἐλλείπειν τι δόξῃ διὰ τῆς καθολικῆς ἐμφάσεως, ὁ κατὰ μέρος λόγος τῶν ἐξῆς ρήθησομένων ἰκανὴν ἀνταπόδοσιν ποιήσει τῶν νῦν ἐπαπορηθέντων.

4 Ποιὰς οὖν ἀρχὰς λέγω καὶ πόθεν φημὶ φύσεθαι 5 τὰς πολιτείας πρῶτον; ὅταν ἦ διὰ κατακλυσμοὺς ἦ διὰ λομικὰς περιστάσεις ἢ δι’ ἀφορίας καρπῶν ἢ δι’ ἄλλας τουαὕτας αἰτίας φθορὰ γένηται τοῦ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένους, οἵας ἡδή γεγονέναι παρελθόντες.

6 μεν καὶ πάλιν πολλάκις ἐσεσθ’ ὁ λόγος αἰρεῖ, τότε δὴ συμφθειρομένων πάντων τῶν ἐπιτηθεμάτων καὶ τεχνών, ὅταν ἐκ τῶν περιλειφθέντων οἷον εἰ σπερμάτων αὕθις αὐξήθη σὺν χρόνῳ πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων, 7 τότε δὴ που, καθάπερ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων ζώων, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτων συναθροιζόμενῶν—ὅπερ εἰκός, καὶ τούτως εἰς τὸ ὁμόφυλον συναγελάζονται διὰ τὴν τῆς φύσεως ἀσθένειαν—ἀνάγκη τὸν τὴν σωματικὴν ρώμην καὶ τὴν ψυχικὴ τόλμη διαφέροντα, τούτων ἠγεῖσθαι
naturally arises and develops, will be able to see when, how, and where the growth, perfection, change, and end of each are likely to occur again. And it is to the Roman constitution above all that this method, I think, may be successfully applied, since from the outset its formation and growth have been due to natural causes.

5. Perhaps this theory of the natural transformations into each other of the different forms of government is more elaborately set forth by Plato and certain other philosophers; but as the arguments are subtle and are stated at great length, they are beyond the reach of all but a few. I therefore will attempt to give a short summary of the theory, as far as I consider it to apply to the actual history of facts and to appeal to the common intelligence of mankind. For if there appear to be certain omissions in my general exposition of it, the detailed discussion which follows will afford the reader ample compensation for any difficulties now left unsolved.

What then are the beginnings I speak of and what is the first origin of political societies? When owing to floods, famines, failure of crops or other such causes there occurs such a destruction of the human race as tradition tells us has more than once happened, and as we must believe will often happen again, all arts and crafts perishing at the same time, then in the course of time, when springing from the survivors as from seeds men have again increased in numbers and just like other animals form herds—it being a matter of course that they too should herd together with those of their kind owing to their natural weakness—it is a necessary consequence that the man who excels in bodily strength and in courage will lead and rule
8 καὶ κρατεῖν, καθάπερ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων γενών ἀδοξοποιήτων ζώων θεωρούμενον τούτο χρῆ φύσεως ἔργον ἀληθινῶτατον νομίζειν, παρ' οἷς ὁμολογουμένως τοὺς ἵσχυροτάτους ὁρῶμεν ἡγουμένους, λέγω δὲ ταύρους, κάπρους, ἀλεκτρυόνας, τὰ τοῦτοι παραπλήσια. τάς μὲν οὖν ἄρχας εἰκὸς τουτοῦτος εἶναι καὶ τοὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων βίους, ζωηδόν συν- αθροιζομένων καὶ τοῖς ἀλκιμωτάτοις καὶ δυναμικωτάτοις ἐπομένων, οἷς ὅροις μὲν ἐστὶ τῆς ἄρχῆς ἰσχύς, ὅνομα δ' ἂν εἶποι τις μοναρχίαν.

10 Ἐπειδὰν δὲ τοὺς συντήμασι διὰ τὸν χρόνον ὑπογένηται συντροφία καὶ συνήθεια, τοῦτ' ἄρχῃ βασιλείας φύεται, καὶ τότε πρῶτος ἐννοια γίνεται τοῦ καλοῦ καὶ δικαίου τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ὅμως δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐναντίων τούτων. ὁ δὲ πρῶτος τῆς ἄρχης καὶ τῆς γενέσεως τῶν εἱρμηνέων τοιόσοδε.

2 πάντων γὰρ πρὸς τὰς συνουσίας ὁρμῶντων κατὰ φύσιν, ἐκ δὲ τούτων παιδοποίας ἀποτελουμένης, ὅπως τις τῶν ἐκτραφέντων εἰς ἥλικίαν ἱκόμενος μὴ νέμοι χάριν μηδὲ ἀμύνοι τοῦτοι οἷς ἐκτρέφοιν, ἀλλὰ ποιν τάναντια κακῶς λέγειν ἢ δρᾶν τοῦτοι εἰκὸς τοὺς συνόντας καὶ συνδόντας τὰς γεγονημένας ἐκ τῶν γεννησάντων ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ κακοπάθειαν περὶ τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὴν τούτων θεραπείαν καὶ τροφὴν. τοῦ γὰρ γένους τῶν ἀνθρώπων ταύτη διαφέροντος τῶν ἄλλων ζώων, Ἰ μόνοις αὐτοῖς μέτεστι νοῦ καὶ λογισμοῦ, φανερὸν ὡς ὅν οἰκὸς παρατρέχων αὐτοῖς τὴν προειρημένην διαφοράν, 4 καὶ τροφὴν. τοῦ γὰρ γένους τῶν ἀνθρώπων ταύτη διαφέροντος τῶν ἄλλων ζώων, ἢ μόνοις αὐτοῖς μέτεστι νοῦ καὶ λογισμοῦ, φανερὸν ὡς ὅν εἰκὸς παρατρέχων αὐτοῖς τὴν προειρημένην διαφοράν, 5 καθάπερ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων ζώων, ἀλλ' ἐπισημαίνεσθαι τὸ γνώμενον καὶ δυσαρεστείσθαι τοῖς παροῦσι, προορωμένου τὸ μέλλον καὶ συλλογιζομένους 278
over the rest. We observe and should regard as a most genuine work of nature this very phenomenon in the case of the other animals which act purely by instinct and among whom the strongest are always indisputably the masters—I speak of bulls, boars, cocks, and the like. It is probable then that at the beginning men lived thus, herding together like animals and following the lead of the strongest and bravest, the ruler's strength being here the sole limit to his power and the name we should give his rule being monarchy.

But when in time feelings of sociability and companionship begin to grow in such gatherings of men, then kingship has struck root; and the notions of goodness, justice, and their opposites begin to arise in men. 6. The manner in which these notions come into being is as follows. Men being all naturally inclined to sexual intercourse, and the consequence of this being the birth of children, whenever one of those who have been reared does not on growing up show gratitude to those who reared him or defend them, but on the contrary takes to speaking ill of them or ill treating them, it is evident that he will displease and offend those who have been familiar with his parents and have witnessed the care and pains they spent on attending to and feeding their children. For seeing that men are distinguished from the other animals by possessing the faculty of reason, it is obviously improbable that such a difference of conduct should escape them, as it escapes the other animals: they will notice the thing and be displeased at what is going on, looking to the future and reflecting that they may all
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...ὅτι τὸ παραπλήσιον ἐκάστοις αὐτῶν συγκυρήσει. 6 καὶ μὴν ὅταν τοὺς πάλιν ἄτερος ὑπὸ θατέρου τυχῶν ἐπικουρίας ἢ βοηθείας ἐν τοῖς δεινοῖς μὴ νέμῃ τῷ σώσαντι χάριν, ἀλλὰ ποτὲ καὶ βλάπτειν ἐγχερῆ τοῦτον, φανέρων ὡς εἰκὸς τῷ τοιούτῳ δυσαρεστεῖ

...ποτὲ καὶ δυσάρεστεὶ

...σθαί καὶ προσκόπτειν τοὺς εἴδοτας, συναγαγακτοῦν
tas μὲν τῷ πέλας, ἀναφέροντας δ’ ἐφ’ αὐτοῖς τὸ παραπλήσιον. ἔξ ὑπογίνεται τις ἕννοια παρ’ ἐκάστῳ τῆς τοῦ καθήκοντος δυνάμεως καὶ θεωρίας.

...οπερ ἐστὶν ἀρχὴ καὶ τέλος δικαιοσύνης. ὁμοίως πάλιν ὅταν ἀμύνῃ μὲν τις πρὸ πάντων ἐν τοῖς δεινοῖς, ύψιστὴται δὲ καὶ μένῃ τὰς ἐπιφορὰς τῶν ἀλκιμωτάτων ἰὼν, εἰκὸς μὲν τὸν τοιοῦτον ὑπὸ τοῦ πλῆθους ἐπικυρίας τυγχάνειν εὐνοίκης καὶ προστατικῆς, τὸν δὲ τἀναντία τούτῳ πράττοντα

...καταγωγεῖσι καὶ προσκοπῆς. ἔξ οὖ πάλιν εὐλογον ὑπογίνεσθαι τινα θεωρίαν παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς αἰσχροῖ καὶ καλοῖ καὶ τῆς τούτων πρὸς ἀλλήλα
diaφορᾶς, καὶ τὸ μὲν ζηλοῦ καὶ μιμήσεως τυγχάνειν
dia τὸ συμφέρον, τὸ δὲ φυγῆς. ἐν οἷς ὅταν ὁ προεστῶς καὶ τὴν μεγίστην δύναμιν ἔχων ἀεὶ συνεπιφύλητη τοῖς προερημένοις κατὰ τὰς τῶν πολλῶν διαλύμεις, καὶ δόξῃ τοῖς ὑποταττομένοις

diaνεμητικός εἶναι τοῦ κατ’ ἀξίαν ἐκάστοις, οὐκετί
tην βίαν δεδιότες, τῇ δὲ γνώμη τὸ πλεῖον εὐδο
cούντες, ὑποτάττονται καὶ συσσώζουσι τὴν ἁρχὴν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὅλως ἡ γναιρί, ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἐταμύνον
tes καὶ διαγωνιζόμενοι πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιβουλεύοντας

...αὐτοῦ τῇ δυναστείᾳ. καὶ δὴ τῷ τοιούτῳ τρόπῳ βασιλεύς ἐκ μονάρχου λανθάνει γενόμενος, ὅταν παρὰ τοῦ θυμοῦ καὶ τῆς ἱσχύος μεταλάβῃ τὴν ἴγε

...μονίαν ὁ λογισμός.

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meet with the same treatment. Again when a man who has been helped or succoured when in danger by another does not show gratitude to his preserver, but even goes to the length of attempting to do him injury, it is clear that those who become aware of it will naturally be displeased and offended by such conduct, sharing the resentment of their injured neighbour and imagining themselves in the same situation. From all this there arises in everyone a notion of the meaning and theory of duty, which is the beginning and end of justice. Similarly, again, when any man is foremost in defending his fellows from danger, and braves and awaits the onslaught of the most powerful beasts, it is natural that he should receive marks of favour and honour from the people, while the man who acts in the opposite manner will meet with reprobation and dislike. From this again some idea of what is base and what is noble and of what constitutes the difference is likely to arise among the people; and noble conduct will be admired and imitated because it is advantageous, while base conduct will be avoided. Now when the leading and most powerful man among the people always throws the weight of his authority on the side of the notions on such matters which generally prevail, and when in the opinion of his subjects he apportions rewards and penalties according to desert, they yield obedience to him no longer because they fear his force, but rather because their judgement approves him; and they join in maintaining his rule even if he is quite enfeebled by age, defending him with one consent and battling against those who conspire to overthrow his rule. Thus by insensible degrees the monarch becomes a king, ferocity and force having yielded the supremacy to reason.
7 Ἀὕτη καλοῦ καὶ δικαίου πρώτη παρ’ ἀνθρώπων κατὰ φύσιν ἔννοια καὶ τῶν ἐναντίων τούτων, ἀὕτη
2 βασιλείας ἀληθινῆς ἀρχῆ καὶ γένεσις. οὐ γὰρ μόνον αὐτοῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἐκ τούτων ἤπειροι διαφυλάττουσι τὰς ἀρχὰς, πεπεισμένοι τοὺς ἐκ τοιούτων γεγονότας καὶ τραφέντας ὑπὸ τοιούτως
3 παραπλησίων ἔξειν καὶ τὰς προαιρέσεις. ἐὰν δὲ ποτὲ τοῖς ἐγγόνοις δυσαρεστήσωσι, ποιοῦνται μετὰ ταύτα τὴν αἴρεσιν τῶν ἀρχῶν καὶ βασιλέων οὐκέτι κατὰ τὰς σωματικὰς καὶ θυμικὰς δυνάμεις, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὰς τῆς γνώμης καὶ τοῦ λογισμοῦ διαφοράς, πείραν εἰληφότες ἔτ’ αὐτῶν τῶν ἔργων
4 τῆς ἐξ ἀμφοῖν παραλλαγῆς. τὸ μὲν οὖν παλαιὸν ἐνεγήρασκον ταῖς βασιλείαις οἱ κριθέντες ἀπάξ καὶ τυχόντες τῆς ἐξουσίας ταύτης, τόπους τε διαφέροντας ὀχυρώμενοι καὶ τειχίζοντες καὶ χώραν κατακτώμενοι, τὸ μὲν τῆς ἀσφαλείας χάριν, τὸ δὲ τῆς δαφισλείας τῶν ἐπιτηδείων τοῖς ὑποτεταγμένοις.
5 ᾧμα δὲ περὶ ταύτα σπουδάζοντες ἐκτὸς ἦσαν πάσης διαβολῆς καὶ φθόνου διὰ τὸ μήτε περὶ τὴν ἐσθήτα μεγάλας ποιεῖσθαι τὰς παραλλαγὰς μήτε περὶ τὴν βρώσιν καὶ πόσων, ἀλλὰ παραπλησίων ἔχειν τὴν βιοτείαν τοῖς ἄλλοις, ὃμοσε ποιούμενοι τοῖς πολλοῖς
6 ἀεὶ τὴν δίαυταν. ἔπει δ’ ἐκ διαδοχῆς καὶ κατὰ γένος τὰς ἀρχὰς παραλαμβάνοντες ἔτομα μὲν εἶχον ἢδη τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἀσφάλειαν, ἔτομα δὲ καὶ
7 πλείω τῶν ἱκανῶν τὰ πρὸς τὴν τροφὴν, τότε δὴ ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις ἐπόμενοι διὰ τὴν περιουσίαν ἐξάλλους μὲν ἐσθήτας ὑπέλαβον δεῖν ἔχειν τοὺς ἡγουμένους τῶν ὑποταττομένων, ἐξάλλους δὲ καὶ ποικίλας τὰς περὶ τὴν τροφὴν ἀπολαύσεις καὶ παρασκευάζοντες, ἀναντιρρήτους δὲ καὶ παρὰ τῶν μη
7. Thus is formed naturally among men the first notion of goodness and justice, and their opposites; this is the beginning and birth of true kingship. For the people maintain the supreme power not only in the hands of these men themselves, but in those of their descendants, from the conviction that those born from and reared by such men will also have principles like to theirs. And if they ever are displeased with the descendants, they now choose their kings and rulers no longer for their bodily strength and brute courage, but for the excellency of their judgement and reasoning powers, as they have gained experience from actual facts of the difference between the one class of qualities and the other. In old times, then, those who had once been chosen to the royal office continued to hold it until they grew old, fortifying and enclosing fine strongholds with walls and acquiring lands, in the one case for the sake of the security of their subjects and in the other to provide them with abundance of the necessities of life. And while pursuing these aims, they were exempt from all vituperation or jealousy, as neither in their dress nor in their food and drink did they make any great distinction, but lived very much like everyone else, not keeping apart from the people. But when they received the office by hereditary succession and found their safety now provided for, and more than sufficient provision of food, they gave way to their appetites owing to this superabundance, and came to think that the rulers must be distinguished from their subjects by a peculiar dress, that there should be a peculiar luxury and variety in the dressing and serving of their viands, and that they should meet with no denial
προσηκόντων τὰς τῶν ἀφροδισίων χρείας καὶ
8 συνονοσίας. ἐφ’ οἷς μὲν φθόνον γενομένου καὶ
προσκοπῆς, ἐφ’ οἷς δὲ μίσους ἐκκαυομέμεν καὶ
δυσμενικῆς ὀργῆς, ἐγένετο μὲν ἐκ τῆς βασιλείας
tυραννίσ, ἀρχὴ δὲ καταλύσεως ἐγεννᾶτο καὶ
9 σύστασις ἐπιβουλῆς τοῖς ἡγουμένοις· ἦν οὖκ ἐκ
tῶν χειρίστων, ἀλλ’ ἐκ τῶν γενναιοτάτων καὶ
μεγαλοψυχοτάτων, ἔτι δὲ θαρραλεώτατων ἀνδρῶν
συνέβανε γίνεσθαι διὰ τὸ τοὺς τουούτους ἥκιστα
8 δύνασθαι φέρειν τὰς τῶν ἐφεστῶτων ὑβρίσει. τοῦ
dὲ πλήθους, ὅτε λάβοι προστάτας, συνεπισχύοντος
κατὰ τῶν ἡγουμένων διὰ τὰς προερημένας αἰτίας,
tὸ μὲν τῆς βασιλείας καὶ μοναρχίας εἰδὸς ἀρδήν
ἀνηρεῖτο, τὸ δὲ τῆς ἁριστοκρατίας αὕτης ἀρχὴν
2 ἐλάμβανε καὶ γένεσιν. τοῖς γὰρ καταλύσασι τοὺς
μονάρχους οἶον εἰ χάριν ἐκ χειρὸς ἀποδίδοντες οἱ
πολλοὶ τούτοις ἐχρώντε proos τά τρος καὶ τοῦτοι
3 ἐπέτρεπον περὶ σφῶν. οἰ δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀσμε-
νίζοντες τὴν ἑπιτροπὴν οὐδὲν προυργιαίτερον ἐποι-
οῦντο τοῦ κοινῆς συμφέροντος, καὶ κηδεμονικῶς καὶ
φυλακτικῶς έκαστα χειρίζοντες καὶ τὰ κατ’ ἱδίαν
4 καὶ τὰ κοινὰ τοῦ πλήθους. ὅτε δὲ διαδέχατο
πάλιν παῖδες παρὰ πατέρων τὴν τουαύτὴν ἔξουσιαν,
ἀπειροὶ μὲν ὄντες κακῶν, ἀπειροὶ δὲ καθόλου
πολιτικῆς ἱσότητος καὶ παρρησίας, τεθραμμένοι
δ’ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐν ταῖς τῶν πατέρων ἔξουσιας καὶ
5 προσαγωγαῖς, ὀρμήσατες οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ πλεουνείαν
καὶ φιλαργυρίαν ἄδικον, οἱ δ’ ἐπὶ μέθας καὶ τὰς
άμα ταύτας ἀπληστοὺς εὐωχίας, οἱ δ’ ἐπὶ τὰς
tῶν γυναικῶν ὑβρίς καὶ παιδών ἀρταγάς, μετ-
έστησαν μὲν τὴν ἁριστοκρατίαν εἰς ολυμπαρχίαν,
6 ταχύ δὲ κατεσκεύασαν ἐν τοῖς πλήθεσι πάλιν τὰ
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in the pursuit of their amours, however lawless. These habits having given rise in the one case to envy and offence and in the other to an outburst of hatred and passionate resentment, the kingship changed into a tyranny; the first steps towards its overthrow were taken by the subjects, and conspiracies began to be formed. These conspiracies were not the work of the worst men, but of the noblest, most high-spirited, and most courageous, because such men are least able to brook the insolence of princes. 8. The people now having got leaders, would combine with them against the ruling powers for the reasons I stated above; kingship and monarchy would be utterly abolished, and in their place aristocracy would begin to grow. For the commons, as if bound to pay at once their debt of gratitude to the abolisher of monarchy, would make them their leaders and entrust their destinies to them. At first these chiefs gladly assumed this charge and regarded nothing as of greater importance than the common interest, administering the private and public affairs of the people with paternal solicitude. But here again when children inherited this position of authority from their fathers, having no experience of misfortune and none at all of civil equality and liberty of speech, and having been brought up from the cradle amid the evidences of the power and high position of their fathers, they abandoned themselves some to greed of gain and unscrupulous money-making, others to indulgence in wine and the convivial excess which accompanies it, and others again to the violation of women and the rape of boys; and thus converting the aristocracy into an oligarchy aroused in the people feelings similar to those of which
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paraphlōsia tōs ērī r̄ētheīs. dīō kai para-
pλήσιον συνέβαινε τὸ τέλος αὐτῶν γίνεσθαι τῆς
catastrophês tōs peri tōs tūrānous ēτυχῆ-
ymōsīn. ἔπειδαν γάρ τις συνθεασάμενος τὸν φθόνον
kai tō mīsos kai 'auchtōn tō para tōis polītaias
υπάρχον, kάπειτα θαρρήσῃ λέγειν ἢ πράττει τι
kata tōn proestōtwn, pān ētoimōn kai συνεργῶν
2 λαμβάνει τὸ πλῆθος. λοιπὸν ὦσ μὲν φονεύσαντες,
<ους δὲ φυγαδεύσαντες,> οὔτε βασιλέα προϊστασθαι
tolmōson, ἐτί δεδιότες τὴν τῶν πρότερον ἄδικιαν,
οὔτε πλείοσιν ἐπιτρέπει τὰ κοινὰ θαρροῦσι, παρὰ
3 πόδας αὐτοῖς ὦσης τῆς πρότερον ἀγνοίας, μόνης
dὲ σφίσι καταλειπομένης ἐλπίδος ἀκεραίου τῆς ἐν
αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ ταύτην καταφέρονται, καὶ τήν μὲν πο-
liteian ē̂ξ ὀλυγαρχικῆς δημοκρατίας ἐποίησαν, τὴν
dὲ τῶν κοινῶν πρόνοιαν καὶ πίστων εἰς σφᾶς αὐτοῦς
4 ἀνέλαβον. καὶ μέχρι μὲν ἀν ἐτί σφίζονται τωσ
tῶν ὑπεροχῆς καὶ δυναστείας πείραν εἰληφότων,
ἀσμενίζοντες τῇ παρούσῃ καταστάσει περὶ πλεί-
στον ποιοῦνται τὴν ἱστορίαν καὶ τὴν παρρησίαν.
5 ὅταν δ' ἐπιγένωσται νέοι καὶ παλαι παΐδων πάλιν ἡ
dημοκρατία παράδοθη, τότε οὐκέτι διὰ τὸ σύνηθες
ἐν μεγάλῳ τυθέμενο τὸ τῆς ἱστορίας καὶ παρ-
rρησίας ζητοῦσι πλέον ἐχειν τῶν πολλῶν. μάλιστα
d' εἰς τοῦτο ἐμπίπτουσιν οἱ ταῖς ὀφθαῖς ὑπερ-
6 ἔχοντες. λοιπὸν ὅταν ὁρμήσωσιν ἐπὶ τὸ φιλαρχεῖν
καὶ μὴ δύνωνται δι' αὐτῶν καὶ διὰ τῆς ἑδίας ἀρετῆς
tυγχάνειν τούτων, διαφθείρουσι τὸ ὀφθαί, δε-
λεάζοντες καὶ λυμαινόμενο τὰ πλῆθη κατὰ πάντα
7 τρόπων. εἴ δὲν ὅταν ἀπαξ δωροδόκοις καὶ δωρο-
φάγοις κατασκευάσωσι τοὺς πολλοὺς διὰ τὴν
ἄφρονα δοξοφαγίαν, τότε ἡδὴ πάλιν τὸ μὲν τῆς
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I just spoke, and in consequence met with the same disastrous end as the tyrant. 9. For whenever anyone who has noticed the jealousy and hatred with which they are regarded by the citizens, has the courage to speak or act against the chiefs of the state he has the whole mass of the people ready to back him. Next, when they have either killed or banished the oligarchs, they no longer venture to set a king over them, as they still remember with terror the injustice they suffered from the former ones, nor can they entrust the government with confidence to a select few, with the evidence before them of their recent error in doing so. Thus the only hope still surviving unimpaired is in themselves, and to this they resort, making the state a democracy instead of an oligarchy and assuming the responsibility for the conduct of affairs. Then as long as some of those survive who experienced the evils of oligarchical dominion, they are well pleased with the present form of government, and set a high value on equality and freedom of speech. But when a new generation arises and the democracy falls into the hands of the grandchildren of its founders, they have become so accustomed to freedom and equality that they no longer value them, and begin to aim at pre-eminence; and it is chiefly those of ample fortune who fall into this error. So when they begin to lust for power and cannot attain it through themselves or their own good qualities, they ruin their estates, tempting and corrupting the people in every possible way. And hence when by their foolish thirst for reputation they have created among the masses an appetite for gifts and the habit of receiving them, democracy in its
δημοκρατίας καταλύεται, μεθίσταται δ’ εἰς βιαν
καὶ χειροκρατίαν ἡ δημοκρατία. συνειδησμένον
γὰρ τὸ πλήθος ἐσθίει τὰ ἄλλοτρια καὶ τὰς ἐλπίδας
ἐχειν τού ξῆν ἐπὶ τοὺς τῶν πέλας, ὅταν λάβῃ προ-
στάτην μεγαλόφρονα καὶ τολμηρόν, ἐκκλειόμενον
dὲ διὰ πενίαν τῶν ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ τιμίων, τότε
δὴ χειροκρατίαν ἀποτελεῖ, καὶ τότε συναθροι-
ζόμενον ποιεῖ σφαγάς, φυγάς, γῆς ἀναδασμοῦς,
ἐὼς ἃν ἀποτεθηριωμένον πάλιν εὐρη δεσπότην
καὶ μόναρχον.

Αὐτὴ πολιτείων ἀνακύκλωσις, αὐτὴ φύσεως οἰ-
κονομία, καθ’ ἣν μεταβάλλει καὶ μεθίσταται καὶ
πάλιν εἰς αὐτὰ καταντᾷ τὰ κατὰ τὰς πολιτείας.

ταῦτα τις σαφῶς ἐπεγρωκῶς χρόνοις μὲν ἵσως
dιαμαρτήσεται λέγων ὑπὲρ τοῦ μέλλοντος περὶ
pολιτείας, τὸ δὲ ποῦ τῆς αὐξήσεως ἐκαστόν ἔστω
ἡ τῆς φθορᾶς ἡ ποῦ μεταστήσεται σπανίως ἄν
dιασφάλλωτο, χωρὶς ὑργῆς ἡ φθόνου ποιούμενος

τὴν ἀπόφασιν. καὶ μὴν περὶ γε τῆς Ἐρωμαίῶν

τούμπαλιν ἐσομένης ὡς τούτων μεταβολῆς. εἰ γὰρ

καὶ τὴν σύστασιν καὶ τῆς αὐξήσεως καὶ τῆς

καὶ τὴν σύστασιν καὶ τὴν αὐξήσειν, κατὰ φύσιν ἡ ἀρχὴ ἔχουσαν

καὶ τὴν εἰς ταὐτατία μεταβολήν. σκοπεῖν δὲ ἐξ-

δὴ ἐπὶ βραχὺ ποιησόμεθα μνήμην ὑπὲρ τῆς

λόγος τῆς προδέσεως. ἐκεῖνος γὰρ ἐκαστὰ τῶν

πολιτείων συννόησας ἀναγκαῖως καὶ φυσικῶς

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turn is abolished and changes into a rule of force and violence. For the people, having grown accustomed to feed at the expense of others and to depend for their livelihood on the property of others, as soon as they find a leader who is enterprising but is excluded from the honours of office by his penury, institute the rule of violence; and now unifying their forces massacre, banish, and plunder, until they degenerate again into perfect savages and find once more a master and monarch.

Such is the cycle of political revolution, the course appointed by nature in which constitutions change, disappear, and finally return to the point from which they started. Anyone who clearly perceives this may indeed in speaking of the future of any state be wrong in his estimate of the time the process will take, but if his judgement is not tainted by animosity or jealousy, he will very seldom be mistaken as to the stage of growth or decline it has reached, and as to the form into which it will change. And especially in the case of the Roman state will this method enable us to arrive at a knowledge of its formation, growth, and greatest perfection, and likewise of the change for the worse which is sure to follow some day. For, as I said, this state, more than any other, has been formed and has grown naturally, and will undergo a natural decline and change to its contrary. The reader will be able to judge of the truth of this from the subsequent parts of this work.

10. At present I will give a brief account of the legislation of Lycurgus, a matter not alien to my present purpose. Lycurgus had perfectly well understood that all the above changes take place
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ἐπιτελούμενα καὶ συλλογισάμενος ὅτι πᾶν εἶδος πολιτείας ἀπλοῦν καὶ κατὰ μίαν συνεστηκόσ ἰδνα-

μων ἐπισφαλεῖς γίνεται διὰ τὸ ταχέως εἰς τὴν ὁικείαν καὶ φύσει παρεπομένην ἐκτρέπεσθαι κα-

κίαν καθάπερ γὰρ συδήρω μὲν ἰός, ἦλθος δὲ θρίππες καὶ τερηδόνες συμφυεῖς εἰσὶ λύμαι, ὅπὶ

κἂν πᾶσας τὰς ἐξωθην διαφύγωσι βλάβας,

υπ’ αὐτῶν φθείρονται τῶν συγγενομένων, τὸν

αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ τῶν πολιτείῶν συγγενιστῶν

κατὰ φύσιν ἐκάστῳ καὶ παρέπεται τίς κακία,

βασιλεία μὲν ὁ μοναρχικὸς λεγόμενος τρόπος,

ἀριστοκρατία δ’ ὁ τῆς ὀλιγαρχίας, δημοκρατία δ’

ὁ θηριώδης καὶ χειροκριτικός, εἰς οὓς οὐχ οἶδον τε

μὴ οὐ πάντα τὰ προειρήμενα σὺν χρόνῳ ποιεῖσθαι

τᾶς μεταστάσεις κατὰ τὸν ἀρτι λόγον. ὁ προϊδό-

μενος Λυκούργος οὐχ ἀπλὴν οὐδὲ μονοεἰδὴ συν-

εστήσατο τὴν πολιτείαν, ἀλλὰ πᾶσας ἁμοὶ συν-

ήθροιζε τὰς ἁρετὰς καὶ τὰς ἱδιότητας τῶν ἁριστῶν

πολιτευμάτων, ἦν μηδὲν αὐξανόμενον ὑπὲρ τὸ

δέον εἰς τὰς συμφυεῖς ἐκτρέπηται κακίας, ἀντι-

σπωμένης δὲ τῆς ἐκάστου δυνάμεως ὑπ’ ἀλλήλων

μηδαμοῦ νεῦσθαι μηδ’ ἐπὶ πολὺ καταρρέσῃ μηδέν

αὐτῶν, ἀλλ’ ἰσορροποῖν καὶ ζυγοστατούμενον ἐπὶ

πολὺ διαμένῃ κατὰ τὸν τῆς ἀντιπλοίας λόγον ἀεὶ

τὸ πολιτευμα, τῆς μὲν βασιλείας κολυμβομένης

ὑπερηφανεῖν διὰ τὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ δήμου φόβου, δεδο-

μένης καὶ τούτω μερίδος ἰκανῆς ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ,

τοῦ δὲ δήμου πάλιν μὴ θαρροῦντος καταφρονεῖν

τῶν βασιλέων διὰ τὸν ἀπὸ τῶν γερόντων φόβου,

οὐ κατ’ ἐκλογὴν ἀριστικὴν κεκριμένοι πάντες

εἰς αἰὲ τῷ δικαίῳ προσνέμεν ἐαυτοῖς, ὡστε

τὴν τῶν ἐλαττουμένων μερίδα διὰ τὸ τοῖς ἔθεσιν

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necessarily and naturally, and had taken into consideration that every variety of constitution which is simple and formed on one principle is precarious, as it is soon perverted into the corrupt form which is proper to it and naturally follows on it. For just as rust in the case of iron and wood-worms and ship-worms in the case of timber are inbred pests, and these substances, even though they escape all external injury, fall a prey to the evils engendered in them, so each constitution has a vice engendered in it and inseparable from it. In kingship it is despotism, in aristocracy oligarchy, and in democracy the savage rule of violence; and it is impossible, as I said above, that each of these should not in course of time change into this vicious form. Lycurgus, then, foreseeing this, did not make his constitution simple and uniform, but united in it all the good and distinctive features of the best governments, so that none of the principles should grow unduly and be perverted into its allied evil, but that, the force of each being neutralized by that of the others, neither of them should prevail and outbalance another, but that the constitution should remain for long in a state of equilibrium like a well-trimmed boat, kingship being guarded from arrogance by the fear of the commons, who were given a sufficient share in the government, and the commons on the other hand not venturing to treat the kings with contempt from fear of the elders, who being selected from the best citizens would be sure all of them to be always on the side of justice; so that that part of the state which was weakest owing to its subservi-
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11 έμμένεν, ταύτην ἀεὶ γίνεσθαι μεῖζω καὶ βαρύτεραν τῇ τῶν γερόντων προσκλίει καὶ βοσшедш υπάρχον οὕτως συστησάμενος πλείστων ὅν ἥμεις ἵσμεν χρόνον διεφύλαξε τοῖς Δακεδαιμονίοις τήν ἐλευθερίαν.

12 Ἔκείνους μὲν οὖν λόγος των προϊόμενος πόθεν ἐκαστα καὶ πῶς πέφυκε συμβαίνει, ἄβλαβώς συνεστήσατο τῇ προειρημένῃ πολιτείᾳ. Ρωμαίοι δὲ τὸ μὲν τέλος ταῦτῳ πεποίηται τῆς ἐν τῇ πατρίδι καταστάσεως, οὐ μὴν διὰ λόγου, διὰ δὲ πολλῶν ἀγώνων καὶ πραγμάτων, ἐξ αὐτῆς ἀεὶ τῆς ἐν ταῖς περιπετείαις ἐπιγυώσεως αἱρούμενοι τὸ βέλτσων, οὕτως ἦλθον ἐπὶ ταῦτῳ μὲν Λυκούργῳ τέλος, κάλλιστον δὲ σύστημα τῶν καὶ ἡμᾶς πολιτειῶν. [Cod. Urb. fol. 60v (Exc. ant. p. 174).]

V.

11 "Ὅτι ἀπὸ τῆς Ξέρξου διαβάσεως εἰς τὴν 'Ελλάδα . . . καὶ τριάκοντα ἔτεσιν ύστερον ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν καιρῶν ἀεὶ τῶν κατὰ μέρος προδιευκρινούμενῶν ἦν καὶ κάλλιστον καὶ τέλειον ἐν τοῖς 'Ἀννιβαίναις καιροῖς, ἀφ' ὃν ἥμεις εἰς ταύτα τῆς ἐκτρο- 2 πῆς ἐποιησάμεθα. διὸ καὶ τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς συστάσεως αὐτοῦ λόγον ἀποδεδωκότες πειρασόμεθα νῦν ἡδὴ διασαφέως ὅποιον τι κατ' ἐκείνους ὑπῆρχε τοὺς καιροὺς, ἐν οἷς λειφθέντες τῇ περὶ Κάνναν μάχῃ τοῖς ὀλοίς ἔπτασαν πράγμασιν.

3 Οὐκ ἄγνοώ δὲ διότι τοῖς ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς πολιτείας ὁμοιόμενοι ἐλλιπεστέραν φανησόμεθα ποιεῖσθαι τῆν ἐξήγησιν, ἐνια παραλιπόντες τῶν κατὰ μέρος· 292
ence to traditional custom, acquired power and weight by the support and influence of the elders. The consequence was that by drawing up his constitution thus he preserved liberty at Sparta for a longer period than is recorded elsewhere.

Lycurgus then, foreseeing, by a process of reasoning, whence and how events naturally happen, constructed his constitution untaught by adversity, but the Romans while they have arrived at the same final result as regards their form of government, have not reached it by any process of reasoning, but by the discipline of many struggles and troubles, and always choosing the best by the light of the experience gained in disaster have thus reached the same result as Lycurgus, that is to say, the best of all existing constitutions.

V

On the Roman Constitution at its Prime

11. From the crossing of Xerxes to Greece . . . and for thirty years after this period, it was always one of those polities which was an object of special study, and it was at its best and nearest to perfection at the time of the Hannibalic war, the period at which I interrupted my narrative to deal with it. Therefore now that I have described its growth, I will explain what were the conditions at the time when by their defeat at Cannae the Romans were brought face to face with disaster.

I am quite aware that to those who have been born and bred under the Roman Republic my account of it will seem somewhat imperfect owing to the omission of certain details. For as they have
4 πάν γὰρ ἐπιγινώσκοντες καὶ πάντος πείραν εἰληφότες, διὰ τὴν ἐκ παίδων τοῖς ἔθεσι καὶ νομίμως συντροφίαν, οὐ τὸ λεγόμενον θαυμάσουσιν ἄλλα
5 τὸ παραλειπόμενον ἐπιζητήσουσιν, οὔδε κατὰ πρόθεσιν ὑπολήψονται τὸν γράφοντα παραλιπέιν τὰς μικρὰς διαφορὰς, ἄλλα κατ' ἁγνοιαν παρασιωπᾶν τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰ συνέχοντα τῶν πραγμάτων.
6 καὶ ῥηθέντα μὲν οὐκ ἂν ἐθαύμαζον ὡς ὑντα μικρὰ καὶ πάρεργα, παραλειπόμενα δ' ἐπιζητοῦσιν ὡς ἀναγκαία, θουλόμενοι δοκεῖν αὐτοὶ πλέον εἰδέναι
7 τῶν συγγραφέων. δεὶ δὲ τὸν ἁγαθὸν κρύτην οὐκ ἐκ τῶν παραλειπομένων δοκιμάζειν τοὺς γράφοντας,
8 ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν λεγομένων, κἂν μὲν ἐν τούτοις τι λαμβάνῃ ψεύδος, εἰδέναι διότι κάκεινα παραλείπειται δι' ἁγνοιαν, ἐὰν δὲ πάν τὸ λεγόμενον ἀληθὲς ἦ, συγχωρεῖν διότι κάκεινα παρασιωπᾶται κατὰ κρίσιν, οὐ κατ' ἁγνοιαν.
10 "Οτι πάν πράγμα σὺν καλῷ θεωροῦμεν ψευδές λαμβάνει καὶ τὰς συγκαταθέσεις καὶ τὰς ἐπιτιμήσεις· μεταπεσόντος δὲ τούτου καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἄλλας περιστάσεις συγκρινόμενον οὐχ οἷον ἂρετόν, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἄνεκτον ἄν φανετι τὸ κράτιστα καὶ ἀληθινῶτα πολλάκις ὑπὸ τῶν συγγραφέων εἰρημένον. [Ibid.]
11 Ἡν μὲν δὴ τρία μέρη τὰ κρατοῦντα τῆς πολιτείας, ἀπερ εἰπά πρότερον ἀπαντᾷ· οὕτως δὲ πάντα κατὰ μέρος ὑσως καὶ πρεπόντως συνετεῖκτο καὶ διωκέτο διὰ τούτων ὡστε μηδένα ποτ' ἂν εἰπεῖν

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complete knowledge of it and practical acquaintance with all its parts, having been familiar with these customs and institutions from childhood, they will not be struck by the extent of the information I give but will demand in addition all I have omitted: they will not think that the author has purposely omitted small peculiarities, but that owing to ignorance he has been silent regarding the origins of many things and some points of capital importance. Had I mentioned them, they would not have been impressed by my doing so, regarding them as small and trivial points, but as they are omitted they will demand their inclusion as if they were vital matters, through a desire themselves to appear better informed than the author. Now a good critic should not judge authors by what they omit, but by what they relate, and if he finds any falsehood in this, he may conclude that the omissions are due to ignorance; but if all the writer says is true, he should admit that he has been silent about these matters deliberately and not from ignorance.

These remarks are meant for those who find fault with authors in a cavilling rather than just spirit. . . .

In so far as any view of a matter we form applies to the right occasion, so far expressions of approval or blame are sound. When circumstances change, and when applied to these changed conditions, the most excellent and true reflections of authors seem often not only not acceptable, but utterly offensive. . . .

The three kinds of government that I spoke of above all shared in the control of the Roman state. And such fairness and propriety in all respects was shown in the use of these three elements for drawing up the constitution and in its subsequent administra-
δύνασθαι βεβαίως μηδὲ τῶν ἐγχωρίων πότερ' ἀριστοκρατικὸν τὸ πολίτευμα σύμπαν ἡ δημοκρατικὴν ἡ μοναρχικόν. καὶ τοὺτ' εἰκὸς ἢν πᾶσχεν.

12 ὁτε μὲν γὰρ εἰς τὴν τῶν ὑπάτων ἀτενίσαμεν ἐξουσίαν, τελείως μοναρχικὸν ἐφαίνετ' εἶναι καὶ βασιλικὸν, ὁτε δ' εἰς τὴν τῆς συγκλήτου, πάλιν ἀριστοκρατικὸν καὶ μὴν εἰ τὴν τῶν πολλῶν ἐξουσίαν θεωροῦν τις, ἐδόκει σαφῶς εἶναι δημοκρατικὸν.

13 ὃν δ' ἐκαστὸν εἶδος μερῶν τῆς πολιτείας ἐπεκράτει, καὶ τότε καὶ νῦν ἔτι πλὴν ὅλων τῶν ταῦτ' ἐστὶν.

12 Οἱ μὲν γὰρ ὑπατοὶ πρὸ τοῦ μὲν ἔξαγεν ἡ στρατότερα παρόντες ἐν 'Ρώμῃ πασῶν εἰσὶ κύριοι τῶν δημοσίων πράξεων. οἱ τε γὰρ ἄρχοντες οἱ λοιποὶ πάντες ὑποτάττονται καὶ πειθαρχοῦσι τούτοις πλὴν τῶν δημάρχων, εἰς τὴν συγκλήτουν οὕτω τὰς προσβείας ἄγουσι. πρὸς δὲ τοῖς προειρημένοις οὕτω τὰ κατεπείγοντα τῶν διαβουλίων ἀναδιδόσαν, οὕτω τὸν ὅλον χειρισμὸν τῶν δογμάτων ἐπιτελεῖσθι. καὶ μὴν ὃσα δεὶ διὰ τοῦ δήμου συντελεῖσθαι τῶν πρὸς τὰς κοινὰς πράξεις ἀνικήτων, τούτοις καθήκει φροντίζειν καὶ συνάγειν τὰς ἐκκλησίας, τούτοις εἰσφέρειν τὰ δόγματα, τούτοις βραβεύειν τὰ δοκοῦντα τοῖς πλείστοι. καὶ μὴν περὶ πολέμου κατασκευῆς καὶ καθόλου τῆς ἐν ὑπάιθροις οἰκονομίας σχεδὸν αὐτοκράτορα τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἔχουσι. καὶ γὰρ ἐπιτάττειν τοῖς συμμαχικοῖς τὸ δοκοῦν, καὶ τοὺς χιλιάρχους καθίσταναι, καὶ διαγράφειν τοὺς στρατώτας, καὶ διαλέγειν τοὺς ἐπιτηδείους τοὺς ἐξεστὶ. πρὸς δὲ τοῖς εἰρημένοις ἐκμισθάται τῶν ὑποτατμομένων ἐν τοῖς ὑπαίθροις ὅπεν ἄν ἐν μουλθιώσι κύριοι καθεστᾶσιν. ἐξουσίαν δ' ἔχουσι καὶ δαπανῶν τῶν δημοσίων ὃσα προθείνετο, παρ-
tion that it was impossible even for a native to pronounce with certainty whether the whole system was aristocratic, democratic, or monarchical. This was indeed only natural. For if one fixed one's eyes on the power of the consuls, the constitution seemed completely monarchical and royal; if on that of the senate it seemed again to be aristocratic; and when one looked at the power of the masses, it seemed clearly to be a democracy. The parts of the state falling under the control of each element were and with a few modifications still are as follows.

12. The consuls, previous to leading out their legions, exercise authority in Rome over all public affairs, since all the other magistrates except the tribunes are under them and bound to obey them, and it is they who introduce embassies to the senate. Besides this it is they who consult the senate on matters of urgency, they who carry out in detail the provisions of its decrees. Again as concerns all affairs of state administered by the people it is their duty to take these under their charge, to summon assemblies, to introduce measures, and to preside over the execution of the popular decrees. As for preparation for war and the general conduct of operations in the field, here their power is almost uncontrolled; for they are empowered to make what demands they choose on the allies, to appoint military tribunes, to levy soldiers and select those who are fittest for service. They also have the right of inflicting, when on active service, punishment on anyone under their command; and they are authorized to spend any sum they decide upon from the public funds, being accompanied by a
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επομένου ταμίου καὶ πᾶν τὸ προσταχθὲν ἐτοίμως
9 ποιοῦντος. ἢστ' εἰκότως εἶπεὶν ἂν, ὅτε τις εἰς
tαύτην ἀποβλέψεις τὴν μερίδα, διότι μοναρχικὸν
10 ἀπλῶς καὶ βασιλικόν ἔστι τὸ πολίτειμα. εἰ δὲ
tυνα τούτων ἢ τῶν λέγεσθαι μελλόντων λήψεται
μετάθεσιν ἢ κατὰ τὸ παρὸν ἢ μετὰ τινα χρόνον,
οὐδὲν ἂν εἰ ἔπρος τὴν νῦν ὑφ' ἧμων λεγομένην
ἀπόφασιν.

13 Καὶ μὴν ἡ σύγκλητος πρῶτον μὲν ἔχει τὴν τοῦ
tαμίειόν κυρίαν. καὶ γὰρ τῆς εἰσόδου πάσης αὐτῆς
2 κρατεῖ καὶ τῆς ἐξόδου παραπλησίως. οὕτε γὰρ
eἰς τὰς κατὰ μέρος χρείας οὐδεμίαν ποιεῖν ἐξόδουν
οἳ ταμίαι δύνανται χωρίς τῶν τῆς συγκλητοῦ
donμάτων πλὴν τὴν eἰς τοὺς ὑπάτους. τῆς τε παρὰ
πολὺ τῶν ἄλλων δοσχερεστάτης καὶ μεγίστης
dαπάνης, ἢν οἱ τιμηταί ποιοῦσιν εἰς τὰς ἐπισκευασ
cαι κατασκευᾶς τῶν δημοσίων κατὰ πενταετηρίδα,
tαύτης ἡ σύγκλητος ἐστὶ κυρία, καὶ διὰ ταύτης
4 γίνεται τὸ συγχώρημα τοῖς τιμηταῖς. ὡμοίως
ὅσα τῶν ἁδικημάτων τῶν κατ᾽ Ἰταλίαν προσδείται
δημοσίας ἐπισκέψεως, λέγω δ’ οἶον προδοσίας,
συνωμοσίας, φαρμακείας, δολοφονίας, τῇ συγκλήτῳ
5 μέλει περὶ τούτων. πρὸς δὲ τούτος, εἰ τις ἰδιώτης
ἡ πόλις τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν διαλύσεως ἢ (καὶ
νῇ Δί’) ἐπιτυμῆσεως ἡ βοηθείας ἡ φυλακής προσδεί
tαι, τούτων πάντων ἐπιμελῆς ἐστὶ τῇ συγκλήτῳ.
6 καὶ μὴν εἰ τῶν ἐκτός Ἰταλίας πρὸς τινας ἐξαπο-
στέλλειν δέοι προσβείαν τιν‘ ἡ διαλύσουσαν τινας
ἡ παρακαλέσουσαν ἢ καὶ νῇ Δί’ ἐπιτάξουσαν ἡ
παραληψομένη ἡ πόλεμον ἐπαγγέλλουσαν, αὕτη
7 ποιεῖται τὴν πρόνοιαν. ὡμοίως δὲ καὶ τῶν παρα-
γενομένων εἰς Ἐρώμην προσβείών ὡς δέον ἔστιν
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quaestor who faithfully executes their instructions.

So that if one looks at this part of the administration alone, one may reasonably pronounce the constitution to be a pure monarchy or kingship. I may remark that any changes in these matters or in others of which I am about to speak that may be made in present or future times do not in any way affect the truth of the views I here state.

13. To pass to the senate. In the first place it has the control of the treasury, all revenue and expenditure being regulated by it. For with the exception of payments made to the consuls, the quaestors are not allowed to disburse for any particular object without a decree of the senate. And even the item of expenditure which is far heavier and more important than any other—the outlay every five years by the censors on public works, whether constructions or repairs—is under the control of the senate, which makes a grant to the censors for the purpose. Similarly crimes committed in Italy which require a public investigation, such as treason, conspiracy, poisoning, and assassination, are under the jurisdiction of the senate. Also if any private person or community in Italy is in need of arbitration or indeed claims damages or requires succour or protection, the senate attends to all such matters. It also occupies itself with the dispatch of all embassies sent to countries outside of Italy for the purpose either of settling differences, or of offering friendly advice, or of indeed of imposing demands, or of receiving submission, or of declaring war; and in like manner with respect to embassies arriving in Rome it decides what reception and what answer
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ёкάστοις χρήσθαι καὶ ὡς δέον ἀποκριθῆναι, πάντα ταῦτα χειρίζεται διὰ τῆς συγκλήτου. πρὸς δὲ τὸν
8 δήμον καθάπαξ οὐδὲν ἐστὶ τῶν προειρημένων. ἐξ ὧν πάλιν ὅποτε τις ἐπιδημήσαι μὴ παρόντος ὑπά-
tου, τελείως ἀριστοκρατικὴ φαίνεθ' ἡ πολιτεία.
9 ὃ δὴ καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν Ἔλληνων, ὡμοίως δὲ καὶ τῶν βασιλέων, πεπεισμένοι τυγχάνουσι, διὰ τὸ
tὰ σφῶν πράγματα σχέδον πάντα τὴν σύγκλητον κυροῦν.

14 Ἔκ δὲ τούτων τίς οὐκ ἂν εἰκότως ἐπιζητήσει
tοια καὶ τίς ποτ' ἐστὶν ἡ τῷ δήμῳ καταλειπομένη
2 μερίς ἐν τῷ πολιτεύματι, τῆς μὲν συγκλήτου τῶν
kατὰ μέρος ὃν εἰρήκαμεν κυρίας ὑπαρχούσης, τὸ
δὲ μέγιστον, ὑπ' αὐτῆς καὶ τῆς εἰσόδου καὶ τῆς
ἐξόδου χειριζομένης ἀπάσης, τῶν δὲ στρατηγῶν
ὑπάτων πάλιν αὐτοκράτορα μὲν ἐχόντων δύναμιν
περὶ τὰς τοῦ πολέμου παρασκευάς, αὐτοκράτορα
3 δὲ τὴν ἐν τοῖς ὑπαίθριοις ἐξουσίαν; οὐ μὴν ἄλλα
καταλείπεται μερίς καὶ τῷ δήμῳ, καὶ καταλεί-
4 πεταί γε βαρυτάτη. τιμῆς γὰρ ἐστὶ καὶ τιμωρίας
ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ μόνος ὁ δήμος κύριος, οἷς συν-
ἐχονται μόνοις καὶ δυναστεῖαι καὶ πολιτεῖαι καὶ
5 συλλήβδην πᾶς ὁ τῶν ἀνθρώπων βίος. παρ' οἷς
γὰρ ἢ μὴ γυνώσκεσθαι συμβαίνει τὴν τοιαύτην
διαφοράν ἡ γυνωσκομένη χειρίζεσθαι κακῶς,
παρὰ τούτως οὐδὲν οἶδ᾽ ὑπὸ τα κατὰ λόγον διοικεῖσθαι
τῶν ύπεστῶτων. πῶς γὰρ εἰκὸς ἐν Ἰσχ. τιμῆ
6 ὑπότων τῶν ἀγαθῶν τοῖς κακῶις; κρίνει μὲν
οὖν ὁ δήμος καὶ διαφόροι πολλάκις, ὅταν ἀξια-
χρεων ἢ τὸ τίμημα τῆς ἁδικίας, καὶ μᾶλιστα τοὺς
tὰς ἐπιφανεῖς ἐσχηκότας ἀρχὰς. θανάτων δὲ κρίνει
7 μόνοις. καὶ γίνεται τι περὶ ταύτην τὴν χρεῖαν παρ'
should be given to them. All these matters are in the hands of the senate, nor have the people anything whatever to do with them. So that again to one residing in Rome during the absence of the consuls the constitution appears to be entirely aristocratic; and this is the conviction of many Greek states and many of the kings, as the senate manages all business connected with them.

14. After this we are naturally inclined to ask what part in the constitution is left for the people, considering that the senate controls all the particular matters I mentioned, and, what is most important, manages all matters of revenue and expenditure, and considering that the consuls again have uncontrolled authority as regards armaments and operations in the field. But nevertheless there is a part and a very important part left for the people. For it is the people which alone has the right to confer honours and inflict punishment, the only bonds by which kingdoms and states and in a word human society in general are held together. For where the distinction between these is overlooked or is observed but ill applied, no affairs can be properly administered. How indeed is this possible when good and evil men are held in equal estimation? It is by the people, then, in many cases that offences punishable by a fine are tried when the accused have held the highest office; and they are the only court which may try on capital charges. As regards the latter they have a practice which is praiseworthy and should
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αὐτοῖς ἀξίων ἔπαινον καὶ μνήμης. τοῖς γὰρ ἀνάτου κριομένοις, ἐπὰν καταδικάζωνται, δίδωσι τὴν ἐξουσίαν τὸ παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἔδος ἀπαλλάττεσθαι φανερῶς, κἂν ἐτι μία λειτυται φυλῇ τῶν ἐπικυρουσῶν τὴν κρίσιν ἀψηφοφόρητος, ἐκούσων ἐαυτοῦ κατα-8 γνώντα φυγαδεύαν. ἔστι δ᾽ ἀσφάλεια τοῖς φεύγου-σιν ἐν τῇ Νεαπολίτῳ καὶ Πραινεστίνῳ, ἔτι δὲ Τιβούρινων πόλει, καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις, πρὸς ἅς ἔχουσιν 9 ὄρκια. καὶ μὴν τὰς ἁρχὰς ὁ δήμος δίδωσι τοῖς ἀξίοις· ὀπερ ἐστὶ κάλλιστον ἄθλον ἐν πολιτείᾳ
10 καλοκαγαθίας. ἔχει δὲ τὴν κυρίαν καὶ περὶ τῆς τῶν νόμων δοκιμασίας, καὶ τὸ μέγιστον, ὑπέρ 11 εἰρήνης οὔτος βουλεύεται καὶ πολέμου. καὶ μὴν περὶ συμμαχίας καὶ διαλύσεως καὶ συνθηκῶν οὔτός ἐστών ὁ βεβαιῶν ἐκαστα τούτων καὶ κύρια 12 ποιών ἢ τούναντιν. ὥστε πάλιν ἐκ τούτων εἰκότως ἄν τινι εἰπεῖν ὅτι μεγίστην ὁ δήμος ἔχει μερίδα καὶ δημοκρατικὸν ἐστι τὸ πολέμεμα.

15 Τίνα μὲν οὖν τρόπον διήρηται τὰ τῆς πολιτείας εἰς ἐκαστον εἶδος εἰρήται· τίνα δὲ τρόπον ἀντιπράττειν βουληθέντα καὶ συνεργεῖν ἄλληλοις πάλιν ἔκα-2 στα τῶν μερῶν δύναται νῦν ῥηθῆσεται. ο μὲν γὰρ ὑπατος, ἕπειδαν τυχῶν τῆς προειρημένης ἐξουσίας ὁμολογίη μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως, δοκεῖ μὲν αὐτοκράτωρ 3 εἶναι πρὸς τὴν τῶν προκειμένων συντελείαν, προσδεῖται δὲ τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῆς συγκλήτου, καὶ χωρὶς τούτων ἐπὶ τέλος ἄγεν τὰς πράξεις ὅμω ἤκανός 4 ἐστι. δὴναν γὰρ ὅσ δεὶ μὲν ἐπιστήμην οὐτοὶ στρατοπέδους αἰὲ τὰς χορηγίας· ἀνευ δὲ τοῦ τῆς συγκλήτου βουλήματος οὔτε σίτος οὐθ᾽ ἵματισμὸς οὔτ᾽ ὀψώνια δύναται χορηγεῖσθαι τοῖς στρατοπέ-5 δοις, ὥστ᾽ ἀπράκτους γίνεσθαι τὰς ἐπιβολὰς τῶν 302
be mentioned. Their usage allows those on trial for their lives when found guilty liberty to depart openly, thus inflicting voluntary exile on themselves, if even only one of the tribes that pronounce the verdict has not yet voted. Such exiles enjoy safety in the territories of Naples, Praeneste, Tibur, and other civitates foederatae. Again it is the people who bestow office on the deserving, the noblest reward of virtue in a state; the people have the power of approving or rejecting laws, and what is most important of all, they deliberate on the question of war and peace. Further in the case of alliances, terms of peace, and treaties, it is the people who ratify all these or the reverse. Thus here again one might plausibly say that the people’s share in the government is the greatest, and that the constitution is a democratic one.

15. Having stated how political power is distributed among the different parts of the state, I will now explain how each of the three parts is enabled, if they wish, to counteract or co-operate with the others. The consul, when he leaves with his army invested with the powers I mentioned, appears indeed to have absolute authority in all matters necessary for carrying out his purpose; but in fact he requires the support of the people and the senate, and is not able to bring his operations to a conclusion without them. For it is obvious that the legions require constant supplies, and without the consent of the senate, neither corn, clothing, nor pay can be provided; so that the commander’s
δηγουμένων, ἕθελοκακεὶν καὶ κωλυςιργεῖν προθε-
6 μένης τῆς συγκλήτου. καὶ μὴν τό γ’ ἐπιτελεῖς ἢ
μὴ γίνεσθαι τάς ἐπινοιας καὶ προθέσεις τῶν στρα-
τηγῶν ἐν τῇ συγκλήτῳ κεῖται. τοῦ γὰρ ἐπαποστει-
λαὶ στρατηγοῦν ἑτερον, ἐπειδὰν ἐνιαύσιος διέλθη
χρόνος, ἢ τὸν ὑπάρχοντα ποιεῖν ἐπίμονον, ἔχει
7 τὴν κυρίαν αὐτὴ. καὶ μὴν τὰς ἐπιτυχίας τῶν
δηγουμένων ἐκτραγῳδήσαι καὶ συναυξήσαι καὶ
πάλιν ἀμαρώσαι καὶ ταπεινώσαι τὸ συνέδριον
8 ἔχει τὴν δύναμιν· τοὺς γὰρ προσαγορευομένους
παρ’ αὐτοῖς θριάμβους, δι’ ὅν ὑπὸ τὴν ὃμων ἀγεῖα
τοῖς πολίταις ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἡ τῶν κατερ-
γασμένων πραγμάτων ἐνάργεια, τοῦτοι οὐ δύ-
νανται χειρίζεσθαι, ὡς πρέπει, ποτὲ δὲ τὸ παράπαν
οὐδὲ συντελεῖν, ἐὰν μὴ τὸ συνέδριον συγκατάθηται
9 καὶ δῶ τὴν εἰς ταῦτα δαπάνην. τοῦ γε μὴν δὴμον
στοχάζονται καὶ λίαν αὐτοῖς ἀναγκαίον ἑστὶ, κἂν
όλως ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκείας τύχους πολῶν τόπων ἀφεστώ-
tες· ὁ γὰρ τὰς διαλύσεις καὶ συνθῆκας ἀκύρους καὶ
κυρίας ποιῶν, ὡς ἐπάνω προεἶπον, οὔτός ἐστιν.
10 τὸ δὲ μέγιστον ἀποτιθεμένου τὴν ἁρχὴν ἐν τούτῳ
11 δεῖ τὰς εὐθύνας ὑπέχειν τῶν πεπραγμένων. ὡστε
κατὰ μηδένα τρόπον ἀσφαλέως εἶναι τοῖς στρατηγοῖς
ὀλυγωρεῖν μῆτε τῆς συγκλήτου μῆτε τῆς τοῦ
πλῆθους εὐνοιας.

16 "Η γε μὴν συγκλήτος πάλιν, ἡ τηλικαύτην
ἔχουσα δύναμιν, πρῶτον μὲν ἐν τοῖς κοινοῖς πράγ-
μασιν ἀναγκάζεται προσέχειν τοὺς πολλοῖς καὶ
2 στοχάζονται τοῦ δήμου, τὰς δ’ ὀλοσχεροστάτας
καὶ μεγίστας ξητήσεις καὶ διορθώσεις τῶν ἀμαρτα-
νομένων κατὰ τῆς πολιτείας, οἰς θάνατος ἀκολουθεῖ
τὸ πρόστιμον, οὐ δύναται συντελεῖν, ἀν μὴ συνεπι-
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plans come to nothing, if the senate chooses to be deliberately negligent and obstructive. It also depends on the senate whether or not a general can carry out completely his conceptions and designs, since it has the right of either superseding him when his year's term of office has expired or of retaining him in command. Again it is in its power to celebrate with pomp and to magnify the successes of a general or on the other hand to obscure and belittle them. For the processions they call triumphs, in which the generals bring the actual spectacle of their achievements before the eyes of their fellow-citizens, cannot be properly organized and sometimes even cannot be held at all, unless the senate consents and provides the requisite funds. As for the people it is most indispensable for the consuls to conciliate them, however far away from home they may be; for, as I said, it is the people which ratifies or annuls terms of peace and treaties, and what is most important, on laying down office the consuls are obliged to account for their actions to the people. So that in no respect is it safe for the consuls to neglect keeping in favour with both the senate and the people.

16. The senate again, which possesses such great power, is obliged in the first place to pay attention to the commons in public affairs and respect the wishes of the people, and it cannot carry out inquiries into the most grave and important offences against the state, punishable with death, and their correction,
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3 κυρώση τὸ προβεβουλευμένον ὃ δήμος· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν εἰς ταύτην ἀνήκοντων· ἐὰν γάρ τις εἰσφέρῃ νόμον, ἡ τῆς ἐξουσίας ἀφαίρομενός τι τῆς ὑπαρχούσης τῇ συγκλήτῳ κατὰ τοὺς ἐθνομοὺς ἡ τάς προεδρίας καὶ τιμᾶς καταλύων αὐτῶν ἡ καὶ νῆ Διὰ ποιῶν ἐλαττώματα περὶ τοὺς βίους, πάντων ὁ δήμος γίνεται τῶν τοιούτων καὶ θείαι 4 καὶ μὴ κύριοι. τὸ δὲ συνέχοι, ἐὰν εἰς ἐννιστήτα τῶν δημάρχων, οὐχ οἷον ἐπὶ τέλος ἀγεῖν τι δύναται τῶν διαβουλίων ἡ σύγκλητος, ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ συνεδρεύειν 5 ἡ συμπορεύεσθαι τὸ παράπαν—οφείλουσι δ’ ἂν ποιεῖν οἱ δήμαρχοί τῷ δοκοῦν τῷ δήμῳ καὶ μάλιστα στοχάζονται τῆς τούτου βουλήσεως—διὸ πάντων τῶν προειρημένων χάριν δέδει τοὺς πολλοὺς καὶ προσέχει τῷ δήμῳ τὸν νόμον ἡ σύγκλητος.

17 Ὁμοίως γε μὴν πάλιν ὁ δήμος ὑπόχρεώς ἐστὶ τῇ συγκλήτῳ, καὶ στοχάζονται ταύτης οφείλει καὶ 2 κοινῇ καὶ κατ’ ἱδίαν. πολλῶν γὰρ ἔργων ὁντων τῶν ἐκδιδομένων ὕπο τῶν τιμητῶν διὰ πάσης Ἰταλίας εἰς τὰς ἐπισκευάς καὶ κατασκευὰς τῶν δημοσίων, ἂ τις οὐκ ἂν ἔξαρισθησατο ῥαδίως, πολλῶν δὲ ποταμῶν, λιμένων, κηπῶν, μετάλλων, χώρας, συλλήβδην ὥσα πέπτωκεν ὑπὸ τὴν Ῥωμαιῶν 3 δυναστείαν, πάντα χειρίζεσθαι συμβαίνει τὰ προειρημένα διὰ τοῦ πλῆθους, καὶ σχεδόν ὡς ἔτος εἰπεῖν πάντας ἐνδεδέσθαι ταῖς ὤναις καὶ ταῖς ἐργασίαις 4 ταῖς ἐκ τούτων· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄγοράζουσι παρὰ τῶν τιμητῶν αὐτοὶ τὰς ἐκδόσεις, οἱ δὲ κοινωνοῦσι τούτοις, οἱ δ’ ἐγγυώνται τοὺς ἡγορακότας, οἱ δὲ τὰς οὐσίας διδόσαι περὶ τούτων εἰς τὸ δημόσιον. 306
unless the *senatus consultum* is confirmed by the people. The same is the case in matters which directly affect the senate itself. For if anyone introduces a law meant to deprive the senate of some of its traditional authority, or to abolish the precedence and other distinctions of the senators or even to curtail them of their private fortunes, it is the people alone which has the power of passing or rejecting any such measure. And what is most important is that if a single one of the tribunes interposes, the senate is unable to decide finally about any matter, and cannot even meet and hold sittings; and here it is to be observed that the tribunes are always obliged to act as the people decree and to pay every attention to their wishes. Therefore for all these reasons the senate is afraid of the masses and must pay due attention to the popular will.

17. Similarly, again, the people must be submissive to the senate and respect its members both in public and in private. Through the whole of Italy a vast number of contracts, which it would not be easy to enumerate, are given out by the censors for the construction and repair of public buildings, and besides this there are many things which are farmed, such as navigable rivers, harbours, gardens, mines, lands, in fact everything that forms part of the Roman dominion. Now all these matters are undertaken by the people, and one may almost say that everyone is interested in these contracts and the work they involve. For certain people are the actual purchasers from the censors of the contracts, others are the partners of these first, others stand surety for them, others pledge their own fortunes
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5 ἔχει δὲ περὶ πάντων τῶν προειρημένων τὴν κυρίαν τὸ συνέδριον· καὶ γὰρ χρόνον ἀδύνατον δοῦναι καὶ συμπτώματος γενομένου κουφίσαι καὶ τὸ παράπαν ἀδύνατον τινὸς συμβάντος ἀπολύσαι 6 τῆς ἑργωνίας. καὶ πολλὰ δὴ τιν' ἑστίν, ἐν οἷς καὶ βλάπτει μεγάλα καὶ πάλιν ωφελεὶ τοὺς τὰ δημόσια χειρίζοντας ἢ σύγκλητος· ἢ γὰρ ἀναφέρα 7 τῶν προειρημένων γίνεται πρὸς ταύτην. τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, ἐκ ταύτης ἀποδίδονται κριταὶ τῶν πλείστων καὶ τῶν δημοσίων καὶ τῶν ἰδιωτικῶν συναλλαγμάτων, ὅσα μέγεθος ἔχει τῶν ἐγκλημάτων.

8 διὸ πάντες εἰς τὴν ταύτης πίστιν ἐνυδεμένου, καὶ δεδιότες τὸ τῆς χρείας ἄδηλον, εὐλαβώς ἔχουσι πρὸς τὰς ἐνστάσεις καὶ τὰς ἀντιπράξεις τῶν τῆς 9 συγκλήτου βουλημάτων. ὅμοιος δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὰς τῶν ὑπάτων ἐπίβολας δυσχερᾶς ἀντιπράτ- touσι διὰ τὸ κατ’ ἰδιαν καὶ κοινῇ πάντας ἐν τοῖς ὑπάιθροις ὑπὸ τὴν ἑκείνων πίπτειν ἐξουσίαν.

