POLYBIUS

VI
POLYBIUS
THE HISTORIES
WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY
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THE HISTORY OF POLYBIUS
ΠΟΛΥΒΙΟΥ

FRAGMENTA LIBRI XXVII

Res Italiae

1 "Ότι τοῦ πολέμου <τοῦ> περὶ Κοίλης Συρίας ἦδη καταρχῇν λαβόντος Ἀντιόχου καὶ Πτολεμαίων τοῖς βασιλεύσων, ἦκον πρέσβεις εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην παρὰ μὲν Ἀντιόχου Μελέαγρος καὶ Σωσιφάνης καὶ Ἡρακλείδης, παρὰ δὲ Πτολεμαίου Τιμόθεος καὶ Δάμων. συνέβαινε δὲ κρατεῖν τὸν Ἀντιόχου τῶν κατὰ Κοίλην Συρίαν καὶ Φοινίκην πραγμάτων.

2 εὖ οὖ γὰρ Ἀντιόχος ὁ πατὴρ τοῦ νῦν λεγομένου βασιλέως ἐνίκησε τῇ περὶ τὸ Πάνιον μάχῃ τοὺς Πτολεμαίου στρατηγοὺς, ἀπ' ἐκείνων τῶν χρόνων ἐπείθοντο πάντες οἳ προειρημένοι τόποι τοῖς ἐν

3 Συρία βασιλεύσων. διότερ τὸ μὲν Ἀντιόχος ἡγούμενος τὴν κατὰ πόλεμον ἰσχυρότατην καὶ καλλίστην εἶναι κτῆσιν, ὡς ύπερ ἰδίων ἐποιεῖτο τὴν σπουδήν.

4 ὁ δὲ Πτολεμαῖος ἀδίκως ὑπολαμβάνων τῶν πρότερον Ἀντιόχου συνεπιδέμενου τῇ τοῦ πατρὸς ὀρφανίᾳ παρηρήσθαι τὰς κατὰ Κοίλην Συρίαν πόλεις αὐτῶν, οὐχ οἶδος τ' ἢν ἐκείνω παραχωρεῖν

5 τῶν τόπων τούτων. διότερ οὖ περὶ τὸν Μελέαγρον ἦκον, ἐντολάς ἔχοντες μαρτύρεσθαι τὴν σύγκλητον

6 τῶν τόπων τούτων.
1. After the war concerning Coele-Syria between 170-169 B.C. Antiochus and Ptolemy had already begun, envoys arrived at Rome, Meleager, Sosiphanes, and Heracledes on the part of Antiochus, and Timotheus and Damon on that of Ptolemy. At this time Antiochus was in possession of Coele-Syria and Phoenicia. For ever since the father of this King Antiochus had defeated Ptolemy’s generals in the battle at the Panium, all the above districts yielded obedience to the kings of Syria. Therefore Antiochus, thinking that possession by force of arms was the surest and best, was struggling to defend the country as one belonging to him, while Ptolemy, conceiving that the former Antiochus had unjustly profited by the orphanhood of his father to deprive him of the cities of Coele-Syria, was not disposed to abandon these places to Antiochus. Meleager and his colleagues came therefore with instructions to protest to the

—a See xvi. 18.
διότι Πτολεμαῖος αὐτῷ παρὰ πάντα τὰ δίκαια
7 τὰς χεῖρας ἐπιβάλλει πρῶτερος, οἱ δὲ περὶ τῶν Τιμόθεου περὶ τῇς <τῶν> φιλανθρώπων ἀνανεώσεως καὶ τοῦ διαλύειν τῶν πρὸς Περσέα πόλεμον, μάλιστα δὲ παρατηρεῖν τὰς τῶν περὶ τὸν Μελέ- 
8 αγρόν ἐντεύξεις. περὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς διαλύσεως οὐκ ἐθάρρησαν εἰπεῖν, Μάρκου συμβουλεύσαντος αὐτοῖς Αἰμιλίου. περὶ δὲ τῶν φιλανθρώπων ἀνα- 
νεωσάμενοι καὶ λαβόντες ἀποκρίσεις ἀκολούθους τοῖς ἀξιομενοῖς ἐπανῆλθον εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν.
9 τοῖς δὲ περὶ τὸν Μελέαγρον ἡ σύγκλητος ἀπεκρίθη διότι Κοῖντω Μαρκίω δώσει τὴν ἐπιτροπὴν γράφαι περὶ τοῦτον πρὸς Πτολεμαῖον, ὡς αὐτῷ 
δοκεῖ συμφέρειν ἐκ τῆς ἰδίας πίστεως. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως ἔχειρισθῆ κατὰ τὸ παρόν.
2 "Ὅτι κατὰ τοὺς καιροὺς τούτους ἦλθον καὶ 
παρὰ Ῥοδίον πρέσβεις, ἦδη τῆς θερείας ληγοῦσις,
2 Ἀγησίλοχος καὶ Νικαγόρας καὶ Νίκανδρος, τὴν 
tε φιλίαι ἀνανεωσῷμενοι καὶ σῖτον θέλοντες 
ἐξαγωγῆν λαβεῖν, ἃμα δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν διαβολῶν 
ἀπολογισμῷ τῶν λεγομένων κατὰ τῆς πόλεως.
3 ἐκφανέστατα γὰρ ἐδόκουν στασάζειν [ἐν τῇ 
Ῥώδῳ] οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸν Ἀγαθάγητον καὶ Φιλό-
φρονα καὶ Ῥοδόφωντα καὶ Θεαίδητον, ἀπερει-
δόμενοι πᾶσας τὰς ἐλπίδας ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίοις, οἱ 
dὲ περὶ τὸν Δείνωνα καὶ Πολυάρατον ἐπὶ Περσέα 
καὶ Μακεδόνας. ἐξ ὧν πλεονάκις ἐν τοῖς ἑκεῖνων 
πράγμασιν ἀντιρρήσεως γυνομένης, καὶ διελκο-
μένων τῶν διαβουλῶν, ἔλαμβανον ἀφορμὰς οἱ 
βουλόμενοι λογοποιεῖν κατὰ τῆς πόλεως. οὐ 
μὴν ἦ γε σύγκλητος τότε προσεποιήθη τούτων 
οὐδὲν, καὶ περὶ σαφῶς εἰδύτα τὰ γενόμενα παρ' 
4
senate that Ptolemy in defiance of all right had taken up arms first; while Timotheus and Damon were instructed to renew kindly relations with Rome, and to make an end to the war with Perseus, but chiefly to watch the audiences given to Meleager. About terms of peace with Antiochus they did not venture to speak, acting on the advice of Marcus Aemilius Lepidus; but, after renewing relations of friendship and receiving a favourable answer to their requests, they returned to Alexandria. The senate replied to Meleager and his colleague that they would charge Quintus Marcius to write about the matter to Ptolemy as he thought best on his own authority. This was the way that the matter was arranged for the present.

**Embassy from Rhodes**

2. At this period towards the end of summer Hagesilochus, Nicagoras, and Nicander arrived as envoys from Rhodes to renew friendly relations and obtain permission to export corn and also to defend their town from the false accusations brought against it. For there was at this time acute civil discord in Rhodes, Agathagetus, Philophron, Rhodophon, and Theaedetus resting all their hopes on Rome while Deinon and Polyaratus relied on Perseus and Macedonia. The consequence was that there were frequent debates about their affairs; and, as the discussions were so prolonged, there was plenty of material for those who wished to vamp up accusations against the town. The senate, however, pretended now to be ignorant of all this, although well knowing
II. Bellum Persicum

3 "Oti Aids kata touton ton xronon antiistora-
t negó wv kai parackemáxwn en Theetaliá metá
tón dunaméwv exepeumwe presbeutías eis toús
kata thn 'Elláda tópous Gáion Popilion kai
2 Gnavon 'Oktáuion' oí prwton men eis Thýbas
élthontes epíthenasan kai parakelesasan toús Thý-
baious diafiblásttev thn prós 'Rymiais eunouan.
3 exe dé toýtois eipiporeúmenoi tás ev Pele-
povnísas poléis epideuknýewn epieirwnto toús an-
trópopoi tis tis sygklhthto proásteta kai fil-
athríwvian, proferómenoi ta dóymata ta mikríd
4 próteron rhyventa, amá dé dia tón lógon par-
evēfaiówn wv eidos toús ev ekástais tón poléwn
pará to déon anachwroúntas, wsaútwos dé kai
5 toús proptiptontas. kai délloí páswn íssan dus-
6 arestóomewo tois anachwroúsw oux íttow Í
tois ekphanwsw antipráttousw. exe Íin toús pollous
eis épistása kai diapórhsin íghov úper toú tí
pote Íin í légantas í práttantas evostochouen tów
7 parastwón kairopw. oí dé peri toú Gáion, svn-
achtheísa ths tón 'Achaíwn ekklhias, elégonto
men beboulévasai kathgoríasen tón peri toú
6
the condition of affairs in Rhodes; but they gave them leave to export a hundred thousand medimni of corn from Sicily. The senate, after thus dealing separately with the Rhodian embassy, replied in similar terms to all the envoys from the rest of Greece, who confined themselves to the same subject. Such was the state of affairs in Italy.

II. The War with Perseus

Action of the Romans in Achaea, Aetolia, and Acarnania

(Cp. Livy xliii. 17.)

3. Aulus Hostilius Mancinus the proconsul, who was at the time wintering in Thessaly, sent as legates to Greece Gaius Popilius and Gnaeus Octavius. They first came to Thebes, where they thanked the Thebans and urged them to maintain their loyalty to Rome. After this, visiting the Peloponnesian cities, they attempted to convince the inhabitants of the leniency and kindness of the senate, quoting the recent decrees; and they also indicated in their speeches that they knew who were those in each city who withdrew from taking part in public affairs, as well as who were the active and zealous men. It was evident to all that they were just as much displeased with the former as with their open opponents; and in consequence they created a general state of anxiety and doubt as to how one ought to act or to speak so as to make oneself agreeable under present circumstances. It was said that, upon the Achaean Assembly meeting, Popilius and his colleague had
8 Δυκόρταν καὶ τῶν Ἀρχώνα καὶ Πολύβιον, καὶ παραδείσταν ἀλλοτρίους ὑπάρχοντας τῆς τῶν Ῥω-
μαίων αἱρέσεως καὶ τῆς ἱστον ἀγωνίας κατὰ τὸ παρόν, οὐ φύσει τοιούτους οὖντος, ἀλλὰ παρα-
τηροῦντας τὰ συμβαίνοντα καὶ τοὺς καροῖς ἐφ-
9 εὐδευοῦντας. οὐ μὴν ἐθάρρησαν τοῦτό ποιῆσαι διὰ τὸ μηδεμίαν εὐλογον ἀφορμὴν ἔχειν κατὰ
tῶν προευρημένων ἀνδρῶν. διὸ συναχθείσης αὐτοῖς τῆς βουλής εἰς Ἀιγίον, ἀσπαστικήν τε καὶ παρα-
κλητικήν ποιησάμενοι τὴν πρὸς τους Ἀχαίοις ἐντευξῶν ἀπεπλευσαν εἰς τὴν Ἁιτωλίαν.
4 Καὶ πάλιν ἔκει συναχθείσης αὐτοῖς τῆς ἐκ-
κλησίας εἰς Θέρμον, παρελθόντες εἰς τοὺς πολ-
λούς παρακλητικοὺς καὶ φιλανθρώπους διετίθεντο
2 λόγους. τὸ δὲ συνέχον αὐτοῖς τῆς ἐκκλησίας,
όμηρους ἐφασαν δεῖν δοθῆναι σφίσι παρὰ τῶν
3 Αἰτωλῶν. τοῦτων δὲ καταβάντων, Πρόανδρος ἐπι-
ανασίας ἐβούλετό τωνα εὐχρηστίας πρὸς αὐτοῦ
gεγενημένας εἰς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους προφέρεσθαι
4 καὶ κατηγορεῖν τῶν διαβαλλόντων αὐτῶν· ἐφ'
δὲν Γάϊος πάλιν ἐπαναστάς, καὶ καλῶς εἰδὼς
ἀλλότριων αὐτῶν ὄντα Ῥωμαίων, ὦμως ἐπήνεσε
5 καὶ πάσι τοῖς εἰρημένοις ἀνθωπολογήσατο. μετὰ
dὲ τούτων προελθὼν Λυκίσκος ἐπ’ ὀνόματος μὲν
οὖν δὲν ἐποίησα τακτηγορίαν, καθ’ ὑπόνοιαν
6 δὲ πολλῶν. ἐφ’ γὰρ περὶ μὲν τῶν κορυφαίων
καλῶς βεβουλεύσατο Ῥωμαίους, ἀπαγαγόντας αὐ-
toὺς εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην, λέγων τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἐυπό-
7 λεμον καὶ Νίκανδρον, τοὺς δὲ συναχωνιστᾶς καὶ
toûs παραστάτας τοὺς ἐκείνων ἐτὶ μένειν κατὰ
tὴν Ἁιτωλίαν, οὐς δὲν ἀπαντα, τῆς αὐτῆς τυχεῖν
ἐκείνοις ἐπιστροφῆς, ἂν μὴ προῶνται τὰ τέκνα
BOOK XXVIII. 3. 8–4. 7

decided to accuse Lycortas, Archon, and Polybius before it and prove that they were the opponents of the Roman party and were keeping quiet at present, not because they were naturally disposed to do so, but because they were watching the progress of events and waiting for a favourable opportunity to act. They did not, however, venture to do so, as they had no plausible pretext for attacking the above statesmen. So that when the Achaean senate met at Aegium they addressed a few words of cordial greeting to them and took ship for Aetolia.

4. Here again, upon the Aetolian Assembly meeting at Thermum they appeared before it and spoke in an encouraging and kind manner, the most important part of their speech being a request that the Aetolians should give them hostages. When they descended from the tribune, Proandrus rose and expressed a wish to refer to certain good offices that he had done the Romans and to denounce those who traduced him. Popilius now rose again, and, though he well knew that this man was ill-disposed to the Romans, still thanked him and concurred in all he had said. The next speaker to come forward was Lyciscus, who accused no one by name but many by implication. For he said that the Romans had acted well in deporting the ringleaders (meaning Eupolenus and Nicander) to Rome; but that their supporters and abettors still remained in Aetolia, and should all meet with the same treatment, unless they gave up their children
8 Ῥωμαίοις εἰς ὀμηρείαν. μάλιστα δὲ κατ' Ἀρχε- δάμου καὶ Πανταλέοντος ἔποιει τὰς ἐμφάσεις.  
9 τούτου δὲ παραχωρήσαντο, Πανταλέων ἀναστὰς 
τὸν μὲν Λυκίσκον διὰ βραχέων ἐλοιδόρησε, φήσας 
αὐτὸν ἀνασχύντως καὶ ἀνελευθέρως κολακεύειν 
10 τοὺς ὑπερέχοντας, ἐπὶ δὲ τὸν Θόαντα μετέβη, 
τοῦτον ὑπολαμβάνων εἶναι τὸν ἄξιοπίστως ἐνίεντα 
tὰς κατ' αὐτῶν διαβολὰς τῷ δοκεῖν μηδεμίαν 
11 ὑπάρχειν αὐτοῖς πρὸς τοῦτον διαφοράν. καὶ τὰ 
μὲν ὑπομνήσας τῶν κατ׳ Ἀντίοχον καίρῶν, τὰ 
δ’ ὀνειδίσας εἰς ἀχαριστίαν αὐτῷ, διότι δοθεῖς 
ἐκδοτὸς Ῥωμαίοις, πρεσβεύσαντος αὐτοῦ καὶ 
12 Νικάνδρου, τούχοι τῆς σωτηρίας ἀνελπίστως, τα- 
χέως ἐξεκαλέσατο τοὺς ὀχλοὺς εἰς τὸ μὴ μόνον 
θορυβεῖν τὸν Θόανθ’, ὅτε βουλιθεῖτι τί λέγειν, 
13 <ἀλλὰ> καὶ βάλλει ὀμοθυμαδόν. γενομένων δὲ 
τοῦτων βραχέα καταμεμψάμενος ὁ Γάιος τοὺς 
Αἰτωλοὺς ἐπὶ τῶ βάλλει τὸν Θόανθ’, οὕτως μὲν 
εὐθέως μετὰ τοῦ συμπρεσβευτοῦ <συν>απῆρεν 
eἰς Ἀκαρνανίαν, ἐκσωπηθεῖς περὶ τῶν ὀμὴρων. 
tὰ δὲ κατὰ τὴν Αἰτωλίαν ἐν ὑποψίαις ἢν πρὸς 
ἀλλήλους καὶ ταραχαῖς ὀλοσχέρους. 

5 Κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἀκαρνανίαν συναχθείσης τῆς 
ἐκκλησίας εἰς Θύρρειν, Ἀἰσχρίων μὲν καὶ Γλαύ-
κος καὶ Χρέμας οὗτες Ῥωμαίων παρεκάλουν 
tοὺς περὶ τὸν Γάιον ἐμφρουρον ποιῆσαι τῇν 
2 Ἀκαρνανίαν. εἶναι γὰρ παρ’ αὐτοῖς τῶν ἀπο-
φέροντα τὰ πρᾶγματα πρὸς Περσεὰ καὶ Μακε-
3 δόνας. Διογένης δὲ τὴν ἐναντίαν ἐπούσατο 
tούτων συμβουλίαν. οὐ γὰρ ἐφη δεῖν φρουράν 
eἰσάγειν εἰς οὐδεμίαν πόλιν· ταῦτα γὰρ ὑπάρ-
χειν τοῖς πολεμίοις γενομένοις καὶ καταπολε-
to the Romans as hostages. He laid particular stress on the cases of Archedamus and Pantaleon, and when he had left the tribune Pantaleon got up and, after a few reproachful words concerning Lyciscus, in which he said that his flattery of the ruling power was shameless and servile, went on to speak of Thoas who he considered was the man who had secured credence for the accusations he brought against Archedamus and himself owing to the fact that there was not supposed to be any quarrel between them. Reminding them of what had occurred during the war with Antiochus, and rebuking Thoas for his ingratitude, in that when he was given up to the Romans, he had been unexpectedly saved by the intervention of himself and Nicander as envoys, he soon incited the people not only to hoot down Thoas when he wished to speak, but to cast stones at him with one accord. When this happened Popilius, after briefly rebuking the people for stoning Thoas, at once left with his colleague for Acarnania, saying nothing further about the hostages; Aetolia remaining full of mutual suspicion and utter disorder.

5. In Acarnania, when their Assembly met at Thyreum, Aeschron, Glauce, and Chremas, who were of the Roman party, begged Popilius and his colleague to establish garrisons in Acarnania; for there were those among them who were falling away towards Perseus and Macedonia. Diogenes, however, gave contrary advice. He said that no garrison should be introduced into any city; for that was the procedure in the case of peoples who had been
4 μηθείσων ύπὸ Ἡρωμαίων· οὐδὲν δὲ πεποιηκότας Ἀκαρνάνας οὐκ ἄξιος εἶναι φρούραν εἰσδέχε- 
5 θαι κατ’ οὐδένα τρόπον. τοὺς δὲ περὶ Χρέμα 
καὶ Γλαῦκον ἰδίαν ἔθελοντας κατασκευάζεσθαι 
δυναστείαν διαβάλλειν τοὺς ἀντιπολιτευομένους 
καὶ θέλειν ἐπιστάθαι φρούραν τὴν συνεπι-
6 σχύουσαν ταῖς αὐτῶν πλεονεξίαις. ῥηθέντων δὲ 
τούτων οἳ περὶ τὸν Γάιον θεωροῦντες τοὺς ὅχλους 
δυσαρεστουμένους ταῖς φρούραῖς καὶ βουλόμενοι 
στοιχεῖν τῇ τῆς συγκλήτου προθέσει, συγκατα-
θέμενοι τῇ τοῦ Διογένους γνώμη καὶ συνεπ-
αμέσαντες ἀπῆραν ἐπὶ Λαρίσης πρὸς τὸν ἀνθ-
ύπατον.
6 ὜τι ἔδοξε τοὺς Ἑλλησοὶ περὶ τῆς πρεσβείας 
2 ἐπιστάσεως χρείαν ἔχειν τὸ γνώμενον. παρα-
λαβόντες οὖν τοὺς κατὰ τὴν ἄλλην πολιτείαν 
ὁμογενωμονοῦντας· οὗτοι δ' ἦσαν 'Αρκεσίλαος, 
oplevelon, Μεγαλοπολῖται, Στρατῖος Τριταεύς,
3 Ξένων Πατρεύς, 'Απολλωνίδας Σικυώνιος· ἐβο-
λεύοντο περὶ τῶν ἑνεστῶτων. δὶ' μὲν ὅπως 
Δικόρτας ἔμεινεν ἐπὶ τῆς ἐξ ἀρχὴς προθέσεως, 
κρίνων μὴτε Περσεῖ μὴ<τε> Ἡρωμαίοις συνεργεῖν
4 μηδέν, ὁμοίως μηδὲ ἀντιπράττειν μηδέτεροις. τὸ 
μὲν γὰρ συνεργεῖν ἀλυσιτελὲς ἐνόμιζε πᾶσιν 
einai tois Ἑλλησον, προορόμενος τὸ μέγεθος 
τῆς ἐσομένης ἐξουσίας περὶ τοὺς κρατήσαντας,
5 τὸ δ' ἀντιπράττειν <Ἡρωμαίος> ἐπισφαλὲς διὰ 
τὸ πολλοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἐπιφανεστάτοις Ἡρωμαίων 
ἀντωφθαλμηκέναι περὶ τῶν κοινῶν πραγμάτων 
6 κατὰ τοὺς ἄνωτερον καυροῦς. δ' δ' Ἄπολλωνίδας 
καὶ Στρατίος ἀντιπράττειν μὲν ἐπίτηδες Ἡρω-

12
enemies of the Romans, and who had been subdued by them; but as the Acarnanians had done no wrong, they did not in any way deserve to be forced to accept garrisons. Chremas and Glaucus, he said, were desirous of establishing their own power, and therefore falsely accused their political rivals, and wished to introduce a garrison which would lend its help to the execution of their ambitious projects. After these speeches the legates, seeing that the idea of garrisons was not acceptable to the populace, and wishing to act in accordance with the purpose of the senate, accepted the advice of Diogenes, and, after an expression of thanks, left for Larisa to rejoin the proconsul.

Policy of the Achaeans

6. The Greeks * (sic) thought that this embassy was worthy of attention. Associating therefore with themselves those who were in general sympathy with their policy, these being Arcesilaus and Ariston of Megalopolis, Stratius of Tritaea, Xenon of Patrae, and Apollonidas of Sicyon, they discussed the situation. Lycortas held to his original opinion, judging that they should neither give any active aid either to Perseus or to the Romans nor offer any opposition to either side. To render help to the Romans he considered disadvantageous to all the Greeks, as he foresaw how very strong the victors in the war would be, while he thought it dangerous to act against Rome, since at a previous period they had braved many of the most distinguished Romans about affairs of state. Apollonidas and Stratius did not think

* The epitomator should have said "Lycortas, his party."
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

μαίοις οὐκ ἤσοντο δεῖν· τοὺς δ’ ὑπερκυβιστῶντας καὶ διὰ τῶν κοινῶν πραγμάτων ἑδίαν χάριν ἀποτιθεμένους παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις καὶ τούτῳ πράττοντας παρὰ τοὺς νόμους καὶ παρὰ τὸ κοινός συμφέρον, τούτους ἔφασαν δεῖν κωλύειν καὶ πρὸς τούτους ἀντοφθαλμεῖν εὐγενῶς. 

7 ἀντοφθαλμεῖν εὐγενῶς. ὁ δ’ Ἀρχων ἀκολουθεῖν ἐφῇ δεῖν τοῖς καιροῖς καὶ μὴ διδόναι τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἀφορμὴν εἰς διαβολὴν μηδὲ προέσθαι σφᾶς αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν ἐλθεῖν διάθεσιν τοῖς περὶ Νίκαινδου, οὕτως, πρὶν ἡ λαβεῖν πείραν τῆς τούτων ἐξουσίας, ἐν ταῖς μεγίσταις εἰς ἡ συν- 

tαλαιπωρίαις. ταύτης δὲ τῆς γνώμης μετέσχον 8 

9 Πολύβιος, Ἀρκεσίλαος, Ἀρίστων, Ξένων. διὸ καὶ τὸν μὲν Ἀρχων πρὸς τὴν στρατηγίαν ἐδο- 

ξεν αὐτοῖς εὐθέως προπορεύεσθαι, τὸν δὲ Πολύ- 

βιον πρὸς τὴν ὑπαρξίαν. 7 

7 Τούτων δὴ νεωστὶ γεγονότων καὶ προδιειληφό- 

των τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἀρχων διότι δεὶς συμπράτ- 

τευν Ῥωμαίοις καὶ τοῖς τούτων φίλοις, τυχικῶς 

πως συνέβη τὸν Ἀτταλον πρὸς ἐτοίμους ὄντας 

2 ποιήσασθαι τοὺς λόγους. διὸ καὶ προσθύμως 

αὐτῷ κατανεύσατες ὑπέσχοντο συμπράξειν ὑπὲρ 

3 τῶν παρακαλομένων. τοῦ δ’ Ἀτταλοῦ πέμ- 

ψαντὸς πρεσβευτάς, καὶ παραγενομένων τούτων 

εἰς τὴν πρώτην ἀγοραν καὶ διαλεγομένων τοῖς 

Ἀχαιοῖς περὶ τοῦ τὰς τιμὰς ἀποκατασταθήναι 

τῷ βασιλεί καὶ παρακαλοῦντων ποιῆσαι τοῦτο 

4 διὰ τῆς Ἀτταλοῦ χάριτος, ὁ μὲν ὄχλος ἄδηλος 

ἡν ἐπὶ τίνος ὑπάρχει γνώμης, πρὸς δὲ τὴν ἀντι- 

λογίαν ἀνίσταντο πολλοὶ καὶ διὰ πολλὰς αὐτίας. 