18 Τουαύτης δ’ οὕσης τῆς ἐκάστου τῶν μερῶν δυ- νάμεως εἰς τὸ καὶ βλάπτει καὶ συνεργεῖν ἄλληλοις, πρὸς πάσας συμβαίνει τὰς περιστάσεις δεόντως ἔχειν τὴν ἁρμογὴν αὐτῶν, ὡστε μὴ οἶδὸν τ’ εἶναι 2 ταύτης εὑρέθην ἀμείνων πολιτείας σύστασιν. ὅταν μὲν γὰρ τὸς ἐξωθεὶν κοινὸς φόβος ἐπιστᾶ ταναγκασθῇ σφᾶς συμφρονεῖν καὶ συνεργεῖν ἄλληλοις, τηλι- καύτην καὶ τουαύτην συμβαίνει γίνεσθαι τὴν δύναμιν 3 τοῦ πολιτεύματος ὡστε μὴ τε παραλείπεσθαι τῶν δεόντων μηδέν, ἀτε περὶ τὸ προσπέσον ἀεὶ πάντων ὁμοῦ ταῖς ἐπινοίαις ἀμιλλωμένων, μήτε τὸ κρυθὲν ὑστερεῖν τοῦ καροῦ, κοινὴ καὶ κατ’ ἰδιαν ἐκάστου συνεργοῦντος πρὸς τὴν τοῦ προκειμένου συντέ- 4 λειαν. διόπερ ἀνυπόστατον συμβαίνει γίνεσθαι 308
to the state for this purpose. Now in all these matters the senate is supreme. It can grant extension of time; it can relieve the contractor if any accident occurs; and if the work proves to be absolutely impossible to carry out it can liberate him from his contract. There are in fact many ways in which the senate can either benefit or injure those who manage public property, as all these matters are referred to it. What is even more important is that the judges in most civil trials, whether public or private, are appointed from its members, where the action involves large interests. So that all citizens being at the mercy of the senate, and looking forward with alarm to the uncertainty of litigation, are very shy of obstructing or resisting its decisions. Similarly everyone is reluctant to oppose the projects of the consuls as all are generally and individually under their authority when in the field.

18. Such being the power that each part has of hampering the others or co-operating with them, their union is adequate to all emergencies, so that it is impossible to find a better political system than this. For whenever the menace of some common danger from abroad compels them to act in concord and support each other, so great does the strength of the state become, that nothing which is requisite can be neglected, as all are zealously competing in devising means of meeting the need of the hour, nor can any decision arrived at fail to be executed promptly, as all are co-operating both in public and in private to the accomplishment of the task they have set themselves; and consequently this peculiar form of constitution possesses an irresistible power.
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καὶ παντὸς ἐφικνεῖσθαι τοῦ κριθέντος τὴν ἰδιότητα
5 τοῦ πολιτείματος. ὃταν γε μὴν πάλιν ἀπολυθέντες
τῶν ἐκτὸς φόβων ἐνδιατρίβωσι ταῖς εὐτυχίαις καὶ
περιουσίαις ταῖς ἐκ τῶν κατορθωμάτων, ἀπο-
λαύοντες τῆς εὐδαιμονίας, καὶ ὑποκολακεύομενοι
καὶ ῥαθυμοῦντες τρέπωνται πρὸς ὕβριν καὶ πρὸς
6 ὑπερηφανίαν, δὴ φιλεὶ γίνεσθαι, τότε καὶ μάλιστα
συνιδεῖν ἐστὶν αὐτὸ παρ᾽ αὐτὸ ποριζόμενον τὸ
7 πολίτευμα τὴν βοήθειαν. ἑπεὶ δὲν ἔξοδοῦν
τι τῶν μερῶν φιλονεικῆ καὶ πλέον τοῦ δέοντος
ἐπικρατῆ, δὴ λοι ὡς οὐδενὸς αὐτοτελοῦς ὅντος κατὰ
τὸν ἀρτι λόγουν, ἀντισπάσθαι δὲ καὶ παραποίεσ-
σθαι δυναμένης τῆς ἐκάστου προθέσεως ὑπ᾽ ἀλλή-
λων, οὐδὲν ἔξοιδεὶ τῶν μερῶν οὖν ὑπερφρονεῖ.
8 πάντα γὰρ ἐμμένει τοῖς ὑποκείμενοι τὰ μὲν κω-
λυόμενα τῆς ὀρμῆς, τὰ δὲ ἄρχης δεδιότα τὴν
ἐκ τοῦ πέλας ἐπίστασιν. [Cod. Urb. fol. 66 (Exc.
ant. p. 177).]

VI.

19 Ἐπεὶ δὲν ἀποδείξωσι τοὺς ὑπάτους, μετὰ ταῦτα
χιλιάρχους καθιστάσας, τετταρασκαίδεκα μὲν ἐκ τῶν
2 πεντε ἐναυσίους ἐχόντων ἤδη στρατείας, δέκα δ᾽
ἐλλοι σὺν τούτως ἐκ τῶν δέκα. τῶν λοιπῶν τοὺς
μὲν ἡπτεῖς δέκα, τοὺς δὲ πεζοὺς ἐξ καὶ ἑκά
στρατείας τελεῖν κατ᾽ ἀνάγκην ἐν τοῖς τετταράκοντα
3 καὶ ἕξ ἔτεις ἀπὸ γενεᾶς πλήν τῶν ὑπὸ τὰς τεττα-
ρακοῖς δραχμὰς τετμημένων τούτως δὲ παρασύ
πάντας εἰς τὴν ναυτικὴν χρείαν. ἔαν δὲ ποτὲ κατ-
4 επείγῃ τὰ τῆς περιστάσεως, ὁφείλουσιν οἱ πεζοὶ
στρατεύειν εἰκοσὶ στρατεύας ἐναυσίους. πολιτικὴν
5 δὲ λαβεῖν ἄρχην οὐκ ἔξεστιν οὐδὲν πρῶτερον, ἐὰν
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of attaining every object upon which it is resolved. When again they are freed from external menace, and reap the harvest of good fortune and affluence which is the result of their success, and in the enjoyment of this prosperity are corrupted by flattery and idleness and wax insolent and overbearing, as indeed happens often enough, it is then especially that we see the state providing itself a remedy for the evil from which it suffers. For when one part having grown out of proportion to the others aims at supremacy and tends to become too predominant, it is evident that, as for the reasons above given none of the three is absolute, but the purpose of the one can be counterworked and thwarted by the others, none of them will excessively outgrow the others or treat them with contempt. All in fact remains in statu quo, on the one hand, because any aggressive impulse is sure to be checked and from the outset each estate stands in dread of being interfered with by the others. . . .

VI

The Roman Military System

19. After electing the consuls, they appoint military tribunes, fourteen from those who have seen five years' service and ten from those who have seen ten. As for the rest, a cavalry soldier must serve for ten years in all and an infantry soldier for sixteen years before reaching the age of forty-six, with the exception of those whose census is under four hundred drachmae, all of whom are employed in naval service. In case of pressing danger twenty years' service is demanded from the infantry. No one is eligible for
μὴ δέκα στρατείας ἐνιαυσίον ἢ τετελεκώς. ἕδν δὲ μέλλωσι ποιεῖσθαι τὴν καταγραφήν τῶν στρατιωτῶν οἴ τὰς ὑπάτους ἐξοντες ἀρχάς, προλέγουσιν ἐν τῷ δήμῳ τὴν ἡμέραν, ἐν ἡ δὲ ἐδόθη παραγενόμενοι τοὺς ἐν ταῖς ἡλικίαις Ἀρματαίος ἀπανταῖς· ποιοῦσι δὲ τοῦτο καθ’ ἐκαστὸν ἐνιαυτόν. τῆς δ’ ἡμέρας ἐπελθούσης καὶ τῶν στρατευσίμων παραγενόμενοι εἰς τὴν Ὀρῶμη, καὶ μετὰ ταῦθ’ ἀθροισθέντων εἰς τὸ Καπετάλιον, διείλθων σφαῖρας αὐτοὺς οἰ νεώτεροι τῶν χιλιάρχων, καθάπερ ἂν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου κατασταθῶν ἡ τῶν στρατηγῶν, εἰς τέταρτα μέρη διὰ τὸ τέταρτα παρ’ αὐτοῖς στρατόπεδα

8 τὴν ὄλοσχερή καὶ πρώτην διαίρεσιν τῶν ὑπάρχουσι ποιεῖσθαι. καὶ τοὺς μὲν πρῶτους κατασταθέντας τέταρτας εἰς τὸ πρῶτον καλοῦμενον στρατόπεδον ἑνεμαίνα, τοὺς δὲ ἐξής τρεῖς εἰς τὸ δεύτερον, τοὺς δ’ ἐπομένους τούτους τέτταρας εἰς τὸ τρίτον, τρεῖς δὲ τοὺς τελευταίους εἰς τὸ τέταρτον. τῶν δὲ πρεσβυτέρων δύο μὲν τοὺς πρῶτους εἰς τὸ πρῶτον, τρεῖς δὲ τοὺς δευτέρους εἰς τὸ δεύτερον τιθέασι στρατόπεδον, δύο δὲ τοὺς ἐξής εἰς τὸ τρίτον, τρεῖς δὲ τοὺς τελευταίους εἰς τὸ τέταρτον [τῶν

20 πρεσβυτέρων]. γενομένης δὲ τῆς διαίρεσεως καὶ καταστάσεως τῶν χιλιάρχων τοιαύτης ὡστε πάντα

2 τὰ στρατόπεδα τοὺς ἦσους ἐξείν ἄρχοντας, μετὰ ταῦτα καθίσαντες χωρὶς ἀλλήλων κατὰ στρατόπεδον κληροῦσι τὰς φυλὰς κατὰ μίαν καὶ προσκαλοῦνται τῇ ἀεὶ λαχώσαν. ἐκ δὲ ταυτῆς ἐκλέγουσι τῶν νεανίσκων τέτταρας ἐπιεικῶς τοὺς παραπληγίους ταῖς ἡλικίαις καὶ ταῖς ἔξεσι. προσαχθέντων δὲ τούτων λαμβάνοντο πρῶτοι τὴν ἐκλογὴν οἱ τοῦ πρῶτου στρατόπεδου, δεύτεροι δ’ οἱ τοῦ δεύτερου, 312
any political office before he has completed ten years' service. The consuls, when they are about to enrol soldiers, announce at a meeting of the popular assembly the day on which all Roman citizens of military age must present themselves, and this they do annually. On the appointed day, when those liable to service arrive in Rome, and assemble on the Capitol, the junior tribunes divide themselves into four groups, as the popular assembly or the consuls determine, since the main and original division of their forces is into four legions. The four tribunes first nominated are appointed to the first legion, the next three to the second, the following four to the third, and the last three to the fourth. Of the senior tribunes the first two are appointed to the first legion, the next three to the second, the next two to the third, and the three last to the fourth. 20. The division and appointment of the tribunes having thus been so made that each legion has the same number of officers, those of each legion take their seats apart, and they draw lots for the tribes, and summon them singly in the order of the lottery. From each tribe they first of all select four lads of more or less the same age and physique. When these are brought forward the officers of the first legion have first choice, those of the second second choice, those of the third
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

τρίτοι δ' οί τού τρίτου, τελευταίοι δ' οί τού τε-5 τάρτου. πάλιν δ' ἄλλων τεττάρων προσαχθέντων λαμβάνουσιν πρώτοι τὴν αἵρεσιν οί τοῦ δευτέρου στρατοπέδου καὶ ἐξής οὕτως, τελευταίοι δ' οί 6 τοῦ πρώτου. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πάλιν ἄλλων τεττάρων προσαχθέντων πρώτοι λαμβάνουσιν οί τοῦ τρίτου στρατοπέδου, τελευταίοι δ' οί τοῦ δευτέρου. 7 [καὶ] αἰεὶ κατὰ λόγον οὕτως ἐκ περίοδον τῆς ἐκλογῆς γινομένης παραπληγίας συμβαίνει λαμ-βάνεσθαι τοὺς ἄνδρας εἰς ἐκαστὸν τῶν στρατο-8 πέδων. όταν δ' ἐκλέξωσι τὸ προκείμενον πλήθος—τοῦτο δ' ἐστιν ὅτε μὲν εἰς ἐκαστὸν στρατόπεδον πεζοὶ τετρακισχίλιοι καὶ διακόσιοι, τοτέ δὲ πεντα-κισχίλιοι, ἐπειδὰν μείζων τις αὐτοῖς προφαίνηται 9 κύνδυνος—μετὰ ταῦτα τοὺς ἱππεῖς τὸ μὲν παλαιὸν υπότερους εἰσώθεσαν δοκιμάζειν ἕπι τοῖς τετρακισ-χίλιοις διακόσιοις, νῦν δὲ προτέρους, πλουτινὸν αὐτῶν γεγενημένης ὑπὸ τοῦ τμητοῦ τῆς ἐκλογῆς καὶ ποιοῦσι τριακόσιος εἰς ἐκαστὸν στρατόπεδον. 21 Ἐπιτελεσθείσης δὲ τῆς καταγραφῆς τὸν προει-ρημένον τρόπον, ἀθροίσαντες τοὺς ἐπιλεγμένους οἱ προσήκοντες τῶν χιλιάρχων καθ' ἐκαστὸν στρα-τόπεδον, καὶ λαβόντες ἐκ πάντων ἕνα τὸν ἐπιτη-2 δειότατον, ἐξορκίζουσι ἢ μὴν πειθαρχήσειν καὶ ποιήσειν τὸ προστατόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν ἄρχοντων 3 κατὰ δύναμιν. οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ πάντες ὀμνύουσι καθ' ἕνα προπορευόμενοι, τούτ' αὐτὸ δηλοῦντες ὅτι ποιήσουσιν πάντα καθάπερ ὁ πρῶτος. 4 Κατὰ δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς καίρους οἳ τὰς ὑπάτους ἄρχας ἔχοντες παραγγέλλουσι τοῖς ἄρχουσι τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν συμμαχίων πόλεων τῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας, ἐξ ὅν ἄν βούλωνται συνστατεύειν τοὺς συμμάχους, 314
third, and those of the fourth last. Another batch of four is now brought forward, and this time the officers of the second legion have first choice and so on, those of the first choosing last. A third batch having been brought forward the tribunes of the third legion choose first, and those of the second last. By thus continuing to give each legion first choice in turn, each gets men of the same standard. When they have chosen the number determined on—that is when the strength of each legion is brought up to four thousand two hundred, or in times of exceptional danger to five thousand—the old system was to choose the cavalry after the four thousand two hundred infantry, but they now choose them first, the censor selecting them according to their wealth; and three hundred are assigned to each legion.

21. The enrolment having been completed in this manner, those of the tribunes on whom this duty falls collect the newly-enrolled soldiers, and picking out of the whole body a single man whom they think the most suitable make him take the oath that he will obey his officers and execute their orders as far as is in his power. Then the others come forward and each in his turn takes his oath simply that he will do the same as the first man.

At the same time the consuls send their orders to the allied cities in Italy which they wish to contribute
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diασαφούντες τὸ πλῆθος καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν καὶ τὸν τόπον, εἰς δὲ δεήσει παρεῖναι τοὺς κεκριμένους. 5 αἰ δὲ πόλεις παραπλησίαν πουησάμεναι τῇ προε- 
ρημένῃ τὴν ἐκλογὴν καὶ τὸν οἴκων ἐκπέμπουσιν, 
ἀρχοντα συστήσασαι καὶ μισθοδότην.
6 Οἱ δ' ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ χιλιάρχοι μετὰ τὸν ἐξορκι- 
σμὸν παραγγείλαντες ἡμέραν ἐκάστωστρατοπέδῳ 
καὶ τόπον, εἰς δὲ δεήσει παρεῖναι χωρίς τῶν ὀπλών, 
7 τότε μὲν ἀφῆκαν. παραγενομένων δ' εἰς τὴν 
ταχθείσην ἡμέραν διαλέγοντο τῶν ἀνδρῶν τοὺς 
μὲν νεωτάτους καὶ πενυχροτάτους εἰς τοὺς γροσφο- 
μάχους, τοὺς δ' ἐξῆς τούτοις εἰς τοὺς ἀστάτους 
καλουμένους, τοὺς δ' ἀκμαιότατους ταῖς ἡλικίαις 
eis toûs prîgkîpas, toûs δὲ πρεσβυτάτους εἰς 
8 τοὺς τριαρίους. αὐταὶ γὰρ εἰς καὶ τοσαῦτα 
διαφορὰν παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις καὶ τῶν ὀνομασίων καὶ 
tῶν ἡλικιῶν, ἔτι δὲ τῶν καθοπλισμῶν ἐν ἐκάστῳ 
9 στρατοπέδῳ. διαιροῦσι δ' αὐτοὺς τὸν τρόπον 
tοῦτον ὡστ' εἶναι τοὺς μὲν πρεσβυτάτους καὶ 
τριαρίους προσαγορευομένους ἐξακοσίους, τοὺς δὲ 
πρίγκιπας χιλίους καὶ διακοσίους, ἵσσους δὲ τοὐ- 
touς τους ἀστάτους, τους δὲ λοιπους καὶ νεωτάτους 
10 γροσφοφόρους. ἐὰν δὲ πλείους τῶν τετρακισχιλίων 
ὅσι, κατὰ λόγον ποιοῦνται τὴν διαίρεσιν πλὴ 
tῶν τριαρίων. τοῦτοις αἰεὶ τοὺς ἵσσους.
22 Καὶ τοῖς μὲν νεωτάτοις παρῆγγειλαν máχαιραν 
2 φορεῖν καὶ γρόσφους καὶ πάρμην. ἡ δὲ πάρμη καὶ 
dῦναμιν ἔχει τῇ κατασκευῇ καὶ μέγεθος ἀρκοῦν 
πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν· περιφερής γὰρ ὅσα τῷ σχῆματι 
3 τρίπεδον ἔχει τὴν διάμετρον. προσεπισκοπεῖται 
dὲ καὶ λιτώ περικεφαλάιῳ· ποτὲ δὲ λυκεῖαν ἢ 
ti tôn toioûtôn épitítheTai, sképHs ãma kai
troops, stating the numbers required and the day and place at which the men selected must present themselves. The magistrates, choosing the men and administering the oath in the manner above described, send them off, appointing a commander and a paymaster.

The tribunes in Rome, after administering the oath, fix for each legion a day and place at which the men are to present themselves without arms and then dismiss them. When they come to the rendezvous, they choose the youngest and poorest to form the velites; the next to them are made hastati; those in the prime of life principes; and the oldest of all triarii, these being the names among the Romans of the four classes in each legion distinct in age and equipment. They divide them so that the senior men known as triarii number six hundred, the principes twelve hundred, the hastati twelve hundred, the rest, consisting of the youngest, being velites. If the legion consists of more than four thousand men, they divide accordingly, except as regards the triarii, the number of whom is always the same.

22. The youngest soldiers or velites are ordered to carry a sword, javelins, and a target (parma). The target is strongly made and sufficiently large to afford protection, being circular and measuring three feet in diameter. They also wear a plain helmet, and sometimes cover it with a wolf's skin or something similar both to protect and to act as a distinguishing
σημείων χάριν, ἵνα τοῖς κατὰ μέρος ἢγεμόνι προκινδυνεύοντες ἐρρωμένως καὶ μὴ διάδηλοι
4 γίνωνται. τὸ δὲ τῶν γρόσφων βέλος ἔχει τῷ μὲν μῆκει τὸ ἔλυσ φύ σε πάπηχυ, τῷ δὲ πάχει
δακτυλιαίον, τὸ δὲ κέντρον σπιθαμαίον, κατὰ τοσούτον ἐπὶ λεπτὸν ἐξεληλασμένον καὶ συνωξυ-
σμένον ὡστε κατ’ ἀνάγκην εὐθέως ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης ἐμβολῆς κάμπτεσθαι καὶ μὴ δύνασθαι τοὺς πολε-
μίους ἀντιβάλλειν· εἰ δὲ μῆ, κοινὸν γίνεται τὸ βέλος.
23 Τοὺς γε μὴν δευτέρους μὲν κατὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν,
ἀστάτους δὲ προσαγωρευμένους, παρῆγγελειαν φέ-
2 ρειν πανοπλίαν. ἔστι δ’ ἡ Ὀρμαῖκη πανοπλία
πρῶτον μὲν θυρεός—οὗ τὸ μὲν πλάτος ἐστὶ τῆς
κυρτῆς ἐπιφάνειας πένθ’ ἡμιποδίων, τὸ δὲ μῆκος
3 ποδῶν τεττάρων, τὸ δ’ ἐπ’ ίτυνος ἡ πάχος’ ἐτι καὶ
παλαιστιαίον—ἐκ διπλοῦ σανδώματος ταυροκόλλη-
Pετηγώς, ὦθονώ, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα μοσχεύω δέρματι
4 περιείληται τὴν ἐκτὸς ἐπιφάνειαν. ἔχει δὲ περὶ
tὴν ἰτυν ἐκ τῶν ἀνωθεν καὶ κάτωθεν μερῶν σι-
δηροῦν σιάλωμα, δι’ οὗ τὰς τε καταφορὰς τῶν μα-
χαρῶν ἀσφαλίζεται καὶ τάς πρὸς τὴν γῆν ἔξερεί-
5 σεις. προσήρµοσται δ’ αὐτῷ καὶ σιδηρᾶ κόγχος,
ἡ τὰς ὀλοσχερεῖς ἀποστέγει πληγὰς λίθων καὶ
6 σαρισῶν καὶ καθόλου βιαν βελῶν. ἀμα δὲ τῷ
θυρεῷ μάχαιρα· ταύτην δὲ περὶ τὸν δεξιὸν φέρει
7 μηρόν, καλοῦσι δ’ αὐτὴν Ἰβηρικὴν. ἔχει δ’
αὐτὴ κέντρη διάφορον καὶ καταφορὰν ἐξ ἄμφοιν
τῶν μερῶν βίαιον διὰ τὸ τῶν ὀβελίσκον αὐτῆς
8 ἰσχυρὸν καὶ μόνιμον εἶναι. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ὤσοι
9 δύο καὶ περικεφαλαία χαλκῆ καὶ προκυκημίς. τῶν
δ’ ὄσον ἔσον οἱ μὲν παχεῖς, οἱ δὲ λεπτοὶ. τῶν
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mark by which their officers can recognize them and judge if they fight pluckily or not. The wooden shaft of the javelin measures about two cubits in length and is about a finger’s breadth in thickness; its head is a span long hammered out to such a fine edge that it is necessarily bent by the first impact, and the enemy is unable to return it. If this were not so, the missile would be available for both sides.

23. The next in seniority called hastati are ordered to wear a complete panoply. The Roman panoply consists firstly of a shield (scutum), the convex surface of which measures two and a half feet in width and four feet in length, the thickness at the rim being a palm’s breadth. It is made of two planks glued together, the outer surface being then covered first with canvas and then with calf-skin. Its upper and lower rims are strengthened by an iron edging which protects it from descending blows and from injury when rested on the ground. It also has an iron boss (umbo) fixed to it which turns aside the more formidable blows of stones, pikes, and heavy missiles in general. Besides the shield they also carry a sword, hanging on the right thigh and called a Spanish sword. This is excellent for thrusting, and both of its edges cut effectually, as the blade is very strong and firm. In addition they have two pila, a brass helmet, and greaves. The pila are of two sorts—stout and fine. Of the stout ones some
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dè sterealtrērou oî mēn stragγύλοi palaiostiaiai
ência tiw diámétroion, oî dè tetragwowni tiw pleu-
rapāν. oî ge mēn leptoï sibviñous éoикаsi sýmmétrous,
10 oûs fórour ometá toûn proeirgmênov. ápántwv dè
toútov tou överov toû mēkôs èstwos ùs trèis pîxeiws.
prosîrmôstatâ d' èkastwos bélwos sídryovn ángk-
11 strwttov, òsan ëxon toû mēkôs toîs ëvolos. oû tiw
éndeisw kai tiw xreiai oûtwos àvphalîzontai beβaiows,
èws méswv toûs ëvolous èndidêntes kai pûknavûs tâis
lábíw katarperonwntes, òstw protérov ì tûn
desmûn èn tâis xreiais ánanalasîthwv toûn sídryovn
braúsâw, kâîper ònta toû pâxos èn tû pûvmên
kai tiw pròs to överov súnavfè trîwv èmûdaktîlwv'
èpî tosoûtov kai toîwvtrnh prînovn pîoûntai
12 tîs ènúdeiswv. èpî dè pâsî toûtoûs prosepko-
syovntai pterînw stefánw kai pteroiw founikoûs ì
13 mèlasonôrâs trîsw, ìs pûxuvâxw toû mègêthos,
èn protetèntwv kattâ korûvûn àma toîs èllois
ôplîws ò meû ànîr faiwntai dîplàsîsw èautouv kattâ
 tô mâgêthwv, ì d' òwsws kälh kai katapîlktikh
14 toîs ènántiwos. oî mên oûî polloi prosslabîntes
çálkmaa spûthamaiwv pánttw pántwsw, dî protè-
15 thenânti mèn prô toûw strévnwv, kålouv dè kárdoi-
çûlaka, telêian ëxouvi tîn kâ hôplwv. oî d' 
ùpêr tâs múrîas timôweni drakhmàs ìnti tû
kârdioçûlakos suû toûs èllois álûsídvûs peri-
16 thèntai ðwârakas. d' òw òwos trîpopos tîs kâ-
oiplîswsw èstî kai peri tòûs prîgkîtas kai trîa-
rîwov, plîn ènti tûw ùswsw oî tûrîwv dôrata
fôrûnsw.

24 'Eξ èkastov dè tûw proeirêmênwv gëwûw plûn
 tôw nevtrátwv èxeîlêxan tâxiárkhous àrístînûn
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are round and a palm's length in diameter and others are a palm square. The fine *pila*, which they carry in addition to the stout ones, are like moderate-sized hunting-spears, the length of the haft in all cases being about three cubits. Each is fitted with a barbed iron head of the same length as the haft. This they attach so securely to the haft, carrying the attachment halfway up the latter and fixing it with numerous rivets, that in action the iron will break sooner than become detached, although its thickness at the bottom where it comes in contact with the wood is a finger's breadth and a half; such great care do they take about attaching it firmly. Finally they wear as an ornament a circle of feathers with three upright purple or black feathers about a cubit in height, the addition of which on the head surmounting their other arms is to make every man look twice his real height, and to give him a fine appearance, such as will strike terror into the enemy. The common soldiers wear in addition a breastplate of brass a span square, which they place in front of the heart and call the heart-protector (*pectoral*), this completing their accoutrements; but those who are rated above ten thousand drachmas wear instead of this a coat of chain-mail (*lorica*). The *principes* and *triarii* are armed in the same manner except that instead of the *pila* the *triarii* carry long spears (*hastae*).

24. From each of the classes except the youngest they elect ten centurions according to merit, and
δέκα. μετὰ δὲ τούτους ἔτεραν ἐκλογὴν ἄλλων δέκα
2 ποιοῦνται. καὶ τούτους μὲν ἀπαντασ προσηγό-
ρευσαν ταξιάρχους, ὅν ὁ πρώτος αἱρεθεὶς καὶ
συνεδρίου κοινωνεῖ· προσεκλέγονται ὁ δὲ οὕτω πάλιν
3 αὐτὸι τοὺς ἵσους οὗραγοὺς. ἐξῆς δὲ τούτους μετὰ
tῶν ταξιάρχων διελιὼν τὰς ἠλικίας, ἐκάστην εἰς δέκα
μέρη, πλὴν τῶν γροσφομάχων καὶ προσένευμαν
ἐκάστῳ μέρει τῶν ἐκλεξιθέντων ἀνδρῶν δὴ ἡγεμό-
νας καὶ δὴ οὗραγοὺς. τῶν δὲ γροσφομάχων τοὺς
ἐπιβάλλοντας κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος ἵσους ἐπὶ πάντα τὰ
5 μέρη διένειμαν. καὶ τὸ μὲν μέρος ἔκαστον ἐκάλεσαν
καὶ τάγμα καὶ σπείραν καὶ σημαιάν, τοὺς δὲ
6 ἡγεμόνας κεντυρίωνας καὶ ταξιάρχους. οὕτω δὲ
καθ’ ἐκάστην σπείραν ἐκ τῶν καταλειπομένων
ἐξέλεξαν αὐτοὶ δύο τοὺς ἀκμαιωτάτους καὶ γενναιο-
7 τάτους ἀνδρας σημαιαφόρους. δύο δὲ καθ’ ἔκαστον
τάγμα ποιοῦσιν ἡγεμόνας εἰκότως· ἀδήλου γὰρ
ὁντος καὶ τοῦ ποιῆσαι καὶ τοῦ παθεῖν τι τὸν
ἡγεμόνα, τῆς πολεμικῆς χρείας οὐκ ἐπιδεχομένης
πρόφασιν, οὕτωσιν βουλοῦνται τὴν σπείραν χωρίς
8 ἡγεμόνος εἶναι καὶ προστάτου. παρόντων μὲν
οὐν ἀμφότεροι ὁ μὲν πρῶτος αἱρεθεὶς ἤγειται
tοῦ δεξιοῦ μέρους τῆς σπείρας, ὁ δὲ δεύτερος τῶν
eυωνύμων ἄνδρων τῆς σημαιας ἔχει τὴν ἡγεμονίαν·
μὴ παρόντων δ’ ὁ καταλειπόμενος ἤγειται πάντων.
9 βουλοῦνται δ’ εἶναι τοὺς ταξιάρχους οὐχ οὔτως
θρασεῖς καὶ φιλοκινδύνους ὡς ἡγεμονικοὺς καὶ
στασίμους καὶ βαθεῖς μάλλον ταῖς ψυχαῖς, οὐδ’
ἐξ ἀκεραίου προσπίπτειν ἡ κατάρχησαι τῆς
μάχης, ἐπικρατουμένους δὲ καὶ πιεζομένους ὑπο-
μένει καὶ ἀποθνῄσκειν ὑπὲρ τῆς χώρας.
25 Παραπλησίως δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄππεισ εἰς ἐλας δέκα
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then they elect a second ten. All these are called centurions, and the first man elected has a seat in the military council. The centurions then appoint an equal number of rearguard officers (*optiones*). Next, in conjunction with the centurions, they divide each class into ten companies, except the *velites*, and assign to each company two centurions and two *optiones* from among the elected officers. The *velites* are divided equally among all the companies; these companies are called *ordines* or *manipuli* or *vexilla*, and their officers are called centurions or *ordinum ductores*. Finally these officers appoint from the ranks two of the finest and bravest men to be standard-bearers (*vexillarii*) in each maniple. It is natural that they should appoint two commanders for each maniple; for it being uncertain what may be the conduct of an officer or what may happen to him, and affairs of war not admitting of pretexts and excuses, they wish the maniple never to be without a leader and chief. When both centurions are on the spot, the first elected commands the right half of the maniple and the second the left, but if both are not present the one who is commands the whole. They wish the centurions not so much to be venturesome and dare-devil as to be natural leaders, of a steady and sedate spirit. They do not desire them so much to be men who will initiate attacks and open the battle, but men who will hold their ground when worsted and hard-pressed and be ready to die at their posts.

25. In like manner they divide the cavalry into ten
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διείλον, εξ έκάστης δε τρεῖς προκρίνουσιν ἡλάρχας,
2 οὕτωι δ' αὐτοὶ τρεῖς προσέλαβον οὐραγούς. ὁ μὲν
οὖν πρῶτος αἱρεθεὶς ἡλάρχης ἤγείται τῆς ἦλης, οἱ
dε δύο δεκαδάρχων ἔχουσι τάξιν, καλοῦνται δὲ
πάντες δεκουρίνωσ. μὴ παρόντος δε τοῦ πρῶτον
3 πάλιν ο δεύτερος ἡλάρχοι λαμβάνει τάξιν. ὁ δὲ
kαθοπλισμὸς τῶν ἐπιτέων νῦν μὲν έστι παραπλήσιος
tῶν Ἐλλήνων τὸ δὲ παλαιὸν πρῶτον θώρακας
4 οὐκ εἶχον, ἀλλ' εν περιζώμασιν εκιδύνευον, εξ
οὗ πρὸς μὲν τὸ καταβαίνειν καὶ ταχέως ἀναπηδάν
ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐπιτέως ἐτοίμας διέκειστο καὶ πρακτικῶς,
πρὸς δὲ τὰς συμπλοκὰς ἐπισφαλῶς εἶχον διὰ τὸ
5 γνωμοὶ κινδυνεύωσιν. τὰ δὲ δόρατα κατὰ δύο τρόπο-
πους ἀπρακτ' ἢν αὐτοῖς, καθ' ἡ μὲν ἡ λεπτὰ καὶ
κλαδαρὰ ποιοῦντες οὔτε τοῦ προτεθέντος ἡδύναντο
σκοποῦ στοχάζεσθαι, πρὸ τοῦ τε τὴν ἐπιδορατίδα
πρὸς τι προσερείσαι, κραδανώμενα δὲ αὐτῆς τῆς
6 τῶν ἐπιτῶν κυνήσεως τὰ πλείστα συνετρίβετον. πρὸς
δὲ τούτοις ἄιεν σαυρωτήρων κατασκευάζοντες
μὲν τῇ πρώτῃ διὰ τῆς ἐπιδορατίδος ἔχρωντο πληγῇ,
μετά δὲ ταῦτα κλασθέντων λοιπὸν ἢν ἀπρακτ' 7
αὐτοῖς καὶ μάταια. τὸν γε μὴν θυρεόν εἶχον ἐκ
βοεῖου δέρματος, τοῖς ὀμφαλωτοῖς ποπάνοις περα-
πλήσιον τοῖς ἐπὶ τὰς θυσίας ἐπιτυφλεμέοις. οἷς
οὕτε πρὸς τὰς ἐπιβολὰς ἢν χρήσαται διὰ τὸ μὴ
στάσειν ἔχειν, ὑπὸ τὸ τῶν ὄμβρων ἁπτοματούμενοι
καὶ μυδώντες δύσχρηστοι καὶ πρότερον ἦσαν καὶ
8 νῦν ἐτί γίνονται παντελῶς. διόπερ ἀδοκίμου τῆς
χρείας οὖσης, ταχέως μετέλαβον τὴν Ἐλληνικὴν
9 κατασκευὴν τῶν ὀπλῶν, ἐν ἢ τῶν μὲν δοράτων τὴν
πρώτην εὐθέως τῆς ἐπιδορατίδος πληγὴν εὐστοχον
άμα καὶ πρακτικῆς γίνεσθαι συμβαίνει, διὰ τῆν
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squadrons (turmae) and from each they select three officers (decuriones), who themselves appoint three rear-rank officers (optiones). The first commander chosen commands the whole squadron, and the two others have the rank of decuriones, all three bearing this title. If the first of them should not be present, the second takes command of the squadron. The cavalry are now armed like that of Greece, but in old times they had no cuirasses but fought in light undergarments, the result of which was that they were able to dismount and mount again at once with great dexterity and facility, but were exposed to great danger in close combat, as they were nearly naked. Their lances too were unserviceable in two respects. In the first place they made them so slender and pliant that it was impossible to take a steady aim, and before they could fix the head in anything, the shaking due to the mere motion of the horse caused most of them to break. Next, as they did not fit the butt-ends with spikes, they could only deliver the first stroke with the point and after this if they broke they were of no further service. Their buckler was made of ox-hide, somewhat similar in shape to the round bossed cakes used at sacrifices. They were not of any use for attacking, as they were not firm enough; and when the leather covering peeled off and rotted owing to the rain, unserviceable as they were before, they now became entirely so. Since therefore their arms did not stand the test of experience, they soon took to making them in the Greek fashion, which ensures that the first stroke of the lance-head shall be both well aimed and telling, since the lance is so
κατασκευήν ἀτρεμοῦς καὶ στασίμου τοῦ δόρατος ὑπάρχοντος, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐκ μεταλήψεως καὶ τοῦ σαυρωτήρος χρείαν μόνιμον καὶ βίαιον. ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς λόγος καὶ περὶ τῶν θυρεῶν καὶ γὰρ πρὸς τὰς ἐπιβολὰς καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἐπιθέσεις ἐστηκυίαν καὶ τεταγμένην ἔχουσι τὴν χρείαν. Δὲ συνιδόντες ἐμμηνασαντο ταχέως. ἀγαθοὶ γὰρ, εἰ καὶ τινὲς ἔτεροι, μεταλαβεῖν ἐθή καὶ ζηλώσαι τὸ βέλτιον καὶ Ρωμαίοι.

26 Τουαύτην δὲ ποιησάμενοι τὴν διαίρεσιν οἱ χιλιαρχοὶ, καὶ ταῦτα παραγγειλαντες περὶ τῶν ὅπλων, τότε μὲν ἀπελύσαν τοὺς ἀνδρας εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν. 2 παραγενομένης δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας, εἰς ἧν ὄμοιον ἀθροισθῆται πάντες ὁμοίως εἰς τὸν ἀποδειχθέντα τόπον ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπάτων—τάττει δὲ ως ἐπίπταν ἐκάτερος χωρίς τὸν τόπον τοὺς αὐτοῦ στρατοπέδους. ἐκατέρω γὰρ δίδοται τὸ μέρος τῶν συμμάχων καὶ δύο τῶν

4 Ῥωμαικῶν στρατοπέδων—παραγίνονται δὲ πάντες ἀδιαπτῶτως οἱ καταγραφέντες, ὡς ἀν μηδεμώς ἀλλής συγχωρουμένης προφάσεως τοῖς ἐξορκισθεῖσιν 5 πλὴν ὀρνιθείας καὶ τῶν ἀδυνάτων. ἀθροισθέντων δὲ καὶ τῶν συμμάχων ὁμοῦ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις, τὴν μὲν οἰκονομίαν καὶ τῶν χειρισμοῦ ποιούσαν τοὺς αὐτῶν οἱ καθεσταμένοι μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπάτων ἀρχοντες, προσαγορευόμενοι δὲ πραϊσκετοι, δώδεκα τῶν ἀριθμῶν ὄντες. οἱ πρῶτον μὲν τοῖς ὑπάτοις τοὺς ἐπιτηδειοτάτους πρὸς τὴν ἀληθινὴν χρείαν ἐκ πάντων τῶν παραγεγονότων συμμάχων ἐπτεῖς καὶ πεζοὺς ἐκλέγουσι, τοὺς καλουμένους ἐκτραπο-δυναρίους, δὲ μεθερμηνευόμενον ἐπιλέκτους δηλοῖ. 7 τὸ δὲ πλῆθος γίνεται τὸ πᾶν τῶν συμμάχων, τὸ μὲν τῶν πεζῶν πάρισον τοῖς Ῥωμαικοῖς στρατο-
BOOK VI. 25. 9 – 26. 7

constructed as to be steady and strong, and also that it may continue to be effectively used by reversing it and striking with the spike at the butt end. And the same applies to the Greek shields, which being of solid and firm texture do good service both in defence and attack. The Romans, when they noticed this, soon learnt to copy the Greek arms; for this too is one of their virtues, that no people are so ready to adopt new fashions and imitate what they see is better in others.

26. The tribunes having thus organized the troops and ordered them to arm themselves in this manner, dismiss them to their homes. When the day comes on which they have all sworn to attend at the place appointed by the consuls—each consul as a rule appointing a separate rendezvous for his own troops, since each has received his share of the allies and two Roman legions—none of those on the roll ever fail to appear, no excuse at all being admitted except adverse omens or absolute impossibility. The allies having now assembled also at the same places as the Romans, their organization and command are undertaken by the officers appointed by the consuls known as praefecti sociorum and twelve in number. They first of all select for the consuls from the whole force of allies assembled the horsemen and footmen most fitted for actual service, these being known as extra-ordinarii, that is "select." The total number of allied infantry is usually equal to that of the Romans, while
πέδους ὡς τὸ πολύ, τὸ δὲ τῶν ἐπιπέων τριπλάσιον·
8 ἐκ δὲ τούτων λαμβάνουσι τῶν μὲν ἐπιπέων εἰς
tous ἐπιλέκτους ἐπιεικῶς τὸ τρίτον μέρος, τῶν
9 δὲ πεζῶν τὸ πέμπτον. τοὺς δὲ λουποὺς διεῖλον
eis δύο μέρη, καὶ καλούσι τὸ μὲν δεξιὸν, τὸ δ' εὐώνυμον κέρας.
10 Τούτων δ' εὐτρεπῶν γενομένων παραλαβόντες οἱ
χιλιάρχοι τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ὅμοι καὶ τοὺς συμμά-
χους κατεστρατοπέδευσαν, ἐνὸς ὑπάρχοντος παρ'
autois thewρήματος ἀπλοῦ περὶ τὰς παρεμβολὰς,
11 ὦ χρῶνται πρὸς πάντα καιρὸν καὶ τόπον. διὸ καὶ
dokei moi πρᾶπευν τῷ καυρῷ τὸ πειραθῆναι, καθ'
ὅσον οἶον τε τῷ λόγῳ, τοὺς ἀκούσας εἰς ἐννοιαν
ἀγαγείν τοῦ κατὰ τὰς πορείας καὶ στρατοπεδείας
12 καὶ παρατάξεις χειρισμοῦ τῶν δυνάμεων. τίς
γὰρ οὕτως ἐστὶν ἀπεικὼς πρὸς τὰ καλὰ καὶ
σπουδαία τῶν ἔργων, ὃς οὐκ ἂν βουληθεὶ τις μικρὸν
ἐπιμελέστερον ἐπιστήσαι περὶ τῶν τοιούτων, ὑπὲρ
ὡν ἀπαξ ἀκούσας ἐπιστήμων ἔσται πράγματος
ἐνὸς τῶν ἄξιων λόγου καὶ γνώσεως;
27 "Εστι δὴ τὸ γένος αὐτῶν τῆς στρατοπεδείας τοι-
όνδε. τοῦ κριθέντος αἰεὶ τόπον πρὸς στρατοπε-
δείαν, τούτου τὸν ἐπιτηδειότατον εἰς σύνοψιν ἅμα
καὶ παραγγελίαν ἢ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ σκηνή κατα-
2 λαμβάνει. τεθείσης δὲ τῆς σημαίας, οὗ μέλλουσι
πηγνύναι ταύτην, ἀπομετρεῖται πέρις τῆς σημαίας
tετράγωνος τόπος, ὡστε πάσας τὰς πλευρὰς
ἐκατὸν ἀπέχειν πόδας τῆς σημαίας, τὸ δ' ἐμβαδὸν
3 γίνεται τετράπλεθρον. τούτου δὲ τοῦ σχήματος
αἰεὶ παρὰ μίαν ἐπιφάνειαν καὶ πλευράν, ἦτος ἂν
ἐπιτηδειότατη φανή πρὸς τε τὰς ὑδρείας καὶ
προνομᾶς, παραβάλλεται τὰ Ῥωμαϊκὰ στρατόπεδα
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the cavalry are three times as many. Of these they assign about a third of the cavalry and a fifth of the infantry to the picked corps; the rest they divide into two bodies, one known as the right wing and the other as the left.

When these arrangements have been made, the tribunes take both the Romans and allies and pitch their camp, one simple plan of camp being adopted at all times and in all places. I think, therefore, it will be in place here to attempt, as far as words can do so, to convey to my readers a notion of the disposition of the forces when on the march, when encamped, and when in action. For who is so averse to all noble and excellent performance as not to be inclined to take a little extra trouble to understand matters like this, of which when he has once read he will be well informed about one of those things really worth studying and worth knowing?

27. The manner in which they form their camp is as follows. When the site for the camp has been chosen, the position in it giving the best general view and most suitable for issuing orders is assigned to the general's tent (praetorium). Fixing an ensign on the spot where they are about to pitch it, they measure off round this ensign a square plot of ground each side of which is one hundred feet distant, so that the total area measures four plethra. Along one side of this square in the direction which seems to give the greatest facilities for watering and foraging, the Roman

* A plethron is 10,000 square feet.
4 τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον. Ἐξ ὑπαρχόντων χιλιάρχων ἐν ἑκάστῳ στρατοπέδῳ κατὰ τὸν ἄρτι λόγον, διεύθυν δὲ στρατοπέδων ὄντων τῶν 'Ῥωμαίων ἂν μὲθ' ἐκατέρω τῶν ὑπάτων, φανερῶν ὅτι δώδεκα χιλιάρχους ἀνάγκη συστρατεύειν ἐκατέρω τῶν ὑπάτων.
5 τιθέασι δὴ τὰς τούτων σκηνὰς ἐπὶ μίαν εὐθείαν ἀπάσας, ἡτὶς ἐστὶ παράλληλος τῇ τοῦ τετραγώνου προκριθείσῃ πλευρᾷ, πεντήκοντα δὲ ἀπέχει πόδας ἀπ' αὐτῆς, ἐν' ἡ τοῖς ἱπποῖς, ἀμα δ' ὑποζυγίοις καὶ τῇ λοιπῇ τῶν χιλιάρχων ἀποσκευῇ τόποις.
6 αἱ δὲ σκηναὶ τοῦ προερημένου σχήματος εἰς τοῦμπαλὼν ἀπεστραμμέναι πηγνυνται πρὸς τὴν ἑκτὸς ἐπιφάνειαν, ἡ νοεῖσθαι καὶ καλεῖσθαι δὲ καθαρὰς ἢμῖν αἰ τοῦ παντὸς σχήματος κατὰ πρόσωπον.
7 ἀφεστάσι δ' ἀλλήλων μὲν ἵσον αἱ τῶν χιλιάρχων σκηναί, τοσοῦτον δὲ τόπον ἄστε παρ'/ ὅλον τὸ πλάτος ἂεὶ τῶν 'Ῥωμαίων στρατοπέδων παρῆκεν.

28 Ἀπομετρηθέντων δὲ πάλιν ἐκατὸν ποδῶν εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν κατὰ πάσας τὰς σκηνὰς, λουσών ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦτο τὸ πλάτος ὄρξουσας εὐθείας, ἡτὶς γίνεται παράλληλος ταῖς τῶν χιλιάρχων σκηναῖς, ἀπὸ ταύτης ἄρχονται ποιεῖσθαι τὰς τῶν στρατοπέδων 2 παρεμβολάς, χειρίζοντες τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον. διάχο- 

tομῆσαντες τὴν προερημένην εὐθείαν, ἀπὸ τοῦτον τοῦ σημείου πρὸς ὀρθὰς τῇ γραμμῇ τοὺς ἱππεῖς ἀντίους ἀυτοῖς ἐκατέρω τοῦ στρατοπέδου παρεμβάλλουσι, πεντήκοντα διέχοντας πόδας ἀλλήλων, μέσην ποιοῦντες τὴν τομὴν τοῦ διαστήματος.
3 ἐστὶ δ' ἡ τε τῶν ἱππέων καὶ τῶν πεζῶν σκηνοποία παραπλήσιος· γίνεται γὰρ τὸ ὅλον σχήμα καὶ τῆς
4 σημαίας καὶ τῶν οὐλαμένων τετράγωνον. τούτο δὲ βλέπει μὲν εἰς τὰς διόδους, ἔχει δὲ τὸ μὲν μῆκος

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BOOK VI. 27. 4 – 28. 4

legions are disposed as follows. As I have said, there are six tribunes in each legion; and since each consul has always two Roman legions with him, it is evident that there are twelve tribunes in the army of each. They place then the tents of these all in one line parallel to the side of the square selected and fifty feet distant from it, to give room for the horses, mules, and baggage of the tribunes. These tents are pitched with their backs turned to the praetorium and facing the outer side of the camp, a direction of which I will always speak as "the front." The tents of the tribunes are at an equal distance from each other, and at such a distance that they extend along the whole breadth of the space occupied by the legions.

28. They now measure a hundred feet from the front of all these tents, and starting from the line drawn at this distance parallel to the tents of the tribunes they begin to encamp the legions, managing matters as follows. Bisecting the above line, they start from this spot and along a line drawn at right angles to the first, they encamp the cavalry of each legion facing each other and separated by a distance of fifty feet, the last-mentioned line being exactly half-way between them. The manner of encamping the cavalry and the infantry is very similar, the whole space occupied by the maniples and squadrons being a square. This square faces one of the streets or viae
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ἄρισμένον τὸ παρὰ τὴν διόδων—ἐστι γὰρ ἐκατὸν
podῶν — ὡς δ' ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ καὶ τὸ βάθος ἵσον
6 πειράνται ποιεῖν πλὴν τῶν συμμάχων. ὡστὶν δὲ
tois meió̔σι παραπληθοῦ τὰ προτοῦ καὶ τῷ βάθοι ὕσον
καὶ τῷ μῆκει καὶ τῷ βάθει προστηθέασι.

29 Γενομένης δὲ τῆς τῶν ἑπεῶν παρεμβολῆς κατὰ
mé̔σας τὰς τῶν χυλιάρχων σκηνὰς οἶνον εἰ ρύμης
τυὸς ἐπικαρσίαν πρὸς τὴν ἀρτί ῥηθεῖσαν εὔθειαν
2 καὶ τὸν πρὸ τῶν χυλιάρχων τόπον—τῷ γὰρ ὄντι
ῥύμαις παραπλήσιον ἀποτελεῖται τὸ τῶν διόδων
σχῆμα παρόν, ὡς ἄν εἶ ἐκατέροι τοῦ μέρους ἄις
μὲν ταγμάτων, ἄις δ' οὐλαμὼν ἐπὶ τὸ μῆκος παρ-
3 εμβεβληκότων—πλὴν τοῖς προειρημένοις ἐπιτεύσι
κατόπιν τοὺς ἀμφοτέρων τῶν στρατοπέδων
τριαρίους, καὶ ὡς τοὺς οὐλαμὸν ἐκάστην σημαίαν,
ἐν ὁμοίως σχῆματι τιθέασί, συμμαγνύτων μὲν τῶν
σχημάτων ἀλλήλων, βλεπόντων δ' ἐμπιαλον πρὸς
4 τὰς ἐναντίας τοῖς ἐπιπεδῴς ἐπιφανείας, ἡμοῖς
ποιοῦντες τὸ βάθος τοῦ μῆκους ἐκάστης σημαίας
tῷ καὶ κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος ἡμίσεως ὡς ἐπιπεδον εἶναι
5 τοὺτοις τῶν ἄλλων μερῶν, διὸτι περ ἀνίων ὄντων
πολλάκις τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἵσαξεν ἀεὶ συμβαίνει πάντα
tὰ μέρη κατὰ τὸ μῆκος διὰ τὴν τοῦ βάθους δια-
6 φοράν. οὕθει δὲ πεντήκοντα πόδας ἀφ' ἐκατέρων
τούτων ἀποστήσαντες, ἀντίοις παρεμβάλλουσι τοῖς
7 τριαρίοις τοὺς πρίγκιπας. νενότων δὲ καὶ τούτων
eis τὰ προειρημένα διαστήματα δὴ ἄθαλε πάλιν
ἀποτελοῦνται ρύμαι, τὰς μὲν ἀρχάς ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς
εὐθείας λαμβάνουσαν καὶ τὰς εἰσβολάς, ὁμοίως
toῖς ἑπεῖοι, ἐκ τοῦ πρὸ τῶν χυλιάρχων ἐκατομ-
pέδου διαστήματος, λήγουσαι δὲ πρὸς τὴν καταν-
tυκρὶ τῶν χυλιάρχων πλευράν τοῦ χάρακος, ἦν
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and is of a fixed length of one hundred feet, and they usually try to make the depth the same except in the case of the allies. When they employ the larger legions they add proportionately to the length and depth.

29. The cavalry camp is thus something like a street running down from the middle of the tribunes' tents and at right angles to the line along which these tents are placed and to the space in front of them, the whole system of viae being in fact like a number of streets, as either companies of infantry or troops of horse are encamped facing each other all along each. Behind the cavalry, then, they place the triarii of both legions in a similar arrangement, a company next each troop, but with no space between, and facing in the contrary direction to the cavalry. They make the depth of each company half its length, because as a rule the triarii number only half the strength of the other classes. So that the maniples being often of unequal strength, the length of the encampments is always the same owing to the difference in depth. Next at a distance of 50 feet on each side they place the principes facing the triarii, and as they are turned towards the intervening space, two more streets are formed, both starting from the same base as that of the cavalry, i.e. the hundred-foot space in front of the tribunes' tents, and both issuing on the side of the camp which is opposite to the tribunes' tents and which
εξ ἀρχῆς ὑπεθέμεθα κατὰ πρόσωπον εἶναι τοῦ
8 παντὸς σχήματος. μετὰ δὲ τοὺς πρίγκιπας, ὅπι-
σθεν τούτων ὁμοίως ἐμπαλιν βλέποντα, συμψάνοντα
δὲ τὰ σχήματα τιθέντες, τοὺς ἀστάτους παρεμβάλ-
9 λοσι. δεκα δὲ σημαίας ἐχόντων ἀπάντων τῶν
μερῶν κατὰ τὴν εξ ἀρχῆς διαίρεσιν, πάσας ἰσας
συμβαίνει γίνεσθαι τὰς ρύμας καὶ κατὰ τὸ μῆκος
καὶ τὰς ἀποτομὰς ἱσάζειν αὐτῶν τὰς πρὸς τῇ κατὰ
τὸ πρόσωπον πλευρὰ τοῦ χάρακος· πρὸς ἴνα καὶ
τὰς τελευταῖας σημαίας ἐπιστρέφοντες στρατο-
πεδεύοντος.

30 Ἀπὸ τῶν ἀστάτων πεντήκοντα πάλιν διαλεί-
pontes πόδας τοὺς τῶν συμμάχων ἔπεις ἀντίσως
παρεμβάλλοντα ὑπὸ τοὺς, ποιούμενοι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ
τῆς αὐτῆς εὐθείας καὶ λήγοντες ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτήν.
2 ἔστι δὲ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν συμμάχων, ὡς ἐπάνω προ-
είπα, τὸ μὲν τῶν πεζῶν πάρισσον τοῖς Ῥωμαῖοις
στρατοπέδους, λείπον τοῖς ἐπιλέκτοις, τὸ δὲ τῶν
ἰππέων διπλάσιον, ἀφηρημένου καὶ τούτων τοῦ
3 τρίτου μέρους εἰς τοὺς ἐπιλέκτοις. διὸ καὶ τὸ
βάθος αὔξοντες τοῦτοι πρὸς λόγον ἐν τοῖς στρα-
tοπεδευτικοῖς σχῆμασι, πειρώνται κατὰ τὸ μῆκος
4 εξίσουν τοῖς τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρατοπέδων. ἀπο-
tελεσθεισῶν δὲ τῶν ἀπασῶν πέντε διόδων, αὕτως
eἰς τοὺμπαλιν ἀπεστραμμένας ὁμοίως τοῖς ἐπεῖσι
τιθέασι τὰς τῶν συμμαχικῶν πεζῶν σημαίας,
αὔξοντες τὸ βάθος πρὸς λόγον, βλεποῦσας δὲ
πρὸς τὸν χάρακα καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἐκ τῶν πλαγίων
5 ἐπιφανείας ἐκατέρας. καθ’ ἐκάστην δὲ σημαίαν
τὰς πρῶτας ἀφ’ ἐκατέρου τοῦ μέρους σκηνὰς οἱ
ταξιαρχοὶ λαμβάνοντοι. ἀμα δὲ τὸν προειρημένου
τρόπον παρεμβάλλοντες καθ’ ἐκαστον μέρος τὸν
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we decided to call the front of the whole. After the *principes*, and again back to back against them, with no interval they encamp the *hastati*. As each class by virtue of the original division consists of ten maniples, the streets are all equal in length, and they all break off on the front side of the camp in a straight line, the last maniples being here so placed as to face to the front.

30. At a distance again of 50 feet from the *hastati*, and facing them, they encamp the allied cavalry, starting from the same line and ending on the same line. As I stated above, the number of the allied infantry is the same as that of the Roman legions, but from these the *extraordinarii* must be deducted; while that of the cavalry is double after deducting the third who serve as *extraordinarii*. In forming the camp, therefore, they proportionately increase the depth of the space assigned to the allied cavalry, in the endeavour to make their camp equal in length to that of the Romans. These five streets having been completed, they place the maniples of the allied infantry, increasing the depth in proportion to their numbers; with their faces turned away from the cavalry and facing the agger and both the outer sides of the camp. In each maniple the first tent at either end is occupied by the centurions. In laying the whole camp out in this

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31 'Ό δ' ύπο τὰς τῶν χυλιάρχων σκηνὰς ὤπισθεν τόπος ὑποπεπτωκῶς, εξ ἐκατέρου δὲ τοῦ μέρους τῆς τοῦ στρατηγίου περιστάσεως παρακείμενος, ὁ μὲν εἰς ἁγορὰν γίνεται τόπος, ὁ δ' ἐτέρος τῷ τε 
2 ταμιείῳ καὶ ταῖς ἀμα τοῦτῳ χορηγίαις. ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς ἐφ' ἐκάτερα τελευταίας τῶν χυλιάρχων σκηνῆς κατόπιν οἶον ἐπικάμπτων ἔχουσε τάξιν πρὸς τὰς σκηνὰς, οἱ τῶν ἐπιλεκτῶν ἐπεέων ἀπόλεκτοι καὶ 
τίνες τῶν ἑθελοντὴν στρατευμένων τῇ τῶν ὑπάτων χάριτι, πάντες οὖν τοῦ στρατοπεδεύουσα παρὰ τὰς 
ἐκ τῶν πλαγίων τοῦ χάρακος ἐπιφανείας, ἔμποντες 
οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τὰς τοῦ ταμιείου παρασκευάς, οἱ δ' ἐκ 
3 θατέρου μέρους εἰς τὴν ἁγορᾶν. οὐς δ' ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ 
συμβαίνει τούτως μὴ μόνον στρατοπεδεύειν σύνεγ-
γυς τῶν ὑπάτων, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ τὰς πορείας καὶ 
κατὰ τὰς ἄλλας χρείας περὶ τῶν ὑπατον καὶ τὸν 
ταμίαν ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ τὴν ὅλην 
4 διατριβήν. ἀντίκεινται δὲ τούτοις ἐπὶ τὸν χάρακα 
βλέποντες οἰ τὴν παραπλησιον χρείαν παρεχόμενοι 
5 πεζοὶ τοῖς προειρημένους ἱππούσιν. εξῆς δὲ τοῦτοις 
δύο ἀπολείπεται πλάτος ποδῶν ἐκατόν, παράλ-
ληλος μὲν τὰς τῶν χυλιάρχων σκηνὰς, ἐπὶ θάτερα 
δὲ τῆς ἁγορᾶς καὶ στρατηγίου καὶ ταμιείου παρα-
τείνουσα παρὰ πάντα τὰ προειρημένα μέρη τοῦ 
6 χάρακος. παρὰ δὲ τὴν ἀνωτέρω πλευρὰν ταύτης 
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manner they always leave a space of 50 feet between the fifth troop and the sixth, and similarly with the companies of foot, so that another passage traversing the whole camp is formed, at right angles to the streets, and parallel to the line of the tribunes' tents. This they called quintana, as it runs along the fifth troops and companies.

31. The spaces behind the tents of the tribunes to right and left of the praetorium, are used in the one case for the market and in the other for the office of the quaestor and the supplies of which he is in charge. Behind the last tent of the tribunes on either side, and more or less at right angles to these tents, are the quarters of the cavalry picked out from the extraordinarii, and a certain number of volunteers serving to oblige the consuls. These are all encamped parallel to the two sides of the agger, and facing in the one case the quaestors' depot and in the other the market. As a rule these troops are not only thus encamped near the consuls but on the march and on other occasions are in constant attendance on the consul and quaestor. Back to back with them, and looking towards the agger are the select infantry who perform the same service as the cavalry just described. Beyond these an empty space is left a hundred feet broad, parallel to the tents of the tribunes, and stretching along the whole face of the agger on the other side of the market, praetorium and quaestorium, and on its further side
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οἱ τῶν συμμάχων ἔπεεὶς ἐπίλεκτοι στρατοπε- 

deύονσι, βλέποντες ἐπὶ τῇ τὴν ἀγοράν ἅμα καὶ τὸ 

7 στρατηγίαν καὶ τὸ ταμιεῖον. κατὰ μέσην δὲ τὴν 

tοῦτων τῶν ἔππεων παρεμβολὴν καὶ κατ' αὐτὴν 

tὴν τοῦ στρατηγίαν περίστασιν δίοδος ἀπολείπεται 

tεντήκοντα ποδῶν, φέρουσα μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν ὀπίσθε 

πλευράν τῆς στρατοπεδείας, τῇ δὲ τάξει πρὸς 

8 ὀρθὰς κειμένη τῇ προειρημένῃ πλατείᾳ. τοῖς δ' 

ἔππεσφι τούτων ἀντίτυποι τίθενται πάλιν οἱ τῶν 

συμμάχων ἐπίλεκτοι πεζοί, βλέποντες πρὸς τὸν 

χάρακα καὶ τὴν ὀπίσθεν ἐπιφάνειαν τῆς ὀλης στρα- 

τοπεδείας. τὸ δ' ἀπολευτόμενον ἔξ ἐκατέρου τοῦ 

μέρους τοῦτων κένωμα παρὰ τὰς ἐκ τῶν πλαγίων 

πλευρὰς δίδοται τοῖς ἀλλοφύλοις καὶ τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ 

καιροῦ προσγυμνομένοις συμμάχοις.

10 Τοῦτων δ' οὐτωσ ἔχοντων τὸ μὲν σύμπαν σχῆμα 

γίνεται τῆς στρατοπεδείας τετράγωνον ἱσόπλευρον, 

τὰ δὲ κατὰ μέρος ἡδὶ τῆς τε ρυμοτομίας ἐν αὐτῇ 

καὶ τῆς ἀλλης οἰκονομίας πόλει παραπλησίαν ἔχει 

τὴν διάθεσιν. τῶν δὲ χάρακα τῶν σκηνῶν ἀφιστάσι 

κατὰ πάσας τὰς ἐπιφανείας διακοσίους πόδας. 

toùto dè τὸ κένωμα πολλὸς καὶ δοκίμως αὐτοῖς 

12 παρέχεται χρείας. πρὸς τὲ γὰρ τὰς εἰςαγωγὰς 

καὶ τὰς ἐξαγωγὰς τῶν στρατοπεδῶν εὐφυῶς ἔχει 

καὶ δεὸντως· ἔκαστοι γὰρ κατὰ τὰς ἐαυτῶν ρύμας 

eἰς τοῦτο τὸ κένωμα ποιοῦνται τὴν ἐξοδον, ἀλλ' 

οὐκ εἰς μίαν συμπίπτοντες ἀνατρέπουσι καὶ συμ- 

13 πατοῦσιν ἀλλήλους· τὰς τοῖς παρείσαγμενῶν 

θρεμμάτων καὶ τὰς ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων λείας εἰς τοῦτο 

14 παράγοντες ἀσφαλῶς τηροῦσι τὸς νῦκτας. τὸ δὲ 

μέγιστον, ἐν ταῖς ἐπιθέσεσι ταῖς νυκτεριναῖς οὔτε 

πῦρ οὔτε βέλος ἔξυκνείται πρὸς αὐτοῦς πλὴν τε- 

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the rest of the *equites extraordinarii* are encamped facing the market, *praetorium* and *quaestorium*. In the middle of this cavalry camp and exactly opposite the *praetorium* a passage, 50 feet wide, is left leading to the rear side of the camp and running at right angles to the broad passage behind the *praetorium*. Back to back with these cavalry and fronting the agger and the rearward face of the whole camp are placed the rest of the *pedites extraordinarii*. Finally the spaces remaining empty to right and left next the agger on each side of the camp are assigned to foreign troops or to any allies who chance to come in.

The whole camp thus forms a square, and the way in which the streets are laid out and its general arrangement give it the appearance of a town. The agger is on all sides at a distance of 200 feet from the tents, and this empty space is of important service in several respects. To begin with it provides the proper facilities for marching the troops in and out, seeing that they all march out into this space by their own streets and thus do not come into one street in a mass and throw down or hustle each other. Again it is here that they collect the cattle brought into camp and all booty taken from the enemy, and keep them safe during the night. But the most important thing of all is that in night attacks neither fire can reach them nor missiles...
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λείψεις ὀλίγων· γίνεται δὲ καὶ ταῦτα σχεδὸν ἀβλαβῆ
dιὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς ἀποστάσεως καὶ διὰ τὴν
tῶν σκηνῶν περίστασιν.

32 Διδομένου δὲ τοῦ πλήθους καὶ τῶν πεζῶν καὶ
tῶν ἱππέων καθ᾽ ἐκατέρω τὴν πρόθεσιν, ἂν τε
τετρακισχίλιοι ἢν τε πεντακισχίλιοι εἰς ἑκαστὸν
στρατόπεδον ποιῶσι, παραπλησίως δὲ καὶ τῶν
σημαιῶν τοῦ τε βάθους καὶ τοῦ μήκους καὶ τοῦ
πλήθους δεδομένου, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τῶν κατὰ
tὰς διόδους καὶ πλατείας διαστημάτων, ὅμως
2 δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων δεδομένων, συμβαίνει
toῖς βουλομένους συνεφιστάνειν <νοεῖν> καὶ τοῦ
χωρίου τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὴν ὀλην περίμετρον τῆς
3 παρεμβολῆς. ἐὰν δὲ ποτε πλεονάζῃ τὸ τῶν συμ-
μάχων πλήθος, ἢ τῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς συστρατευμένων
4 ἢ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ καίρου προσγυμνομένων, τοῖς μὲν
ἐκ τοῦ καίρου πρὸς τοῖς προειρημένοις καὶ τοὺς
παρὰ τὸ στρατήγιον ἀναπληροῦσι τόπους, τὴν
ἀγορὰν καὶ τὸ ταμιεῖον συναγαγόντες εἰς αὐτὸν τὸν
5 κατεπείγοντα πρὸς τὴν χρείαν τόπου· τοῖς δὲ ἐξ
ἀρχῆς συνεκπορευμένοις, ἐὰν ἢ πλῆθος ἵκανωτέρου,
ῥύμην μίαν ἐξ ἑκατέρου τοῦ μέρους τῶν Ῥωμαικῶν
στρατοπέδων πρὸς ταῖς ὑπαρχούσας παρὰ τὰς
ἐκ τῶν πλαγίων ἐπιφανείας παρατιθέασι.

6 Πάντων δὲ τῶν τεττάρων στρατοπέδων καὶ τῶν
ὑπάτων ἀμφοτέρων εἰς ἕνα χάρακα συναθροισθέν-
tων, οὐδὲν ἔτερον δὲὶ νοεῖν πλὴν δύὸ στρατιὰς
cατὰ τὸν ἀρτι λόγον παρεμβεβληκαίας ἀντεστραμ-
μένας αὐταῖς συνηρμόσθαι, συναπτούσας κατὰ
tὰς τῶν ἐπιλέκτων ἑκατέρου τοῦ στρατοπέδου
παρεμβολάς, οὐς ἐποιοῦμεν εἰς τὴν ὀπίσω βλέποντας
7 ἐπιφάνειαν τῆς ὀλης παρεμβολῆς, ὅτε δὴ συμβαίνει
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except a very few, which are almost harmless owing to the distance and the space in front of the tents.