5 οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐξ ἀρχῆς αὐτοὶ γενόμενοι τῆς ἀναι- 

ρέσεως τῶν τιμῶν βεβαιοῦν ἐβούλοντο τὴν αὐτῶν 

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they should take any special action against Rome, but he said that those Achaeans who were ready to make the plunge, trying to ingratiate themselves personally with the Romans by their public action, in defiance of law and contrary to the public interest, should be prevented and boldly confronted. Archon advised them to act as circumstances enjoined, and neither give their enemies any pretext for accusing them nor allow themselves to be reduced to the same state as Nicander, who, even before he experienced the weight of the Roman power, found himself in the utmost distress. Polybius, Arcesilaus, Ariston, and Xenon shared this opinion. It was therefore decided that Archon should at once proceed to take up his duties as strategus and Polybius as hipparch.

7. Just after this decision had been taken, and when it was clear that Archon was determined to act with the Romans and their friends, it happened by mere chance that Attalus addressed himself to this statesman who was quite ready to listen to him, and gladly promised to help him to obtain what he requested. When the envoys he had sent appeared at the first session of the Assembly, and spoke to the Achaeans about the restitution of the honours conferred on Eumenes, begging them to do this as a favour to Attalus, it was not clear what view the people took; but many speakers got up to oppose the motion on various grounds. First of all the original authors of the revocation of the honours were anxious to get their opinion confirmed, while others who
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...
had special grievances against the king thought this a good opportunity of expressing their resentment, and some out of a mere grudge against his supporters did all in their power to defeat the project of Attalus. Archon rose to speak on behalf of the envoys, as the situation was such as to call for an expression of opinion by the strategus; but after quite a short speech he left as he was careful not to be thought to give advice for the sake of some personal gain, having spent a considerable sum of money during his term of office. Much hesitation now prevailed; and Polybius rose and spoke at some length, for the most part in favour of the opinion of the majority, quoting the original decree of the Achaeans about the honours, in which it was written that the improper and illegal honours should be revoked, but not by any means all honours. But Sosigenes and Diopeithes he said, who were at that time judges, and had some private differences with Eumenes, availed themselves of this pretext to subvert all the honours conferred on the king, and had done this in defiance of the decree of the Achaeans and in excess of the authority given them, and, what was most important, in violation of justice and right. For the Achaeans had not decided to cancel the honours of Eumenes because he had injured them in any way but, taking offence at his having demanded higher honours than his services merited, had voted to deprive him of those which were in excess. He said, therefore, that as the judges, setting their own enmity before the dignity of the Achaeans, had subverted all the honours; so
'Αχαιοὺς κυριώτατον ἤγησαμένους τὸ σφίσι καθήκον καὶ πρέπον διορθώσασθαι τὴν τῶν δικαστῶν ἀμαρτίαν καὶ καθόλου τὴν πρὸς τὸν Εὐμένη γε-13 γεννημένην ἀλογίαν, ἀλλως τε καὶ μέλλοντας μὴ μόνον ἐπ’ αὐτὸν τὸν βασιλέα τὴν χάριν ἀπερείδεσθαι ταύτην, ἔτι δὲ μάλλον εἰς τὸν ἀδελφὸν 14 Ἀτταλον. τοῦ δὲ πλήθους εὐδοκήσαντος τοῖς λεγομένοις, ἐγράφη δόγμα προστάττον τοῖς ἀρχοῦσι πάσας ἀποκαταστήσαι τὰς Εὐμένους τοὺ βασιλέως τιμᾶς, πλὴν εἰ τινὲς ἀπρεπὲς τι περιέχουσι 15 τῷ κοινῷ τῶν 'Αχαιῶν ἡ παράνομον. τούτου μὲν δὴ τὸν τρόπον καὶ κατὰ τούτου τὸν καιρὸν Ἀτταλος διωρθώσατο τὴν γεννημένην ἀλογίαν περὶ τὰς ὑπαρχοῦσας Εὐμένει τάδελφῳ τιμᾶς κατὰ τὴν Πελοπόννησον.

8 Ὅτι Περσεὺς πρὸς Γένθιον τὸν βασιλέα ἀπέστειλε πρεσβευτὰς Πλευράτον τε τὸν Ἰλυρίων, ὅντα φυγάδα παρ’ αὐτῶ, καὶ τὸν Βεροιαῖον Ἀ-2 δαῖον, δοὺς ἐντολὰς διασαφέων τὰ πεπραγμένα κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον πρὸς τε Ῥωμαίοις αὐτῷ καὶ πρὸς Δαρδανίους, ἔτι δὲ καὶ πρὸς Ἡπειρώτας καὶ πρὸς Ἰλυρίων κατὰ τὸ παρόν, καὶ παρακαλέων αὐτὸν πρὸς τὴν τούτον καὶ Μακεδόνων
3 φιλιάν καὶ συμμαχίαν. οἱ καὶ ποιησάμενοι τὴν πορείαν ὑπὲρ τὸ Σκάρδον ὅρος διὰ τῆς Ἑρήμου καλομμένης Ἰλυρίδος, ἦν οὐ πολλοὶς χρόνοις ἀνώτερον ἀνάστατον ἐποίησαν Μακεδόνες εἰς τὸ δυσέργους ποιῆσαι τοῖς Δαρδανεύοις τὰς εἰς τὴν
4 Ἰλυρίδα (<καὶ Μακεδονίαν> εἰσβολάς. πλὴν οἱ γε περὶ τὸν Ἀδαιὸν διὰ τούτων τῶν τόπων μετὰ πολλῆς κακοπαθείας ἠλθον εἰς Σκόδραν καὶ
18
the Achaeans should now, considering their own obligation and propriety of conduct to be the most important thing, correct the error of the judges, and in general the foolish treatment that Eumenes had met with; especially as they would not in doing so be granting this as a special favour to Eumenes, but to his brother Attalus. The people approved this speech, and a decree was made enjoining that all the honours conferred on King Eumenes should be restored, except those which either contained anything that did not become the Achaean League or anything illegal. It was in this manner and at this time that Attalus set right the foolish mistake that had been made regarding the honours conferred on his brother Eumenes in the Peloponnesus.

**Negotiations of Perseus with Genthius**

(Cp. Livy xliii. 19. 12–20. 4.)

8. Perseus sent Pleuratus the Illyrian, who had taken refuge with him, and Adaeus of Beroea, as envoys to King Genthius, with instructions to announce to him what had happened in the war he was engaged in against the Romans and Dardanians, and for the present at least with the Epirots and Illyrians; and to solicit him to enter into an alliance with himself and the Macedonians. The envoys, crossing Mount Scardus, journeyed through the so-called Desert Illyria, which not many years previously had been depopulated by the Macedonians in order to make it difficult for the Dardanians to invade Illyria and Macedonia. Traversing this district, and enduring great hardships on the journey, they reached
"ΤΗΣ ΗΣΤΟΡΙΕΣ ΤΟΥ ΝΤΟΜΠΙΟΥ"
Scodra; and, learning that Genthius was staying in Lissus, sent a message to him. Genthius at once sent for them, and they conversed with him on the matters covered by their instructions. Genthius did not seem to be averse to making friendship with Perseus; but he excused himself from complying at once with their request on the ground of his want of resources and the impossibility of undertaking a war against Rome without money. Adaeus and his colleague, on receiving this answer, returned. Perseus, on arriving at Styberra, sold the booty, and rested his army waiting for the return of the envoys. Upon their arrival, after hearing the answer of Genthius, he once more dispatched Adaeus, accompanied by Glaucias, one of his bodyguard, and again by Pleuratus owing to his knowledge of the Illyrian language, with the same instructions as before, just as if Genthius had not expressly indicated what he was in need of, and what must be done before he could consent to the request. Upon their departure the king left with his army and marched towards Hyscana.

(Cp. Livy xliii. 23. 8.)

9. At this time the envoys sent to Genthius returned, having achieved nothing more than on their first visit, and having nothing further to report; as Genthius maintained the same attitude, being ready to join Perseus, but saying that he stood in need of money. Perseus, paying little heed to them, now sent Hippias to establish a definite agreement, but omitted the all-important matter, saying
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φάσκων ἐξηγμένον . . . εὐνοοῦντα ποιήσεων τὸν

4 Γένθιον· ὥστε διαπορείν πότερα δεῖ λέγειν ἐπὶ
tῶν τοιοῦτων ἀλογιστιὰν ἣ δαμονοβλάβειαν. ὁ
κῶ μὲν ὅτι δαμονοβλάβειαν, οὕτως ἐφίνειν
tό τοῦ μεγάλα τολμᾶν καὶ παραβάλλονται τῇ
ψυχῇ, παρᾶσω δὲ τὸ συνέχον ἐν ταῖσ ἐπιβολαῖς,

5 βλέποντες αὐτὸ καὶ δυνάμενοι πράττειν . . . ὅτι
γάρ, εἰ Περσέως κατ᾽ ἐκεῖνον τὸν καρόν ἡβου-
λήθη προεσθαί χρήματα καὶ κοινῇ τοῖς πολιτεύ-
μασι καὶ κατ᾽ ἱδιὰν τοῖς βασιλεύσι καὶ τοῖς πο-
λιτευμένοις, οὐ λέγω μεγαλομερῶς, καθάπερ
ἐξῆν αὐτῶ χορηγῶν ἑνεκέν, ἀλλὰ μετρίως μόνον,

6 πάντας ἄν συνέβη καὶ τοὺς Ἐλλήνας καὶ τοὺς
βασιλείς, εἰ δὲ μὴ γε, τοὺς πλείστους ἐξελεγχθῆ-
ναι, δοκῶ μηδένα τῶν νοῶν ἐχόντων πρὸς με

7 διαμφίσβητήσαι περὶ τούτων. νῦν δὲ καλῶς
ποιῶν οὐκ ἴλθε ταύτην τὴν ὁδὸν, δι᾽ ἃς ἢ κρα-
tήσας τῶν ὀλῶν ἐξουσίαν ἄν ὑπερήφανον ἔσχεν
ἡ σφαλεῖς πολλοὺς ἣν ἔποιησε τῆς αὐτῆς τύχης

8 πειραν αὐτῶ λαβεῖν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐναντίαν, δι᾽ ἃς
ὁλίγου τελέως ἠλογήθησαν τῶν Ἐλλήνων ὑπὸ
tῶν τῆς πράξεως καιρῶν.

10 ὁ Περσεὺς ἐπταικῶς τοῖς ὀλοίς ἐπὶ τῷ

(3α) εἰσδεδεῖν Ἑρωμαίους εἰς Μακεδονίαν τῷ Ἰππίᾳ
ἐπτέμια. ἀλλὰ μοι δοκεῖ τὸ μὲν ἐπιτιμήσαι
τοῖς ἄλλοις εἶναι βάδιον καὶ συνιδεῖν τὰs τῶν
πέλας ἀμαρτίας, τὸ δ’ αὐτὸν πράττειν τὰ δυνατὰ
καὶ γνώναι τὰ καθ’ αὐτὸν πάντων δυσχερέστατον.

δ καὶ περὶ τὸν Περσέα συνέβη γενέσθαι.
that if he . . . he would make Genthius well disposed. One doubts if one should attribute such conduct to mere thoughtlessness or to bewitchment. I think it is rather bewitchment, when men who aspire to venture much and run the risk of their lives, neglect the all-important matter in their enterprises, although they clearly see it and have the power to do it. For had Perseus at that period been willing to advance money to whole states and individually to kings and statesmen—I do not say on a lavish scale, as his resources enabled him to do, but only in moderate amounts—no intelligent man I suppose would dispute that all the Greeks and all the kings, or at least the most of them, would have failed to withstand the temptation. Instead of taking that course, by which either, if completely victorious, he would have created a splendid empire, or, if defeated, would have exposed many to the same ruin as himself, he took the opposite one, owing to which quite a few of the Greeks went wrong in their calculations when the time for action came.

_Perseus blames his General_

(Cp. Livy xlv. 7.)

10. Perseus, on his total defeat blamed Hippias for the invasion of Macedonia by the Romans. But to me it seems to be an easy thing to blame others and detect the faults of our neighbours, but the most difficult thing in life to do all that is possible oneself and know one's situation; and in this Perseus failed.
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11 To Ἡράκλειον ἦλθον ἰδίαν τινὰ ἄλωσιν. ἔχου-
(12) σης τῆς πόλεως ἐφ' εὐός μέρους ἐπ' ὄλγον τόπον
tapeinóν teĩchos, oi Ἠρωμαίοι τρεῖς σημεία προ-
tapeinóν τεῖχος, oi Ἠρωμαίοι τρεῖς σημεία προ-
2 εχερίσαντο. καὶ τῇ μὲν πρώτῃ τοὺς θυρεοὺς
ὑπὲρ τῆς κεφαλῆς ποιῆσαντες συνέφραξαν, ὡστε
tῇ τῶν ὁπλῶν πυκνότητι κεραμωτῷ καταρρύφω
gínεσθαι παραπλήσιον. ἐφεξῆ ὃ ἐτεραὶ δύο ...

III. RES GRAECIAE

12 Ὅτι τοῦ Περσέως βουλομένου ήξεων μετά
(10) δυνάμεως εἰς τὴν Θεσσαλίαν καὶ λήψεσθαι τὰ
όλα κρίσιν ἐκ τῶν κατὰ λόγον, ἔδοξε τοῖς περὶ
tὸν Ἀρχώνα δι' αὐτῶν τῶν πραγμάτων ἄπολο-
2 εχερίσαντο. καὶ τούτῳ κυρωθέντος ἔδοξε τοῖς
Ἀχαιοῖς τὸν Ἀρχώνα γίνεσθαι περὶ τῆς συν-
 καὶ τοὺς Ἠρωμαίοις. καὶ τούτῳ κυρωθέντος ἔδοξε τοῖς
Ἀχαιοῖς τὸν Ἀρχώνα γίνεσθαι περὶ τῆς συν-
ἀγωγῆν τοῦ στρατεύματος καὶ περὶ τὰς εἰς τὴν
εἴσοδον παρασκευάζει, πρὸς δὲ τὸν ὑπατὸν προσβευ-
3 τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἐρωμαῖον τοὺς τὰ δεδογμένα
tῶν Ἄχαιοίς διασαφήσοντας καὶ πενομένους
ἐξεῖρεται ποτὲ καὶ ποὺ δεῖ συμμιγνύειν αὐτῷ τὸ στρατό-
4 πεδον. καὶ κατέστησαν προσβευτὰς παραχρήμα
Πολύβιον καὶ ἄλλους καὶ ἐνετείλατο τῷ Πολυ-
βίῳ φιλοτίμως, ἐὰν ὁ στρατηγὸς εὐδοκῇ τῇ
παρουσίᾳ τοῦ στρατοπέδου, τοὺς μὲν <συμ>προ-
σβευτάς εἰς αὐτῆς πέμπεις διασαφήσοντας, ὡς
5 μὴ καθυστερῶσι τῶν καιρῶν, αὐτὸν δὲ φροντίζειν.
BOOK XXVIII. 11. 1—12. 5

The Testudo

(Suid.; cp. Livy xliv. 9. 8.)

11. Heracleium was taken in a peculiar manner. The town had a low wall of no great extent on one side, and to attack this the Romans employed three picked maniples. The men of the first held their shields over the heads, and closed up, so that, owing to the density of the bucklers, it became like a tiled roof. The other two in succession . . .

III. Affairs of Greece

Embassy of Polybius to the Consul

12. When Perseus had made up his mind to enter Thessaly with his army, and every one expected a decisive engagement, Archon resolved to rebut the suspicions and accusations of the Romans by positive action this time. He therefore introduced in the Achaean Assembly a decree enjoining that they should march to Thessaly in full force and unreservedly join the Romans. The decree having been passed, they further decreed that Archon should occupy himself with the collection of their forces and the preparations for the expedition, and they decided to send envoys to the consul in Thessaly conveying the purpose of their decree and asking when and where their army should join him. As envoys they at once appointed Polybius and others, and strictly enjoined Polybius, if the consul approved of the advent of the army, to send back his colleagues at once to inform them, so that they should not be behindhand; and meanwhile to look to it that the
6 τῶν ἐπιτηδείων τοὺς στρατιώτας. ταύτας μὲν ὦν ἔχοντες οἱ προειρήμενοι τὰς ἐντολὰς ἐξώρμησαν: κατέστησαν δὲ καὶ προσβευτὰς πρὸς Ἀτταλον τοὺς περὶ Τηλόκριτον, ἀποκοµίζοντας τὸ δόγμα τὸ περὶ τῆς ἀποκαταστάσεως τῶν Εὐµέ-νους τιµῶν. καὶ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν καίρον καὶ περὶ τοῦ βασιλέως Πτολεµαίου προσπεσόντος τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς διότι γέγονεν αὐτῷ τὰ νοµιζόµενα γίνεσθαι τοῖς βασιλεύσις, ὅταν εἰς ἡλικίαν ἔλθωσιν, ἀνακλητήρια, νοµίζοντες σφίσι καθήκειν ἐπισηµήνασθαι τὸ γεγονός, ἐφηθίσαντο πέµπειν προσβευτὰς ἀνανεωσόµενοι τὰ προInBackgroundπάρχοντα τῷ ἐθνει φιλάνθρωπα πρὸς τὴν βασιλείαν, καὶ παραιτήκα κατέστησαν Ἀλκίθον καὶ Πασιάδαν.

13 Οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Πολύβιον καταλαβόντες τοὺς Ἐρωµαίους ἐκ µὲν τῆς Θεσσαλίας κεκυκνότας, τῆς δὲ Περραβίας στρατοπεδεύοντας Ἀζωρίου µεταξὺ καὶ Δολίχης, τὴν µὲν ἐντευξίν ὑπερ-έθεντο διὰ τοὺς περιστώτας καιροὺς, τῶν δὲ κατὰ τὴν εἰσόδον τὴν εἰς Μακεδονίαν κινδύνων µετ-3 εἴχον. ἔπει δὲ τοῦ στρατεύµατος κατάραντος ἐπὶ τοὺς καθ᾽ Ἡράκλειον τόπους ἔδοξε καιρὸς εἶναι πρὸς ἐντευξίν, ἀτε τοῦ στρατηγοῦ δοκοῦντος 4 ἡµύσθαι τὸ μέγιστον τῶν προκειµένων, τότε λαβόντες καιρὸν τὸ ψήφισμα τῷ Μαρκίῳ προσή-ήνεγκαν καὶ διεσάφουν τὴν τῶν Ἀχαïῶν προαίρεσιν διότι βουλήθηκεν αὐτῷ πανδηµεί τῶν αὐτῶν µετασχεῖν ἀγώνων καὶ κινδύνων. καὶ πρὸς τούς ὑπεδείξαν διότι πᾶν τὸ γραφέν ἡ παραγγελθεν τοῖς Ἀχαϊοῖς υπὸ Ἐρωµαιων κατὰ τὸν ἐνεστῶτα 26
army might find markets in all the towns it passed through and that the men should be in no want of provisions. The envoys hereupon left with those instructions. They also appointed Telocritus as their envoy to Attalus bearing the decree about the restitution of the honours of Eumenes; and when it reached their ears at the same time that the Anacleteria, the festival usually celebrated upon kings coming of age, had been celebrated in honour of King Ptolemy, thinking that they ought to notice the event, they voted to send envoys to him to renew the friendly relations which had existed between the League and the kingdom of Egypt, and at once nominated Alcithus and Pasiadas.

13. Polybius and his colleagues, on finding that the Romans had moved out of Thessaly and were encamped in Perrhaebia between Azorium and Doliche, deferred the interview owing to the critical state of affairs, but shared in the danger of the invasion of Macedonia. But when the Roman army had come down to the district of Heracleium, and they deemed it time for the interview, as the general seemed to have accomplished the chief part of his task, they at once, when they had an opportunity, presented the decree to Marcius, and informed him of the determination of the Achaean to share with him in the struggles and dangers of the war. In addition they pointed out to him that all communications and commands which had reached the Achaean from the Romans during
5 πόλεμον ἀναντίρρητον γέγονεν. τοῦ δὲ Μαρκίου τῆν μὲν προσάρεσιν ἀποδεχομένου τὴν Ἀχαιῶν μεγαλωτῆ, τῆς δὲ κακοπαθείας αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς δαπάνης παραλύοντος διὰ τὸ μικρὲτι χρείαν ἔχειν
6 τοὺς καιροὺς τῆς τῶν συμμάχων βοηθείας, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι πρέσβεις ἐπανήλθον εἰς τὴν Ἀχαίαν, ὁ δὲ Πολύβιος αὐτοῦ μείνας μετέιχε τῶν ἐν-
7 εστῶτων πραγμάτων, ἔως ὁ Μάρκιος ἀκούσας Ἄππιον τὸν Κέντωνα πεντακισχιλίους στρατιώτας αἰτεῖσθαι παρὰ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν εἰς Ἡπείρου, ἦξ-
8 ἀπέστειλε τὸν προευρημένον, παρακαλέσας φροντί-
9 ἂν μὴ δοθῶσιν οἱ στρατιῶται μηδὲ τηλικοῦτο δαπάνημα μᾶταιον γένηται τοῖς Ἀχαϊοῖς. πρὸς
10 ὀυδένα γὰρ λόγον αἰτεῖν τοὺς στρατιῶτας τὸν
11 πρόβλημα παμμέγεθες ἐνέπεσε. τοῦ γὰρ δια-
12 βουλίου προτεθέντος ύπέρ δὲν ὁ Κέντων ἔτειτο στρατιωτῶν, ἐ μὲν ὁ Μάρκιος αὐτῷ φροντίζειν κατ᾽ ἠδίαν ἐνετείλατο, ταῦτα φωτίζειν οὐδαμῶς
13 ἐκρίνεν. τὸ δὲ μηδεμίας <αἰτίας> ὑπαρχοῦσης φανερῶς ἀντιλέγειν τῇ βοηθείᾳ τελείως ἢν ἐπι-
14 σφαλές. δυσχρήστοι δὲ καὶ ποικίλης οὐσίας
15 τῆς ὑποθέσεως, ἐχρήσατο βοηθήματι πρὸς τὸ
16 παρὸν τῷ τῆς συγκλήτου δόγματι τῷ κελεύοντι
17 μηδένα προσέχειν τοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν γρα-
18 φομένους, ἐὰν μὴ τούτῳ ποιῶσιν κατὰ τὸ δόγμα
19 τῆς συγκλήτου. τοῦτο δ’ οὐκ ἦν προσκείμενον
20
the present war had been duly complied with. Marcius, while highly gratified by the proposal of the Achaeans, relieved them of the suffering and expense, as under present circumstances he was in no want of the assistance of the allies. Hereupon the other envoys returned to Achaea; but Polybius remained and assisted in the campaign, until Marcius, on hearing that Appius Cento was asking the Achaeans to send him five thousand men to Epirus, dispatched Polybius, begging him to see that the soldiers were not given and no such useless outlay inflicted on the Achaeans, as Appius had no sound reason for such a demand. It is difficult to say whether he acted thus out of regard for the Achaeans, or from the wish to keep Appius idle. Polybius, in any case, returned to Peloponnesus, and finding that the letter from Epirus had already arrived, and that shortly afterwards the Achaean Assembly had met at Sicyon, was faced by a most difficult problem. For when a resolution was moved about Cento's demand for troops, he thought it by no means proper to reveal the private instructions that Marcius had given him; while on the other hand to oppose openly the project of sending assistance was an exceedingly hazardous course to take. In this difficult and complicated situation he called to his help for the present the senatus-consultum which enjoined that no one should attend to requests made by commanders, unless they were acting by a decree of the senate, there being no addition to this effect.
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13 τοῖς γράμμασι. διὸ καὶ κατεκράτησε τοῦ τὴν ἀναφορὰν ἐπὶ τῶν ὑπατον γενέσθαι καὶ δι’ ἐκείνου παραλυθῆναι τῆς δαπάνης τὸ ἔθνος, οὕτως ὑπὲρ ἐκατὸν εἴκοσι τάλαντα μεγάλα. τοῖς γε μὴν βουλομένοις διαβάλλειν αὐτὸν πρὸς τὸν Ἀππιον ἀφορμὰς ἔδωκεν, ὅτι διακόψα τὴν ἐπιβολὴν αὐτοῦ τὴν περὶ τῆς βοηθείας.

14 ὁτι οἱ Κυδωνιάται κατὰ τὸν καίρον τοῦτον (xvii. 16) ἐποίησαν πράγμα δεινὸν καὶ παράσπονδον ὁμο- 2 λογομενὸς. καίπερ <γὰρ> πολλῶν τοιούτων γε- νομένων κατὰ τὴν Κρήτην, ὁμως ἐδοξέων ὑπερ- 3 αἴρειν τὴν συνήθειαν τὸ τότε γενόμενον. ὑπ- αρχούσης γάρ αὐτοῖς οὐ μόνον φιλίας, ἀλλὰ συμπολιτείας πρὸς Ἀπόλλωνιάτας καὶ καθόλου κοινωνίας πάντων τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις νομιζό- μενων δικαιῶν, καὶ περὶ τούτων κεμένης ἐνόρκου

4 συνθήκης παρὰ τὸν Δία τὸν Ἰδαίον, παρα- σπονδήσαντες τοὺς Ἀπόλλωνιάτας κατελάβουσεν τὴν πόλιν καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄνδρας κατέσφαξαν, τὰ δ’ ὑπάρχοντα διήρπασαν, τὰς <δὲ> γυναῖκας καὶ τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν χώραν διανειμά- μενοι κατείχον.

15 ὁτι κατὰ τὴν Κρήτην δεδιότες Κυδωνιάται (13) τοὺς Γορτυνίους διὰ τὸ καὶ τῷ πρότερον ἐτεὶ 2 παρ’ ὅλιγον κεκυιδυνευκέναι τῇ πόλει τῶν περὶ Νοθοκράτην ἐπιβαλομένων αὐτὴν κατασχεῖν, ἐξ- ἐπεμψαν πρέσβεις πρὸς Εὐμένη, βοηθείαν αὐτοῦ-

2 μενοι κατὰ τὴν συμμαχίαν. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς προ- χειρισάμενος Λέοντα καὶ στρατιώτας σὺν τούτων
BOOK XXVIII. 13. 13–15. 2

in the letter. He managed therefore to have the matter referred to the consul, and through the intervention of the latter, to relieve the League of this expense, which amounted to more than a hundred and twenty full talents. But he furnished those who wished to accuse him to Appius with a good pretext in having thus put a stop to his plan of procuring assistance.

Affairs in Crete

14. The people of Cydonia at this time committed a shocking act of treachery universally condemned. For although many such things have happened in Crete, what was done then was thought to surpass all other instances of their habitual ferocity. For while they were not only friends with the Apolloniats, but united with them in one community, and shared with them in general all the rights observed by men, there being a sworn treaty to this effect deposited in the temple of Idaean Zeus, they treacherously seized on the city, killing the men, laying violent hands on all property, and dividing among themselves and keeping the women and children, and the city with its territory.

15. In Crete the people of Cydonia, standing in fear of the Gortynians, because in the previous year they had very nearly run the risk of losing their city owing to the attempt on the part of Nothocrates to seize it, now sent envoys to Eumenes, asking for help according to the terms of their alliance. The king, appointing Leon to command a force of
3 τριακοσίων ἐξαπέστειλε κατὰ σπουδὴν. ἤν παραγενομένων οἱ Κυδωνιάται τὰς τε κλεῖς τῶν πυλῶν τῷ Λέοντι παρέδωκαν καὶ καθόλου τὴν πόλιν ἑνεχείρισαν.

16 "Οτι ἐν τῇ Ῥώδῳ τὰ τῆς ἀντιπολιτείας αἰεὶ (14) 2 μᾶλλον ἐπέτευνεν. προσπεσόντος γὰρ αὐτοῖς τοῦ τῆς συγκλήτου δόγματος, ἐν ὃ διεσάφει μηκέτι προσέχειν τοὺς τῶν στρατηγῶν ἐπιτάγμασιν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς αὐτῆς δόγμῃς, καὶ τῶν πολλῶν ἀποδεχομένων τῆς συγκλήτου πρόνοιαν, οἱ περὶ τὸν Φιλόφρονα καὶ Θεαίδητον ἐπιλαξόμενοι τῆς ἀφορμῆς ταύτης ἔξεργάζοντο τάκολουθα, φάσκοντες δεῖν ἐκπέμπειν πρεσβευτὰς πρὸς τὴν συγκλήτου καὶ τὸν Κώντου Μάρκιον τὸν ὑπατον καὶ πρὸς Γάιον τὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ. τότε γὰρ ἦδη γνώριμον ἢν ἁπασῶν οἰτυνεῖ τῶν καθεσταμένων ἀρχόντων ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ παραγίνεσθαι μέλλονων εἰς τοὺς κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα τόπους. κροτηθείσης δὲ τῆς ὑποθέσεως, καὶ περὶ ἀντιρρήσεως γενομένης, ἀπεστάλησαν εἰς μὲν τὴν Ῥώμην ἀρχομένης θερείας Ἀγησίλοχος Ἀγησίον, Νικ. 6 αγόρας, Νίκανδρος, πρὸς δὲ τὸν ὑπατον καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ στρατηγοῦ Ἀγέπολις, Ἀρίτου ποιμένας, Εὐτόλμος ἔχοντες ἀναπεσοῦσθαι τὰ φιλάνθρωπα πρὸς Ῥωμαῖον καὶ πρὸς τὰς διαβολὰς ἀπολογεῖσθαι τὰς λεγομένας ὑπὸ τῶν κατὰ τῆς πόλεως, οἱ δὲ περὶ τοῦ Ἀγησίλοχον ἀμα τοὺς προειρημένους καὶ περὶ συτικῆς ἐξ- 8 οικεῖας πυγμόμενοι λόγους. τὰ μὲν οὖν ὑπὸ τούτων ῥηθέντα πρὸς τὴν συγκλήτου καὶ τὰς δοθεῖσας αὐτοῖς ἀποκρίσεις ὑπὸ τῆς συγκλήτου καὶ διὸτι πάντων τῶν φιλανθρώπων τυχόντες
three hundred men, dispatched them at once. Upon their arrival the Cydoniats gave up the keys of the gates to Leon and placed their city entirely in his hands.

**Affairs of Rhodes**

16. In Rhodes the spirit of faction was growing ever more violent. For when they heard of the senatus-consultum, in which they were instructed to pay no further attention to the orders of Roman generals, but only to the decrees of the senate itself, and when the majority approved of this wise action of the senate, Philophron and Theaedetus seized on this pretext to pursue their policy, saying that envoys should be sent to the senate, to Quintus Marcius Philippus, the consul, and to Gaius Marcius Figulus the commander of the fleet; for by this time it was already known which of the designated magistrates in Rome would be coming to Grecian parts. The proposal was applauded, although there was some opposition; and at the beginning of summer there were sent to Rome three envoys, Hagesilochus the son of Hagesias, Nicagoras, and Nicander, and to the consul and the commander of the fleet three others, Hagepolis, Ariston, and Pasicrates, with instructions to renew kindly relations with Rome and to defend Rhodes from the charges brought by some against her, Hagesilochus and his colleagues being also charged to obtain permission to export corn from other parts. I have already reported in the section dealing with Italian affairs their speech to the senate, and the answer they received from it; and how after the kindest possible
10 ἐπανῆλθον, ἐν τοῖς Ἰταλικοῖς εἴπομεν. περὶ δὲ τούτον τοῦ μέρους χρήσιμόν ἐστι πλεονάκις ὑπομμυνήσκειν, ὅ δὴ καὶ πειρώμεθα ποιεῖν, διὸτι πολλάκις ἀναγκαζόμεθα τὰς ἐντεύξεις τῶν προσβείων καὶ τοὺς χρηματισμοὺς προτέρους ἐξ- αγγέλλειν τῆς καταστάσεως καὶ τῆς ἐξαποστολῆς.

11 ἐπεὶ γὰρ καθ’ ἐκαστὸν ἐτὸς τὰς καταλήλους πράξεις γράφοντες πειρώμεθ᾽ ἐν ἐνὶ καιρῷ συγ- κεφαλαιοῦσθαι τὰς παρ’ ἐκάστοις πράξεις, δῆλον ὡς ἀναγκαῖον ἑστὶν τούτῳ συμβαίνειν περὶ τὴν γραφήν.

17 Οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἀγέπολυν ἀφικόμενοι πρὸς τὸν (15) Κόγντον, καταλαβόντες αὐτὸν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ πρὸς Ἡράκλειον στρατοπεδεύοντα διελέγοντο περὶ ὅν
2 εἶχον τὰς ἐντολὰς. ὁ δὲ διακούσας οὐχ οἷον αὐτὸς ἔφη προσέχειν ταῖς διαβολαῖς, ἀλλὰ κάκει- νους παρεκάλει μηδὲν ἄνεχεσθαι τῶν λέγειν τι τολμώντων κατὰ Ἡρωμαίων, καὶ πολλὰ καθόλου τῶν
3 εἰς φιλανθρωπίαν ἥκοντων ἐπεμέτρησεν. ἔγραφε δὲ ταύτα καὶ πρὸς τὸν δῆμον τῶν Ῥοδίων.
4 τοῦ δ’ Ἀγεπόλυδος ἐψυχαγωγημένον κατὰ τὴν ὅλην ἀπάντησιν ἱσχυρῶς, λαβὼν αὐτὸν κατ’ ἰδίαν εἰς τὰς χείρας ὁ Κόγντος θαυμάζειν ἔφη πῶς οὖ πειρώνται διαλύειν οἱ Ῥόδιοι τῶν ἐν- εστῶτα πόλεμον, μάλιστα τοῦ πράγματος ἐκείνους
5 καθήκοντος. πότερα δὲ τούτ’ ἔποιει τὸν Ἀντίσχων ὑποπτεύσων μὴ ποτὲ κρατήσας τῆς Ἀλεξ- ανδρέας βαρὺς ἐφεδρὸς αὐτοῖς γένηται, τοῦ πρὸς τὸν Περσέα πολέμου χρόνον λαμβάνοντος.
6 ἢδη γὰρ τότε συνέβαινε συγκεκύσθαι τὸν περὶ
7 Κούλης Συρίας πόλεμον. ἡ θεωρῶν ὅσον οὕτω κριθησόμενα τὰ κατὰ τὸν Περσέα, τῶν Ῥωμαϊ-
reception they returned. As regards this matter it serves some purpose to remind my readers frequently, as indeed I attempt to do, that I am often compelled to report the interviews and proceedings of embassies before announcing the circumstances of their appointment and dispatch. For as, in narrating in their proper order the events of each year, I attempt to comprise under a separate heading the events that happened in each country in that year, it is evident that this must sometimes occur in my work.

17. Hagepolis and his colleagues, on reaching Quintus Marcius, whom they found encamped in Macedonia near Heracleium, addressed him according to their instructions. After hearing what they said, he replied that not only did he not pay any attention to such accusations, but he would beg them also not to listen to anybody who ventured to speak against Rome; and in addition to this he used many kind phrases, writing in the same terms to the people of Rhodes. The whole tenour of his reply charmed and touched Hagepolis profoundly; and afterwards Marcius, taking him aside, said he wondered why the Rhodians made no attempt to put an end to the present war between Antiochus and Ptolemy, as it was their business to do so if anyone’s. Now it is a question whether he did this because he was apprehensive lest Antiochus should conquer Alexandria, and they should find in him a new and formidable adversary—for the war about Coele-Syria was already in progress—supposing that the war with Perseus lasted long; or whether, seeing that this latter war was on the brink of being decided, as the Roman legions were already encamped in
κών στρατοπέδων ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ παραβεβληκότων,
8 καὶ καλὰς ἑλπίδας ἔχων ὑπέρ τῶν ἀποβησομένων ἐβούλετο τοὺς Ῥοδίους προνύξας μεσίτας ἀπο-
δείξαι, καὶ τοῦτο πράξαντας δοῦναι τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἀφορμὰς εὐλόγους εἰς τὸ βουλεύσθαι περὶ αὐτῶν ὡς ἂν αὐτοῖς φαίνηται, τὸ μὲν ἀκριβὲς οὐ ράδιον
9 εὑπεῖν, δοκῶ δὲ μᾶλλον τὸ τελευταῖον εἰρημένον, ἐξ δὲ ἐμαρτύρησε τὰ μετ᾽ ὅλιγον συμβάντα τοῖς
10 Ῥοδίους. οἱ γε <μὴν> περὶ τὸν Ἀγέπολων εἷς αὐτῆς βαδίσαντες πρὸς τὸν Γάιον καὶ πάντων τυχόντες τῶν ἐφαμίλλων γενομένης, ὁρθὸι καὶ μετέωροι ταῖς διανοίασι εγενήθησαν οἱ Ῥόδιοι πάντες, οὐ
11 εχώρησαν. γυνομένης δὲ τῆς ἀποπρεσβείας, καὶ τῆς τε διὰ τῶν λόγων ἐφαμίλλων γενομένης, ὁρθοὶ καὶ μετέωροι ταῖς διανοίασι εγενήθησαν οἱ Ῥόδιοι πάντες, οὐ
12 μὴν ὀσάυτως. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ὑγιαῖνοντες περι-
χαρεῖς ἦσαν ἐπὶ τῇ ἐφαμίλλω τῶν Ῥωμαίων, οἱ δὲ κυνηταὶ καὶ κακέκται συνελογιζόντο παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς σημεῖον εἶναι τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς ἐφα-
μίλλων τοῦ δεδίεναι τὴν περίστασιν τοῦς Ῥω-
μαίους καὶ μὴ χωρεῖν αὐτοῖς τὰ πράγματα κατὰ
13 λόγον. ὅτε δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἀγέπολων συνεβῆ παρα-
φθέγξασθαι πρὸς τινας <τῶν> φίλων, ὅτι παρὰ τοῦ Ἐρμίου κατ᾽ ἱδιὰν ἐντολὰς ἐπάθησε μυημο-
νεῦσιν πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ διαλύειν τὸν
14 πόλεμον, τῶτε δὴ τελέως οἱ περὶ τὸν Δείνωνα 
15 συνέθεσαν ἐν κακοῖς μεγάλοις εἶναι τοὺς Ῥω-

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Macedonia, and hoping for a favourable issue, he wished to stimulate the Rhodians to try to mediate in the war, and by this action to give the Romans a plausible pretext for treating them in any way they thought fit. It is not easy to say definitely which was his reason, but I am induced to think it was the latter, judging from what soon afterwards happened to Rhodes. But Hagepolis and his colleagues at once proceeded to meet Gaius Marcius, and, having met with a reception even more markedly kind than that given them by Quintus Marcius, hastened to return to Rhodes. When they had delivered an account of their mission, in which it appeared that both the commanders had vied with each other in the kindness of their language and the favourableness of their replies, the expectations of all the Rhodians were raised to a high pitch; of all, I say, but not in the same manner. For those whose views were sound were highly pleased at the kindness of the Romans; but the agitators and malignants reckoned among themselves that this excessive kindness was a sign that the Romans were afraid of the dangers that encompassed them, and that things were not going with them as well as they had expected. And when Hagepolis happened to mention confidentially to some of his friends that he had received private instructions from Marcius to suggest to the Rhodian senate the wisdom of bringing the war (in Syria) to an end, then Deinon and his party definitely concluded that the Romans were in extreme danger. The Rhodians now sent an embassy to Alexandria for the purpose of putting an end to this war between Antiochus and Ptolemy.
'Οτι 'Αντίοχος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἦν καὶ πρακτικὸς καὶ μεγαλεπίβολος καὶ τῷ τῆς βασιλείας προσχήματος ἡξίως, πλὴν τῶν κατὰ τὸ Πηλούσιον στρατηγημάτων.

Την Αὔγουστον ἐδοξε τοῖς περὶ τὸν Κομανοῦ καὶ Κινέαν συνεδρεύσασι μετὰ τοῦ βασιλέως κοινοβούλιον καταγράφει ἐκ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων ἠγεμόνων τὸ Βουλευσόμενον περὶ τῶν ἐνεστῶτων.

Πρῶτον οὖν ἐδοξε τῷ συνεδρίῳ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς 'Ελλάδος παρεπιδημήσαντας πέμπειν πρεσβευτὰς ὡς τὸν 'Αντίοχον κοινολογηγομένους ὑπὲρ διάλυσεως. ἦσαν δὲ τότε παρὰ μὲν τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν 'Αχαιῶν πρεσβεῖαι διτταί, μία μὲν ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν φιλανθρώπων ἀνανεώσεως, ἦν ἐπρέσβευν 'Αλκίθος Ξενοφώντος Αἰγινεῦς καὶ Πασίάδας, ἄλλη δὲ περὶ τῶν 'Αντιγονεῖων ἀγώνων. ἦν δὲ καὶ παρὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων πρεσβεία περὶ δωρεάς, ἦς ἦγεῖτο Δημάρατος, καὶ θεωριὰν διτταί, μία μὲν ὑπὲρ τῶν Παναθηναίων, ἦς προεικόμενα Καλλίας ὁ παγκρατιαστὴς, ἦ δ' ἄλλη περὶ μυστηρίων, ὑπὲρ ἦς Κλεόστρατος ἐποιεῖτο τὸν χρηματισμὸν καὶ τοὺς λόγους. ἔκ δὲ Μιλήτου παρῆσαν Εὐθήμος καὶ Ἰκέςιος, ἐκ δὲ Κλαζομενῶν Ἀπολλωνίδης καὶ Ἀπολλώνιος. ἔξαπέστειλε δὲ καὶ Ἡπτολεμαῖος ὁ βασιλεὺς Τηλπόλεμον καὶ Πηλούσιον τὸν ῥήτορα πρεσβευτᾶς. οὔτοι μὲν οὖν ἐπλεον ἀνὰ τὸν ποταμὸν εἰς τὴν ἀπάντησιν.
IV. THE WAR BETWEEN ANTIOCHUS IV. AND PTOLEMY PHILOMETOR

18. King Antiochus was both energetic, daring in design, and worthy of the royal dignity, except as regards his management of the campaign near Pelusium.

19. After Antiochus had partially occupied Egypt Comanus and Cineas sitting in council with King Ptolemy decided to draw up a list of councillors from the most distinguished captains, who should consider the situation. The first decision of this council was to send the Greek envoys then present at Alexandria to Antiochus to negotiate for peace. There were then present two missions from the Achaean, one consisting of Alcithus of Aegium, son of Xenophon, and Pasiadas, which had come to renew friendly relations, and another on the subject of the games held in honour of Antigonus Doson. There was also an embassy from Athens headed by Demaratus about a present, and there were two sacred missions, one headed by Callias the pancratiat on the subject of the Panathenaean games, and another, the manager and spokesman of which was Cleostratus, about the mysteries. Eudemus and Hicesius had come from Miletus, and Apollonides and Apollonius from Clazomenae. King Ptolemy also sent to represent him Tlepolemus and Ptolemaeus the rhetorician. These all sailed up the river to meet Antiochus.
20 "Οτι κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν, ὅτε 'Αντίοχος τὴν Αἱ-
(17) γυπτον παρέλαβε, συνήψαν τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς 'Ἑλ-
λάδος προσβετών οἱ πεμφθέντες ἐπὶ τὰς δια-
lύσεις. ἀποδεξάμενος δὲ τοὺς ἄνδρας φιλανθρώ-
pως τὴν μὲν πρώτην ὑποδοχὴν αὐτῶν ἐποιήσατο
2 μεγαλομερῆ, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἔξοδου ἔντευξιν
καὶ λέγειν ἐκείνους περὶ δὲν ἔχουσι τὰς ἐντολὰς.
3 πρῶτοι μὲν οὖν οἱ παρὰ τῶν 'Αχαιῶν ἐποιήσαντο
λόγους, τούτοις δὲ εἴης Δημάρατος ὁ παρὰ τῶν
'Αθηναίων, μετὰ δὲ τούτον Ἕλθημος ὁ Μιλήσιος.
4 πάντων δὲ πρὸς τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν
ὑπόθεσιν διαλεγομένων, παραπλησίως εἶναι συν-
5 ἐβαμεν καὶ τοὺς κατὰ μέρος αὐτῶν λόγους. τὴν
μὲν γὰρ αἰτιαν τῶν συμβεβηκότων πάντες <ἀν>-
ἐφερον ἐπὶ τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἕλληνα, τὴν δὲ συγ-
γένειαν καὶ τὴν ἡλικίαν τὴν τοῦ Πτολεμαίου
προφερόμενοι παρητούντο τὴν ὅργην τοῦ βασι-
6 λέως. 'Αντίοχος δὲ πάσι τούτοις ἀνθομολογη-
σάμενος καὶ προσαυξῆσας τὴν ἐκείνων ὑπόθεσιν
ηρέατο λέγειν [τὴν] ὑπέρ τῶν εἴ ἄρχης δικαιῶν,
δὲ δὲν ἐπειράτο συνιστάνειν τῶν ἐν Συρία βασι-
λέων ὑπάρχουσαν <τὴν> κτῆσιν τῶν κατὰ Κολῆν.
7 Συρίαν τόπων, ἱσχυροποιών μὲν τὰς ἐπικρατεῖας
τὰς 'Αντιγόνου τοῦ πρῶτον κατασχόντος τὴν ἐν
Συρία βασιλείαν, προφερόμενος δὲ τὰ συγχωρή-
ματα τὰ γενόμενα Σελεύκων διὰ τῶν ἀπὸ Μα-
κεδονίας βασιλέων μετὰ τὸν 'Αντιγόνου βάνατων.
8 εἴης δὲ τούτοις ἀπερειδομένος ἐπὶ τὴν τελευταίαν
κατὰ πόλεμον 'Αντίοχου τοῦ πατρὸς ἐγκτῆσιν,
9 ἐπὶ δὲ πάσιν ἐξαρνούμενος τὴν ὁμολογίαν, ἢν
ἐφασαν οἱ κατὰ τὴν 'Αλεξάνδρειαν γενέσθαι
Πτολεμαῖον τῷ νεωτῷ μετηλλαχότι πρὸς 'Αντίοχου
40
20. At the time when Antiochus occupied Egypt, those of the envoys from Greece who were sent to make peace joined him. Giving them a kind reception he entertained them splendidly on the first occasion of his meeting them, and on the second granted them an audience, and bade them tell him what their instructions were. The first to speak were the envoys from Achaea, the next was Demaratus from Athens, and after him Eudemus of Miletus. As they all spoke in allusion to the same circumstances and on the same subject, the particulars of all the speeches were very similar. They all ascribed the fault for what had happened to Eulaeus, and, pleading Ptolemy’s kinship with the king and his youth, attempted to appease the wrath of Antiochus. The king accepted all these pleas, even attaching greater weight to them than they did, but began to speak about his original rights, attempting to convince them that the district of Coele-Syria was the property of the kings of Syria, laying especial stress on the conquests of Antigonus, the first occupant of the throne of Syria, and mentioning the grant made to Seleucus by the kings of Macedonia after the death of Antigonus. Further he rested his case on the occupation of the country by his father Antiochus after a war; and finally denied the existence of the agreement stated by those in Alexandria to have been made between his late father and the Ptolemy
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tὸν ἐκείνου πατέρα, <δι>χότι δεὶ λαβεῖν αὐτὸν ἐν
φερνῇ Κοίλῃ Συρίαν, ὃτ' ἐλάμβανε Κλεοπάτραν
10 τὴν τοῦ νῦν βασιλεύσων μητέρα. πρὸς ταύτην
tὴν ὑπόθεσιν διαλεχθεῖσα καὶ πεῖσας οὐ μόνον
αὐτὸν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἀπήντηκότας ὡς δίκαια
λέγει, τότε μὲν διεπλευσέν εἰς τὴν Ναύκρατων.

11 χρησάμενος δὲ καὶ τούτως φιλανθρώπως καὶ
dοὺς ἐκάστῳ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τῶν κατοικοῦντων
12 χρυσοῦν προῆγεν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας. τοῖς
dὲ πρεσβευταῖς τὴν ἀπόκρισιν ὑπέσχετο δώσειν,
ὅταν οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀριστείδη καὶ Θῆριν ἀνα-
13 κάμψωσιν ὡς αὐτὸν. ἔξαπεσταλκέναι γὰρ ἐκεί-
νους ἐφ’ πρὸς τὸν Πτολεμαῖον, βούλεσθαι δὲ
πάντων συνίστορας εἶναι καὶ μάρτυρας τοὺς ἀπὸ
tῆς Ἑλλάδος πρεσβευτάς.