32. Given the numbers of cavalry and infantry, whether 4000 or 5000, in each legion, and given likewise the depth, length, and number of the troops and companies, the dimensions of the passages and open spaces and all other details, anyone who gives his mind to it can calculate the area and total circumference of the camp. If there ever happen to be an extra number of allies, either of those originally forming part of the army or of others who have joined on a special occasion, accommodation is provided for the latter in the neighbourhood of the praetorium, the market and quaestorium being reduced to the minimum size which meets pressing requirements, while for the former, if the excess is considerable, they add two streets, one at each side of the encampment of the Roman legions.

Whenever the two consuls with all their four legions are united in one camp, we have only to imagine two camps like the above placed in juxtaposition back to back, the junction being formed at the encampments of the extraordinarii infantry of each camp whom we described as being stationed facing the rearward agger of the camp. The shape
γίνεσθαι τὸ μὲν σχῆμα παράμηκες, τὸ δὲ χωρίον διπλάσιον τοῦ πρώτου, τὴν δὲ περίμετρον ἡμι-
8 ὁλιον. ὅταν μὲν οὖν συμβαίνῃ τοὺς υπάτους ἀμφο-
tέρους ὁμοίοι στρατοπεδεύειν, οὕτως ἀεὶ χρῶνται ταῖς στρατοπεδείαις· ὅταν δὲ χωρίς, τάλα μὲν ὀσαύτως, τὴν δ' ἁγοράν καὶ τὸ ταμεῖον καὶ τὸ στρατήγιον μέσον τιθέασι τῶν δυνῶν στρατοπέδων.

33 Μετὰ δὲ τὴν στρατοπεδείαν συναθροισθέντες οἱ χιλιάρχοι τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου πάντας ἐλευθέ-
2 ρους ὁμοίοι καὶ δούλους ὀρκίζοντες, καθ' ἑνα ποιοῦν
δὲ τοὺς ὀρκισμοὺς. ὃ δ' ὁρκος ἔστι μηδὲν ἐκ τῆς παρεμβολῆς κλέψειν, ἀλλὰ κἂν εὐρή τι, τοῦτ
3 ἀνοίσειν ἐπὶ τοὺς χιλιάρχους. έξῆς δὲ τούτους διέταξαν τὸς σημαίας ἐξ ἐκάστου στρατοπέδου τῶν πρυγκίπων καὶ τῶν ἀστάτων, δύο μὲν εἰς τὴν
4 ἐπιμέλειαν τοῦ τόπου τοῦ πρὸ τῶν χιλιάρχων· τὴν γὰρ διατριβὴν ἐν ταῖς καθημερείαις οἱ πλείστοι τῶν 'Ῥωμαίων ἐν ταύτῃ ποιοῦνται τῇ πλατείᾳ· διόπερ ἀεὶ σπουδάζουσι περὶ ταύτης, ὃς βαίνηται
5 καὶ καλλύννηται σφίσσων ἐπιμελῶς. τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν ὠκτωκαίδεκα τρεῖς ἐκάστος τῶν χιλιάρχων δια-
λαγχάνει· τοσαῦτα γὰρ ἔστι ἐκ τῶν ἀστάτων καὶ πρυγκίπων ἐν ἐκάστω στρατοπέδῳ σημαίαι κατὰ τὴν ἀρτι ῥηθείσαν διαίρεσιν, χιλιάρχοι δ' ἐξ.
6 τῶν δὲ τριῶν σημαιῶν ἀνὰ μέρος ἐκάστη τῶν χιλιάρχων λειτουργεῖ λειτουργίαν τοιαύτην. ἐπειδ' αὐτὸν καταστρατοπεδεύσωσι, τὴν σκηνὴν ἐστάσων οὕτοι καὶ τὸν περὶ τὴν σκηνὴν τόπον ἡδαφίσαν. κἂν τι περιφράξῃ δἐ τῶν σκευῶν ἀσφαλείας χάριν,
7 οὕτοι φροντίζουσι. διδόσι δὲ καὶ φυλακεῖα δύο —τὸ δὲ φυλακεῖόν ἐστιν ἐκ τεττάρων ἀνδρῶν—
 ὃν οἱ μὲν πρὸ τῆς σκηνῆς, οἱ δὲ κατόπιν παρὰ
of the camp is now oblong, its area double what it was and its circumference half as much again. Whenever both consuls encamp together they adopt this arrangement; but when the two encamp apart the only difference is that the market, quaeestorium, and praetorium are placed between the two camps.

33. After forming the camp the tribunes meet and administer an oath, man by man, to all in the camp, whether freemen or slaves. Each man swears to steal nothing from the camp and even if he finds anything to bring it to the tribunes. They next issue their orders to the maniples of the hastati and principes of each legion, entrusting to two maniples the care of the ground in front of the tents of the tribunes; for this ground is the general resort of the soldiers in the daytime, and so they see to its being swept and watered with great care. Three of the remaining eighteen maniples are now assigned by lot to each tribune, this being the number of maniples of principes and hastati in each legion, and there being six tribunes. Each of these maniples in turn attends on the tribune, the services they render him being such as the following. When they encamp they pitch his tent for him and level the ground round it; and it is their duty to fence round any of his baggage that may require protection. They also supply two guards for him (a guard consists of four men), of which the one is stationed in front of the tent and the other behind it next
ΤΗΣ ΑΡΧΩΝ ΣΟΤΩΝ ΦΙΛΕΤΟΥ

8 τοὺς ἰπποὺς ποιοῦνται τὴν φυλακήν. οὖσών δὲ σημαίων ἐκάστω χυλιάρχων τρῷων, ἐν ἐκάστῃ δὲ τούτων ἀνδρῶν ὑπαρχόντων ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἐκατον χωρίς τῶν τριαρίων καὶ γροσφομάχων—οὕτω
9 γὰρ οὐ λειτουργοῦσι—τὸ μὲν ἔργον γίνεται κούφον διὰ τὸ παρὰ τετάρτην ἥμεραν ἐκάστῃ σημαίᾳ καθήκειν τὴν λειτουργίαν, τοῖς δὲ χυλιάρχοις ἄμα μὲν τὸ τῆς ἐυχρηστίας ἀναγκαῖον, ἄμα δὲ τὸ τῆς τιμῆς διὰ τῶν προειρημένων ἀποτελείται σεμνὸν
10 καὶ προστατικόν. αἱ δὲ τῶν τριαρίων σημαίαι τῆς μὲν τῶν χυλιάρχων παραλύουσαν λειτουργίας, εἰς δὲ τοὺς τῶν ἰππῶν οὐλαμοὺς ἐκάστῃ σημαίᾳ καθ' ἥμεραν δίδωσι φυλακεῖον ἀεὶ τῷ γειτνώντι
11 κατόπιν τῶν οὐλαμῶν· οὕτως τηροῦσι μὲν καὶ τᾶλλα, μάλιστα δὲ τοὺς ἰπποὺς, ἵνα μὴ ἔμπλεκόμενοι τοῖς δέμασι βλάπτωνται πρὸς χρείαν μήτε λυόμενοι καὶ προσπίπτοντες ἀλλοις ἰπποὺς ταραχᾷ
12 καὶ θορύβους ἐμποιῶσι τῷ στρατόπεδῳ. μία δὲ ἐξ ἀπασῶν καθ' ἥμεραν σημαία ἀνὰ μέρος τῷ στρατηγῷ παρακούει· ἢτις, ἄμα μὲν ἀσφάλειαν παραπεσεῖ τῷ στρατηγῷ πρὸς τὰς ἐπιβουλάς, ἄμα δὲ κοσμεῖ τὸ πρόσχημα τῆς ἀρχῆς.

34. Τῆς δὲ ταφρείας καὶ χαρακτοποιίας δύο μὲν ἐπιβάλλουσι πλευραί τοῖς συμμάχοις, παρ' ἀς καὶ στρατοπεδεύει τὸ κέρας αὐτῶν ἐκάτερον, δύο δὲ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις, ἐκατέρω τῷ στρατοπέδῳ μία.

2 διαιρεθείσης δὲ τῆς πλευρᾶς ἐκάστης κατὰ σημαίαν, τὴν μὲν κατὰ μέρος ἐπιμέλειαν οἱ ταξιάρχοι ποιοῦνται παρεστῶτες, τὴν δὲ καθόλου δοκιμασίαν
3 τῆς πλευρᾶς δύο τῶν χυλιάρχων. ὡμοίως δὲ καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν τὴν κατὰ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐπιμέλειαν οὕτω ποιοῦνται: κατὰ δύο γὰρ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς διε-

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the horses. As each tribune has three maniples at his service, and there are more than a hundred men in each maniple, not counting the triarii and velites who are not liable to this service, the task is a light one, as each maniple has to serve only every third day; and when the necessary comfort of the tribune is well attended to by this means, the dignity due to his rank is also amply maintained. The maniples of triarii are exempt from this attendance on the tribune; but each maniple supplies a guard every day to the squadron of horse close behind it. This guard, besides keeping a general look out, watches especially over the horses to prevent them from getting entangled in their tethers and suffering injuries that would incapacitate them, or from getting loose and causing confusion and disturbance in the camp by running against other horses. Finally each maniple in its turn mounts guard round the consul’s tent to protect him from plots and at the same time to add splendour to the dignity of his office.

34. As regards the entrenchment and stockading of the camp, the task falls upon the allies concerning those two sides along which their two wings are quartered, the other two sides being assigned to the Romans, one to each legion. Each side having been divided into sections, one for each maniple, the centurions stand by and superintend the details, while two of the tribunes exercise a general supervision over the work on each side; and it is these latter officers who superintend all other work connected with the camp. They divide them-
λόντες ἀνὰ μέρος τῆς ἐκμήνου τὴν δύμην ἄρχουσιν, καὶ πάσης οἱ λαχόντες τῆς ἐν τοῖς ύπαιθροῖς
4 προϊστανται χρείασ. ὃ ὁι αὐτῶν τρόπος τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐστὶ καὶ τῶν πρακτικῶν περὶ τοὺς συμμάχους.
5 οἱ δ’ ἱππεῖς καὶ ταξιάρχοι πάντες ἀμα τῷ φωτὶ παραγίνονται πρὸς τὰς τῶν χιλιάρχων σκηνάς,
6 οἱ δὲ χιλιάρχοι πρὸς τὸν ὑπατον. κάκεινος μὲν τὸ κατεπείγον ἀεὶ παραγγέλλει τοὺς χιλιάρχους,
οἱ δὲ χιλιάρχοι τοῖς ἱππεῦσι καὶ ταξιάρχοι, οὐτοὶ δὲ τοῖς πολλοῖς, ὅταν ἐκάστων ὁ καιρὸς ἤ.
7 Τὴν δὲ τοῦ νυκτερινοῦ συνθήματος παράδοσιν
8 ἀσφαλίζονται τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον. καθ’ ἐκαστὸν γένος καὶ τῶν ἱππεῶν καὶ τῶν πεζῶν ἐκ τῆς δεκάτης
σημαιάς καὶ τελευταίας στρατοπεδευούσης κατὰ τὰς ῥύμας, ἐκ τούτων εἰς ἐκάστης ἀνήρ λαμβάνεται κατ’ ἐκλογὴν, ὃς τῶν μὲν κατὰ τὰς φυλακὰς
λειτουργῶν ἀπολύεται, παραγίνεται δὲ καθ’ ἡμέραν δύνοντος ἥλιου πρὸς τὴν τοῦ χιλιάρχου σκηνὴν,
καὶ λαβῶν τὸ σύνθημα—τοῦτο δ’ ἐστὶ πλατεῖον
9 ἐπιγεγραμμένον—ἀπαλλάττεται πάλιν. ἀναχωρῆ-
σας δ’ ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ σημαίαν τὸ τε ἐξυλήφον
παρέδωκε καὶ τὸ σύνθημα μετὰ μαρτύρων τῷ τῆς
ἐχομένης σημαίας ἥγεμόνι, παραπλησίως δὲ πάλιν
10 οὕτως τῷ τῆς ἐχομένης. τὸ δ’ ὁμοίου ἐξῆς ποιοῦσι
πάντες, ἔως ἃν ἐπὶ τὰς πρῶτας καὶ σύνεγγυς τοῖς
χιλιάρχοι στρατοπεδευούσας σημαιάς ἐξεκνηται.
11 τούτως δὲ δεῖ τὸ πλατεῖον ἐτὶ φωτὸς ὁντος ἀνα-
12 θερεὶ πρὸς τοὺς χιλιάρχους. κἂν μὲν ἄνενεκθῇ
πάντα τὰ δοθέντα, γυνώσκει διότι δέδοται τὸ
σύνθημα πάσι καὶ διὰ πάντων εἰς αὐτὸν ἤκει·
12 ἐὰν δ’ ἐλλείπῃ τι, παρὰ πόδας χητεὶ τὸ γεγονός,
εἰδὼς ἐκ τῆς ἐπιγραφῆς ἐκ ποιοῦ μέρους οὐχ
selves into pairs, and each pair is on duty in turn for two months out of six, supervising all field operations. The prefects of the allies divide their duties on the same system. Every day at dawn the cavalry officers and centurions attend at the tents of the tribunes, and the tribunes proceed to that of the consul. He gives the necessary orders to the tribunes, and they pass them on to the cavalry officers and centurions, who convey them to the soldiers when the proper time comes.

The way in which they secure the passing round of the watchword for the night is as follows: from the tenth maniple of each class of infantry and cavalry, the maniple which is encamped at the lower end of the street, a man is chosen who is relieved from guard duty, and he attends every day at sunset at the tent of the tribune, and receiving from him the watchword—that is a wooden tablet with the word inscribed on it—takes his leave, and on returning to his quarters passes on the watchword and tablet before witnesses to the commander of the next maniple, who in turn passes it to the one next him. All do the same until it reaches the first maniples, those encamped near the tents of the tribunes. These latter are obliged to deliver the tablet to the tribunes before dark. So that if all those issued are returned, the tribune knows that the watchword has been given to all the maniples, and has passed through all on its way back to him. If any one of them is missing, he makes inquiry at once, as he knows by the marks from what quarter
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...οὐδ᾽ ἄν εὑρεθῇ τὸ κώλυμα, τυγχάνει τῆς καθηκούσης ζημίας.

35 Ῥὰ δὲ περὶ τὰς νυκτερινὰς φυλακὰς οὕτως οἶ-κὸνομεῖται παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς. τὸν μὲν στρατηγὸν καὶ τὴν τούτου σκηνὴν ἡ παρακοιτοῦσα σημαία φυ-λάττει, τὰς δὲ τῶν χιλιάρχων καὶ τοὺς τῶν ὅππεϊν οὐλαμοῦσι οἱ διατεταγμένοι κατὰ τὸν ἄρτι λόγον 3 εἷς ἐκάστης σημαίαις. ὅμοιος δὲ καὶ παρ᾽ ἐκαστὸν τάγμα πάντες εἷς ἑαυτῶν τιθέασι φυλακῆν. τὰς δὲ 4 λοιπὰς ὁ στρατηγὸς ἀποτάττει. γίνονται δὲ ὡς ἐπίπταν τρεῖς φυλακαὶ παρὰ τὸν ταμίαν, καὶ παρ᾽ ἐκαστὸν τῶν πρεσβευτῶν καὶ συμβούλων δύο. 5 τὴν δὲ ἐκτὸς ἐπιφάνειαν οἱ γροσφομάχοι πληροῦσι, παρ᾽ ὅλον καὶ ἡμέραν ὁν πάρακα παρακοιτοῦντες— αὐτὴ γὰρ ἐπιτέτακται τούτοις ἡ λειτουργία— ἐπὶ <τε> τῶν εἰσόδων ἀνὰ δέκα ποιοῦνται τοὺς 6 αὐτῶν τὰς προκοιτίας. τῶν δὲ εἰς τὰς φυλακὰς ἀποταχθέντων ἃφ᾽ ἐκάστου φυλακεῖον τὸν τὴν πρώτην μέλλοντα τηρεῖν εἰς εἷς ἐκάστης σημαίας 7 οὐραγὸς ἄγει πρὸς τὸν χιλιαρχὸν ἐσπέρας. δὲ δὲ δίδωσι τούτοις πᾶσι ξυλήφια κατὰ φυλακῆν, βραχέα τελέως, ἐχοῦντα χαρακτῆρα. λαβόντες δὲ οὐτοὶ μὲν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀποδεδειγμένους ἀπαλλάττονται τόπους. 8 'Ἡ δὲ τῆς ἔφοδελας πίστις εἰς τοὺς ἐπεῖς ἀνα- τίθεται. δεὶ γὰρ τὸν πρῶτον ὑλάρχην καὶ ἐκαστὸν στρατόπεδον ἐνὶ τῶν οὐραγῶν τῶν αὐτοῦ παρ- αγγεῖλαι πρὸ παράγγελμα τοιοῦτον, ὥστε τέταρτον οὕτος ἐμφανίσῃ νεανίσκοις τῶν εἴ τῆς ἱδίας ἒλης 9 πρὸ ἀριστοῦ τοὺς μέλλουσιν ἐφοδεύειν. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τῷ τῆς ἐχομένης ἒλης ὑγεμόνι δεῖ τὸν αὐτὸν ἃφ᾽ ἐσπέρας παραγγεῖλαι διότι τούτω
the tablet has not returned, and whoever is responsible for the stoppage meets with the punishment he merits.

35. They manage the night guards thus: The maniple on duty there guards the consul and his tent, while the tents of the tribunes and the troops of horse are guarded by the men appointed from each maniple in the manner I explained above. Each separate body likewise appoints a guard of its own men for itself. The remaining guards are appointed by the Consul; and there are generally three pickets at the *quaestorium* and two at the tents of each of the legates and members of the council. The whole outer face of the camp is guarded by the *velites*, who are posted every day along the *vallum*—this being the special duty assigned to them—and ten of them are on guard at each entrance. Of those appointed to picket duty, the man in each maniple who is to take the first watch is brought to the tribune in the evening by one of the *optiones* of his company. The tribune gives them all little tablets, one for each station, quite small, with a sign written on them and on receiving this they leave for the posts assigned to them.

The duty of going the rounds is entrusted to the cavalry. The first praefect of cavalry in each legion must give orders early in the morning to one of his *optiones* to send notice before breakfast to four lads of his own squadron who will be required to go the rounds. The same man must also give notice in the evening to the praefect of the next squadron that he
καθήκει τὰ περὶ τῆς ἐφοδείας φροντίζειν εἰς τὴν 10 αὐριον. τούτον δ’ ἀκούσαντα παραπληγίας ταυτά 11 ἡμέραν· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἔξης. οἱ δὲ προκρι- 12 βέντες ὕπο τῶν οὐραγῶν ἐκ τῆς πρώτης ἐλης 13 τέτταρες, ἐπειδὰν διαλάχωσι τᾶς φυλακᾶς, πορεύον- 14 ται πρὸς τὸν χιλιάρχον, καὶ γραφὴν λαμβάνουσι 15 πόσου καὶ πόσας ἐφοδεύεσαι δεῖ φυλακᾶς. μετὰ 16 δὲ ταῦτα παρακοιτοῦσιν οἱ τέτταρες παρὰ τὴν 17 πρώτην σημαίαν τῶν τριαρίων· ὁ γὰρ ταῦτης 18 ταξιάρχος τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ποιεῖται τοῦ κατὰ 19 φυλακῆς υποκανῦν. συνάψαντος δὲ τοῦ καροῦ 20 τὴν πρώτην ἐφοδεύει φυλακῆς ταῦτην λαχῶν, 21 ἐχῶν μεθ’ αὐτοῦ μάρτυρας τῶν φίλων. ἐπιπο- 22 ρεύεται δὲ τούς ῥηθέντας τόπους, οὐ μόνον τοὺς 23 περὶ τὸν χάρακα καὶ τὰς εἰσόδους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς 24 κατὰ σημαίαν ἄπαντας καὶ τοὺς κατ’ οὐλαμόν. 25 καὶ μὲν εὖρη τοὺς φυλάττοντας τὴν πρώτην ἐγρη- 26 γορότας, λαμβάνει παρὰ τούτων τὸ κάρφος· 27 εἶν δ’ εὖρη κομμόμενον ἣ λειούτοτα τινὰ τὸν 28 τόπον, ἐπιμαρτυράμενος τοὺς σύνεγγυς ἀπαλλάτ- 29 τεται. τὸ δὲ παραπλῆσιον γίνεται καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν 30 τὰς ἔξης φυλακᾶς ἐφοδεύοντων. τὴν δ’ ἐπιμέ- 31 λειαν τοῦ κατὰ φυλακῆς υποκανῦν, ὡς ἀρτίως 32 εἶπον, ἵνα σύμφωνον ἢ τοῖς ἐφοδεύουσι πρὸς τοὺς 33 φυλάττοντας, οἱ τῆς πρώτης σημαίας τῶν τριαρίων 34 ἐξ ἐκατέρου τοῦ στρατοπέδου ταξιάρχου καθ’ 35 ἡμέραν ποιοῦνται.
6 Ὁδ’ ἐφόδων ἑκατος ἀμα τῶ φωτὶ πρὸς τὸν 36 χιλιάρχον ἀναφέρει τὸ σύνθημα. καὶ μὲν ἢ πάντα 37 δεδομένα, χωρὶς ἐγκλήματος ἀπαλλάττονται πάλιν· 38 ἃν δὲ τὸς ἐλάττω φέρῃ τοῦ πλῆθους τῶν φυλακείων, 390
must make arrangements for going the rounds on the following day. This praefect, on receiving the notice, must take precisely the same steps on the next day; and so on through all the squadrons. The four men chosen by the optiones from the first squadron, after drawing lots for their respective watches, go to the tribune and get written orders from him stating what stations they are to visit and at what time. After that all four of them go and station themselves next the first maniple of the triarii, for it is the duty of the centurion of this maniple to have a bugle sounded at the beginning of each watch. 36. When this time comes, the man to whom the first watch fell by lot makes his rounds accompanied by some friends as witnesses. He visits the posts mentioned in his orders, not only those near the vallum and the gates, but the pickets also of the infantry maniples and cavalry squadrons. If he finds the guards of the first watch awake he receives their tessera, but if he finds that anyone is asleep or has left his post, he calls those with him to witness the fact, and proceeds on his rounds. Those who go the rounds in the succeeding watches act in a similar manner. As I said, the charge of sounding a bugle at the beginning of each watch, so that those going the rounds may visit the different stations at the right time, falls on the centurions of the first maniple of the triarii in each legion, who take it by turns for a day.

Each of the men who have gone the rounds brings back the tesserae at daybreak to the tribune. If they deliver them all they are suffered to depart without question; but if one of them delivers fewer than the number of stations visited, they find out
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ξητοῦσιν ἐκ τοῦ χαρακτήρος ποιῶν ἐκ τῶν φυλα-
8 κείων λέοιπε. τούτου δὲ γνωσθέντος καλεῖ τὸν
ταξίαρχον οὕτος δ’ ἀγεί τοὺς ἀποταχθέντας εἰς
τὴν φυλακὴν· οὗτοι δὲ συγκρίνονται πρὸς τὸν
9 ἐφοδον. ἐὰν μὲν οὖν ἐν τοῖς φύλαξιν ἢ τὸ κακόν,
εὐθέως δῆλος ἄστιν ὃ τὴν ἐφοδείαν ἔχων ἐπι-
μαρτυράμενος τοὺς σύνεγγυς· ὁδείλει γὰρ τοῦτο
ποιεῖν· ἐὰν δὲ μηδὲν ἢ τοιοῦτο γεγονός, εἰς τὸν
37 ἐφοδον ἀναχωρεὶ τούγκλημα. καθίσαντος δὲ
παραχρῆμα συνεδρίου τῶν χιλιάρχων κρίνεται, καὶ
καταδικασθῆ, ἐξολοκοπεῖται. τὸ δὲ τῆς ἐξολοκοπίας
2 ἐστὶ τοιοῦτον. λαβὼν ἔυλον ὁ χιλιάρχος τοῦτω
3 τοῦ κατακριθέντος οἶνον ἡματο μὸνον, ὃν γενομένου
πάντες οἱ τοῦ στρατοπέδου τὔπτοντες τοῖς ἔυλοις
καὶ τοὺς λίθους τοὺς μὲν πλείστους ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ
4 στρατοπεδεῖα καταβάλλουσι, τοῖς δ’ ἐκπεσεὶν
dυναμένους οὐδ’ ὁς ὑπάρχει σωτηρία· πῶς γάρ;
οἷς οὔτ’ εἰς τὴν πατρίδα τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἐπανελθεῖν
ἐξεστιν οὐτε τῶν ἀναγκαίων οὐδεὶς ἂν οἰκία τολ-
μήσει δέξασθαι τὸν τοιοῦτον. διὸ τελείως οἱ
περιπεσόντες ἀπαξ τοιαύτη συμφορὰ καταφθεί-
5 ροῦνται. τὸ δ’ αὐτῷ πάσχειν ὁδείλει τοῖς προ-
ειρημένοις ὃ τ’ οὐραγὸς καὶ [ὁ] τῆς ἡγεμοῦν,
ἐὰν μὴ παραγγεῖλωσιν, ὃ μὲν τοῖς ἐφόδοις, ὃ δὲ τῷ
τῆς ἐχομένης ἡγεμονί, τὸ δεόν ἐν τῷ καθ-
6 ἴκοντι καίρῳ. διόπερ οὔτως ἱσχυρὰς οὐσίας καὶ
ἀπαραίτητον τῆς τιμωρίας ἀδιάπτωτα γίνεται
παρ’ αὐτοῖς τὰ κατὰ τὰς νυκτερινὰς φυλακάς.
7 Δεῖ δὲ προσέχειν τοὺς μὲν στρατιώτας τοῖς
8 χιλιάρχοις, τούτους δ’ ἐτι τοῖς ὑπάτοις. κύριος
δ’ ἐστὶ καὶ ζημιῶν ὁ χιλιάρχος καὶ ἐνεχυράζων
καὶ μαστιγῶν, τοὺς δὲ συμμάχους ὀι πραίσκετοι.
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from examining the signs on the *tesserae* which station is missing, and on ascertaining this the tribune calls the centurion of the maniple and he brings before him the men who were on picket duty, and they are confronted with the patrol. If the fault is that of the picket, the patrol makes matters clear at once by calling the men who had accompanied him, for he is bound to do this; but if nothing of the kind has happened, the fault rests on him. 37. A court-martial composed of all the tribunes at once meets to try him, and if he is found guilty he is punished by the bastinado (*fustuarium*). This is inflicted as follows: The tribune takes a cudgel and just touches the condemned man with it, after which all in the camp beat or stone him, in most cases dispatching him in the camp itself. But even those who manage to escape are not saved thereby: impossible! for they are not allowed to return to their homes, and none of the family would dare to receive such a man in his house. So that those who have once fallen into this misfortune are utterly ruined. The same punishment is inflicted on the *optio* and on the *praefect* of the squadron, if they do not give the proper orders at the right time to the patrols and the praefect of the next squadron. Thus, owing to the extreme severity and inevitableness of the penalty, the night watches of the Roman army are most scrupulously kept.

While the soldiers are subject to the tribunes, the latter are subject to the consuls. A tribune, and in the case of the allies a praefect, has the right of inflicting fines, of demanding sureties, and of
9 ξυλοκοπεῖται δὲ καὶ <πάς> οἱ κλέφας τι τῶν ἕκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου, καὶ μὴν οἱ μαρτυρήσας ψευδὴ παραπλησίως, κἂν τις τῶν ἐν ἁκιμή παραχρη-
σάμενος εὑρεθῇ τῷ σώματι, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ὁ
10 τρίς περὶ τῆς αὐτῆς αἰτίας ἡμιωθεὶς. ταῦτα
μὲν οὖν ὡς ἀδικήματα κολάζουσιν· εἰς δὲ ἀνα-
δρίαν τιθέασαι καὶ στρατηγὴν αἰσχύνῃ τὰ τοιαῦ-
τα τῶν ἐγκλημάτων, ἐὰν τινες ψευδῇ περὶ αὐτῶν
ἀνδραγαθίαν ἀπαγγείλωσι τοῖς χιλιάρχοις ἐνεκεν
11 τοῦ τιμᾶς λαβεῖν, ὁμοίως ἂν τινες εἰς ἐφεδρεῖαν
tαχθέντες φόβου χάριν λίπωσι τὸν δοθέντα τόπον;
παραπλησίως εὰν τις ἀπορρίψῃ τι τῶν ὄπλων κατ
12 αὐτὸν τὸν κίνδυνον διὰ φόβου. διὸ καὶ τινες μὲν
ἐν ταῖς ἐφεδρείαις προδήλως ἀπόλλυται, πολλα-
πλασίων αὐτοῖς ἐπιγυμνέων οὐ θέλοντες λιπεῖν
13 τὴν τάξιν, δεδιότες τὴν οἰκείαν τιμωρίαν· ἐνοὶ δὲ
κατ’ αὐτὸν τὸν κίνδυνον ἐκβαλόντες θυρεῶν ἢ μάχαι-
ραν ἢ τι τῶν ἄλλων ὄπλων παραλόγως ῥιπτουσιν
ἐαυτοὺς εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους, ἢ κυριεύειν ἑλπίζοντες
ἀν ἀπέβαλον ἢ παθόντες τὴν πρόδηλον αἰ-
σχύνην διαφεύξεσθαι καὶ τὴν τῶν οἰκείων ύβριν.
38 Ἐαν δὲ ποτὲ ταῦτα ταῦτα περὶ πλείους συμβή
gενέσθαι καὶ σημαίας τινὰς ὀλοσχερῶς πισθείσας
λιπεῖν τοὺς τόπους, τὸ μὲν ἀπαντάς ξυλοκοπεῖν ή
ϕονεύειν ἀποδοκιμάζουσι, λύσιν δὲ τοῦ πράγματος
εὐρίσκονται συμφέρονταν ἃμα καὶ καταπληκτικὴν.
2 συναθροίσας γὰρ τὸ στρατόπεδον ὁ χιλιάρχος καὶ
προαγάγων εἰς <μέσον> τοὺς λελουπότας, κατηγορεῖ
πικρῶς, καὶ τὸ τέλος ποτὲ μὲν πέντε, ποτὲ δ’ ὀκτώ,
potè δ’ εἰκοσὶ, τὸ δ’ ὠλὸν πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος αἰεὶ
στοχαζόμενος, ὅστε δέκατον μάλιστα γίνεσθαι
tῶν ἡμαρτηκότων, τοσοῦτος ἐκ πάντων κληροῦται
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punishing by flogging. The bastinado is also inflicted on those who steal anything from the camp; on those who give false evidence; on young men who have abused their persons; and finally on anyone who has been punished thrice for the same fault. Those are the offences which are punished as crimes, the following being treated as unmanly acts and disgraceful in a soldier—when a man boasts falsely to the tribune of his valour in the field in order to gain distinction; when any men who have been placed in a covering force leave the station assigned to them from fear; likewise when anyone throws away from fear any of his arms in the actual battle. Therefore the men in covering forces often face certain death, refusing to leave their ranks even when vastly outnumbered, owing to dread of the punishment they would meet with; and again in the battle men who have lost a shield or sword or any other arm often throw themselves into the midst of the enemy, hoping either to recover the lost object or to escape by death from inevitable disgrace and the taunts of their relations.

38. If the same thing ever happens to large bodies, and if entire maniples desert their posts when exceedingly hard pressed, the officers refrain from inflicting the bastinado or the death penalty on all, but find a solution of the difficulty which is both salutary and terror-striking. The tribune assembles the legion, and brings up those guilty of leaving the ranks, reproaches them sharply, and finally chooses by lot sometimes five, sometimes eight, sometimes twenty of the offenders, so adjusting the number thus chosen that they form as near as possible the tenth part of
3 τῶν ἀποδεδειγμάτων, καὶ τοὺς μὲν λαχόντας ξυλοκοπεῖ κατὰ τὸν ἄρτι ῥηθέντα λόγον ἀπαραιτήτως, τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς τὸ μέτρημα κριθάσ τοὺς ἀντὶ πυρῶν ἔξω κελεύει τοῦ χάρακος καὶ τῆς ἀσφαλείας ποιεῖται τὴν παρεμβολὴν. λοιπὸν τοῦ μὲν κινδύνου καὶ φόβου τοῦ κατὰ τὸν κλήρον ἐπί οἶσιν ἐπικρεμαμένου πᾶσιν, ὡς ἂν ἀδήλου τοῦ συμπτώματος ὑπάρχοντος, τοῦ δὲ παραδείγματισμοῦ <τοῦ> κατὰ τὴν κριθοφαγίαν ὁμοίως συμβαίνοντος περὶ πάντας, τὸ δυνάτον ἐκ τῶν ἐνισχῶν εἰλήφται καὶ πρὸς κατάπληξιν καὶ διόρθωσιν τῶν συμπτώματων.

39 Καλὼς δὲ καὶ τοὺς νέους ἐκκαλοῦνται πρὸς τὸ 2 κινδυνεύειν. ἐπειδὰν γὰρ γενήται τις χρεία καὶ τινὲς αὐτῶν ἄνδραγαθήσωσι, συναγαγὼν δὲ στρατηγὸς ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ στρατοπέδου, καὶ παραστησάμενος τοὺς δόξαντάς τι πεπραχέναι διαφέρουν, πρῶτον μὲν ἐγκώμιον ὑπὲρ ἐκάστου λέγει περὶ τῆς ἄνδραγαθίας, καὶ τι κατὰ τὸν βίον αὐτοῖς ἄλλο συνυπάρχῃ τῆς ἐπὶ ἀγαθῶς ὑμνήμας ἄξιον,

3 μετὰ δὲ ταύτα τῷ μὲν τρώσαντι πολέμιον γαίσον δωρεῖται, τῷ δὲ καταβαλόντι καὶ σκυλεύσαντι, τῷ μὲν πεζῷ φιάλην, τῷ δὲ ἵππει φάλαρ', ἡς ἄρχης

4 δε γαίσον μόνον. τυγχάνει δὲ τοῦτων οὐκ ἐὰν ἐν παρατάξει τις ἡ πόλεως καταλήψει τρώσῃ τινὰς ἡ σκυλεύσῃ τῶν πολεμίων, ἀλλ' ἐὰν ἐν ἀκροβολισμοῖς ἡ τις ἀλλοίς τοιούτοις καιροῖς, ἐν οἷς μηδεμάς ἄναγκης ὑσθης κατ' ἄνδρα κινδυνεύεις αὐτοὶ τινὲς ἐκουσίως καὶ κατὰ προαίρεσιν αὐτοὺς ἔις τοῦτο διδόσαι. τοῖς δὲ πόλεως καταλαμβανομένῃς πρώτοις ἐπὶ τὸ τείχος ἀναβᾶσι χρυσοῦν
those guilty of cowardice. Those on whom the lot falls are bastinadoed mercilessly in the manner above described; the rest receive rations of barley instead of wheat and are ordered to encamp outside the camp on an unprotected spot. As therefore the danger and dread of drawing the fatal lot affects all equally, as it is uncertain on whom it will fall; and as the public disgrace of receiving barley rations falls on all alike, this practice is that best calculated both to inspire fear and to correct the mischief.

39. They also have an admirable method of encouraging the young soldiers to face danger. After a battle in which some of them have distinguished themselves, the general calls an assembly of the troops, and bringing forward those whom he considers to have displayed conspicuous valour, first of all speaks in laudatory terms of the courageous deeds of each and of anything else in their previous conduct which deserves commendation, and afterwards distributes the following rewards. To the man who has wounded an enemy, a spear; to him who has slain and stripped an enemy, a cup if he be in the infantry and horse trappings if in the cavalry, although the gift here was originally only a spear. These gifts are not made to men who have wounded or stripped an enemy in a regular battle or at the storming of a city, but to those who during skirmishes or in similar circumstances, where there is no necessity for engaging in single combat, have voluntarily and deliberately thrown themselves into the danger. To the first man to mount the wall at the assault on a city,
6 δίδωσι στέφανον. ὡμοίως δὲ καὶ τοὺς ὑπερασπίσαντας καὶ σώσαντάς τινας τῶν πολιτῶν ἡ συμμάχων ὁ τε στρατηγὸς ἐπισημαίνεται διόροις, οἱ τε χιλιαρχοὶ τοὺς σωθέντας, ἐὰν μὲν ἐκόντες ποιήσων, εἰ δὲ μὴ, κρίναντες συναναγκάζοντοι 1 τὸν σώσαντα στεφανοῦν. σέβεται δὲ τούτον καὶ παρ’ ὅλον τὸν βίον ὁ σωθεὶς ως πατέρα, καὶ πάντα 8 δεὶ τούτω ποιεῖν αὐτὸν ὡς τῷ γονεὶ. ἐκ δὲ τῆς τοιαύτης παρορμήσεως οὐ μόνον τοὺς ἀκοῦόντας καὶ παρόντας ἐκκαλοῦνται πρὸς τὴν ἐν τοῖς κυν- δύνοις ἄμμαλον καὶ ζήλον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἐν οίκῳ 9 μένοντας· οἱ γὰρ τυχόντες τῶν τοιούτων δωρεῶν χωρὶς τῆς ἐν τοῖς στρατοπέδοις εὐκλείας καὶ τῆς ἐν οίκῳ παραχρήμα φήμης καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἐπάνοδον τὴν εἰς τὴν πατρίδα τὰς τε πομπὰς ἐπισήμως πομπεύουσι διὰ τὸ μόνον ἐξεῖναι περιτίθεσθαι κόσμον τοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἐπ’ ἀνδραγαθία 10 τετμημένοις, ἐν τε ταῖς οἰκίας κατὰ τοὺς ἐπι- φανεστάτους τόπους τιθέασι τὰ σκῦλα, σημεια ποιούμενοι καὶ μαρτύρια τῆς ἐαυτῶν ἀρετῆς. 11 τοιαύτης δὲ ἐπιμελείας ὁσῆς καὶ σπουδῆς περὶ τε τὰς χριστὰς καὶ τιμωρίας τὰς ἐν τοῖς στρατοπέ- δοις, εἰκότως καὶ τὰ τέλη τῶν πολεμικῶν πράξεων ἐπιτυχῇ καὶ λαμπρά γίνεται δὲ αὐτῶν. 12 Ὄπωνιον δ’ ὁ μὲν πεζοὶ λαμβάνοντι τῆς ἡμέρας δυ’ ὀβολοῦς, οἱ δὲ ταξιαρχοὶ διπλοῦν, οἱ δ’ ἱππεῖς 13 δραχμῆν. στιομετροῦνται δ’ οἱ μὲν πεζοὶ πυρῶν Ἀπτικοῦ μεδίμνου δύο μέρη μάλιστ’ πως, οἱ δ’ ἱππεῖς κρηθῶν μὲν ἐπὶ μεδίμνους εἰς τὸν μήνα, 14 πυρῶν δὲ δύο, τῶν δὲ συμμάχων οἱ μὲν πεζοὶ τὸ ἴσον, οἱ δ’ ἱππεῖς πυρῶν μὲν μεδίμνων ἐνα καὶ 15 τρίτων μέρος, κρηθῶν δὲ πέντε. δίδοται δὲ τοῖς 358
he gives a crown of gold. So also those who have shielded and saved any of the citizens or allies receive honorary gifts from the consul, and the men they saved crown their preservers, if not of their own free will under compulsion from the tribunes who judge the case. The man thus preserved also reverences his preserver as a father all through his life, and must treat him in every way like a parent. By such incentives they excite to emulation and rivalry in the field not only the men who are present and listen to their words, but those who remain at home also. For the recipients of such gifts, quite apart from becoming famous in the army and famous too for the time at their homes, are especially distinguished in religious processions after their return, as no one is allowed to wear decorations except those on whom these honours for bravery have been conferred by the consul; and in their houses they hang up the spoils they won in the most conspicuous places, looking upon them as tokens and evidences of their valour. Considering all this attention given to the matter of punishments and rewards in the army and the importance attached to both, no wonder that the wars in which the Romans engage end so successfully and brilliantly.

As pay the foot-soldier receives two obols a day, a centurion twice as much, and a cavalry-soldier a drachma. The allowance of corn to a foot-soldier is about two-thirds of an Attic medimnus a month, a cavalry-soldier receives seven medimni of barley and two of wheat. Of the allies the infantry receive the same, the cavalry one and one-third medimnus of wheat and five of barley, these rations being a
μὲν συμμάχους τούτ' ἐν Δωρεᾶ. τοῖς δὲ Ῥωμαίοις τοῦ τε σιτου καὶ τῆς ἐσθήτως, καὶ των ὄπλων προσδειθῶσι, πάντων τούτων δ' ταμίας τὴν τεταγμένην τιμῆν ἐκ τῶν ὁμωνύμων ὑπολογίζεται.

40 Τὰς δ' ἐκ τῆς παρεμβολῆς ἀναστρατοπεδείας 2 ποιοῦσι τὸν τρόπον τούτον. ὅταν τὸ πρῶτον σημήνη, καταλύουσι τὰς σκηνὰς καὶ συντιθέασι τὰ φορτία πάντες· οὔτε δὲ καθελεῖν ἔξεστιν οὔτ' ἀναστήσαι πρὸτερον οὐδένα τῆς τῶν χιλιάρχων καὶ 3 τοῦ στρατηγοῦ σκηνῆς. ὅταν δὲ τὸ δεύτερον, ἀνατιθέασι τὰ σκευοφόρα τοῖς ὑποζυγίοις. ἐπὰν δὲ τὸ τρίτον σημήνη, προάγει δὲ τοὺς πρῶτους 4 καὶ κινεῖν τὴν ὅλην παρεμβολὴν. εἰς μὲν οὖν τὴν πρωτοπορεῖαν ὡς ἐπίπταν τάττουσι τοὺς ἐπιλέκτους· τούτοις δὲ τὸ τῶν συμμάχων δεξίων ἐπιβάλλει κέρας· ἐξής δὲ τούτοις ἐπεται τὰ τῶν 5 προερημένων ὑποζύγια. τῇ δὲ τούτων πορείᾳ τὸ πρῶτον τῶν Ῥωμαῖκῶν ἀκολουθεῖ στρατόπεδον, 6 ἔχον ὀπισθεν τὴν ἱδίαν ἀποσκευήν. <κάπετι> κατακολουθεῖ τὸ δεύτερον στρατόπεδον, ἐπομένων αὐτῷ τῶν ἱδίων ὑποζυγίων καὶ τῆς τῶν συμμάχων ἀποσκευής τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς ὑπαγίας τεταγμένων· τελευτῶν γάρ ἐν τῇ πορείᾳ τάττεται τὸ τῶν 7 συμμάχων εὐώνυμον κέρας. οἱ δὲ ἑπεὶς ποτὲ μὲν ἀπουραγοῦσι τοῖς αὐτῶν ἐκαστοῖ μέρεσι, ποτὲ δὲ παρὰ τὰ ὑποζύγια πλάγιοι παραπορεύονται, συνέχοντες ταῦτα καὶ τὴν ἀσφάλειαν τούτοις 8 παρασκευάζοντες. προσδοκίας δ' οὖσης κατὰ τὴν ὑπαγίαν τὰ μὲν ἄλλα παρ' αὐτοῖς τῶν αὐτῶν ἔχει τρόπον, αὐτοὶ δ' οὗ τῶν συμμάχων ἐπίλεκτοι τὴν ὑπαγίαν ἀντὶ τῆς πρωτοπορείας μεταλαμβάνουσι. 9 παρὰ δὲ μὲν ἡμέραν τὰ μὲν ἡγεῖται τῶν στρα- 360
free gift to the allies; but in the case of the Romans the quaestor deducts from their pay the price fixed for their corn and clothes and any additional arm they require.

40. The following is their manner of breaking up camp. Immediately upon the signal being given they take down the tents and every one packs up. No tent, however, may be either taken down or set up before those of the tribunes and consul. On the second signal they load the pack animals, and on the third the leaders of the column must advance and set the whole camp in movement. They usually place the *extraordinarii* at the head of the column. Next comes the right wing of the allies and behind them their pack animals. The first Roman legion marches next with its baggage behind it and it is followed by the second legion, which has behind it both its own pack animals and also the baggage of the allies who bring up the rear; for the left wing of the allies forms the extreme rear of the column on the march. The cavalry sometimes marches in the rear of the respective bodies to which it belongs and sometimes on the flanks of the pack train, keeping the animals together and affording them protection. When an attack is expected from the rear, the same order is maintained, but the allied *extraordinarii*, not any other portion of the allies, march in the rear instead of the van. Of the two legions and wings
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topédōn kai kerátωn, tā d' autā pálīn épetai taútā katòπν, òna tīs perī tās údreiαs kai sūto-
loγiαs ákeraioístetos pántes ἐπ' ἵσον κοινωνικως, 
metalambánontes aei tīn epi tīs prōtoporeiαs
10 éναλλαξ τάξιν. χρώνται δε καὶ étēρω γένει 
poreiαs ēn tois ἐπισφαλέται τῶν καιρῶν, ēan ána-
pēptaméνous ēχωσι τόπους· ἀγούσι γὰρ τρι-
φαλαγγίαν παράλληλον τῶν ἀστάτων καὶ πρυγκί-
pων καὶ τριαρίων, τάττοντες τὰ τῶν ἡγουμένων 
σημαίων ὑποζύγια πρὸ πάντων, ἐπὶ δὲ ταῖς πρώταις 
σημαίαις τὰ τῶν δευτέρων, ἐπὶ δὲ ταῖς δευτέραις 
tὰ τῶν τρίτων, καὶ κατὰ λόγον ύό̂τως éναλλαξ
11 ἀεὶ τιθέντες τὰ ὑποζύγια ταῖς σημαίαις. ύό̂τω 
de συντάξαντες τὴν πορείαν, ἐπειδὰν προσπέττῃ 
ti τῶν δεινῶν, ποτὲ μὲν παρ' ἀσπίδα κλίναντες, 
potė ἰ' ἐπὶ δόρυ, προάγουσι τὰς σημαίας ἐκ τῶν 
ὑποζυγίων πρὸς τὴν τῶν πολεμίων ἐπιφάνειαν.
13 λοιπῶν ἐν βραχεῖ χρόνω καὶ μιὰ κυκῆσε τὸ μὲν 
tῶν ὀπλιτῶν σύστημα λαμβάνει παρατάξεως διά-
thesōn, ēan μὴ ποτὲ προσεξελῖξαι δέγ τους ἀστά-
tous, τὸ δὲ τῶν ὑποζυγίων καὶ τῶν παρεπομένων 
tούτως πλήθος, ὑπὸ τοὺς παρατεταγμένους ὑπ-
estalkós, ἔχει τὴν καθήκουσαν χώραν πρὸς τὸν 
kíndunon.
14 ὃταν δὲ κατὰ τὰς πορείας ἐγγύζωσι στρατοπε-
dευέων, προπορεύονται χιλίαρχοι καὶ τῶν ταξιάρχων
2 οἱ πρὸς τοῦτο τὸ μέρος αεὶ προχειρισθέντες, οὕτως 
ἐπειδὰν συνθεάσωνται τὸν ὅλον τόπον, οὐ δεὶ 
stratopedeeúein, ἐν αὐτῷ τούτῳ πρῶτον μὲν 
dielabon tīn tōu stratηγοῦ σκηnl ὁῦ dei̇s ėvei̇ 
随机 responses and meaningless symbols. The text is not legible.
each takes the front or rear position on alternate days, so that by this change of order all may equally share the advantage of a fresh water supply and fresh foraging ground. They have also another kind of marching order at times of danger when they have open ground enough. For in this case the hastati, principes, and triarii form three parallel columns, the pack trains of the leading maniples being placed in front of all, those of the second maniples behind the leading maniples, those of the third behind the second and so on, with the baggage trains always interposed between the bodies of troops. With this order of march when the column is threatened, they face now to the left now to the right, and getting clear of the baggage confront the enemy from whatever side he appears. So that very rapidly, and by one movement the infantry is placed in order of battle (except perhaps that the hastati may have to wheel round the others), and the crowd of baggage animals and their attendants are in their proper place in the battle, being covered by the line of troops.

41. When the army on the march is near the place of encampment, one of the tribunes and those centurions who are specially charged with this duty go on in advance, and after surveying the whole ground on which the camp is to be formed, first of all determine from the considerations I mentioned above where the consul’s tent should be placed and on which front of the space round this tent the legions
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3 στάσεως παρεμβάλειν τὰ στρατόπεδα τούτων δὲ προκριθέντων διαμετροῦνται τὴν περίστασιν τῆς σκηνῆς, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τὴν εὐθείαν, ἐφ’ ἢς αἱ σκηναὶ τίθενται τῶν χιλιάρχων, ἐξῆς δὲ τὴν ταύτης παράλληλον, ἂφ’ ἢς ἀρχεῖ τὰ στρατόπεδα παρεμβάλλειν. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ θάτερα μέρη τῆς σκηνῆς κατεμετρήσαντο γραμμαῖς, περὶ ὅν γε τρεῖσαν ἡμᾶς τὴν καταμέτρησιν, ὡς ἀπάντων ὑπεδείξαμεν ἄρτι διὰ πλεονών κατὰ μέρος.

4 γενομένων δὲ τούτων ἐν βραχεὶ χρόνῳ διὰ τὸ βαθὺν εἶναι τὴν καταμέτρησιν, ὡς ἀπάντων ὑπεδείξαμεν καὶ συνήθων ὄντων διαστημάτων, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα σημαίαν ἑπῆξαν μίαν μὲν καὶ πρώτῃ, ἐν ὧν δὲ τὸ πόσο τίθεσθαι τὴν τοῦ στρατηγοῦ σκηνήν, δευτέραν δὲ τὴν ἐπὶ τῆς προκριθέντος πλευρᾶς, τρίτην ἐπὶ μέσης τῆς γραμμῆς ἐφ’ ἢς οἱ χιλιάρχοι σκηνοῦσι, τετάρτην, παρ’ ἦν τίθενται τὰ στρατόπεδα. καὶ ταύτας μὲν ποιοῦσι φοινικᾶς, τὴν δὲ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ λευκῆν. τὰ δ’ ἐπὶ θάτερα ποτὲ μὲν ψιλὰ δόρατα πηγνύουσι, ποτὲ δὲ σημαίας ἐκ τῶν ἀλλων χρωμάτων. γενομένων δὲ τούτων ἑξῆς τὰς ρύμας διεμέτρησαν καὶ δόρατα κατέπηξαν ἐκάστης ρύμης. ἐξ δὲ εἰκότως, ὅταν ἔγγισθη τὰ στρατόπεδα κατὰ τὰς πορείας καὶ γένητε εὐσύνοπτος ὁ τόπος τῆς παρεμβολῆς, εὐθέως ἀπαντὰ γίνεται πάσι γνώριμα, τεκμαρμομένους καὶ συλλογιζομένους ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ στρατηγοῦ σημαίας. λοιπὸν ἐκάστου σαφῶς γινώσκοντο ἐν ποιᾳ ρύμῃ καὶ ποιῶ τόπῳ τῆς ρύμης σκηνοὶ διὰ τὸ πάντας ἀεὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐπέχειν τῆς στρατοπεδείας, γίνεται τι παραπλήσιον, οἶδαν ὅταν εἰς πόλιν εἰσίν' ἀπὸ τῶν πυλῶν εὐθέως ἐκαστοί προάγουσι καὶ
should encamp. When they have decided on this, they measure out first the area of the praetorium, next the straight line along which the tents of the tribunes are erected and next the line parallel to this, starting from which the troops form their encampment. In the same way they draw lines on the other side of the praetorium, the arrangement of which I described above in detail and at some length. All this is done in a very short time, as the marking out is a quite easy matter, all the distances being fixed and familiar; and they now plant flags, one on the spot intended for the consul’s tent, another on that side of it they have chosen for the camp, a third in the middle of the line on which the tribune’s tents will stand, and a fourth on the other parallel line along which the legions will encamp. These latter flags are crimson, but the consul’s is white. On the ground on the other side of the praetorium they plant either simple spears or flags of other colours. After this they go on to lay out the streets and plant spears in each street. Consequently it is obvious that when the legions march up and get a good view of the site for the camp, all the parts of it are known at once to everyone, as they have only to reckon from the position of the consul’s flag. So that, as everyone knows exactly in which street and in what part of the street his tent will be, since all invariably occupy the same place in the camp, the encamping somewhat resembles the return of an army to its native city. For then they break up at the gate and everyone
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παραγίνονται πρὸς τὰς ἴδιας οἰκήσεις ἄδιαπτῶς, διὰ τὸ καθόλου καὶ κατὰ μέρος γινώσκειν ποὺ τῆς
12 πόλεως ἐστὶν αὐτὸς ἢ κατάλυσις. τὸ δὲ παρα-
πλήσιον τοῦτος καὶ περὶ τὰς Ῥωμαϊκὰς συμβαίνει
στρατοπεδείας.

42 Ἡ δοκοῦσι Ῥωμαιοὶ καταδιώκοντες τὴν ἐν
tοῦτοι εὐχέρειαν τὴν ἐναντίαν ὅδον πορεύεσθαι
tοῖς Ὑπαρχοῦσαι τοις Ἑλληνεῖς ἑν τῷ στρατοπεδεύειν ἠγούνται κυριώ-
tατον τὸ κατακολούθειν ταῖς ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν τόπων
ὀχυρότηται, ἀμα μὲν ἐκκλίνοντες τὴν περὶ τὰς
tαφρείας ταλαιπωρίαι, ἀμα δὲ νομίζοντες ὅχι
dομοῖα εἶναι τὰς χειροποιήτους ἀσφαλείας ταῖς
ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς φύσεως ἐπὶ τῶν τόπων ὑπαρχοῦσαι
3 ὀχυρότητοι. διὸ καὶ κατὰ τῇ τῆς ὅλης παρ-
εμβολῆς θέσιν πᾶν ἀναγκάζονται σχῆμα μετα-
lαμβάνειν, ἐπόμενοι τοῖς τόποις, τὰ τῇ μέρῃ
μεταλλάττειν ἄλλοτε πρὸς ἄλλους καὶ ἄλλους καὶ
4 λῆλον τῶν τόπων. ἐξ ὑν ἄστατον ὑπάρχειν συμβαίνει
καὶ τὸν κατ᾽ ἴδιαν καὶ τὸν κατὰ μέρος ἐκάστῳ
5 τῶν τῆς στρατοπεδείας. Ῥωμαιοὶ δὲ τῇ περὶ
tὰς τάφρους ταλαιπωρίας καὶ τάλλα τὰ παρεπόμενα
tοῦτοι ὑπομένειν ἀἱρύνται χάρων τῆς εὐχέρειας
καὶ τοῦ γνώριμον καὶ μίαν ἐχειν καὶ τῆν αὐτῆν
αἰεὶ παρεμβολῆς.

6 Τὰ μὲν οὖν ὀλοσχερότερα μέρη τῆς περὶ τὰ
στρατόπεδα θεωρίας, καὶ μάλιστα περὶ τὰς παρεμ-
bolάς, ταῦτ’ ἐστιν. [Cod. Urb. (v. p. 264. 17).]

VII.

43 Σχεδὸν δὴ πάντες οἱ συγγραφεῖς περὶ τούτων
ἡμῖν τῶν πολιτευμάτων παραδεδώκασι τὴν ἐπ'
goes straight on from there and reaches his own house without fail, as he knows both the quarter and the exact spot where his residence is situated. It is very much the same thing in a Roman camp.

42. The Romans by thus studying convenience in this matter pursue, it seems to me, a course diametrically opposite to that usual among the Greeks. The Greeks in encamping think it of primary importance to adapt the camp to the natural advantages of the ground, first because they shirk the labour of entrenching, and next because they think artificial defences are not equal in value to the fortifications which nature provides unaided on the spot. So that as regards the plan of the camp as a whole they are obliged to adopt all kinds of shapes to suit the nature of the ground, and they often have to shift the parts of the army to unsuitable situations, the consequence being that everyone is quite uncertain whereabouts in the camp his own place or the place of his corps is. The Romans on the contrary prefer to submit to the fatigue of entrenching and other defensive work for the sake of the convenience of having a single type of camp which never varies and is familiar to all.

Such are the most important facts about the Roman armies and especially about the method of encampment. . . .

VII

THE ROMAN REPUBLIC COMPARED WITH OTHERS

43. One may say that nearly all authors have handed down to us the reputation for excellence en-
ἀρετὴ φήμην, περὶ τε τοῦ Λακεδαμονίων καὶ Κρητῶν καὶ Μαντινόων, ἐτὶ δὲ Καρχηδονίων· ἐνὶ δὲ καὶ περὶ τῆς Ἀθηναίων καὶ Ὀθῆβαίων πολι-2 τείας πεποίηται μνήμην. ἐγὼ δὲ ταῦτα μὲν ἔώ, τὴν γὰρ Ἀθηναίων καὶ Ὀθῆβαίων οὐ πάνυ τι πολλοὶ προσδείοντας πέπεισμα λόγου διὰ τὸ μὴτε τὰς αὐξήσεις ἐσχηκέναι κατὰ λόγου μὴτε τὰς ἀκμὰς ἐπιμόνοις, μὴτε τὰς μεταβολὰς ἐνηλιαχέναι με-3 τρίως, ἀλλ’ ὠσπερ ἐκ προσπάθειαν τῶν τύχης σὺν καιρῷ λάμψαντας, τὸ δὴ λεγόμενον, ἐτὶ δοκοῦν-τας ἀκμήν καὶ μέλλοντας εὐτυχεῖν, τῆς ἐναντίας 4 πείραν εἰληφέναι μεταβολῆς. Ὀθῆβαιοι μὲν γὰρ τῇ Λακεδαμονίων ἀγνεῖα καὶ τῷ τῶν συμμάχων πρὸς αὐτοὺς μίσει συνεπιθέμενοι, διὰ τὴν εἶν ἄνδρὸς ἀρετὴν ἢ καὶ δευτέρου, τῶν τὰ προειρημένα συνδόντων, περιεποίησαντο παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλησὶ τὴν 5 ἐπ’ ἀρετὴν φήμην. ὅτι γὰρ οὐχ ἡ τῆς πολιτείας σύστασις αἰτία τότ’ ἐγένετο Θηβαίων τῶν εὐτυχι-μάτων, ἀλλ’ ἢ τῶν προεστῶτων ἄνδρῶν ἀρετῆ, παρὰ πόδας ἢ τύχη τούτῳ πᾶσιν ἐποίησε δήλον· 6 καὶ γὰρ συνηνθήσθη καὶ συνήκμασε καὶ συγκατελύθη τά Θηβαίων ἔργα τῷ τ’ Ἐπαμιμωνίῳ καὶ τῷ 7 Πελοπίδου βίῳ προφανῶς. ἔξ ὁν οὐ τὴν πολι-τείαν αἰτίαν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἦγητέον τῆς τότε γενομένης περὶ τὴν Θηβαίων πόλιν ἐπιφανείας. 44 τὸ δὲ παραπλήσιον καὶ περὶ τῆς Ἀθηναίων πολι-2 τείας διαληπτέον. καὶ γὰρ αὐτῇ πλεονάκις μὲν ἴσως, ἐκφανέστατα δὲ τῇ Θεμιστοκλέους ἀρετῆς συνανθῆσασα ταχέως τῆς ἐναντίας μεταβολῆς ἔλαβε πείραν διὰ τὴν ἀνωμαλίαν τῆς φύσεως. 3 ἂει γὰρ ποτὲ τὸν τῶν Ἀθηναίων δῆμον παραπλή-
joyed by the constitutions of Sparta, Crete, Mantinea, and Carthage. Some make mention also of those of Athens and Thebes. I leave these last two aside; for I am myself convinced that the constitutions of Athens and Thebes need not be dealt with at length, considering that these states neither grew by a normal process, nor did they remain for long in their most flourishing state, nor were the changes they underwent immaterial; but after a sudden effulgence so to speak, the work of chance and circumstance, while still apparently prosperous and with every prospect of a bright future, they experienced a complete reverse of fortune. For the Thebans, striking at the Lacedaemonians through their mistaken policy and the hatred their allies bore them, owing to the admirable qualities of one or at most two men, who had detected these weaknesses, gained in Greece a reputation for superiority. Indeed, that the successes of the Thebans at that time were due not to the form of their constitution, but to the high qualities of their leading men, was made manifest to all by Fortune immediately afterwards. For the success of Thebes grew, attained its height, and ceased with the lives of Epaminondas and Pelopidas; and therefore we must regard the temporary splendour of that state as due not to its constitution, but to its men. 44. We must hold very much the same opinion about the Athenian constitution. For Athens also, though she perhaps enjoyed more frequent periods of success, after her most glorious one of all which was coeval with the excellent administration of Themistocles, rapidly experienced a complete reverse of fortune owing to the inconstancy of her nature. For the Athenian populace always more or
σιον εἶναι συμβαίνει τοῖς ἀδεσπότοις σκάφεσιν.  
4 καὶ γὰρ ἐπ’ ἐκείνων, ὅταν μὲν ἡ διὰ πελαγῶν φόβον ἡ διὰ περίστασιν χειμῶνος ὀρμή παραστῇ τοῖς ἐπιβάταις συμφρονεῖν καὶ προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν τῷ κυβερνήτῃ, γίνεται τὸ δέον ἐξ αὐτῶν διαφερόντως.  
5 ὅταν δὲ θαρρήσαντες ἁρξώνται καταφρονεῖν τῶν προεστῶτων καὶ στασιάζειν πρὸς ἄλληλοις διὰ τὸ μηκέτι δοκεῖν πᾶσι ταύτα, τότε δὴ τῶν μὲν ἐτὶ πλεῖν προαρουμένων, τῶν δὲ κατεπευγόντων ὀρμίζειν τὸν κυβερνήτην, καὶ τῶν μὲν ἐκσειόντων τοὺς κάλους, τῶν δ’ ἐπιλαμβανομένων καὶ στέλλο- 
σθαι παρακελευμένων, αἰσχρὰ μὲν πρόσοψις γίνεται τοῖς ἐξωθεὶν θεωμένοις διὰ τὴν ἐν ἄλληλοις δια- 
8 φορᾶν καὶ στάσιν, ἐπισφαλῆς δ’ ἡ διάθεσις τοῖς μετασχοῦσι καὶ κοινωνήσασι τοῦ πλοῦτος. διὸ καὶ 
πολλάκις διαφυγόντες τὰ μέγιστα πελάγη καὶ τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους χειμῶνας ἐν τοῖς λιμέσι καὶ πρὸς 
7 τῇ γῇ ναυαγοῦσιν. δ’ δὴ καὶ τῇ τῶν Ἀθηναίων 
πολιτεία πλεονάκις ὅδη συμβέβηκε: διωσαμένη 
γὰρ ἐνίοτε τὰς μεγίστας καὶ δεινοτάτας περιστά- 
σεις διὰ τὴν τοῦ δήμου καὶ τὴν τῶν προεστῶτων ἀρετὴν ἐν ταῖς ἀπεριστάτοις βαστώναις εἰκῇ πως 
9 καὶ ἀλόγως ἐνίοτε σφάλλεται, διὸ καὶ περὶ μὲν 
tαύτης τε καὶ τῆς τῶν Θηβαίων οὐδὲν δεῖ πλεῖο 
λέγειν, ἐν αἰσ ὁχλος χειρίζει τὰ ὀλα κατὰ τὴν ἱδίαν ὀρμήν, ὁ μὲν ἀξύτητι καὶ πικρίᾳ διαφέρων, δ’ δὲ 
βία καὶ θυμῷ συμπεπαιδευμένος.

45 Ὑπὶ δὲ τὴν Κρήταν μεταβάντας ἄξιον ἐπιστή-
σαι κατὰ δύο τρόπους πῶς οἱ λογιώτατοι τῶν ἀρ- 
χαίων συγγραφέων, Ἐφορος, Ἐνοφῶν, Καλλισθέ- 
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less resembles a ship without a commander. In such a ship when fear of the billows or the danger of a storm induces the mariners to be sensible and to attend to the orders of the skipper, they do their duty admirably. But when they grow over-confident and begin to entertain contempt for their superiors and to quarrel with each other, as they are no longer all of the same way of thinking, then with some of them determined to continue the voyage, and others putting pressure on the skipper to anchor, with some letting out the sheets and others preventing them and ordering the sails to be taken in, not only does the spectacle strike anyone who watches it as disgraceful owing to their disagreement and contention, but the position of affairs is a source of actual danger to the rest of those on board; so that often after escaping from the perils of the widest seas and fiercest storms they are shipwrecked in harbour and when close to the shore. This is what has more than once befallen the Athenian state. After having averted the greatest and most terrible dangers owing to the high qualities of the people and their leaders, it has come to grief at times by sheer heedlessness and unreasonableness in seasons of unclouded tranquillity. Therefore I need say no more about this constitution or that of Thebes, states in which everything is managed by the uncurbed impulse of a mob in the one case exceptionally headstrong and ill-tempered and in the other brought up in an atmosphere of violence and passion.