21 Ὁτι Εὐλαῖος ὁ εὐνοῦχος ἐπείσε Πτολεμαῖον
(17α) ἀναλαβόντα τὰ χρήματα, τὴν βασιλείαν προ-
2 ἐμείνα τοῖς ἐχθροῖς, ὑποχωρεῖν εἰς Σαμοθράκην·
ἐφ’ ᾧ τίς οὐκ ἂν ἐπιστήσασα ὁμολογήσειν ὅτι
μέγιστα κακὰ ποιοῦσιν αἰ κακαὶ συντροφίαν τοὺς
3 ἀνθρώπους; τὸ γὰρ μηδ’, ἐκτὸς γενόμενον τῶν
δείνων καὶ τοσοῦτον τόπον ἀποστάντα τῶν ἐχθρῶν,
ὁμιλήσαι πρὸς τι τῶν καθηκόντων, ἄλλως τε καὶ
τηλικαύτας ἀφορμὰς ἔχοντα καὶ τοσοῦτον τόπων
κυριεύοντα καὶ τοσοῦτων πληθῶν, ἀλλ’ εὐθέως
ἀυτὸθεν ἀκοινοὶ παραχωρήσαι βασιλείας τῆς ἐπι-
φανεστάτης καὶ μακαριωτάτης, πῶς οὐκ ἂν τὶς
eἶναι φήσει ψυχῆς ἐκτεθηλυμμένης καὶ διεφθαρ-
μένης ὀλοσχερῶς; ὡς εἰ μὲν συνέβαινε φύσιν
περὶ Πτολεμαίου ὑπάρχειν, τὴν φύσιν ἔδει κατα-
μέμψασθαι καὶ μηδενὶ τῶν ἐκτὸς αὐτίν’ ἐπιφέρειν.
5 ἐπειδὴ δὲ διὰ τῶν μετὰ ταύτα πράξεων ἡ φύσις
42
recently deceased, by which the latter should receive Coele-Syria as a dowry when he married Cleopatra, the mother of the present king. After speaking in this sense, and convincing not only himself but his auditors that he was right, he crossed to Naucratis. After showing kindness to the people there, and making a present of a gold stater to each of the Greek residents, he advanced towards Alexandria. He promised to reply to the envoys when Aristeides and Theris had returned to him. He said he had dispatched them to Ptolemy, and he wished the envoys from Greece to be cognisant and witnesses of everything.

21. Eulæus the eunuch persuaded Ptolemy to take all his money with him, abandon his kingdom to the enemy, and retire to Samothrace. Who, reflecting on this, would not acknowledge that evil company does the greatest possible harm to men? For a prince, standing in no immediate danger and so far removed from his enemies, not to take any steps to fulfil his duty, especially as he commanded such resources, and ruled over so great a country and so vast a population, but to yield up at once without a single effort such a splendid and prosperous kingdom, can only be described as the act of one whose mind is effeminate and utterly corrupted. Had Ptolemy been such a man by nature, we should have put the blame on nature and not accused anyone but himself. But since by his subsequent
Ο Αριστοκράτης καὶ τὴν Πατρίδα τυφλώθηκε, δείξασα τὸν Πτολεμαίον καὶ στάσιμον ἱκανῶς καὶ γεγομένον ἐν τοῖς κυν-δύνοις ὑπάρχοντα, δήλων ὡς εἰκότως ἂν τις τῆς τότε περὶ αὐτὸν γενομένης ἀγεννίας καὶ τῆς ὀρμῆς τῆς εἰς τὴν Σαμοθράκην τὴν αἴτιαν ἐπὶ τὸν σπά-δώνα καὶ τὴν τοῦτον συντροφίαν ἀναφέροι.

22 Οἱ Αντίοχοι μετὰ τὸ καταλείπειν 'Αλεξ-
(18) ἁνδρεῖαν πολυορκεῖν πρεσβευτὰς εἰς τὴν 'Ρώμην
2 ἐξεπέμπει· οὕτω δὴ ἦσαν Μελέαγρος, Σωσίφανη,
3 Ἡρακλείδης· συνθέεις ἐκατόν καὶ πεντήκοντα τά-
λαντα, πεντήκοντα μὲν στέφανον Ἦρωμαῖος, τὰ
δὲ λοιπὰ τῶν χρημάτων εἰς δωρεάν τινον τῶν
κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα πόλεων.

23 Οἱ κατὰ τὰς αὐτὰς ἡμέρας κατέπλευσαν ἐκ
(19) Ῥώδου πρέσβεις εἰς τὴν 'Αλεξάνδρειαν ἐπὶ τὰς
dιαλύσεις οἱ περὶ Πράξεων καὶ μετ' οὗ πολὺ
pαρῆσαν εἰς τὴν παρεμβολὴν πρὸς Ἀντίοχον.
2 γενομένης δὲ τῆς ἐντεύξεως, πολλοὺς διετίθεντο
λόγους, τὴν τῇς ἰδίας πατρίδος εὐνουχὸν προ-
φερόμενοι πρὸς ἀμφότερα τὰς βασιλείας καὶ
tὴν αὐτῶν τῶν βασιλέων ἀναγκαίοτητα πρὸς
ἀλλήλους καὶ τὸ συμφέρον ἐκατέρως εἰκ τῆς δια-
3 λύσεως. ο δὲ βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ λέγοντα τὸν πρε-
σβευτὴν ἐπιτεμὼν οὐκ ἔφη προσδείχθαι πολλῶν
4 λόγων. τὴν μὲν γὰρ βασιλείαν εἶναι Πτολε-
μαίον τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου, πρὸς δὲ τοῦτον καὶ δια-
λελύσθαι πάλαι καὶ φίλους ὑπάρχειν, καὶ νῦν
βουλομένων τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει κατάγειν τοῦτον
5 μὴ κωλύειν Ἀντίοχον. καὶ δὴ πεποίηκεν.
actions, Nature defended herself by showing Ptolemy to have been a man who was fairly steadfast and brave when in danger, it is evident that we should attribute to the eunuch and association with him his cowardice on this occasion and his haste to retire to Samothrace.

22. Antiochus, after abandoning the siege of Alexandria, sent envoys to Rome. Their names were Meleager, Sosiphanes, and Heraclides. He had collected a hundred and fifty talents, fifty for a present to the Romans and the rest for gifts to some of the Greek cities.

23. During these days Praxon and others arrived at Alexandria from Rhodes, charged to attempt to make peace, and soon after proceeded to the camp of Antiochus. At his audience he spoke at length, alleging the friendly feeling of his own country to both the kingdoms, the family ties which united both kings and the interest that both had in coming to terms. The king interrupted the envoy in his speech, telling him that there was no need of many words; for the kingdom belonged to the elder Ptolemy, with whom he had long ago come to terms, and who was his friend. And, as the Alexandrians now wished to recall him, Antiochus would not prevent it. And in fact he acted so.
FRAGMENTA LIBRI XXIX

I. Res Italiae

1 Ἕφη γὰρ αὐτοὺς μίαν ἔχειν διατριβὴν καὶ παρὰ τὰς συνοισίας καὶ παρὰ τὰς ἐν τοῖς περιπάτοις ὄμιλίας διοικεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐν Ῥώμῃ καθημένους τὸν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ πόλεμον, ποτὲ μὲν ἐπιτιμῶντας τοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν πραττομένοις, ποτὲ δὲ τὰ παραλειπόμενα διεξόντας· ἦν δὲν ὄνησιν μὲν οὐδέποτε γίνεσθαι τοῖς κοινοῖς πράγμασι, βλάβην δὲ πολλάκις καὶ ἐπὶ πολλῶν γεγονέναι· καὶ ποτὲ δὲ τοὺς ἁρχοντας μεγάλα βλάπτεσθαι διὰ τὰς ἀκαίρους εὐρησιογίας· πάσης γὰρ διαβολῆς ἐχούσης ὡς τι καὶ κωντικόν, ὅταν προκαταληφθῇ τὸ πλῆθος ἐκ τῆς συνεχοῦς λαλιάς, εὐκαταφρονήτους γίνεσθαι τοῖς ἐχθροῖς.

2 Ὁτι ἡ σύγκλητος πυθανομένη τὸν Ἀντίοχον τῆς μὲν Ἀιγύπτου κύριον γεγονέναι, τῆς δὲ Ἀλεξ-ανδρείας παρ' ὀλίγον, νομίζοντα δὲς αὐτὴν τι διατείνειν τὴν αὔξησιν τοῦ προειρημένου βασιλείως, κατέστησε πρεσβευτὰς τοὺς περὶ Γάιον 46
FRAGMENTS OF BOOK XXIX

I. AFFAIRS OF ITALY

Speech of Aemilius Paullus

(Cp. Livy xlv. 22. 8.)

1. For Aemilius said that the sole occupation of some people, whether at social gatherings or in their conversation when walking, was to sit quietly at Rome while they directed the war in Macedonia, sometimes finding fault with what the commanders did and at others dilating on all they had left undone, all which was never of any benefit to the public interest, but had frequently and in many respects been most injurious to it. And the commanders too are at times much injured by inopportune prating. For as all slander has something sharp and provocative in it, when the minds of the people become prejudiced against them owing to this constant chatter, our enemies come to despise them.

Dispatch of Legates to Antiochus by the Senate

2. The senate, when they heard that Antiochus had become master of Egypt and very nearly of Alexandria itself, thinking that the aggrandizement of this king concerned them in a measure, dispatched
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

3 Ποπιλιον, τὸν τε πόλεμον λύσοντας καὶ καθόλου θεασομένους τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων διάθεσιν ποία τις ἦστιν. καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐν τούτοις ἦν.

II. BELLUM PERSICUM

3 "Ὅτι παραγενομένων πρὸ τοῦ χειμῶνος τῶν (2) περὶ τὸν Ἰππίαν, οὐδὲ ἀπεστάλκει προσβευτάς ὁ 2 Περσεύς πρὸς Γένθιον ὑπὲρ τῆς συμμαχίας, καὶ διασαφούστων ὅτι πρόθυμος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐστὶν ἀναδεχεσθαι τὸν πρὸς Ρωμαίους πόλεμον, ἐὰν αὐτῷ δοθῇ τριακόσια τάλαντα καὶ πίστεις αἱ

3 προσήκουσαν περὶ τῶν ὀλων, πυθόμενος ταῦτα καὶ κρίνων ἄναγκαιαν εἶναι τὴν Γένθιον κοινοπραγιάν προεχειρίσατο Πάνταυχον, ένα τῶν πρῶτων φίλων, καὶ τούτον ἔξαπέστειλε, δοῦσ᾽ ἐντολὰς

4 πρῶτον μὲν ὀμολογήσατα περὶ τῶν χρημάτων ὥρκους καὶ δούναι καὶ λαβεῖν ὑπὲρ τῆς συμμαχίας, εἴτε τοὺς ὄμηρους ἐξ αὐτῆς κάκεινον πέμπειν, οὑς ἀν δοκῇ Πανταῦχῳ, καὶ παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ λαμβάνειν οὑς ἀν ἀποφήγη Γένθιος διὰ τῶν ἐγγράπτων, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις διατάξασθαι περὶ τῆς

5 κομιδῆς τῶν τριακοσίων ταλάντων. ὁ δὲ Πάνταυχος ἔξ αὑτῆς ποιησάμενος τὴν ὁμὴν καὶ παραγενόμενος εἰς Μετέωνα τῆς Λαβεάτιδος κανταύθα συμμίξας τῷ Γένθιῳ ταχέως παρεστήσατο τὸν νεανίσκον πρὸς τὸ κοινωνεῖν τῷ Περσεῖ

6 τῶν αὐτῶν ἐλπίδων. τιμηθέντων δὲ τῶν ὥρκιν ὑπὲρ τῆς συμμαχίας καὶ καταγραφέντων, εὐθέως ὁ Γένθιος ἀμα τοὺς ὀμήρους ἔπεμπε τοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ Πανταῦχου καταγραφέντας καὶ σὺν τούτοις Ὀλυμπίων παραληφόμενον τοὺς ὥρκους καὶ τοὺς 48
Gaius Popilius as their legate to bring the war to an end, and to observe what the exact position of affairs was. Such was the situation in Italy.

II. The War with Perseus

Genthius joins Perseus

(Cp. Livy xlv. 23.)

3. On the return before winter of Hippias, who had been sent by Perseus to Genthius to treat for an alliance, and on his reporting that that prince was ready to enter upon war with Rome if he received three hundred talents and proper sureties all round, Perseus, on hearing this, in the belief that the co-operation of Genthius was an urgent necessity, appointed Pantauchus, one of his "first friends," his envoy, and dispatched him with instructions to consent in the first place to give the money, and then to exchange oaths of alliance. In the next place Genthius was to send at once such hostages as Pantauchus chose, while he was to receive from Perseus such hostages as he should name in writing. Finally Pantauchus was to make arrangements for the conveyance of the three hundred talents. The envoy started at once, and, on arriving at Meteon in Labeatis where he met Genthius, very soon induced the young man to throw in his fortunes with Perseus. After the oaths of alliance had been taken and the terms put in writing, Genthius at once sent off the hostages of whom Pantauchus gave him a list, and in company with them Olympion to receive
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

ομήρους παρὰ τοῦ Περσέως, ἕτερος δὲ τοὺς
7 περὶ τῶν χρημάτων ἔξοντας τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν. σὺν
dὲ τοῖς προειρημένοις ἐπεισεν ὁ Πάνταυχος τὸν
Γένθιον καὶ πρεσβευτὰς συνεξαποστέλλειν, οὕτως
ἀμα τοῖς παρὰ τοῦ Περσέως πεμπομένοις εἰς
τὴν Ῥόδον προσβεβευσόμενοι ὑπὲρ τῆς κοινῆς συμ-
μαχίας. τούτου <γὰρ> γενομένου, καὶ συνεμβάν-
tων τῶν Ῥοδίων εἰς τὸν πόλεμον, τελέως εὐκατ-
αγωνίστους ἐσομένους ἀπέφαυε τοὺς Ῥωμαίους.
9 ὁ δὲ πεισθεὶς τοῖς παρακαλομένοις καὶ προ-
χειρισάμενος Παρμενίωνα καὶ Μόρκον ἐξαπέστειλε,
δοὺς ἐντολάς, ὅταν λάβωσιν τοὺς ὀρκοὺς παρὰ
tοῦ Περσέως καὶ τοὺς ὁμήρους, καὶ περὶ τῶν
χρημάτων γένηται σύμφωνων, προσβεβευσόμενοι εἰς τὴν
Ῥόδον.
4 Οὕτως μὲν οὖν πάντες προῆγον εἰς τὴν Μακε-
(3) δονίαν. ὁ δὲ Πάνταυχος μὲν τὸ πλευράν
ὑπεμίμνησεν καὶ παρώξυνε τὸν νεανίσκον πρὸς
tὸ μή καθυστερεῖν ταῖς παρασκευαῖς, ἄλλ’ ἔτοι-
μον ὡντα προκαταλαμβάνειν καὶ τόπους καὶ
πόλεις καὶ συμμάχους. μάλιστα δ’ αὐτὸν ἦξιον
παρασκευάζεσθαι πρὸς τὴν κατὰ θάλατταν μά-
2 χην. τῶν γὰρ Ῥωμαίων εἰς τέλος ἀπαρασκεύων
όντων πρὸς τούτο τὸ μέρος κατὰ τοὺς περὶ
tὴν Ἡπείρον καὶ τοὺς περὶ τὴν Ἰλλυρίδα τόπους,
ἀκονιτὶ πάν τὸ προτεθὲν ἐπιτελεσθῆσθαι δι’
3 αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ πεμπομένων. ὁ μὲν
οὖν Γένθιος τούτους τοὺς λόγους ἀναπειθόμενος
ἐγένετο περὶ τὲς κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν
4 παρασκευάς. ὁ δὲ Περσεὺς, παραγενομένων εἰς
τὴν Μακεδονίαν τῶν πρεσβευτῶν παρὰ τοῦ Γεν-
θίου καὶ τῶν ὀμηρευόντων, ὄρμησας ἀπὸ τῆς
50
the oath and the hostages from Perseus, sending at
the same time others to take charge of the money.
In addition to what I have stated, Pantauchus per-
suaded Genthius to send back with him envoys of his
own who should join the mission that Perseus was
sending to Rhodes to secure the alliance of that state
with both of them. For if this was done and the
Rhodians too embarked on the war, he assured him
that it would be quite easy to overcome the Romans.
Genthius was persuaded to act as requested, and,
naming Parmenion and Morcus his envoys, dis-
patched them, instructing them, as soon as Perseus
had taken the oath, and an agreement was come to
about the money, to proceed to Rhodes.

4. All these persons now went on their way to
Macedonia, while Pantauchus remaining behind
beside the young man kept on reminding him and
urging him not to be behindhand in his preparations,
but to get all ready, and secure in due time places,
towns, and allies. He particularly requested him to
prepare for war by sea, since, the Romans being quite
unprepared in this respect on the coasts of Epirus
and Illyria, he would with very little trouble in person
and through his officers be able to carry out any
maritime project he wished. Genthius, then, con-
vinced by those arguments, was occupied in preparing
himself by land and sea. Perseus, on the arrival in
Macedonia of the envoys Genthius and the hostages,
περὶ τὸν Ἑλπειδὸν ποταμὸν παρεμβολῆς μετὰ πάντων τῶν ἱππέων ἀπήντα τοὺς προειρημάνοις 5 εἰς τὸ Δίον, καὶ συμμίξας πρῶτον μὲν ἀπέδωκε τοὺς ὄρκους ὑπὲρ τῆς συμμαχίας ἔναντι πάντων <τῶν> ἱππέων. πάνω γὰρ ἐβούλετο σαφῶς εἰδέναι τοὺς Μακεδόνας τὴν τοῦ Γεννίου κοινοπραγίαν, ἐλπίζων εὐθαρσεστέρους αὐτοὺς ὑπάρξειν, προσ-
6 γενομένης ταύτης τῆς ῥοπῆς. ἔπειτα δὲ τοὺς ὀμήρους παρελάμβανε καὶ παρεδίδου τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ τοῖς περὶ Ὀλυμπίωνα. ὅπως ἦσαν ἐπιφανέστατοι Λιμναῖος ὁ Πολεμωκράτος καὶ Βάλακρος ὁ
7 Πανταύχου. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τοὺς μὲν ἐπὶ τὰ χρήματα παρόντας εἰς Πέλλαν ἐξεπεμπεν, ως ἐκεῖ παραλήμβομένους, τοὺς δὲ προσβεντάς τοὺς εἰς τὴν Ὀρδόν εἰς Θετταλονίκην πρὸς Μητρό-
8 δωρὸν, συντάξας ἑτοίμους εἶναι πρὸς τὸν πλοῦν. ἔπεισε δὲ καὶ τοὺς Ὀρδίους συνεκμβάινει εἰς τὸν πόλεμον. ταῦτα δὲ διουκήσας Ηροφῶντα μὲν ἐξεπεμπῆς προσβεντὴν πρὸς τὸν Εὐμένη, καὶ πρότερον ἤδη ἀπεσταλμένον, Τηλεμάνιστον δὲ τὸν Κρήτα πρὸς τὸν Ἀντίοχον, μὴ παρορᾶν τὸν καιρὸν μηδ᾽ ὑπολαμβάνειν πρὸς αὐτὸν μόνον ἀνήκειν τὴν ὑπερφανίαν καὶ τὴν βαρύτητα τῶν ἱππέων, καὶ μὴ, βοηθῶν, ταχέως πείραν λήψεται τῆς αὐτῆς ἑαυτοῦ τύχης.
9 Ἐπερ ὃν ἐγωγε διηπόρηκα τὸ δεὶ ποιεῖν. τὸ (1) τε γὰρ γράφειν κατὰ μέρος ὑπὲρ τοιούτων ἀκρι-
10 βολογούμενον ἀ δὲ ἀπορρήτων πρὸς αὐτοὺς οἱ βασιλεῖς ἐπραττον εὐεπίληπτον ἐφαίνετο καὶ τε-
2 λέως ἐπισφαλές, τὸ τε παρασωπῆσαι πάλιν 52
starting from his camp near the river Elpeius with all his cavalry, went to meet them all at Dium and on doing so took the oath of alliance in the presence of all the cavalry; for he particularly wished that the Macedonians should be aware of the co-operation of Genthius, thinking that the addition of this force to the scale would increase their confidence. He next received the hostages, and handed over his own to Olympion. The most distinguished of these latter were Limnaeus the son of Polemocrates and Balacrus the son of Pantauchus. Perseus next sent those who had come to get the money to Pella where they would receive it, and the envoys for Rhodes he sent to Thessalonica to meet Metrodorus, ordering them to be in readiness to embark. He succeeded in inducing the Rhodians to join in the war. After accomplishing this he sent as his envoy to Eumenes Herophon, who had already served in that capacity, and Telemnastus the Cretan to Antiochus, urging him not to neglect this opportunity, nor think that the arrogance and oppression of the Romans were confined to himself, but to recognize clearly that if he did not at present also come to his assistance, either, as was best, by putting an end to the war, or, if not, by helping him in it, he would soon experience the same fate.

Intrigues of Perseus and Eumenes
(Cp. Livy xlv. 24. 9.)

5. About this I was quite at a loss what to do. For to write in detail and with precision about matters which the kings managed between themselves and secretly, seemed to me to be open to criticism and exceedingly hazardous; but to pass over in complete
ὅλοσχερῶς τὸ δοκοῦν πραγματικῶτατον ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τουτῷ γεγονέναι, καὶ δι’ οὐ πολλὰ τῶν ύστερον ἀπορουμένων γνωρίμους ἐσχε τὰς αἰτίας, τελέως τινὸς ἀργίας ἐδόκει μοι σημεῖον εἶναι 3 καὶ τῆς πάσης ἀπολομίας· οὐ μὴν ἄλλα κατηνέχθην ἐπὶ τὸ γράφειν κεφαλαίωσῶ τὸ δοκοῦν, καὶ δι’ ὅν εἰκότων καὶ σημείων ἐπὶ ταύτης ἐγενόμην τῆς γνώμης, ὑπάρχων κατὰ τοὺς αὐτούς καίρους καὶ μᾶλλον ἐτέρῳ ἐκπληττόμενος ἐκαστὰ τῶν γενομένων.

6 "Οτι μὲν οὖν Κύδας ὁ Κρῆς στρατευόμενος παρ’ Εὐμένει καὶ τιμώμενος ὡς ἐν μάλιστα, πρῶτον μὲν πρὸς Ἀμφίτολον παραγενόμενος Χειμάρρη, τινὶ τῶν σὺν Περσεί στρατευόμενοιν ὡς ἐκ πρὸς Δημητριάδι συνεγγίσας τῷ τείχει . . . ἐκοινολογεῖτο τὸ μὲν πρῶτον Μενεκράτει, τὸ δὲ δεύτερον Ἀντιμάχῳ, . . .

2 εἰρήται καὶ μὴν ὅτι δὶς Ἡροφῶν . . . ἐπρέπεσθε πρὸς Εὐμένη παρὰ Περσέως, καὶ διὰ τούτο Ῥωμαίων οἱ πλείους ὑπομίαν ἔσχον ὡς ἀπέθανον περὶ τοῦ βασιλέως Εὐμένους, δῆλον ἐκ 3 τῶν περὶ Ἀσσαλον συμβάντων· τῷ μὲν γὰρ συνεχώρησαν καὶ παραγενέσθαι πρὸς σφᾶς εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐκ τοῦ Βρεντεσίου καὶ χρηματίζειν περὶ ὅν προηρεῖτο, καὶ τέλος ἀποκρίσεις δόντες αὐτῷ φιλανθρώπους ἀπέστειλαν ὡς ἐν τῷ οὐτε πρότερον οὔτε κατὰ τὸν πρὸς Περσέα πόλεμον 4 ἀξιόλογον αὐτοῦ συνηργηκότα· τὸν Εὐμένη δὲ τὰς μεγίστας χρείας ὁφῖσι παρεσχημένου καὶ πλείστα συνηργηκότ’ ἐν τε τοῖς πρὸς Ἀντίοχον καὶ κατὰ τὸν πρὸς Περσέα πόλεμον οὐ μόνον τῆς εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀναβάσεως ἐκώλυσαν, ἀλλὰ
silence matters which seem to have had more practical effect than any others in the war, matters which enable us to detect the causes of much that was afterwards difficult to explain, appeared to me to be decidedly indicative of indolence and entire lack of enterprise. However, I persuaded myself to state in a summary fashion my own opinion and the indications and probabilities which led me to form this opinion, living as I did at the time and having been more impressed by everything that happened than anyone else.