45. To pass to the constitution of Crete, two points here demand our attention. How was it that the most learned of the ancient writers—Ephorus, Xenophon, Callisthenes, and Plato—state in
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νης, Πλάτων, πρῶτον μὲν ὁμοίαν εἶναι φασὶ καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν τῇ Δακεδαμονίῳν, δεύτερον δὲ ἐπανετήν
2 ὑπάρχουσαν ἀποφαίνουσιν· ἄν οὐδέτερον ἄλλῃς
3 εἶναι μοι δοκεῖ. σκοπεῖν δὲ ἐκ τούτων πάρεστι.
καὶ πρῶτον ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀνομοιοτητος διεξεῖμεν. τῆς
μὲν δὴ Δακεδαμονίων πολιτείας ἕδιον εἶναι· φασὶ
πρῶτον μὲν τὰ περὶ τὰς ἐγγαίους κτήσεις, ἄν
οὐδενὶ μέτεστι πλείον, ἀλλὰ πάντας τοὺς πολίτας
4 ἵσον ἔχειν δεὶ τῆς πολιτικῆς χώρας, δεύτερον τὰ
περὶ τὴν τοῦ διαφόρου κτήσιν, ἢς εἰς τέλος ἄδοκιμον
παρ’ αὐτοῖς ὑπαρχοῦσας ἀρδην ἐκ τῆς πολιτείας
ἀνηρθηθαίν συμβαίνει την περὶ τὸ πλείον καὶ
5 τουλαττὸν φιλοτιμίαν. τρίτων παρὰ Δακεδαμο-
νίους οἱ μὲν βασιλεῖς αἴδιον ἔχουσι τὴν ἀρχήν, οἱ
δὲ προσαγορευόμενοι γέροντες διὰ βίου, δι’ ἄν
καὶ μεθ’ ἄν πάντα χειρίζεται τὰ κατὰ τὴν πολι-
46 τείαν. παρὰ δὲ Κρηταεῦσι πάντα τούτως ὑπάρχει
τάναντία· τὴν τε γὰρ χώραν κατὰ δύναμιν αὐτοῖς
2 ἐφιάσων οἱ νόμοι, τὸ δὴ λεγόμενον, εἰς ἄπειρον
κτάσθαι, τὸ τε διάφορον ἐκτετήμηται παρ’ αὐτοῖς
ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ὡστε μὴ μόνον ἀναγκαίως, ἀλλὰ καὶ
3 καλλιστὴν εἶναι δοκεῖν τὴν τούτου κτήσιν. καθ-
όλου θ’ ὅ περι τὴν αἰσχροκέρδειαν καὶ πλεονεξίαν
τρόπος οὕτως ἐπιχωριάζει παρ’ αὐτοῖς ὡστε
παρὰ μόνου Κρηταεῦσι τῶν ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων
4 μηδὲν αἰσχρὸν νομίζεσθαι κέρδος. καὶ μὴν τὰ
κατὰ τὰς ἀρχὰς ἐπέτεια παρ’ αὐτοῖς ἐστὶ καὶ
5 δημοκρατικὴν ἔχει διάθεσιν. ὡστε πολλάκις δια-
πορεῖν πῶς ἧμιν περὶ τῶν τὴν ἑναντίαν φύσιν
ἐχόντων ὡς οἰκεῖων καὶ συγγενῶν ὑπῶν ἀλλήλους
6 ἐξηγγέλκασι. καὶ χωρὶς τοῦ παραβλέπειν τὰς
tηλικαύτας διαφορὰς καὶ πολὺν δὴ τινὰ λόγον ἐν
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the first place that it is one and the same with that of Lacedaemon and in the second place pronounce it worthy of commendation? In my own opinion neither of these assertions is true. Whether or not I am right the following observations will show. And first as to its dissimilarity with the constitution of Sparta. The peculiar features of the Spartan state are said to be first the land laws by which no citizen may own more than another, but all must possess an equal share of the public land; secondly their view of money-making; for, money being esteemed of no value at all among them, the jealous contention due to the possession of more or less is utterly done away with; and thirdly the fact that of the magistrates by whom or by whose co-operation the whole administration is conducted, the kings hold a hereditary office and the members of the Gerousia are elected for life. 46. In all these respects the Cretan practice is exactly the opposite. Their laws go as far as possible in letting them acquire land to the extent of their power, as the saying is, and money is held in such high honour among them that its acquisition is not only regarded as necessary, but as most honourable. So much in fact do sordid love of gain and lust for wealth prevail among them, that the Cretans are the only people in the world in whose eyes no gain is disgraceful. Again their magistracies are annual and elected on a democratic system. So that it often causes surprise how these authors proclaim to us, that two political systems the nature of which is so opposed, are allied and akin to each other. Besides overlooking such differences, these writers go out of their
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7 διείστερα διατίθενται, φάσκοντες τὸν Λυκούργον
μόνον τῶν γεγονότων τὰ συνέχοντα τεθεωρηκέναι.
8 ὦταν γὰρ ὄντων, δὶς ὁν σφόζότει πολύτευμα πάν,
τῆς πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἀνδρείας καὶ τῆς πρὸς
σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ὁμονοίας, ἀνηρηκότα τὴν πλεονεξίαν
ἀμα ταῦτῃ συνανηρηκέναι πάσαν ἐμφύλιον δια-
9 ταῦτα. ταῦτα δὲ ἀποφηνάμενοι, καὶ θεωροῦντες
ἐκ παραθέσεως Κρήτηνοι διὰ τὴν ἐμφύτου σφίζι
πλεονεξίαν εἰς πλείστας ἴδια <καὶ> κατὰ κοινών
στάσει καὶ φόνοι καὶ πολέμους ἐμφύλιος ἀνα-
περατομένοις, οὐδὲν οἶνοτα πρὸς σφᾶς εἰναι,
θαρροῦσι δὲ λέγειν ὡς ὁμοίων ὄντων τῶν πολι-
10 τεματῶν. ὦ δὲ Ἐφορος χωρὶς τῶν ὄνομάτων καί
ταῖς λέξει κέχρηται ταῖς αὐταῖς, ὁτὲρ ἐκατέρασ
ποιούμενος τῆς πολιτείας ἐξήγησαν, ὡστ', εἰ τις
μὴ τοῖς κυρίοις ὁνόματι προσέχοι, κατὰ μηδένα
τρόπον ἄν δύνασθαι διαγνώσαι περὶ ὁποτέρας
ποιεῖται τὴν διήγησιν.

11 ὃς μὲν οὖν μοι δοκοῦσι διαφέρειν ἀλλήλων,
tαῦτ' ἐστιν. ἐὰν δὲ πάλιν οὕτω ἐπανεῖν οὕτε ἥλιω-
tὴν ἡγούμεθ' εἶναι τὴν Κρήτην τὴν πολιτείαν, νῦν
47 ἡδὴ διεξεῖσθαι. ἐγὼ γὰρ οἶμαι δ＇ ἄρχοσ εἰναι πά-
σης πολιτείας, δ＇ ὅπως αἱρετὰς ήφευκτὰς συμβαίνει
γίνεσθαι τὰς τὰς δυνάμεις αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς συστάσεις.
2 αὕται δ＇ εἰσὶν ἐθνὶ καὶ νόμοι. ἦδὲ τὰ μὲν αἱρετὰ
τοὺς τε κατ＇ ἱδίαι διός τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὁλίγον
ἀποτελεῖ καὶ σώφρονας τὸ τῇ κοινῷ ἱδίος τῆς
πόλεως ἱμερὸν ἀπεργάζεται καὶ δίκαιον, τὰ δὲ
3 φευκτὰ τούναντίον. ἔστερ οὖν, ὅταν τοὺς ἐθισμοὺς
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way to give us their general views, saying that Lycurgus was the only man who ever saw the points of vital importance for good government. For, there being two things to which a state owes its preservation, bravery against the enemy and concord among the citizens, Lycurgus by doing away with the lust for wealth did away also with all civil discord and broils. In consequence of which the Lacedaemonians, being free from these evils, excel all the Greeks in the conduct of their internal affairs and in their spirit of union. After asserting this, although they witness that the Cretans, on the other hand, owing to their ingrained lust of wealth are involved in constant broils both public and private, and in murders and civil wars, they regard this as immaterial, and have the audacity to say that the two political systems are similar. Ephorus actually, apart from the names, uses the same phrases in explaining the nature of the two states; so that if one did not attend to the proper names it would be impossible to tell of which he is speaking.

Such are the points in which I consider these two political systems to differ, and I will now give my reasons for not regarding that of Crete as worthy of praise or imitation. 47. In my opinion there are two fundamental things in every state, by virtue of which its principle and constitution is either desirable or the reverse. I mean customs and laws. What is desirable in these makes men's private lives righteous and well ordered and the general character of the state gentle and just, while what is to be avoided has the opposite effect. So just as when we observe the laws and customs of a
καὶ νόμους κατίδωμεν παρὰ τοις σπουδαίοις ὑπ- ἄρχοντας, θαρροῦντες ἀποφαινόμεθα καὶ τοὺς ἀνδρας ἐκ τοῦτων ἔσεσθαι καὶ τὴν τούτων πολιτείαν
4 σπουδαίαν, οὔτως, ὅταν τοὺς τε κατ' ἵδιαν βίους τινῶν πλεονεκτικοὺς τὰς τε κοινὰς πράξεις ἀδίκους δειρησώμεν, δῆλον ὡς εἰκὸς λέγειν καὶ τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὰ κατὰ μέρος ἢθη καὶ τὴν ὀλην πολι-
5 τείαν αὐτῶν εἶναι φαύλην. καὶ μὴν οὔτε κατ' ἱδίαιν ἦθη δολιώτερα Κρηταιέων εὐροὶ τις ἂν πλῆν τελείως ὄλγων οὔτε κατὰ κοινὸν ἑπιβολὰς ἀδι-
6 κωτέρας. διόπερ οὔθ' ὅμοιαν αὐτὴν ἠγούμενοι τῇ Λακεδαμινιῶν οὔτε μὴν ἄλλος αἱρετὴν οὔτε ἤλιωτὴν ἀποδοκιμάζομεν ἐκ τῆς προειρημένης συγκρίσεως.
7 Καὶ μὴν οὐδὲ τὴν Πλάτωνος πολιτείαν δίκαιων παρεισαγαγεῖν, ἔπειδὴ καὶ ταύτην τινὲς τῶν
8 φιλοσοφῶν ἐξυμνοῦσιν. οὔσπερ γὰρ οὐδὲ τῶν τεχνιτῶν ἢ τῶν ἁθλητῶν τοὺς γε μὴ νενε-
ημένους ἢ σεσωμασκηκότας παρέμεμεν εἰς τοὺς ἁθλητικοὺς ἀγώνας, οὔτως οὐδὲ ταύτην χρῆ
παρεισαγαγεῖν εἰς τὴν τῶν πρωτείων ἁμίλλαν, ἐάν μὴ πρότερον ἐπιδείξῃται τι τῶν εὐαυτὴς ἔργων
9 ἀληθῶς. μέχρι δὲ τοῦ νῦν παραπλῆσοι ἂν ὁ
περὶ αὐτῆς φανεῖ λόγος, ἀγομένης εἰς σύγκρισιν
πρὸς τὴν Σπαρτιατῶν καὶ Ῥωμαίων καὶ Καρ-
χηδονιῶν πολιτείαν, ὡς ἂν εἰ τῶν ἀγαλμάτων
τις ἐν προθέμενοι τοῦτο συγκρίνοι τοῖς ζῶσι καὶ
10 πεπυμένους ἀνδράσι. καὶ γὰρ ἂν ὅλως ἐπαινετὸν
ὑπάρχῃ κατὰ τὴν τέχνην, τὴν γε σύγκρισιν τῶν
ἀψύχων τοῖς ἐμψύχωις ἐνδεὴ καὶ τελείως ἀπεμφα-

νοσαν εἰκὸς προσπίπτειν τοῖς θεωμένοις.
48 Διόπερ ἀφέμενοι τούτων ἐπὶ τὴν Δακωνικὴν
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people to be good, we have no hesitation in pronouncing that the citizens and the state will consequently be good also, thus when we notice that men are covetous in their private lives and that their public actions are unjust, we are plainly justified in saying that their laws, their particular customs, and the state as a whole are bad. Now it would be impossible to find except in some rare instances personal conduct more treacherous or a public policy more unjust than in Crete. Holding then the Cretan constitution to be neither similar to that of Sparta nor in any way deserving of praise and imitation, I dismiss it from the comparison which I have proposed to make.

Nor again is it fair to introduce Plato’s republic which also is much belauded by some philosophers. For just as we do not admit to athletic contests artists or athletes who are not duly entered and have not been in training, so we have no right to admit this constitution to the competition for the prize of merit, unless it first give an exhibition of its actual working. Up to the present it would be just the same thing to discuss it with a view to comparison with the constitutions of Sparta, Rome, and Carthage, as to take some statue and compare it with living and breathing men. For even if the workmanship of the statue were altogether praiseworthy, the comparison of a lifeless thing with a living being would strike spectators as entirely imperfect and incongruous.

48. Dismissing, therefore, these constitutions, we
2 ἐπάνυμεν πολιτείαν. δοκεῖ δὴ μοι Λυκοῦργος πρὸς μὲν τὸ σφίσων ὅμονοεῖν τοὺς πολίτας καὶ πρὸς τὸ τὴν Λακωνίκην τηρεῖν ἀσφαλῶς, ἐτι δὲ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν διαφυλάττειν τῇ Σπάρτῇ βεβαίως, οὕτως νενομοθετηκέναι καὶ προνενοθηκέναι καλῶς ὥστε θειοτέραν τὴν ἐπίνοιαν ἢ κατ’ ἄνθρωπον
3 αὐτοῦ νομίζειν. ἢ μὲν γὰρ περὶ τὰς κτήσεις ἱσότης καὶ περὶ τὴν δίαιταν ἀφέλεια καὶ κοινότης σώφρονας μὲν ἐμελλε τοὺς κατ’ ἰδίαν βίους παρασκευάζειν, ἀστασίαστον δὲ τὴν κοινὴν παρέξεσθαι πολιτείαν, ἢ δὲ πρὸς τοὺς πόνους καὶ πρὸς τὰ δενά τῶν ἔργων ἀσκησις ἀλκίμους καὶ γενναίους
4 ἀποτελέσειν ἄνδρας. ἑκατέρων δὲ τούτων ὁμοί συνδραμόντων εἰς μίαν ψυχὴν ἢ πόλιν, ἄνδρείας καὶ σωφροσύνης, οὐτ’ ἐξ αὐτῶν φύναι κακίαν εὔμαρες οὐθ’ ὑπὸ τῶν πέλας χειρωθῆναι ράδιον.
5 διόπερ οὕτως καὶ διὰ τούτων συστησάμενος τὴν πολιτείαν, βεβαιαν μὲν τῇ συμπάσῃ Λακωνίκῃ παρεσκεύασε τὴν ἀσφάλειαν, πολυχρόνιον δὲ τοῖς
6 Σπαρτιάταις αὐτοῖς ἀπέλπισε τὴν ἐλευθερίαν. πρὸς μέντοι γε τὴν τῶν πέλας κατάκτησιν καὶ πρὸς ἡγεμονίαν καὶ καθόλου πρὸς πραγμάτων ἀμφι-
σβήτησιν οὕτ’ ἐν τοῖς κατὰ μέρος οὕτ’ ἐν τοῖς ὅλοις δοκεῖ μοι προνοθῆκαι καθάπαξ οὐδέν.
7 λοιπὸν ἦν τοιαύτην τινὰ παρεισαγαγεῖν [δεῖ] τοῖς πολίταις ἀνάγκην ἢ πρόθεσιν δι’ ἦς ἄσπερ καὶ περὶ τοὺς κατ’ ἰδίαν βίους αὐτάρκειας αὐτοῖς παρεσκεύασε καὶ λιτοῦς, οὕτως καὶ τὸ κοινὸν ἔθος τῆς πόλεως αὐτάρκες ἐμελλε γίνεσθαι καὶ σώφρον.
8 νῦν δ’ ἀφιλοτιμοτάτους καὶ νουνεχεστάτους ποι-
will return to that of Sparta. To me it seems that as far as regards the maintenance of concord among the citizens, the security of the Laconian territory and the preservation of the freedom of Sparta, the legislation of Lycurgus and the foresight he exhibited were so admirable that one is forced to regard his institutions as of divine rather than human origin. For the equal division of landed property and the simple and common diet were calculated to produce temperance in the private lives of the citizens and to secure the commonwealth as a whole from civil strife, as was the training in the endurance of hardships and dangers to form brave and valorous men. Now when both these virtues, fortitude and temperance, are combined in one soul or in one city, evil will not readily originate within such men or such peoples, nor will they be easily overmastered by their neighbours. By constructing, therefore, his constitution in this manner and out of these elements, Lycurgus secured the absolute safety of the whole territory of Laconia, and left to the Spartans themselves a lasting heritage of freedom. But as regards the annexation of neighbouring territories, supremacy in Greece, and, generally speaking, an ambitious policy, he seems to me to have made absolutely no provision for such contingencies, either in particular enactments or in the general constitution of the state. What he left undone, therefore, was to bring to bear on the citizens some force or principle, by which, just as he had made them simple and contented in their private lives, he might make the spirit of the city as a whole likewise contented and moderate. But now, while he made them most unambitious and
Τὸ περὶ τῶν ἴδιων βίους καὶ τὰ τῆς σφυτέρας πόλεως νόμιμα, πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους Ἔλληνας ϕιλοτιμοτάτους καὶ ϕιλαρχοτάτους καὶ πλεονεκτικωτάτους ἀπέλιπτε. 49 Τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ τὶς οὐκ οἶδε διὸτι πρῶτοι σχεδὸν τῶν Ἔλληνων ἐπιθυμήσαντες τῆς τῶν ἀστυγειτονῶν χώρας διὰ πλεονεξίαν ἐπ᾽ ἐξαιρετοδοσιμοί. 2 Μεσσηνίοις πόλεμον ἔξηγεν, τὸτε δὲ τὶς οὐχ ἰσότρηκεν ὡς διὰ ϕιλονεκίαν ἑνὸρκους σφάς ἑποίησαν μὴ πρὸσθεν λύσει τὴν πολιορκίαν πρὶν 3 ἡ κατὰ κράτος ἑλεῖν τὴν Μεσσηνίαν; καὶ μὴν τοῦτο γνώριμον ὑπάρχει πᾶσιν, ἃς διὰ τὴν ἐν τοῖς Ἔλλησις ϕιλαρχίαν, οὕς ἐνίκησαν μαχόμενοι, τοὺς αὐτὸς ὑπέμεναν ποιεῖν τὸ προστατήμενον. 4 ἐπιπορευομένους μὲν γὰρ τοὺς Πέρσας ἐνίκων διαγωνιζόμενοι περὶ τῆς τῶν Ἔλληνων ἐλευθερίας. 5 ἐπανελθοῦσι δὲ καὶ φυγοῦσι προὐδωκαν ἐκδότους τὰς Ἐλληνίδας πόλεις κατὰ τὴν ἐπ᾽ Ἀνταλκίδου γενομένην εἰρήνην χάριν τοῦ χρημάτων εὐπορήσαι. 6 πρὸς τὴν κατὰ τῶν Ἔλληνων δυναστείαν, ὅτε δὴ καὶ τὸ τῆς νομοθεσίας ἐλλιπέσεις συνώφθη παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς. 7 ἐως μὲν γὰρ τῆς τῶν ἀστυγειτονῶν, ἄτι δὲ τῆς Πελοποννησίων αὐτῶν ἄρχης ἔβιντο, συνεξεποιοῦντο ταῖς ἐκ τῆς Δακωνικῆς αὐτῆς ἐπαρκείαις καὶ χορηγίαις, προχέρουσι μὲν ἔχοντες τὰς τῶν ἐπιθεδείων παρασκευᾶς, ταχείας δὲ ποιούμενοι τὰς εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν ἐπανόδους καὶ παρακομιδᾶς. 8 ἐπεὶ δὲ στόλους μὲν ἐπεβάλλοντο κατὰ θάλαταν ἐκπέμπειν, στρατεύειν δὲ πεζοὶ στρατοπέδους ἔξω Πελοποννήσου, δῆλον ὡς οὕτε τὸ νόμισμα τὸ σιδηροῦν οὐθ᾽ ἡ τῶν ἐπετείων καρπῶν ἀλλαγὴ πρὸς τὰ λειτοῦντα τῆς χρείας ἐμελλέν αὐτοῖς ἐξαρκεῖν.
sensible people as regards their private lives and the institutions of their city, he left them most ambitious, domineering, and aggressive towards the rest of the Greeks.

49. For who is not aware that they were almost the first of the Greeks to cast longing eyes on the territory of their neighbours, making war on the Messenians out of covetousness and for the purpose of enslaving them? And is it not narrated by all historians how out of sheer obstinacy they bound themselves by an oath not to desist from the siege before they had taken Messene? It is no less universally known that owing to their desire of domination in Greece they were obliged to execute the behests of the very people they had conquered in battle. For they conquered the Persians when they invaded Greece, fighting for her freedom; but when the invaders had withdrawn and fled they betrayed the Greek cities to them by the peace of Antalcidas, in order to procure money for establishing their sovereignty over the Greeks; and here a conspicuous defect in their constitution revealed itself. For as long as they aspired to rule over their neighbours or over the Peloponnesians alone, they found the supplies and resources furnished by Laconia itself adequate, as they had all they required ready to hand, and quickly returned home whether by land or by sea. But once they began to undertake naval expeditions and to make military campaigns outside the Peloponnes, it was evident that neither their iron currency nor the exchange of their crops for commodities which they lacked, as permitted by the legislation of Lycurgus, would
9 κατὰ τὴν Λυκούργου νομοθεσίαν· προσεδείτο γάρ τὰ πράγματα κουνοῦ νομίσματος καὶ ξενικῆς παρα-
σκευῆς. οὗθεν ἡμαγκάσθησαν ἐπὶ θύρας μὲν πορεύ-
σθαι τὰς Περασῶν, φόρους δὲ τοῖς νησιώταις ἐπι-
tάττειν, ἀργυρολογεῖν δὲ πάντας τοὺς Ἑλλήνας,
γνώτες ὡς οὐχ οἶον τε κατὰ τὴν Λυκούργου νομο-
θεσίαν οὐχ ὅτι τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἡγεμονίας, ἀλλ’
οὐδὲ πραγμάτων ἀντιποιεῖσθαι τὸ παράπαν.
50 Τίνος οὖν χάριν εἰς ταῦτα παρεξέβην; ἵνα γέ-
νηται δὲ αὐτῶν τῶν πραγμάτων συμφανεῖς ὅτι
πρὸς μὲν τὸ τὰ σφέτερα βεβαιῶς διαφυλάττει
καὶ πρὸς τὸ τὴν ἔλευθερίαν τήρειν αὐτάρκης
2 ἡ Λυκούργου νομοθεσία, καὶ τοῖς γε τούτῳ
τὸ τέλος ἀποδεχομένους τῆς πολιτείας συγχωρητέον
ὡς οὔτ’ ἔστων οὔτε γέγονεν οὐδὲν αἱρετώτερον
τοῦ Λακωνικοῦ καταστήματος καὶ συντάγματος.
3 εἰ δὲ τις μειζόνων ἡφιέτα, κάκευνον κάλλιον καὶ
σεμνότερον εἰναι νομίζει τὸ πολλῶν μὲν ἡγεῖσθαι,
pολλῶν δὲ ἐπικρατεῖν καὶ δεσπόζειν, πάντας δ’
4 εἰς αὐτῶν ἀποβλέπειν καὶ νεύειν πρὸς αὐτὸν, τηδὲ
τῆς συγχωρητέον τὸ μὲν Λακωνικὸν ἐνδεές εἶναι
πολίτευμα, τὸ δὲ Ἡρωιῶν διαφέρειν καὶ δυναμε-
5 κωτέραν ἔχειν τὴν σύστασιν. δῆλον δὲ τούτ’
ἐξ αὐτῶν γέγονε τῶν πραγμάτων. Δακεδαιμόνιοι
μὲν γὰρ ὀρμήσαντες ἐπὶ τὸ κατακτᾶσθαι τὴν τῶν
Ἑλλήνων ἡγεμονίαν, ταχέως ἐκνεύνεσαν καὶ
6 περὶ τῆς σφέτερας ἔλευθερίας. Ἡρωιῶν δὲ τῆς
Ἰταλιστῶν αὐτῶν ἐπιλαβόμενοι δυναστείας, ἐν
ὁλίγω χρόνῳ πᾶσαν υφ’ ἑαυτοὺς ἐποιήσαντο τὴν
οἰκουμένην, οὐ μικρὰ πρὸς τὸ καθικέσθαι τῆς πρά-
ξεως ταύτης συμβαλλόμενης αὐτοῖς τῆς εὐπορίας
καὶ τῆς ἐτοιμότητος τῆς κατὰ τὰς χορηγίας.
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suffice for their needs, since these enterprises demanded a currency in universal circulation and supplies drawn from abroad; and so they were compelled to be beggars from the Persians, to impose tribute on the islanders, and to exact contributions from all the Greeks, as they recognized that under the legislation of Lycurgus it was impossible to aspire, I will not say to supremacy in Greece, but to any position of influence.

50. But what is the purpose of this digression? It is to show from the actual evidence of facts, that for the purpose of remaining in secure possession of their own territory and maintaining their freedom the legislation of Lycurgus is amply sufficient, and to those who maintain this to be the object of political constitutions we must admit that there is not and never was any system or constitution superior to that of Lycurgus. But if anyone is ambitious of greater things, and esteems it finer and more glorious than that to be the leader of many men and to rule and lord it over many and have the eyes of all the world turned to him, it must be admitted that from this point of view the Laconian constitution is defective, while that of Rome is superior and better framed for the attainment of power, as is indeed evident from the actual course of events. For when the Lacedaemonians endeavoured to obtain supremacy in Greece, they very soon ran the risk of losing their own liberty; whereas the Romans, who had aimed merely at the subjection of Italy, in a short time brought the whole world under their sway, the abundance of supplies they had at their command conducing in no small measure to this result.
Τὸ δὲ Ἀρχιγνών πολίτευμα τὸ μὲν ἀνέκαθεν μοι δοκεῖ καλῶς κατὰ γε τὰς ὀλοσχερεῖς διαφορὰς 2 συνεστάσθαι. καὶ γὰρ βασιλεῖς ἦσαν παρ’ αὐτοῖς, καὶ τὸ γερόντιον εἰχε τὴν ἀριστοκρατικὴν ἐξουσίαν, καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἦν κύριον τῶν καθηκόντων αὐτῶν καθόλου δὲ τὴν τῶν ὀλιγοὶ ἀρμογὴν εἰχε παραπλη-
3 σίαν τῇ Ῥωμαίων καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων. κατὰ γε μήν τους καιροὺς τούτους, καθ’ οὖς εἰς τὸν Ἀννι-
βιακὸν ἐνέβαινε πόλεμον, χείρον ἦν τὸ Ἀρχιγνώνιων,
4 ἀμεινον δὲ τὸ Ῥωμαίων. ἑπειδὴ γὰρ παντὸς καὶ σώματος καὶ πολιτείας καὶ πράξεως ἐστὶ τις αὐξη-
σις κατὰ φύσιν, μετὰ δὲ ταύτην ἀκμήν, κάπειτα φθίσις, κράτιστα δ’ αὐτῶν ἐστὶ πάντα τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἀκμήν, παρὰ τούτο καὶ τότε διεφερεν ἀλλήλων τὰ
5 πολιτεύματα. καθ’ οὖς γὰρ Ἀρχιγνώνιων πρότερον ἴσχυε καὶ πρότερον ευτύχει τῆς Ῥωμαίων, κατὰ τοσοῦτον ἡ μὲν Ἀρχιγνών ἡ δὴ τότε παρῆκ-
μαζεν, ἡ δὲ Ῥώμη μάλιστα τότ’ εἰχε τὴν ἀκμήν
6 κατὰ γε τὴν τῆς πολιτείας σύστασιν. διὸ καὶ τὴν πλείστην δύναμιν εἰς τοῖς διαβουλίοις παρὰ
μὲν Ἀρχιγνώνίως ὁ δῆμος ἡ δὲ μετειλήφει, παρὰ
7 δὲ Ῥωμαίως ἀκμήν εἰχεν ἡ σύγκλητος. ὅθεν
παρ’ οἷς μὲν τῶν πολλῶν βουλευομένων, παρ’
oῖς δὲ τῶν ἀρίστων, κατίσχει τὰ Ῥωμαίων
8 διαβούλια περὶ τὰς κοινὰς πράξεις. ἡ καὶ πτα-
σαντε τοῖς ὀλίου τῷ βουλεύονται καλῶς τέλος
ἐπεκράθησαν τῷ πολέμῳ τῶν Ἀρχιγνώνιων.
52 Τὰ γε μὴν κατὰ μέρος, οἶνον εἰθέως τὰ πρὸς
tὰς πολεμικὰς χρείας, τὸ μὲν πρὸς τὰς κατὰ βάλα-
tαν, ὅπερ εἰκός, ἀμεινον ἀσκοῦσι καὶ παρασκευά-
ζονται Ἀρχιγνώνιοι διὰ τὸ καὶ πάτριον αὐτοῖς
ὑπάρχειν ἐκ παλαιοῦ τὴν ἐμπειρίαν ταύτην καὶ
51. The constitution of Carthage seems to me to have been originally well contrived as regards its most distinctive points. For there were kings, and the house of Elders was an aristocratical force, and the people were supreme in matters proper to them, the entire frame of the state much resembling that of Rome and Sparta. But at the time when they entered on the Hannibalic War, the Carthaginian constitution had degenerated, and that of Rome was better. For as every body or state or action has its natural periods first of growth, then of prime, and finally of decay, and as everything in them is at its best when they are in their prime, it was for this reason that the difference between the two states manifested itself at this time. For by as much as the power and prosperity of Carthage had been earlier than that of Rome, by so much had Carthage already begun to decline; while Rome was exactly at her prime, as far at least as her system of government was concerned. Consequently the multitude at Carthage had already acquired the chief voice in deliberations; while at Rome the senate still retained this; and hence, as in one case the masses deliberated and in the other the most eminent men, the Roman decisions on public affairs were superior, so that although they met with complete disaster, they were finally by the wisdom of their counsels victorious over the Carthaginians in the war.

52. But to pass to differences of detail, such as, to begin with, the conduct of war, the Carthaginians naturally are superior at sea both in efficiency and equipment, because seamanship has long been their national craft, and they busy themselves with the sea
2 ἠλαττουργεῖν μάλιστα πάντων ἀνθρώπων, τὸ δὲ περὶ τὰς πεζικὰς χρείας πολὺ δὴ τὶ Ῥωμαῖοι πρὸς
3 τὸ βέλτιον ἀσκοῦσιν Καρχηδονίων. οἱ μὲν γὰρ
τὴν ὁλην περὶ τούτο ποιοῦνται σπουδήν, Καρχη-
δονοι δὲ τῶν μὲν πεζικῶν εἰς τέλος ὀλίγωρον,
tῶν δὲ ἐπεικῶν βραχείαν τινα ποιοῦνται πρόνοιαν.
4 αὐτὸν δὲ τούτων ἐστὶν ὃτι ξενικαῖς καὶ μισθοφόροις
χρῶνται δυνάμεισιν, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ ἐγχυρίσους καὶ
5 πολιτικαῖς. ἧ καὶ περὶ τούτο τὸ μέρος ταύτην
tὴν πολιτείαν ἀποδεκτέον ἐκεῖνης μᾶλλον. ἦ μὲν
gὰρ ἐν ταῖς τῶν μισθοφόρων ἐψυχήσεις ἔχει τὰς
ἐλπίδας ἀεὶ τῆς ἑλευθερίας, ἦ δὲ Ῥωμαῖων ἐν
tαῖς σφετέραις ἀρεταῖς καὶ ταῖς τῶν συμμάχων
6 ἐπαρκεῖσι. διὸ κἂν ποτὲ πταῖσοι κατὰ τὰς
ἀρχὰς, Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν ἀναμάχονται τοῖς ὅλοις,
7 Καρχηδόνοι δὲ τούναντιον. ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ ὑπὲρ
πατρίδος ἀγωνιζόμενοι καὶ τέκνων οὐδὲποτε δύ-
ναντι λήξαι τῆς ὀργῆς, ἀλλὰ μένουσι φυχομα-
8 χοῦντες, ἐως ἃν περιγένωνται τῶν ἐχθρῶν. διὸ
καὶ περὶ τὰς ναυτικὰς δυνάμεις πολὺ τι λειτόμενοι
Ῥωμαῖοι κατὰ τὴν ἐμπειρίαν, ὡς προεῖπον ἐπάνω,
tοῖς ὅλοις ἐπικρατοῦσι διὰ τὰς τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀρετάς.
9 καὶ περὶ γὰρ οὐ μικρὰ συμβαλλομένης εἰς τοὺς
κατὰ θαλατταν κινδύνους τῆς ναυτικῆς χρείας,
ὃμως ἡ τῶν ἐπιβατῶν ἐψυχία πλεῖστην παρ-
10 ἔχεται ῥπήγῃ εἰς τὸ νικᾶν. διαφέρουσι μὲν οὗ
καὶ φύσει πάντες Ἰταλιῶται Φοινίκων καὶ Διβύων
τῇ τε σωματικῇ ῥώμῃ καὶ ταῖς ψυχικαῖς τόλμαις·
μεγάλην δὲ καὶ διὰ τῶν ἐθισμῶν πρὸς τοῦτο τὸ
11 μέρος ποιοῦνται τῶν νέων παρόμοιοι. ἐν δὲ
ῥηθέν ἰκανῶν ἔσται σημεῖον τῆς τοῦ πολιτεύματος
σπουδῆς, ἂν ποιεῖται περὶ τὸ τοιούτου ἀπο-
more than any other people; but as regards military service on land the Romans are much more efficient. They indeed devote their whole energies to this matter, whereas the Carthaginians entirely neglect their infantry, though they do pay some slight attention to their cavalry. The reason of this is that the troops they employ are foreign and mercenary, whereas those of the Romans are natives of the soil and citizens. So that in this respect also we must pronounce the political system of Rome to be superior to that of Carthage, the Carthaginians continuing to depend for the maintenance of their freedom on the courage of a mercenary force but the Romans on their own valour and on the aid of their allies. Consequently even if they happen to be worsted at the outset, the Romans redeem defeat by final success, while it is the contrary with the Carthaginians. For the Romans, fighting as they are for their country and their children, never can abate their fury but continue to throw their whole hearts into the struggle until they get the better of their enemies. It follows that though the Romans are, as I said, much less skilled in naval matters, they are on the whole successful at sea owing to the gallantry of their men; for although skill in seamanship is of no small importance in naval battles, it is chiefly the courage of the marines that turns the scale in favour of victory. Now not only do Italians in general naturally excel Phoenicians and Africans in bodily strength and personal courage, but by their institutions also they do much to foster a spirit of bravery in the young men. A single instance will suffice to indicate the pains taken by the state to turn out men who will be ready to endure
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telein andras oiste pan upomenein xarini to v tuxevn en tis patridi tis ep' areti phi'mis.

53 'Otan gar metallazi tis par' autois twn epifanovn androvn, synteloumenh tis ekforas komi-zetai meta tov loipou koumou pro's touis kalou-menos embolous eis tivn angoran pote men estw8

2 enarhias, spanwos de katakeklueunos. periex de pantos tov dhemou saptatos, anaebas eti tov
embolov, an men vidos en thekia katalieptai kai tyxh paron, ootos, ei de mh, twn allwn e'i
tis ap' genvous uparxei, legei peri tou teteluentikotos tas aretas kai tais episteteugmenas en

3 tiv zhen praxeis. di' oin sumbainei toous pollous
anammainiskomenous kai lamfanoitas upo tivn
omw ta gegovota, mh monon toous kekonwvnikotas
tovn erony, alla kai toous ekto's, ep tosooton
ginethai sumpatheis ooste mh twn kathedonton
idion, alla konwv tov dhemov fainsethai to sum-

4 ptwma. mete de tauta thasantes kai poishantes ta
vomizomeva tithesei tivn eikon tov metallazantos
eis ton epifanestiata ton topon tis oikias, xylina
5 naidia peritiqentas. h di eikwn esti proswpon
eis omouqta diapherontos exerxivnmen kai
6 katasa tivn plasiw kai katasa tivn upographin.

tau-
tas h tiv eikonas ev te tais demotelisei thsiai
anoigontes koumoudi filotimwv, epave te tivw
oikeivn metallazi tis epifanis, agousw eis
tivn ekforan, peritiqentes wos omouqtais eivai
dokousa katasa te to megethos kai tivn allin peri-
kopon. otoi de prosanalambaounouv esthitas,
ev men upatos h stratagwos h gegovos, peri-
porfrous, evn de timeti, porfura, evn de kai

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everything in order to gain a reputation in their country for valour.

53. Whenever any illustrious man dies, he is carried at his funeral into the forum to the so-called rostra, sometimes conspicuous in an upright posture and more rarely reclined. Here with all the people standing round, a grown-up son, if he has left one who happens to be present, or if not some other relative mounts the rostra and discourses on the virtues and successful achievements of the dead. As a consequence the multitude and not only those who had a part in these achievements, but those also who had none, when the facts are recalled to their minds and brought before their eyes, are moved to such sympathy that the loss seems to be not confined to the mourners, but a public one affecting the whole people. Next after the interment and the performance of the usual ceremonies, they place the image of the departed in the most conspicuous position in the house, enclosed in a wooden shrine. This image is a mask reproducing with remarkable fidelity both the features and complexion of the deceased. On the occasion of public sacrifices they display these images, and decorate them with much care, and when any distinguished member of the family dies they take them to the funeral, putting them on men who seem to them to bear the closest resemblance to the original in stature and carriage. These representatives wear togas, with a purple border if the deceased was a consul or praetor, whole purple if he was a censor, and embroidered with gold if he
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

tetraíambeukós ἥ τι τοιοῦτον κατειργασμένος, 8 διαχρύσουσ. αὐτοὶ μὲν οὖν ἔφ' ἀρμάτων οὗτοι πορεύονται, ῥάβδοι δὲ καὶ πελέκεις καὶ τάλλα τὰ ταῖς ἀρχαίς εἰσώθησαν συμπαρακεῖσθαι προηγεῖται κατὰ τὴν ἄξιαν ἐκάστῳ τῆς γεγενημένης κατὰ τὸν βίων ἐν τῇ πολυτείᾳ προαγωγῆς, ὅταν δ' ἐπὶ τοὺς 9 ἐμβόλους ἐλθὼς, καθέζονται πάντες ἐξῆς ἐπὶ δίφρων ἐλεφαντῖνων. οὐ κάλλιον οὖκ εὑμαρέσ 10 ἵδειν θέαμα νέῳ φιλοδόξῳ καὶ φιλαγάθῳ τὸ γὰρ τὰς τῶν ἐπ' ἀρετὴ δεδοξασμένων ἀνδρῶν εἰκόνας ἢδειν ὁμοὶ πάσας οἷον εἰ ξώοις καὶ πεπνυμένας τῖν οὐκ ἄν παραστήσαι; τί δ' ἄν κάλλιον θέαμα τούτου 54 φανείη; πλὴν δ' γε λέγων ὑπὲρ τοῦ θάππεσθαι μέλλοντος, ἐπὶ πάντα τὸν περὶ τούτου λόγον, ἀρχεῖται τῶν ἄλλων ἀπὸ τοῦ προγενεστάτου τῶν παρόντων, καὶ λέγει τὰς ἐπιτυχίας ἐκάστου καὶ 2 τὰς πράξεις. ἐξ ὧν κανοποιομένης ἀεὶ τῶν ἀγα-θῶν ἄνδρῶν τῆς ἐπ' ἀρετὴ φήμης ἀθανατίζεται μὲν ἡ τῶν καλῶν τὶ διαπραξαμένων εὐκλεία, γνώριμος δὲ τοῖς πολλοῖς καὶ παράδοσίμῳ τοῖς ἐπιγνωμένοις ἡ τῶν εὐεργετησάντων τὴν πατρίδα γίνεται δόξα. 3 τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, οἱ νέοι παρορμώνται πρὸς τὸ πᾶν ὑπομένειν ὑπὲρ τῶν κοινῶν πραγμάτων χάριν τοῦ τυχεῖν τῆς συνακολούθουσας τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς τῶν ἀν- 4 δρῶν εὐκλείας. πίστων δ' ἔχει τὸ λεγόμενον ἐκ τούτων. πολλοὶ μὲν γὰρ ἐμονομάχησαν ἐκουσίως Ρωμαίων ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν ὅλων κρίσεως, οὐκ ἄλλοι δὲ προδήλους ἐστὶν τανάτους, τινὲς μὲν ἐν πο-λέμῳ τῆς τῶν ἄλλων ἐνεκεν σωτηρίας, τινὲς δ' ἐν εἰρήνῃ χάριν τῆς τῶν κοινῶν πραγμάτων ἀσφαλείας. 5 καὶ μὴν ἀρχαὶ ἔχοντες ἐνοῦ τοὺς ἴδιους νῖους παρὰ πάν ἔθος ἡ νόμον ἀπέκτειναν, περὶ πλείονοι 390
had celebrated a triumph or achieved anything similar. They all ride in chariots preceded by the fasces, axes, and other insignia by which the different magistrates are wont to be accompanied according to the respective dignity of the offices of state held by each during his life; and when they arrive at the rostra they all seat themselves in a row on ivory chairs. There could not easily be a more ennobling spectacle for a young man who aspires to fame and virtue. For who would not be inspired by the sight of the images of men renowned for their excellence, all together and as if alive and breathing? What spectacle could be more glorious than this? 54. Besides, he who makes the oration over the man about to be buried, when he has finished speaking of him recounts the successes and exploits of the rest whose images are present, beginning from the most ancient. By this means, by this constant renewal of the good report of brave men, the celebrity of those who performed noble deeds is rendered immortal, while at the same time the fame of those who did good service to their country becomes known to the people and a heritage for future generations. But the most important result is that young men are thus inspired to endure every suffering for the public welfare in the hope of winning the glory that attends on brave men. What I say is confirmed by the facts. For many Romans have voluntarily engaged in single combat in order to decide a battle, not a few have faced certain death, some in war to save the lives of the rest, and others in peace to save the republic. Some even when in office have put their own sons to death contrary to every law or custom, setting a higher value on
ποιούμενοι τὸ τῆς πατρίδος συμφέρον τῆς κατὰ φύσιν οἰκείοτήτος πρὸς τούς ἀναγκαιοτάτους.

6 Πολλὰ μὲν οὖν τοιαύτα καὶ περὶ πολλῶν ἱστο-

καὶ παρὰ Ἦρωμαιοις· ἐν δὲ ἀρκοῦν ἔσται πρὸς τὸ παρὸν ἐπ᾽ ὀνόματος ρήθην ὑποδείγματος καὶ πίστεως ἔνεκεν. Κόκλην γὰρ λέγεται τὸν ὘ράτιον ἐπικληθέντα, διαγωνιζόμενον πρὸς δύο τῶν ὑπεναν-
tίων ἐπὶ τῷ καταντικρῷ τῆς γεφύρας πέρατι τῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ Τιβέριδος, ἥ κεῖται πρὸ τῆς πόλεως, ἐπεὶ πλῆθος ἐπιφερόμενον εἶδε τῶν βοηθοῦντων τοῖς πολεμίοις, δείσαντα μὴ βιασάμενοι παραπέσωσιν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, βοῶν ἐπιστραφέντα τοῖς κατόπιν ὡς τάχος ἀναχωρῆσαντας διαστᾶν τὴν γέφυραν.

2 τῶν δὲ πειθαρχησάντων, ἑως μὲν οὗτοι διέστων, ὑπέμενε τραυμάτων πλῆθος ἀναδεχόμενος καὶ διακατέσχε τὴν ἐπιφορὰν τῶν ἔχθρῶν, οὐχ οὗτως τὴν δύναμιν ὡς τὴν ὑπόστασιν αὐτοῦ καὶ τόλμαν καταπεπληγμένων τῶν ὑπεναντίων· διασπασθείσης δὲ τῆς γεφύρας, οἱ μὲν πολέμιοι τῆς ὀρμῆς ἐκωλυ-

θησαν, δὲ Κόκλης ρίψας ἐαυτὸν εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις κατὰ προαίρεσιν μετήλλαξε τὸν βίον, περὶ πλείονος ποιησάμενος τὴν τῆς πατρίδος ἀσφάλειαν καὶ τὴν ἐσομένην μετὰ ταύτα περὶ αὐτὸν εὐκλειαν τῆς παρουσίας ζωῆς καὶ τοῦ κατα-

λειπομένου βίου. τοιαύτῃ τις, ὡς έοικε, διὰ τῶν παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἐθισμῶν ἐγγεννᾶται τοῖς νέοις ὀρμῇ καὶ φιλοτιμία πρὸς τὰ καλὰ τῶν ἔργων.

456 Καὶ μὴν τὰ περὶ τοὺς χρηματισμοὺς ἔθη καὶ νόμιμα βελτίων παρὰ Ἦρωμαιοις ἐστὶν ἡ παρὰ Καρ-

χιδονίοις. παρ᾽ οἷς μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν αἰσχρὸν τῶν ἀνηκόντων πρὸς κέρδος, παρ᾽ οἷς δὲ οὐδὲν αἰσχιον

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the interest of their country than on the ties of nature that bound them to their nearest and dearest.

Many such stories about many men are related in Roman history, but one told of a certain person will suffice for the present as an example and as a confirmation of what I say. 55. It is narrated that when Horatius Cocles was engaged in combat with two of the enemy at the far end of the bridge over the Tiber that lies in the front of the town, he saw large reinforcements coming up to help the enemy, and fearing lest they should force the passage and get into the town, he turned round and called to those behind him to retire and cut the bridge with all speed. His order was obeyed, and while they were cutting the bridge, he stood to his ground receiving many wounds, and arrested the attack of the enemy who were less astonished at his physical strength than at his endurance and courage. The bridge once cut, the enemy were prevented from attacking; and Cocles, plunging into the river in full armour as he was, deliberately sacrificed his life, regarding the safety of his country and the glory which in future would attach to his name as of more importance than his present existence and the years of life which remained to him. Such, if I am not wrong, is the eager emulation of achieving noble deeds engendered in the Roman youth by their institutions.

56. Again, the laws and customs relating to the acquisition of wealth are better in Rome than at Carthage. At Carthage nothing which results in profit is regarded as disgraceful; at Rome nothing

* According to Livy (whom Macaulay follows) Horatius swam across and was saved.
τοῦ διωροδοκείσθαι καὶ τοῦ πλεονεκτεῖν ἀπὸ τῶν
μὴ καθηκόντων· καθ’ ὧσον γὰρ ἐν καλῷ τίθενται
tὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ κρατίστου χρηματισμὸν, κατὰ τοσοῦτο
πάλιν ἐν οὐνεῖδε ποιοῦνται τὴν ἐκ τῶν ἀπειρημένων
πλεονεξίαν. σημείων δὲ τούτῳ· παρὰ μὲν Καρχηδο-
νίοις δόμα φανερῶς διδόντες λαμβάνουσι τὰς ἀρχὰς,
παρὰ δὲ Ἄρωμαίοις θάνατός ἐστὶ περὶ τούτο
5 πρόστιμον. ὅθεν τῶν ἀθλῶν τῆς ἀρετῆς ἐναντίων
τιθεμένων παρ’ ἀμφοῖν, εἰκὸς ἀνόμων εἶναι καὶ
tὴν παρασκευὴν ἐκατέρων πρὸς ταῦτα.
6 Μεγίστην δὲ μοι δοκεῖ διαφορὰν ἔχειν τὸ Ἄρω-
μαίων πολίτευμα πρὸς βέλτιον ἐν τῇ περὶ θεῶν
 διαλήψει. καὶ μοι δοκεῖ τὸ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις
ἀνθρώποις οἰνειδίζομενοι, τούτο συνέχειν τὰ Ἄρω-
μαίων πράγματα, λέγω δὲ τὴν δεισιδαιμονίαν
ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον γὰρ ἑκτετραγώγηται καὶ παρεισ-
ήκται τούτῳ τὸ μέρος παρ’ αὐτοῖς εἰς τε τοὺς
κατ’ ἰδίαν βίους καὶ τὰ κοινὰ τῆς πόλεως ὡστε
μὴ καταλαπεῖν ὑπερβολῆν. ὃ καὶ δόξειν ἂν
9 πολλοῖς εἶναι θαυμᾶσιν. ἐμοὶ γε μὴν δοκοῦσι
τοῦ πλήθους χάριν τούτο πεποιηκέναι. εἰ μὲν
γὰρ ἴδιοις ἀνδρῶν πολίτευμα συγκαγέζειν,
11 ἰσως οὐδὲν ἢν ἀναγκαίος ὁ τοιοῦτος τρόπος· ἐπεὶ
dὲ πάν πλήθος ἐστὶν ἐλαφρὸν καὶ πλῆρες ἐπιθυμιῶν
παρανόμων, ὤργῆς ἀλόγου, θυμοῦ βιαίου, λείπεται
tοῖς ἀδήλοις φόβοις καὶ τῇ τοιαύτῃ τραγῳδίᾳ τὰ
12 πλήθη συνέχειν. διόπερ οἱ παλαιοὶ δοκοῦσι μοι
tὰς περὶ θεῶν ἐννοίας καὶ τὰς ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν ἂν
διαλήψεις οὐκ εἰκῇ καὶ ὡς ἐτυχεν εἰς τὰ πλήθη
παρεισαγαγεῖν, πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον οἱ νῦν εἰκῇ καὶ
13 ἀλόγως ἐκβάλλειν αὐτά. τοιγαροῦν χωρὶς τῶν
is considered more so than to accept bribes and seek gain from improper channels. For no less strong than their approval of money-making by respectable means is their condemnation of unscrupulous gain from forbidden sources. A proof of this is that at Carthage candidates for office practise open bribery, whereas at Rome death is the penalty for it. Therefore as the rewards offered to merit are the opposite in the two cases, it is natural that the steps taken to gain them should also be dissimilar.

But the quality in which the Roman commonwealth is most distinctly superior is in my opinion the nature of their religious convictions. I believe that it is the very thing which among other peoples is an object of reproach, I mean superstition, which maintains the cohesion of the Roman State. These matters are clothed in such pomp and introduced to such an extent into their public and private life that nothing could exceed it, a fact which will surprise many. My own opinion at least is that they have adopted this course for the sake of the common people. It is a course which perhaps would not have been necessary had it been possible to form a state composed of wise men, but as every multitude is fickle, full of lawless desires, unreasoned passion, and violent anger, the multitude must be held in by invisible terrors and suchlike pageantry. For this reason I think, not that the ancients acted rashly and at haphazard in introducing among the people notions concerning the gods and beliefs in the terrors of hell, but that the moderns are most rash and foolish in banishing such beliefs. The consequence is that among the Greeks, apart from
VIII.

57 Ὅτι μὲν οὖν πᾶσι τοῖς οὖσιν ὑπόκειται φθορά καὶ μεταβολὴ σχεδὸν οὐ προσθεὶ λόγων· ἵκανὴ γὰρ ἡ τῆς φύσεως ἀνάγκη παραστῆσαι τὴν τοιαύτην 2 πίστιν. δυσὶ δὲ τρόπων ὄντων, καθ' οὓς φθείρεσθαι πέφυκε πᾶν γένος πολιτείας, τοῦ μὲν ἐξώθεν, τοῦ δ' ἐν αὐτοῖς φυομένου, τὸν μὲν ἐκτὸς ἄστατον ἔχειν συμβαίνει τὴν θεωρίαν, τὸν δ' ἐξ αὐτῶν 3 τεταγμένην. τὶ μὲν δὴ πρῶτον φύεται γένος πολιτείας καὶ τὶ δεύτερον, καὶ τῶς εἰς ἄλληλα 4 μεταπίπτοντωσι, ἔιρηται πρόσθεν ἡμῖν, ὡστε τοὺς δυναμένους τὰς ἀρχὰς τῷ τέλει συνάπτειν τῆς ἐνεστώτης ὑποθέσεως κἂν αὐτοῖς ἥδη προειπεῖν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μέλλοντος. ἔστι δ', ὡς ἐγώμαι, δῆλον. 5 ὅταν γὰρ πολλοὺς καὶ μεγάλους κινδύνους διωσαμένη πολιτεία μετὰ ταῦτα εἰς ὑπεροχὴν καὶ δυναστείαν ἀδήριτον ἀφίκηται, φανερὸν ὡς εἰσοικε-
other things, members of the government, if they are entrusted with no more than a talent, though they have ten copyists and as many seals and twice as many witnesses, cannot keep their faith; whereas among the Romans those who as magistrates and legates are dealing with large sums of money maintain correct conduct just because they have pledged their faith by oath. Whereas elsewhere it is a rare thing to find a man who keeps his hands off public money, and whose record is clean in this respect, among the Romans one rarely comes across a man who has been detected in such conduct.

VIII

Conclusion of the Treatise on the Roman Republic

57. That all existing things are subject to decay and change is a truth that scarcely needs proof; for the course of nature is sufficient to force this conviction on us. There being two agencies by which every kind of state is liable to decay, the one external and the other a growth of the state itself, we can lay down no fixed rule about the former, but the latter is a regular process. I have already stated what kind of state is the first to come into being, and what the next, and how the one is transformed into the other; so that those who are capable of connecting the opening propositions of this inquiry with its conclusion will now be able to foretell the future unaided. And what will happen is, I think, evident. When a state has weathered many great perils and subsequently attains to supremacy and uncontested sovereignty, it is evident that under
ξομένης εἰς αὐτὴν ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς εὐδαιμονίας συμβαίνει τοὺς μὲν βίους γίνεσθαι πολυτελεστέρους, τοὺς δὲ ἄνδρας φιλονεικότερους τοῦ δέοντος
6 περὶ τε τὰς ἁρχὰς καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἐπιβολάς. ὃν προβαινόντων ἐπὶ πλέον ἁρξεῖ μὲν τῆς ἐπὶ τὸ χείρον μεταβολῆς ἡ φιλαρχία καὶ τὸ τῆς ἀδοξίας ὑνειδος, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἀνὴρ τοὺς βίους ἀλα-
7 ἥνεια καὶ πολυτελεια, λήψεται δὲ τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν τῆς μεταβολῆς ὁ δήμος, ὅταν ὑφ’ ὃν μὲν ἀδικεῖ-
θαι δόξη διὰ τὴν πλεονεξίαν, ὑφ’ ὃν δὲ χαυνοθῆ
8 κολακεύομενοι διὰ τὴν φιλαρχίαν. τότε γὰρ ἐξ-
οργισθεὶς καὶ θυμῷ πάντα βουλεύομενος οὐκέτι 
θελήσει πειθαρχεῖν οὔτ’ ἵσον ἔχειν τοῖς προεστῶσιν,
9 ἀλλὰ πάν καὶ τὸ πλεῖστον αὐτὸς. οὐ γενομένου 
tῶν μὲν ὀνομάτων τὸ κάλλιστον ἡ πολιτεία μετα-
lήψεται, τὴν ἐλευθερίαν καὶ δημοκρατίαν, τῶν 
δὲ πραγμάτων τὸ χείρον, τὴν ὁχλοκρατίαν.
10 Ἦμεις δ’ ἐπειδὴ τὴν τε σύστασιν καὶ τὴν αὐ-
ζησιν τῆς πολιτείας, ἔτι δὲ τὴν ἀκμὴν καὶ τὴν 
διάθεσιν, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τὴν διαφορὰν πρὸς τὰς 
ἄλλας τοῦ τε χείρονος ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ βελτίων διελ-
λύθημεν, τῶν μὲν περὶ τῆς πολιτείας λόγον ὃδέ 
τη καταστρέφομεν.

5 Τῶν δὲ συναπτόντων μερῶν τῆς ἱστορίας τοῖς 
καιροῖς, ἂφ’ ὃν παρεξέβημεν, παραλαβόντες ἐπὶ 
βραχὺ μᾶς πράξεως ποιησόμεθα κεφαλαίωδη 
μνήμην, ἵνα μὴ τῷ λόγῳ μόνον ἄλλα καὶ τοῖς 
πράγμασιν, ὥσπερ ἄγαθον τεχνίτον δείγμα τῶν 
ἔργων ἐν τι προενεγκάμενοι, φανερὰν ποιήσωμεν 
tῆς πολιτείας τὴν ἀκμὴν καὶ δύναμιν, οἷα τοῖς ἦν
2 κατ’ ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους. Ἀναίμης γὰρ ἐπειδὴ

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the influence of long established prosperity, life will become more extravagant and the citizens more fierce in their rivalry regarding office and other objects than they ought to be. As these defects go on increasing, the beginning of the change for the worse will be due to love of office and the disgrace entailed by obscurity, as well as to extravagance and purse-proud display; and for this change the populace will be responsible when on the one hand they think they have a grievance against certain people who have shown themselves grasping, and when, on the other hand, they are puffed up by the flattery of others who aspire to office. For now, stirred to fury and swayed by passion in all their counsels, they will no longer consent to obey or even to be the equals of the ruling caste, but will demand the lion’s share for themselves. When this happens, the state will change its name to the finest sounding of all, freedom and democracy, but will change its nature to the worst thing of all, mob-rule.

Having dealt with the origin and growth of the Roman Republic, and with its prime and its present condition, and also with the differences for better or worse between it and others, I may now close this discourse more or less so.

58. But, drawing now upon the period immediately subsequent to the date at which I abandoned my narrative to enter on this digression, I will make brief and summary mention of one occurrence; so that, as if exhibiting a single specimen of a good artist’s work, I may make manifest not by words only but by actual fact the perfection and strength of principle of the Republic such as it then was.
τῇ περὶ Κάνναν μάχη περιγενόμενος ἩΡωμαίων ἐγκρατῆς ἐγένετο τῶν τῶν χάρακα φυλαττόντων ὁκτακιακῆς, ξωγήτσας ἀπαντᾶς συνεχώρησε διαπέμπεσθαι σφίσι πρὸς τοὺς ἐν οἴκῳ περὶ λύ-3 τρων καὶ σωτηρίας. τῶν δὲ προχειρισμένων δέκα τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους, ὄρκίσας ἡ μὴν ἔπαυ-4 ἦσεν πρὸς αὐτόν, ἔξεπεμψε τούτους. εἰς δὲ τῶν προχειρισθέντων ἐκπορευόμενος ἐκ τοῦ χάρακας ἡδη, καὶ τὶ φήσας ἐπιλελήσθαι, πάλιν ἀνέκαμψε, καὶ λαβὼν τὸ καταλειψθέν τιθὲς ἀπελύετο, νομίζων διὰ τῆς ἀναχωρήσεως τετηρηκέναι τὴν πίστιν 5 καὶ λειπεῖσθαι τὸν ὅρκον. ὃν παραγενομένων εἰς τὴν ἩΡώμην, καὶ δεομένων καὶ παρακαλού-των τὴν σύγκλητον μὴ φθονῆσαι τοῖς ἐκαλωκόσι τῆς σωτηρίας, ἀλλ' ἔσαι τρεῖς μνάς ἐκαστὸν καταβαλόντα σωθῆναι πρὸς τοὺς ἀναγκαίους· τούτο 6 γὰρ συγχωρεῖν ἐφασαν τὸν Ὀὐνίβαν· εἶναι δ' ἄξιοις σωτηρίας αὐτοὺς· οὔτε γὰρ ἀποδεδειλα-κέναι κατὰ τὴν μάχην οὔτ' ἀνάξιον οὔθεν πεποιη-κέναι τῆς ἩΡώμης, ἀλλ' ἀπολειφθέντας τὸν χάρακα τηρεῖν, πάντων ἀπολομένων τῶν ἄλλων ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τῷ καιρῷ περιληφθέντας ὑποχειρίους γενε-7 σθαι τοῖς πολεμίοις. ἩΡωμαῖοι δὲ μεγάλοις κατὰ τὰς μάχὰς περιπετεωκότες ἐλαττώμασι, πάντων δ' ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν ἐστιερημένῳ τότε τῶν συμμάχων, ὅσον οὔπω δὲ προσδοκῶντο τὸν περὶ τῆς πατρίδος 8 αὐτοῖς ἐκφέρεσθαι κίνδυνον, διακούσαντες τῶν λεγομένων οὔτε τοῦ πρόποντος αὐτοῖς εἰςαντε τοῖς συμφοραῖς ωλιγώρησαν οὔτε τῶν δεόντων 9 οὔθεν τοῖς λογισμοῖς παρείδουν, ἀλλὰ συνιδόντες τὴν Ὀὐνίβου πρόθεσιν, ὅτι βούλεται διὰ τῆς πρά-ξεως ταύτης ἀμα μὲν εὐπορῆσαι χρημάτων, ἀμα 400
Hannibal, when, after his victory over the Romans at Cannae, the eight thousand who garrisoned the camp fell into his hands, after making them all prisoners, allowed them to send a deputation to those at home on the subject of their ransom and release. Upon their naming ten of their most distinguished members, he sent them off after making them swear that they would return to him. One of those nominated just as he was going out of the camp said he had forgotten something and went back, and after recovering the thing he had left behind again took his departure, thinking that by his return he had kept his faith and absolved himself of his oath. Upon their arrival in Rome they begged and entreated the senate not to grudge the prisoners their release, but to allow each of them to pay three minae and return to his people; for Hannibal, they said, had made this concession. The men deserved to be released, for they had neither been guilty of cowardice in the battle nor had they done anything unworthy of Rome; but having been left behind to guard the camp, they had, when all the rest had perished in the battle, been forced to yield to circumstances and surrender to the enemy. But the Romans, though they had met with severe reverses in the war, and had now, roughly speaking, lost all their allies and were in momentary expectation of Rome itself being placed in peril, after listening to this plea, neither disregarded their dignity under the pressure of calamity, nor neglected to take into consideration every proper step; but seeing that Hannibal’s object in acting thus was both to obtain funds and to deprive the troops
δε το φιλότητον εν ταϊς μάχαις ἔξελέσθαι τῶν ἀντιταττομένων, ὑποδείξας ὅτι τοῖς ἡττημένοις ὁμως ἔλεις ἀπολείπεται σωτηρία, τοσούτ' ἀπέσχον τοῦ ποιήσαι τι τῶν ἀξιουμένων ὡστ' οὔτε τού τῶν οἰκείων ἔλεον οὔτε τὰς ἐκ τῶν ἀνδρῶν εὐσμένας χρείας ἐποιήσαντο περὶ πλείονος, ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν Ἀννίβου λογισμοὺς καὶ τὰς ἐν τούτοις ἐλπίδας ἀπέδειξαν κενάς, ἀπειπάμενοι τὴν διαλύτρωσιν τῶν ἀνδρῶν, τοῖς δὲ παρ' αὐτῶν ἐνομοθέτησαν ἡ νικάν μαχομένοις ἡ θυήσκειν, ὡς ἄλλης οὐδεμίας ἐλπίδος ύπαρχούσης εἰς σωτηρίαν αὐτοῖς ἦττω- μένοις. διὸ καὶ ταῦτα προσέμενοι τοὺς μὲν ἐννέα τῶν προσβεντῶν ἐθελοντὴν κατὰ τὸν ὄρκον ἀναχωροῦντας ἐξέπεμψαν, τὸν δὲ σοφισάμενον πρὸς τὸ λύσαι τὸν ὄρκον δήσαντες ἀποκατέστησαν πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους, ὡστε τὸν Ἀννίβαν μὴ τοσοῦτον χαρῆναι νικήσαντα τῇ μάχῃ 'Ρωμαίοις ὡς συντριβήναι καταπλαγέντα τὸ στόσιμον καί τὸ μεγαλόψυχον τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐν τοῖς διαβουλίοις.) [Cod. Urb. fol. 94v.]
opposed to him of their high spirit, by showing that, even if defeated, they might hope for safety, they were so far from acceding to this request, that they did not allow their pity for their kinsmen, or the consideration of the service the men would render them, to prevail, but defeated Hannibal’s calculations and the hopes he had based on them by refusing to ransom the men, and at the same time imposed by law on their own troops the duty of either conquering or dying on the field, as there was no hope of safety for them if defeated. Therefore after coming to this decision they dismissed the nine delegates who returned of their own free will, as bound by their oath, while as for the man who had thought to free himself from the oath by a ruse they put him in irons and returned him to the enemy; so that Hannibal’s joy at his victory in the battle was not so great as his dejection, when he saw with amazement how steadfast and high-spirited were the Romans in their deliberations.
FRAGMENTA LIBRI VII

I. Res Italiae

1 Πολύβιος δ' ἐν τῇ ἑβδόμῃ "Καπνησίους τοὺς ἐν Καμπανίᾳ διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν τῆς γῆς πλοῦτον περιβαλομένους ἐξοκείλαι εἰς τρυφὴν καὶ πολυτέλειαν, ὑπερβαλλομένους τὴν περὶ Κρότωνα καὶ 2 Σύβαριν παραδεδομένην φήμην. οὐ δυνάμενοι οὖν, φησί, φέρειν τὴν παροῦσαν εύδαιμονίαν ἐκάλουν τὸν Ἀννίβαν. διόπερ ὑπὸ Ὁρμαίων ανήκεστα 3 δεινὰ ἔπαθον. Πετχλίνοι δὲ τηρῆσαντες τὴν πρὸς Ὁρμαίους πίστιν εἰς τοσοῦτον καρτερίας ἔλθον πολιορκοῦμενοι ὑπ’ Ἀννίβα ὥστε μετὰ τὸ πάντα μὲν τὰ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν δέρματα καταφαγεῖν, ἀπάντων δὲ τῶν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν δένδρων τοὺς φλοιοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἀπαλοὺς πτώρθους ἀναλώσαι, καὶ ἐνδέκα μῆνας ὑπομείναντες τὴν πολιορκίαν, οὐδενὸς βοηθοῦντος, συνενδοκοῦντων Ὁρμαίων παρέδοσαν ἓαυτούς." [Athenaeus xii. 36, p. 528 a.]

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1. Polybius in his seventh Book says that the people of Capua in Campania, having acquired great wealth owing to the fertility of their soil, fell into habits of luxury and extravagance surpassing even the reports handed down to us concerning Croton and Sybaris. Being unable, then, to support the burden of their prosperity they called in Hannibal, and for this received from the Romans a chastisement which utterly ruined them. But the people of Petelia who remained loyal to Rome suffered such privation, when besieged by Hannibal, that after eating all the leather in the city and consuming the bark and tender shoots of all the trees in it, having now endured the siege for eleven months without being relieved, they surrendered with the approval of the Romans.

* From Athenaeus xii. 528 a.
II. Res Siciliae

2 "Oti metà tòn ἐπιβουλὴν τὴν κατὰ Ἰερωνύμου τοῦ βασιλέως Συρακοσίων, ἐκχωρήσαντος τοῦ Ἐράσωνος, οἱ περὶ τὸν Ζώιππον καὶ Ἀδρανόδωρον πείθουσι τὸν Ἰερώνυμον εὐθέως προσβευτὰς πρὸς τὸν Ἀννίβαν πέμψαι. προχειρισάμενος δὲ Πολύκλειτον <τὸν> Κυρηναίον καὶ Φιλόδημον τὸν Ἀργείον, τούτους μὲν εἰς Ἰταλίαν ἀπέστειλε, δοὺς ἐντολὰς λαλεῖν ὑπὲρ κοινοπραγίας τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις, ἀμὴ δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς εἰς Ἀλε-κράδας καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν νεώτερον

3 Ξάνδρειαν ἀπέπεμψεν. Ἀννίβας δὲ τοὺς περὶ Πολύκλειτον καὶ Φιλόδημον ἀποδεξάμενος φιλανθρώπως, καὶ πολλὰς ἐλπίδας ὑπογράψας τῷ μειρακίῳ [Ἰερωνύμῳ], σπουδὴ πάλιν ἀπέπεμψι τοὺς πρέσβεις, σὺν δὲ τούτοις Ἀννίβαν τὸν Καρχη-δόνιον, ὃντα τότε τρυῆραρχον, καὶ τοὺς Συρακοσίους Ἰπποκράτην καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν νεώτερον

4 Ἐπικύδην. συνέβαινε δὲ τούτους τοὺς ἄνδρας καὶ πλεῖσι χρόνον ἡδὴ στρατεύεσθαι μετ’ Ἀννίβου, πολιτευομένους παρὰ Καρχηδονίοις διὰ τὸ φεύγειν αὐτῶν τὸν πάππον ἐκ Συρακοσῶν δόξαντα προσ-εινοχέναι τὰς χεῖρας ἐνὶ τῶν Ἀγαθοκλέους

5 νῦν Ἀγαθάρχω. παραγενομένων δὲ τούτων εἰς τὰς Συρακούσας, καὶ τῶν μὲν περὶ Πολύκλειτον ἀποπρεσβευσάντων, τοῦ δὲ Καρχηδονίου διάλεχθεντος κατὰ τὰς ὑπ’ Ἀννίβου δεδομένας ἐντολάς, εὐθέως ἑτοιμὸς ἦν κοινωνεῖν Καρχηδονίοις τῶν

6 πραγμάτων καὶ τὸν τε παραγεγονότα πρὸς αὐτὸν Ἀννίβαν ἐφη δεῖν πορεύεσθαι κατὰ τάχος εἰς τὴν Καρχηδόνα, καὶ παρ’ αὐτοῦ συμπέμπειν

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BOOK VII. 2. 1 – 6

II

AFFAIRS OF SYCILY

Hieronymus of Syracuse

2. After the plot against King Hieronymus of Syracuse, Thraso having withdrawn, Zoïppus and Adranodorus persuaded Hieronymus to send an embassy at once to Hannibal. Appointing Polycleitus of Cyrene and Philodemus of Argos he dispatched them to Italy with orders to discuss a joint plan of action with the Carthaginians. At the same time he sent his brothers to Alexandria. Hannibal gave a courteous reception to Polycleitus and Philodemus, held out many hopes to the youthful king, and sent the ambassadors back without delay accompanied by the Carthaginian Hannibal, who was then commander of the triremes, and the Syracusans, Hippocrates and his brother the younger Epicydes. These two brothers had been serving for some time under Hannibal, having adopted Carthage as their country, since their grandfather had been exiled because he was thought to have assassinated Agatharchus, one of the sons of Agathocles. On their arrival at Syracuse Polycleitus and his colleague having presented their report, and the Carthaginian having spoken as Hannibal had directed, the king at once showed a disposition to side with the Carthaginians. He said that this Hannibal who had come to him must proceed at once to Carthage,
ΤΗΣ ΗΙΣΤΟΡΙΑΣ ΤΟΥ ΠΟΛΥΒΙΟΥ

3 Κατά δὲ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον ὁ τεταγμένος ἐπὶ Διονυσίον στρατηγὸς τῶν 'Ρωμαίων <ταῦτα πυθμένος> ἐπεμιήσατο πρὸς Ἰερώνυμον πρέσβεις τοὺς ἀνανεωσομένους τὰς πρὸς τοὺς προγόνους αὐτοῦ συντεθεμένας συνθήκας. ὁ δὲ Ἰερώνυμος ἔτ' ἔγνω ἐπόντων τῶν προσβετῶν [ἐπὶ ἐν μίσει ὅντων] τῶν Καρχηδονίων, ἔφη συλλυπεῖσθαι τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ὅτι κακοὶ κακῶς ἔτ' ταῖς κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν μάχαις ἀπολόλασιν ὑπὸ Καρχηδονίων.