6. I have already stated that Cydas the Cretan, who was serving under Eumenes and held in especial honour by him, first of all came to Amphipolis and communicated with Cheimarus a Cretan soldier in the service of Perseus, and on a second occasion at Demetrias actually came up to the wall, and held converse first with Menecrates and afterwards with Antimachus. And again that Herophon was twice sent by Perseus on a mission to Eumenes, and that in consequence of this, most of the Romans had a not unfounded suspicion of King Eumenes, is clear from their treatment of Attalus. For they allowed the latter to come to Rome from Brundisium and address the senate on any subject he chose, and at last sent him back after replying courteously to him, although he had not given any great assistance either previously or in the war with Perseus; but as for Eumenes, who had been of the greatest service to them and given them the greatest assistance in their wars against Antiochus and Perseus, they not only prevented him from coming up to Rome, but ordered
5 ταύτας ἔκχωρεῖν ἐξ Ἱταλίας. ἔξ ὅπι μὲν γέγονε τις ἐπιπλοκῆ τῷ Περσεῖ πρὸς τὸν Εὐμένην, δι’ ἣν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἁλλοτριώθησαν πρὸς αὐτὸν 6 Ὄρμαίοι, προφανὲς ἓκ τῶν εἰρημένων· τίς δ’ αὐτὴ καὶ μέχρι τῶν προύθη πάρεστι σκοπεῖν. 7 ὅτι μὲν οὖν Εὐμένης οὐκ ἄν ἡβουλήθη Περσέα (1) κρατῆσαι τῷ πολέμῳ καὶ γενέσθαι κύριον τῶν 2 ὀλων, εὐχερέως καταμαθεῖν· χωρὶς γὰρ τῆς πα- τρικῆς ἁλλοτριότητος καὶ δυσμενείας, ἦν εἶχον πρὸς ἁλλήλους, καὶ τὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ὁμογενές ἰκανὸν ἦν ἀπιστίαν καὶ ξηλοτυπίαν καὶ καθόλου τῆς μεγίστης ἁλλοτριότητα παρασκευάζειν ἐν αὐτοῖς. 3 λοιπὸν ἦν ἔξαπατὰν καὶ στρατηγεῖν ἅλληλους 4 δι’ ἀπορρήτων· ὅπερ ἐποίου ἀμφότεροι. θεωρῶν <γὰρ> Εὐμένης δυσπαθοῦντα καὶ συγκλειόμενον 5 τὸν Περσέα πανταχόθεν καὶ πᾶν <παραγγελ- λόμενον> ἐπιδεχόμενον χάριν τοῦ τὸν πόλεμον διαλύσασθαι καὶ διαπεμόμενον ὑπὲρ τοῦτων πρὸς τοὺς στρατηγοὺς καθ’ ἕκαστον ἔτος, τοὺς δὲ Ὄρμαίους ὀσαύτως δυσχρήστουμένους τοῖς ὀλοις διὰ τὸ τὸ μηδὲν προκόπτειν ἐν τῷ πόλεμῳ μέχρι 6 τῆς Παύλου στρατηγίας καὶ διὰ τὸ τοὺς κατὰ τὴν Ἀιτωλίαν μετεώρους ὑπάρχειν, ὑπελάβεν οὔκ ἀδύνατον εἶναι τὸ συγκαταβῆναι Ὄρμαίος εἰς 7 ἔξαγωγὴν τοῦ πολέμου καὶ διάλυσιν· πρὸς δὲ τὸ μεσιτέσσαρα ταῦτα καὶ συναγαγέων ἐνόμισεν 8 αὐτὸν ἐπιτηθειότατον εἶναι. ταῦτα δὲ συλλο- γισάμενος ἐφ’ ἐαυτοῦ κατεπείραζε τοῦ Περσέως διὰ Κύδα τοῦ Κρήτης τῷ πρῶτον ἔτει πόσον 9 βούλουτ’ ἂν ὑνήσασθαι τὴν ἐλπίδα ταύτην. ἡ (1) μὲν οὖν καταρχὴ τῆς πρὸς ἅλληλους ἐπιπλοκῆς
him, though it was the middle of winter, to leave Italy in a given number of days. From all this it is obvious that there had been some approaches made to Eumenes by Perseus, which caused this marked estrangement on the part of the Romans. As to what these were and how far they went it is open for us to inquire. 7. It is quite easy to see that Eumenes would not have wished Perseus to win the war and become absolute master of Greece. For, apart from their inherited dislike and hostility, the fact that they ruled over subjects of the same nation was sufficient to create between them distrust and jealousy and in general the strongest antipathy. The only object they could have had, then, was to deceive and trick each other by secret intrigues, and this is what they both were doing. For as he saw that Perseus was in an evil case, hemmed in on all sides, and ready to accept any terms in order to get peace, each year sending messages to the Roman commanders for this purpose; as the Romans likewise were in extreme difficulties, having up to the campaign of Aemilius Paullus made no progress in the war; and as the Aetolians were in a state of unrest: Eumenes thought it was by no means impossible that the Romans would consent to bring the war to a conclusion and make peace; and he considered that he himself was the person best fitted to mediate in the matter and reconcile the two adversaries. Making these reflections to himself he had in the previous year sounded Perseus through Cydas the Cretan as to how much he was willing to pay for the hope of his services. 8. This, I think, was the beginning of their overtures
2 δοκεῖ μοι διὰ ταύτα γεγονέναι· δυνέων δὲ συγκρινομένων, τού μὲν πανουργοτάτου δοκούντος εἶναι, τοῦ δὲ φιλαργυρωτάτου, γελοιαν συνέβαινε
3 γίνεσθαι τὴν διαμάχην αὐτῶν. ὃ μὲν γὰρ Εὔμενης πᾶσαν ἐλπίδα προὔεινε καὶ πᾶν γένος δελέατος ὑπερρίπτει, πεπεισμένος θηρεύσειν τὸν Περσέα
4 ταῖς ἐπαγγελίαις· ὃ δὲ Περσέως μακρόθεν ὥρμα πρὸς τὰ προτεινόμενα καὶ συνετίθετο, καταπείν ὃ τῶν λεγομένων οὐδὲν οἶδος τῇ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον
5 ὡστε καὶ προέσθατι τι τῶν αὐτοῦ. τὸ δὲ γένος τῶν παλαιομάτων ἦν τοιοῦτον. ὃ μὲν γὰρ Εὔμενης ᾠτεί τοῦ μὲν ἦσυχιαν ἔχειν κατὰ τὸ τέταρτον ἔτος καὶ μὴ συστρατεύσαι 'Ρωμαίοις 
μῆτε κατὰ γῆν μῆτε κατὰ θάλατταν πεντακόσια τάλαντα, τοῦ δὲ διαλύσαι τὸν πόλεμον χίλια πεντακόσια, καὶ τούτων ὀμήρως δῶσει κατὰ τάχος
6 ύπισχνεῖτο καὶ πίστεισ. ὃ δὲ Περσέως ἐδέχετο μὲν περὶ τῶν ὀμήρων καὶ πόσα καὶ πότε πέμπεσθαι καὶ πῶς δεῖσθε ταύτα τηρεῖσθαι παρὰ τοῖς
7 Κυνοίοις· περὶ δὲ τῶν χρημάτων ύπέρ μὲν τῶν πεντακοσίων ταλάντων αἰσχρὸν ἐφησεν εἶναι καὶ 
τῶ διδόντι καὶ μᾶλλον ἔτι τῷ λαμβάνοντι τὸ 
δοκείν μισθοῦ τὴν ἦσυχιαν ἔχειν, τὰ δὲ χίλια καὶ 
πεντακόσια πέμπεσθαι φέροντας ἐφθα 
tους περὶ 
Πολεμοκράτην εἰς Σαμοθράκην κάκει μεσιτεύ-
8 σεω. 
τῆς δὲ Σαμοθράκης αὐτὸς ἦν κύριος· ὃ 
δ' Εὔμενης σπουδάζων, καθάπερ οἱ μοχθηροὶ 
tῶν ἱατρῶν, περὶ τὸ πρόδομα μᾶλλον ἦ περὶ 
tῶν μισθῶν τέλος ἀπέστη τῆς ἐπιβολῆς, ἀδυνα-
tήσας καταγωνίσασθαι τῇ σφετέρᾳ πανουργία
9 τῆς τοῦ Περσέως μικρολογίαν. καὶ 
δὴ τῶ 
tοιούτων τρόπως ποιήσαντες ἱερὸν τῶν στέφανον
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to each other; and as it was a match between two princes, one of whom had the reputation of being most unprincipled and the other most avaricious, the contest proved very ridiculous. For Eumenes on the one hand was holding out all kinds of hopes to Perseus and tempting him with every variety of bait, feeling sure he would catch him by his promises; while Perseus from a distance pretended to rush at these offers and to be coming to an agreement, but could never persuade himself to swallow any of the baits to the extent of making a sacrifice of money. The kind of tussle between the two was as follows. Eumenes asked five hundred talents for keeping quiet in the fourth year of the war and not supporting the Romans either by sea or by land, and fifteen hundred talents for putting an end to the war. For either of the two he promised to give at once hostages and security. Perseus was ready to receive the hostages, and arranged how many they should be, when they should be sent and how they were to be kept in charge by the people of Cnosus. As for the money, he said regarding the five hundred talents that it was disgraceful for the giver and still more so for the receiver to be thought to be hired to keep neutral; but he said he would send Polemocrates to Samothrace with the fifteen hundred talents and then mediate there, Samothrace being part of his own dominions. But Eumenes who, like bad physicians, was more concerned about his retaining fee than about his final fee, renounced his efforts, having found it beyond his power to get the better by his own cunning of the meanness of Perseus; and so, neither of them winning the prize for avarice, they
9 Προστίθημι δ' ἐπὶ παρ' ἐμαυτῷ τοσοῦτον, μὴ καὶ μωροποιεῖσθαι συμβαίνει τῇ φιλαργυρίᾳ.
10 τῆς φιλαργυρίας διελύθησαν ἐπ' ἰσης, καθάπερ ἀγαθοὶ παλαιοταῖ. τούτων δ' ἐνα μὲν <ἐξ>ερ-ρύη παρ' αὐτὸν τὸν καιρὸν, ἔνα δὲ μετ' ὀλίγον εἰς τοὺς παρακεκμένους τῷ Περσεί φίλους, παρ' ὃν ἦμιν ἔξεποίησε πυθέσθαι διότι πάσης κακίας ωσανεὶ πατταλείδων ἔστιν ἡ φιλαργυρία.

11 τὸς γὰρ ὅκι ἀπεισιμήνατο τῇ τῆν ἄγνοιαν ἁμφο-τέρων τῶν βασιλέων, Εὐμένους μὲν, κατὰ τίνα λόγον ἣλπισε τηλικαύτης ἀλλοτριότητος ὑπαρχοῦ- σης πιστεύθησθαι καὶ προσλήψεσθαι τοσοῦτο πλήθος χρημάτων, μηδεμίαν δυνάμενον ἰκανὴν πίστιν παρασχέσθαι τῷ Περσεὶ τῆς κομιδῆς τούτων, ἐὰν μὴ βεβαιοῖ τὰς ὑποσχέσεις; πώς δὲ λαβὼν τοσοῦτο πλήθος χρημάτων ὑπέλαβε λήσειν Ῥωμαίους; εἰ γὰρ καὶ κατὰ τὸ παρόν,
13 δὲ λαβὼν τοσοῦτο πλήθος χρημάτων ὑπέλαβε λήσειν Ῥωμαίους; εἰ γὰρ καὶ κατὰ τὸ παρόν,
15 οὔκ ἂν ἔν γε τῷ μετὰ ταῦτα χρόνῳ διέλαθε. λοι-πὸν ἔδει πάντως ἀντί τῶν διδομένων χρημάτων ἀλλάξασθαι τῇ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους διαφοράν, δι' ἥν ἔμελλε καὶ τῶν ληφθέντων χρημάτων ἅμα καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς, σχεδὸν δὲ καὶ τὸν βίον στερήσεσθαι,
17 πολέμιοι φανεῖσ 'Ῥωμαίους. εἰ γὰρ καὶ νῦν μηδὲν πράξας, ἐπινοήσας δὲ μόνον εἰς τοὺς με-γίστους ἐλθεὶ κυνίσους, τί ποτε παθεῖν αὐτῷ προσήκεν ἐπὶ τέλος ἀχθείσης τῆς προειρημένης πράξεως; τοῦ δὲ Περσέως πάλιν τῖς οὐκ ἂν θαυμάσει πῶς ἄλλο τι συμφορώτερον ἢ προυρ-γιαίτερον ἐνόμισε τοῦ δοῦναι τὰ χρήματα καὶ καταπείνει ἐάσαι ἄτον> Εὐμένη τὸ δελεάρ; εἰ μὲν γὰρ συνήγησε τι τῶν κατὰ τὰς ἐπαγγελίας καὶ διέλυσε τὸν πόλεμον, εἰς καλὸν ἡ δόσις. εἰ
made a drawn match of it like two good wrestlers. Some of these facts leaked out at the time and others shortly afterwards to the intimate friends of Perseus, from whom I learnt enough to convince me that avarice is, as it were, the tuning-peg of every vice.

9. I ask myself further on my own part: Does not avarice make fools of us? For who can help observing the folly of both kings? How could Eumenes expect, in view of the extremely distant terms they were on, to be trusted and to receive such a large sum of money, unable as he was to give Perseus any proper security for its return if he failed to fulfil his promises? And how did he think he could receive such a sum without the Romans finding it out? For if not at once, they would have done so later. So that, in return for the money given him, he was sure to have to reckon on a quarrel with Rome, which would result in the loss not only of the money he had received but of his kingdom and perhaps his life, once he was the declared enemy of Rome. For if now, when he had not done anything but merely had thought of it, he incurred such extreme danger, what was the treatment he would have deserved had he succeeded in carrying out the foregoing design! As to Perseus again, every one must wonder why he did not think it the most advantageous thing for himself and most in his interest to give the money and let Eumenes swallow the bait. For if Eumenes had helped him as he promised, and put an end to the war, the gift would have been worth his while; but if he
δὲ ταύτης διεψεύδη τῆς ἐλπίδος, εἰς γε τὴν πρὸς Ἠρωμαιῶν ἐχθρῶν ὁμολογουμένως ἣν αὐτὸν ἐμ-βεβλήκει· τοῦ γὰρ εἰς τὸ μέσον ἐνεγκεῖν ταῦτα κύριος ὑπήρχεν αὐτὸς. πόσον δὲ τούτ’ ἄξιον Περσεῖ καὶ κατορθοῦντι τῷ πολέμῳ καὶ πιαίοντι,
10 ράδιον συλλογίσασθαι· πάντων γὰρ τῶν συμβαντῶν κακῶν αὐτίων ἐνόμιζεν Εὐμένη γεγονέναι, ὅν οὐκ ἦν ἰδινήθη κατ’ οὐδένα τρόπον ἀμύνασθαι
11 βέλτιον ἢ πολέμιον ποιήσας Ἁρωμαιῶς. τὸν δὲν αὐτία τῆς ὀὑτοῦ ἐκφανοῦς ἀλογιστίας; φιλ-αργυρία· τὸ γὰρ ἂν ἄλλο τις εἶπειν; δὲ μὲν γὰρ χάρων τοῦ λαβεῖν τὰ μὴ καθήκοντα πάντα παρεώρα τάλλα καὶ πάντ’ ἀνεδέχετο ποιήσεων, δὲ τοῦ μὴ δοῦναι πάντα παθεῖν καὶ πᾶν ὑπεριδεῖν
12 ὑπέμενεν. ἀκολούθως δὲ τούτῳ Περσεῖ καὶ τὰ πρὸς Γαλάτας καὶ τὰ πρὸς Γένθιον . . .
10 “Ὅτι προτεθείσης χειροτονίας τοῖς Ῥοδίοις,
(4) ἐνίκων οἷς ἤρεσκε πέμπειν τοὺς πρεσβευτὰς ὑπὲρ
2 τῶν διαλύσεων. καὶ τὴν μὲν Ῥοδίων ἀντι-
3 πολιτείαν τούτον τὸν τρόπον [ὡς ἐν τῷ περὶ
4 δημηγορίας τέθειται] διέκρινε τὸ διαβούλιον, ἐν
5 ὧ πλεῖον ἐφάνησαν ἱσχύντες οἱ τὰ τοῦ Περσεῶς
6 αἱρούμενοι τῶν σφάζειν σπουδαζόντων τὴν πατρίδα
καὶ τοὺς νόμους. οἱ δὲ πρυτάνεις παραχρήμα
7 πρεσβευτὰς κατέστησαν τοὺς διαλύσοντας τὸν
8 πόλεμον, εἰς μὲν τὴν Ῥώμην Ἀγεσίλων, Διοκλῆ,
9 Κλαύμβροτον, πρὸς δὲ τὸν στρατηγὸν καὶ Περσέα
Δάμωνα, Νικόστρατον, Ἀγαθολοχον, Τήλεφον.
5 τούτω δ’ ἐξῆς τὸ συνεχὲς ἐξειργάζοντο καὶ προσ-
6 εὐθέως γὰρ εἰς τὴν Κρήτην ἐπεμπον πρεσβευτὰς

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had been deceived in this hope, he would certainly at least have involved Eumenes in enmity with Rome, it being in his power to make the transaction public. And it is easy to see, when we think of it, how valuable this would have been to Perseus, whether he were successful in the war or the reverse. For he considered Eumenes to have been the cause of all his misfortunes, and he could not have taken more effectual vengeance on him than by making him the enemy of Rome. What, then, was the reason of this evident folly on both sides? Avarice: what else could we say? For the one prince, to receive a gift which dishonoured him, neglected all other considerations, and undertook to do any dirty service; while the other, to save giving it, was ready to suffer any disaster and shut his eyes to all consequences. Perseus behaved in the same way towards the Galatians and towards Genthius. . . .

Conduct of the Rhodians

10. When the question was put to the vote in Rhodes the majority was in favour of sending the envoys to try to make peace. The debate had decided the relative strength of parties in Rhodes in favour of the one which sided with Perseus and against those who were anxious to preserve their country and their laws. The prytaneis hereupon at once appointed envoys to bring the war to an end, sending to Rome Hagepolis, Diocles, and Clinombrotus and to the Roman commander and to Perseus, Damon, Nicostratus, Hagesilochus, and Telephus. Their subsequent proceedings were in accord with this, and even more offensive, making their fault inexcusable. For they at once sent envoys to Crete
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

tou̱s anavenosoméneous prós pantas Kρhataieis tâ upárχontai philánthrwpota kai parakalésontas blé-
pein tou̱s karpoûs kai tîn perióstasin kai sým-
fróneîn tîn dêmmî kai tòn autôn étîn aîrêîthai
7 kai filûn, ómooîs dê kai kaiî idían prós tás
póleis Ĥpèr tôn autôn dialekhthsméneous.

11 "Otî tîn peri tòn Pârmeneînana kai Mòrkou,
(5) tîn parâ tòu Gênthiou, kai sîn touûs tòu Mh-
troûrhoû parageneomêneous eîs tîn 'Ródon, kai
2 sýnaxthdeîsîs tîs boulê, pantâpason thorubwôdeîs
în êkklesiôsâ, tîn mên peri tòn Dêînwna kai
Polvnâratôn fanerôs 'îdô tolmwûnton légein tâ
tòu Pêrsêwos, tîn dê peri Òeàidhtôn kата-
3 peplhgmêmôn tà sýmbaînonta kai gár h tòn
lêmbwv parousia kai tò plêthos tîon âpolwloûton
îppèwov kai h tòu Gênthiou metâthseis sünêtirbnev
4 autôs. dîo kai tò péras tîs êkklesiôsâ akô-
5 louvôn ëgënhê toûs proeirhsméneous êdodeî gár
tîs 'Rôdios aîpokrîhînai philânthrwpowv âmfotê-
rous toûs basileûvai kai diasafêvnti òti dêdoktai
diaîneîn autôs toûn pólêmovn kai parakalêîn
6 kakeînous eîdialûtovs upárchev. êdêxantî de
kai toûs prôsebèntas êpi tîn kouvîn ëstîan toûs
parâ tòu Gênthiou metâ pôllîs philânthrwpias.

12 . . . pálwv èteroi peri tòu Sûriakou pôle-
(6') mou tòûtou d' autîn ëstîn ëpeîr ëmîn eîrêthai
2 dià plèionvov. òtan gár âplâs kai moûneideîs
labôntes upobèseis bouîlwntai mî toûs prâgma-
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to renew friendly relations with the Cretans in general, and to beg them to consider the circumstances and the danger they were in, and to ally themselves with the Rhodian people and have the same enemies and friends. They were also charged to speak to the several cities in the same sense.

(Cp. Livy xli. 29. 6.)

11. When Parmenion and Morcus the envoys of Genthius, accompanied by Metrodorus, reached Rhodes, and the Rhodian senate met, the sitting was a very stormy one, Deinon and Polyaratus now venturing to speak openly in favour of Perseus, and Theaedetus and his friends being dismayed at what was happening. For the presence of the Illyrian galleys, the large losses of the Roman cavalry, and Genthius’s change of attitude weighed on their spirits. So that the sitting ended very much as the one described above had done. For the Rhodians decreed to give a courteous reply to both kings, and inform them that they had resolved to bring about peace and begged them also to be disposed to come to terms. They also entertained the envoys of Genthius very courteously at the public hearth or Prytaneum.

**Digression on Method of Writing History**

12. Other writers again have . . . about the war in Syria. The reason of this I have frequently explained. For when dealing with a subject which is simple and uniform they wish to be thought historians not because of what they accomplish,
σω, ἀλλὰ τῷ πλήθει τῶν βύβλων ἱστοριογράφοι νομίζοντο καὶ τὴν τουαίτην ἐφέλκεσθαι φαντα-
σίαν, ἀναγκαίον ἔστι τὰ μὲν μικρὰ μεγάλα ποιεῖν,
3 τὰ δὲ βραχέως εἰρημένα διασκευάζει καὶ λογο-
pοιεῖν, ἐνα δὲ τῶν ἐν πορέγγει πεπραγµένων
έργα καὶ πράγµατα κατασκευάζει, ἀγώνας δια-
tιθεµένους καὶ παρατάξεις ἐξαγγέλλοντας, ἐν αἷς
ἔνιστε πεζοὶ μὲν ἔπεσον δέκα, ποτὲ <δὲ> μικρῶ
4 πλείους, ἵππεῖς δ' ἐκτυχεῖν τούτων ἐλάττουσι. πολι-
ορκίας μὲν γὰρ καὶ τοπογραφίας καὶ τὰ παρα-
πλῆσια τούτους οὐκ ἂν εἴποι τις ἄξιός ἐφ' ὅσον
ἐξεργάζονται διὰ τὴν ἀπορίαν τῶν πραγµάτων.
5 περὶ δὲ τοὺς τὰ καθόλου γράφοντας ἐναντίος
6 ἐστὶν ὁ τρόπος· διόπερ οὐ χρὴ καταγνώσκειν
ὡς ἡµῶν ἐπισυνρόντων τὰς πράξεις, ὡστε τὰ παρ'
ἐνιοῦ πολλοῦ τετευχότα λόγου καὶ διασκευής
ἡµεῖς ποτὲ μὲν παραλεῖπομεν, ποτὲ δὲ βραχέως
ἐξαγγέλλωμεν, ἀλλὰ πιστεύειν ὅτι τὸν καθήκοντα
7 λόγου ἐκάστους ἀποδίδομεν. ἐκεῖνοι μὲν γὰρ
ὅταν ἐν τῇ συµπάσῃ πραγµατείᾳ λόγου χάριν
Φανοτείας καὶ Κορωνείας καὶ . . . e . . οὐ πο-
λορκίαν γράφωσι, ἀναγκάζονται πάσος τὰς τῆς
πολιορκίας ἑπινοίας καὶ τόλµας καὶ διαθέσεις
8 ἐκτίθεσθαι, πρὸς δὲ τούτους περὶ τὴν Τάραντος
κατάληψιν, Κορίνθου [πολιορκίαν], Σάρδεων, Γάζης,
Βάκτρων, ἐπὶ πάσιν Καρχηδόνος πολιορκίαν δια-
τρίβειν καὶ προστὶθείοι παρ' αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' οὐ
παντάπασιν εὐδοκεῖν εὰν ψιλῶς περὶ τῶν τοιουτῶν
9 αὐτῶν τὸν ἄληθῆ καὶ κύριον ἀποδιδόμεν λόγον. ἥ
δ' αὐτή καὶ περὶ παρατάξεων ἡµῶν ἔστω καὶ δη-
μηγορίῶν ἀπόφασις, παραπλησίως δὲ καὶ τῶν
10 ἄλλων μερῶν τῆς ἱστορίας· ἐν οἷς ἄπασι πολλῆς
66
but because of the multitude of their books, and to make such an impression as I have described, they are compelled to magnify small matters, to touch up and elaborate brief statements of fact and to convert quite incidental occurrences of no moment into momentous events and actions, describing engagements and pitched battles in which the infantry losses were at times ten men or it may be a few more and the cavalry losses still fewer. As for sieges, descriptions of places, and such matters, it would be hard to describe adequately how they work them up for lack of real matter. But writers of universal history act in just the opposite manner. I should not therefore be condemned for slurring over events, when I sometimes omit and sometimes briefly report things to which others have devoted much space and elaborate descriptions; but I should rather be credited with treating each event on a proper scale. For those authors, when in the course of their work they describe, for instance, the sieges of Phanotea, Coronea, or Haliartus, find it necessary to place before their readers all the devices, all the daring strokes, and all the other features of sieges in general, and in addition to this describe at length the capture of Tarentum, the sieges of Corinth, Sardis, Gaza, Bactra, and above all Carthage, adding inventions of their own; and they by no means approve of me, when I simply give a true and unvarnished account of such matters. The same remarks apply to descriptions of battles, the reports of speeches, and the other parts of history. In all these—I include also subsequent portions
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ἀν δικαιῶς τυγχάνομεν συγγνώμης, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν λέγεσθαι μελλόντων, . οὐν εἰ τ. . φανεῖμεν ἡ λήμμασι χρώμενοι τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἡ χειρισμῷ πραγμάτων ἡ τοῖς τῆς λέξεως ρήμασι.

11 πρὸς δὲ τούτοις εάν πον παραπίπτωμεν ἐν ὀνομασίαις ὁρῶν ἡ ποταμῶν ἡ τόπων ἴδιότητι
tὸ γὰρ μέγεθος τῆς πραγματείας ἰκανὸν ἐστιν

12 ἡμᾶς ἐν ἀπασί τούτοις παρατίθεσθαι. πλὴν εάν πον κατὰ πρόθεσιν ἡ κέρδους τινὸς ἐνεκεν εὐρισκόμεθα ψευδογραφοῦντες. τούτο γὰρ οὐ παραιτούμεθα, καθάπερ ἢδη καὶ πλεονάκις ἐν τῇ πραγματείᾳ περὶ τούτου τοῦ μέρους διεστάλμεθα.