3 τῶν δὲ καταπλαγέντων τὴν ἀστοχίαν, ὅμως δὲ προσπυθομένων τὶς λέγει ταῦτα περὶ αὐτῶν, ἐδειξε τοὺς Καρχηδονίους παρόντας, καὶ τούτοις ἐκέλευε διελέγχειν, εἰ τι τυγχάνοντο ψευδόμενοι.

4 τῶν δὲ φησάντων ὅτι πάτρων εἶναι σφίξε πιστεύει τοῖς πολεμίοις, παρακαλοῦντων δὲ μηδὲν ποιεῖν παρὰ τὰς συνθήκας, ὅτι τοῦτο καὶ δίκαιον ἔστι καὶ συμφέρον αὐτῷ μάλιστ' ἐκεῖνω, περὶ μὲν τούτων ἔφη βουλευομένως αὐτοῖς πάλιν διασά- 5 φήσειν, ἦρετο δὲ πῶς πρὸ τῆς τελευτῆς τοῦ πάππου πλεύσαντες ἐως τοῦ Παχύνου πεντήκοντα ναοὺς πάλιν ἀνακάμψασθαι. συμβεβήκει δὲ Ῥωμαίοις βραχεὶ χρόνῳ πρότερον ἀκούσαντας Ἰέρωνα μετηλ- 

5 λαξέναι, καὶ διαγωνιάσαντας μὴ τι νεωτέρισον ἐν ταῖς Συρακούσαις καταφρονήσαντες τῆς τοῦ καταλειμμένου παιδὸς ἡλικίας, πεποιηθοῦν τὸν ἐπίπλουν, πυθομένους δὲ τὸν Ἰέρωνα ἔριθε αὐθέ

6 εἰς τὸ Διονυσίον ἀναδραμεῖν. διὸ καὶ τὸτε παρ- 

6 ομολογοῦντων πεποιηθοὺς μὲν τὸν ἐπίπλουν, θέ- 

7 λοντας ἐφεδρεῦσα τῇ νεοτητῇ τῇ 'κεῖνοι καὶ συν- 

7 διαφυλάξαι τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτῷ, προσπεσόντος δὲ ζήν

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and he promised to send envoys himself to discuss matters with the Carthaginians.

3. At the same time the Roman praetor in command at Lilybaeum, on learning of these proceedings, sent envoys to Hieronymus to renew the treaty made with his ancestors. Hieronymus, in the presence of this embassy, said he sympathized with the Romans for having been wiped out by the Carthaginians in the battles in Italy, and when the ambassadors, though amazed at his tactlessness, nevertheless inquired who said this about them, he pointed to the Carthaginians there present and bade them refute them if the story was false. When they said that it was not the habit of their countrymen to accept the word of their enemies, and begged him not to do anything contrary to the treaty—for that would be both just and the best thing for himself—he said he would consider the question and inform them later; but he asked them why before his grandfather’s death they had sailed as far as Pachynum with fifty ships and then gone back again. For as a fact the Romans, a short time before this, hearing that Hiero had died, and fearful lest people in Syracuse, despising the tender years of the heir he had left, should change the government, had made this cruise, but on hearing that Hiero was still alive had returned to Lilybaeum. Now, therefore, they confessed that they had made the cruise wishing to protect him owing to his youth and assist him in maintaining his rule, but on receiving news
8 τὸν πάππου, ἀποπλεύσας πάλιν, ῥηθέντων δὲ τούτων, πάλιν ὑπολαβόν τὸ μειράκιον “έάσατε τοίνυν” ἔφη “καὶμὲ νῦν, άνδρες Ὁρμαίοι, δια-
φυλάξαι τὴν ἄρχην, παλινδρομήσαντα πρὸς τὰς
9 Καρχηδονίων ἐλπίδας.” οἱ δὲ Ὁρμαίοι συνέντες 
τὴν ὀρμήν αὐτοῦ, τότε μὲν κατασιωπήσαντες 
ἐπανῆθον, καὶ διεσάφουν τὰ λεγόμενα τῷ πέμψαντι,
τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν ἦδη προσείχον καὶ παρεβύλαττον ὡς πολέμων.
4 Ἰερώνυμος δὲ προχειρισάμενος ἀγάθαρχον καὶ 
オンησιγέν μαί καὶ Ἰπποσθένη πέμπει μετ’ Ἀνιβοῦ 
πρὸς Καρχηδονίους, δοὺς ἐντολὰς ἐπὶ τοίοδε
2 ποιεῖναι τὰς συνθήκας, ἐφ’ ὃ Καρχηδονίους 
βοηθεῖν καὶ πεζικαῖ καὶ ναυτικαῖ δυνάμει, 
καὶ συνεκβαλόντας Ὁρμαίους ἐκ Σικελίας οὕτως 
διελέσθαι τὰ κατὰ τὴν νῆσον ᾧτε τῆς ἐκατέρων 
ἐπαρχίας ὅρον εἶναι τὸν Ἰμέραν ποταμὸν, ὃς 
μάλιστα πως διάχα διαρεῖ τὴν ὅλην Σικελίαν.
3 οὕτοι μὲν οὐν ἀφικόμενοι πρὸς Καρχηδονίους 
διελέγοντο περὶ τούτων καὶ ταῦτ’ ἔπραττον, εἰς
πᾶν ἐτοίμος συγκαταβαθμόντων τῶν Καρχηδονίων.
4 οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἰπποκράτην, λαμβάνοντες εἰς τὰς 
χεῖρας τὸ μειράκιον τὰς μὲν ἄρχας ἐψυχαγόγων, 
ἐξηγοῦμενοι τὰς ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ πορείας Ἀνιβοῦ καὶ
5 παρατάξεις καὶ μάχας, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα φάσκοντες 
μηδενὶ καθήκουσιν μᾶλλον τὴν ἀπάντων Σικελιστῶν 
ἀρχὴν ὡς ἐκείνῃ, πρῶτον μὲν διὰ τὸ τῆς Πύρρου 
θυγατρὸς νῦν εἶναι Νηρηίδος, ὃν μόνον κατὰ 
προσάρευσι καὶ κατ’ εὔνοιαν Σικελιῶται πάντες 
εὐδόκησαι σφῶν αὐτῶν ἡγεμόν’ εἶναι καὶ βασιλέα,
δεύτερον δὲ κατὰ τὴν Ἰέρωνος τοῦ πάππου δυνα-
6 στείαν. καὶ τέλος ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἐξωμίλησαν τὸ
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that his grandfather was alive had sailed away again. Upon their saying this, the young man answered: "Allow me too, Romans, to maintain my rule by turning round and steering for the expectations I have from Carthage." The Romans, understanding what his bias was, held their peace for the time, and returning reported what had been said to the praetor who had sent them. Henceforth they continued to keep an eye on the king and to be on their guard against him as an enemy.

4. Hieronymus, appointing Agatharchus, Onesigenes, and Hipposthenes, sent them to Carthage with Hannibal, their orders being to make a treaty on the following terms: the Carthaginians were to assist him with land and sea forces, and after expelling the Romans from Sicily they were to divide the island so that the frontier of their respective provinces should be the river Himeras, which very nearly bisects Sicily. On their arrival in Carthage they discussed this matter and pursued the negotiations, the Carthaginians showing on all points a most accommodating spirit. But Hippocrates and his brother, in confidential intercourse with Hieronymus, at first captivated him by giving him glowing accounts of Hannibal's marches, tactics, and battles, and then went on to tell him that no one had a better right than himself to rule over the whole of Sicily, in the first place because he was the son of Nereis, the daughter of Pyrrhus, the only man whom all the Sicilians had accepted as their leader and king deliberately and out of affection, and secondly, as the heir of the sovereignty of his grandfather Hiero. Finally, they so far talked over the young man that
μειράκιων ὥστε καθόλου μηδενὶ προσέχειν τῶν ἄλλων διὰ τὸ καὶ φύσει μὲν ἀκατάστατον ὑπάρχειν, ἕτε δὲ μάλλον ὑπ᾽ ἐκείνων τὸτε μετεωρισθέν·
7 ἀκμὴν τῶν περὶ Ἀγάθαρχον ἐν τῇ Καρχηδόνι τὰ προειρημένα διαπραττομένων, ἐπιπέμπει πρεσβευ-
τάς, τὴν μὲν τῆς Σικελίας ἀρχὴν φάσκῳν αὐτῷ καθήκειν ἀπασαν, ἀξίων δὲ Καρχηδονίους μὲν ἄργοις περὶ Σικελίας, αὐτὸς δὲ Καρχηδονίους ὑποχνούμενος ἐπαρκεῖν εἰς τᾶς κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν
8 πράξεις. τὴν μὲν οὖν ἀλήθειας οἰκετεῖν καὶ μανίαν καλῶς συνθεώμενοι Καρχηδόνιοι τοῦ μειρα-
κίου, νομίζοντες δὲ κατὰ πολλοὺς τρόπους συμφέρειν σφίσι τὸ μὴ προέσθαι τὰ κατὰ τὴν Σικελίαν,
9 ἑκείνω μὲν ἀπαντὰ συγκατένευν, αὐτοὶ δὲ καὶ πρότερον ἡδὸν παρασκευασάμενοι ναῦς καὶ στρα-
τιώτας, ἐξίσουνο πρὸς τὸ διαβιβάζειν τὰς δυνάμεις
5 εἰς τὴν Σικελίαν. οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι ταῦτα πυνθανό-
μενοι πάλιν ἐπεμψαν πρὸς αὐτὸν πρέσβεις, δια-
μαρτυρόμενοι μὴ παραβαίνειν τὰς πρὸς τοὺς
2 προγόνους αὐτοῦ τεθεμένας συνθήκας. ὑπὲρ δὲν Ἰερόνυμος ἄθροίσας τὸ συνεδρίον ἀνέδωκε δια-
3 βούλιον τι δεῖ ποιεῖν. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἐγχώριοι τὴν
ήσυχαν ἡγοῦν, δεδιότες τὴν τοῦ προεστῶτος ἀκρι-
σίαν. Ἀριστόμαχος δὲ ὁ Κορίνθιος καὶ Δάμιππος
ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος καὶ Αὐτόνου ὁ Θετταλὸς ἦξιοι
4 ἐμμένειν ταῖς πρὸς Ῥωμαίους συνθήκαις. Ἀδρα-
νόδωρος δὲ μονὸς οὐκ ἔφη δεῖ ποριέναι τὸν
καιρὸν· εἶναι δὲ τὸν ἐνεστῶτα μόνον ἐν ὧ κατα-
κτήσασθαι δυνατὸν ἐστὶ τὴν τῆς Σικελίας ἀρχήν.
5 τοῦ δὲ ταῦτ' εἰπόντος, ἤρετο <τοὺς περὶ> τὸν
Ἱπποκράτην ποίας μετέχουσι γνώμης. τῶν δὲ
φησάντων τῆς Ἀδρανόδώρου, πέρας εἶχε τὸ
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he paid no heed at all to anyone else, being naturally of an unstable character and being now rendered much more feather-brained by their influence. So while Agatharchus and his colleagues were still negotiating at Carthage in the above sense, he sent off other envoys, affirming that the sovereignty of the whole of Sicily was his by right, demanding that the Carthaginians should help him to recover Sicily and promising to assist them in their Italian campaign. The Carthaginians, though they now clearly perceived in its full extent the fickleness and mental derangement of the young man, still thought it was in many ways against their interests to abandon Sicilian affairs, and therefore agreed to everything he asked, and having previously got ready ships and troops they prepared to send their forces across to Sicily. 5. The Romans, on learning of this, sent envoys again to him protesting against his violating their treaty with his forefathers. Hieronymus summoning his council consulted them as to what he was to do. The native members kept silent, as they were afraid of the prince’s lack of self-control; but Aristomachus of Corinth, Damippus of Lacedaemon, and Autonous of Thessaly expressed themselves in favour of abiding by the treaty with Rome. Adranodorus was alone in saying that the opportunity should not be let slip, as this was the only chance of acquiring the sovereignty of Sicily. Upon his saying this the king asked Hippocrates and his brother what their opinion was, and when they said "the same as Adranodorus" the council came to
διαβούλιον. καὶ τὰ μὲν τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ πρὸς Ῥω-
6μαίους ἐκεκύρωτο τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον· βουλόμενοι
δὲ μὴ σκαίως δοκεῖν ἀποκρίνεσθαι τοὺς πρε-
σβευταῖς, εἰς τηλικαύτην ἀστοχίαν ἐνέπεσε δι’
7 ἃς τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις οὐ μόνον δυσαρεστήσεις, ἀλλὰ
καὶ προσκόπτειν ἐμελλε προφανῶς. ἐφι γὰρ
ἐμμενεῖν ἐν ταῖς συνθήκαις, ἐὰν αὐτῷ πρῶτον
μὲν τὸ χρυσόν ἀποδῶσι πᾶν, δ’ ἵππ’ Ἴερωνος
ἐλαβον τοῦ πάππου, δεύτερον δὲ τὸν σιτὸν ἐκ
παντὸς ἀποκαταστήσω σοὶ χρόνων καὶ τὰς
8 ἀλλὰς δωρεὰς, δ’ εἴχον ἵππ’ ἐκεῖνου, τὸ δὲ τρίτον
ἐμμολογῆσαι τὴν ἐντὸς Ἰμέρα ποταμοῦ χώραν
καὶ πόλεις εἶναι Συρακοσίων. οἱ μὲν οὖν πρε-
σβευταὶ καὶ τὸ συνεδριον ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐχωρίσθησαν·
οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἴερωνυμον ἄπο τούτων τῶν καυρῶν
ἐνήργουν τὰ τοῦ πολέμου, καὶ τὰς τε δυνάμεις
ηθροίζοι καὶ καθώπλυζον τὰς τε λουτᾶς χορηγίας
ητούμολον. [Exc. De legat. p. 1.]

6 Ὡ γὰρ τῶν Λεοντύνων πόλις τῷ μὲν ὅλῳ κλίματι
2 τέτραπται πρὸς τὰς ἀρκτους, ἐστὶ δὲ διὰ μέσης
αὐτῆς αὐλῶν ἐπίπεδος, ἐν δὲ συμβαίνει τὰς τε τῶν
ἀρχείων καὶ δικαστηρίων κατασκευαζομένων καὶ καθόλου
3 τὴν ἀγορὰν ὑπάρχειν. τοῦ δ’ αὐλῶνος παρ’ ἐκα-
τέραν τὴν πλευράν παρῆκε λόφος, ἐχων ἀπορρώγα
συνεχή τὰ δ’ ἐπίπεδα τῶν λόφων τούτων ὑπὲρ
4 τὰς ὁφρύς οἰκίων ἐστὶ πλήρη καὶ ναῶν. δύο δ’
ἐχει πυλώνας ἢ πόλις, δὴ μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ πρὸς
μεσημβρίαν πέρατος ἐστὶν οὐ προεῖπον αὐλῶνος,
φέρων ἐπὶ Συρακούσας, δ’ ἐτερος ἐπὶ τοῦ πρὸς
ἀρκτοὺς, ἄγων ἐπὶ τὰ Λεοντύνα καλούμενα πεδία
5 καὶ τὴν γεωργήσιμον χώραν. ὑπὸ δὲ τὴν μίαν
ἀπορρώγα, τὴν πρὸς τὰς δύσεις, παραρρέλλομεν.
a close. Such was the way in which the war against Rome was decided on. But wishing not to appear to give a maladroit reply to the envoys, he blundered so fatally, that he made it certain that he would not only forfeit the good graces of the Romans but would give them most serious offence. He said he would adhere to the treaty if they repaid to him all the gold they had received from his grandfather Hiero; next if they returned the corn and other gifts they had had from him during the whole of his reign; and thirdly, if they would acknowledge that all the country and towns east of the river Himeras belonged to Syracuse. It was on these terms that the envoys and the council parted. Hieronymus from this time onward made active preparations for war, collecting and arming his forces and getting his other supplies ready.

6. The city of Leontini as regards its general position is turned to the north. Through the middle of it runs a level valley in which stand the government offices, the law courts, and the agora in general. On each side of this valley runs a ridge precipitous from end to end, the flat ground above the brows of these ridges being covered with houses and temples. The town has two gates, one at the southern end of the above-mentioned valley leading towards Syracuse, and the other at its northern end leading to the so-called Leontine plain and the arable land. Under the one ridge, that on the western side, runs a river called the Lissus, and
6 δὲν καλοῦσι Δέσσον. τούτῳ δὲ κείνται παράλληλοι καὶ πλείους ὑπ' αὐτὸν τὸν κρημνὸν οἰκίας συνεχεῖς, ἄν μεταξὺ καὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ συμβαίνει τὴν προερημένην ὁδὸν ὑπάρχειν. [Cod. Urb. fol. 96r.]

7 "Οτι τινές τῶν λογογράφων τῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς καταστροφῆς τοῦ Ἴερωνύμου γεγραφῶν πολύν τινα πεποίηται λόγον καὶ πολλὴν τινα διατέθενται τερατείαν, ἐξηγοῦμενοι μὲν τὰ πρὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῖς γενόμενα σημεία καὶ τὰς ἀτυχίας τὰς

2 Συνακοσίων, τραγῳδοῦντες δὲ τὴν ὑμότητα τῶν τρόπων καὶ τὴν ἀσέβειαν τῶν πράξεων, ἐπὶ δὲ πᾶσι τὸ παράλογον καὶ τὸ δεινὸν τῶν περὶ τὴν καταστροφὴν αὐτοῦ συμβάντων, ὥστε μὴτε Φάλαρν μὴτ' Ἀπολλώδωρον μὴτ' ἄλλον μηδένα γεγονέναι

3 τυραννὸν ἐκείνου πικρότερον. καὶ τοῖς παραλαβῶν τὴν ἀρχὴν, εἰτα μήνας οὐ πλείους τριὼν καὶ

4 δέκα βιώσας μετήλλαξε τὸν βίον. κατὰ δὲ τὸν χρόνον τούτον ἕνα μὲν τινα καὶ δεύτερον ἐστρεβλῶσθαι καὶ τινὰς τῶν φίλων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Συρακοσίων ἀπεκτάνθαι δυνατὸν, ὑπερβολὴν δὲ γεγονέναι παρανομίας καὶ παρηλλαγμένην ἀσέ-

5 βειαν οὐκ εἰκός. καὶ τῷ μὲν τρόπῳ διαφερόντως εἰκαίον αὐτὸν γεγονέναι καὶ παράνομον φατέον, οὐ μὴν εἷς γε σύγκριναι ἀκτέον οὐδενὶ τῶν προερημε-

6 νῶν τυράννων. ἀλλὰ μοι δοκοῦσιν οἱ τὰς ἐπὶ μέρους γράφοντες πράξεις, ἐπειδὰν ύποθέσεις εὐπεριλήπτους ὑποστήσωνται καὶ στενᾶς, πτω-

χεύοντες πραγμάτων ἀναγκάζονται τὰ μικρὰ με-

γάλα ποιεῖν καὶ περὶ τῶν μηδὲ μνήμης αξίων

τολμοῦσι τινας διατίθεσθαι λόγους. ἐνιοὶ δὲ καὶ δι' ἀκρισίαν εἰς τὸ παραπλήσιον τούτοις ἐμπίπτουσιν.

7 ὅσοι γὰρ ἂν τὶς εὐλογώτεροι καὶ περὶ ταύτα τὸν
parallel to it just under the cliff stands a row of houses between which and the river is the road I mentioned. . . .

7. Some of the historians who have described the fall of Hieronymus have done so at great length and introduced much of the marvellous, telling of the prodigies that occurred before his reign and the misfortunes of the Syracusans, and describing in tragic colours the cruelty of his character and the impiety of his actions, and finally the strange and terrible nature of the circumstances attending his death, so that neither Phalaris nor Apollodorus nor any other tyrant would seem to have been more savage than he. And yet he was quite a boy when he succeeded to power, and lived only thirteen months after. In this space of time it is possible that one or two men may have been tortured, and some of his friends and of the other Syracusans put to death, but it is hardly probable that there was any excess of unlawful violence or any extraordinary impiety. One must admit that his character was exceedingly capricious and violent; but he is not at all to be compared with either of these tyrants. The fact, as it seems to me, is that those who write narratives of particular events, when they have to deal with a subject which is circumscribed and narrow, are compelled for lack of facts to make small things great and to devote much space to matters really not worthy of record. There are some also who fall into a similar error through lack of judgement. How much more justifiable indeed it would be for a writer to devote those pages of
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ἀναπληροῦντα τὰς βύβλους καὶ τὸν ἐπιμετροῦντα λόγον τῆς διηγήσεως εἰς Ἰέρωνα καὶ Γέλωνα
8 διάθετο, παρεῖς Ἰερώνυμον. καὶ γὰρ τοῖς φιληκόους ἥδιων οὗτος καὶ τοῖς φιλομαθοῦσι τῷ παντὶ χρησιμώτερος.

8 Ἰέρων μὲν γὰρ πρῶτον μὲν δι’ αὐτοῦ κατεκτήσατο τὴν Συρακοσίων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων ἄρχην, οὐ πλοῦτον, οὐ δόξαν, οὐχ ἔτερον οὐδὲν ἐκ τῆς τύχης
2 ἐτοιμὸν παραλαβὼν. καὶ μὴν οὐκ ἀποκτέναις, οὐ φυγαδεύσας, οὐ λυπήσας οὐδένα τῶν πολιτῶν, δι’
3 αὐτοῦ βασιλεὺς κατέστη τῶν Συρακοσίων, δ’ πάντων ἐστὶ παραδοξότατον, ἢτι δὲ τὸ μὴ μόνον κτήσασθαι
tὴν ἄρχην οὕτως, ἀλλὰ καὶ διαφυλάξῃ τὸν αὐτὸν
4 τρόπον. ἢτι γὰρ πεντήκοντα καὶ τέταρτα βασιλεύσας διετήρησε μὲν τῇ πατρίδι τῇ εἰρήνῃ, διε
 phiůλαξε δ’ αὐτῶ τὴν ἄρχην ἀνεπιβολευτον, διέφυγε
5 δὲ τὸν ταῖς ὑπεροχαῖς παρεπόμενον φθόνον· ὣς γε
pollάκις ἐπιβαλόμενοι ἀποθέσθαι τὴν δυναστείαν
6 ἐκκληθῆ κατὰ κοινὸν ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν. εὐ
εργετικῶτατος δὲ καὶ φιλοδοξότατος γενόμενος εἰς
tους Ἔλληνας μεγάλην μὲν αὐτῶ δόξαν, οὐ μικράν
7 δὲ Συρακοσίως εὐνοιαν παρὰ πάσιν ἀπέλιπε. καὶ
μὴν ἐν περιουσίᾳ καὶ τρυφῇ καὶ δαμιείᾳ πλείστῃ
diagenómoenos ἢτη μὲν ἐβίωσε πλείω τῶν ἐνενήκοντα,
diavúlaξε δὲ τὰς αἰσθήσεις ἀπάσας, διετήρησε
dε πάντα καὶ τὰ μέρη τοῦ σώματος ἀβλαβῆ.
8 τοῦτο δὲ μοι δοκεῖ σημεῖον οὐ μικρῶν, ἀλλὰ παμ-
mégèthes εἶναι βίου σώφρονος. [Exc. Peir. p. 9.]
9 Ὁτι Γέλων πλείω τῶν πεντήκοντα βιώσας ἔτην
skopòn προεθηκε κάλλιστον ἐν τῷ ζῆν, τὸ πεθ-
archeín τῷ γεννήσαντι, καὶ μήτε πλοῦτον μήτε
BOOK VII. 7. 7 – 8. 9

narrative which serve to fill up his book to overflowing to Hiero and Gelo, making no mention at all of Hieronymus? This would be both more agreeable to the curious reader and more useful to the student.

8. For Hiero in the first place acquired the sovereignty of Syracuse and her allies by his own merit, having found ready provided for him by fortune neither wealth, fame, nor anything else. And, what is more, he made himself king of Syracuse unaided, without killing, exiling, or injuring a single citizen, which indeed is the most remarkable thing of all; and not only did he acquire his sovereignty so, but maintained it in the same manner. For during a reign of fifty-four years he kept his country at peace and his own power undisturbed by plots, and he kept clear of that envy which is wont to wait on superiority. Actually on several occasions when he wished to lay down his authority, he was prevented from doing so by the common action of the citizens. And having conferred great benefits on the Greeks, and studied to win their high opinion, he left behind him a great personal reputation and a legacy of universal goodwill to the Syracusans. Further, although he lived constantly in the midst of affluence, luxury, and most lavish expenditure, he survived till over ninety, and retained all his faculties, as well as keeping every part of his body sound, which seems to me to testify in no slight measure, indeed very strongly, to his having led a temperate life.

Gelo, who lived till over fifty, set before himself in his life the most admirable object, that is to obey his father, and not to esteem either wealth or royal
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βασιλείας μέγεθος μήτ' ἄλλο περὶ πλείονος ποιήσασθαι μηδὲν τῆς πρὸς τοὺς γονεῖς εὐνοίας καὶ πίστεως. [Exc. Peir. p. 13.]

III. RES GRAECIAE

9 Ὁρκος, δὲν ἔθετο Ἀννίβας ὁ στρατηγός, Μάγγωνος, Μύρκανος, Βαρμόκαρος, καὶ πάντες γερουσιασταὶ Καρχηδονίων οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ καὶ πάντες Καρχηδόνιοι στρατευόμενοι μετ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς Ξενοφάνη Κλεομάχου Ἀθηναίων πρεσβευτὴν, δὲν ἀπεστείλε πρὸς ἦμᾶς Φίλιππος ὁ βασιλεὺς Δημητρίου ύπὲρ αὐτοῦ καὶ Μακεδόνων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων.

2 Ἐναντίον Δίως καὶ Ἑρακλέους, ἐναντίον δαίμονος Καρχηδονίων καὶ Ἑρακλέους καὶ Ἰολάου, ἐναντίον Ἀρεως, Τρίτωνος, Ποσειδώνος, ἐναντίον θεῶν τῶν συστρατευομένων καὶ Ἡλίου καὶ Σελήνης καὶ Γῆς, ἐναντίον ποταμῶν καὶ λιμένων καὶ υδάτων, ἐναντίον πάντων θεῶν ὅσοι κατέχουσι Καρχηδόνα, ἐναντίον θεῶν πάντων ὅσοι Μακεδονίαν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην Ἑλλάδα κατεχοῦσι, ἐναντίον θεῶν πάντων τῶν κατὰ στρατεύαν, ὅσοι τινὲς ἐφεστήκασιν ἐπὶ τοῦ δέ τοῦ ὠρκοῦ.

3 Ἀννίβας ὁ στρατηγὸς εἶπε καὶ πάντες Καρχηδονίων γερουσιασταὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ καὶ πάντες Καρχηδόνιοι ὁ οἱ στρατευόμενοι μετ' αὐτοῦ, ὅ ἂν δοκῆ ὑμῖν καὶ ἦμῖν, τὸν ὠρκὸν τοῦτον θέσθαι περὶ φίλιας καὶ εὐνοίας καλῆς, φίλους καὶ οἰκείους καὶ ἀδελφοὺς, εἴο ὅτι εἶναι συζυγόμενος ὑπὸ βασιλέως Φιλίππου καὶ Μακεδόνων καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων, ὅσοι εἰσὶν αὐτῶν σύμμαχοι, κυρίους Καρχηδόνιους καὶ ὁ Ἀννίβας τὸν στρατηγὸν καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ
power or anything else as of higher value than affection and loyalty to his parents.

III. Affairs of Greece

_Treaty between Hannibal and King Philip of Macedon_

9. This is a sworn treaty made between us, Hannibal the general, Mago, Myrcan, Barmocar, and all other Carthaginian senators present with him, and all Carthaginians serving under him, on the one side, and Xenophanes the Athenian, son of Cleomachus, the envoy whom King Philip, son of Demetrius, sent to us on behalf of himself, the Macedonians and allies, on the other side.

In the presence of Zeus, Hera, and Apollo: in the presence of the Genius of Carthage, of Heracles, and Iolaus: in the presence of Ares, Triton, and Poseidon: in the presence of the gods who battle for us and of the Sun, Moon, and Earth; in the presence of Rivers, Lakes, and Waters: in the presence of all the gods who possess Carthage: in the presence of all the gods who possess Macedonia and the rest of Greece: in the presence of all the gods of the army who preside over this oath. Thus saith Hannibal the general, and all the Carthaginian senators with him, and all Carthaginians serving with him, that as seemeth good to you and to us, so should we bind ourselves by oath to be even as friends, kinsmen, and brothers, on these conditions. (1) That King Philip and the Macedonians and the rest of the Greeks who are their allies shall protect the Carthaginians, the supreme lords, and Hannibal their general, and those with
καὶ τοὺς Καρχηδονίων ὑπάρχουσ, ὅσοι τοῖς αὐτοῖς νόμοις χρώνται, καὶ Ἰτυκαῖοι, καὶ ὅσι πόλεις καὶ ἔθνη Καρχηδονίων ὑπήκοα, καὶ τοὺς στρα-
6 τιώτας καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους, καὶ πάσας πόλεις καὶ ἔθνη, πρὸς ἃ ἔστων ἦμῖν ἢ τε φιλία τῶν ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ Κελτίᾳ καὶ ἐν τῇ Διογεστίνῃ, καὶ πρὸς οὐσιώδης ἦμῖν ἢ γένηται φιλία καὶ συμμαχία
7 ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ χώρᾳ. ἔσται δὲ καὶ Φίλιππος ὁ βα-
σιλεὺς καὶ Μακεδόνες καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων οἱ σύμμαχοι, συμζόμενοι καὶ φυλαττόμενοι ὑπὸ Καρ-
χηδονίων τῶν συνοπτευμένων καὶ ὑπὸ Ἰτυκαῖων καὶ ὑπὸ πασῶν πόλεων καὶ ἑθνῶν ὡσα ἐστὶ Καρχη-
δονίων ὑπήκοα, καὶ συμμάχων καὶ στρατιωτῶν, καὶ ὑπὸ πάντων ἑθνῶν καὶ πόλεων ὡσα ἔστων ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ Κελτίᾳ καὶ Διογεστίνῃ, καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων, ὡσιν ἢ γέννωται σύμμαχοι ἐν τοῖς κατ'
8 Ἰταλίαιν τόποις τούτοις. οὐκ ἐπιβουλεύσαμεν ἀλ-
λήλοις οὐδὲ λόγῳ χρησόμεθα ἐπ' ἀλλήλοις, μετὰ πάσης δὲ προθυμίας καὶ εὐνοίας ἀνευ δόλου καὶ ἐπιβουλής ἐσομεθα πολέμιοι τοῖς πρὸς Καρχη-
δονίως πολεμοῦσι χωρίς βασιλέων καὶ πόλεων καὶ λιμένων, πρὸς οὐς ἦμῖν εἰσὶν ὀρκοὶ καὶ φιλίαι.
9 ἐσομέθα δὲ καὶ ἥμεις πολέμιοι τοῖς πολεμοῦσι πρὸς βασιλέα Φίλιππον χωρίς βασιλέων καὶ πόλεων καὶ ἑθνῶν, πρὸς οὕς ἦμῖν εἰσὶν ὀρκοὶ καὶ
10 φιλίαι. ἔσεσθαι δὲ καὶ ἦμῖν <σύμμαχοι> πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον, ὃς ἔστων ἦμῖν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους, ἐως ἃν ἦμῖν καὶ ἦμῖν οἱ θεοὶ διδώσῃ τὴν εὐημερίαν.
11 βοηθήσετε δὲ ἦμῖν, ὡς ἂν χρεία ἢ καὶ ὡς ἂν
12 συμφωνήσωμεν. ποιησάντων δὲ τῶν θεῶν εὐη-
μερίαν ἦμῖν κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον τὴν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους αὐτῶν, ἃν ἄξιοὶ Ῥωμαίοι
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him, and all under the dominion of Carthage who live under the same laws; likewise the people of Utica and all cities and peoples that are subject to Carthage, and our soldiers and allies and cities and peoples in Italy, Gaul, and Liguria, with whom we are in alliance or with whomsoever in this country we may hereafter enter into alliance. (2) King Philip and the Macedonians and such of the Greeks as are their allies shall be protected and guarded by the Carthaginans who are serving with us, by the people of Utica and by all cities and peoples that are subject to Carthage, by our allies and soldiers and by all peoples and cities in Italy, Gaul, and Liguria, who are our allies, and by such others as may hereafter become our allies in Italy and the adjacent regions. (3) We will enter into no plot against each other, nor lie in ambush for each other, but with all zeal and good fellowship, without deceit or secret design, we will be enemies of such as war against the Carthaginians, always excepting the kings, cities, and ports with which we have sworn treaties of alliance. (4) And we, too, will be the enemies of such as war against King Philip, always excepting the kings, cities, and peoples with which we have sworn treaties of alliance. (5) You will be our allies in the war in which we are engaged with the Romans until the gods vouchsafe the victory to us and to you, and you will give us such help as we have need of or as we agree upon. (6) As soon as the gods have given us the victory in the war against the Romans and their allies, if the Romans ask us to come to
συντίθεσθαι περὶ φιλίας, συνθησόμεθα, ὦςτ' εἶναι
13 πρὸς ὑμᾶς τὴν αὐτὴν φιλίαν, ἐφ' ὦτε μὴ ἐξεῖναι
αυτοῖς ἀρασθαὶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς μηδέποτε πόλεμον,
μηδ' εἶναι 'Ῥωμαίους κυρίους Κερκυραίων μηδ'.
'Απολλωνιατῶν καὶ Ἐπιδαμνίων μηδὲ Φάρου
μηδὲ Διμάλης καὶ Παρθίων μηδ' Ἀττιναίας.
14 ἀποδόσουσι δὲ καὶ Δημητρίῳ τῷ Φαρίῳ τοὺς
οἰκείους πάντας, οἳ εἰσὶν ἐν τῷ κοινῷ τῶν 'Ῥωμαίων.
15 εάν δὲ αἴρονται 'Ῥωμαίοι πρὸς ὑμᾶς πόλεμον ἢ
πρὸς ἑαυτούς, βοηθήσομεν ἀλλήλοις εἰς τὸν πόλεμον,
16 καθὸς ἂν ἐκατέρως ἢ χρεία. ὅμοιως δὲ καὶ
17 εὐθὺν πρὸς ΄ἡμῖν εἰσὶν ὅρκοι καὶ φιλίαι. εάν
δὲ δοκῇ ἑαυτοῖς ἄφελεῖν ἢ προσβείναι πρὸς τόνδε
τὸν ὅρκον, ἄφελούμεν ἢ προσκήνησομεν ὡς ἢν ἑμῶν
δοκῇ ἀμφοτέροις. [Cod. Urb. fol. 96v.]

10 Ὅσος δημοκρατίας παρὰ τοῖς Μεσσηνίοις, καὶ
tῶν μὲν ἀξιολόγων ἀνδρῶν πεφυγαδεμένων, τῶν
dὲ κατακεκληρουχημένων τὰς τούτων οὐσίας ἐπι-
κρατοῦντων τῆς πολιτείας, δυσχερῶς ὑπέφερον
tὴν τούτων ἰσηγορίαν οἱ μένοντες τῶν ἀρχαίων
πολιτῶν.

2 Ὡτὶ Γόργος ὁ Μεσσηνίος οὖν ἤν δεύτερος
Μεσσηνίων πλοῦτῳ καὶ γένει, διὰ δὲ τὴν ἀθλησῑ
kata τὴν ἀκμὴν πάντων ἐνδοξότατος ἐγεγόνει τῶν
περὶ τοὺς γυνικοὺς ἀγῶνας φιλοστεφανοῦντων.
3 καὶ γὰρ κατὰ τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν καὶ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ
λοιποῦ βίου προστασίαν, ἐτὶ δὲ κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος
tῶν στεφάνων, ὦνδενὸς ἐλέπητο τῶν καθ' αὐτῶν.
4 καὶ μὴν ὅτε καταλύσας τὴν ἀθλησῑ ἐπὶ τὸ πολι-
τεύεσθαι καὶ τὸ πράττειν τὰ τῆς πατρίδος ὀφρυση,
καὶ περὶ τοῦτο τὸ μέρος οὐκ ἐλάττω δοξαν ἐξεφέρετο
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terms of peace, we will make such a peace as will comprise you too, and on the following conditions: that the Romans may never make war upon you; that the Romans shall no longer be masters of Corecyra, Apollonia, Epidamnus, Pharos, Dimale, Parthini, or Atitania: and that they shall return to Demetrius of Pharos all his friends who are in the dominions of Rome. (7) If ever the Romans make war on you or on us, we will help each other in the war as may be required on either side. (8) In like manner if any others do so, excepting always kings, cities, and peoples with whom we have sworn treaties of alliance. (9) If we decide to withdraw any clauses from this treaty or to add any we will withdraw such clauses or add them as we both may agree. . . .

Messene and Philip V.

10. Democracy being established at Messene, the principal men having been banished and the government being in the hands of those to whom their property had been allotted, those of the old citizens who remained found it difficult to brook the equality which these men had assumed. . . .

Gorgus of Messene was second to none at Messene in wealth and birth, and by his athletic achievements in the season of his prime had become the most famous of all competitors in gymnastic contests. Indeed in personal beauty, in general dignity of bearing, and in the number of the prizes he had won he was inferior to none of his contemporaries. And when he had given up athletics and taken to politics and the service of his country, he gained in this sphere
5 τῆς πρώτης ὑπαρχούσης αὐτῷ, πλείστον μὲν ἀπέχειν δοκῶν τῆς τοῖς ἀθληταῖς παρεπομένης ἀναγωγίας, πρακτικώτατος δὲ καὶ νουνεχέστατος εἶναι νομιζόμενος περὶ τὴν πολιτείαν. [Exc. Peir. p. 13. Suidas s.v. Γόργος.]

11 Ἡγὼ δὲ κατὰ τὸ παρὸν ἐπιστῆσας τὴν διήγησιν (12) βραχέα βουλομαί διαλεχθῆναι περὶ Φιλίππου, διὰ τὸ ταύτην τὴν ἄρχὴν γενέσθαι τῆς εἰς τοῦμπαλιν μεταβόλης αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ χεῖρον ὀρμῆς καὶ 2 μεταθέσεως. δοκεῖ γὰρ μοι τοῖς καὶ κατὰ βραχὺ βουλομένους τῶν πραγματικῶν ἀνδρῶν περιποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἐκ τῆς ἱστορίας διάρθρωσιν ἐναργέστατον 3 εἶναι τοῦτο παράδειγμα. καὶ γὰρ διὰ τὸ τῆς ἄρχης ἐπιφανῆς καὶ διὰ τὸ τῆς φύσεως λαμπρὸν ἐκφανεστάτας συμβαίνει καὶ γνωριμωτάτας γεγονέναι πάσι τοῖς Ἔλληνι τὰς εἰς ἐκάτερον τὸ μέρος ὄρμας τοῦ βασιλέως τούτου, παραπληγίως δὲ καὶ τὰ συνεξακολουθήσαντα ταῖς ὀρμαῖς ἑκατέρως ἕκ 4 παραθέσεως. ὅτι μὲν οὖν αὐτῷ μετὰ τὸ παράλαβείν τὴν βασιλείαν τά τε κατὰ Θεσσαλίαν καὶ Μακεδονίαν καὶ συλλήβδην τά κατὰ τὴν ἰδίαν ἄρχὴν οὕτως ὑπετέτακτο καὶ συνέκλινε ταῖς εὔνοιαῖς ὡς οὐδεὶς τῶν πρώτων βασιλέων, καίτοι νέω ὄντι παραλαβόντι τὴν Μακεδόνων δυναστείαν, 5 εὐχέρες καταμαθεῖν ἐκ τοῦτων. συνεχέστατα γὰρ αὐτοῦ περισσασθέντος ἐκ Μακεδονίας διὰ τὸν πρὸς Αἰτωλοὺς καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους πόλεμον, σοφοῖς οἷον ἐστασίασε τὶ τῶν προειρημένων ἔθνων, ἄλλα οὖδὲ τῶν περιουκόντων ἐπόλμησε βαρβάρων οὐδεις 6 ἄψασθαι τῆς Μακεδονίας καὶ μὴν περὶ τῆς ἴλεξανδρου καὶ Χρυσσογόνου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων φίλων εὐνοιάς καὶ προθυμίας εἰς αὐτῶν οὐδ’ ἀν 426
a reputation in no way beneath his former one, being very far removed from that boorishness which is apt to characterize athletes and being looked upon as a most able and level-headed politician. . . .

11. Interrupting my narrative here, I wish to say a few words about Philip, because this was the beginning of the revolution in his character and his notable change for the worse. For this seems to me a very striking example for such men of action as wish in however small a measure to correct their standard of conduct by the study of history. For both owing to the splendour of his position and the brilliancy of his genius the good and evil impulses of this prince were very conspicuous and very widely known throughout Greece; and so were the practical consequences of his good and evil impulses as compared with each other. That after he succeeded to the throne, Thessaly, Macedonia, and all his hereditary dominions were more submissive and more attached to him than to any king before him, although he had come to the throne at such an early age, it is easy to see from the following facts. Although he was frequently called away from Macedonia owing to the war against the Aetolians and Lacedaemonians, not only did none of these peoples revolt, but none of the barbarous tribes on his frontier ventured to touch Macedonia. Again it would be impossible to speak in adequate terms of the affection and devotion to him of Alexander, Chrysogonus and his other friends.
7 εἰπεῖν τις δύνατ' ἀξίως. τὴν δὲ Πελοποννησίων καὶ Βοωτῶν, ἃμα δὲ τούτοις Ἰππειρωτῶν, Ἀκαρνάνων, ... ὅσων ἐκάστοις ἄγαθῶν ἐν βραχεῖ
8 χρόνω παραίτιος ἐγένετο. καθόλου γε μήν, εἰ δὲι μικρὸν ὑπερβολικότερον εἰπεῖν, οἰκείοτατ' ἂν οἶμαι περὶ Φιλίππου τούτο ρηθῆναι, διότι κοινὸς τις οἶον ἔρωμενος ἐγένετο τῶν Ἐλλήνων
9 διὰ τὸ τῆς αἱρέσεως εὐεργετικὸν. ἐκφανέστατον δὲ καὶ μέγιστον δείγμα περὶ τοῦ τί δύναται προαιρεσις καλοκαγαθίκη καὶ πίστις, τὸ πάντας Κρηταίεις συμφρονήσαντας καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς μετασχόντας συμμαχίας ἐνα προστάτην ἔλεσθαι τῆς νήσου Φιλίππου, καὶ ταῦτα συντελεσθῆναι χωρὶς ὀπλῶν καὶ κυνήγων, ὁ πρότερον οὐ ραδίως ἀν εὑροί τις
10 γεγονός. ἀπὸ τοίνυν τῶν κατὰ Μεσσηνίους ἐπιτελεσθέντων ἀπάντα τὴν ἑναντίαν ἐλάμβανε διάθεσιν αὐτῶς καὶ τούτῳ συνέβαλεν κατὰ λόγον.
11 τραπεῖς γὰρ ἐπὶ τὴν ἁντικειμένην προαίρεσιν τὴν πρόσθεν, καὶ ταύτη προστιθείς ἀεὶ τάκόλουθον, ἐμελέες καὶ τὰς τῶν ἄλλων διαλῆψεις περὶ αὐτοῦ τρέφειν εἰς τάναντία καὶ ταῖς τῶν πραγμάτων
12 συντελείας ἐγκυρήσεων ἑναντίαις ἡ πρότερον. ὁ καὶ συνέβη γενέσθαι. δὴλον δὲ τοῦτ' ἔσται τοῖς προσέχοντιν ἐπιμελῶς διὰ τῶν ἐξῆς ῥηθησομενων πράξεων. [Exc. Peir. p. 13.]
12 "Ὅτι Φιλίππου τοῦ βασιλέως Μακεδόνων τὴν (11) τῶν Μεσσηνίων ἀκρόπολιν κατασχεῖν θουλομένου, καὶ φήσαντος βούλεσθαι πρὸς τούς προεστῶτας τῆς πόλεως θεάσασθαι τὴν ἀκρόπολιν καὶ θύσαι τῷ Διί, ἀναβάντος μετὰ τῆς θεραπείας καὶ θύσιν, μετὰ ταῦτα κατὰ τὸν ἐπισμον ἐκ τῶν τυθέντων ἱερείων προσενεχθέντων αὐτῷ τῶν ὀπλάχων, 428
Nor can one overstate the benefits he conferred in a short space of time on the Peloponnesians, Boeotians, Epirots, and Acarnanians. In fact, as a whole, if one may use a somewhat extravagant phrase, one might say most aptly of Philip that he was the darling of the whole of Greece owing to his beneficent policy. A most conspicuous and striking proof of the value of honourable principles and good faith is that all the Cretans united and entering into one confederacy elected Philip president of the whole island, this being accomplished without any appeal to arms or violence, a thing of which it would be difficult to find a previous instance. But after his attack on Messene all underwent a total change, and this was only to be expected. For as he totally changed his principles, it was inevitable that he should totally reverse also other men’s opinion of him, and that he should meet with totally different results in his undertakings. This indeed was the fact; and events I am now about to relate will render it quite evident to those who follow them with care.

12. When Philip, king of Macedon, wished to seize on the citadel of Messene, he told the magistrates of that city that he wished to visit the citadel and sacrifice to Zeus. He went up with his suite and sacrificed, and when, as is the custom, the entrails of the slaughtered victim were offered him he received
δεξάμενος εἰς τὰς χείρας καὶ βραχύ διακλίνας, ἧρετο προτείνων τοῖς περὶ τὸν "Αρατον " τί δοκεῖ τὰ ἡερα σημαίνειν, πότερον ἐκχωρεῖν τῆς ἄκρας 2 ἢ κρατεῖν αὐτῆς;" ὁ μὲν οὖν Δημήτριος αὐτόθεν ἐκ τοῦ προβεβηκότος " εἰ μὲν μάντεως φρένας ἔχεις " ἐφη " ἐκχωρεῖν τὴν ταχίστην" εἰ δὲ βασιλέως πραγματικοῦ, τηρεῖν αὐτὴν, ἢν μὴ νῦν 3 ἀφεῖς ζῆτησ ἐτερον ἐπιτηδεύστερον καιρὸν οὕτως γαρ ἐκάτερων τῶν κεράτων κρατῶν μόνως ἂν ὑποχειρίον ἔχου τὸν βοῦν," αὐτοτόμως τὰ μὲν κέρατα τὸν Ἡθώματαν καὶ τὸν Ἀκροκόρυνθου, 4 τὴν δὲ Πελοπόννησον τὸν βοῦν. ὁ δὲ Φίλιππος ἐπιστρέφας πρὸς τὸν "Αρατον " συ δὲ ταυτὰ συμβουλεύεις;" ἐφη. τοῦ δὲ ἐπισχόντος, αὐτὸ 5 λέγειν ἦξιον τὸ φαινόμενον. ὁ δὲ διαπορήσας " εἰ μὲν χωρίς ἐφη " τοῦ παρασπονδήσαι Μεσ- σηνίους δύνῃ κρατεῖν τοῦ τόπου τοῦτον, συμ- 6 βουλεύω κρατεῖν· εἰ δὲ τούτων καταλαβῶν φοροῦν, πάσας ἀπολύναι μέλλεις τὰς ἀκρωπόλεις καὶ τὴν 7 φουράν, ή παρέλαβες παρ' Ἀντιγόνου φρουρομέ- νους τοὺς συμμάχους," λέγων τὴν πιστίν, " σκο- πει μὴ καὶ νῦν κρείττον ἢ τοὺς ἀνδρᾶς ἐξαγαγόντα τὴν πίστιν αὐτοῦ καταλιπεῖν, καὶ ταύτῃ φορεῖν τοὺς Μεσσηνίους, ὅμως δὲ καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς 8 συμμάχους." ὁ Φίλιππος κατὰ μὲν τὴν οἰδαν ὅμιλην ἐτούμος ἢν παρασπονδεῖν, ὡς ἐκ τῶν ύστερον 9 πραξθέντων ἐγένετο καταφάνης, ἐπιτετιμημένος δὲ μικρῷ μὲν πρότερον ὑπὸ τοῦ νεωτέρου πυκνῶς ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀπωλεία, τότε δὲ μετὰ παρρη- σίας ἀμα καὶ μετ' ἄξιώσεως λέγοντος του πρε- σβυτέρου καὶ δεομένου μὴ παρακούσαι τῶν λεγομένων, ἐνετράπη. καὶ λαβόμενος αὐτοῦ τῆς δεξιᾶς 430
them in his hands and stepping a little aside, held them out to Aratus and those with him and asked, “What does the sacrifice signify? To withdraw from the citadel or remain in possession of it?” Demetrius said on the spur of the moment: “If you have the mind of a diviner, it bids you withdraw at once, but if you have the mind of a vigorous king it tells you to keep it, so that you may not after losing this opportunity seek in vain for another more favourable one. For it is only by holding both his horns that you can keep the ox under,” meaning by the horns Mount Ithome and the Acrocorinthus and by the ox the Peloponnese. Philip then turned to Aratus and said, “Is your advice the same?” When Aratus made no answer, he asked him to say exactly what he thought. After some hesitation he spoke as follows. “If without breaking faith with the Messenians you can keep this place, I advise you to keep it. But if by seizing and garrisoning it you are sure to lose all other citadels and the garrison by which you found the allies guarded when Antigonus handed them down to you”—meaning by this good faith—“consider if it will not be better now to withdraw your men and leave good faith here guarding with it the Messenians as well as the other allies.” Philip’s personal inclination was to play false, as he showed by his subsequent conduct; but as he had been severely censured a short time previously by the younger Aratus for killing the men, and as the elder Aratus spoke now with freedom and authority, and begged him not to turn a deaf ear to his advice, he felt ashamed,
"ἀγωμεν τοίνυν" ἐφη "πάλιν τὴν αὐτὴν ὀδὸν."  


13 Ὅτι δ' Ἄρατος, θεωρῶν τὸν Φίλιππον ὀμολογομένως τὸν τε πρὸς Ἄρωμαίους ἀναλαμβάνοντα πόλεμον καὶ κατὰ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς συμμάχους αἵρεσιν ὀλοσχερῶς ἠλλοιωμένου, πολλὰς εἰςενεγκάμενος ἀπορίας καὶ σκῆψεις μόλις ἀπετρέψατο τὸν Φίλιππον. Ἡμεῖς δέ, τοῦ κατὰ τὴν πέμπτην βύβλον ἡμῖν ἐν ἐπαγγελίᾳ καὶ φάσει μόνον εἰρημένου νῦν δι' αὐτῶν τῶν πραγμάτων τὴν πίστιν εἰληφότος, βουλόμεθα προσαναμνῆσαι τοὺς συνεφιστάνοντας τῇ πραγματείᾳ, πρὸς τὸ μηδεμίαν τῶν ἀποφάσεων ἀναπόδεικτον μηδ' ἀμφισβητομένην καταλιπεῖν. καθ' ὑπὸ γὰρ καρὸν ἐξηγούμενοι τὸν Ἀιτωλικὸν πόλεμον ἐπὶ τοῦτο τὸ μέρος τῆς δηγήσεως ἐπέστημεν, ἐν οὖν Φίλιππον ἐφαμεν τὸς ἐν Θέρμω στοὰς καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν ἀναθημάτων θυμικότερον καταφθεῖραι, καὶ δείξαν τούτων τὴν αἰτίαν οὐχ οὕτως ἐπὶ τὸν βασιλέα διὰ τὴν ἥλυκιαν ὡς ἐπὶ τοὺς συνόντας αὐτῷ φίλους ἀναφέρειν,

4 τότε περὶ μὲν Ἄρατον τὸν βίον ἐφήσαμεν ἀπολογεῖσθαι τὸ μηδὲν ἄν ποιῆσαι μοχθηρόν, Δημητρίου 5 δὲ τοῦ Φαρίου τὴν τοιαύτην εἶναι προαίρεσιν. δῆλον δὲ τοῦτο ποιήσεως ἐπιγγειλάμεθα διὰ τῶν ἐξῆς ῥηθησομένων, εἰς τούτον ὑπερθέμενοι τὸν καιρὸν 6 τὴν πίστιν τῆς προρρηθείσης ἀποφάσεως, ἐν οὖν παρὰ μίαν ἢμέραιν Δημητρίου μὲν παρόντος, ὡς ἀρτίως ὑπέρ τῶν κατὰ Μεσσηνίους ὑπεδείξαμεν, Ἄρατον δὲ καθυστερήσατο, ἦρξατο Φίλιππος 7 ἀπτεθαί τῶν μεγίστων ἀσεβημάτων. καὶ καθάπερ ἄν ἐγγευσάμενος αἵματος ἀνθρωπείαν καὶ τοῦ φονεύειν καὶ παρασπονδεῖν τοὺς συμμάχους,
and taking him by the hand said, "Let us go back by the way we came. . . ."

13. Aratus seeing that Philip was avowedly entering on hostilities with Rome and had entirely changed his sentiment towards the allies, with difficulty dissuaded him by urging on him a number of difficulties and pleas. Now that actual facts have confirmed a statement I made in my fifth Book, which was there a mere unsupported pronouncement, I wish to recall it to the memory of those who have followed this history, so as to leave none of my statements without proof or disputable. When in describing the Aetolian war I reached that part of my narrative in which I said that Philip was too savage in his destruction of the porticoes and other votive offerings at Thermus, and that we should not owing to his youth at the time lay the blame so much on the king himself as on the friends he associated with, I then stated that Aratus' conduct throughout his life vindicated him from the suspicion of having acted so wickedly, but that such conduct savoured of Demetrius of Pharos. I then promised to make this clear from what I would afterwards relate, and I reserved the proof of the above assertion for this occasion, when, as I just stated in my account of his treatment of the Messenians, all owing to a difference of one day—Demetrius having arrived and Aratus being too late—Philip committed the first of his great crimes. Henceforth, as if he had had a taste of human blood and of the slaughter and
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οὐ λύκος ἐξ ἀνθρώπου κατὰ τὸν 'Αρκαδίκον μῦθον, ὡς φησιν ὁ Πλάτων, ἀλλὰ τύραννος ἐκ 8 βασιλέως ἀπέβη πικρός. τούτου δ' ἐναργέστερον ἦν δεδομα τῆς ἐκατέρου γνώμης τὸ περὶ τῆς ἀκρας συμβουλευμα πρὸς τὸ μηδὲ περὶ τῶν κατ' 14 Αἰτωλοὺς διαπορεῖν. ὅπως ὀμολογουμένων εὐμαρές ἦδη συλλογίσσαντι τὴν διαφορὰν τῆς ἐκατέρου 2 προαιρεσεως. καθάπερ γὰρ νῦν Φίλιππος πεισθεὶς Ἀράτῳ διεφύλαξε τὴν πρὸς Μεσσηνίους πίστιν ἐν τοῖς κατὰ τὴν ἀκραν, καὶ μεγάλω, τὸ δὴ λεγόμενον, ἐλκεῖ τῷ προγεγονότι περὶ τὰς σφαγὰς 3 μικρὸν ἴαμα προσέθηκεν, οὕτως ἐν τοῖς κατ' Αἰτωλοὺς Δημητρίῳ κατακολουθήσας ἦσεβει μὲν εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς, τἀ καθίρωμένα τῶν ἀναθημάτων διαφθείρων, ἠμάρτανε δὲ περὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ὕπερβαίνων τοὺς τὸν πολέμου νόμους, ἦστοχεὶ δὲ τῆς σφετέρας προαιρεσεως, ἀπαραίτητον καὶ πικρὸν ἐαυτὸν ἀποδεικνύων ἐξηρὸν τοῖς διαφερομένοις.

4 ὁ δ' αὐτὸς λόγος καὶ περὶ τῶν κατὰ Κρήτην· καὶ γὰρ ἐπ' ἐκείνων Ἀράτῳ μὲν καθηγεμόνι χρησάμενος περὶ τῶν ὅλων, οὐχ οἶον ἀδικήσας, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ λυπήσας οὐδένα τῶν κατὰ τὴν νῆσον, ἀπαντας μὲν εἴχε τοὺς Κρηταιεῖς ὑποχειρίσουσι, ἀπαντας δὲ τοὺς Ἔλληνας εἰς τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν εὐνοιαν ἐπήγειτο 5 διὰ τὴν σεμνότητα τῆς προαιρεσεως. οὕτως πάλιν ἐπακολουθήσας Δημητρίῳ καὶ παραίτος γενόμενος Μεσσηνίους τῶν ἄρτι ρηθέντων ἀτυχημάτων, ἀμα τὴν παρὰ τοῖς συμμάχοις εὐνοιαν καὶ τὴν παρὰ 6 τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἐλλήναν ἀπέβαλε πίστων. τηλικάυτην τοῖς νέοις βασιλεύσι βοηθήν ἐχει καὶ πρὸς ἀτυχίαν καὶ πρὸς ἐπανόρθωσι τῆς ἀρχῆς ἢ τῶν παρεπο- μένων φιλῶν ἐκλογῆ καὶ κρίσις, ὑπὲρ ἢς οἱ πλείονα

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betrayal of his allies, he did not change from a man into a wolf, as in the Arcadian tale cited by Plato, but he changed from a king into a cruel tyrant. And a still more striking proof of the sentiment of each is this advice that they respectively gave about the citadel of Messene; so that there is not a shadow of doubt left about the Aetolian matter. 14. If we once accept this, it is easy to make up our minds about the extent to which their principles differed. For just as Philip on this occasion took the advice of Aratus and kept his faith to the Messenians regarding their citadel, and, as the saying is, did a little to heal the terrible wound inflicted by his massacres, so in Aetolia by following the advice of Demetrius he was not only guilty of impiety to the gods by destroying the offerings consecrated to them, but he sinned against men by transgressing the laws of war, and spoilt his own projects by showing himself the implacable and cruel foe of his adversaries. The same holds for his conduct in Crete. There, too, as long as he was guided by Aratus in his general policy, not only was he not guilty of injustice to any of the islanders, but he did not give the least offence to any; so that he had all the Cretans at his service, and by the strictness of his principles attracted the affection of all the Greeks. Again by letting himself be guided by Demetrius and inflicting on the Messenians the disasters I described above, he lost both the affection of his allies and the confidence of the other Greeks. Of such decisive importance for young kings, as leading either to misfortune or to the firm establishment of their kingdom, is the judicious choice of the friends who attend on them, a matter to
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VII. Res Asiae

15 Περὶ δὲ τὰς Σάρδεις ἀπαυγοῦν καὶ συνεχεῖς ἀκροβολισμοὶ συνίσταντο καὶ κύδνυοι καὶ νύκτωρ καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν, πᾶν γένος ἐνέδρας, ἀντενέδρας, ἐπιθέσεως ἐξευρισκόντων τῶν στρατιωτῶν κατ' ἀλλήλων: περὶ ὧν γράφειν τὰ κατὰ μέρος οὐ μόνον ἀνωφέλεις ἀλλὰ καὶ μακρὸν ἂν εἰῇ τελέως.

2 τὸ δὲ πέρας, ἢ δὴ τῆς πολιορκίας δεύτερον ἔτος ἐνεστώσης, Δαγόρας ὁ Κρής, τριβὴν ἐξων ἐν τοῖς πολεμικοῖς ἰκανήν, καὶ συνεωρακὼς ὅτι συμβαίνει τῶς ὀχυρωτάτας πόλεις ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ βάστα γίνεσθαι τοῖς πολεμίωσ ὑποχειρίοις διὰ τὴν ὀλυγωρίαν τῶν ἐνοικοῦντων, ὅταν πιστεύσαντες ταῖς ὀχυρότησι ταῖς φυσικαῖς ἢ χειρομοιότοις

3 ἀφυλακτῶσι καὶ ραθυμῶσι τὸ παράπαν, καὶ τούτων αὐτῶν ἐπεγνωκὼς διότι συμβαίνει τὰς ἀλώσεις γίνεσθαι κατὰ τοὺς ὀχυρωτάτους τόπους καὶ

4 δοκοῦντας ὅτι τῶν ἐναντίων ἀπηλπίσθαι, καὶ τότε θεωρῶν κατὰ τὴν προὐπάρχουσαν δόξαν περὶ τῆς τῶν Σάρδεων ὀχυρότητος ἀπαυγα ἀπεγνωκότας ὡς διὰ τοιοῦτος πράξεως κυριεύσεως αὐτῆς, μίαν δὲ ταύτην ἔχοντας ἐλπίδα τοῦ διὰ τῆς ἐνδείας

5 κρατήσει τῆς πόλεως, τοσοῦτοι μᾶλλον προσείχε καὶ πάντα τρόπον ἥρευνα, σπεύδων ἀφορμῆς

6 τινος ἐπιλαβέσθαι τοιούτης. συνθεωρήσας δὲ τὸ κατὰ τῶν καλούμενον Πρίόνα τεῖχος ἀφυλακτούμενον—οὗτος δ' ἔστι τόπος ὁ συνάπτων τὴν ἀκραν

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which most of them, with a sort of indifference, devote no care at all.

IV. Affairs of Asia

Antiochus and Achaeus

15. Round Sardis there was a constant succession of skirmishes and battles both by night and day, the soldiers devising against each other every species of ambush, counter-ambush, and attack: to describe which in detail would not only be useless, but would be altogether tedious. At last after the siege had lasted more than one year, Lagoras the Cretan intervened. He had considerable military experience, and had observed that as a rule the strongest cities are those which most easily fall into the hands of the enemy owing to the negligence of their inhabitants when, relying on the natural and artificial strength of a place, they omit to keep guard and become generally remiss. He had also noticed that these very cities are usually captured at their very strongest points where the enemy are supposed to regard attack as hopeless. At present he saw that owing to the prevailing notion of the extreme strength of Sardis, every one despaired of taking it by any such coup de main, and that their only hope was to subdue it by famine; and this made him pay all the more attention to the matter and seek out every possible means in his eagerness to get hold of some such favourable opportunity. Observing that the wall along the so-called Saw—which connects the citadel with the town—was
καὶ τὴν πόλιν—ἐγώνετο περὶ τὴν ἐλπίδα καὶ τὴν
7 ἑπίνοιαν ταύτην. τὴν μὲν οὖν τῶν φυλαττόντων
ῥαβμιάν ἐκ τουούτου τινὸς σημείου συν(ἐβη)
8 θεωρήσαι. τοῦ τόπου κρημνώδους ὑπάρχοντος
dιαφέροντος, καὶ φάραγγος ὑποκειμένης, εἰς ἡν
ῥιπτεῖσαι συνέβαινεν τοὺς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως νεκροὺς
καὶ τὰς τῶν ἱππῶν καὶ τὰς τῶν ὑποζυγίων τῶν
ἀποθησκόντων κοιλίας, εἰς τούτον αἰεὶ τὸ τῶν
γυνῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅριῶν πλῆθος ἡθροίζετο.
9 συνθεωρήσας οὖν ὁ προερημένος ἀνήρ, ὅτε πλη-
ρωθεὶ τὰ ζῶα, τὰς ἀναπαύσεις ἐπὶ τῶν κρημνῶν
καὶ τοῦ τείχους ποιούμενα συνεχῶς, ἔγνω διότι
κατ’ ἀνάγκην ἀφυλακτεῖται τὸ τείχος καὶ γίνεται τὸν
10 πλείστον χρόνον ἔρημον. λοιπὸν ἐπιμελῶς τὴν
νύκτα προσπορεύμονος ἐξήταξε τὰς προσβάσεις
11 καὶ θέσεις τῶν κλιμάκων. εὐρίσκων δὲ κατὰ τινα
tόπον καὶ καθ’ ἕνα τῶν κρημνῶν δυνατὴν οὖσαν,
προσφέρει τῷ βασιλέα τὸν περὶ τοὺτων λόγον.
16 τοῦ δὲ δεξαμένου τὴν ἐλπίδα καὶ παρακαλέσαντος
tὸν Δαγόραν ἐπιτελεῖν τὴν πράξιν, αὐτὸς μὲν
2 ὑπισχνεῖτο τὰ δυνατὰ ποιήσειν, ἡξίου δὲ τὸν
βασιλέα Θεόδοτον αὐτῷ τὸν Αἰτωλὸν καὶ Διονύσιον
τὸν ἡγεμόνα τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν παρακαλεύσαντα
συντήσαι συνεπιδοῦναι σφᾶς καὶ κοινωνήσαι τῆς
ἐπιβολῆς, διὰ τὸ δοκεῖν ἐκάτερον ἵκανὴν δύναμιν
ἐχειν καὶ τόλμαν πρὸς τὴν ἐπισύσχεσθαι πράξιν.
3 τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως παραχρῆμα ποιήσαντος τὸ παρα-
καλούμενον, συμφρονήσαντες οἱ προειρημένοι καὶ
κοινωσάμενοι περὶ πάντων ἐαυτοῖς ἐτήρουν νύκτα
τὸ περὶ τὴν ἐωθικὴν μέρος ἐχουσαν ἀσελήνην.
4 λαβόντες δὲ τουαύτην, ἐν ἦ πράττειν ἐμελλον
ημέρα, τῇ πρότερον ὄψιας δείλης ἐπέλεξαν ἐκ
unguarded, he began to entertain schemes and hopes of availing himself of this. He had discovered the remissness of the guard here from the following circumstance. The place is exceedingly precipitous and beneath it there is a ravine into which they used to throw the corpses from the city and the entrails of the horses and mules that died, so that a quantity of vultures and other birds used to collect here. Lagoras, then, seeing that when the birds had eaten their fill they used constantly to rest on the cliffs and on the wall, knew for a certainty that the wall was not guarded and was usually deserted. He now proceeded to visit the ground at night and note carefully at what places ladders could be brought up and placed against the wall. Having found that this was possible at a certain part of the cliff, he approached the king on the subject. 16. The king welcomed the proposal, and begged Lagoras to put his design in execution, upon which the latter promised to do the best he could himself, but begged the king to appeal for him to Theodotus the Aetolian and Dionysius the captain of the bodyguard and beg them to be his associates and take part in the enterprise, both of them being in his opinion men of such ability and courage as the undertaking required. The king at once did as he was requested, and these three officers having come to an agreement and discussed all the details, waited for a night in which there would be no moon towards morning. When such a night came, late in the evening of the day before that on which they were to take action.