13 Ἐν δὲ τῇ ἐνάτῃ καὶ εἰκοστῇ οὗ αὐτῶς Γένθιων
(5) φῇσι τὸν τῶν Ἰλλυρίων βασιλέα διὰ τὴν πολυ-

2 ποσίαν πολλὰ ποιεῖν ἄσελγη κατὰ τὸν βίον, νύκτωρ
τε ἀἰεὶ καὶ μεθ᾽ ἡμέραν μεθύονται ἀποκτείναντα
δὲ καὶ Πλάτωρα τὸν ἄδελφον, γαμεῖν μέλλοντα
tῇ Μονοννίοις θυγατέρα, αὐτῶν γῆμα τὴν παῖδα
cαὶ ὁμῶς χρῆσθαι τοῖς ἀρχομένοις.

14 Πρῶτος δὲ τῶν παρόντων ὁ Νασικάς ἐπι-
(6) καλοῦμενος Σκιπίων, γαμβρὸς Ἀφρικανὸς Σκι-

πίωνος, ύστερον δὲ μέγιστον ἐν τῇ συγκλήτῳ
dυνηθείς, ὑπεδέξατο τῆς κυκλώσεως ἢγεμῶν γε-

2 νέσθαι. δεύτερος δὲ Φάβιος Μάξιμος ὁ πρε-

σβύτατος τῶν Αἰμιλίου παίδων, ἐτὶ μειράκιον ὡν,

3 ἀνέστη προθυμοῦμενος. ἦθελεις οὖν ὁ Αἰμιλίος
dίδωσιν αὐτοῖς οὐχ ὅσος Πολύβιος εἰρήκεν,
of my work—I may be justly pardoned if I am found to be using the same style, or the same disposition and treatment, or even actually the same words as on a previous occasion; or again should I happen to be mistaken in the names of mountains and rivers or in my statements about the characteristics of places. For in all such matters the large scale of my work is a sufficient excuse. It is only if I am found guilty of deliberate mendacity or if it be for the sake of some profit, that I do not ask to be excused, as I have already stated several times in the course of this work when speaking on this subject.

Genthius of Illyria

(From Athenaeus x. p. 440a; cp. Livy xlv. 30. 2.)

13. In his 29th Book Polybius also states that Genthius, King of Illyria, owing to his intemperate habits, was guilty of many licentious acts, being constantly drunk night and day. Having put to death his brother Plator, who was about to marry the daughter of Monunius, he married the girl himself, and he treated his subjects with great cruelty.

The Campaigns against Perseus

(From Plutarch’s Life of Aemilius, 15.)

14. The first of the officers present who volunteered to lead the force that went to turn the enemy’s flank was Scipio Nasica, the son-in-law of Africanus and afterwards very powerful in the senate, and next Fabius Maximus, the eldest son of Aemilius, who was still quite a young man, got up and proffered his services. This pleased Aemilius, who gave them not so many soldiers as Polybius says but as many
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αλλά οὗτος αὐτὸς ὁ Νασικᾶς λαβεῖν φησὶ, γεγραφῶς περὶ τῶν πράξεων τούτων ἐπιστολικῶν πρὸς τινά τῶν βασιλέων.

4 Τῇ δυνάμει τῆς πάρμης καὶ τῶν Δυναστικῶν θυρεῶν ἀντεἶχον ἐρρωμένως οἱ 'Ρωμαίοι.

15 Τῷ δὲ Περσεῖ τὸν Ἁμιλιουν ἀπεμοῦντα κατὰ (6) χώραν ὅρωντι καὶ μὴ λογιζομένῳ τὸ γινόμενον, ἀποδράς ἐκ τῆς ὅθου Κρής αὐτόμολος ἦκε μηνύων 2 τὴν περίοδον τῶν 'Ρωμαίων. ὁ δὲ συνταραχθεὶς τὸ μὲν οτράτοπεδον οὐκ ἐκίνησε, μυρίους δὲ μυσθοφόρους ξένους καὶ δυσχελίους Μακεδόνας Μίλων παραδοῦ έξαπέστειλε, παρακελευσάμενος 3 ταχύναι καὶ καταλαβεῖν τὰς ὑπερβολάς. τούτοις ὁ μὲν Πολύβιος φησὶν ἐτι κοιμωμένοις ἐπιπεσεῖν τοὺς 'Ρωμαίους, ὁ δὲ Νασικᾶς ὅξιν ἄγωνα περὶ τοῖς ἀκροὶς γενέσθαι καὶ κύνδυνον.

16 Πολύβιος· ὃτι τῆς σελήνης ἐκλειποῦσης ἐπὶ (6) Περσέως τοῦ Μακεδόνος ἐκράτησεν ἡ φήμη ἐπάρ τοῖς πολλοῖς ὅτι βασιλέως ἐκλεψιμ ση-2 μαίνει. καὶ τοῦτο τοὺς μὲν 'Ρωμαίους εὐθαρ- 3 σετέρους ἐποίησε, τοὺς δὲ Μακεδόνας ἐταπεί- νωςε ταῖς ψυχαῖς. οὕτως ἀληθεὺς ἔστι τὸ περι- φερόμενον ὅτι πολλὰ κενὰ τοῦ πολέμου.

17 Δεύκιος δὲ ὁ ὑπατὸς οὗ ἐωρακὼς φάλαγγα τὸ (6) παρᾶπαν ἀλλὰ τότε πρῶτον ἐπὶ τοῦ Περσέως πρὸς τινας πολλάκις ἀνθωμολογεῖτο τῶν ἐν τῇ 'Ρώμῃ μετὰ ταῦτα μηδὲν ἐωρακέναι φοβερῶτερον 70
as Nasica himself says in writing to one of the kings about this exploit.

(Suid.; cp. Livy xlv. 35. 19.)

The Romans offered a strong resistance by the aid of their targets and Ligurian shields.

(From Plutarch, Life of Aemilius Paullus, 16.)

15. Perseus saw Aemilius remaining on his ground, and had no suspicion of the truth, when a Cretan deserter, who had abandoned the Romans on the line of march, informed him of their turning movement. The king was much disturbed; but, without moving his army, placed ten thousand foreign mercenaries and two thousand Macedonians under the command of Milo and sent him off with orders to make haste and occupy the heights. Polybius tells us that the Romans surprised this force while still asleep, but Nasica affirms that there was a sharp struggle on the heights.

(Suid.; cp. Plutarch, Aem. 16.)

16. When there was an eclipse of the moon in the time of Perseus of Macedonia, the report gained popular credence that it portended the eclipse of a king. This, while it lent fresh courage to the Romans, discouraged the Macedonians. So true is the saying that "there are many empty things in war."

(Suid.; cp. Livy xlv. 41. 1.)

17. Aemilius the consul, who had never seen a phalanx until this occasion in the war with Perseus, often confessed afterwards to certain persons in Rome that he had never seen anything more terrible
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καὶ δευτέρον φάλαγγος Μακεδονικῆς, καίτοι
γε πολλοὺς οὐ μόνον θεασάμενος ἀλλὰ καὶ χει-
ρισάμενος ἀγώνας, εἰ καὶ τις ἄλλος.

2 Ὅτι πολλὰ τῶν ἐπινοημάτων κατὰ μὲν τόν
(12) λόγον φαίνεται πιθανά καὶ δυνατά, παραγενόμενα
ὁ εἰς τὴν χρείαν, καθάπερ τὰ κίβδηλα τῶν νομισμά-
των εἰς τὸ πῦρ, οὐκέτι ποιεῖ τάκολοθον ταῖς
πρῶταις ἐπινοίαις.

3 Πολύβιος· ὃ δὲ Πέρσευς μίαν ἔχων πρόληψιν
(6) ἡ νικάν ἡ βυήσκειν, τότε οὐχ ὑπέμεινε τῇ ψυχῇ
ἀλλ’ ἀπεδείλια, καθάπερ οἱ προσπαίται τῶν ἰπ-
pέων.

4 Πολύβιος· ὃ δὲ Πέρσευς προσαγόμενός τὸν
(6) χρόνον καὶ τὸν πόνον ἔξελυετο τῇ ψυχῇ, καθάπερ
οἱ καχεκτοῦντες τῶν ἀθλητῶν· ὅτε γὰρ τὸ δειοῦν
ἐγγίζοι καὶ δέοι κρίνεσθαι περὶ τῶν ὀλων, οὐχ
ὑπέμεινε τῇ ψυχῇ.

18 Ὁ δὲ τῶν Μακεδόνων βασιλεύς, ὃς φησὶ Πο-
(17) λύβιος, τῆς μάχης ἁρχὴν λαμβανοῦσα ἀποδει-
(6) λίασας εἰς πόλιν ἀφιππάσατο, σκηψάμενος Ὁρα-
kλεῖ θύειν, δειλὰ πορὰ δειλῶν ἵερα μὴ δεχομένω
μηδ’ εὐχὰς ἀθεμίτους ἐπιτελοῦντι.

19 Ὁτι κατὰ τὸν καιρόν, ἐν δὲ Πέρσευς ἡττηθεὶς
(7) ἀνεδίδρασκεν, ἐδοξε τῇ συγκλήτῳ τοὺς παρὰ τῶν
Ῥοδίων προσβεντάς παραγενοῦτας ὑπὲρ τοῦ
dιαλύειν τὸν πρὸς Πέρσεα πόλεμον προσκαλέ-
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and dreadful than a Macedonian phalanx, and this although he had witnessed and directed as many battles as any man.

(Cp. Livy xlv. 41. 4.)

Many inventions seem to be plausible and likely to succeed when described; but when put to the test of experience, like false coins exposed to the fire, no longer answer to our first conception of them.

(Suid.; cp. Livy xlv. 42. 1.)

Perseus' one determination had been to conquer or to die; but his courage now gave way and he turned rein and fled as cavalry vedettes do.

(Suid.; cp. Livy, ibid.)

The courage of Perseus was exhausted by toil and time like that of athletes in bad condition. For when the danger approached, and it was his duty to fight a decisive battle, his courage broke down.

(From Plutarch, Aemilius Paullus, 19.)

18. The Macedonian king, as Polybius tells us, at the very beginning of the battle turned rein and rode off to the town, pretending that he was going to sacrifice to Heracles, a god who neither accepts the craven offerings of cowards, nor fulfils unlawful prayers.

(Cp. Livy xlv. 3. 3.)

19. At the time when Perseus was beaten and ran away, the senate decided to summon the envoys from Rhodes, who had come with the object of bringing the war with Perseus to an end: Fortune,
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2 σασθαι, τῆς τύχης ὠσπερ ἐπίτηδες ἀναβιβαζόμεθα ἐπὶ σκηνήν τήν τῶν Ἰοδίων ἁγνοιαν, εἰ χρή Ἰο-
δίων λέγειν, ἀλλὰ μὴ τῶν ἐπιπολασάντων ἀνθρώ-
πων τότε κατὰ τὴν Ἰοδον. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἰο-
δίων εἰσπορευθέντες ἐλθεῖν μὲν ἐφασαν δια-
λύσοντες τὸν πόλεμον· τὸν γὰρ δήμον τῶν Ἰο-
dίων, ἐλκομένου τοῦ πολέμου καὶ πλείων χρόνον,
θεωροῦντα διότι πᾶσιν μὲν τοῖς Ἔλληνοις ἀλυ-
σιτέλης καὶ αὐτοῖς δὲ Ἰωμαίοις διὰ τὸ μέγεθος
τῶν δαπανημάτων, ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ ταύτην τὴν γνώμην.

3 νῦν δὲ λειμένου τοῦ πολέμου κατὰ τὴν τῶν
Ἰοδίων βούλησιν συγχαίρειν αὐτοῖς. τάντα μὲν
οὰν οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἰοδίων εἰσόντες βραχέως

5 ἐπανήλθον. ἢ δὲ σύγκλητος χρωμένη τῷ καιρῷ
καὶ βουλομένη παραδεχακούσι τοὺς Ἰοδίους
ἀπόκρισιν ἐξέβαλεν, ἢς ἢν τὰ συνέχοντα τάντα,

6 διότι τὴν προσβείαν ταύτην οὔτε τῶν Ἔλληνών
ἐνεκεν ὑπολαμβάνουσιν ἐσταλκέναι τοὺς Ἰοδίους

7 οὔθ' ἐαυτῶν, ἀλλὰ Περσεῶς. εἰ μὲν γὰρ τῶν
Ἕλληνων χάριν ἐπρέσβευον, ἐκεῖνον οἰκείοτερον
ἐστίν τὸν καιρόν, ὅτε Περσεὺς τὴν τῶν Ἔλληνών
χώραν ἐπόρθει καὶ τὰς πόλεις, στρατοπεδεύων
μὲν ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ σχεδὸν ἐπὶ δυ' ἐναυτοῖς . . .

8 τὸ δὲ παρέντας ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν νῦν παρεῖναι
σπουδάζοντας διαλύειν τὸν πόλεμον, ὅτε παρ-
εμβελήκτων τῶν ἦμετέρων στρατοπέδων εἰς
Μακεδονιάν συγκεκλεισμένοι ὁ Περσεὺς ὄλγας

9 παντάπασιν ἐλπίδας εἶχε τῆς σωτηρίας, προ-
φανές εἶναι τοῖς ὅρθωσι σκοπουμένοις διότι τὰς
προσβείας ἐξέπεμψαν οὐ διαλύειν ἑθέλοντες τὸν
πόλεμον, ἀλλ' ἐξελέσθαι τὸν Περσέα καὶ σῶσαι,

10 καὶ' οὗσιν εἰσὶν δυνατοὶ. δι' ἃς αἰτίας οὔτ'
as if of set purpose, bringing on the stage the folly of the Rhodians—if indeed we should say that of the Rhodians, and not rather that of the men who had then come to the surface at Rhodes. Agepolis and his colleagues, on entering, said they had come to bring the war to an end; for that the people of Rhodes, when they saw that the war still continued to drag on, and observed that it was unprofitable to all the Greeks and to the Romans themselves owing to its great expense, had decided on this step; but now that the war had terminated in the way that the Rhodians wished, they congratulated the Romans. Having said this very briefly they departed. But the senate, availing itself of this opportunity and wishing to make an example of the Rhodians, issued an answer, the main tenour of which was that they did not believe that the Rhodians had sent the embassy on behalf of the Greeks or of themselves, but on behalf of Perseus. For if the embassy were on behalf of the Greeks, it would have been a more suitable time to send it then when Perseus was encamped for nearly two years in Thessaly, and was devastating the land and cities of Greece; but from their having neglected to come at that time, and coming now when the Roman legions were encamped in Macedonia, when Perseus was surrounded and had scarcely any hope of escape, it was obvious to anyone who judged correctly that they had sent their embassies with no wish to bring the war to a close, but desiring, as far as lay in their power, to rescue and save Perseus. For this reason, they said, the present was no
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eυεργετεῖν οὐτε φιλανθρώπως αὐτοῖς ἀποκρί-
11 νεσθαί κατὰ τὸ παρὸν ὄφείλειν ἔφασαν. ταῦτα
μὲν ἢ σύγκλητος ἐχρημάτισε τοῖς παρὰ τῶν
Ῥοδίων πρεσβευταῖς.

20 Ὡ δὲ μεταλαβὼν τὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν διάλεκτον
(61) παρεκάλει τοὺς ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ βλέποντας εἰς
τὰ παρόντα, δεικνὺς ὑπὸ τὴν ὄψιν τὸν Περσέα,
μήτε μεγαλαυχείν ἐπὶ τοῖς κατορθώμασι παρὰ
τὸ δέον μήτε βουλεύεσθαι μηδὲν ὑπερήφανον μηδ’
ἀνήκεστον περὶ μηδενός, μήτε καθόλου πιστεύειν
2 μηδέποτε ταῖς παρούσαις εὕτυχίαις. ἀλλ’ ὅτε
μάλιστα τις κατορθοί κατὰ τὸν ἱδίον βίον καὶ
κατὰ τὰς κοινὰς πράξεις, τότε μάλιστα παρεκάλει
3 τῆς ἐναντίας τύχης ἐννοοῖν λαμβάνειν. καὶ γὰρ
οὕτω μόλις ἄν ἐν ταῖς ἐυκαιρίαις ἀνθρώπον μὲ-
4 τριῶν ὡντα φανῆναι. τούτῳ γὰρ διαφέρειν ἐφή
τοὺς ἀνοίγως τῶν νοῦν ἐχόντων, διότι συμβαίνει
τοὺς μὲν ἐν ταῖς ἱδίαις ἀτυχίαις παιδεύεσθαι,
tοὺς δ’ ἐν ταῖς τῶν πέλας.

21 Ὡστε πολλάκις καὶ λίαν μνημονεύειν τῆς Δημη-
(62) 2 τρίου τοῦ Φαληρέως φωνῆς. ἐκεῖνος γὰρ ἐν
τῷ περὶ τῆς τύχης ὑπομνήματι βουλόμενος ἐν-
αρχῶς ὑποδεικνύει τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὸ ταύτης
εὐμετάβολον, ἐπιστάσας ἐπὶ τοὺς κατ’ Ἀλεξανδρὸν
καίροὺς, ὅτε κατέλυσε τὴν Περσῶν ἄρχην, λέγει
3 ταῦτα. "ἐι γὰρ λάβοιτ’ ἐν ἕω μὴ χρόνον ἀπει-
ροῦν μηδὲ γενέας πολλᾶς, ἀλλὰ πεντήκοντα μόνον

a The subject of the sentence, as given by the epitomator, seems to be Perseus, although the reflexion is essentially Polybius’s own.

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moment for doing them favours or returning them a courteous answer. Such were the proceedings in the senate regarding the Rhodian envoys.

Speech of Aemilius Paullus

(Cp. Livy xlv. 7. 4.)

20. Aemilius, now speaking in Latin, exhorted those present at the council to learn from what they now witnessed—showing them Perseus who was present—never to boast unduly of achievements and never be overbearing and merciless in their conduct to anyone, in fact never place any reliance on present prosperity. "It is chiefly," he said, "at those moments when we ourselves or our country are most successful that we should reflect on the opposite extremity of fortune; for only thus, and then with difficulty, shall we prove moderate in the season of prosperity. The difference," he said, "between foolish and wise men lies in this, that the former are schooled by their own misfortunes and the latter by those of others."

Reflections on the Fall of Perseus

(Cp. Livy xlv. 9. 2.)

21. So then often and bitterly did Perseus a call to mind the words of Demetrius of Phalerum. For he, in his treatise on Fortune, wishing to give men a striking instance of her mutability asks them to remember the times when Alexander overthrew the Persian empire, and speaks as follows: "For if you consider not countless years or many generations,
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ἐτη ταυτὶ τὰ πρὸ ἰμῶν, γνοίητ' ἂν ὡς τὸ τῆς
tύχης χαλεπὸν ἐνταῦθα. πεντηκοστῷ γὰρ ἔτει
<πρότερον> οἷεσθ' ἂν ἡ Πέρσας ἡ βασιλέα τῶν
Περσῶν ἡ Μακεδόνας ἡ βασιλέα τῶν Μακεδόνων,
eἰ τις θεῶν αὐτοῖς προέλεγε τὸ μέλλον, πιστεύσαι
ποτ' ἂν ὡς εἰς τούτον τὸν καιρὸν Περσῶν <μὲν>
oὐδ' ὄνομα λειφήσεται τὸ παράπαν, οἴ πάσης
<σχεδὸν> τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐδέσποζον, Μακεδόνες
de <καὶ> πάσης κρατήσουσιν, ὡν οὐδ' ὄνομα
πρότερον ὡς <γνώριμον>. ἀλλ' ὦμως ἡ πρὸς
tὸν βίον ἰμῶν ἀσύνθετος Τύχη καὶ πάντα παρὰ
<τὸν> λογισμὸν τὸν ἴμετερον κανονοῦσα καὶ
tὴν αὐτῆς δύναμιν ἐν τοῖς παραδόξοις ἐνδεικνυ-
μένη, καὶ νῦν, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, δείκνυσι πάσων
ἀθρώπωσι, Μακεδόνας εἰς τὴν Περσῶν εὐδαι-
μονίαν εἰσοικίσασα, διότι καὶ τούτοις ταῦτα
tάγαθα κέχρηκεν, ἔως <ἀν> ἄλλο τι βουλεύονται
peri αὐτῶν'. ὥν γέγονε κατὰ Περσέα,
tαῦτα μὲν οὐν Δημήτριος ὄσανεῖ θείω τυλι στό-
ματι peri τοῦ μέλλοντος ἀποπεφοβάκεν. ἐγὼ
de κατὰ τὴν γραφὴν ἐπιστὰς τοῖς καιροῖς καθ'
οὐς συνέβη καταλυθῆναι τὴν Μακεδόνων βασι-
λείαν, οὐκ ἔκρυνον ἀνεπιστάτως παραδραμεῖν,
ἄτε γεγονὼς αὐτὸπτης τῆς πράξεως, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς τε
tὸν πρέποντα λόγον ἐπιφθέγξασθαι καὶ Δημη-
τρίου μυηθῆναι. δοκεῖ γὰρ μοι θειοτέραν ἡ
κατ' ἀνθρωπον τὴν ἀπόφασιν ποιήσασθαι. σχεδὸν
gὰρ ἐκατὸν καὶ πεντῆκοντα πρότερον ἔτεσι τὰ-
λῆθες ἀπεφήνατο peri τῶν ἔπειτα συμβησομένων.
BOOK XXIX. 21. 3–9

but merely these last fifty years, you will read in them the cruelty of Fortune. I ask you, do you think that fifty years ago either the Persians and the Persian king or the Macedonians and the king of Macedon, if some god had foretold the future to them, would ever have believed that at the time when we live, the very name of the Persians would have perished utterly—the Persians who were masters of almost the whole world—and that the Macedonians, whose name was formerly almost unknown, would now be the lords of it all? But nevertheless this Fortune, who never compacts with life, who always defeats our reckoning by some novel stroke; she who ever demonstrates her power by foiling our expectations, now also, as it seems to me, makes it clear to all men, by endowing the Macedonians with the whole wealth of Persia, that she has but lent them these blessings until she decides to deal differently with them.” And this now happened in the time of Perseus. Surely Demetrius, as if by the mouth of some god, uttered those prophetic words. And I, as I wrote and reflected on the time when the Macedonian monarchy perished, did not think it right to pass over the event without comment, as it was one I witnessed with my own eyes; but I considered it was for me also to say something befitting such an occasion, and recall the words of Demetrius. This utterance of his seems to me to have been more divine than that of a mere man. For nearly a hundred and fifty years ago he uttered the truth about what was to happen afterwards.
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

III. Res Pergami

22 "Оті Εὐμένης ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς Περσέως καὶ (6ο) Ἦρωμαίων μάχης συντελεσμένης εἰς παράλογον ἐνέπεσε διάθεσιν, ώς οἱ πολλοὶ φασὶ, ὡς δὲ τάνθρωπων πράγματα φύσιν ἔχει γίνεσθαι κατὰ τὸ πλείστον, εἰς τὶ τῶν εἰωθότων συμβαίνειν.

2 ἵκανη γὰρ ἡ τύχη τοῖς παρὰ λόγον τὰ κατὰ λόγον ἐπιτρύμα, κἂν τινὶ συνεργῆσῃ καὶ προσθῆται τὴν αὐτῆς βοτῆν, ἀδθὶς οἶον ἐκ μεταμελείας ἀντισηκοῦν καὶ λυμαίνεσθαι τὰ κατορθώματα

3 παρὰ πόδας. ὡ καὶ τότε περὶ τὸν Εὐμένη γε-4 νέσθαι συνεπεσε' δόξας γὰρ μάλιστα τότε τὴν ἰδίαν ἀρχὴν ἐν ἀσφαλεί βεβηκέναι καὶ πολλὴν ἐπιφέρειν ῥαστώνην τὸν ἐξής χρόνον, ἀτὲ τὸν Περσέως καὶ καθόλου τῆς ἐν Μακεδονία βασι-λείας ἀρδὴν ἀνηρμένης, τότε μεγίστου ἐνεκύ-ρησε κινδύνους τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν Γαλατῶν ἀνυπονοῆτως <συν>ἐξαναστάντων τοῖς καιροῖς.

IV. Bellum Antiochi IV. cum Ptolemaeis fratribus

23 "Οτι κατὰ τὴν Πελοπόννησον ἐτὶ κατὰ χει-(8) μῶνα πρεσβείας παραγενομένης παρὰ τῶν βα-σιλέων ἀμφοτέρων [Πτολεμαίου καὶ Πτολεμαίου] περὶ βοηθείας, ἐγενήθη διαβούλια καὶ πλεῖς,

2 πολλὴν ἔχοντα φιλοτιμίαν. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ περὶ τὸν Καλλικράτην καὶ Διοφάνην καὶ σὺν τούτοις

3 Ὑπέρβατον οὐκ ἦρεσκε διδόναι βοήθειαν, τοῖς δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἀρκωνα καὶ Δυκόρταν καὶ Πολύβιον ἦρεσκε τὸ διδόναι τοῖς βασιλεῦσι κατὰ τὴν ὑπ-4 ἀρχουσαν συμμαχίαν. ἥδη γὰρ συνέβανε τότε 80
III. Affairs of Pergamus

22. Eumenes, King of Pergamus, after the battle between Perseus and the Romans was over, found himself, as most people say, strangely circumstanced; but, considering the nature of human affairs, it was nothing out of the way. For Fortune is quite capable of dashing reasonable expectations by unexpected blows; and, if she ever helps anyone and throws her weight into the balance, she will again, as if she repented of it, turn the scale against him, and in a moment mar all he has achieved. This is what happened to Eumenes on the present occasion. For, just when he thought that his kingdom stood on a firm footing, and that the future had perfect peace and quiet in store for him, as Perseus and the power of Macedonia had been utterly destroyed, there lighted on him this peril from the Gauls of Asia, who unexpectedly seized on the occasion to attack him.