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παντὸς τοῦ ορτατοπέδου πεντεκαίδεκα τοὺς εὐρω-
στοτάτους ἄνδρας καὶ τοῖς σώμασι καὶ ταῖς ψυχαῖς,
οίτινες ἔμελλον ἀμα μὲν προσοίσει τὰς κλίμακας,
ἀμα δὲ συναναβήσεσθαι καὶ μεθέξειν αὐτοῖς τῆς
5 τόλμης. μετὰ δὲ τούτους ἄλλους ἐπελέξαντο τριά-
κοντα τοὺς ἐν ἀποστήματι συνεφεδρεύσοντας, ἵν' ἐπειδὰν ὑπερβάντες αὐτοὶ πρὸς τὴν παρακειμένην
παραγένωνται πῦλην, οὗτοι μὲν ἐξώθην προσ-
πεσόντες πειράνται διακόπτεν τοὺς στροφεῖς καὶ
τὸ ζύγωμα τῶν πυλῶν, αὐτοὶ δὲ τὸν μοχλὸν
6 ἔνδοθεν καὶ τὰς βαλανάγρας, δισχίλιοις δὲ τοὺς
κατόπιν ἀκολουθήσοντας τούτοις, οὓς συνεισ-
pesόντας ἔδει καταλαβέσθαι τὴν τοῦ θεάτρου
στεφάνην, εὔφως κειμένην πρὸς τε τοὺς ἐκ τῆς
7 ἄκρας καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως. τοῦ δὲ μὴ
gενέσθαι μηδεμίαν ὑπομίαν τῆς ἀληθείας διὰ τὴν
ἐπιλογὴν τῶν ἄνδρῶν, διέδωκε λόγον ὡς τοὺς
Αἰτωλοὺς μέλλοντας εἰσπίπτεν διὰ τινὸς φάραγ-
gος εἰς τὴν πόλιν, καὶ δέον ἐνεργῶς τούτους
παραφυλάξαι πρὸς τὸ μηνυθὲν.
17 Ἐστοίμων δὲ πάντων αὐτοῖς γενομένων, ἀμα τὸ
κρυφθῆναι τὴν σελήνην λάθρᾳ πρὸς τοὺς κρημνοὺς
οἱ περὶ τὸν Δαγόραν ἀφικόμενοι μετὰ τῶν κλιμά-
cων ὑπέστειλαν έαυτοὺς ὑπὸ τινα προπεπτακυιὰν
2 ὁφρῶν. ἐπιγενομένης δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας, καὶ τῶν
μὲν φυλάκων ἀπολυμηνῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ τόπου τούτου,
toῦ δὲ βασιλέως κατὰ τὸν ἐθισμὸν τοὺς μὲν εἰς
tὰς ἐφεδρείας ἐκτέμποντος, τοὺς δὲ πολλοὺς εἰς
tὸν ἱππόδρομον ἐξαγαγόντος καὶ παρατάττοντος,
tὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀνύποπτον ἢν πᾶσι τὸ γενόμενον.
3 προστεθεισῶν δὲ δυεῖν κλιμάκων, καὶ δὲ ἦς μὲν

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they chose from the whole army fifteen men distinguished by their physical strength and courage, whose duty it would be to bring up the ladders and afterwards mount the wall together with themselves and take part in the hazardous attempt. They next chose thirty others who were to lie in ambush at a certain distance, so that when they themselves had crossed the wall and reached the nearest gate, these men should fall upon the gate from outside and attempt to cut through the hinges and bar of the gate, while they themselves cut from within the bar on that side and the bolt-pins. These were to be followed by a select force of two thousand men, who were to march in through the gate and occupy the upper edge of the theatre, a position favourably situated for attacking the garrisons both of the citadel and city. In order that no suspicion of the truth should arise from the selection of these men, he had caused it to be reported that the Aetolians were about to throw themselves into the city through a certain ravine, and that, acting on this information, energetic measures had to be taken to prevent them.

17. Every preparation having been made, as soon as the moon set, Lagoras and his party came stealthily up to the foot of the cliff with their scaling ladders and concealed themselves under a projecting rock. At daybreak, as the watch was withdrawing from this spot, and the king, as was his custom, was engaged in sending some troops to the outposts and in marching the main body out to the hippodrome and there drawing them up in battle order, at first no one had any inkling of what was occurring. But when two ladders were set up and Dionysius was
Διονυσίου, δι' ἂς δὲ Λαγόρα πρῶτον πορευομένων, ἐγίνετο παραχὴ καὶ κίνημα περὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον. 4 συνέβαμε γὰρ τοῖς μὲν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἀχαίον ἐκ τῆς ἀκρας ἀδήλους εἶναι τοὺς προσβαίνοντας διὰ τῆς προπεπτωκυίας ἐπὶ τὸν κρημνὸν ὀφρύος· τοῖς δὲ ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου σύνοπτος ἢ τὸλμα τῶν ἀναβαινόντων καὶ παρα- 5 βαλλομένων. διότερ οἱ μὲν ἐκπεπληγμένοι τὸ παράδοξον, οἱ δὲ προσώμενοι καὶ δεδιότες τὸ συμβησόμενον, ἄχανεὶς ἀμα δὲ περιχαρεῖς ὄντες, 6 ἔστασαν. ὅθεν ὁ βασιλεύς, θεωρῶν τὸ περὶ τὴν ὀλήν παρεμβολήν κίνημα, καὶ βουλόμενος ἀποστάν ἀπὸ τοῦ προκειμένου τοὺς τε παρ' ἀυτοῦ καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, προῆγε τὴν δύναμιν καὶ προσέβαλε πρὸς τὰς ἐπὶ θάτερα πύλας κεμένας, Περσίδας 7 δὲ προσαγορευομένας. Ἀχαῖος δὲ, συνθεωρῶν ἐκ τῆς ἀκρας τὸ περὶ τοὺς ὑπεναντίους κίνημα παρ- 8 ἴλλαγμένον τῆς συνηθείας, ἐπὶ πολὺ διηπῳεῖτο δυσχρηστούμενος καὶ συννόησε τὸ γενόμενον 9 συνέβαμε γίνεσθαι τὴν ἐπικουρίαν. ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως τεταγμένος Ἀρίβαζοι ἀκάκως ὄρμησε πρὸς τὰς πύλας, αἰς ἐώρα προσβάλλοντα τὸν Ἀντίοχον, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἀνεβίβαζε, 10 τοὺς δὲ διὰ τῆς πύλης ἀφεῖς εἴργειν τοὺς συν- εγγίζοντας καὶ συμπλέκονται παρεκελεύετο τοῖς πολεμίοις. 18 Κατὰ δὲ τὸν καιρὸν τούτον οἱ περὶ τὸν Λαγόραν καὶ Θεόδωτον καὶ Διονύσιον ὑπερβάντες τοὺς 2 κρημνοῦς ἦκον ἐπὶ τὴν ὑποκειμένην πύλην. καὶ 442
the first to mount the one and Lagoras the other, there was a great excitement and commotion in the army. It so happened that the assailants could not be seen by those in the town or from the citadel by Achaeus owing to the projecting brow of the rock; but the venturesome and perilous ascent was made in full view of Antiochus’ army; so that either from astonishment and surprise or from apprehension and fear of the result all stood breathless but at the same time overjoyed. The king, therefore, noticing this excitement in the camp and wishing to divert the attention both of his own forces and of the besieged from his attempt, advanced his army and made an attack on the gate at the other side of the town, known as the Persian gate. Achaeus, observing from the citadel the unusual movement of the enemy, was for long quite at a loss, being entirely puzzled and unable to understand what was going on. However, he sent off to meet them at the gate a force which was too late to assist, as they had to descend by a narrow and precipitous path. Aribazus, the commander of the town, advanced unsuspectingly to the gate which he saw Antiochus was attacking, and making some of his men mount the wall sent the rest out through the gate, with orders to engage the enemy and check his advance.

18. Simultaneously Lagoras, Theodotus, and Dionysius had crossed the precipitous ridge and reached the gate beneath it. While some of them


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κυνὶς μὲν αὐτῶν διεμάχοντο πρὸς τοὺς ἀπαντῶντας,
oi δὲ διέκοπτον τοὺς μοχλοὺς. ἀμα δὲ τούτοις
προσπέσοντες ἔξωθεν οἱ τεταγμένοι πρὸς τοῦτο
3 τὸ μέρος τὸ παραπλήσιον ἐποίουν. ταχὺ δὲ τῶν
πυλῶν ἀνοιχθεσσα, εἰσελθόντες οἱ δισχίλιοι κατ-
4 ελάβοντο τὴν τοῦ θεάτρου στεφάνην. οὐ γινομέ-
νον πάντες ὄρμησαν ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν καὶ τῆς
Περσίδος προσαγορευμένης πύλης, ἐφ’ ἣν προ-
tερον ἐβοήθησαν οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀρίβαζον, σπεύδοντες
5 παρεγγυᾶν ἐπὶ τοὺς εἰσπεπτωκότας. τούτου δὲ
συμβαινόντος, κατὰ τὴν ἀποχώρησιν ἀνεφομένης
τῆς πύλης, συνεισέπεσον τινες τῶν παρὰ τοῦ
6 βασιλέως, ἐπόμενοι τοῖς ὑποχωροῦσιν. ὦν κρα-
tησάντων τῆς πύλης, ἤδη τούτους κατὰ τὸ συνεχὲς
οἱ μὲν εἰσέπιπτον, οἱ δὲ τὰς παρακειμένας διέκοπτον
7 πύλας. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἀρίβαζον καὶ πάντες οἱ
κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἐπὶ βραχὺ διαγωνισάμενοι πρὸς
τοὺς εἰσεληλυθότας ὄρμησαν φεύγειν πρὸς τὴν
8 ἀκραν. οὐ συμβάντος οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸν Θεόδοτον
καὶ Λαγόραν ἐμενον ἐπὶ τῶν κατὰ τὸ θέατρον
τόπων, νουνεχὼς καὶ πραγματικῶς ἐφεδρεύοντες
τοῖς οἷοις, ἡ δὲ λοιπῇ δύναμις εἰσπεσοῦσα παν-
9 ταχόθεν ἁμα κατειλήφει τὴν πόλιν. καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν
ήδη, τῶν μὲν φονεύοντων τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας,
tῶν δὲ τὰς ὀικήσεις ἐμπερχόντων, ἄλλων δὲ πρὸς
τὰς ἀρταγάς καὶ τὰς ὥφελειας ὃρμηκότων, ἐγίνετο
παντελῆς ἡ τῇ πόλεως καταφθορὰ καὶ διαρρήγη.
10 καὶ Σάρδεων μὲν τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἐγένετο κύριος
Ἀντίοχος. [Cod. Urb. fol. 98v med.]
engaged the enemy they encountered, the rest were cutting the bar, while those outside to whom this task had been assigned had come up to the gate and were similarly employed. The gate was soon opened and the two thousand entered and occupied the upper edge of the theatre, upon which all the men hurried back from the walls and from the Persian gate, where Aribazus had previously sent them to resist the enemy, all eager to pass the word to fall upon those who had entered the city. But as, upon this taking place, the gate was opened for their retreat, some of the king's men who were following close upon the retiring force got in together with them, and as soon as they had made themselves masters of the gate, others from behind continued to pour in, while others again were breaking open the neighbouring gates. Aribazus and all the garrison of the town, after a short struggle with the invaders, fled in haste to the citadel, and upon this, while Theodotus and Lagoras remained in the neighbourhood of the theatre, showing sound practical sense in thus holding themselves in reserve during the whole operation, the rest of the army pouring in from all sides took possession of the city. Henceforth some of them massacring all they met, others setting fire to the houses and others dispersing themselves to pillage and loot, the destruction and sack of Sardis was complete. It was in this manner that Antiochus made himself master of Sardis. . . .
FRAGMENTA LIBRI VIII

I. Ex Prooemio

1 (3) Oūk ἀλλότριον εἶναι μοι δοκεῖ τῆς ὅλης ἡμῶν ἐπιβολῆς καὶ τῆς ἐν ἀρχαῖς προθέσεως συνεπιστῆσαι τοὺς ἀκοῦοντας ἐπὶ τὸ μεγαλεῖὸν τῶν πράξεων καὶ τὸ φιλότιμον τῆς ἐκατέροι τοῦ ποιητικοῦ μνήματος προαιρέσεως, λέγω δὲ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων καὶ Καρχη-2 δονίων. τίς γὰρ οὐκ ἀν ἐπισημήνατο πῶς τηλικοῦ-
tον μὲν πόλεμον συνεσταμένοι περὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν πραγμάτων, οὐκ ἐλάττω δὲ τούτων περὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἸΒηρίαν, ἀκμὴν δὲ περὶ τούτων ἀδήλους μὲν ἔχοντες ἐπ’ ἱσον ἁμφότεροι τὰς ὑπὲρ τοῦ μέλλοντος ἐλπίδας, ἐφαμέλλους δὲ τοὺς κατὰ 3 τὸ παρὸν ἑνεστῶτας κινδύνους, ὁμοὶον οὐκ ἠρκοῦντο ταῖς προκειμέναις ἐπιβολαῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ Σαρδόνοις καὶ Σικελίαις ἡμφισβήτουν . . . . . . καὶ πάντα περιελάμβανον, οὐ μόνον ταῖς ἐλπίσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῖς χορηγίαις καὶ ταῖς παρασκευαῖς; 4 δ καὶ μάλιστ’ ἂν τις εἰς τὸ κατὰ μέρος ἐμβλέψῃς βαυμάσει. δῦο μὲν γὰρ Ῥωμαίους κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν μετὰ τῶν ὕπάτων ἐντελῆ προεκάθητο στρατόπεδα, δῦο δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἸΒηρίαν, ὅπε τὸ μὲν πεζὸν Γναίος εἶχε, τὸ δὲ ναυτικὸν Πόλιος. 5 οἰκεῖοι δὲ ταῦτα συνέβαινε γίνεσθαι καὶ παρὰ 446
FRAGMENTS OF BOOK VIII

I. From the Preface

1. It appears to me not to be foreign to my general purpose and original plan to call the attention of my readers to the vast scope of operations of the two states Rome and Carthage, and the diligence with which they pursued their purposes. For who can help admiring the way in which, although they had on their hands such a serious war for the possession of Italy, and another no less serious for the possession of Spain, and though they were in each case both of them quite uncertain as to their prospects of success and in an equally perilous position, they were yet by no means content with the undertakings on which they were thus engaged, but disputed likewise the possession of Sardinia and Sicily, not only entertaining hopes of conquest all the world over, but laying in supplies and making preparations for the purpose? It is indeed when we come to look into the details that our admiration is fully aroused. The Romans had two complete armies for the defence of Italy under the two consuls and two others in Spain, the land forces there being commanded by Gnaeus Cornelius Scipio and the fleet by Publius Cornelius Scipio; and of course the
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6 Καρχηδονίοις. καὶ μὴν τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα τόποις ἐφώρμει καὶ ταῖς ἐπιβολαῖς τοῦ Φιλίππου στόλος, ἐφ’ οὗ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον Μάρκος Ουαλέριος,
7 μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Πόπλιος ἐπέπλευ Σουλπίκιος. ἀμα
dε τούτοις Ἀππιος μὲν ἐκατὸν πεντηρικοῖς σκάφεσιν,
Μάρκος δὲ Κλαύδιος πεζικάς ἔχων δυνάμεις, ἐφ-
8 ἧδρευε τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Σικελίαν. τὸ δ’ αὐτὸ τούτ’
’Αμίλκας ἐποίηει παρὰ Καρχηδονίοις.

2 (4) Δι’ ὧν ὑπολαμβάνω τὸ πολλάκις ἐν ἀρχαῖς ἡμῶν
tῆς πραγματείας εἰρημένον νῦν δι’ αὐτῶν τῶν
2 ἔργων ἀληθινῆς λαμβάνων πίστιν. τούτο δ’ ἦν
ὡς οὐχ οἶδον τε διὰ τῶν τάς κατὰ μέρος ἱστορίας
γραφόντων συνθέασασθαι τήν τῶν ὀλίγων οἰκονο-
3 μίαν. πῶς γὰρ ἐνδέχεται ψιλῶς αὐτᾶς καθ’ αὐτᾶς
ἀναγνώστη τὰς Σικελικὰς ἡ τὰς Ἰβηρικὰς πράξεις,
γνώναι καὶ μαθεῖν ἡ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν γεγονότων
ἡ τὸ συνέχον, τίνι τρόπῳ καὶ τίνι γένει πολιτείας
tὸ παραδοξότατον καθ’ ἡμᾶς ἔργον ἡ τύχη συνε-
4 τέλεσε; τούτο δ’ ἔστι τὸ πάντα τὰ γνωριζόμενα
μέρη τῆς οἰκουμένης ὑπὸ μίαν ἀρχήν καὶ δυναστείαν
ἀγαγεῖν, δ’ πρῶτον οὐχ εὐρίσκεται γεγονός. πῶς
5 μὲν γὰρ εἶθι Συρακοῦσας Ῥωμαίοι καὶ πῶς
Ἰβηρίαν κατέσχον, οὐκ ἀδύνατον καὶ διὰ τῶν κατὰ
6 μέρος ἐπὶ ποσὸν γνώναι συντάξεων. πῶς δὲ τῆς
ἀπάντων ἱγμενον καθίκοντο, καὶ τί πρὸς τὰς
όλοσχερεῖς αὐτοῖς ἐπιβολὰς κατὰ μέρος
ἀντέπραξε, καὶ τί πάλιν καὶ κατὰ τίνας καιροὺς
συνήργησε, δυσχερές καταλαβεῖν ἀνευ τῆς καθόλου
7 τῶν πράξεων ἱστορίας. οὐ μὴν τὸ μέγεθος τῶν
ἔργων οὐδὲ τὴν τοῦ πολιτεύματος δύναμιν εὐμαρές
8 κατανοήσαι διὰ τὰς αὐτᾶς αἰτίας. τὸ γὰρ ἀντι-
same was the case with the Carthaginians. But besides this a Roman fleet lay off the coast of Greece to observe the movements of Philip, commanded first by Marcus Valerius and later by Publius Sulpicius, while at the same time Appius with a hundred quinqueremes and Marcus Claudius Marcellus with a land force protected their interests in Sicily, Hamilcar doing the same on the part of the Carthaginians.

2. I consider that a statement I often made at the outset of this work thus receives confirmation from actual facts, I mean my assertion that it is impossible to get from writers who deal with particular episodes a general view of the whole process of history. For how by the bare reading of events in Sicily or in Spain can we hope to learn and understand either the magnitude of the occurrences or the thing of greatest moment, what means and what form of government Fortune has employed to accomplish the most surprising feat she has performed in our times, that is, to bring all the known parts of the world under one rule and dominion, a thing absolutely without precedent? For how the Romans took Syracuse and how they occupied Spain may possibly be learnt from the perusal of such particular histories; but how they attained to universal empire and what particular circumstances obstructed their grand design, or again how and at what time circumstances contributed to its execution is difficult to discern without a general history. Nor for the same reason is it easy otherwise to perceive the greatness of their achievements and the value of their system of polity. It would not be surprising in itself that
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ποιήσασθαι 'Ρωμαίων Ἡβηρίας ἡ πάλιν Σικελίας, 
καὶ στρατεύσαι πεζικαὶ καὶ ναυτικαὶ δυνάμεσιν, 
αὐτὸ καθ’ αὐτὸ λεγόμενον οὐκ ἂν εἰη θαυμαστὸν.
9 ἄμα δὲ τούτων συμβαίνοντων καὶ πολλαπλασίων 
ἀλλων κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν ἑπιτελουμένων ἐκ 
τῆς αὐτῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ πολιτείας, καὶ θεωρουμένων 
ὁμοί τούτων τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἰδίαν χώραν ὑπάρχουσῶν 
περιστάσεων καὶ πολέμων περί τοὺς ἄπαντα τὰ 
10 προειρημένα χειρίζοντας, οὕτως ἂν εἰη μόνως 
σαφῆ τὰ γεγονότα καὶ θαυμαστὰ καὶ μάλιστ’ 
ἀν οὕτως τυχάνοι τῆς ἀρμοζούσης ἐπιστάσεως.
11 ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἦμιν εἰρήσθω πρὸς τοὺς ὑπολαμ-
βάνοντας διὰ τῆς τῶν κατὰ μέρος συντάξεως 
ἐμπειρίαν ποιήσασθαι τῆς καθολικῆς καὶ κοινῆς 
ἐστορίας. [Cod. Urb. fol. 102v.]

II. Res Siciliae

3 (5) "Οτε δὴ τὰς Συρακούσας Ἕπικύδης τε καὶ 
Ἱπποκράτης κατέλαβον, ἐαυτοὺς τε καὶ τοὺς 
ἄλλους τῶν πολιτῶν τῆς Ἑρωδίους 
συμβαίνοντας, οἱ Ὀλίγας καὶ τῆς ἸΕρωνύμου 
τοῦ Πελώρας τυράννου καταστροφῆς Ἀπολλών 
Κλαύδιου ἀντιστράτηγον 
καταστήσαντες αὐτῷ 
μὲν τὴν πεζῆν 
συνεστησαν 
δύναμιν, τὸν 
ἐπιτρόπευε 
2 Μάρκος Κλαύδιος. 
οὕτω 
τὸν 
ὑπολαμ 
πόλεως, 
τὰς 
προσβο 
ἐκρω 
ποι 
κα 
ἐπ᾽ 
αὐτ 
τῆς 
450
the Romans had designs on Spain and Sicily and made military and naval expeditions to these two countries; but when we realize how at the same time that these projects and countless others were being carried out by the government of a single state, this same people who had all this on their hands were exposed in their own country to wars and other perils, then only will the events appear in their just light and really call forth admiration, and only thus are they likely to obtain the attention they deserve. So much for those who suppose that by a study of separate histories they will become familiar with the general history of the world as a whole.

II. Affairs of Sicily

The Siege of Syracuse

3. At the time that Epicydes and Hippocrates seized on Syracuse, alienating themselves and the rest of the citizens from the friendship of Rome, the Romans, who had already heard of the fate of Hieronymus, tyrant of Syracuse, appointed Appius Claudius as propraetor, entrusting him with the command of the land forces, while they put their fleet under that of Marcus Claudius Marcellus. These commanders took up a position not far from the city, and decided to attack it with their land forces in the neighbourhood of the Hexapyli, and with their fleet at the Stoa Scytice in Achradina, where

* Leading Syracusan politicians after the assassination of Hieronymus.
κεῖται τῆς κρηπίδος τὸ τείχος παρὰ θάλατταν. 3 ἐτοιμασάμενοι δὲ γέρρα καὶ βέλη καὶ τάλλα τὰ πρὸς τὴν πολιορκίαν, ἐν ἡμέραις πέντε διὰ τὴν πολυχειρίαν ἦλπισαν καταταχῆσει τῇ παρασκευῇ τοὺς ὑπεναντίους, οὐ λογισάμενοι τὴν Ἀρχιμήδους δύναμιν, οὐδὲ προϊδόμενοι διότι μία ψυχὴ τῆς ἀπάσης ἐστὶ πολυχειρίας ἐν ἐνίοις καιροῖς ἀνυστικωτέρα. πλὴν τότε δι’ αὐτῶν ἔγνωσαν τῶν ἐργών τὸ λεγόμενον. οὐσίς γὰρ ὀχυρᾶς τῆς πόλεως διὰ τὸ κείσθαι κύκλῳ τὸ τείχος ἐπὶ τῶν ὑπερδεξίων καὶ προκειμένης ὀφρύος, πρὸς ἦν καὶ μηδὲνος κωλύοντος οὐκ ἂν εὐμαράξῃ τις δύνατον πελάσαι πλὴν κατὰ τινὰς τῶν ὑρισμένος,
5 τοιαύτην ἡτοίμασε παρασκευὴν ὁ προερημένος ἄνηρ ἐντὸς τῆς πόλεως, ὅμως δὲ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς κατὰ θάλατταν ἐπιπορευομένους, ἀστεὶ μηδὲν ἐκ τοῦ καιροῦ <δεῖν> ἀσχολείσθαι τοὺς ἁμομομένους, πρὸς πᾶν δὲ τὸ γινόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν ἐναντίων ἔξι ἐτοίμου ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἀπάντησιν. πλὴν ὁ μὲν Ἀππιος ἐχὼν γέρρα καὶ κλίμακας ἑνεχείρει προσφέρειν ταῦτα τῷ συνάπτοντι τείχει τοῖς Ἐξαπύλοις ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνατόλων.

4 (6) Ὁ δὲ Μάρκος ἐξήκοντα σκάφεσι πεντηρικοῖς ἐποιεῖτο τὸν ἐπίπλουν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀχραδίνην, ὅπως ἐκαστὸν πλῆρες ἢν ἀνδρῶν ἔχοντων τόξα καὶ σφενδόνας καὶ γρόσφους, δι’ ὅν ἐμελλὼν τοὺς ἀπὸ 2 τῶν ἐπάλξεων μαχομένοις ἀναστέλλειν. ἦμα δὲ τούτοις ὅκτω πεντήρεσι, παραλευμέναις τοὺς ταρσούς, ταῖς μὲν τοὺς δεξιοὺς, ταῖς δὲ τοὺς εὐωνύμους, καὶ συνεξενυμέναις πρὸς ἀλλήλας σύνδυο κατὰ τοὺς ἐμιλωμένους τοίχους, προσήγον πρὸς τὸ τείχος διὰ τῆς τῶν ἐκτὸς τοῖχων εἰρεσίας τὰς 452
the wall reaches down to the very edge of the sea. Having got ready their blindages, missiles, and other siege material, they were in high hopes owing to their large numbers that in five days their works would be much more advanced than those of the enemy, but in this they did not reckon with the ability of Archimedes, or foresee that in some cases the genius of one man accomplishes much more than any number of hands. However, now they learnt the truth of this saying by experience. The strength of Syracuse lies in the fact that the wall extends in a circle along a chain of hills with overhanging brows, which are, except in a limited number of places, by no means easy of approach even with no one to hinder it. Archimedes now made such extensive preparations, both within the city and also to guard against an attack from the sea, that there would be no chance of the defenders being employed in meeting emergencies, but that every move of the enemy could be replied to instantly by a counter move. Appius, however, with his blindages, and ladders attempted to use these for attacking the portion of the wall which abuts on the Hexapylus to the east.

4. Meanwhile Marcellus was attacking Achradina from the sea with sixty quinqueremes, each of which was full of men armed with bows, slings, and javelins, meant to repulse those fighting from the battle-ments. He had also eight quinqueremes from which the oars had been removed, the starboard oars from some and the larboard ones from others. These were lashed together two and two, on their dismantled sides, and pulling with the oars on their outer sides they brought up to the wall the so-called
3 λεγομένας σαμβύκας. τὸ δὲ γένος τῆς κατασκευῆς
4 τῶν εἰρημένων ὀργάνων ἐστὶ τοιοῦτο. κλίμακα
tῶ πλάτει τετράπεδον ἐτοιμάσαντες, ὥστ' ἐξ
ἀποβάσεως ισούφη γενέσθαι τῷ τείχει, ταύτης
ἐκατέραν τὴν πλευρὰν δρυφακτώσαντες καὶ σκεπά-
σαντες ὑπερπετέσι θωρακίοις, ἔθηκαν πλαγίαν
ἐπὶ τοὺς συμπαύοντας τοῖχοις τῶν συνεξευγμένων
5 νεῶν, πολὺ προπίπτουσαν τῶν ἐμβόλων. πρὸς δὲ
τοῖς ἱστοῖς ἐκ τῶν ἄνω μερῶν τροχιλίαι προσ-
6 ἤρτημα σὲν κάλοις. λοιπὸν ὅταν ἐγγίσασι τῆς
χρείας, ἐνδεδεμένων τῶν κάλων εἰς τὴν κορυφὴν
tῆς κλίμακος, ἐλκοῦσι διὰ τῶν τροχιλίων τοῦτος
ἐστώτες ἐν ταῖς πρύμναις· ἔτεροι δὲ παραπλήσιοι
ἐν ταῖς πρῶραις ἐξερείδοντες ταῖς ἀντηρίσιν
7 ἀσφαλίζονται τὴν ἄρσιν τοῦ μηχανήματος. κα-
πετα τὰ διὰ τῆς εἰρεσίας τῆς ἄφ' ἐκατέρου τῶν ἐκτὸς
τάρσων ἐγγίσαντες τῇ γῇ τὰς ναῦς, πειράζοντι
προσερείδειν τῷ τείχει τὸ προειρημένον ὀργανον. ἐπὶ
8 δὲ τῆς κλίμακος ἄκρας ὑπάρχει πέτευρον ἵσφαλ-
σμένου γέρρους τὰς τρεῖς ἐπιφανεῖας, ἐφ' οὐ τέτταρες
ἀνδρεῖς ἐπιβεβηκότες ἀγωνίζονται, διαμαχόμενοι
πρὸς τοὺς ἐγραφοῦται ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπάλξεων τὴν πρόσ-
9 θεσιν τῆς σαμβύκης. ἔτοι δὲ προσερείδαστες ὑπερ-
δεξιόν γένονται τοῦ τείχους, οὕτωι μὲν τὰ πλάγια
τῶν γέρρων παραλύσαντες ἐξ ἐκατέρου τοῦ μέρους
ἐπιβαίνουσιν ἐπὶ τὰς ἐπάλξεις ἃ τοὺς πύργους.
10 οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ διὰ τῆς σαμβύκης ἐπονται τοῦτοις,
ἀσφαλῶς τοῖς κάλοις βεβηκυίας τῆς κλίμακος εἰς
11 ἁμφότερας τὰς ναῦς. εἰκότως δὲ τὸ κατασκεύασμα
τῆς προσηγορίας τέτευχε ταυτής· ἐπεὶ δὲν γὰρ ἐξ-
αρθῇ, γίνεται τὸ σχῆμα τῆς νεῶς ταύτης καὶ τῆς
κλίμακος ἐνοποιηθὲν παραπλήσιον σαμβύκη.
“sambucae.” These engines are constructed as follows. A ladder was made four feet broad and of a height equal to that of the wall when planted at the proper distance. Each side was furnished with a breastwork, and it was covered in by a screen at a considerable height. It was then laid flat upon those sides of the ships which were in contact and protruding a considerable distance beyond the prow. At the top of the masts there are pulleys with ropes, and when they are about to use it, they attach the ropes to the top of the ladder, and men standing at the stern pull them by means of the pulleys, while others stand on the prow, and supporting the engine with props, assure its being safely raised. After this the rowers on both the outer sides of the ships bring them close to shore, and they now endeavour to set the engine I have described up against the wall. At the summit of the ladder there is a platform protected on three sides by wicker screens, on which four men mount and face the enemy resisting the efforts of those who from the battlements try to prevent the sambuca from being set up against the wall. As soon as they have set it up and are on a higher level than the wall, these men pull down the wicker screens on each side of the platform and mount the battlements or towers, while the rest follow them through the sambuca which is held firm by the ropes attached to both ships. The construction was appropriately called a sambuca, for when it is raised the shape of the ship and ladder together is just like the musical instrument.

* A sambuca was a musical instrument somewhat resembling a harp.
5 (7) Πλὴν οὕτωι μὲν τὸν τρόπον τούτον διηρμοσμένος νοι προσάγειν διεννοοῦντο τοῖς πύργοις· ὁ δὲ προερημένος ἀνήρ, παρεσκευασμένος ὄργανα πρὸς ἀπαν ἐμβελέσ διάστημα, πόρρωθεν μὲν ἐπιπλέον- τας τοῖς εὐτυνώτεροις καὶ μείζονι λυθοβόλους καὶ βέλεσι τιτρώσκων εἰς ἀπορίαν ἑνέβαλε καὶ δυσχρή- 
3 στάν, ὅτε δὲ ταῦθ ὑπερπετὴ γίνοιτο, τοῖς ἐλάσσοσι κατὰ λόγον ἀεὶ πρὸς τὸ παρὸν ἀπόστημα χρώμενος εἰς τοιαύτην ἤγαγε διατριβή ὡστε καθὸλον 
4 κωλὺειν αὐτῶν τῇ ὁρμῇ καὶ τὸν ἐπίπλουν, ἐώς ὁ Μάρκος δυσθετούμενος ἤγαγκάσθη λάθρα νυκτὸς 
5 ἐτι ποιῆσασθαί τὴν παραγωγήν. γενομένων δ᾿ 

αὐτῶν ἐντὸς βέλους πρὸς τῇ γῇ, πάλιν ἐτέραν 

ἤτοιμάκει παρασκευήν πρὸς τοὺς ἀπομαχομένους 

6 ἐκ τῶν πλοίων. ἐώς ἀνδρομήκους ὑψόσι κατε- 

πύκνωσε τρήμασι τὸ τείχος ὦς παλαιστιαῖος τὸ 

μέγεθος κατὰ τὴν ἐκτὸς ἐπιφάνειαν· ὀἷς τοξότας καὶ 

σκορπίδια παραστήσας ἐντὸς τοῦ τείχους, 

καὶ βάλλων διὰ τούτων, ἄχρηστους ἑποίει τοὺς 

7 ἐπιβάτας. ἕξ οὐ καὶ μακρὰν ἀφεστῶτας καὶ 

σύνεγγυς ὄντας τοὺς πολεμίους οὐ μόνον ἀπρά- 

κτους παρασκεύαζε πρὸς τὰς ἱδίας ἐπιβολᾶς, ἀλλὰ 

8 καὶ διεφθειρε τοὺς πλείστους αὐτῶν. ὅτε δὲ τὰς 

σαμβύκας ἐγχειρήσαιεν ἐξαίρειν, ὄργανα παρ᾿ 

ὅλον τὸ τείχος ἦτοιμαί, τὸν μὲν λοιπὸν χρόνον 

ἀφανῆ, κατὰ δὲ τὸν τῆς χρείας καὶ ἐκ τῶν 

ἐσω μερῶν ὑπὲρ τοῦ τείχους ἀνιστάμενα καὶ 

προσπέπτοντα πολὺ τῆς ἐπάλξεως ταῖς κεραίαις· 

9 ἃν τινὰ μὲν ἐβάσταζε λίθους οὐκ ἐλάσσοσι δέκα 

10 ταλάντων, τινὰ δὲ σηκώματα μολίβδινα. λοιπὸν
5. Such were the contrivances with which the Romans intended to attack the towers. But Archimedes, who had prepared engines constructed to carry to any distance, so damaged the assailants at long range, as they sailed up, with his more powerful mangonels and heavier missiles as to throw them into much difficulty and distress; and as soon as these engines shot too high he continued using smaller and smaller ones as the range became shorter, and, finally, so thoroughly shook their courage that he put a complete stop to their advance, until Marcellus was so hard put to it that he was compelled to bring up his ships secretly while it was still night. But when they were close in shore and too near to be struck by the mangonels Archimedes had hit upon another contrivance for attacking the men who were fighting from the decks. He had pierced in the wall at short distances a series of loopholes of the height of a man and of about a palm's breadth on the outer side. Stationing archers and "small scorpions" opposite these inside the wall and shooting through them, he disabled the soldiers. So that he not only made the efforts of the enemy ineffective whether they were at a distance or close at hand, but destroyed the greater number of them. And when they tried to raise the sambucae he had engines ready all along the wall, which while invisible at other times, reared themselves when required from inside above the wall, their beams projecting far beyond the battlements, some of them carrying stones weighing as much as ten talents and others large lumps of

*a A certain kind of engine for the discharge of missiles was so named.


6 (8) ἐκ τῆς μηχανής ἔντος τοῦ τείχους. οὔτε δὲ κοιφίζων τὴν πρώρραν ὀρθῶς ποιήσει τὸ σκάφος ἐπὶ πρύμναν, τὰς μὲν πτέρνας τῶν ὀργάνων εἰς ἀκίνητον καθῆπτε, τὴν δὲ χεῖρα καὶ τὴν ἀλυσιν ἐκ τῆς μηχανῆς ἑξέρ- ραίνε διὰ τῶν σχαστηρίας. οὐ γινομένου τινά μὲν τῶν πλοίων πλάγια κατέπιπτε, τινὰ δὲ καὶ κατεστρέφετο, τὰ δὲ πλείστα τῆς πρώρρας ἀφ' ὕψους ριβθείσης βαπτιζόμενα πλήρη θαλάττης ἐγείνετο καὶ ταραχῆς. Μάρκος δὲ δυσχρηστοῦ- μενος ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀπαντωμένοις ὑπ' Ἀρχιμήδους, καὶ θεωρῶν μετὰ βλάβης καὶ χλευασμοῦ τοὺς ἐνδον ἀποτριβομένους αὐτοῦ τὰς ἐπιβολὰς, δυσ- χερῶς μὲν ἐφερε τὸ συμβαίνον, ὡμοὶ δὲ ἐπι- σκόπτων τὰς αὐτοῦ πράξεις ἔφη ταῖς μὲν ναυσίν αὐτοῦ κυαθίζειν ἐκ θαλάττης Ἀρχιμήδη, τὰς δὲ σαμβυκὰς ῥαπιζόμενα ᾠσπερ ἐκπόνδους μετ' αἰσχύνης ἐκπεπτωκέναι.

7 Καὶ τῆς μὲν κατὰ θαλατταν πολιορκίας τοιοῦτον
lead. Whenever the sambucae approached these beams were swung round on their axis, and by means of a rope running through a pulley dropped the stones on the sambuca, the consequence being that not only was the engine smashed, but the ship and those on board were in the utmost peril. 6. There were some machines again which were directed against parties advancing under the cover of blinds and thus protected from injury by missiles shot through the wall. These machines, on the one hand, discharged stones large enough to chase the assailants from the prow, and at the same time let down an iron hand attached to a chain with which the man who piloted the beam would clutch at the ship, and when he had got hold of her by the prow, would press down the opposite end of the machine which was inside the wall. Then when he had thus by lifting up the ship's prow made her stand upright on her stern, he made fast the opposite end of the machine, and by means of a rope and pulley let the chain and hand suddenly drop from it. The result was that some of the vessels fell on their sides, some entirely capsized, while the greater number, when their prows were thus dropped from a height, went under water and filled, throwing all into confusion. Marcellus was hard put to it by the resourcefulness of Archimedes, and seeing that the garrison thus baffled his attacks not only with much loss to himself but with derision he was deeply vexed, but still made fun of his own performances, saying, "Archimedes uses my ships to ladle seawater into his wine cups, but my sambuca band is flogged out of the banquet in disgrace."

Such was the result of the siege from the sea.
7 (9) ἀπέβη τὸ τέλος. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἀππιον εἰς παρα-
2 πλησίους ἐμπεσόντες δυσχερείας ἀπέστησαν τὴς ἐπι-
βολῆς. ἦτι μὲν γὰρ ὄντες ἐν ἀποστήματι τοῖς τε
πετροβόλοις καὶ καταπέλταις τυπτόμενοι διεθέει-
ροντο, διὰ τὸ θαυμάσιον εἶναι τὴν τῶν βελῶν κατα-
σκευήν καὶ κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἐνέργειαν,
ὡς ἃν Ἰέρωνος μὲν χορηγοῦ γεγονότος, ἀρχιτέκτονος
δὲ καὶ δημιουργοῦ τῶν ἐπινοημάτων Ἀρχηγῶν.
3 συνεγγίζοντες γε μὴν πρὸς τὴν πόλιν οἱ μὲν ταῖς
dιὰ τοῦ τείχους τοξότισιν, ὡς ἐπάνω προείπον,
kακοῦμενοι συνεχῶς εὑργοντο τῆς προσόδου οἱ
dὲ μετὰ τῶν γέρων βιαζόμενοι ταῖς τῶν κατὰ
κορυφὴν λίθων καὶ δοκῶν ἐμβολαῖς διεθέειροντο.
4 οὐκ ὅλγα δὲ καὶ ταῖς χεραὶ ταῖς ἐκ τῶν μηχανῶν
ἐκακοποίουν, ὡς καὶ πρότερον εἶπον, σὺν αὐτοῖς
γὰρ τοὺς ὅπλοις τοὺς ἀνδρας ἔξαιροῦντες ἔρριπτον.
5 τὸ δὲ πέρας, ἀναχωρήσαντες εἰς τὴν παρεμβολὴν
καὶ συνεδρεύοντες μετὰ τῶν χιλιάρχων οἱ περὶ
tὸν Ἀππιον, ὀμοθυμαδὸν ἐβουλεύσαντο πάσης
ἐλπίδος πείραν λαμβάνειν πλῆν τοῦ διὰ πολιορκίας
ἐλεῖν τὰς Συρακούσας, ὡς καὶ τέλος ἐποίησαν.
6 ὡκτω γὰρ μήνας τῇ πόλει προσκαθέζομεν τῶν
μὲν ἄλλων στρατηγημάτων ἡ τολμημάτων οὐδε-
νὸς ἀπέστησαν, τοῦ δὲ πολιορκεῖν οὐδέποτε πείραν
7 ἦτι λαβεῖν ἐθάρρησαν. οὕτως εἰς ἀνήρ καὶ μία
ψυχῆς δεόντως ἤμοσμενή πρὸς ἐνα τῶν πραγ-
μάτων μέγα τι χρῆμα φαίνεται γίνεσθαι καὶ
8 θαυμάσιον. ἐκείνοι γοῦν τηλυκαύτας δυνάμεις
ἐξοντες καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν, εἰ μὲν
ἀφέλοι τις πρεσβύτην ἐνα Συρακοσίων, παραχρήμα
9 τῆς πόλεως κυριεύσεως ἠλπίζον, τούτον δὲ συμ-
παρόντος οὐκ ἔθαρρον οὐδ’ ἐπιβαλέσθαι κατὰ γε
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7. And Appius, too, found himself in similar difficulties and abandoned his attempt. For his men while at a distance were mowed down by the shots from the mangonels and catapults, the supply of artillery and ammunition being admirable both as regards quantity and force, as indeed was to be expected where Hiero had furnished the means and Archimedes had designed and constructed the various contrivances. And when they did get near the wall they were so severely punished by the continuous volleys of arrows from the loopholes of which I spoke above that their advance was checked or, if they attacked under the cover of mantelets, they were destroyed by the stones and beams dropt upon their heads. The besieged also inflicted no little damage by the above-mentioned hands hanging from cranes, for they lifted up men, armour, and all, and then let them drop. At last Appius retired to his camp and called a council of his military tribunes, at which it was unanimously decided to resort to any means rather than attempt to take Syracuse by storm. And to this resolution they adhered; for during their eight months' investment of the city, while leaving no stratagem or daring design untried, they never once ventured again upon an assault. Such a great and marvellous thing does the genius of one man show itself to be when properly applied to certain matters. The Romans at least, strong as they were both by sea and land, had every hope of capturing the town at once if one old man of Syracuse were removed; but as long as he was present, they did not venture
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tοῦτον τὸν τρόπον, καθ’ δὲν ἀμύνασθαι δυνατός
10 ἦν 'Αρχιμήδης. οὐ μὴν ἄλλα νομίσαντες μάλιστ’
ἀν ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐνδείας διὰ τὸ πλῆθος
τοὺς ἐνδὸν ὑποχειρίους σφίσι γενέσθαι, ταύτης.
ἀντείχοντο τῆς ἐλπίδος· καὶ ταῖς μὲν ναυτίς τὰς
κατὰ θάλατταν ἐπικουρίας αὐτῶν ἐκώλυνον, τῷ δὲ
11 πεζῷ στρατεύματι τὰς κατὰ γῆν. βουλόμενοι
δὲ μὴ ποιεῖν ἄπρακτον τὸν χρόνον, ἐν ὕ προσ-
εδρεύουσι ταῖς Συρακούσαις, ἀλλ’ ἀμα τι καὶ τῶν
ἐκτὸς χρησίμων κατασκευάζεσθαι, διεῖλον οἶ
12 στρατηγοῖς σφᾶς αὐτούς καὶ τὴν δύναμιν, ὡστε
τὸν μὲν Ἀππιον ἔχοντα δύο μέρη προσκαθήσθαι
τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει, τὸ δὲ τρίτον ἀναλαβόντα Μάρκον
ἐπιπορεύεσθαι τοὺς τὰ Καρχηδονίων αἱρομένους
κατὰ τὴν Σικελίαν.

III. Res Graeciae

8 "Οτι Φιλίππος παραγενόμενος εἰς τὴν Μεσσήνην
(10) ἔφθειρε τὴν χώραν δυσμενικάς, θυμῷ τὸ πλεῖον ἦ
2 λογισμῷ χρώμενος· ἦλπιζε γάρ, ὃς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ,
βλάπτων συνεχῶς οὐδέποτ’ ἀγανακτήσεων οὐδὲ
μυστήσειν αὐτὸν τοὺς κακῶς πάσχοντας.
3 Προήχθην δὲ καὶ νῦν καὶ διὰ τῆς προτέρας
βύβλοι σαφέστερον ἐξηγήσασθαι περὶ τούτων οὐ
μόνον διὰ τὰς πρότερον ἡμῖν εἰρήμενας αἰτίας,
ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τὸ τῶν συγγαφέων τοὺς μὲν ὅλως
4 παραλείποινει τὰ κατὰ τοὺς Μεσσηνίους, τοὺς
δὲ καθόλου διὰ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς μονάρχους εὑνοιαν
ἡ τάναντια φόβον οὐχ οἰδον ἐν ἀμαρτίᾳ γεγονέναι
τὴν εἰς τοὺς Μεσσηνίους ἀσέβειαν Φιλίππον καὶ
παρανομίαν, ἀλλὰ τοῦναντίον ἐν ἑπαίνῳ καὶ
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even to attempt to attack in that fashion in which the ability of Archimedes could be used in the defence. On the contrary, thinking that owing to the large population of the town the best way to reduce it was by famine, they placed their hope in this, cutting off supplies from the sea by their fleet and those from the land by their army. Wishing not to spend in idleness the time during which they besieged Syracuse, but to attain some useful results outside, the commanders divided themselves and their forces, so that Appius with two-thirds of the army invested the town while Marcus took the other third and made raids on the parts of Sicily which favoured the Carthaginians.

III. Affairs of Greece, Philip, and Messenia

8. Upon arriving at Messene Philip proceeded to devastate the country like an enemy acting from passion rather than from reason. For he expected, apparently, that while he continued to inflict injuries, the sufferers would never feel any resentment or hatred towards him.

What induced me to give a more explicit account of these matters in this and the previous Book, was, in addition to the reasons I above stated, the fact that while some authors have left the occurrences in Messenia unnoticed others, owing either to their regard for the kings or their fear of them, have explained to us unreservedly, that not only did the outrages committed by Philip against the Messenians in defiance of divine or human law deserve no censure, but that on the contrary all his acts were
κατορθώματι τὰ πεπραγμένα διασαφείν ἡμῖν.

6 οὗ μόνον δὲ περὶ Μεσσηνίους τούτο πεποιηκότας ἰδεῖν ἐστὶ τοὺς γράφοντας τοῦ Φιλίππου τὰς πράξεις, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων παραπλησίως.

6 εἴς δὲν ἰστορίας μὲν οὐδαμῶς ἔχειν αὐτοῖς συμβαίνει διάθεσιν τὰς συντάξεις, ἐγκωμίου δὲ μᾶλλον.

7 ἦγε οὔτε λοιδορεῖν ψευδῶς φήμι δεῖν τοὺς μονάρχους οὔτε ἐγκωμίας, ὅ πολλοὶ ἢδη συμβεβήκε, τὸν ἀκόλουθον δὲ τοῖς προγεγραμμένοις ἀεὶ καὶ τὸν πρέποντα ταῖς ἐκάστων προαιρέσεις

8 λόγον ἐφαρμόζειν. ἀλλ' ἵσως τούτ' εἴπεῖν μὲν εὐμαρέσ, πρᾶξει δὲ καὶ λίαν δυσχερές διὰ τὸ πολλάς καὶ ποικίλας εἶναι διαθέσεις καὶ περιστάσεις, αἷς ἐἰκονεῖς ἀνθρώποι κατὰ τὸν βίον οὔτε λέγειν οὔτε

9 γράφειν δύνανται τὸ φαινόμενον. ὅν χάριν τις μὲν αὐτῶν συγγνώμην δοτέον, ἐνίοις γε μὴν οὐ δοτέον.

9 Μάλιστα δ' ἂν τις ἐπιτιμήσεις περὶ τούτῳ τὸ (11) μέρος Θεοτόμπω, ὅς γ' ἐν ἄρχῃ τῆς Φιλίππου συντάξεως δι' αὐτὸ μάλιστα παραρρηθήσεις φήσας πρὸς τὴν ἐπιβολὴν τῆς πραγματείας διὰ τὸ μηδέποτε τὴν Εὐρώπην ἐνηνοχέαν τοιοῦτον ἄνδρα

2 παράπαν οἴον τὸν 'Αμύντου Φιλίππου, μετὰ ταῦτα παρὰ πόδας, ἐν τε τῷ προομίῳ καὶ παρ' ὅλην δὲ τὴν ἰστορίαν, ἀκρατέστατον μὲν αὐτὸν ἄποδείκνυον πρὸς γυναῖκας, ὡστε καὶ τὸν ὑδρον οἰκον ἐσφαλ-κέναι τὸ καθ' αὐτὸν διὰ τὴν πρὸς τοῦτο τὸ μέρος

3 ὀρμὴν καὶ προστασίαν, ἀδικώτατον δὲ καὶ κακοπραγμονέστατον περὶ τὰς τῶν φίλων καὶ συμμάχων κατασκευάς, πλείστας δὲ πόλεις ἐξενδρα-ποδισμένον καὶ πεπραξικοπηκότα μετὰ δόλου καὶ

4 βίας, ἐκπαθῆ δὲ γεγονότα καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἀκρα-464
BOOK VIII. 8. 4—9. 4

to be regarded as praiseworthy achievements. It is not only with regard to the Messenians that we find the historians of Philip's life to be thus biased but in other cases, the result being that their works much more resemble panegyrics than histories. My own opinion is that we should neither revile nor extol kings falsely, as has so often been done, but always give an account of them consistent with our previous statements and in accord with the character of each. It may be said that it is easy enough to say this but exceedingly difficult to do it, because there are so many and various conditions and circumstances in life, yielding to which men are prevented from uttering or writing their real opinions. Bearing this in mind we must pardon these writers in some cases, but in others we should not.

9. In this respect Theopompus is one of the writers who is most to blame. At the outset of his history of Philip, son of Amyntas, he states that what chiefly induced him to undertake this work was that Europe had never produced such a man before as this Philip; and yet immediately afterwards in his preface and throughout the book he shows him to have been first so incontinent about women, that as far as in him lay he ruined his own home by his passionate and ostentatious addiction to this kind of thing; next a most wicked and mischievous man in his schemes for forming friendships and alliances; thirdly, one who had enslaved and betrayed a large number of cities by force or fraud; and lastly, one so addicted to strong drink
τοποσίας, ὅστε καὶ μεθ᾽ ἦμεραν πλευνάκισ
5 μεθύοντα καταφανῇ γενέσθαι τοῖς φίλοις. εἰ δὲ
tις ἀναγνώσαι βουληθεὶν τὴν ἄρχην τῆς ἐνάτης
cαὶ τετταρακοστῆς αὐτῶ βιβλίου, παντάπασιν ἀν
θαυμάσαι τὴν ἀτοπίαν τοῦ συγγραφέως, ὦς γε
χωρίς τῶν ἀλλῶν τετόλιμηκαί καὶ ταῦτα λέγειν·
αὐταῖς γὰρ λέξεσιν, αἰς ἐκείνος κέχρηται, κατα-
6 τετάχαμεν· "εἰ γὰρ τις ἦν ἐν τοῖς "Ελληνοῖς ἱ
τοῖς βαρβάροις" φησίν "λάσταυρος ἡ θρασὺς τῶν
τρόπων, οὗτοι πάντες εἰς Μακεδονίαν ἀθροιζόμενοι
πρὸς Φίλιππον ἔταίροι τοῦ βασιλέως προσηγο-
7 ρεύντο. καθόλου γὰρ ὁ Φίλιππος τοὺς μὲν
κοσμίους τοῖς ἢθεσι καὶ τῶν ἴδιῶν βίων ἐπιμε-
λουμένους ἀπεδοκίμαζε, τοὺς δὲ πολυτελεῖς καὶ
ξώντας ἐν μέθαι καὶ κύβοις ἐτύμα καὶ προῆγε.
8 τουγαροῦν οὐ μόνον ταύτῃ ἔχειν αὐτοὺς παρε-
σκεύαζεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἀλλης ἀδικίας καὶ βδελυρίας
9 ἀθλητὰς ἐποίησε. τὶ γὰρ τῶν αἰσχρῶν ἡ δεινῶν
αὐτοῖς οὐ προσήν; ἢ τί τῶν καλῶν καὶ σπουδαῖων
οὐκ ἄπη; ὃν οἱ μὲν ἐξορμομενοὶ καὶ λειανομενοὶ
dιετέλουν ἄνδρες οὖντες, οἱ δὲ ἀλλήλοις ἐτόλμων
10 ἐπανίστασθαι πώγωνας ἔχουσι. καὶ περιήγουντο
μὲν δύο καὶ τρεῖς τοὺς ἔταρευομένους, αὐτοὶ δὲ
τὰς αὐτὰς ἐκείνοις χρήσεις ἑτέρους παρείχοντο.
11 οἴχειν καὶ δικαίως αὐτὸς αὐτοὺς οὐκ ἐταίρους,
ἀλλ᾽ ἐταίρας ὑπελάμβανεν [εἰναὶ] ὦδε στρατιώ-
12 τας, ἀλλὰ χαμαιτύπους προσηγορεῦσεν· ἀνδρο-
φόνοι γὰρ τὴν φύσιν οὖντες ἀνδρόποροι τῶν
13 τρόπων ἢσαν. ἀπλῶς δὲ εἰπεῖν, ἵνα παύσωμαι"
φησίν "μακρολογοῦν, ἀλλως τε καὶ τοσοῦτῳ μοι
πραγμάτων ἐπικεχυμένων, ἡγούμαι τοιαύτα θηρία
gεγονέναι καὶ τοιοῦτος τὸν τρόπον τοὺς φίλους
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that he was frequently seen by his friends manifestly drunk in broad daylight. Anyone who chooses to read the beginning of his forty-ninth Book will be amazed at the extravagance of this writer. Apart from other things, he has ventured to write as follows. I set down the passage in his own words: "Philip's court in Macedonia was the gathering-place of all the most debauched and brazen-faced characters in Greece or abroad, who were there styled the king's companions. For Philip in general showed no favour to men of good repute who were careful of their property, but those he honoured and promoted were spendthrifts who passed their time drinking and gambling. In consequence he not only encouraged them in their vices, but made them past masters in every kind of wickedness and lewdness. Was there anything indeed disgraceful and shocking that they did not practise, and was there anything good and creditable that they did not leave undone? Some of them used to shave their bodies and make them smooth although they were men, and others actually practised lewdness with each other though bearded. While carrying about two or three minions with them they served others in the same capacity, so that we would be justified in calling them not courtiers but courtesans and not soldiers but strumpets. For being by nature man-slayers they became by their practices man-whores. In a word," he continues, "not to be prolix, and especially as I am beset by such a deluge of other matters, my opinion is that those who were called Philip's friends and companions were worse brutes
καὶ τοὺς ἐταίρους Φιλίππου προσαγορευθέντας οἶνους οὔτε τοὺς Κενταύρους τοὺς τὸ Πήλιον κατα-
σχόντας οὔτε τοὺς Λαυστρυγόνας τοὺς τὸ Λεοντίνων
πεδίον οἰκήσαντας οὔτε ἀλλοὺς οὕδ᾿ ὀποίους.

10 Ταύτην δὲ τὴν τε πικρίαν καὶ τὴν ἀθυρογλωτ-
τίαν τοῦ συγγραφέως τίς οὐκ ἂν ἀποδοκιμάσειειν;

(12) οὗ γὰρ μόνον ὅτι μαχόμενα λέγει πρὸς τὴν αὐτοῦ
πρόθεσιν ἄξιός ἐστιν ἐπιτιμήσεως, ἀλλὰ καὶ διότι
κατέθεσται τοῦ τε βασιλέως καὶ τῶν φίλων, καὶ
μάλιστα διότι τὸ ψεῦδος αἰσχρῶς καὶ ἀπρεπῶς
dιατέθεται. εἰ γὰρ περὶ Σαρδαναπάλλου τις ἡ
τῶν ἐκείνου συμβιωτῶν ἐποιεῖτο τοὺς λόγους, μόλις
ἀν ἐθάρρησε τῇ κακορρημοσύνῃ ταύτῃ χρησασθαι.
οὐ τὴν ἐν τῷ βίῳ προάρεσεν καὶ τὴν ἀσέλγειαν
dιὰ τῆς ἐπιγραφῆς τῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ τάφου τεκμαίρο-

4 μεθα. λέγει γὰρ ἡ [ἐπί]γραφη,

ταῦτ' ἔχω ὁσο' ἐφαγον καὶ ἐφύβρισα καὶ μετ' ἐρωτὸς
tέρπν' ἔπαθον.

5 Περὶ δὲ Φιλίππου καὶ τῶν ἐκείνου φίλων εὐλα-
βηθείη τις ἃν οὐχ οἶνον εἰς μαλακίαν καὶ ἀνανδρίαν,
ἔτι δ' ἀνασχυντίαν λέγειν, ἀλλὰ τούναντὶν μῆ-
pοτ' ἐγκωμίαζεν ἐπιβαλλόμενος οὐ δυνηθῇ κατ-
αξίως εἰπεῖν τῆς ἀνδρείας καὶ φιλοποιίας καὶ
συλλήβδην τῆς ἀρετῆς τῶν προειρημένων ἀνδρῶν.

6 οἶ γε προφανῶς ταῖς σφετέραις φιλοποιίαις καὶ
tόλμαις εξ ἐλαχίστης μὲν βασιλείας ἐνδοξοτάτην
καὶ μεγίστην <τὴν> Μακεδόνων ἄρχην κατε-

7 σκεύασαν. χωρὶς δὲ τῶν ἐπὶ Φιλίππου πράξεων
αἱ μετὰ τὸν ἐκείνου θάνατον ἐπιτελεσθέεισα μετ' Ἀλεξάνδρου πᾶσιν ὁμολογουμένην τὴν ἐπ' ἀρετῇ
and of a more beastly disposition than the Centaurs who established themselves on Pelion, or those Laestrygones who dwelt in the plain of Leontini, or any other monsters."

10. Everyone must disapprove of such bitter feeling and lack of restraint on the part of this writer. For not only does he deserve blame for using language which contradicts his statement of the object he had in writing, but for falsely accusing the king and his friends, and especially for making this false accusation in coarse and unbecoming terms. If he had been writing of Sardanapalus or one of his companions he would hardly have dared to use such foul language; and we all know the principles and the debauched character of that king from the epigram on his tomb:

Mine are they yet
the meats I ate,
my wanton sport above,
the joy of love.

But in speaking of Philip and his friends not only would one hesitate to accuse them of cowardice, effeminacy, and shamelessness to boot, but on the contrary if one set oneself the task of singing their praises one could scarcely find terms adequate to characterize the bravery, industry, and in general the virtue of these men who indisputably by their energy and daring raised Macedonia from the rank of a petty kingdom to that of the greatest and most glorious monarchy in the world. Quite apart from what was accomplished during Philip's lifetime, the success achieved after Philip's death by the aid of Alexander indisputably established in the eyes of
8 φήμην παραδεδώκασι περὶ αὐτῶν. μεγάλην γὰρ ἵσως μερίδα θετέον τῷ προεστῶτι τῶν οليك Άλεξάνδρῳ, καὶ περὶ οὗτι νέῳ παντελῶς, οὐκ
9 ἐλάττων μὲντοι γε τοῖς συνεργοῖς καὶ φίλοις, οἱ πολλαῖς μὲν καὶ παραδόξους μάχαις ἐνίκησαν τοὺς ὑπεναντίοις, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ παραβόλους ὑπέμειναν πόνους καὶ κινδύνους καὶ ταλαιπωρίας, πλείστης δὲ περιουσίας κυριεύσαντες καὶ πρὸς ἀπάσας τὰς ἐπιθυμίας πλείστης εὑροῦσαντες ἀπολαύσεως, οὐτὲ κατὰ τὴν σωματικὴν δύναμιν οὐδέποτε διὰ ταῦτ' ἡλαττώθησαν, οὔτε κατὰ τὸς ψυχικὰς ὀρμὰς οὐδὲν ἄδικον οὗτ' ἁσελγὲς ἐπετή-
10 δευσαν, ἄπαντες δ', ως ἔπος εἰπεῖν, βασιλικὸς καὶ ταῖς μεγαλοψυχίαις καὶ ταῖς σωφροσύναις καὶ ταῖς τόλμαις ἀπέβησαν, Φιλίππῳ καὶ μετ' Ἀλεξάνδρῳ συμβιώσαντες. οὐν οὐδὲν ἂν δεόι
11 μημονευεν ἐπ' ὁνόματος. μετὰ δὲ τὸν Ἀλεξ- ἀνδρον θάνατον οὕτω περὶ τῶν πλείστων μερῶν τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀμφισβητήσαντες παραδόσιμον ἐποίησαν τὴν ἑαυτῶν δόξαν ἐν πλείστοις ὑπο-
12 μνήμασιν ὡστε τὴν μὲν Τιμαίον τοῦ συγγραφέως πικρίαν, ἣ κέχρηται κατ' Ἀγαθοκλέους τοῦ Σικελίας δυνάστου, καίπερ ἀνυπέρβλητον εἶναι δοκοῦσαν, ὅμως λόγον ἔχειν—ὡς γὰρ κατ' ἔχθροι καὶ πονηροὶ καὶ τυράννῳ διατίθεται τὴν κατηγο-
11 προθέμενος γὰρ ὡς περὶ βασιλέως εὐφυεστάτου (13) πρὸς ἀρετὴν γεγονότος οὐκ ἔστι τῶν αἰσχρῶν καὶ
2 δεινών δ σαραλέλοιπε. λοιπὸν ἢ περὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ προείκθεσιν τῆς πραγματείας ἀνάγκη ψευστήν καὶ κόλακα φαίνεσθαι τὸν ἰστοριογράφον, ἢ περὶ τὰς κατὰ μέρος ἀποφάσεις ἀνόητον καὶ ὑμακικίδη
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all their reputations for valour. While we should perhaps give Alexander, as commander-in-chief, the credit for much, notwithstanding his extreme youth, we should assign no less to his co-operators and friends, who defeated the enemy in many marvellous battles, exposed themselves often to extraordinary toil, danger, and hardship, and after possessing themselves of vast wealth and unbounded resources for satisfying every desire, neither suffered in a single case any impairment of their physical powers, nor even to gratify their passion were guilty of mal-practices and licentiousness; but all of them, one may say, proved themselves indeed to be kingly men by virtue of their magnanimity, self-restraint, and courage, as long as they lived with Philip and afterwards with Alexander. It is unnecessary to mention anyone by name. And after the death of Alexander, when they disputed the empire of the greater part of the world, they left a record so glorious in numerous memoirs that while we may allow that Timaeus' bitter invective against Agathocles, the ruler of Sicily, however unmeasured it may seem, is justified—for he is accusing him as an enemy, a bad man, and a tyrant—that of Theopompus does not deserve serious consideration. 11. For after announcing that he was going to write about a king richly endowed by nature with every quality that makes for virtue, he charges him with everything that is shameful and atrocious. So that either this author must be a liar and a flatterer in the prefatory remarks at the outset of his history, or he is entirely foolish and childish in his assertions.
τελείως, εἰ διὰ τῆς ἀλόγου καὶ ἐπικλήτου λοιδορίας ὑπέλαβε πιστότερος μὲν αὐτὸς φανήσεθαί, παρα-
dοχῆς δὲ μάλλον ἀξιωθήσεθαί τὰς ἐγκυμιστικὰς ἀποφάσεις αὐτοῦ περὶ Φιλίππου.

3 Καὶ μὴν οὐδὲ περὶ τὰς ὀλοσχερεῖς διαλήψεις οὐδεὶς ἂν εὐδοκήσει τῷ προειρημένῳ συγγραφεῖ· ὡς γ’ ἐπιβαλόμενος γράφειν τὰς Ἐλληνικὰς πράξεις ἁφ’ δὲν Θουκυδίδης ἀπέλιπε, καὶ συνεγγύσας τοῖς Δευτερικοῖς καιροῖς καὶ τοῖς ἐπιφανεστάτους τῶν Ἐλληνικῶν ἔργων, τὴν μὲν Ἐλλάδα μεταξ’ καὶ τὰς ταύτης ἐπιβολὰς ἀπέρρυψε, μεταλαβὼν δὲ τὴν ὑπόθεσιν τὰς Φιλίππου πράξεις προφθέτο γράφειν.

4 καίτοι γε πολλᾶ σεμνότερον ἢν καὶ δικαιότερον ἐν τῇ περὶ τῆς Ἐλλάδος ὑποθέσει τὰ πεπραγμένα Φιλίππῳ συμπεριλαβεῖν ἦπερ ἐν τῇ Φιλίππου τὰ

5 τῆς Ἐλλάδος. οὐδὲ γὰρ προκαταληφθεῖς ὑπὸ βασιλικῆς δυναστείας, καὶ τυχῶν ἔξουσιάς, οὐδεὶς ἀν ἐπέσχε σὺν καιρῷ ποιήσασθαι μετάβασιν ἐπὶ τὸ τῆς Ἐλλάδος ὄνομα καὶ πρόσωπον ἀπὸ δὲ ταύτης ἀρξάμενος καὶ προβάς ἐπὶ ποσὸν οὖν ὅλως οὐδεὶς ἂν ἦλλαξατο μονάρχου πρόσχημα.

6 καὶ βίον, ἀκεραίῳ χρώμενος γνώμην. καὶ τὶ δήποτ’ ἢν τὸ τὰς τηλικοῦτος ἐναντιώθεσις βιασά-

7 μεν παριδεῖν Θεόπομπον; εἰ μὴ νὴ Πι’ ὅτι ἐκείνης μὲν τῆς ὑποθέσεως τέλος ἢν τὸ καλὸν, 

8 ἔρετο περὶ τούτων. πρὸς δὲ τὴν κατὰ τῶν φίλων αἰσχρολογίαν οὐκ ἂν οἶμαι δυνηθῆναι λόγον αὐτῶν ἀποδούναι, συγχωρῆσαι δὲ διὸτι πολὺ τι παρέπεσε 

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about particulars, imagining that by senseless and far-fetched abuse he will insure his own credit and gain acceptance for his laudatory estimate of Philip.