IV. War between Antiochus and the two brothers Ptolemy

23. In the Peloponnesus, when an embassy arrived while it was still winter from both kings, asking for help, there were several very warm debates. Calliocrates, Diophanes, and Hyperbatatus did not approve of sending help, but Archon, Lycortas, and Polybius were in favour of giving it according to the terms of the existing alliance. For the people had already
Τὸν νεώτερον Πτολεμαίον ὑπὸ τῶν ὑχλῶν ἀνα-δεδείχθαι βασιλέα διὰ τὴν περίστασιν, τὸν δὲ πρεσβύτερον ἐκ τῆς Μέμφεως καταπεπορεύθαι 5 καὶ συμβασιλεύειν τάδελφον, καὶ δεόμενοι παντο-δαπῆς ἐπικουρίας ἐξαπέστειλαν πρεσβευτὰς Εὐ-μένη καὶ Διονυσόδωρον πρὸς τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς, αἰτούντες πεζοὺς μὲν χιλίους ἐππεὶς δὲ διακο-σίους, ἤγεμόνα δὲ τῆς ὅλης συμμαχίας Λυκόρταν, 6 τῶν δὲ ἵππεων Πολύβιον. πρὸς δὲ Θεοδωρίδαν τὸν Σικυώνιον διεπέμβατο, παρακαλοῦντες αὐτὸν 7 συντήσασθαι ἕξονλόγιον χιλίων ἀνδρῶν. συν-έβαινε δὲ τοὺς μὲν βασιλεῖς τὴν ἐπὶ πλείον σύ-στασιν ἔχειν πρὸς τοὺς εἰρημένους ἄνδρας ἐκ τῶν 8 πράξεων ὧν εἰρήκαμεν. τῶν δὲ πρεσβευτῶν παραγενομένων, τῆς συνόδου τῶν Ἀχαιῶν οὕσης ἐν Κορίνθῳ, καὶ τὰ τε φιλάνθρωπα πρὸς τὴν βασιλείαν ἀνανεωσμένων ὅντα μεγάλα καὶ τὴν 9 περίστασιν τῶν βασιλέων ὑπὸ τὴν ὁψὶν ἀγόντων καὶ δεομένων σφίσι βοηθεῖν, τὸ μὲν πλῆθος τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἔτοιμον ἥν οὐ μέρει τινύ, πανδημεῖ δὲ συγκινδυνεύειν, εἰ δέοι, τοῖς βασιλεύσει. ἀμφό-τεροι γὰρ εἶχον τὸ τε διάθημα καὶ τὴν ἔξουσίαν. 10 οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Καλλικράτην ἀντέλεγον, φάσκοντες δεῖν καθόλου μὲν μὴ πραγματοκοπεῖν, εἶ δὲ τοῖς παροῦσι καιροῖς μηδ' ὀλος, ἀλλ' ἀπεριστάστους 11 ὑπάρχοντας Ρωμαιοὺς παρέχεσθαι χρείας· μάλιστα γὰρ ἣν τότε προσδόκημος ὁ περὶ τῶν ὀλῶν κίν-δυνος, ἀτε τοῦ Κοίντου τοῦ Φιλίππου τῆς 24 παραχεμασίαν ἐν τῇ Μακεδονίᾳ πιονυμένου. τῶν (9) δὲ πολλῶν εἰς ἀπορίαν ἐμπιπτόντων, μηδ' δόξωσι 12 Ρωμαιῶν ἀστοχεῖν, μεταλαβόντες τοὺς λόγους οἱ περὶ τὸν Λυκόρταν καὶ Πολύβιον ἐδίδασκον, 82
proclaimed the younger Ptolemy king owing to the dangerous situation, while the elder one had come down from Memphis and shared the throne with his brother; and as they were in need of assistance from every possible quarter, they sent Eumenes and Dionysodorus on this embassy to the Achaean kings begging for a thousand foot and two hundred horse, the whole force to be commanded by Lycortas and the cavalry by Polybius. They also sent a message to Theodoridas of Sicyon begging him to raise a mercenary force of a thousand men. The kings were particularly intimate with the men I have mentioned, owing to the circumstances narrated above. When the envoys arrived, the Achaean Assembly being then in session at Corinth, and when after renewing the friendly relations of the Achaean kings, which were of a very close character, they brought before their eyes the danger in which the kings stood, and begged for help, the Achaean people were ready to go, not only with a part of their forces, but if necessary with the whole, to fight for the two kings, both of whom wore the crown and exercised royal authority. Callicrates and the others, however, opposed it, saying that generally speaking they should not meddle with such matters, and at the present time should most strictly avoid it and give undivided attention to serving the cause of Rome. For this was just the time when a decisive end of the war was expected, as Quintus Philippus was in winter quarters in Macedonia. 24. The people were now in doubt, and afraid of failing to please the Romans, when Lycortas and Polybius,
2 ἄλλα τε καὶ πλείω προφερόμενοι καὶ διότι, τῷ πρότερον ἔτει ψηφισμένων τῶν Ἀχαίων παν-
δημεὶς συστρατεύειν τοῖς Ρωμαίοις καὶ πεμψάντων
πρεσβευτὴν τὸν Πολυβίουν, ο恽 Κόντος ἀποδεξά-
μενος τὴν προσφυγὸν ἀπείπατο μὴ χρείαν ἔχειν
τῆς βοηθείας, ἐπεὶ κεκράτηκε τῆς εἰς Μακε-
δονίαν εἰσβολής. ἐξ ὧν ἀπεδείκνυσαν σκῆψιν
οὐσαν τῇ Ῥωμαίοις χρείαν πρὸς τὸ διακωλύσαι
3 βοηθείαν. διὸ παρεκάλουν τοὺς Ἀχαίους, ὑπο-
deiknύντες τὸ μέγεθος τῆς περιστάσεως, ἐν ἥ
συνέβαιν τότε τὴν βασιλείαν ὑπάρχειν, μὴ παρ-
ιδεῖν τὸν καίρον, ἀλλὰ μνημονεύοντας τῶν ὁμο-
λογιῶν καὶ τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν, μάλιστα δὲ τῶν
5 ὃρκων, ἐμπεδοῦν τὰς συνθήκας. τῶν δὲ πολλῶν
ἐπιφερομένων πάλιν βοηθείαν, τότε μὲν οἱ περὶ
tὸν Καλλικράτην ἐξέβαλον τὸ διαβούλιον, δια-
σείσαντες τοὺς ἀρχόντας, ὃς οὐκ οὐσία ἐξουσίας
κατὰ τοὺς νόμους ἐν ἀγορᾷ βουλεύεσθαι περὶ
6 βοηθείας. μετὰ δὲ τῶν χρόνον συγκλήτου συν-
αχθείσης εἰς τὴν τῶν Σικυονίων πόλιν, ἐν ἥ
συνέβαιν μὴ μόνον συμπορεύεσθαι τὴν βουλὴν
ἀλλὰ πάντας τοὺς ἀπὸ τριάκοντα ἐτῶν, καὶ λόγων
7 γινομένων πλείων, καὶ μάλιστα τοῦ Πολυβίου
dioριζομένου πρῶτον μὲν περὶ τοῦ μὴ χρείαν
ἔχειν τοὺς Ῥωμαίους τῆς βοηθείας καὶ δοκοῦντος
οὐκ εἰκῇ ταύτα λέγειν διὰ τὸ γεγονέναι τὴν παρ-
elθοῦσαν θερείαν ἐν τῇ Μακεδονίᾳ παρὰ τῷ
8 Φιλίππῳ, δεύτερον δὲ φάσκοντος, ἐὰν καὶ δέωνται
Ῥωμαίοι τῆς συμμαχίας, οὗ διὰ τοὺς διακοσίους
ἵπτεις καὶ χιλίους πεζοὺς τοὺς ἀποσταλησμέ-
νους εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἀδυνατήσειν τοὺς Ἀχαίους
βοηθείν Ῥωμαίους· καλῶς γὰρ ποιοῦντας αὐτοὺς
84
resuming the discussion, adduced several arguments, and especially the fact that in the previous year, when the Achaeans had voted to join the Romans in full force, and sent Polybius as their envoy to propose it, Quintus after thanking them for their zeal, had informed them that he had no need of the proffered help, as he was master of the passes leading to Macedonia. This, they said, proved that the possible need of the Romans for them was a mere pretext for preventing the dispatch of help to the kings. They, therefore, pointing out the imminence of the peril that threatened the kingdom of Egypt, entreated the Achaeans not to neglect this opportunity, but, mindful of their agreement, of the benefits they had received, and especially of their sworn word, confirm the proposed treaty. The Assembly now inclining to send help, Callicrates for the time threw out the resolution, intimidating the magistrates by the assertion that the law gave them no authority to discuss the question of the dispatch of armed help in the popular assembly. When shortly afterwards a meeting was held at Sicyon, at which not only the Achaean senate was present, but all citizens over thirty years of age, several speeches were made; and Polybius especially maintained in the first place that the Romans stood in no need of their assistance—a statement thought to be by no means made at random, as in the previous summer he had been with Quintus Philippus in Macedonia—and said next, that if the Romans did really require their help, the dispatch of the two hundred horse and a thousand foot to Alexandria would not make it impossible for the Achaeans to come to the aid of the Romans; for they
καὶ τρεῖς ἄγεως καὶ τέσσαρας μυριάδας ἀνδρῶν
9 μαχίμων· εὐδοκοῦντες τοῖς λεγομένοις ἔρρεπον
10 οἱ πολλοὶ πρὸς τὸ πέμπτεν τὴν συμμαχίαν. τῇ
dὲ δευτέρᾳ τῶν ἡμερῶν, ἐν ἧ ἑκάτερα τοὺς νόμους
ἐδει τὰς ψηφίσματα προσφέρειν τοὺς βουλομένους,
οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸν Λυκόρταν προσήχειν διότι
δεὶ πέμπτεν τὴν βοήθειαν, οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Καλλι-
κράτην διότι δὲ προσβεντᾶς ἐξαποστέλλειν τοὺς
dιαλύσοντας τοὺς βασιλεῖς πρὸς τὸν 'Αντίοχον.
11 πάλιν δὲ τῶν διαβουλιῶν προτεθέντων ἄγων
ἐγώντο νεανίκος· πολὺ γε μὴν ὑπερεῖχον οἱ περὶ
12 τὸν Λυκόρταν. αἱ τε γὰρ βασιλεῖαι συγκρ.
13 νόμεναι μεγάλην ἐξόν διαφοράν· ὑπὸ μὲν γὰρ
tῆς 'Αντίόχου οπάνων ἣν εὐρεῖν οἰκεῖον τι γε-
yγονος καθόλου πρὸς τοὺς "Ελλήνας ἐν γε τοῖς
ἀνώτερον χρόνους· καὶ γὰρ ἡ τοῦ τότε βασι-
λεύσοντος μεγαλουχία <διὰ>δήλος ἐγένετο τοῖς
14 "Ελλήνων· ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς Πτολεμαίου τοσαῦτα καὶ
tηλικάντα τοῖς 'Αχαιοῖς ἐγεγόνει φιλάνθρωπα
κατὰ τοὺς ἀνώτερον χρόνους ὡστ' ἐν μηδένα
15 πλείον ἄξιοιν. αἱ διατιθέμενοι ὃ Λυκόρτας με-
yγάλην ἐποιεῖτο φαντασίαν, ἀτε τῆς παραθέσεως
16 ὀλοσχερῆ τὴν διαφοράν ἐχούσης· καὶ' ὅσον γὰρ
οὗκ ἐξαρθμήσασθαι βάδιον ἥν τὰς τῶν ἐν Ἰαλ-
adreίᾳ βασιλείων ἐκεργείας, κατὰ τοσοῦτον
ἀπλῶς οὐδὲν ἦν εὐρεῖν φιλάνθρωπον ἐκ τῆς 'Αν-
tióχου βασιλείας ἀπηντημένον εἰς πραγμάτων
λόγον τοῖς 'Αχαιοῖς.
25 Ὑπὶ ἐως μὲν τινὸς οἱ περὶ τὸν 'Ανδρωνίδαν
(10) καὶ Καλλικράτην ἐχρῶντό τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῆς δια-
lύσεως λόγους, οὐδενός δὲ προσέχοντος αὐτῶς
2 ἐπεισοδιγαγοῦν μηχανήν. παρὴν γὰρ ἐκ πορείας
86
could very well raise a force of even thirty or forty thousand men fit to take the field. His speech met with approval, and the people were now disposed to send the help. On the second day, when the law enjoined that those who wished to propose decrees should bring them forward, Lycortas proposed to send the auxiliaries, and Callicrates to send envoys to make peace between the kings and Antiochus. Upon the resolution being proposed there was again a lively debate; but Lycortas and his party had much the best of it. For there was a great difference between the two kingdoms in comparison, since only rare instances could be found in which there had been any close relations between that of Antiochus and Greece, in former times at least—for the present king had acted with conspicuous generosity towards the Greeks—but the favours which the Achaeans had received from the kingdom of Egypt in former times had been so great and frequent, that no one could have expected more. Lycortas, by arguing thus, made a great impression, as the comparison showed the difference to be complete. For while it was not easy to enumerate the benefits conferred by the kings in Alexandria, there was not a single act of kindness of any practical value to be found which the Achaeans had met with from the dynasty of Antiochus.

25. Andronidas and Callicrates spoke for a time in favour of making peace; but as no one paid any attention to them, they had recourse to intervention from a higher quarter. For a courier fresh from his
eis to theatroν γραμματηφόρος φέρων ἐπιστολήν
παρὰ Κοῦντον Μαρκίου, δι' ἦς παρεκάλει τοὺς
'Αχαίος ἀκολουθοῦντας τῇ 'Ῥωμαιῶν προαιρέσει
3 περισσαί διαλύειν τοὺς βασιλεῖς· συνέβανε γὰρ
καὶ τὴν σύγκλητον ἀπεσταλκέναι προσβευτὰς τοὺς
4 περὶ Νεμέσιον διαλύσοντας τοὺς βασιλεῖς. ἦν
δὲ τούτο κατὰ τῆς ὑποθέσεως· οἱ γὰρ περὶ τὸν
Τίτον ἀδυνατήσαντες τοῦ διαλύειν ἀνακεχωρή-
5 κεισαν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἄπρακτο τελείως. ἀλλ' οἱ
περὶ τὸν Πολύβιον οὐ βουλόμενοι διὰ τὸν
Μάρκιου πρὸς τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἀντιλέγειν ἀνεχώ-
ρησαν ἐκ τῶν πραγμάτων. καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ
6 τὴν βοήθειαν οὐτω διέπισε τοῖς βασιλευσί, τοῖς
δ' 'Αχαίοις ἐδοξε προσβευτὰς ἀποστέλλειν τοὺς
dιαλύσοντας· καὶ κατεστάθησαν "Ἀρχων Ἀγει-
7 ράτης, Ἀρκεσίας Ἀρίστων Μεγαλοπολῖται. οἱ
dὲ παρὰ τοῦ Πτολεμαίου προσβευταί διαφέ
σθένες τῆς συμμαχίας ἀνέδωκαν τοῖς ἄρχουσιν,
ἐγόμασ ἐχοντες, ἐπιστολὰς παρὰ τῶν βασιλέων,
di' ὅν ἦξιον τοὺς 'Αχαίος, ἐκτέμιπεν Λυκόρταν
καὶ Πολύβιον ἐπὶ τὸν ἐνεστῶτα πόλεμον.

26 Ἐπιλαθόμενος δὲ τῶν γεγραμμένων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ
(7α) Ἀντίοχος καὶ τῶν εἰρημένων ἐξήρτουε πόλεμον
κατὰ Πτολεμαίον, ὡστε καὶ λιαν ἀληθὲς φαίνεσθαι
τὸ ῥηθὲν ὑπὸ Σιμωνίδου "χαλεπὸν ἐσθλὸν ἐμ-
2 μεναι." ἔχειν μὲν γὰρ ὀρμᾶς ἐπὶ τὰ καλὰ καὶ
μέχρι των ἀντιποίησοσαι τοῦτων εὐμαρέσ, ὀμα-
λίσαι δὲ καὶ κατὰ πᾶσαν περίστασιν ἐπίμονον
γενέσθαι τῇ γνώμῃ, μηδὲν τοῦ καλοῦ καὶ τοῦ
dικαίου προαγιαίτερον τιθέμενον, δυσχερές.

27 Ὅτι τοῦ Ἀντίοχο πρὸς Πτολεμαίον ἐνεκείν
(11) τοῦ Πηλούσιον κατασχέειν ἀφικομένου, ὁ Ποπί-
journey appeared in the theatre bearing a letter from Quintus Marcius, in which he begged the Achaean s to follow the Roman policy in attempting to make peace between the kings. Now it was true that the senate had sent envoys headed by Titus Numisius for this purpose; but the result had not been such as to favour this course, for Titus had found it impossible to make peace and had returned to Rome without achieving anything at all. Polybius, however, out of respect for Marcius not wishing to oppose the letter, retired from the discussion; and in this manner the project of the kings to secure help failed, and the Achaean s decided to send envoys to bring about peace, their choice falling on Archon of Aegeira and Arcesilaus and Ariston of Megalopolis. Upon this the envoys from Ptolemy, foil ed in their project of getting armed help, handed to the magistrates a letter from the kings which they had ready, begging the Achaean s to send Lycortas and Polybius to help in the war.

26. Forgetful of all he had written and spoken Antiochus was making preparations for war with Ptolemy, so that what Simonides said seems to be very true: "It is hard to be good." It is indeed easy to be disposed to act honourably and to strive to do so up to a certain point, but to be consistent and under every circumstance to be steadfast in our purpose, esteeming nothing to be of higher importance than justice and honour, is difficult.

27. At the time when Antiochus approached Ptolemy and meant to occupy Pelusium, Caius
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

λιος ὁ τῶν Ἄρωμαίων στρατηγὸς, τοῦ βασιλέως πόρρωθεν ἀσταξομένου διὰ τῆς φωνῆς καὶ τὴν δεξιὰν προτείνοντος, πρόχειρον ἔχων τὸ δελτάριον, ἐν ὦ τὸ τῆς συγκλήτου δόγμα κατετελεστάκτο, προὕτευυεν αὐτῷ καὶ τοῦτ’ ἐκέλευσε πρῶτον

3 ἀναγνώναι τὸν Ἀντίοχον, ὥς μὲν ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, ὁμήρῳ πρότερον ἀξιόωσα τὸ τῆς φιλίας σύνθημα ποιεῖν πρὶν ἦ τὴν προαίρεσιν ἐπιγνώναι τοῦ δεξιομένου,

4 πότερα φίλους ἡ πολέμιός ἐστίν. ἔπει δ’ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀναγνούσ ἐφή βούλεσθαι μεταδοθῆναι τοῖς φίλοις ὑπὲρ τῶν προσπεπτωκτῶν, ἀκούσας ὁ Ποπίλιος ἐποίησε πράγμα βαρὺ μὲν δοκοῦν

5 εἶναι καὶ τελέως ὑπερήφανον. ἔχων γὰρ πρόχειρον ἀμπελίνην βακτηρίαν περιέγραφε τῷ κλήματι τὸν Ἀντίοχον ἐν τούτῳ τε τῷ γύρῳ τὴν ἀπόφασιν ἐκέλευσε δοῦναι περὶ τῶν γεγραμμένων:

6 ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἤρισθεῖσ τὸ γινόμενον καὶ τὴν ὑπεροχήν, βραχὺν χρόνον ἐναπορήσας ἐφή ποιήσειν πᾶν τὸ παρακαλούμενον ὑπὸ Ἄρωμαίων. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ποπίλιον τότε τὴν δεξιὰν αὐτοῦ λαμβάνοντες ἀμα πάντες ἐστάζοντο φιλοφρόνως. ἦν δὲ τὰ γεγραμμένα λύειν εἰς αὐτῆς τὸν πρὸς Πτο-

7 λεμαῖον πόλεμον. διὸ καὶ δοθεισῶν αὐτῶ τακτῶν ἡμερῶν, οὕτως μὲν ἀπῆγε τὰς δυνάμεις εἰς τὴν Συρίαν, βαρυμόμενος καὶ στὲνων, εἰκὼν δὲ τοῖς καιροῖς κατὰ τὸ παρὸν. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Πο-

8 πίλιον καταστησάμενοι τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν καὶ παρακαλέσαντες τοὺς βασιλεῖς ὀμονοεῖν, ἀμα δὲ προστάξαντες αὐτοῖς Πολυάρατον ἀναπέμπειν εἰς Ἄρωμην, ἀνέπλευσαν ἐπὶ τῆς Κύπρου, βουλόμενοι καὶ τὰς ἐκεῖ ἐκθεῖσυνταρχοῦσας δυνάμεις

9 ἐκβάλειν ἐκ τῆς νῆσου κατὰ σπουδήν. ἀφικό-
Popilius Laenas, the Roman commander, on Antiochus greeting him from a distance and then holding out his hand, handed to the king, as he had it by him, the copy of the senatus-consultum, and told him to read it first, not thinking it proper, as it seems to me, to make the conventional sign of friendship before he knew if the intentions of him who was greeting him were friendly or hostile. But when the king, after reading it, said he would like to communicate with his friends about this intelligence, Popilius acted in a manner which was thought to be offensive and exceedingly arrogant. He was carrying a stick cut from a vine, and with this he drew a circle round Antiochus and told him he must remain inside this circle until he gave his decision about the contents of the letter. The king was astonished at this authoritative proceeding, but, after a few moments' hesitation, said he would do all that the Romans demanded. Upon this Popilius and his suite all grasped him by the hand and greeted him warmly. The letter ordered him to put an end at once to the war with Ptolemy. So, as a fixed number of days were allowed to him, he led his army back to Syria, deeply hurt and complaining indeed, but yielding to circumstances for the present. Popilius after arranging matters in Alexandria and exhorting the two kings there to act in common, ordering them also to send Polyaratus to Rome, sailed for Cyprus, wishing to lose no time in expelling the Syrian troops that were in the island. When they arrived, finding
μενοι δὲ καὶ καταλαβόντες ἣττημένους μάχη
toūs toū Πτολεμαίου στρατηγοῦς καὶ καθόλου
φερόμενα τὰ κατὰ τὴν Κύπρον ἄνω καὶ κάτω>
tαχέως ἀνέστησαν τὸ στραṭόπεδον ἐκ τῆς χώρας
καὶ παρήδρευσαν, ἐως ἀπέπλευσαν αἰ δυνάμεις
11 ἐπὶ Συρίας. καὶ Ῥωμαίοι μὲν ὅσον οὕτω κατα-
πεπονημένην τὴν Πτολεμαίου βασιλείαν τοῦτω
12 τῷ τρόπῳ διέσωσαν, τῆς τύχης οὕτω βραβευόμης
tὰ κατὰ τὸν Περσέα πράγματα καὶ τοὺς Μακε-
δόνας ὅστε καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἑσχατὸν καὶρὸν ἐλθόντα
tὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν καὶ τὴν ὅλην Ἀζ-
γυπτον παρὰ τοῦτο πάλιν ὀρθωθῆναι, παρὰ τὸ
13 φθάσαι κριθέντα τὰ κατὰ τὸν Περσέα πράγματα·
μὴ γὰρ γενομένου τοῦτο καὶ πιστευόντος, οὐκ
ἂν μοι δοκεῖ πειθαρχῆσαι τοῖς ἐπιταττομένοις
'Αντίοχος.
that Ptolemy’s generals had been defeated and that the affairs of Cyprus were generally in a topsy-turvy state, they soon made the Syrian army retire from the country, and waited until the troops took ship for Syria. In this way the Romans saved the kingdom of Ptolemy, which had almost been crushed out of existence: Fortune having so directed the matter of Perseus and Macedonia that when the position of Alexandria and the whole of Egypt was almost desperate, all was again set right simply owing to the fact that the fate of Perseus had been decided. For had this not been so, and had not Antiochus been certain of it, he would never, I think, have obeyed the Roman behests.
FRAGMENTA LIBRI XXX

I. Res Italiae

1 "Oti katá tôn kaiρóν touton ἦλθε παρὰ τοῦ
2 βασιλέως Εὐμένους ἀδελφὸς Ἄτταλος, ἐχὼν μὲν
3 πρόφασιν, εἰ καὶ μή τὸ κατὰ τοὺς Γαλάτας ἐγε-
4 νόνει σώμπτωμα περὶ τὴν βασιλείαν, ὄμως ἐλθεῖν
5 εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἔνεκεν τοῦ συγχαρῆναι τῇ συνγ-
6 κλῆτι καὶ τυχεῖν τίνος ἐπισημασίας διὰ τὸ συμ-
7 πεπολεμηκέναι καὶ πάντων εὐμενῶς σφίσι μετ-
8 εςχηκέναι τῶν κυνδύνων· τότε δὲ καὶ διὰ τὴν
9 Γαλατικὴν περίστασιν ἡμαγκασμένος ἦκεν εἰς
10 τὴν Ῥώμην. πάντων δὲ φιλοφρόνως αὐτὸν ἀπο-
11 δεχομένων διὰ τε τὴν ἐν τῇ στρατείᾳ γεγενημένην
12 συνήθειαν καὶ διὰ τὸ δοκεῖν εὕνουν αὐτοῖς ὑπ-
13 ἄρχειν, καὶ γινομένης τῆς ἀπαντήσεως ὑπὲρ τῆς
14 προσδοκίαν, μετέωρος ἐγενῆθη ταῖς ἐλπῖσιν, οὐκ
15 εἰδὼς τὴν ἀληθινὴν αὐτίαν τῆς ἀποδοχῆς. διὸ
16 καὶ παρ’ ὅλιγον ἦλθε τοῦ λυμήνασθαι τὰ σφέτερα
17 πράγματα καὶ τὴν ὅλην βασιλείαν. τῶν γὰρ
18 πλείστων Ῥωμαίων ἀπηλλοτριωμένων τῆς τοῦ
19 βασιλέως Εὐμένους εὐνοίας καὶ πεπεισμένων αὐτὸν
20 πλάγιον ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ γεγονέναι, λαλοῦντα τῷ
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I. Affairs of Italy

Attalus at Rome; Embassies from Rhodes

(Cp. Livy xlv. 19.)