Again, no one could approve of the general scheme of this writer. Having set himself the task of writing the history of Greece from the point at which Thucydides leaves off, just when he was approaching the battle of Leuctra and the most brilliant period of Greek history, he abandoned Greece and her efforts, and changing his plan decided to write the history of Philip. Surely it would have been much more dignified and fairer to include Philip's achievements in the history of Greece than to include the history of Greece in that of Philip. For not even a man preoccupied by his devotion to royalty would, if he had the power and had found a suitable occasion, have hesitated to transfer the leading part and title of his work to Greece; and no one in his sound senses who had begun to write the history of Greece and had made some progress in it would have exchanged this for the more pompous biography of a king. What can it have been which forced Theopompus to overlook such flagrant inconsistencies, if it were not that in writing the one history his motive was to do good, in writing that of Philip to further his own interests? Possibly indeed as regards this error in changing the scheme of his work he might have found something to say for himself, if anyone had questioned him, but as for the foul language he uses about Philip's friends I think he would hardly have been able to defend himself, but would have admitted that he sinned gravely against propriety . . .
Φίλιππος δὲ τοὺς μὲν Μεσσηνίους πολεμίους
(14) γεγονότας οὖδὲν ἀξίων ἡδυνήθη λόγον βλάψαι, καὶ
περ ἐπιβαλόμενος κακοποιεῖν αὐτῶν τὴν χώραν,
εἰς δὲ τοὺς ἀναγκαιοτάτους τῶν φίλων τὴν μεγίστην
2 ἀσέλγειαν ἐναπεδείξατο. τὸν γὰρ πρεσβύτερον
"Ἀρατον, δυσαρεστηθέντα τοῖς ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ πεπραγ-
μένοις ἐν τῇ Μεσσήνῃ, μετ’ οὐ πολὺ μετὰ Ταυ-
ρίωνος τοῦ χειρίζοντος αὐτῷ τὰ κατὰ Πελο-
3 πόνησον ἐπανειλατο φαρμάκῳ. παραντίκα μὲν
οὐν ἡγοεῖτο παρὰ τοῖς ἐκτὸς τὸ γεγονός· καὶ γὰρ
ἂν ἡ δύναμις οὐ τῶν παρ’ αὐτὸν τὸν καίρον ἀπολ-
λυσουσῶν, ἀλλὰ χρόνον ἔχουσα καὶ διάθεσιν ἐργαζο-
4 μένῃ· τὸν γε μὴν "Ἀρατον αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐλάνθανε
5 τὸ κακόν. ἐγένετο δὲ δῆλον ἐκ τούτων· ἀπαντας
γὰρ ἐπικρυπτόμενος τοὺς ἄλλους, πρὸς ἑνὰ τῶν
ὑπηρετῶν Κεφάλωνα διὰ τὴν συνήθειαν οὐκ ἐστεξε
τὸν λόγον, ἀλλ’ ἐπιμελῶς αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν ἀρρωστίαν
τοῦ προειρημένου συμπαρόντος καὶ τὶ τῶν πρὸς
tῶν τοίχων πτυσμάτων ἐπισημηναμένου δίαιμον
ὑπάρχον, εἴπε "ταῦτα τάπιχειρά τῆς φιλίας, ὦ
Κεφάλων, κεκομίσμεθα τῆς πρὸς Φίλιππον."
6 οὕτως ἔστι μέγα τι καὶ καλὸν χρῆμα μετριότης,
ὡστε μάλλον ὁ παθῶν τοῦ πράξαντος ἡσυχύνει
tὸ γεγονός, εἰ τοσοῦτων καὶ τηλικούτων κεκουω-
νηκῶς ἐργῶν ἐπὶ τῷ τοῦ Φιλίππου συμφέροντι
7 τοιαῦτα τάπιχειρά κεκομίσται τῆς εὐνοίας. οὕτος
μὲν οὖν καὶ διὰ τὸ πολλάκις τῆς ἀρχῆς τετευχέναι
παρὰ τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς, καὶ διὰ τὸ πλῆθος καὶ διὰ τὸ
μέγεθος τῶν εἰς τὸ ἑθνὸς εὐεργεσίων, μεταλλάξας
tὸν βίον ἐτυχε πρεποῦσθαι τιμῆς καὶ παρὰ τῇ
8 πατρίδι καὶ παρὰ τῷ κοινῷ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν καὶ
gὰρ θυσίας αὐτῷ καὶ τιμᾶς ἠρωικὰς ἐψηφίσαντο,
12. The Messenians had now become Philip's enemies, but he was unable to inflict any serious damage on them, although he made an attempt to devastate their territory. Towards his most intimate friends, however, he was guilty of the greatest brutality. It was not long before through the agency of Taurion, his commissioner in the Peloponnese, he poisoned the elder Aratus who had disapproved of his treatment of Messene. The fact was not generally known at the time, the drug not being one of those which kill at once, but one which takes time and produces a sickly condition of the body; but Aratus himself was aware of the criminal attempt, as the following circumstance shows. While keeping it secret from everybody else, he could not refrain from revealing it to Cephalon, an old servant with whom he was very familiar. This servant waited on him during his illness with great assiduity, and on one occasion when he called attention to some spittle on the wall being tinged with blood, Aratus said "That, Cephalon, is the reward I have got from Philip for my friendship." Such a great and fine quality is moderation that the sufferer was more ashamed than the doer of the deed to feel that after acting in union with Philip in so many great enterprises and after such devotion to his interests he had met with so base a reward for his loyalty. This man then, because he had so often held the chief office in Achaea, and owing to the number and importance of the benefits he had conferred on the nation, had fitting honours paid him on his death both by his own city and by the Achaean League. They voted him sacrifices and honours such as are paid to heroes, and everything in short which
καὶ συλλήβδην ὅσα πρὸς αἰώνιον ἀνήκει μνήμην, ὥστ' εἶπεν καὶ περὶ τοὺς ἀποιχομένους ἐστὶ τις αἰσθησις, εἰκός εὐδοκεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ τῇ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν εὐχαριστία καὶ ταῖς ἐν τῷ ξῆν κακοπραγίαις καὶ κυνόνοις.

13 Πάλαι δὲ τῇ διανοιᾷ περὶ τὸν Δίσσου καὶ τὸν Ἄκρολισσον ὄν, καὶ σπουδάζων ἐγκρατῆς γενέσθαι τῶν τόπων τούτων, ὠρμησε μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως·

2 ποιησάμενος δὲ τὴν πορείαν ἐπὶ δυ' ἡμέρας, καὶ διελθὼν τὰ στενὰ, κατέζευξε παρὰ τὸν Ἀρδάξανον

3 ποταμόν, οὔ μακρὰν τῆς πόλεως. θεωρῶν δὲ τὸν τε τοῦ Δίσσου περίβολον καὶ τὰ πρὸς τῇ θαλάττῃ καὶ τὰ πρὸς τὴν μεσόγαιον ἠσφαλισμένον διαφερόντως καὶ φύσει καὶ κατασκευῇ, τὸν τε παρακείμενον Ἄκρολισσον αὐτῷ καὶ διὰ τὴν εἰς ψυφὸς ἀνάτασιν καὶ διὰ τὴν ἄλλην ἑρυμνότητα τουαύτην ἔχοντα φαντασίαν ὡστε μηδ' ἄν ἐλπίζαι μηδένα κατὰ κράτος ἑλεῖν, τῆς μὲν περὶ τούτον ἐλπίδος ἀπέστη

4 τελέως, τῆς δὲ πόλεως οὐ λίαν ἀπήλπισε. συνθεωρήσας δὲ τὸ μεταξὺ διάστημα τοῦ Δίσσου καὶ τοῦ κατὰ τὸν Ἄκρολισσον πρόποδος σύμμετρον ὑπάρχον πρὸς τὴν ἐπιβολὴν τὴν κατὰ τῆς πόλεως, κατὰ τοῦτο διενοήθη συστησάμενος ἀκροβολισμὸν χρήσασθαι στρατηγήματι πρὸς τὸ παρὸν

5 οἰκείως. δοὺς δὲ μίαν ἡμέραν πρὸς ἀνάπαυσιν τοὺς Μακεδόσι, καὶ παρακαλέσας ἐν αὐτῇ τὰ πρέποντα τῷ καρφῷ, τὸ μὲν πολὺ μέρος καὶ χρησιμωτάτον τῶν εὐξώνων ἔτει νυκτὸς εἰς τινας φάραγγας υλώδεις ἐκρυψε κατὰ τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς μεσογαίου

6 τόπον ὑπὲρ τὸ προερημένον διάστημα, τοὺς δὲ πελταστὰς εἰς τὴν ἑπαύριον ἔχον καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν μέρος τῶν εὐξώνων ἐπὶ θάτερα τῆς πόλεως κατὰ 476.
contributes to immortalize a man's memory, so that, if the dead have any feeling, he must take pleasure in the gratitude of the Achaeans and in the recollection of the hardships and perils he suffered in his life. . . .

Philip's capture of Lissus in Illyria

13. Philip's attention had long been fixed on Lissus and Acrolissus, and being most anxious to possess himself of these places he started for them with his army. After two days' march he traversed the defiles and encamped by the river Ardaxanus not far from the town. Observing that the defences of Lissus, both natural and artificial, were admirable from land as well as sea, and that Acrolissus which was close to it owing to its height and its general strength looked as if there would be no hope of taking it by storm, he entirely renounced this latter hope, but did not quite despair of taking the town. Noticing that the ground between Lissus and the foot of Acrolissus was convenient for directing an attack from it on the town he decided to open hostilities on this side, and employ a stratagem suitable to the circumstances. After giving his Macedonians a day's rest and addressing them in such terms as the occasion demanded, he concealed during the night the largest and most efficient portion of his light-armed troops in some thickly-wooded ravines above the aforesaid ground on the side farthest from the sea, and next day with his peltasts and the rest of the light-armed infantry marched along the sea on
7 θάλατταν ἐχρήτο τῇ πορείᾳ. περιελθών δὲ τὴν πόλιν, καὶ γενόμενος κατὰ τὸν προειρημένον τόπον, δήλος ἦν ὡς ταύτῃ ποιησόμενος τὴν πρὸς 8 τὴν πόλιν ἀνάβασιν. οὐκ ἀγνοούμενης δὲ τῆς τοῦ Φιλίππου παρουσίας ἢν πλήθος ἰκανὸν ἐξ ἀπάσης τῆς πέριξ Ἰλλυρίδος εἰς τὸν Λίσσον 9 ἣθρουσμένον· τῷ μὲν γὰρ Ἀκρόλισσῳ διὰ τὴν ὁχυρότητα πιστεύοντες μετρίαν τινὰ τελέως εἰς 14 αὐτὸν ἀπένειμαν φυλακήν. διότι ἀμα τῷ συν-
(16) εγγίζειν τοὺς Μακεδόνας εὐθέως ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐξεχέντο, θαρροῦντες ἐπὶ τε τῷ πλήθει καὶ ταῖς 2 τῶν τόπων ὁχυρότητι. τοὺς μὲν οὖν πελταστὰς ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐν τοῖς ἐπισέδους ἐπέστησε, τοῖς δὲ κούφοις παρήγγειλε προβαίνειν πρὸς τοὺς λόφους καὶ συμπλέκεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐρρωμένως. 3 ποιούντων δὲ τὸ παραγγελθέν, ἐπὶ ποσὸν μὲν ὁ κύνδυνος πάρισσος ἢ· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα καὶ ταῖς δυσχωρίαις εἰξαντες οἱ παρὰ τοῦ Φιλίππου καὶ 4 τῷ πλήθει τῶν πολεμίων ἐτράπτησαν. καταφυ-γόντων δὲ τούτων εἰς τοὺς πελταστὰς οἱ μὲν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως καταφρονήσαντες προῆσαν καὶ συγ-
καταβάντες ἐν τοῖς ἐπισέδους προσεμάχοντο τοῖς 5 πελτασταῖς· οἱ δὲ τὸν Ἀκρόλισσον φυλάττοντες, θεωροῦντες τὸν Φιλίππον ἐκ διαδοχῆς ταῖς στρεῖραι ἐπὶ πόδα ποιούμενον τὴν ἀναχώρησιν, καὶ δόξαντες τοῖς ὀλοίς αὐτῶν εἶκεν, ἐλαθον ἐκκληθέντες δια 6 τὸ πιστεύειν τῇ φύσει τοῦ τόπου, κατείπτα κατ’ ὀλίγους ἐκλιπόντες τὸν Ἀκρόλισσον κατέρρευσ ταῖς ἀνοδίαις εἰς τοὺς ὁμαλοὺς καὶ πεδινοὺς τόπους, ὃς ἦδη τῶν ὦφελείας καὶ τροπῆς τῶν πολεμίων 7 ἐσομένης. κατὰ δὲ τὸν καιρὸν τούτον οἱ τὰς ἐνέδρας ἐκ τῆς μεσογαίας διειληφότες ἀφανὸς 478
the other side of the city. After thus passing round the city and reaching the place I mentioned, he gave the impression of being about to ascend towards the town on this side. The arrival of Philip was no secret, and considerable forces from all the neighbouring parts of Illyria had collected in Lissus; but as for Acrolissus they had such confidence in its natural strength that they had assigned quite a small garrison to it. 14. Consequently, on the approach of the Macedonians those in the town began pouring out of it confident in their numbers and in the advantage of the ground. The king halted his peltasts on the level ground, and ordered his light infantry to advance on the hills and deliver a vigorous attack on the enemy. His orders being obeyed, the combat was for some time an even one; but afterwards Philip's troops, yielding to the difficulties of the ground and to superior numbers, were put to flight. When they took refuge with the peltasts, the Illyrians from the town in their contempt for them followed them down the hill and engaged the peltasts on the level ground. At the same time the garrison of Acrolissus, seeing that Philip was slowly withdrawing his divisions one after the other, and thinking that he was abandoning the field, imperceptibly let themselves be enticed out owing to their confidence in the strength of the place, and then abandoning Acrolissus in small bodies poured down by bye-paths to the level ground, thinking there would be a thorough rout of the enemy and a chance of some booty. But at this juncture the troops which had been posted in ambush on the
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

-section text-

IV. Res Asiae

15 Βδόλις ἢν ἀνὴρ γένει μὲν Κρῆς, χρόνον δὲ πο-
(17) λὺν ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ διατετριφῶς ἐν ἡγεμονικῇ
προστασίᾳ, δοκῶν δὲ καὶ σύνεσιν ἔχειν καὶ τόλμαν
παράβολον καὶ τριβὴν ἐν τοῖς πολεμικοῖς οὐδενὸς
2 ἐλάττω. τοῦτον δὲ Σωσίβιος διὰ πλείόνων λόγων
ναπιστωσάμενος, καὶ παρασκευάσας εὖνοιν ἐαυτῷ
καὶ πρόθυμον, ἀναδίδωσιν τὴν πρᾶξιν, λέγων ὡς
οὖν ἀν τῷ βασιλεῖ μείζον χαρίσατο κατὰ τοὺς
ἐνεστώτας καυροὺς ἡ συνεπωνήσας πῶς καὶ τίνι
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land side rose unobserved and delivered a brisk attack, the peltasts at the same time turning and falling upon the enemy. Upon this the force from Lissus was thrown into disorder and retreating in scattered groups gained the shelter of the city, while those who had abandoned Acrolissus were cut off from it by the troops which had issued from the ambuscade. So that both Acrolissus was taken beyond all expectation at once and without striking a blow, and Lissus surrendered on the next day after a desperate struggle, the Macedonians having delivered several energetic and terrific assaults. Philip having thus, to the general surprise, made himself master of these two places assured by this achievement the submission of all the district round, most of the Illyrians placing their towns in his hands of their own accord. For after the fall of these fortresses those who resisted could look forward to no shelter in strongholds or other hope of safety. . . .

IV. Affairs of Asia

Capture of Achaeus

15. There was a certain Cretan named Bolis who had long occupied a high position at the court of Ptolemy, being regarded as a man possessed of superior intelligence, exceptional courage, and much military experience. Sosibius, who had by continued intercourse with this man secured his confidence and rendered him favourably disposed to himself and ready to oblige him, put the matter in his hands, telling him that under present circumstances there was no more acceptable service he could render
3 τρόπω δύναται σώσαι τὸν Ἀχαίον. τότε μὲν ὁ διακούσας ὁ Βῶλυς, καὶ φήσας ἐπισκέψασθαι
4 περὶ τῶν εἰρημένων, ἐξωρίζης· δοὺς δὲ λόγον ἔαυτῷ, καὶ μετὰ δ’ ἤ τρεῖς ἠμέρας προσελθὼν
πρὸς τὸν Σωσίβιον, ἀνεδέξατο τὴν πράξιν εἰς αὐτὸν, φήσας καὶ γεγονέναι πλείω χρόνον ἐν ταῖς
Σάρδεσι καὶ τῶν τόπων ἐμπειρεῖν, καὶ τὸν Καμβύλου τὸν ἥγεμόνα τῶν παρ’ Ἀντιόχῳ στρατευο-
μένων Κρητῶν οὐ μόνον πολίτῃ, ἀλλὰ καὶ συγγενῆ
5 καὶ φίλον ὑπάρχειν αὐτῷ. συνέβαινε δὲ καὶ τὸν
Καμβύλου καὶ τοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦτον ταττομένους
Κρήτας πεπιστεῦσαί τι τῶν φυλακτηρίων τῶν
κατὰ τοὺς ὅπισθεν τόπους τῆς ἀκρας, οὕτως κατα-
σκευὴν μὲν οὐκ ἔπεδέχοντο, τῇ δὲ συνεχεία τῶν
ὑπὸ τὸν Καμβύλου τεταγμένων ἀνδρῶν ἐτηροῦντο.
6 τοῦ δὲ Σωσίβιου δεξαμένου τὴν ἑπίνοιαν, καὶ
dιειληφότος ἢ μὴ δυνατὸν εἶναι σωθῆναι τὸν
Ἀχαίον ἐκ τῶν περιεστώτων, ἢ δυνατοῦ καθάπαξ
ὑπάρχοντος διὰ μηδενὸς ἃν έτέρου γενέσθαι τοῦτο
βέλτινο ἡ διὰ Βώλιδος, τοιαύτης δὲ συνδραμουσίς
cαὶ περὶ τὸν Βῶλων προθυμίας, ταχέως ἐλάμβανε
7 τὸ πράγμα προκοπῆν. ὁ τε γὰρ Σωσίβιος ἅμα
μὲν προεδίδον τῶν χρημάτων εἰς τὸ μηδὲν ἐλ-
λείπειν εἰς τὰς ἐπιβολὰς, πολλὰ δ’ εὐ γενομένων
8 ύπισχνεῖτο δύσευν, τὰς δὲ παρ’ αὐτοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως
καὶ παρ’ Ἀχαιοῦ τοῦ σωζομένου χάριτας εξ
ὑπερβολῆς αὐξών εἰς μεγάλας ἐλπίδας ἱγε τὸν
9 Βῶλων· το τε προειρημένος ἄνηρ, ἔτοιμος ὁ τὸν
πρὸς τὴν πράξιν, οὐδένα χρόνον ἐπιμείνας ἐξέπλευσε,
συνθήματα λαβὼν καὶ πίστεις πρὸς τε Νικόμαχον
eἰς Ἀρόδον, ὁς ἥδοκει πατρὸς ἔχειν διάθεσιν κατὰ
τὴν εὐνοιαν καὶ πίστιν πρὸς τὸν Ἀχαίον, ὁμοίως
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the king than to contrive a plan to save Achaeus. Bolis after listening to him, said he would think the matter over, and left him. After taking counsel with himself he came to Sosibius two or three days afterwards and agreed to undertake the business, adding that he had spent some time in Sardis and knew its topography, and that Cambylus the commander of the Cretans in Antiochus' army was not only his fellow-citizen, but his relative and friend. It happened that Cambylus and his force of Cretans had charge of one of the outposts behind the citadel where the ground did not admit of siege-works, but was guarded simply by the continuous line of these troops of Cambylus. Sosibius received this suggestion with joy, and since he was firmly convinced either that it was impossible to rescue Achaeus from his dangerous situation, or that once one regarded it as possible, no one could do it better than Bolis, since, moreover, Bolis himself helped matters on by displaying such zeal, the project rapidly began to move. Sosibius both advanced funds to meet all the expenses of the undertaking and promised a large sum in the event of its success, then by dwelling in the most exaggerated terms on the rewards to be expected from the king and from Achaeus himself whom they were rescuing raised the hopes of Bolis to the utmost.

Bolis, who was quite ready for the enterprise, set sail without the least delay carrying dispatches in cypher and credentials first to Nicomachus at Rhodes, whose affection for Achaeus and fidelity towards him were regarded as being like those of a
10 δὲ καὶ πρὸς Μελαγκόμαν εἰς Ἐφεσον. οὖν ταῖς γὰρ ἡσαν, δὴ ἄν καὶ τὸν πρὸ τοῦ χρόνου Ἀχαῖος τὰ τε πρὸς τὸν Πτολεμαίον καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀπάσας τὰς ἑξωθεὶν ἐπιβολὰς ἐχείριζε.

16 Παραγενόμενος δ' εἰς τὴν Ῥόδον καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα πάλιν εἰς τὴν Ἐφεσον, καὶ κοινωσάμενος τοῖς προειρημένοις ἀνδράσι, καὶ λαβὼν αὐτοὺς ἐτοίμους εἰς τὰ παρακαλοῦμενα, μετὰ ταῦτ' Ἀριανὸν τινα τῶν υφ' αὐτὸν ταττομένων διαιτήθη καὶ ταῦτα πέμπτει πρὸς τὸν Καμβύλων, φήσας ἐξαπεστάλθαι μὲν ἐκ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας ἕξενολογήσων, βούλεσθαι δὲ τῷ Καμβύλῳ συμμίξει περὶ τινῶν ἀναγκαίων. διόπερ ὦτο δείν τάξασθαι καίρων καὶ τόπων, ἐν

3 ὃ μὴν δεόντω συνειδότος αὐτοίς συναντήσουσι. τοιχὸν δὲ τοῦ Ἀριανοῦ συμμίξεσθαι τῷ Καμβύλῳ καὶ δηλώσαντος τὰς ἐντολάς, ἐτοίμως ὁ προειρημένος ἀνήρ ὑπήκουσε τοῖς παρακαλοῦμενοῖς, καὶ συνθέμενος ἔμεραν καὶ τόπον ἑκατέρω γνωστόν, εἰς

4 δῦν παρέστησα νυκτός, ἀπέπεμψε τὸν Ἀριανόν. δ' ἐδῶ Ὁώλις, ἀτὲ Κρῆς ὑπάρχων καὶ φύσει ποικίλος, πᾶν ἑβάσταζε πράγμα καὶ πάσαν ἔπινοιαν ἐψηλάφα.

5 τέλος δὲ συμμίξας τῷ Καμβύλῳ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Ἀριανοῦ σύνταξιν ἐδώκε τὴν ἑπιστολήν. ἦς τεθείσης εἰς τὸ μέσον ἐποιοῦντο τὴν σκέψιν Κρητικὴν.

6 οὐ γὰρ ἑσκόπουν ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ κινδυνεύοντος σωτηρίας οὖδ' ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν ἐγχειρισάντων τὴν πράξει πίστεως, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τῆς αὐτῶν ἀσφαλείας καὶ τοῦ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς συμφέροντος. διόπερ ἀμφότεροι Κρῆτες ὄντες συντόμως κατηνέχθησαν ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτήν γνώμην· αὕτη δ' ἦν τὰ μὲν παρὰ τοῦ Σωσβίου προδεδομένα δέκα τάλαντα διελέσθαι καὶ

8 κοινῇ, τὴν δὲ πράξεω Ἀντιόχῳ δηλώσαντας καὶ 484.
father to a son, and next to Melancomas at Ephesus. For these were the two men who in former times had acted as the agents of Achaeus in his negotiations with Ptolemy and all his other foreign schemes.

16. On reaching Rhodes and subsequently Ephesus, Bolis communicated with these men, and finding them disposed to accede to his requests next sent one of his officers named Arianus to Cambylus, saying that he had been dispatched from Alexandria to raise troops, and wished to meet Cambylus to consult him about some matters of urgency. He therefore thought it best to fix a date and place at which they could meet without anyone knowing of it. Arianus made haste to meet Cambylus and deliver his message, upon which the latter readily complied with the request, and having fixed a day and a place known to both, at which they could meet by night, sent Arianus back. Now, Bolis being a Cretan and naturally astute, had been weighing every circumstance and testing the soundness of every plan; but finally met Cambylus as Arianus had arranged, and gave him the letter. With this before them they discussed the matter from a thoroughly Cretan point of view. For they did not take into consideration either the rescue of the man in danger or their loyalty to those who had charged them with the task, but only their personal security and advantage. Both of them, then, Cretans as they were, soon arrived at the same decision, which was to divide between them in equal shares the ten talents advanced by Sosibius and then to reveal the project
συνεργῷ χρησιμένους ἐπαγγελθάθαι τοῦ Ἀχαϊόν ἐγχειρεῖν αὐτῷ, λαβόντας χρήματα καὶ τὰς εἰς τὸ μέλλον ἐλπίδας ἢξίας τῆς προειρημένης ἐπιβολῆς. 9 τούτων δὲ κυρωθέντων ὁ μὲν Καμβύλος ἀνέδεξατο χειριεῖν τὰ κατὰ τὸν Ἀντίοχον, ὁ δὲ Βῶλις ἐτάξατο μετά των ἡμέρας πέμψειν τὸν Ἀριανὸν πρὸς τὸν Ἀχαίον, ἔχοντα παρὰ τέ τοῦ Νικόμαχον καὶ 10 Μελαγκόμα συνθηματικὰ γράμματα. περὶ δὲ τοῦ παρεισῆλθεν τὸν Ἀριανὸν εἰς τὴν ἀκραν ἀσφαλῶς καὶ πάλιν ἀπελθεῖν, ἐκεῖνον ἐκέλευε φροντίζειν. 11 ἐὰν δὲ προσδεξάμενος τὴν ἐπιβολὴν Ἀχαίος ἀντιφωνήσῃ τοῖς περὶ τὸν Νικόμαχον καὶ Μελαγκόμαν, οὕτως ἐφι δώσειν ὁ Βῶλις αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν 12 χρείαν καὶ συμμίξειν τῷ Καμβύλῳ. τῆς δὲ διατάξεως γενομένης τοιαύτης χωρισθέντες ἐπραττον ἐκάτεροι τὰ συντεταγμένα.

17 Καὶ λαβὼν καιρὸν πρῶτον ὁ Καμβύλος προσ—
(19) 2 φέρει τῷ βασιλεί τοῦ λόγον. ὁ δ' Ἀντίοχος, πρὸς τρόπον αὐτῷ καὶ παραδόξου γενομένης τῆς ἐπαγγελίας, τὰ μὲν ὑπερχαρῆς ὧν πάνθ' ὑποσχ—
νεῖτο, τὰ δὲ διαπιστῶν ἔξηταξε τὰς κατὰ μέρος 3 ἐπινοίας καὶ παρασκευὰς αὐτῶν. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πιστεύσας, καὶ νομίζων ὡς ἂν εἰ σὺν θεῷ γίνεσθαι τὴν ἐπιβολὴν, ἢξίου καὶ πολλάκις ἐδείτο τοῦ
4 Καμβύλου συντελεῖ τὴν πράξειν. τὸ δὲ παρα—
πλήσιον ὁ Βῶλις ἐποίει πρὸς τὸν Νικόμαχον καὶ Μελαγκόμαν. οἱ δὲ πιστεύουντες ἀπὸ τοῦ κρατίστου γίνεσθαι τὴν ἐπιβολὴν, καὶ παρατικα τῷ Ἀριανῷ συνθέντες τὰς πρὸς τὸν Ἀχαίον ἐπιστολὰς γεγραμμένας συνθηματικῶς, καθάπερ ἐθος ἢν αὐτοῖς,
5 οὕτως ὡστε τὸν κυριεύσαντα τῆς ἐπιστολῆς μὴ δύνασθαι γνώναι μηδὲν τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ γεγραμμένων,
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to Antiochus and undertake, if assisted by him, to deliver Achaeus into his hands on receiving a sum of money down and the promise of a reward in the future adequate to the importance of the enterprise. Upon this Cambylus undertook to manage matters with Antiochus, while Bolis agreed to send Arianus to Achaeus in a few days with letters in cypher from Nicomachus and Melancomas bidding Cambylus see to it that he got into the citadel and out again in safety. Should Achaeus agree to make the attempt and answer Nicomachus and Melancomas, Bolis engaged to devote his energies to the matter and communicate with Cambylus. With this understanding they took leave and each continued to act as they had agreed.

17. First of all Cambylus, as soon as he had an opportunity, laid the matter before Antiochus. The king, who was both delighted and surprised at the offer, was ready on the one hand in his extreme joy to promise anything and on the other hand was so distrustful that he demanded a detailed account of their project and the means they were to employ. Hereupon, being now convinced, and almost regarding the plan as directly inspired by Providence, he continued to urge upon Cambylus to put it into execution. Bolis meanwhile had likewise communicated with Nicomachus and Melancomas, who, believing that the attempt was being made in all good faith, at once drew up for Arianus letters to Achaeus written in the cypher they used to employ, so that no one into whose hands a letter fell could
6 τὸν Βῶλων καὶ τὸν Καμβύλων. οὕτως δὲ Ἀριανὸς διὰ τοῦ Καμβύλου παρελθὼν εἰς τὴν ἀκραν τὰ γεγραμμένα τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἀχαίον ἀπέδωκε, καὶ συμπαρὼν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῖς γυνομένοις ἀκριβῶς τὸν κατὰ μέρος ὑπὲρ ἑκάστων ἀπεδίδου λόγον, πολλάκις μὲν καὶ ποικίλως ὑπὲρ τῶν κατὰ τὸν Σωσίβιον καὶ Βῶλων ἀνακρινόμενος, πολλάκις δὲ περὶ Νικομάχου καὶ Μελαγκόμα, μάλιστα δὲ περὶ
7 τῶν κατὰ τὸν Καμβύλων. οὗ μὴν ἄλλῃ αὐτοπαθῶς καὶ γενναίως ὑπέμενε τοὺς ἐλέγχους, καὶ μάλιστα διὰ τὸ μὴ γνωσκεῖν τὸ συνέχον τῶν τῶν Καμβύλω
8 καὶ Βῶλιδι δεδομένων. Ἀχαίος δὲ καὶ διὰ τῶν ἀνακρίσεων τῶν τοῦ Ἀριανοῦ καὶ μάλιστα διὰ τῶν παρὰ τοῦ Νικομάχου καὶ Μελαγκόμα συν-
9 θημάτων πιστεύσας ἀντεφώνησε, καὶ παραχρήμα πάλιν ἔξεπεμψε τοῦ Ἀριανόν. πλεονάκις δὲ τοῦτον γυνομένου παρ’ ἑκατέρων, τέλος οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀχαίον ἐπέτρεψαν περὶ σφῶν τοῖς περὶ τὸν Νικομάχον, ἀτε μηδεμίας ἄλλης ἔλπιδος ἔτι καταλεπομένης πρὸς σωτηρίαν, καὶ πέμπειν ἐκέλευον ἀμα τῶ Ἀριανῷ τὸν Βῶλων ἀσελήνην νυκτὸς, ὡς ἐγκε-
10 ριοῦντες αὐτοὺς. ἦν γὰρ τις ἐπίνοια περὶ τὸν Ἀχαίον τουαυτῆ, πρῶτον μὲν διαφυγεῖν τοὺς ἑνεστῶτας κυνάνους, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ποιήσασθαι δίχα προοίο τὴν ὀρμὴν ἐπὶ τοὺς κατὰ Συρίαν τό-
11 πους· πάντων γὰρ εἰχε μεγάλας ἐλπίδας ἐπιφανεῖς ἀφίων καὶ παραδόξως τοὺς κατὰ Συρίαν ἀνθρώπους, καὶ ἔτι διατρίβουτος Ἀντιόχου περὶ τὰς Σάρδεις, μέγα ποιήσεων κινήμα η καὶ μεγάλης ἀποδοχῆς τεύχεοι παρὰ τοῖς Ἀντιοχεῖοι καὶ τοῖς κατὰ Κοίλην Συρίαν καὶ Φοινίκην.

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read a word of it, and sent him off with them, begging Achaeus to place confidence in Bolis and Cambylus. Arianus, gaining admission to the citadel by the aid of Cambylus, handed the letters to Achaeus, and as he had been initiated into the plot from the outset gave a most accurate and detailed account of everything in answer to the numerous and varied questions that were asked him concerning Sosibius and Bolis, concerning Nicomachus and Melancomas and chiefly concerning Cambylus. He was able to support this cross-questioning with confidence and candour chiefly because he had no knowledge of the really important part of the agreement between Cambylus and Bolis. Achaeus, convinced by the examination of Arianus and chiefly by the letters in cypher from Nicomachus and Melancomas, at once dispatched Arianus with a reply. After some continuance of the correspondence Achaeus finally entrusted his fortunes to Nicomachus, there being now no other hope of safety left to him, and directed him to send Bolis with Arianus on a moonless night when he would deliver himself into their hands. It should be known that the notion of Achaeus was, when once he had escaped from his present perilous position, to hasten without any escort to Syria, for he had the greatest hope, that by suddenly and unexpectedly appearing to the people in Syria while Antiochus was still occupied in the siege of Sardis, he would create a great movement in his favour and meet with a good reception at Antioch and throughout Coele-Syria and Phoenicia.
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18 'Ο μὲν οὖν Ἀχαιὸς ἐπὶ τινος τοιαύτης προσδο-
(20) κίας καὶ διαλογισμῶν ὑπάρχων ἐκαραδόκει τὴν
2 παρούσαν τοῦ Βῶλδος· οἳ δὲ περὶ τὸν Μελαγ-
kόμαν ἀποδεξάμενοι τὸν Ἄριανον καὶ τὰς ἐπιστολὰς
ἀναγνώτες, ἐξέπεμπον τὸν Βῶλν, παρακαλέσαντες
dιὰ πλειώνων καὶ μεγάλας ἐλπίδας ὑποδείξαντες,
3 έαν καθίκηται τῆς ἐπιβολῆς. ὃ δὲ προδιαπεμ-
ψάμενος τὸν Ἄριανόν, καὶ δηλώσας τῷ Καμβύλῳ
τὴν αὐτοῦ παρούσιαν, ἦκε νυκτὸς ἐπὶ τὸν συν-
tεθέντα τόπον. γενόμενοι δὲ μίαν ἠμέραν ἐπὶ
tαυτό, καὶ συνταξάμενοι περὶ τοῦ πῶς κειριαθῆ-
σεται τὰ κατὰ μέρος, μετὰ ταύτα νυκτὸς εἰσῆλθον
5 εἰς τὴν παρεμβολήν. ἦ δὲ διάταξις αὐτῶν ἐγεγόνει
τοιαύτη τις· εἰ μὲν συμβαίη τὸν Ἀχαιόν έκ τῆς
άκρας ἐλθείν μόνον ἦ καὶ δεύτερον μετὰ τοῦ
Βῶλδος καὶ Ἄριανοῦ, τελέως εὐκαταφρόνητος,
ἐτι δ' εὐχείρωτος ἐμέλλε γίνεσθαι τοῖς ἐνεδρεύουσιν·
6 εἰ δὲ μετὰ πλειώνων, δύσχρηστος ἡ πρόθεσις
ἀπέβαινε τοῖς πεπιστευμένοις, ἄλλως τε καὶ
ζωγρίᾳ σπεύδουσι κυριεύσαι διὰ τὸ τῆς πρὸς τὸν
Ἀντίόχον χάριτος τὸ πλείστον ἐν τούτῳ κεῖσθαι
7 τῷ μέρει. διόπερ ἔδει τὸν μὲν Ἄριανόν, ὅταν
ἐξάγῃ τὸν Ἀχαιόν, ἢγεῖσθαι διὰ τὸ γνώσκειν
τὴν ἀτραπόν, ἢ πολλάκις ἐπεποίητο καὶ τὴν
8 εἰσόδου καὶ τὴν ἔξοδον, τὸν δὲ Βῶλν ἀκολούθειν
τῶν ἄλλων κατόπιν, ἤ ἐπειδὰν παραγένηται πρὸς
τὸν τόπον, ἐν δὴ τοὺς ἐνεδρεύοντας ἐτοίμους
ὑπάρχειν ἔδει διὰ τοῦ Καμβύλου, τότε ἐπιλα-
βόμενος κρατοῦτο τὸν Ἀχαιόν, καὶ μήτε διαδραῖν
catά τὸν θόρυβον νυκτὸς οὕτης διὰ τῶν ὑλωδῶν,
μήθ' αὐτὸν ῥίψαι κατά τινος κρημνοῦ περιπαθῆς
γενόμενος, πέσοι δὲ κατὰ τὴν πρόθεσιν ὑπὸ τᾶς
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18. Achaeus, then, his mind full of such hopes and calculations, was waiting for the appearance of Bolis. Melancomas, when on the arrival of Arianus he read the letter, sent Bolis off after exhorting him at length and holding out great hopes to him in the event of his succeeding in the enterprise. Sending on Arianus in advance and acquainting Cambylus with his arrival, he came by night to the appointed spot. After spending a day together, and settling exactly how the matter should be managed, they entered the camp after nightfall. They had regulated their plan as follows. Should Achaeus come down from the acropolis alone or accompanied only by Bolis and Arianus, he need not give them the least concern, and would easily fall into the trap. But if he were accompanied it would be more difficult for those to whom he should entrust his person to carry out their plan, especially as they were anxious to capture him alive, this being what would most gratify Antiochus. It was therefore indispensable that Arianus, in conducting Achaeus out of the citadel, should lead the way, as he was acquainted with the path, having frequently passed in and out by it, while Bolis would have to be last of all, in order that on arriving at the place where Cambylus was to have his man ready in ambush, he could catch hold of Achaeus and hold him fast, so that he would neither escape in the confusion of the night across the wooded country, nor in his despair cast himself from some precipice, but should as they designed fall into his enemies' hands alive.

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9 τῶν ἔχθρῶν χείρας ζωγρία. τούτων δὲ συν-
κεμένων, καὶ παραγενομένου τοῦ Βώλιδος ὡς
τὸν Καμβύλου, ἢ μὲν ἢλθε νυκτί, ταύτη παράγει
πρὸς τὴν Ἀντίοχον τὸν Βώλιν ὁ Καμβύλος μόνος
10 πρὸς μόνον. ἀποδεξαμένου δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως φιλο-
φρόνως, καὶ δόντος πίστεις ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐπαγγελιῶν,
καὶ παρακαλέσαντος ἀμφοτέρους διὰ πλειών ῥυ
μηκέτι μέλλειν ὑπὲρ τῶν προκειμένων, τότε μὲν
11 ἀνεχόρρησαν εἰς τὴν αὐτῶν παρεμβολήν, Ὑπὸ δὲ
τὴν ἑωθίνην Βώλις ἀνέβη μετὰ τοῦ Ἄριανοῦ, καὶ
παρευσήθησαν ἐτί νυκτὸς εἰς τὴν άκραν.
19 Ἀχαίος δὲ προσδεξάμενος ἐκτενῶς καὶ φιλοφρό-
(21) νως τὸν Βώλιν ἀνέκρυμε διὰ πλειών ὑπὲρ ἐκάστου
2 τῶν κατὰ μέρος. θεωρῶν δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἐπι-
φάνειαν τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ κατὰ τὴν ὀμιλίαν ἔλκοντα τὸ
τῆς πράξεως στάσιμον, τὰ δὲ πάλιν ἐπτομημένος
καὶ πλήρης ἀγωνίας διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν ἀπο-
3 βησμεμένων. ὑπάρχαν δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὴν διάνοιαν
οὐδενὸς ἤπτων καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἐν πράγμασι τριβήν
ἰκανός, ὡμως ἀκμήν ἐκρώνε μὴ πᾶσαν εἰς τὸν
4 Βώλιν ἀνακρεμάσαι τὴν πίστιν. διὸ πουεῖται
τοιοῦτοις λόγοις πρὸς αὐτῶν, ὅτι κατὰ μὲν τὸ
παρόν οὐκ ἔστι δυνατὸν ἐξελθεῖν αὐτῷ, πέμψει
δὲ τινας τῶν φιλῶν μετ’ ἐκείνου τρεῖς ἡ τέτταρας,
ἄν συμμεξάντων τοὺς περὶ τὸν Μελαγκόμαν
ἐτοιμοῦν αὐτὸν ἐφι παρασκευάσειν πρὸς τὴν ἕξοδον.
5 ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἀχαίος ἐποιεῖ τὰ δυνατά: τοῦτο δ’
ήγοιει, τὸ δὴ λεγόμενον, πρὸς Κρήτη κρητίζων,
ὁ γὰρ Βώλις οὐθέν αἰσθήφητον εἴχε τῶν ἐπινοη-
6 θέντων ἀν εἰς τούτο τὸ μέρος. πλὴν παραγενομέ-
νυς τῆς νυκτός, ἐν ἢ συνεξαποστέλλειν ἐφι τοὺς
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Such being the arrangement, Cambylus, on the same night that Bolis arrived, took him to speak with Antiochus in private. The king received him graciously, assured him of the promised reward, and after warmly exhorting both of them to put the plan in execution without further delay left for his own camp, while Bolis a little before daybreak went up with Arianus and entered the citadel while it was yet dark.

19. Achaeus, receiving Bolis with singular cordiality, questioned him at length about all the details of the scheme, and judging both from his appearance and his manner of talking that he was a man equal to the gravity of the occasion, while he was on the one hand overjoyed at the hope of delivery, he was yet in a state of the utmost excitement and anxiety owing to the magnitude of the consequences. As, however, he was second to none in intelligence, and had had considerable experience of affairs, he judged it best not to repose entire confidence in Bolis. He therefore informed him that it was impossible for him to come out of the citadel at the present moment, but that he would send three or four of his friends, and after they had joined Melancomas, he would himself get ready to leave. Achaeus indeed was doing his best, but he did not consider that, as the saying is, he was trying to play the Cretan with a Cretan; for there was no probable precaution of this kind that Bolis had not minutely examined. However, when the night came in which Achaeus had said he would send out his
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filous, propémpias tôn 'Arianon kai tôn Bôloun épì tîn tîs ákras exòdon ménein propétaixe, méxris òn òi méllontes autòis synexoromân para-7 génaontai. tôn dé peitharchsánton, koivouménos par' autôn tôn kairoû tî gynaikei kai poúsas dià tô parádoxoû tîn Laodikyn ékfrona, chrónon mén tîn liptarôh tautîn kai katabraûnôn tâîs 8 prósodokwménais élipsis propsekartrêrei, metà dé taûta pémpotos autós genómënon, kai tôis mén állois metrías esôthtas ánadoûs, autós dé lîthn kai tôn tuxoûsan ánalabwôn kai tâpeinôn autôn 9 poúsas proûge, suntaûas en tôn filîw autôn aîen ápotkritasbai prôs tô leugûmenon ùpô tôs perî tôn 'Arianon kai pvntháneštai par' èkeínon âei tô katóteîgon, perî dé tôn álloû fânai bârbrárous autôs upârchewn.

20 'Epel de synêmexan toîs perî tôn 'Arianon, (22) ëgêsteu mèn autós autwôn dià tîn émpeirian, ò de Bôlûs katôpw n épéste kata tîn ex arxhès pró-thetau, aporôw kai duxhristuûmënon ùpèr tou 2 symbaînontos. kâiper gar òn Krhîs kai pân an ti kata tîd pélas úptopeteûsas, ómws ouk ëgôvato dià tô skôtos synnoûsai tôn 'Achaiôn, oux oui 3 tôs èstw, all' oude kathâpax ei párresti. tôs de katóbaswos khrmnwðous mèn kai duxbátou kató tî plëiston ùparxouvsas, én tîs de tòpous kai lian èpißphaleis èkousa kai kivdunwðes kataborás, òpôte paragênoito prôs tîa touûton tôpw, tôwn mén èpilambanomênw, tôwn de pâlin 4 èkdechomênw tôn 'Achaiôn, ou duxamênw gar katholû tô tîn èk tôs sunthêias katóxiwos stêlle-sthai prôs tôn parônta kairoû, tachëws ò Bôlûs 494
friends with them, he sent on Arianus and Bolis to the entrance of the citadel, ordering them to await there the arrival of those who were about to go out with them. When they had done as he requested, he revealed at the last moment the project to his wife Laodice, who was so much taken by surprise that she almost lost her wits, so that he had to spend some time in beseeching her to be calm and in soothing her by dwelling on the brightness of the prospect before him. After this, taking four companions with him, whom he dressed in fairly good clothes while he himself wore a plain and ordinary dress and made himself appear to be of mean condition, he set forth, ordering one of his friends to answer all Arianus’ questions and to address any necessary inquiries to him stating that the others did not know Greek.

20. Upon their meeting Arianus, the latter placed himself in front owing to his acquaintance with the path, while Bolis, as he had originally designed, brought up the rear, finding himself, however, in no little doubt and perplexity as to the facts. For although a Cretan and ready to entertain every kind of suspicion regarding others, he could not owing to the darkness make out which was Achaeus, or even if he were present or not. But most of the way down being very difficult and precipitous, at certain places with slippery and positively dangerous descents, whenever they came to one of these places some of them would take hold of Achaeus and others give him a hand down, as they were unable to put aside for the time their habitual attitude of respect to him, and Bolis very soon under-
8 συνήκε τίς ἐστι καὶ ποῖος αὐτῶν ὁ 'Αχαίος. ἐπεὶ δὲ παρεγένοντο πρὸς τὸν τῷ Καμβύλῳ διατεταγμένον τόπον, καὶ τὸ σύνθημα προσσυρίζας ὁ Βάλις ἀπέδωκε, τῶν μὲν ἄλλων οἱ διαναστάντες
6 ἐκ τῆς ἐνέδρας ἐπελάβοντο, τὸν δ' Ἰπποτοῦ τοὺς ἰματίους, ἐνδον τὰς χειρὰς ἑξοντα, συνήρτασε, φοβηθεὶς μὴ συννοήσας τὸ γινόμενον ἐπιβάλοιτο διαφθείρειν αὐτῶν· καὶ γὰρ
7 εἴχε μάχαιραν ἐφ' αὐτῶ παρεσκευασμένος. ταχὺ δὲ καὶ πανταχόθεν κυκλώθεις ὑποχείριος ἐγένετο τοῖς ἑχθροῖς, καὶ παραχρῆμα μετὰ τῶν φίλων
8 ἀνήγετο πρὸς τὸν Ἀντίοχον. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς, πάλαι μετέωρος ὄν τῇ διανοίᾳ καὶ καραδοκῶν τὸ συμβησσόμενον, ἀπολύσας τοὺς ἐκ τής συνοισίας ἔμενε μόνος ἐγγηγορῶς ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ μετὰ
9 δυσεῖν ἡ τριῶν σωματοφυλάκων. παρεισελθόντων δὲ τῶν περὶ τὸν Καμβύλου καὶ καθισάντων τὸν Ἰπποτοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν δεδεμένων, εἰς τοιαύτην ἀφασίαν ἦλθε διὰ τὸ παράδοξον ὡστε πολὺν μὲν χρόνον ἀποσωπησαί, τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον συμπαθῆς
10 γενέσθαι καὶ δακρύσαι. τοῦτο δ' ἐπαθεὶς ὅρῶν, ὡς ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ, τὸ δυσφύλακτον καὶ παράλογον
11 τῶν ἐκ τῆς τύχης συμβαίνοντων. Ἰπποτοῦ γὰρ ἂν Ἰπποτοῦ καὶ τοῦ Δαοδίκης ἀδελφοῦ τῆς Σελεύκου γυναικὸς, ἐγγίνετο δὲ Δαοδίκην τὴν Μιθριδάτου τοῦ βασιλέως θυγατέρα, κύριος δ' ἔγγονει τῆς ἐπὶ τάδε τοῦ Ταύρου πάσης. δοκῶν δὲ τότε καὶ ταῖς αὐτοῦ δυνάμεσι καὶ τοῖς τῶν ὑπεναντίων ἐν ὀχρωτάτῳ τόπῳ τῆς οἰκουμενῆς διατρίβειν, ἐκάθετο δεδεμένος ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ὑποχείριος γενόμενος τοῖς ἑχθροῖς, οὐδέπω γινώσκοντος οὐθενὸς ἀπλῶς τὸ γεγονός πλήν τῶν πραξ. ὑντων. 496
stood which of them was Achaeus. When they reached the spot where they had agreed to meet Cambylus, and Bolis gave the preconcerted signal by a whistle, the men from the ambush rushed out and seized the others while Bolis himself caught hold of Achaeus, clasping him along with his clothes so that his hands were inside, as he was afraid lest on perceiving that he was betrayed he might attempt his life, for he had provided himself with a sword. He was very soon surrounded on all sides and found himself in the hands of his enemies, who at once led him and his friends off to Antiochus. The king, who had long been waiting the issue in a fever of excitement, had dismissed his usual suite and remained awake in his tent attended only by two or three of his bodyguard. When Cambylus and his men entered and set down Achaeus on the ground bound hand and foot, Antiochus was so dumbstruck with astonishment that for a long time he remained speechless and at last was deeply affected and burst into tears, feeling thus, as I suppose, because he actually saw how hard to guard against and how contrary to all expectation are events due to Fortune. For Achaeus was the son of Andromachus the brother of Laodice the wife of Seleucus; he had married Laodice the daughter of King Mithridates, and had been sovereign of all Asia on this side of the Taurus; and now when he was supposed by his own forces and those of the enemy to be dwelling secure in the strongest fortress in the world, he was actually sitting on the ground bound hand and foot and at the mercy of his enemies, not a soul being aware of what had happened except the actual perpetrators of the deed.
21 Οὐ μὴν ἄλλα ἁμα τῷ φωτὶ συναθροίζομένων τῶν
(23) φίλων εἶς τὴν σκηνήν κατὰ τὸν ἑθισμόν, καὶ τοῦ
πράγματος ὅπως τὴν ὄψιν θεωρομένου, τὸ παρα-
πλήσιον τῷ βασιλείς συνέβαινε πάσχειν καὶ τοὺς
ἀλλοὺς. θαυμάζοντες γὰρ τὸ γεγονός ἦτοι τοὺς
2 τοὺς ὅρωμένους. καθίσαντος δὲ τοῦ συνεδρίου,
pολλοὶ μὲν ἐγίνοντο λόγοι περὶ τοῦ τίσι δεὶ κατ'
3 αὐτοῦ χρήσασθαι τιμωρίαις. ἔδοξε δὲ οὖν πρῶτον
μὲν ἀκρωτηρίας τὸν ταλαίπωρον, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα
tὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτεμόντας αὐτὸν καὶ καταρράψαν-
tας εἰς ὄνειον ἁσκὸν ἀνασταυρῶσαι τὸ σῶμα.
4 γενομένων δὲ τούτων, καὶ τὸς δυνάμεως ἐπί-
γνώσεις τὸ συμβεβηκός, τοιοῦτος ἐνθουσιασμὸς
ἐγένετο καὶ παράστασις τοῦ στρατοπέδου παντὸς
ώστε τὴν Λαοδίκην ἐκ τῆς ἄκρας μόνον συνειδιῶν
τὴν ἔξοδον τάνδρος, τεκμήρισθαί τὸ γεγονός ἐκ
tῆς περὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ταραχῆς καὶ κινήσεως.
5 ταχὺ δὲ καὶ τοῦ κήρυκος παραγενομένου πρὸς
tὴν Λαοδίκην καὶ διασαφούς τὰ περὶ τὸν
'Αχαιόν, καὶ κελευόντος τίθεσθαι τὰ πράγματα
6 καὶ παραχωρεῖν τῆς ἄκρας, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀν-
απόκριτος οἰμωγὴ καὶ θρήνοι παράλογοι κατείχον
tοὺς περὶ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, οἷς οὕτως διὰ τὴν πρὸς
tὸν 'Αχαιόν εὐνοιαν ὡς διὰ τὸ παράδοξον καὶ
tελέως ἀνέλπιστον ἐκάστῳ φαίνεσθαι τὸ συμ-
7 βεβηκός, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πολλὴ τῆς ἡν ἀπορία
8 καὶ δυσχρηστία περὶ τοὺς ἐνδόν. 'Αντίοχος δὲ
diakheirisménος τὸν 'Αχαιόν ἐπείρη τοῖς κατὰ
tὴν ἄκραν ἅν, πεπεισμένος ἀφορμὴν ἐκ τῶν
ἐνδόν αὐτῷ παραδοθήσεσθαι, καὶ μάλιστα διὰ
9 τῶν στρατιωτῶν. δὲ καὶ τέλος ἐγένετο: στασιά-
santes γὰρ πρὸς σφᾶς ἐμερίσθησαν, οἱ μὲν πρὸς
21. But when at dawn the king’s friends flocked to his tent, as was their custom, and saw the thing with their own eyes, they were in the same case as the king himself had been; for they were so astonished that they could not credit their senses. At the subsequent sitting of the Council, there were many proposals as to the proper punishment to inflict on Achaeus, and it was decided to lop off in the first place the unhappy prince’s extremities, and then, after cutting off his head and sewing it up in an ass’s skin, to crucify his body. When this had been done, and the army was informed of what had happened, there was such enthusiasm and wild excitement throughout the whole camp, that Laodice, who was alone aware of her husband’s departure from the citadel, when she witnessed the commotion and disturbance in the camp, divined the truth. And when soon afterwards the herald reached her, announcing the fate of Achaeus and bidding her come to an arrangement and withdraw from the citadel, there was at first no answer from those in the citadel but loud wailing and extravagant lamentation, not so much owing to the affection they bore Achaeus as because the event struck everyone as so strange and entirely unexpected. After this outburst the garrison continued in great perplexity and hesitation. Antiochus having dispatched Achaeus continued to press hard upon those in the citadel, feeling convinced that some means of taking the place would be furnished him by the garrison itself and more especially by the rank and file. And this actually took place. For they quarrelled among themselves and divided into two factions, the one
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

'Αρίβαζον, οὗ δὲ πρὸς τὴν Λαοδίκην. οὐ γενομένου διαπιστήσαντες ἀλλήλους ταχέως ἀμφότεροι παρέδοσαν αὐτοὺς καὶ τὰς ἀκροπόλεις.

10 Ἀχαίοις μὲν οὖν πάντα τὰ κατὰ λόγον πράξας, ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς τῶν πιστευθέντων ἡττηθεὶς ἀθεσίας, κατεστρέψατο τὸν βίον, κατὰ δύο τρόπους οὐκ ἄνωφελες ὑπόδειγμα γενόμενος τοῖς ἐπεσομένοις,

11 καθ’ ἕνα μὲν πρὸς τὸ μηδενὶ πιστεῦσιν ὥδις, καθ’ ἐτερον δὲ πρὸς τὸ μὴ μεγαλαυχεῖν ἐν ταῖς εὐπραγίαις, πᾶν δὲ προσδοκαίν ἀνθρώπως οὖντα.

35 Ὄτι Τιβέριος ὁ Ῥωμαίων στρατηγὸς λόχω ἐν-
(1, 2) εἴδενθεῖς καὶ γενναῖως υποστὰς σὺν τοῖς περὶ αὐτοῦ τὸν βίον κατέστρεφεν. περὶ δὲ τῶν τοιούτων περιπετειῶν, πότερα χρή τοῖς πάσχοντι ἐπιτιμᾶν ἡ συγγνώμην ἔχειν, καθόλου μὲν οὐκ ἄσφαλες ἀποφήνασθαι διὰ τὸ καὶ πλείους τὰ κατὰ λόγον πάντα πράξαντας, ὡμοὶ ὑποχειρίους γεγονέναι τοῖς ἐτοίμως τὰ παρ’ ἀνθρώποις ὑρισμένα δίκαια

2 παραβαίνουσιν· οὐ μὴν οὖν αὐτόθεν ἀποστατείν τῆς ἀποφάσεως ἀργῶς, ἀλλὰ βλέποντα πρὸς τοὺς καιροὺς καὶ τὰς περιστάσεις οἷς μὲν ἐπιτιμητέον τῶν ἡγεμόνων, οἷς δὲ συγγνώμην δοτέον. ἔσται δὲ τὸ λεγόμενον δῆλον ἐκ τούτων.

3 Ἀρχίδαμος ὁ τῶν Δακεδαιμονίων βασιλεὺς ὑπιδόμενος τὴν Κλεομένου φιλαρχίαν ἐφυγεν ἐκ τῆς Σπάρτης, μετ’ οὐ πολὺ δὲ πάλιν πεισθεῖς

4 ἐνεχείρισεν αὐτὸν τῷ προειρημένῳ. τοιγαροῦν ἀμα τῆς ἁρχῆς καὶ τοῦ βίου στερθεῖς οὐδ’ ἀπολογίαν

5 αὐτῷ κατέλιπε πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιγυνιομένους· τῆς γὰρ ὑποθέσεως τῆς αὐτῆς μενοῦσης, τῆς δὲ
placing itself under Aribazus and the other under Laodice; upon which as they had no confidence in each other, they both of them very soon surrendered themselves and the place.

Thus did Achaeus perish, after taking every reasonable precaution and defeated only by the perfidy of those whom he had trusted, leaving two useful lessons to posterity, firstly to trust no one too easily, and secondly not to be boastful in the season of prosperity, but being men to be prepared for anything.

Discussion of some similar Instances

35. Tiberius, the Roman pro-consul, fell into an ambush and after a gallant resistance perished with all who accompanied him. Regarding such accidents it is by no means safe to pronounce whether the sufferers are to be blamed or pardoned, because many who have taken all reasonable precautions have notwithstanding fallen victims to enemies who did not scruple to violate the established laws of mankind. Nevertheless we should not out of indolence at once abandon the attempt to reach a decision of this point, but keeping in view the times and circumstances of each case censure certain generals and acquit others. What I mean will be clear from the following instances.

Archidamus, the king of Sparta, fearful of the ambition of Cleomenes, went into exile; but a short time afterwards was induced to put himself into the power of Cleomenes. Consequently he lost both his throne and his life, leaving nothing to be said in his defence to posterity. For the situation being still the same and Cleomenes having become
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Κλεομένους φιλαρχίας καὶ δυναστείας ἐπηκή-μένης, ὁ τούτως ἐγχειρίσας αὐτὸν οὓς φυγὼν πρῶτερον ἔτυχε παραδόξως τῆς σωτηρίας, πῶς οὐκ εὐλόγως ἔμελλε τοῖς προειρημένοις ἐγκυρῆς; καὶ μήν Πελοπίδας ὁ Θηβαῖος, εἰδὼς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ τυράννου παρανομίαν καὶ σαφῶς γνώσκων ὅτι πᾶς τύραννος πολεμιωτάτους αὐτῶν νομίζει τοὺς τῆς ἐλευθερίας προετόθη, αὐτὸς οὖ μόνον τῆς Θηβαίων ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς τῶν Ἐλλήνων δημοκρατίας ἐπείδην Ἕσπεριν καὶ προεστάναι,
7 καὶ παρὼν εἰς Θετταλίαν πολέμιος ἐπὶ καταλύσει τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου μοναρχίας προσβευεῖν πρὸς τοῦτον ὑπέμενε δεύτερον. τοιαροθ ζαγόμενος ὑποχείριος τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἐβλαίε μὲν Θηβαίους μεγάλα, κατέλυσε δὲ τὴν αὐτῶ προγεγενημένην δόξαν, εἰκῆ καὶ ἀκρίτως πιστεύσας οἷς ἥκιστ' ἔχρην.

Παραπλήσια δὲ τούτως καὶ Γναῖος ὁ Ἡρωικῶν στρατηγὸς ἐπαθε κατὰ τὸν Σικελικὸν πόλεμον, ἀλώνως αὐτὸν ἐγχειρίσας τοῖς πολεμίοις· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ πλεῖος ἔτεροι.

36 (2) Διὸ καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἀσκέπτως έαυτοὺς ἐγχειρίζουσιν τοὺς ὑπεναντίους ἐπιτιμητέων, τοῖς δὲ τὴν ἐνδεχο-μένην πρόνοιαν ποιομένους οὐκ ἐγκλητέων· τὸ μὲν γὰρ μηδὲν πιστεύειν εἰς τέλος ἄπρακτον, τὸ δὲ λαβόντα τὰς ἐνδεχομένας πίστεις πράττειν τὸ 3 κατὰ λόγον ἀνεπτύμητον. εἰοὶ δὲ ἐνδεχόμεναι πίστεις ὄρκοι, τέκνα, γυναῖκες, τὸ μέγιστον δὲ προγεγονός βίος. ἦ καὶ τὸ διὰ τῶν τοιούτων ἀλογηθῆναι καὶ περιπετεών οὐ τῶν πασχόντων, 5 ἀλλὰ τῶν πραξάντων ἐστὶν ἐγκλῆμα. διὸ καὶ

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even more ambitious and powerful, we cannot but confess that in surrendering to the very man from whom he had formerly saved himself almost miraculously by flight, he deserved the fate he met with. Again, Pelopidas of Thebes, though acquainted with the unprincipled character of Alexander, tyrant of Pherae, and well aware that every tyrant regards as his chief enemies the champions of liberty, after prevailing on Epaminondas to espouse the cause of democracy not only at Thebes but throughout Greece, and after himself appearing in Thessaly with a hostile force for the purpose of overthrowing the despotism of Alexander, actually ventured a second time to go on a mission to this very tyrant. The consequence was that by falling into the hands of his enemies he both inflicted great damage on Thebes and destroyed his previous reputation by rashly and ill-advisedly reposing confidence where it was utterly misplaced. 363 B.C.

A similar misfortune befell the Roman consul Gnaeus Cornelius Scipio in the first Punic War, when he ill-advisedly surrendered to the enemy. 260 B.C. I could mention more than one other case.

36. While, therefore, we must censure those who incautiously put themselves in the power of the enemy, we should not blame those who take all possible precautions. For it is absolutely impracticable to place trust in no one, and we cannot find fault with anyone for acting by the dictates of reason after receiving adequate pledges, such pledges being oaths, wives and children held as hostages, and above all the past life of the person in question; thus to be betrayed and ruined by such means carries no reproach to the sufferer but only to the author of the deed. The safest course of all
μάλιστα μὲν τουαύτας ζητεῖν πίστεις (δεί), δι' ὁνὶν ὁ πιστευθεὶς οὐ δυνήσεται τὴν πίστιν ἀθετεῖν.

6 ἐπεὶ δὲ σπάνιον εὑρεῖν ἔστι τὸ τοιοῦτο, δεύτερος ἂν εἰη πλοῦς τὸ τῶν κατὰ λόγον φροντίζειν, ὡς ἂν τοῦ καὶ σφαλλώμεθα, τῆς παρὰ τοῖς ἐκτὸς

7 συγγνώμης μὴ διαμαρτάνωμεν. ὁ καὶ περὶ πλείους μὲν ὅτι γεγένηται τῶν πρότερον ἐναργέστατον ὁ ἔσται καὶ τοῖς καιροῖς ἐγγίστον τοῖς ὑπέρ ὃν ὁ νῦν ὅτι λόγος ἐνέστηκε τὸ κατ' Ἀχαίον συμβάν.

8 δὲ οὔδὲν τῶν ἐνδεχομένων πρὸς εὐλάβειαν καὶ πρὸς ἀσφαλείαν παραλιπόν, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ ἀπάντων προνοθείς, ἐφ' ὃσον ἀνθρωπίνη γνώμη δυνατὸν

9 ἢν, ὃμοι ἐγένετο τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ὑποχείριος. τὸ γε μὴν συμβάν ἔλεον μὲν τῷ παθῶντι καὶ συγγνώμην ἀπειργάσατο παρὰ τοῖς ἐκτός, διαβολὴν δὲ καὶ μίσος τοῖς πράξασιν.

22 Ὅτι Καῦαρος ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν ἐν τῇ Θράκη

(24) Γαλατῶν βασιλικὸς ὑπάρχων τῇ φύσει καὶ μεγαλόφρων, πολλὴν μὲν ἀσφαλείαν παρεσκεύαζε τοῖς προσπλέοσι τῶν ἐμπόρων εἰς τὸν Πόντον, μεγάλας

2 δὲ παρεῖχετο χρείας τοῖς Βυζαντίοις ἐν τοῖς πρὸς τοὺς Θράκας καὶ Βιθνοὺς πολέμους. Πολύβιος

3 . . . ἐν ὁγδὸν ἱστοριῶν, Καῦαρος, φησίν, ὁ Γαλάτης, ὃν τὰλλα ἄνηρ ἄγαθός, ὑπὸ Σωστράτου τοῦ κόλακος διεστρέφετο, ὃς ἦν Χαλκηδόνιος γένος.

23 Ὅτι Ξέρξου βασιλεύοντος πόλεως Ἀρμόσατα,

(25) ὃ κεῖται πρὸς τὸν Καλὸ πεδὶς καλουμένῳ, μέσον Ἐνφράτου καὶ Τίγριδος, ταύτῃ τῇ πόλει παραστρατοπεδεύοντας Ἀντίοχος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπεβάλετο

a See Bk. iv. 46 and 52.
therefore is to seek for such pledges as will render it impossible for the man in whom we trust to break his word, but as these can rarely be obtained, the second best course is to take reasonable precautions, so that if our expectations are deceived, we may at least not fail to be condoned by public opinion. This has been the case with many victims of treachery in former times, but the most conspicuous instance and that nearest in date to the time of which I am now speaking will be that of Achaeus, who though he had taken every possible step to guard against treachery and ensure his safety, foreseeing and providing against every contingency as far as it was possible for human intelligence to do so, yet fell into the power of his enemy. The event created a general feeling of pity and pardon for the victim, while his betrayers were universally condemned and detested.

The Gothic King Cavarus

22. Cavarus, king of the Thracian Gauls, being naturally kingly and high-minded, afforded great security to traders sailing to the Pontus, and rendered great services to the Byzantines in their wars with the Thracians and Bithynians. This Cavarus, so excellent in other respects, was corrupted by the flatterer Sostratus a native of Chalcedon. . . .

Antiochus at Armosata

(circa 212 B.C.)

23. When Xerxes was king of the city of Armosata, which lies near the "Fair Plain" between the Euphrates and Tigris, Antiochus, encamping before
2 πολιορκεῖν αὐτήν. Θεωρῶν δὲ τὴν παρασκευὴν τοῦ βασιλέως ὁ Ξέρξης, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον αὐτὸν ἐκτοδῶν ἐποίησε, μετὰ δὲ τῶν χρόνων δεῖσας μὴ τοῦ βασιλείου κρατηθέντος ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν καὶ τάλα τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτῶ διατραπῆ, μετεμελήθη καὶ διεπέμβατο πρὸς τὸν Ἀντίοχον,

3 φάσκων βουλέσθαι συνελθεῖν εἰς λόγους. οἱ μὲν οὖν πιστοὶ τῶν φίλων οὐκ ἐφασκον δεῖν προφλεβθαι τὸν νεανίσκον λαβόντες εἰς χείρας, ἀλλὰ συνεβουλευον κυριεύσαντα τῆς πόλεως Μιθριδάτη παραδοῦναι τὴν δυναστείαν, ὅς ἦν υἱὸς τῆς ἀδελφῆς αὐτοῦ κατὰ φύσιν. ο ὁ βασιλεὺς τούτων μὲν οὐδενὶς προσέσχε, μεταπεμψάμενος δὲ τὸν νεανίσκον διελύσατο τὴν ἐχθραίαν, ἀφῆκε δὲ τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν χρημάτων, ἀ συνέβαλε τὸν πατέρα προσ-5 οφείλειν αὐτῷ τῶν φόρων. λαβὼν δὲ παραχρῆμα τριακόσια τάλαντα παρ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ χιλίου ἵππους καὶ χιλίους ἡμίόνους μετὰ τῆς ἐπισκευῆς τὰ τε κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπαντ’ ἀκοπικατέστησε, καὶ συνοικίσας αὐτῷ τὴν ἀδελφήν Ἀντιοχίδα πάντας τους ἐκεῖνων τῶν τόπων ἐφυχαγώγησε καὶ προσ-εκαλέσατο, δόξας μεγαλοψύχως καὶ βασιλικῶς τοῖς πράγμασι κεχρῆσθαι. [Exc. Peir. p. 26.]

V. Res Italice

24 ὁτι οἱ Ταραντῖνοι διὰ τὸ τῆς εὐδαιμονίας ύπερ-(26) ἑφανον ἐπεκαλέσαντο Πύρρον τὸν Ἥπειρώτην· πάσα γὰρ ἐλευθερία μετ’ ἐξουσίας πολυχρονίου ὕψων ἔχει κόρον λαμβάνειν τῶν ὑποκειμένων, κάπειτα ζητεῖ δεισότην· τυχοῦσά γε μὴν τούτου ταχὺ πάλιν μισεῖ διὰ τὸ μεγάλην φαίνεσθαι τὴν 506
this city, undertook its siege. Xerxes, when he saw
the king's strength, at first conveyed himself away,
but after a short time fearing lest, if his palace were
occupied by the enemy, the rest of his dominions
would be thrown into a state of disturbance, he
regretted this step and sent a message to Antiochus
proposing a conference. The most trusty of
Antiochus' friends advised him when he had once
got the young man into his hands not to let him go,
but to make himself master of the city and bestow
the sovereignty on Mithridates his own sister's son.
The king, however, paid no attention to them, but
sent for the young man and composed their
differences, remitting the greater part of the sum
which his father had still owed for tribute. Receiving
from him a present payment of three hundred
talents, a thousand horses, and a thousand mules
with their trappings, he restored all his dominions
to him and by giving his daughter Antiochis in
marriage conciliated and attached to himself all
the inhabitants of the district, who considered that
he had acted in a truly royal and magnanimous
manner. . . .

V. Affairs of Italy

Tarentum

24. It was the pride engendered by prosperity
which made the Tarentines call in Pyrrhus of Epirus.
For in every case where a democracy has for long
enjoyed power, it naturally begins to be sick of
present conditions and next looks out for a master,
and having found one very soon hates him again, as
πρὸς τὸ χεῖρον μεταβολήν· ὁ καὶ τότε συνέβαλεν τοῖς Ταραντίνοις.

4 (3) Τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον ὡς ἐπὶ ἐξοδείαν ὀρμήσαντες ἐκ τῆς πόλεως καὶ συνεγγύσαντες τῇ παρεμβολῇ τῶν Καρχηδονίων νυκτός, ἀλλοι μὲν συγκαθέντες εἰς τινα τόπον ὑλώδη παρὰ τὴν ὅδον ἐμεναν, ὁ δὲ Φιλήμενος καὶ Νῖκων προσήλθον πρὸς τὴν παρ-

5 (4) εμβολήν. τῶν δὲ φυλάκων ἐπιλαβομένων αὐτῶν, ἀνήγοντο πρὸς τὸν 'Αννίβαν, οὐδὲν εἶπόντες οὔτε πόθεν οὔτε τίνες ἦσαν, αὐτὸ δὲ μόνον τοῦτο δηλοῦντες ὅτι θέλουσι τῷ στρατηγῷ συμμιξίαι.

6 (5) ταχὺ δὲ πρὸς τὸν 'Αννίβαν ἐπαναχθέντες ἐφασαν

7 (6) αὐτῷ κατ' ἱδίαν βούλεσθαι διαλεχθῆναι. τοῦ δὲ καὶ λίαν ἐτοίμως προσδεξαμένων τὴν ἐντευξίν, ἀπελογίζοντο περί τε τῶν καθ' αὐτοὺς καὶ περί τῶν κατὰ τὴν πατρίδα, πολλὰς καὶ ποικίλας ποιούμενοι κατηγορίας 'Ῥωμαίων, χάριν τοῦ μὴ δοκεῖν ἀλόγως ἐμβαίνειν εἰς τὴν ὑποκειμένην

8 (7) πρᾶξιν. τότε μὲν οὖν 'Αννίβας ἐπανέσας καὶ τὴν ὀρμήν αὐτῶν φιλανθρώπως ἀποδεξάμενος ἐξέπεμψε, συνταξάμενος παραγίνεσθαι καὶ συμ-

9 (8) μιγνύναι κατὰ τάχος αὐτῷ πάλιν. κατὰ δὲ τὸ παρόν ἐκέλευσε τὰ πρῶτα τῶν ἐξελασθέντων πρωτὶ θρεμμάτων καὶ τοὺς ἀμα τούτως ἄδρας, ἑπειδὰν ίκανὸν ἀπόσχωσι τῆς παρεμβολῆς, περιελασαμένους εὐθαρσῶς ἀπαλλάττεσθαι. περὶ γὰρ τῆς

10 (9) ἀσφαλείας αὐτῷ μελήσεων. ἐποίησι δὲ τούτῳ βουλόμενος αὐτῷ μὲν ἀναστροφὴν δοῦναι πρὸς τὸ πολυπραγμονῆσαι τὰ κατὰ τοὺς νεανίσκους, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ πίστων παρασκευάζειν πρὸς τοὺς πολίτας ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ κρατίστου ποιομένοις τὰς ἐπὶ τὰς

11 (10) ληστείας ἐξόδους. πραξάντων δὲ τῶν περὶ τῶν

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the change is manifestly much for the worse. And this was what happened then to the Tarentines. . . .

They started from the city at first as if for an expedition, and on approaching the camp of the Carthaginians at night, the rest concealed themselves in a wood by the roadside while Philemenus and Nicon went up to the camp. There they were arrested by the guards and brought before Hannibal; for they had not said a word as to who they were or whence they came, but had simply stated that they wished to meet the general. They were at once taken before Hannibal and said that they desired to speak with him in private. When he most readily granted them the interview, they gave him an account of their own situation and that of their country, bringing many different accusations against the Romans so as not to seem to have entered on their present design without valid reasons. Hannibal having thanked them and received their advances in the kindest manner, sent them back for the time after arranging that they should come and meet him again very soon. For the present he bade them as soon as they were at a certain distance from his camp surround and drive off the first herds of cattle that had been driven out to pasture and the men in charge of them and pursue their way without fear, for he would see to their safety. This he did with the object first of giving himself time to inquire into the proposal made by the young men and next of gaining for them the confidence of the townspeople, who would believe that it was really on forays that they left the town. Nicon and his friends did as they were
Νίκωνα τὸ παραγγέλθεν, ὦ μὲν Ἀννίβας περιχαρῆς ἦν διὰ τὸ μόλις ἀφορμῆς ἐπειλήφθαι πρὸς τὴν
12 (11) προκειμένην ἐπιβολῆν, οἳ δὲ περὶ τὸν Φιλήμενον ἐτι μάλλον παρώρμητο πρὸς τὴν πρᾶξιν διὰ τὸ καὶ τὴν ἐντευξίν ἀσφαλῶς γεγονέναι καὶ τὸν Ἀννίβαν ἵππηκέναι πρόθυμον, ἐτι δὲ τὴν τῆς λείας δαφύλειαν ἰκανὴν αὐτοῖς πίστιν παρεσκευά-
13 (12) κέναι πρὸς τοὺς ἱδίους. διὸτι τὰ μὲν ἀποδόμενοι, τὰ δ’ εἰνώχυμενοι τῆς λείας, οὐ μόνον ἐπιστευόντο παρὰ τοῖς Ταραντίνους, ἀλλὰ καὶ ζηλωτὰς ἔσχον οὐκ ὀλίγους.

25 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ποιησάμενοι δευτέραν ἐξόδουν, (27) καὶ παραπλησίως χειρίσαντες τὰ κατὰ μέρος, αὐτοῖ τε τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἀννίβαν ἔδοσαν πίστεις
2 καὶ παρ’ ἐκείνων ἔλαβον ἐπὶ τοῦτοις, ἐφ’ ὦ Ταραν-
tίνους ἐλευθερώσεν καὶ μήτε φόρους πράξεσθαι κατὰ μηδένα τρόπον μήτ’ ἄλλο μηδέν ἐπιτάξειν
Ταραντίνους Καρχηδονίους, τὰς δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων
οἰκίας καὶ καταλύσεις, ἐπειδὰν κρατήσωσι τῆς
3 πόλεως, ἔξειναι Καρχηδονίους διαρπάζειν. ἐποιή-
σαντο δὲ καὶ σύνθημα τοῦ παραδέχεσθαι σφὰς
τοὺς φύλακας ἐτοίμως εἰς τὴν παρεμβολήν, ὄτ’
4 ἐλθοιεν. ὅν γενομένων ἔλαβον ἐξουσίαν εἰς τὸ καὶ πλεονάκις συμμυγνύναι τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἀννίβαν,
ποτὲ μὲν ὡς ἐπ’ ἐξοδεῖαν, ποτὲ δὲ πάλιν ὡς ἐπὶ
κυνηγίαν ποιούμενοι τὰς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἔξοδους.
5 ταῦτα δὲ διαρμοσάμενοι πρὸς τὸ μέλλον, οἳ μὲν
πλείους ἐπετήρουν τοὺς καρυοὺς, τὸν δὲ Φιλή-
6 μεν ἀπέταξαν ἐπὶ τὰς κυνηγίας. διὰ γὰρ τὴν
ὑπερβάλλουσαν ἐπὶ τούτο τὸ μέρος ἐπιθυμιάν
ἄν υπὲρ αὐτοῦ διάλημις ὡς οὐδὲν προουργούσερον
7 ποιουμένου κατὰ τὸν βίον τοῦ κυνηγετεῖν. διὸ
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bidden, and Hannibal was now delighted in having at length succeeded in finding a means of executing his design, while Philemenus and the rest were much encouraged in their project now that the interview had safely taken place, and they had found Hannibal so willing, and the quantity of booty had established their credit sufficiently with their countrymen. Selling some of the captured cattle and feasting on others they not only gained the confidence of the Tarentines, but had many emulators.

25. After this they made a second expedition, managed in a similar manner, and this time they pledged their word to Hannibal and received in return his pledge that he would set Tarentum free and that the Carthaginians would neither exact any kind of tribute from the Tarentines nor impose any other burdens on them; but they were to be allowed, after capturing the city, to plunder the houses and residences of the Romans. They also agreed on a watchword by which the sentries were to admit them to the camp without any hesitation each time they came. They thus were enabled to meet Hannibal more than once, sometimes pretending to be going out of the town on a foray, sometimes again on a hunting-party. Having made their arrangements to serve their purpose in the future, the majority of them awaited the time for action, the part of huntsman being assigned to Philemenus, as owing to his excessive passion for the chase it was generally thought that he considered it the most important thing in life.
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tούτω μὲν ἐπέτρεψαν ἐξιδιάσασθαι διὰ τῶν ἄλυκο-
mένων θηρίων πρῶτον μὲν τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως
tεταγμένον Γάιον Λίβιον, δεύτερον δὲ τοὺς φυλάτ-
tοντας τὸν πυλῶν τὸν ὑπὸ τὰς Τημενίδας προσ-
αγορευομένας πύλας. οὐς παραλαβών τὴν πίστιν
ταύτην, καὶ τὰ μὲν αὐτὸς κυνηγητῶν, τῶν δ’
ἔτοιμαζομένων αὐτῷ δι’ Ἄννιβου, συνεχῶς ἐσο-
έφερε τῶν θηρίων, ὡς τὰ μὲν ἐδίδου τῷ Γαίῳ, τὰ
δὲ τοῖς ἐπὶ τοῦ πυλῶνος χάριν τοῦ τῇν ρινοπύλην
9 ἔτοιμος ἀνοίγειν αὐτῷ· τὸ γὰρ πλεῖον ἐποιεῖτο
τὰς εἰσόδους καὶ τὰς ἐξόδους νυκτός, προφάσει
μὲν χρώμενος τῷ φόβῳ τῶν πολεμίων, ἀμοιβα-
10 μενος δὲ πρὸς τὴν ὑποκειμένην πρόθεσιν. ἦδη δὲ
κατεσκευασμένον τοιαύτην συνήθειαν τοῦ Φιλη-
mένου πρὸς τοὺς ἐπὶ τῆς πύλης ὡςτε μὴ διαπορεῖν
τοὺς φυλάττοντας, ἀλλ’ ὅποτε προσεγγίσας τῷ
τείχει προσσυρίζαι νυκτός, εὐθέως ἀνοίγεσθαι
11 τὴν ρινοπύλην αὐτῷ, τότε παρατηρήσαντες τὸν
ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως ἄρχοντα τῶν 'Ῥωμαίων, ἄφ’
ームερας μέλλοντα γίνεσθαι μετὰ πλείονων ἐν τῷ
προσαγορευομένῳ Μουσείῳ σύνεγγυς τῆς ἀγορᾶς,
tαύτην ἐτάξαντο τὴν ἤμεραν πρὸς τὸν Ἀννίβαν.

26 'Ὁ δὲ πάλαι μὲν ἐπεπόριστο σκήψεν ὡς ἀρρω-
(28) στῶν, χάριν τοῦ μὴ θαυμάζειν ἀκούοντας τοὺς
Ῥωμαίους, ὡς καὶ πλεῖον χρόνον ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτῶν
2 τόπων ποιεῖται τὴν διατριβήν· τότε δὲ καὶ μᾶλλον
προσεποιεῖτο τὴν ἀρρωστίαν. ἀπείχε δὲ τῷ στρα-
3 τοπέδω τριῶν ἦμερῶν ὄδον τοῦ Τάραντος. ἦκοντος
dὲ τοῦ καιροῦ, παρεσκευακὼς ἐκ τε τῶν ἵππων
καὶ τῶν πεζῶν τοὺς διαφέροντας ἐυκινησία καὶ
tόλμη, περὶ μυρίους οὕτας τὸν ἄριθμόν, παρήγγειλε
4 τεττάρων ἦμερῶν ἔχειν ἐφόδια. ποιησάμενος δὲ
512
BOOK VIII. 25. 7 – 26. 4

He was therefore directed to ingratiate himself by presents of the game he killed first of all with Gaius Livius the commandant of the town, and then with the guards of the towers behind the Temenid gate. Having been entrusted with this matter, he managed, either by catching game himself or by getting it provided by Hannibal, to keep constantly bringing some in, giving part of it to Gaius and some to the men of the tower to make them always ready to open the postern to him; for he usually went out and came in by night, on the pretence that he was afraid of the enemy, but as a fact to lay the way for the contemplated attempt. When Philemenus had once got the guard at the gate into the habit of not making any trouble about it but of opening the postern gate to him at once by night, whenever he whistled on approaching the wall, the conspirators having learnt that on a certain day the Roman commandant of the place was going to be present at a large and early party in the building called the Museum near the market-place, agreed with Hannibal to make the attempt on that day.

26. Hannibal had for some time past pretended to be sick, to prevent the Romans from being surprised when they heard that he had spent such a long time in the same neighbourhood, and he now pretended that his sickness was worse. His camp was distant three days’ journey from Tarentum, and when the time came he got ready a force of about ten thousand men selected from his infantry and cavalry for their activity and courage, ordering them to take provisions for four days; and starting at
τὴν ἀναλυγὴν ὑπὸ τὴν ἐωθικὴν ἔχρητο τῇ πορείᾳ συντόνως. τῶν δὲ Νομαδικῶν ἰππέων εἰς ὁγδοή-κοντα προχειρισάμενος ἐκέλευε προπορεύεσθαι τῆς δυνάμεως εἰς τριάκοντα στάδιον καὶ τοὺς παρὰ τὴν ὁδὸν τόπους εἶς ἐκατέρω τοῦ μέρους ἐπιτρέχειν, 5 ὑνα μηδεὶς κατοπτεύῃ τὴν ὅλην δύναμιν, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ὑποχείριοι γίνοντο τῶν διεμπιπτόντων, ὁ δὲ διαφυγόντες ἀναγγέλλουν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, 6 ὡς ἐπίδρομης οὐσίας ἐκ τῶν Νομάδων. ἀποσχον- των δὲ τῶν Νομάδων ὡς ἐκατόν εἰκοσὶ στάδιον, ἐδειπνοποιήσατο παρὰ τυν δυσοσύνοπτον καὶ 7 φαραγγώδη ποταμόν. καὶ συναθροίσας τοὺς ἠγε-μόνας κυρίως μὲν οὐ διεσάφει τὴν ἐπιβολήν, ἀπλῶς δὲ παρεκάλει πρῶτον μὲν ἀνδρας ἁγαθοὺς γίνεσθαι πάντας, ὡς οὐδέποτε μειζόνων αὐτοῖς 8 ἄθλων ὑποκειμένων, δεύτερον δὲ συνέχειν ἐκαστὸν τῇ πορείᾳ τοὺς υφ' αὐτὸν ταττομένους καὶ πικρῶς ἐπιτιμᾶν τοῖς καθόλου παρεκβαίνουσιν ἐκ τῆς 9 ἱδίας τάξεως, τελευταίον δὲ προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν τοῖς παραγγελλομένοις καὶ μηδὲν ἴδιοπράγειν 10 πάρεξ τῶν προστατομένων. ταῦτ' εἰπὼν καὶ διαφεις τοὺς ἠγεμόνας ἐκίνη τὴν πρωτοπορείαν, κνέφασις ἀρτι γενομένου, σπουδάζων συνάψαι τῷ τείχει περὶ μέσας νύκτας, καθηγεμόνα τὸν Φιλήμενον ἑχων καὶ παρεσκευακὼς ὑν ἀγριον αὐτῷ πρὸς τὴν διατεταγμένην χρείαν.

27 Τῷ δὲ Γαϊῳ τῷ Διβίῳ, γενομένῳ μετὰ τῶν συν-
(29) ἴθων ἀφ' ἡμέρας ἐν τῷ Μουσείῳ κατὰ τὴν τῶν νεανίσκων πρόληψιν, καὶ σχεδὸν ἦδη τοῦ πότου τὴν ἀκμαιοτάτην ἔχοντος διάθεσιν, προσαγγέλλεται περὶ δυσμᾶς ἥλιον τοὺς Νομάδας ἐπιτρέχειν τῇν 2 χώραν. ὦ δὲ πρὸς μὲν αὐτῷ τοῦτο διενοήθη, καὶ 514
dawn marched at full speed. Choosing about eighty of his Numidian horse he ordered them to advance in front of the force at a distance of about thirty stades and to spread themselves over the ground on each side of the road, so that no one should get a view of the main body, but that of those whom they encountered, some should be made prisoners by them while those who escaped should announce in the town that a raid by Numidian horse was in progress. When the Numidians were about a hundred and twenty stades away from the town, Hannibal halted for supper on the bank of a river which runs through a gorge and is not easily visible. Here he called a meeting of his officers, at which he did not inform them exactly what his plan was, but simply exhorted them first to bear themselves like brave men, as the prize of success had never been greater, secondly to keep each of them the men under his command in close order on the march and severely punish all who left the ranks on no matter what pretext, and lastly to attend strictly to orders and to do nothing on their own initiative, but only what should be commanded. After thus addressing and dismissing the officers, he started on his march just after dusk, intending to reach the walls of the town about midnight. He had Philemenus with him for a guide and had procured for him a wild boar to use in a manner that had been arranged.

27. As the young men had foreseen, Gaius Livius had been feasting since early in the day with his friends in the Museum, and about sunset, when the drinking was at its height, news was brought to him that the Numidians were overrunning the country. He took measures simply to meet this raid, by
καλέσας τινὰς τῶν ἡγεμόνων συνέταξε τοὺς μὲν ἡμῖσεις τῶν ἐπιπέων ἐξελθόντας ὑπὸ τὴν ἐωθινὴν κωλύσαι τοὺς ἑκατοποιοῦντας τὴν χώραν τῶν πολεμίων, τῆς γε μὴν ὅλης πράξεως διὰ ταῦτα καὶ μᾶλλον ἀνύποπτος ἦν. οἶ δὲ περὶ τὸν Νίκωνα καὶ Τραγίσκων, ἀμα τῷ σκότος γενέσθαι συναθροισθέντες ἐν τῇ πόλει πάντες, ἔτηρον τὴν ἐπάνοδον τῶν περὶ τὸν Λίβιον. τῶν δὲ ταχέως ἐξαναστάντων διὰ τὸ γεγονέναι τὸ πότον ἀφ' ἡμέρας, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι πρὸς τινα τόπον ἀποστάντες ἔμενον, τινὲς δὲ τῶν νεανίσκων ἀπήντων τοῖς περὶ τὸν Γάιον, διακεχυμένοι καὶ τι καὶ προσπαίζοντες ἄλληλοι, ὡς ἄν ὑποκρινόμενοι τοὺς ἐκ συνουσίας ἐπανάγοντας. ἐτὶ δὲ μᾶλλον ἡλιοωμένων ὑπὸ τῆς μέθης τῶν περὶ τὸν Λίβιον, ἀμα τῷ συμμίξας γέλως εξ ἀμφοῖν ἦν καὶ παιδιὰ πρόχειρος. ἐπεὶ δὲ συνανακάμψαντες ἀποκατ- ἐστησαν αὐτὸν εἰς οἴκον, ο μὲν Γάιος ἀνεπαύετο μεθύων, ὡς εἰκός ἐστι τοὺς ἀφ' ἡμέρας πίνοντας, οὐδὲν ἀτοπον οὐδὲ δυσχέρες ἔχων ἐν τῇ διανοίᾳ, χαρᾶς δὲ πλήρης καὶ ῥαθυμίας. οἶ δὲ περὶ τὸν Νίκωνα καὶ Τραγίσκων ἐπεὶ συνεμίξαν τοῖς ἀπο- λελεμμένοις νεανίσκοις, διελόντες σφᾶς εἰς τρία μέρη παρεφύλαττον, διαλαβόντες τῆς ἀγορᾶς τὸς εὐκαιροτάτας εἰσβολάς, ἵνα μήτη τῶν ἐξωθεὶν προσπιττόντων μηδὲν αὐτοὺς λανθάνῃ μήτη τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει γινομένων. ἐπέστησαν δὲ καὶ παρὰ τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ Γαίου, σαφῶς εἰδότες ὡς ἐὰν γίνηται τις ὑπόνοια τοῦ μέλλοντος, ἐπὶ τὸν Λίβιον ἀνοισθήσεται πρῶτον, καὶ πᾶν τὸ πρατ- τόμενον ἀπ' ἐκείνου λήψεται τὴν ἀρχήν. ὡς δ' αἰ μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν δείπνων ἐπάνοδοι καὶ συλλήβδην 516
BOOK VIII. 27. 2–9

summoning some of his officers and ordering half his cavalry to sally out in the early morning and prevent the enemy from damaging the country; but just because of this he was less inclined to be suspicious of the plot as a whole. Meanwhile Nicon and Tragiscus and the rest, as soon as it was dark, all collected in the town to await the return home of Livius. The banquet broke up somewhat early, as the drinking had begun in the afternoon, and, while the other conspirators withdrew to a certain place to await events, some of the young men went to meet Livius and his company, making merry and creating by their mutual jests the impression that they too were on the way back from a carouse. As Livius and his company were still more intoxicated, when the two parties met they all readily joined in laughter and banter. The young men turned round and escorted Livius to his house, where he lay down to rest overcome by wine, as people naturally are who begin drinking early in the day, and with no apprehension of anything unusual or alarming, but full of cheerfulness and quite at his ease. Meanwhile, when Nicon and Tragiscus had rejoined the young men they had left behind, they divided themselves into three bodies and kept watch, occupying the streets that gave most convenient access to the market-place, in order that no intelligence from outside and nothing that happened inside the town should escape their notice. Some of them posted themselves near Livius’ house, as they knew that if there were any suspicion of what was about to happen it would be communicated to him and that any measures taken would be due to his initiative. When diners-out had all returned to their homes,
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δ' τοιούτος θάρυσσος ἦδη παρωχήκει, τῶν δὲ δημοτῶν ἡ πληθὺς κατακεκοιμητο, προύβανε δὲ τὰ τῆς νυκτὸς καὶ τὰ τῆς ἐλπίδος ἀκέραια διέμενε, τότε συναθροισθέντες προῆγον ἐπὶ τὴν προκειμένην χρείαν.

28 Τὰ δὲ συγκεῖμενα τοῖς νεανίσκοις ἦν πρὸς τοὺς Ἀννίβαν ἕδει συνάψαντα τῆς πόλεις κατὰ τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς μεσογαίαν, πρὸς ἐως δὲ κειμένην πλευράν, ὡς ἐπὶ τὰς Τημενίδας προσαγορευμένας πύλας, ἀνάψαι πῦρ ἐπὶ τοῦ τάφου, τοῦ παρὰ μὲν τισιν Ἰακίνθων προσαγορευμένου, παρὰ δὲ τισιν Ἀπόλλωνος Ἰακίνθου,
3 τοὺς δὲ περὶ τὸν Τραγίσκον, ὡτὲν ἴδωσι τοῦτο γνώμενον, ἐνδοθεν ἀντιπυρεῖσθαι. τούτου δὲ συντελεσθέντος, σβέσαι τὸ πῦρ ἑδεῖ τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἀννίβαν καὶ βάδην ποιεῖσθαι τὴν πορείαν ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν πύλην. ἦν διαστεγμένων, οἱ μὲν νεανίσκοι διαπορευθέντες τῶν οἰκούμενον τόπον τῆς πόλεως ἥκον ἐπί τοὺς τάφους. τὸ γὰρ πρὸς ἐως μέρος τῆς τῶν Ταραντίνων πόλεως μνημάτων ἐστὶ πλῆρες, διὰ τὸ τοὺς τελευτήσαντας ἐτὶ καὶ νῦν βάπτεσθαι παρ’ αὐτοῖς πάντας ἐντὸς τῶν τειχῶν κατὰ τὶ λόγον ἄρχαιον. φασὶ γὰρ χρῆσαι τὸν θεὸν τοῖς Ταραντίνοις ἀμενον καὶ λῶν ἔσεσθαι σφισὶ ποιομένους τὴν οἴκησιν μετὰ τῶν πλεύσων.
8 τοὺς δὲ νομίσαντας ἂν οἰκήσω ὤτις ἄριστα κατὰ τὸν χρησμόν, εἰ καὶ τοὺς μετελλαχότας ἐντὸς τοῦ τείχους ἔχοιεν, διὰ ταῦτα θάπτειν ἐτὶ καὶ νῦν τοὺς μεταλλάξαντας ἐντὸς τῶν πυλῶν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ’ οἱ γε προειρημένοι παραγενομένοι πρὸς τὸν τοῦ Πυθιανίκου τάφον ἐκαραδόκουν τὸ μέλλον.
10 συνεγγυνάσαντων δὲ τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἀννίβαν καὶ 518
and all such disturbance in general had ceased, the majority of the townsmen having gone to bed, night now wearing on apace and nothing having occurred to shake their hopes of success, they all collected together and proceeded to get about their business.

28. The agreement between the young Tarentines and Hannibal was as follows: Hannibal on approaching the city on its eastern side, which lies towards the interior, was to advance towards the Temenid gate and light a fire on the tomb, called by some that of Hyacinthus, by others that of Apollo Hyacinthus. Tragiscus, when he saw this signal, was to signal back by fire from within the town. This having been done, Hannibal was to put out the fire and march on slowly in the direction of the gate. Agreeably to these arrangements, the young men having traversed the inhabited portion of the city reached the cemetery. For all the eastern part of the Tarentum is full of tombs, since their dead are still buried within the walls owing to a certain ancient oracle, the god, it is said, having responded to the Tarentines that they would fare better and more prosperously if they made their dwelling-place with the majority. Thinking, then, that according to the oracle they would be best off if they had the departed also inside the wall, the Tarentines up to this day bury their dead within the gates. The young men on reaching the tomb of Pythionicus stopped and awaited the event. When Hannibal
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πραξάντων τὸ συνταχθὲν, ἀμα τῷ τὸ πῦρ ἴδειν οἱ περὶ τὸν Νίκωνα καὶ Τραγίσκον ἀναθαρρήσαντες ταῖς ψυχαῖς καὶ τὸν παρ᾽ αὐτῶν πυρσόν ἀναδειξαντες, ἐπει τὸ παρ᾽ ἐκεῖνων πῦρ πάλιν ἐώρων ἀποσβεννύμενον, ἔμμηναν ἐπὶ τὴν πύλην μετὰ
11 δρόμου καὶ σπουδῆς, βουλόμενοι φθάσαι φονεύσαντες τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ πυλῶνος τεταγμένους, διὰ τὸ συγκείσθαι [καὶ] σχολῆ καὶ βάδην ποιεῖσθαι τὴν
12 πορείαν τοὺς Καρχηδονίους. εὐροήσαντος δὲ τοῦ πράγματος, καὶ προκαταληφθέντων τῶν φυλαττόντων, οἱ μὲν ἐφόνευον τούτους, οἱ δὲ διέκοπτον
13 τοὺς μοχλοὺς. ταχὺ δὲ τῶν πυλῶν ἀνοιχθεῖσσων, πρὸς τὸν δέοντα καυρὸν ἦκον οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀενίβαν, κεχρημένοι τῇ πορείᾳ συμμέτρως, ὡστε μηδεμίαν ἐπίστασιν γενέσθαι παρ᾽ ὁδὸν ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν.
29 Γενομένης δὲ τῆς εἰσόδου κατὰ τὴν πρόθεσιν (31) ἀσφαλοὺς καὶ τελέως ἀθορύβου, δόξας ἠνύσθαν σφίζει τὸ πλείστον τῆς ἐπιβολῆς, λοιπὸν αὐτοὶ μὲν εὐθαρσῶς ἤδη προῆγον ἐπὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν κατὰ τὴν πλατείαν τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς Βαθείας ἀναφέρουσαν.
2 τοὺς γε μὴν ἅπεις ἀπελευθοὺς ἐκτὸς τοῦ τείχους, ὅταν οὐκ ἐλάττους δισχιλίων, θέλοντες ἐφεδρεῖαν αὐτοῖς υπάρχειν ταῦτην πρὸς τε τὰς ἕξωθεν ἐπιφανείας καὶ πρὸς τὰ παράλογα τῶν ἐν ταῖς
3 τοιάνταις ἐπιβολαῖς συμβαίνοντων. ἐγγύσαντες δὲ τοῖς περὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν τόποις τὴν μὲν δύναμιν ἐπέστησαν κατὰ πορείαν, αὐτοὶ δὲ καὶ τὸν Φιλήμενον ἐκαραδόκουν, δεδίστες πῶς σφίζει προ-
4 χωρῆσει καὶ τοῦτο τὸ μέρος τῆς ἐπιβολῆς. ὅτε γὰρ ἀνάμιστες τὸ πῦρ ἐμελλὼν πρὸς τὰς πύλας ὄμμαν, τότε καὶ τὸν Φιλήμενον, ἔχοντα τὸν ὅν ἐν
520
drew near and did as agreed, Nicon, Tragiscus, and their companions as soon as they saw the fire felt their courage refreshed, and when they had exhibited their own torch and saw that of Hannibal go out again, they ran at full speed to the gate wishing to arrive in time to surprise and kill the guards of the gate-tower, it having been agreed that the Carthaginians were to advance at an easy pace. All went well, and on the guards being surprised, some of the conspirators busied themselves with putting them to the sword, while others were cutting through the bolts. Very soon the gates were thrown open, and at the proper time Hannibal and his force arrived, having marched at such a pace as ensured that no attention was called to his advance until he reached the city.

29. His entrance having been thus effected, as pre-arranged, in security and absolutely without noise, Hannibal thought that the most important part of his enterprise had been successfully accomplished, and now advanced confidently towards the market-place. by the broad street that leads up from what is called the Deep Road. He left his cavalry, however, not less than two thousand in number, outside the wall as a reserve force to secure him against any foe that might appear from outside and against such untoward accidents as are apt to happen in enterprises of this kind. When he was in the neighbourhood of the market-place he halted his force in marching order and himself awaited the appearance of Philemenus also, being anxious to see how this part of his design would succeed. For at the time that he lit the fire signal and was about to advance to the gate he had sent off Philemenus
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5 δ' ἔρχομενοι ἐγγίσασθαί τῷ τείχῃ κατὰ τὸν ἕθισμὸν ἐπεὶ προσευρίζεται, παρὴν ὁ φύλαξ εὐθέως καταβαίνων πρὸς τὴν ῥυντῦλην. τοῦ δ' εἰπόντος ἐξωθεὶν ἀνοίγειν ταχέως, ὅτι βαρύνονται: φέρουσι γὰρ ὅβ' ἄγριον: ἄσμενως ἀκούσας ὁ φύλαξ ἀνέωξε μετὰ σπουδῆς, ἐλπίζων καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν τι διατείνειν τὴν εὐαγρίαν τῶν περὶ τὸν Φιλήμενον διὰ τὸ μερίτην ἀεὶ γίνεσθαι τῶν εἰσφερο-μένων. αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν ὁ προειρημένος τὴν πρώτην ἔχων χώραν τοῦ φορήματος εἰσῆλθε, καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ νομαδικὴν ἔχων διασκευήν ἐτέρος, ὡς εἰς τις ἐν τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας, μετὰ δὲ τούτου ἄλλοι δύο πάλιν οἱ φέροντες ἐκ τῶν ὀπίσθεν τὸ θηρίον.

8 ἐπεὶ δὲ τέταρτες ὄντες ἐντὸς ἐγένοντο τῆς ῥυντο-πῦλης, τὸν μὲν ἀνοίξαντα θεώμενον ἀκάκως καὶ ψηλαφῶντα τὸν ἔναυτῷ πατάξαντες ἀπέκτειναν, τοὺς δ' ἐπομένους μὲν αὐτοῖς, προηγομένους δὲ τῶν ἄλλων, Λίβνας, ὄντας εἰς τριάκοντα, σχολή 9 καὶ μεθ' ἱσυχίας παρῆκαν διὰ τῆς πυλίδος. γενο-μένου δὲ τούτου κατὰ τὸ συνεχές οἱ μὲν τῶν μοχλοὺς διέκοπτον, οἱ δὲ τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ πυλῶν ἐφόνευον, οἱ δὲ τοὺς ἐξω Λίβνας ἐκάλουν διὰ τὸν τούτου κατὰ τὸ συνεχές οἱ μὲν τῶν μοχλοὺς διέκοπτον, οἱ δὲ τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ πυλῶν ἐφόνευον, οἱ δὲ τοὺς ἐξω Λίβνας ἐκάλουν διὰ τὸν τούτου κατὰ τὸ συνεχές. 

10 συνθημάτων. εἰσελθόντων δὲ καὶ τούτων ἀσφα- λῶς, προῆγον ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν ἄγραν κατὰ τὸ συν- 11 τεταγμένον. ἀμα δὲ τῷ συμμίξαι καὶ τούτους, περιχαρῆς γενόμενος Ἀννίβας ἐπὶ τῷ κατὰ νοῦν αὐτῷ προκυμές τῶν πράξεων εἴχετο τῶν προκυμε- 30 (32) νων. ἀπομερίσας δὲ τῶν Κελτῶν εἰς δισχιλίους, 522
with the boar on a stretcher and about a thousand Libyans to the next gate, wishing, as he had originally planned, not to let the success of the enterprise depend simply on a single chance but on several. Philemenus, on approaching the wall, whistled as was his custom, and the sentry at once came down from the tower to the postern gate. When Philemenus from outside told him to open quickly as they were fatigued for they were carrying a wild boar, the guard was very pleased and made haste to open, hoping for some benefit to himself also from Philemenus' good luck, as he had always had his share of the game that was brought in. Philemenus then passed in supporting the stretcher in front and with him a man dressed like a shepherd, as if he were one of the country-folk, and after them came two other men supporting the dead beast from behind. When all four were within the postern gate they first of all cut down the guard on the spot, as, unsuspicious of any harm, he was viewing and handling the boar, and then quietly and at their leisure let in through the little gate the Libyans, about thirty in number, who were immediately behind them and in advance of the others. After this they at once proceeded some of them to cut the bolts, others to kill the guardians of the gate-tower, and others to summon the Libyans outside by a preconcerted signal. When the latter also had got in safely, they all, as had been arranged, advanced towards the market-place. Upon being joined by this force also Hannibal, much pleased that matters were proceeding just as he had wished, proceeded to put his project in execution. 30. Separating about two thousand Celts from the others
καὶ διελὼν εἰς τρία μέρη τούτους, συνέστησε τῶν νεανίσκων δύο πρὸς ἐκαστὸν μέρος τῶν χειριζόντων
2 τὴν πρᾶξιν. ἀκολούθως δὲ καὶ τῶν παρ' αὐτοῦ τινας ἡγεμόνων συνεξαπέστειλε, προστάξας δια-
λαβεῖν τῶν εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν φεροσῶν ὁδὸν τὰς
3 εὐκαιροτάτας. ὅταν δὲ τούτῳ πράξωσι, τοῖς μὲν ἑγχωρίοις νεανίσκοις ἔξαφρείσθαι παρήγγειλε καὶ
σώζειν τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας τῶν πολιτῶν, ἀνα-
βοῶντας ἐκ πολλοῦ μένειν κατὰ χώραν Ταραν-
tίνων, ὡς ὑπαρχόωσθα αὐτοῖς τῆς ἀσφαλείας,
4 τοῖς δὲ παρὰ τῶν Καρχηδονίων καὶ τῶν Κελτῶν ἡγεμόσι κτείνειν διεκελεύσατο τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας
τῶν Ῥωμαίων. οὕτω μὲν οὖν χωρισθέντες ἀλ-
λήλων ἔπραθτον μετὰ ταῦτα τὸ προσταθῆν.
5 Τῆς δὲ τῶν πολεμίων εἰσόδου καταφανοὺς ἥδη
γενομένης τοῖς Ταραντίνοις, πλῆρης ἥ πόλις
6 κρανυγῆς ἐγίνετο καὶ ταραχῆς παρηλλαγμένης. ὁ
μὲν οὗν Γάιος, προσπεσούσης αὐτῶ τῆς εἰσόδου
τῶν πολεμίων, συννοήσας ἀδύνατον αὐτῶν ὁντα διὰ
τὴν μέθην, εὐθέως ἐξελθὼν ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας μετὰ τῶν
οἰκετῶν καὶ παραγενόμενος ἐπὶ τὴν πύλην τὴν
φέροσαν ἐπὶ τὸν λιμένα, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τοῦ φύλα-
κος ἀνοίξαντος αὐτῶ τὴν ρυντόλην, διαδύσ ταυτῇ
καὶ λαβόμενος ἀκατίον τῶν ὀρμοῦτων, ἐμβὰς
μετὰ τῶν οἰκετῶν εἰς τὴν ἅκραν παρεκομίσθη.
7 κατὰ δὲ τὸν καιρὸν τούτον οἱ περὶ τὸν Φιλήμενον,
ἡτοιμασμένοι σάλπιγγας Ῥωμαικὰς καὶ τινας
τῶν αὐταῖς χρῆσθαι δυναμένων διὰ τὴν συνήθειαν,
8 στάντες ἐπὶ τὸ θέατρον ἑσθήμαινο. τῶν δὲ Ῥω-
μαίων βοηθοῦτων ἐν τοῖς ὀπλοῖς κατὰ τὸν ἐθνικὸν
εἰς τὴν ἄκραν, ἐχώρει τὸ πράγμα κατὰ τὴν πρό-
9 θεσιν τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις· παραγενόμενοι γὰρ ταῖς
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and dividing them into three bodies, he put each under the charge of two of the young men who were managing the affair, sending also some of his own officers to accompany them with orders to occupy the most convenient approaches to the market; and when they had done this he ordered the Tarentine young men to set apart and save any of the citizens they met and to shout from a distance advising all Tarentines to stay where they were, as their safety was assured. At the same time he ordered the Carthaginian and Celtic officers to put all Romans they met to the sword. The different bodies hereupon separated and began to execute his orders.

As soon as it was evident to the Tarentines that the enemy were within the walls, the city was filled with clamour and extraordinary confusion. When Gaius heard of the entrance of the enemy, recognizing that his drunken condition rendered him incapable, he issued from his house with his servants and made for the gate that leads to the harbour, where as soon as the guard there had opened the postern for him, he escaped through it, and getting hold of one of the boats at anchor there embarked on it with his household and crossed to the citadel. Meanwhile Philemenus and his companions, who had provided themselves with some Roman bugles and some men who had learnt to sound them, stood in the theatre and gave the call to arms. The Romans responding in arms to the summons and running, as was their custom, towards the citadel, things fell out as the Carthaginians designed. For reaching the thorough-
πλατείαις ἀτάκτως καὶ σποράδην οἱ μὲν εἰς τοὺς Καρχηδονίους ἐνέπιπτον, οἱ δὲ εἰς τοὺς Κελτούς· καὶ δὴ τῷ τοιούτῳ τρόπῳ φονευμένων αὐτῶν πολὺ τι πλῆθος διεφθάρη.

10 Τῆς δὲ ἡμέρας ἐπιφανομένης οἱ μὲν Ταραντίνοι τὴν ἠσυχίαν εἶχον κατὰ τὰς οἰκήσεις, οὐδέπως δυνάμενοι τάξασθαι τὸ συμβαίνον. διὰ μὲν γὰρ τὴν σάλπιγγα καὶ τὸ μηδὲν ἀδίκημα γίνεσθαι μηδ’ ἀρταγήν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν, ἐδοξαζέν εἰς αὐτῶν τῶν Ῥωμαίων εἶναι τὸ κίνημα. τὸ δὲ πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ὅραν πεφωνεμένοις ἐν ταῖς πλατείασι καὶ τινὰς τῶν Γαλατῶν θεωρεῖσθαι σκυλεύοντας τοὺς τῶν Ῥωμαίων νεκροὺς, ὑπέτρεψε τὸς ἐννοια τῆς τῶν Καρχηδονίων παρουσίας.

31 "Ἡδὴ δὲ τοῦ μὲν Ἀννίβου παρεμβεβληκότος τὴν δύναμιν εἰς τὴν ἀγοράν, τῶν δὲ Ῥωμαίων ἀποκεχωρηκότων εἰς τὴν ἀκραν διὰ τὸ προκατεχθῆσθαι φρουρᾶ ταῦτην ὑπ’ αὐτῶν, ὄντος δὲ φωτὸς εἰλικρινοῦς, ο μὲν Ἀννίβας ἐκήρυττε τοὺς Ταραντῖνους ἀνέν τῶν ὀπλών ἀθροίζεσθαι πάντας εἰς τὴν ἁγοράν, οἱ δὲ νεανίσκοι περιπορευόμενοι τὴν πόλιν ἐβόων ἐπὶ τὴν ἑλευθερίαν, καὶ παρεκάλουν ταρρεῖν, ὥς ύπερ ἐκείνων παρόντας τοὺς Καρχηδονίους.

2 ὅσοι μὲν οὖν τῶν Ταραντῖνων προκατείχοντο τῇ πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους εὔνοια, γνώντες ἀπεχώρουν εἰς τὴν ἀκρὰν οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ κατὰ τὸ κήρυγμα συνηθροίζοντο χωρὶς τῶν ὀπλῶν, πρὸς οὖς Ἀννίβας φιλανθρώπους διελέξθη λόγοις. τῶν δὲ Ταραντῖνων ὀμοθυμαδὸν ἐπισημηναμένων ἔκαστα τῶν λεγομένων διὰ τὸ παράδοξον τῆς ἐλπίδος, τότε μὲν διαφῆκε τοὺς πολλοὺς, συντάξας ἔκαστον εἰς τὴν ἱδίαν οἰκίαν ἐπανελθόντας μετὰ σπουδῆς 526
fares in disorder and in scattered groups, some of them fell among the Carthaginians and some among the Celts, and in this way large numbers of them were slain.

When day broke the Tarentines kept quietly at home unable as they were yet to understand definitely what was happening. For owing to the bugle call and the fact that no acts of violence or pillage were being committed in the town they thought that the commotion was due to the Romans; but when they saw many Romans lying dead in the streets and some of the Gauls despoiling Roman corpses, a suspicion entered their minds that the Carthaginians were in the town.

31. Hannibal having by this time encamped his force in the market-place, and the Romans having retired to the citadel where they had always had a garrison, it being now bright daylight, he summoned all the Tarentines by herald to assemble unarmed in the market-place. The conspirators also went round the town calling on the people to help the cause of freedom and exhorting them to be of good courage, as it was for their sake that the Carthaginians had come. Those Tarentines who were favourably disposed to the Romans retired to the citadel when they knew what had happened, and the rest assembled in response to the summons without their arms and were addressed by Hannibal in conciliatory terms. The Tarentines loudly cheered every sentence, delighted as they were at the unexpected prospect, and Hannibal on dismissing the meeting ordered everyone to return as quickly as possible to his own house and write on the door
6 αὐτὸ τοῦτο θάνατον ἔρισε τὴν ζημίαν. αὐτὸς δὲ διελὼν τοὺς ἐπιτηδειοτάτους <τῶν> ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων ἐφήκε διαρπάξεν τὰς τῶν Ῥωμαίων οἰκίας, σύνθημα δοὺς πολεμίας νομίζειν τὰς ἀνεπιγράφους, τοὺς δὲ λαούς συνέχων ἐν τάξει τούτοις ἐφέδρους.

32 Πολλῶν δὲ καὶ παντοδαπῶν κατασκευασμάτων (34) ἀθροισθέντων ἐκ τῆς διαρπαγῆς, καὶ γενομένης ωφελείας τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις ἄξιας τῶν προσ-2 δοκιμών ἐλπίδων, τότε μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν ὑπλων ἡλύσθησαν, εἰς δὲ τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἡμέραν Ἀννίβας συνεδρύσας μετὰ τῶν Ταραντίνων ἔκρυε δια-τειχίσα τὴν πόλιν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀκρας, ἵνα μηδείς ἐπὶ φόβος ἐπικάθηται τοῖς Ταραντίνοις ἀπὸ τῶν
3 κατεχόντων τὴν ἀκρόπολιν Ῥωμαίων. πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ἐπεβάλετο προθέσθαι χάρακα παράλληλον τῷ τείχει τῆς ἀκροπόλεως καὶ τῇ πρὸ τοῦτον
4 τάφρῳ. σαφῶς δὲ γινώσκων οὐκ ἔσαντας τοὺς ὑπεναντίους, ἀλλ' ἐναποδειξομένους τῇ δὲ τῇ τὴν αὐτῶν δύναμιν, ἡτοίμασε χεῖρας ἐπιτηδειοτάτας, νομίζων πρὸς τὸ μέλλον οὐδὲν ἀναγκαιότερον εἶναι τοῦ καταπλῆξασθαι μὲν τοὺς Ῥωμαίους,
5 εὐθαρσεῖς δὲ ποήσας τοὺς Ταραντίνους. άμα δὲ τῷ τίθεσθαι τῶν πρῶτον χάρακα θρασέως τῶν Ῥωμαίων καὶ τετολμηκότως ἐπιχειροῦντων τοῖς ὑπεναντίους, βραχὺ συμμίξας 'Αννίβας καὶ τὰς ὀρμὰς τῶν προερημένων ἐκκαλεσάμενος, ἐπεὶ προέπεσον οἱ πλείους ἐκτὸς τῆς τάφρου, δοὺς παράγγελμα τοῖς αὐτοῦ προσέβαλε τοῖς πολε-
6 μίοις. γενομένης δὲ τῆς máχης ἰσχυρᾶς, ὦς ἄν 528
"Tarentine," decreeing the penalty of death against anyone who should write this on the house of a Roman. He then selected the most suitable of his officers and sent them off to conduct the pillage of the houses belonging to Romans, ordering them to regard as enemy property all houses which were uninscribed, and meanwhile he kept the rest of his forces drawn up in order to act as a support for the pillagers.

32. A quantity of objects of various kinds were collected by the spoilers, the booty coming quite up to the expectation of the Carthaginians. They spent that night under arms, and on the next day Hannibal calling a general meeting which included the Tarentines, decided to shut off the town from the citadel, so that the Tarentines should have no further fear of the Romans who held that fortress. His first measure was to construct a palisade parallel to the wall of the citadel and the moat in front of it. As he knew very well that the enemy would not submit to this, but would make some kind of armed demonstration against it, he held in readiness some of his best troops, thinking that nothing was more necessary with respect to the future than to strike terror into the Romans and give confidence to the Tarentines. When accordingly upon their planting the first palisade the Romans made a most bold and daring attack on the enemy, Hannibal after a short resistance retired in order to tempt the assailants on, and when most of them advanced beyond the moat, ordered up his men and fell upon them. A stubborn engagement followed, as the fighting took
en braxei xwro kai periteteichismenw tis symplokhs epiteloymenhs, to peras ekbiasathentes 7 etraphtasan oi 'Rwmaioi. kai pollloi men epeison en xeirow nwmw, to de plewv autwn meros apowdoymenon kai synkhrmynidomevon en tis taphro dietharh.

33 Tote men oiv 'Anvibas probalomenevos asfalwos (35) tov xaraaka tiv hasxian eschex, tiv episbolh autow 2 kata noiv kekharikias. tous men gar upenantioi synkleiasas hynagkase menew enotos tou teixous, dediotas ou monon peri sfwn, alla kai 3 peri tis akras, tois de politikois touvto parasteixe tharsoi woste kai xwris tov Karxhodwovn ikanous autous upolambanein esesebhai tois 'Rw-

4 maiois. metata tahta mikron apd tov xaraakos aposthiasas ws pro tiv palin, taphron epoiese parallhlon tov xaraaki kai tiv tis akras teixei. 5 par' hiv ek metabolh espi to proes tiv polei <xeilos> tov xos anaswreunomeno, proseti de kai xaraakos ep auth theventos, ou polu katanesteiran teixous sunebainve tiv asfalaleian eis auth apoteleeinai.

6 par' de tahten enotos eti proes tiv palin apolupon symmetron diasthma teixos epelaleto kata-
skeuvazein, arximenes apo tiv Sowteiras eis eis 7 tiv Batheian prosagoreumenein, woste kai xwris anodyon tas di autwn tivn katakevassmaton xhroptetas ikanas eivai tois Tarantwos tiv

8 asfalaleian paraskuevazein. apolupon de tois ikanous kai tois epiteideious proes tiv tiv poleis fylakhein kai tiv tiv teixous parafebedreunontas ippeis katestratopedeve, peri tetrapakonta sta-
dious aposchwn tis polews, parad tov potamov

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place in a narrow space between two walls, but in the end the Romans were forced back and put to flight. Many of them fell in the action, but the larger number perished by being hurled back and precipitated into the moat.

33. For the time Hannibal, when he had safely constructed his palisade, remained quiet, his plan having had the intended effect. For he had shut up the enemy and compelled them to remain within the wall in terror for themselves as well as for the citadel, whereas he had given such confidence to the townsmen that they considered themselves a match for the Romans even without the aid of the Carthaginians. But later, at a slight distance behind the palisade in the direction of the town he made a trench parallel to the palisade and to the wall of the citadel. The earth from the trench was in turn thrown up along it on the side next the town and a second palisade erected on the top, so that the protection afforded was little less effective than that of a wall. He next prepared to construct a wall at an appropriate distance from this defence and still nearer the town reaching from the street called Saviour to the Deep Street, so that even without being manned the fortifications in themselves were sufficient to afford security to the Tarentines. Leaving an adequate and competent garrison for guarding the town and the wall and quartering in the neighbourhood a force of cavalry to protect them, he encamped at about forty stades from the city on the
<τὸν> παρὰ μὲν τις Γαλαίσον, παρὰ δὲ τοῖς πλείστοις προσαγορευόμενον Εὐρώταν, ὅς ἔχει τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ταύτην ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ παρὰ Δακεδαίου μονῆς Ρέοντος Εὐρώτα. πολλὰ δὲ τοιαύτα κατὰ τὴν χώραν καὶ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ὑπάρχει τοῖς Ταραντίνοις διὰ τὸ καὶ τὴν ἀποικίαν καὶ τὴν συγγένειαν ὁμολογουμένην αὐτοῖς εἶναι πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους. ταχὺ δὲ τού τείχους λαμβάνοντας τὴν συντέλειαν διὰ τὴν τῶν Ταραντίνων σπουδήν καὶ προσθυμίαν καὶ τὴν τῶν Καρχηδονίων συνεργίαν, μετὰ ταύτα διενοθήθη καὶ τὴν ἀκραν ἐξελεῖν Ἐννίβας.

34 Ἡδὴ δὲ ἐντελεῖς αὐτοῦ συνεσταμένου τὰς πρὸς τὴν πολιορκίαν παρασκευάζων, παραπεσοῦσάς ἔκ Μεταποντίου βοηθεῖσα εἰς τὴν ἀκραν κατὰ θάλατταν, βραχὺ τι ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἀναδαρρήσαντες οἱ 'Ῥωμαίοι νυκτὸς ἐπέθεντο τοῖς ἔργοις, καὶ πᾶσας διέφθειραν τὰς τῶν ἔργων καὶ μηχανημάτων κατασκευᾶς. οὐ γενομένου τὸ μὲν πολιορκεῖν τὴν ἀκραν Ἐννίβας ἀπέγνω, τῆς δὲ τοῦ τείχους κατασκευῆς ἤδη τετελευμένης, ἀθροίσας τοὺς Ταραντίνους ἀπεδέκινε διότι κυριωτάτον ἐστὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐνεστώτας καιροὺς τὸ τῆς θαλάττης ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι. κρατούσης γάρ τῆς ἀκρας τῶν κατὰ τὸν εὑσπλούν τόπων, ὡς ἐπάνω προείπον, οὐ μὲν Ταραντίνου τὸ παράπαν οὐκ ἑδύναντο χρήσθαι ταῖς ναυσίν οὐδ' ἐκπλεῖν ἐκ τοῦ λιμένος, τοῖς δὲ Ρωμαίοις κατὰ θάλατταν ἀφαλῶς παρέκομιστο τὰ πρὸς τὴν χρείαν· οὗ συμβαίνοντος οὐδέποτε δυνατὸν ἢν βεβαιῶς ἐλευθερωθῆναι τὴν πόλιν. ἓν συνορῶν δ' Ἐννίβας ἐδίδασκε τοὺς Ταραντίνους ὡς, εὰν ἀποκλεισθῶσι τῆς κατὰ

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banks of the river called by some Galaesus, but more generally Eurotas, after the Eurotas which runs past Lacedaemon. The Tarentines have many such names in their town and the neighbouring country, as they are acknowledged to be colonists of the Lacedaemonians and connected with them by blood. The wall was soon completed owing to the zeal and energy of the Tarentines and the assistance rendered by the Carthaginians, and Hannibal next began to contemplate the capture of the citadel.

34. When he had completed his preparations for the siege, some succour having reached the citadel by sea from Metapontum, the Romans recovered their courage in a measure and attacking the works at night destroyed all the machines and other constructions. Upon this Hannibal abandoned the project of taking the citadel by storm, but as his wall was now complete he called a meeting of the Tarentines and pointed out to them that the most essential thing under present circumstances was to get command of the sea. For since, as I have already stated, the citadel commanded the entrance of the port, the Tarentines were entirely unable to use their ships or sail out of the harbour, whereas the Romans got all they required conveyed to them safely by sea; and under these conditions it was impossible that the city should ever be in secure possession of its liberty. Hannibal perceived this, and explained to the Tarentines, that if the garrison of the citadel were cut off from the hope of succour
θάλατταν ἐλπίδος οἱ τὴν ἄκραν τηροῦντες, παρὰ πόδας αὐτοῦ διὰ αὐτῶν εἰδαντες λείψανοι ταύτην
καὶ παραδώσουσι τὸν τόπον. ὃν ἀκούοντες οἱ ῥαραραπεις Αὐρυλος ὅπως δὲ ἂν γένοιτο τούτο κατὰ τὸ παρόν, οὐδαμῶς ἐδύναντο συνηκοῆσαι, πλὴν εἰ παρὰ Καρχηδονίων ἐπιφανείᾳ στόλος τούτο δὲ ἂν κατὰ τοὺς τότε καυροὺς ἀδύνατον, διόπερ ἴδυνάτους συμβαλεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ φερόμενον Ἀννίβας τοὺς περὶ τούτων πρὸς
σφᾶς ποιεῖται λόγους. φήσαντος δὲ αὐτοῦ φανερὸν εἶναι χωρὶς Καρχηδονίων αὐτοῦς διὰ αὐτῶν ὅσον ἦδη κρατήσας τῆς θαλάττης, μᾶλλον ἐκπλαγεῖς ἦσαν, οὐ δυνάμενοι τὴν ἐπίσκεψαν αὐτοῦ συμβαλεῖν.
ὅς δὲ συνεωρακὼς τὴν πλατείαν εὐδιακόσμητον οὐδαν τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν μὲν ἐντὸς τοῦ διατείχισματος, φέροντο δὲ παρὰ τὸ διατείχισμ' ἐκ τοῦ λιμένος εἰς τὴν ἔξω θάλατταν, ταύτῃ διενείπο τὰς ναῦς ἐκ τοῦ λιμένος εἰς τὴν νότιον ὑπερβα-ξειν πλευράν. διόπερ ἁμα τῷ τὴν ἐπίσκεψαν ἐπὶ-δεῖξαι τοῖς ῥαραραπεῖς οὐ μόνον συγκατέθεντο τοῖς λεγομένοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ διαφερόντως ἑθαυμάσαν τὸν ἄνδρα, καὶ διέλαβον ὡς οὐδὲν ἄν περιγένειο
τῆς ἀγχυνοίας τῆς ἐκείνου καὶ τόλμης. ταχὺ δὲ πορείων ὑποτρόχων κατασκευασθέντων, ἁμα τῷ λόγῳ τούργον εἰλήφει συντέλειαν, ἀτε προθυμίας καὶ πολυχείρας ὁμοί τῇ προθέσει συνεργοῦσης.
οἱ μὲν οὖν ῥαραραπεῖς τούτοι τὸν τρόπον ὑπερ-νεωλκήσαντες τὰς νῆας εἰς τὴν ἔξω θάλατταν, ἐπολυρκοῦν ἀσφαλῶς τοὺς ἐκ τῆς ἄκρας, ἀφηρη-
μένοι τὰς ἔξωθεν αὐτῶν ἐπικοινωνίας. Ἀννίβας δὲ φυλακὴν ἀπολιπὼν τῆς πόλεως ἀνέζευξε μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως, καὶ παρεγένετο τριτάιος ἐπὶ τὸν
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by sea they would in a very short time give in of their own accord and abandoning the fortress would surrender the whole place. The Tarentines gave ear to him and were quite convinced by what he said, but they could think of no plan for attaining this at present, unless a fleet appeared from Carthage, which at the time was impossible. They were, therefore, unable to conceive what Hannibal was leading up to in speaking to them on this subject, and when he went on to say that it was obvious that they themselves without the aid of the Carthaginians were very nearly in command of the sea at this moment, they were still more astonished, being quite unable to fathom his meaning. He had noticed that the street just within the cross wall, and leading parallel to this wall from the harbour to the outer sea, could easily be adapted to his purpose, and he designed to convey the ships across by this street from the harbour to the southern side. So the moment he revealed his plan to the Tarentines they not only entirely agreed with what he said, but conceived an extraordinary admiration for him, being convinced that nothing could get the better of his cleverness and courage. They very soon constructed carriages on wheels, and the thing was no sooner said than done, as there was no lack of zeal and no lack of hands to help the project on. Having thus conveyed their ships across to the outer sea the Tarentines effectively besieged the Romans in the citadel, cutting off their supplies from outside. Hannibal now leaving a garrison in the town withdrew with his army, and after three days' march got
εξ ἀρχῆς χάρακα, καί τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ χειμῶνος ἐνταῦθα διατρίβων ἔμενε κατὰ χώραν.

VI. Res Siciliae

37 Ἐξηριθμήσατο τοὺς δόμους· ἦν γὰρ <scil. ὅ πύργος> ἐκ συννόμων λίθων ὕκοδομημένος, ὥστε καὶ λίαν εὐσυλλόγιστον εἶναι τὴν ἀπὸ γῆς τῶν ἐπάλξεων ἀπόστασιν.

2 Μετὰ δὲ τινας ἡμέρας αὐτομόλου διασαφή- σαντος ὅτι θυσίαν ἄγουσι πάνθημον οἱ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἐφ' ἡμέρας ἦδη τρεῖς Ἀρτέμιδι καὶ τοῖς μὲν σιτίοις λιτοῖς χρῶνται διὰ τὴν σπάνιν, τῷ δ' οὖν δαμιεῖ, πολὺν μὲν Ἐπικύδους δεδωκότος πολὺν δὲ Συρακοσίων, τότε προσαναλαβὼν ὁ Μάρκος τὸ τεῖχος καθ' ὁ μέρος ἦν ταπεινότερον καὶ νομίζοσ εἰκὸς εἶναι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους μεθύεν διὰ τὴν ἀνεσί καὶ τὴν ἐνδειαν τῆς ἕνρας τροφῆς ἑπεβάλετο καταπειράζειν τῆς ἐλπίδος. ταχὺ δὲ κλιμάκων δεῦν συντεθεισῶν εὐαρμόστων πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος, ἐγένετο περὶ τὰ συνεχῆ τῆς πράξεως καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἐπιτηδείους πρὸς τὴν ἀνάβασιν καὶ τὸν ἐπιφανέστατον καὶ πρῶτον κίνδυνον ἐκοινο- λογεῖτο, περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος μεγάλας ἐλπίδας αὐτοῖς ἐνδιδούσ. τοὺς δὲ τούτους ὑπουργῆσοντας καὶ προσοίσοντας κλίμακας ἐξέλεξε διασαφῶν οὐδὲν πλὴν ἐτοίμους εἶναι πρὸς τὸ παραγγελλό- μενον. πειθαρχησάντων δὲ κατὰ τὸ συνταχθὲν λαβῶν τὸν ἀρμόζοντα καιρόν νυκτὸς ἤγειρε τοὺς 586
back to his old camp, where he remained fixed for the rest of the winter.

VI. Affairs of Sicily

Capture of Syracuse

37. He counted the courses. For the masonry of 212 B.C. the tower was even, so that it was very easy to reckon the distance of the battlements from the ground. . . .

A few days afterwards a deserter reported that for three days they had been celebrating in the town a general festival in honour of Artemis, and that while they ate very sparingly of bread owing to its scarcity, they took plenty of wine, as both Epicydes and the Syracusans in general had supplied it in abundance; and Marcellus now recollected his estimate of the height of the wall at its lowest point, and thinking it most likely that the men would be drunk owing to their indulgence in wine and the want of solid food, determined to try his chance. Two ladders high enough for the wall were soon constructed, and he now pushed on his design, communicating the project to those whom he regarded as fittest to undertake the first ascent and bear the brunt of the danger, with promises of great rewards. He next selected other men who would assist them and bring up the ladders; simply instructing these latter to hold themselves in readiness to obey the word of command. His orders having been complied with he woke up the first batch of men at the proper hour of the night. Having
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5 πρώτους· προσέπιμας δὲ τούς ἀμα ταῖς κλίμαξι μετὰ σημαίας καὶ χυλιάρχου καὶ προσαναμηνήσας τῶν ἐσομένων δωρεῶν τοῖς ἀνδραγαθήσασι, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πᾶσαν τὴν δύναμιν ἐξεγείρας τοὺς μὲν πρώτους ἐν διαστήματι κατὰ σημαίαν ἐξαποστέλλει.

6 γενομένων δὲ τούτων εἰς χιλίους βραχὺ διαλυτῶν

7 αὐτὸς εὔπετο μετὰ τῆς ἄλλης στρατιάς. ἔπει δ' οἱ φέροντες τὰς κλίμακας ἐλαθον ἄσφαλῶς τῷ τείχει προσερείοντες, εξ αὐτῆς ὄρμησαν ἀπρο-φασίστως οἱ πρὸς τὴν ἀνάβασιν ἀποτεταγμένοι.

8 λαβόντων δὲ καὶ τούτων καὶ στάντων ἐπὶ τοῦ τείχους βεβαιώς, οὔκετι κατὰ τὴν εξ ἀρχῆς τάξιν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ δύναμιν ἀπαντεῖς ἀνέθεον διὰ τῶν κλιμάκων. κατὰ μὲν οὖν τὰς ἄρχας ἐπι-πορεύόμενοι τὴν ἐφοδειάν ἐρήμον εὐρύσκον· οἱ γὰρ εἰς τοὺς πύργους ἠθροισμένοι διὰ τὴν θυσίαν οἱ μὲν ἄκμην ἐπινον, οἱ δ' ἐκομίσαντο πάλαι μεθυσκό-μενοι. διὸ καὶ τοῖς μὲν πρώτοις καὶ τοῖς ἐξῆς ἐπιστάντες ἄφων καὶ μεθ' ἄρεξίας ἔλαθον τοὺς

9 πλείστους αὐτῶν ἀποκτείναντες. ἐπειδὴ δὲ τοῖς Ἐξαπύλοισ ήγγιζον καταβαίνοντες, ἐνωκοδο-μημένην τὴν πρώτην πυλίδα διείλον, δι' ἣς τὸν τε στρατηγὸν καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐδέξαντο στράτευμα. οὕτω δὴ τὸς Συρακούσας εἶλον Ὀρμαῖοι. [Cod. Wescheri fol. 100\f v. 341. 9 ss.]

10 Οὔδενος ἐπεγνωκότος τῶν πολιτῶν τὸ συμ-βαίνον διὰ τὴν ἀπόστασιν, ἀτε μεγάλης οὐσίας τῆς πόλεως. [Suidas v. Ἀπόστασις.]

11 Τούς δὲ Ὀρμαῖος γαρρεῖν συνέβαινε, κρατοῦν-τας τοῦ περὶ τᾶς Ἐπιπολάς τόπου. [Suidas s.v. Ἐπιπολάς.]

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sent the ladder-bearers on in front escorted by a maniple and a tribune, and having reminded the scaling party of the rewards that awaited them if they behaved with gallantry, he subsequently woke up all his army and sent the first batches off at intervals maniple by maniple. When these amounted to about a thousand, he waited for a short time and followed with the rest of his army. When the ladder-bearers had succeeded in planting them against the wall unobserved, the scaling party at once mounted without hesitation, and when they also got a firm footing on the wall, without being observed, all the rest ran up the ladders, in no fixed order as at first but everyone as best he could. At first as they proceeded along the wall they found no sentries at their posts, the men having assembled in the several towers owing to the sacrifice, some of them still drinking and others drunk and asleep. Suddenly and silently falling on those in the first tower and in the one next to it they killed most of them without being noticed, and when they reached the Hexapyli they descended, and bursting open the first postern-door that is built into the wall there, admitted through it the general and the rest of the army. This was how the Romans took Syracuse.

None of the citizens knew what was happening owing to the distance, the city being large.

The Romans were rendered very confident by their conquest of Epipolae.
VII. Res Hispaniae

38 Σὺν γὰρ τοῖς ἐπιδεδεμένοις φορτίοις τὰ κανθήλια λαβόντας ἕκ τῶν ὀπισθεν προθέσθαι πρὸ αὐτῶν ἐκέλευσε τοὺς πεζούς. οὐ γενομένου συνέβη παρὰ πάντας χάρακας ἀσφαλέστατον γενέσθαι τὸ πρόβλημα. [Suidas s.v. κανθήλιος.]
VII. Spanish Affairs

(Cp. Livy xxv. 36)

38. He gave orders to the infantry to take the beasts of burden with their packs on from the rear and place them in their front, and when this was done the protection afforded was more effective than any stockade.
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