1. At this time Attalus arrived in Rome sent by 168-167 B.C. His brother Eumenes, the pretext for his mission being, that even if there had not been the Galatian trouble in the kingdom, still he would have come with the wish to congratulate the senate and with the hope of receiving some marks of attention, as they had fought side by side with the Romans and loyally shared all their dangers. Now, however, the Galatian danger had obliged him to come to Rome. He was very cordially received on all sides since they had become intimate with him in camp, and thought he was very well disposed to Rome, and, as the warmth of his reception even surpassed his expectations, he began to entertain extravagant hopes, not knowing the true reason of their kindness. In consequence he narrowly escaped damaging the interests of himself and his brother and their kingdom in general. For as the regard of most of the Romans for Eumenes had been estranged, and they were convinced that he had not acted straight in the war, but had kept on communicating with
Περσεῖ καὶ τοῖς καυροῖς ἐφεδρεύοντα τοῖς κατ’
7 αὐτῶν, ἔνοι τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἄνδρῶν λαμβάνοντες
eis τὰς χειρὰς τὸν "Ἀτταλοῦν παρεκάλουν τὴν μὲν
ὑπὲρ τάδελφοῦ πρεσβεῖαν ἀποθέσθαι, περὶ δ’
8 ἐαυτοῦ ποιεῖσθαι τοὺς λόγους: βούλεσθαι γὰρ
αὐτῷ τὴν σύγκλητον συγκατασκευάζειν ἵδιαν ἀρχὴν
καὶ δυναστείαν διὰ τὴν ἀλλοτριότητα τὴν πρὸς
9 τὸν ἀδέλφον. ἐφ’ οἷς συνέβαινε τὸν "Ἀτταλοῦν
ἐπὶ πολὺ μετεωρίζεσθαι καὶ συγκατανευέν <ἐν>
taῖς κατ’ ἱδιὰν ὁμιλίας τοῖς εἰς τοῦτο τὸ μέρος
10 αὐτῶν παρομωσὶ. τέλος δὲ πρὸς ἐνίους τῶν
ἀξιολόγων ἄνδρῶν συνέθετο καὶ παρελθὼν εἰς
tὴν σύγκλητον ποιήσεσθαι τοὺς περὶ τοῦτων
λόγους.
2. Τοιαύτης δ’ οὕσης τῆς διαθέσεως περὶ τὸν
"Ἀτταλοῦν, ὀπτευσάμενος ὁ βασιλεὺς τὸ μέλλον
ἐπιπέμπει Στρατιόν τὸν ἰατρὸν εἰς τὴν 'Ῥώμην,
2 ὅσ μεγίστην παρ’ αὐτῷ πίστιν εἶχε, τὰ μὲν ὑπο-
δείξας, τὰ δ’ ἐντειλάμενος πᾶσαν εἰσενέγκασθαι
μηχανήν πρὸς τὸ μῆ κατακολουθῆσαι τὸν "Ἀτταλοῦν
toῖς βουλομένους λυμήνασθαι τὴν βασιλείαν αὐ-
3 τῶν. ὁ δὲ παραγενόμενος εἰς τὴν 'Ῥώμην καὶ
λαβὼν εἰς τὰς χειρὰς τὸν "Ἀτταλοῦν πολλοὺς μὲν
καὶ ποικίλους διέθετο λόγους· καὶ <γὰρ> ἦν ὁ
4 ἄνθρωπος ἔχων τι νουνεχές καὶ πειστικὸν· μόνῳ
dὲ καθίκετο τῆς προθέσεως καὶ μετεκάλεσε τὸν
"Ἀτταλοῦν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀλόγου φορᾶς, θεὶς ὑπὸ τὴν
ὄψιν ὅτι κατὰ μὲν τὸ παρὸν συμβασιλεύει τά-
dελφῶ, τοῦτω διαφέρων ἐκείνω τῷ μῆ διάδημα
5 περιτίθεσθαι μηδὲ χρηματίζειν βασιλεὺς, τὴν δὲ
λοιπὴν ἱσθαν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχων ἐξουσίαν, εἰς
dὲ τὸ μέλλον ὀμολογομένως καταλείπεται διά-
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BOOK XXX. 1. 6 – 2. 5

Perseus and watching for a reverse in their fortunes, some of the most distinguished of them in private conversation with Attalus advised him to throw up his mission on behalf of his brother and to speak on his own behalf; for the senate, they said, wished to create a separate kingdom for him, owing to their hostility to his brother. Attalus’s ambition was much aroused by this, and in private conversation he was disposed to yield to the advice of those who urged him to act so. Finally he even entered into an agreement with some personages of importance to come before the senate and address that body on the subject.

2. Such being Attalus’s state of mind, the king, who had divined what would happen, sent his physician Stratius, in whom he placed great confidence, to Rome, both furnishing him with suggestions and giving him positive orders to adopt every device to prevent Attalus from following the advice of those who wished to ruin their kingdom. Upon his arrival in Rome, he had a private interview with Attalus and reasoned with him at length, employing various arguments; for he was a man of good sense and persuasive power. With difficulty he attained his purpose and made Attalus renounce his foolish project, by representing to him that for the present he shared the throne with his brother, differing from him only in this that he did not wear a crown and had not the title of king, but otherwise having equal and in fact identical power; while as to the future he was the undisputed successor to the
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

δοχος τῆς ἀρχῆς, οὐ μακρὰν ταύτης τῆς ἐλπίδος ὑπαρχοῦσης, ἀτε τοῦ βασιλέως διὰ μὲν τὴν σω-
ματικήν ἀσθένειαν αἰεὶ προσδοκῶντος τὴν ἐκ τοῦ
βίου μετάστασιν, διὰ δὲ τῆς ἀπαίδιαν οὐδ' εἰ
βουληθεὶς δυναμένου τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀλλὰ καταλιπεῖν.
6 οὐδέπω γὰρ ἀναδεδειγμένος ἐτύγχανεν κατὰ φύσιν
νίὸς ὡς αὐτῷ ὁ μετὰ ταῦτα διαδεξάμενος τὴν
7 ἀρχὴν. τὸ δὲ συνέχον, θαυμάζειν ἐφ' ἄνω
8 βλάπτει τοὺς ἐνεστῶτας καιροὺς. μεγάλην γὰρ
δεῖν ἐχεῖν πᾶσι τοῖς θεοῖς χάριν, εἰ συμπνεύσαντες
καὶ μιᾷ γνώμη χρώμενοι δύναντο τὸν ἀπὸ Γαλατῶν
φόβον ἀπώστασθαι καὶ τὸν ἀπὸ τούτων ἐφεστῶτα
9 κύνδυνων. εἰ δὲ νῦν εἰς στάσιν καὶ διαφορὰν
ηζεὶ πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν, πρόδηλον εἶναι διότι
καταστρέφει τὴν βασιλείαν καὶ στερήσει μὲν
αὐτὸν καὶ τῆς παρούσης ἐξουσίας καὶ τῆς εἰς
τὸ μέλλον ἐλπίδος, στερήσει δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀδελ-
φοὺς τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ τῆς ἐν αὐτῇ δυναστείας.
10 ταύτα δὴ καὶ τούτως ἑτέρα παραπλήσια δια-
τιθέμενος ὁ Στράτιος ἔπεισε τὸν Ἀτταλον μένειν
ἐπὶ τῶν ὑποκειμένων.
3 Διόπερ εἰσελθὼν εἰς τὴν σύγκλητον ὁ προ-
ειρημένος συνεχὰρμεν ὡς ἐπὶ τοὺς γεγονόσιν καὶ
περὶ τῆς καθ' αὐτὸν εὐνοίας καὶ προθυμίας, ἦν
παρέσχετο κατὰ τὸν πρὸς Περσέα πόλεμον,
2 ἀπελογίσατο· παραπλήσιος δὲ καὶ περὶ τοῦ
πέμψαν πρεσβευτὰς τοὺς παρακαθέζοντας τὴν
τῶν Γαλατῶν ἀπόνοιαν καὶ πάλιν εἰς τὴν ἐς ἀρχῆς
αὐτοὺς ἀποκαταστήσοντας διάθεσιν παρεκάλεσε
3 διὰ πλειόνων. ἐποιήσατο δὲ λόγους καὶ περὶ
tῆς Αἰνίων καὶ τῆς Μαρωνείτῶν πόλεως, ἄξιων
4 αὐτῷ δοθῆναι ταύτας ἐν δωρεᾷ. τὸν δὲ κατὰ
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throne, and his hopes were not likely to be long deferred, as the king, owing to his infirm health, was in constant expectation of death, and, owing to his childlessness, could not, even if he wished, leave his kingdom to anyone else—the actual successor not having yet been recognized by him as his real son. And above all he said it surprised him that Attalus should do a thing so injurious under present circumstances. They should surely give great thanks to all the gods if by agreement and unity of action they could ward off the Galatian peril and the danger that threatened them from that quarter. But if now he proceeded to quarrel with his brother, it was evident that he would ruin the kingdom and deprive himself both of his present power and his hope of future power, while at the same time depriving both brothers of the kingdom and the authority they exercised within its boundaries. By these and similar arguments Stratius succeeded in persuading Attalus to leave things alone.

3. Attalus therefore on entering the Curia congratulated the senate on all that had happened and solicited their favour in return for his kind offices and ready assistance in the war with Perseus. He also at some length begged them to send legates to check the desperate revolt of Galatia and restore the former submissive temper of that province. He also spoke about Aenus and Maronea, asking for these towns to be freely granted to him. As
5 τῆς ἀρχῆς εἰς τέλος παρεσιωπησεν. ἢ δὲ σύγκλητος ὑπολαμβάνονσα πάλιν αὐτὸν ἴδια περὶ τούτων εἰσπορεύεσθαι, τοὺς τε προσβευτὰς συμπέμψειν ὑπέσχετο καὶ τοῖς εἰθισμένοις δώρωις ἐτύμησεν αὐτὸν μεγαλομερῶς. ἐπηγγείλατο δὲ καὶ τὰς προειρημένας πόλεις δώσειν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ παραυτὰ τυχῶν τῶν φιλανθρώπων ὠρμησεν ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης οὐδὲν ποιήσας τῶν προσδοκομένων, διαφευγῆσα τῶν ἐλπίδων ἡ σύγκλητος

6 ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν εἶχε ποιεῖν, ἔτι δὲ κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ὄντος αὐτοῦ τὴν μὲν Αἰνον καὶ τὴν Μαρώνειαν ἡλευθέρωσεν, ἀδετήσας τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν, τοὺς δὲ περὶ τὸν Πόπλιον Δικίννων ἐπεμψε προσβευτὰς πρὸς τοὺς Γαλάτας. οἷς πολλὰς μὲν

7 ἐδωκεν ἐντολὰς εἰπεῖν οὐ πάθων, στοχάζεσθαι δ' ἐκ τῶν μετὰ ταύτα συμβαντῶν οὐ δυσχερές.

8 τούτο δ' ἔσται δῆλον ἐκ τῶν πράξεων αὐτῶν.

9 Ἡκὸν δὲ καὶ παρὰ Ὀδίων πρέσβεις, πρῶτον μὲν οἱ περὶ Φιλοκράτην, μετὰ δὲ τούτους οἱ

2 περὶ Φιλόφρονα καὶ Ἀστυμήδην· οἱ γὰρ Ὀδίωι κομμασμένοι τὴν ἀπόκρισιν, ἢν οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀγέπολιν ἔλαβον εὐθέως μετὰ τὴν παράταξιν, καὶ θεωροῦντες ἐκ ταύτης τὴν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὀργὴν καὶ τὴν ἀνάτασιν τῆς συγκλήτου παρανύκτικα τὰς

3 προειρημένας πρεσβείας ἐξέσπειμαι. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἀστυμήδην καὶ Φιλόφρονα κατανοοῦντες ἐκ τῶν ἐντευξέως καὶ κοινῆ καὶ κατ' ἴδιαν τὴν υφόρασιν καὶ τὴν ἀλλοτριότητα τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὴν πρὸς αὐτοὺς εἰς ἀθυμίαν ὀλοσχερὴ καὶ δυσ-

4 χρηστίαν ἐνέτιππον. ὡς δὲ καὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν τις ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐμβόλους παρεκάλει

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to what he had been about to say against Eumenes and about the division of the kingdom he did not utter a word. The senate, supposing that he would appear again and make a special speech about these matters, promised to send legates back with him, and voted on a lavish scale the customary gifts in his honour. They also promised to give him the two towns in question. But when, after receiving all these kindnesses, he left Rome without doing any of the things they expected, the senate, disabused of their hopes, could take no further action; but while he was still in Italy set free Aenus and Maronea, thus breaking their promise, but dispatched Publius Licinius Crassus as their legate to Galatia. It is difficult to state what instructions they gave this legate, but from what happened afterwards it is easy to guess what they were, as will be evident when I come to narrate the events.

4. Envoys also came from Rhodes, first Philocrates and next Philophron and Astymedes. For the Rhodians, on receiving the answer given to Hagepolis just after the battle of Pydna and seeing from this the angry and threatening attitude of the senate towards them, at once sent off these two embassies. Astymedes and Philophron, noticing from the reception they met with both in public and in private the suspicion and hostility with which they were regarded, fell into a state of utter despondency and helplessness. And when one of the praetors mounted the rostra and urged the people
τοὺς ὀχλοὺς ἐπὶ τὸν κατὰ Πολύβιον πόλεμον,
5 τότε δὴ παντάπασιν ἔξω τού φρονεῖν γενόμενον
dιὰ τὸν περὶ τῆς πατρίδος κύνδυνον εἰς τοιούτην
ἡλθον διάθεσιν ἄστε καὶ φαινά λαβέν ἰμάτια καὶ
κατὰ τὰς παρακλήσεις μηκέτι παρακαλεῖν μηδ’
ἀξιόν τοὺς φίλους, ἀλλὰ δεῖσθαι μετὰ δα-
κρύων μηδὲν ἀνήκεστον βουλεύσασθαι περὶ αὐτῶν.
6 μετὰ δὲ τώσας ἡμέρας εἰςαγαγόντος αὐτοὺς Ἀν-
τωνίου τοῦ δημάρχου, <τοῦ> καὶ τόν στρατηγὸν
tὸν παρακαλοῦντα πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον κατασπά-
sαντος ἀπὸ τῶν ἐμβόλων, ἔποιεῖτο τοὺς λόγους
πρῶτον μὲν Φιλόφρων, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον Ἀστυ-
7 μῆδης. ὦτε δὴ κατὰ τὴν παρομίαν τὸ κύκνειον
ἐξηχήσαντες ἔλαβον ἀποκρίσεις τοιαύτας, δι’ ὅν
τοῦ μὲν ὀλοσχεροῦς φόβου τοῦ κατὰ τὸν πόλε-
8 μον ἐδόκοιν παραλεύσασθαι, περὶ δὲ τῶν κατὰ
μέρος ἑγκλημάτων αὐτοῖς ἡ σύγκλητος πικρώς
9 καὶ βαρέως ἄνειδισεν. ἦν δ’ ὁ νοῦς τῆς ἀπο-
κρίσεως τοιούτος, ὅτι εἰ μὴ δι’ ὅλγους ἄνθρω-
pous τοὺς αὐτῶν φίλους, καὶ μάλιστα δι’ αὐτοὺς,
ἡδεισαν καλῶς καὶ δικαίως ὡς δέον ἦν αὐτοῖς
χρῆσασθαι. δ’ Ἀστυμηθῆς αὐτῷ μὲν ἐδόκει
καλῶς εἰρηκέναι περὶ τῆς πατρίδος, οὐ μὴν τοῖς
gε παρεπιδημοῦσιν οὐδὲ τοῖς οίκοι μένουσιν
10 τῶν Ἐλλήνων οὐδαμῶς ἠρεσκεν. ἐξέβαλε γὰρ
ἐγχραπτὸν μετὰ ταῦτα ποιήσας τὴν σύντοξην τῆς
dικαιολογίας, ἢ τοῖς πλείστοις τῶν ἀναλαμβα-
nόντων εἰς τὰς χεῖρας ἄτοπος ἐφαίνετο καὶ τε-
12 λέως ἄπιθανος. συνεστήσατο γὰρ τὴν δικαιο-
λογίαν οὐ μόνον ἐκ τῶν τῆς πατρίδος δικαίων,
13 ἢτι δὲ μᾶλλον ἐκ τῆς τῶν ἄλλων κατηγορίας. τὰ
μὲν γὰρ εὐεργετήματα καὶ συνεργήματα παρα-
to declare war on Rhodes, then, entirely losing their senses owing to the danger in which their country stood, they were in such a state of distress that they put on mourning and in seeking the aid of their friends no longer begged for it or asked for it, but implored them in tears not to resort to extreme measures against Rhodes. A few days afterwards, when they were introduced to the senate by the tribune Antonius, who had previously dragged down from the rostra the praetor who was inciting the people to make war, Philophron was the first to speak, and was followed by Astymedes. On this occasion after singing the dying swan's song, as the saying is, they received an answer which relieved indeed their extreme apprehension of war, but in it the senate reproached them bitterly and severely for the several offences with which they were charged. The sense of the answer was that, had it not been for a few men who were their friends, and especially had it not been for their own conduct, they would have known well as they richly deserved what was the treatment proper for them. Astymedes, in his own opinion, had spoken well in defence of his country, but his speech by no means pleased the Greeks resident in Rome nor those at home. For he afterwards wrote out and published his defence, and most of those who perused it thought it strange and quite unconvincing, inasmuch as he had drawn it up relying not so much on the rights of his country, as on the accusations he brought against others. In comparing and judging the relative values of kindnesses and assistance rendered to the Romans, he
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βάλλων καὶ συγκρίνων τὰ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ἐπειρᾶτο θεωροματικὰ καὶ ταπεινοῦν, τὰ δὲ τῶν 'Ροδίων ἦξαν, πολλαπλασιάζων καθ' ὅσον οἶδο

14 τ' ἦν· τὰ δ' ἀμαρτήματα κατὰ τοῦντιόν τὰ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ἐξωνείδιζε πικρῶς καὶ δυσμενικῶς, τὰ δὲ τῶν 'Ροδίων ἐπειράτο περιστέλλειν, ὡς κατὰ τὴν παράδεισιν τὰ μὲν οἰκεῖα μικρὰ καὶ συγγνώμης ἀξία φανῇ, τὰ δὲ τῶν πέλας μεγάλα καὶ ἀπαραίτητα τελέως, ἐφ' οἷς ἔφη συγγνώμης

15 τετευχέναι τούς ἡμαρτηκότας ἀπαντας. τὸ δὲ γένος τοῦτο τῆς δικαιολογίας οἰδάμως ἂν πρεπεῖν ἀνθρώπων πολιτικῶ δόξειν, ἐπεῖτοι καὶ τῶν κοινοπραγησάντων περὶ των ἀπορρήτων ὑπὸ τοὺς διὰ φόβου ἢ πόρου μηνυτὰς γενομένους τῶν συνειδότων ἐπανομώμεν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς πάσαν ἐπιδεξαμένους βάσανον καὶ τίμωριαν καὶ μηδεί τῶν συνειδότων παρατίθεντον γενομένους τῆς αὐτῆς συμφορᾶς, τούτους ἀποδεχόμεθα καὶ τούτους ἀν-δραράν ἀγαθοὺς νομίζομεν. ὡς δὲ διὰ τῶν ἀδηλον φόβου πάντα τὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἀμαρτημάτα τιθείς ὑπὸ τὴν ὅψιν τοὺς κρατοῦσι καὶ καινοποιήσας, ὑπὲρ δὲν ὁ χρόνος εἰς λήθην ἀγνόχρεος τοὺς ὑπερ-έχοντας, πῶς οὐκ ἔμελλε δυσαρεστήσει τοῖς ἰστορήσασιν;

5 Τὴν δὲ προειρημένην ἀπόκρισιν οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸν Φιλοκράτην λαβόντες ἐξ αὐτῆς ἀρμήσαν, οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν 'Φιλόφρονα καὶ 'Αστυμήδην αὐτοῖς μὲνοντες παρήδρουν χάριν τοῦ μηδὲν αὐτοὺς λανθάνειν τῶν προσπιττόντων ἢ λεγομένων κατὰ τὴς πατρίδος. προστεθοῦσας δὲ τὴς ἀπο-κρίσεως ταὐτῆς εἰς τὴν 'Ρόδον, δὸξαντες ἀπολε-λύσαι τοῦ μεγίστου φόβου τοῦ κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον,
attempted to discredit and belittle the services of other states, while he magnified those of Rhodes, exaggerating them as much as he could. In regard to offences, on the contrary, he condemned those of others in a bitter and hostile spirit, but tried to cloak those of Rhodes, so that when compared the offences of Rhodes might seem to be small and deserving of pardon, but those of her neighbours great and quite inexpiable, although, as he said, the offenders had all been pardoned. Such a kind of justification, I think, is by no means becoming in a politician, since surely in the case of men who have taken part in secret designs we do not praise those who either from fear or for money turn informers and betray confidences, but we applaud and regard as brave men those who endure the extremity of torture and punishment without being the cause of similar suffering to their accomplices. How then could those who heard of it fail to disapprove the conduct of a man who for fear of an uncertain danger revealed to the ruling power and published all the errors of others, errors which time had already veiled from the eyes of their masters?

5. Philocrates, on receiving the above answer, at once left, but Philophron and Astymedes remained to be on the watch, so that nothing that was reported or said against their country should escape them. When the terms of the answer were announced in Rhodes, the people, thinking that they had been relieved of their greatest fear, that of war, bore
Τάλλα καί περ ἄκμην ὄντα δυσχερή βαδίως ἐφερον.
3 οὕτως αἰεί τὰ μείζω τῶν προσδοκόμενών κακῶν
4 λήθην ποιεῖ τῶν ἐλαττόνων συμπτωμάτων. διὸ
καὶ παραχρῆμα ψηφισάμενοι τῇ Ὑώμης στέφανον
ἀπὸ μυρίων χρυσῶν καὶ καταστήσαντες πρε-
σβευτὴν ἀμα καὶ ναύαρχου Θεαίδητον ἐξέπεμπον
θερείας ἀρχομένης ἁγοντα τὸν στέφανον καὶ
μετὰ τούτου τοὺς περὶ Ὀδοφώντα, πειρασο-
μένους κατὰ πάντα τρόπον συμμαχίαν συνθέσθαι
5 πρὸς Ὀρμαιοὺς. τοῦτο ο’ ἐποίησαν βουλόμενοι
διὰ τοῦ ψηφίσματος καὶ πρεσβείας ἀποτυχεῖν,
ἐὰν ἄλλως δόξη Ὀρμαιοὺς, δι’ αὐτῆς δὲ τῆς τοῦ
ναύαρχου προαίρεσεως τὴν κατάπειραν ποιήσα-
σθαι. τὴν γὰρ ἑξουσίαν εἶχε ταύτην ὁ ναύαρχος
6 ἐκ τῶν νόμων. οὕτως γὰρ ἦν πραγματικὸν τὸ
πολίτευμα τῶν Ὀρδίων ὡς σχεδὸν ἐτης τετταρά-
κοντα πρὸς τοῖς ἐκατὸν κεκοινωνικὸς ὁ δήμος
Ὀρμαιοῦ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων καὶ καλλίστων
ἔργων οὐκ ἐπεποίητο πρὸς αὐτοὺς συμμαχίαν.
7 τίνος δὲ χάριν οὕτως ἔχειρίζον οἱ Ὀρδίου τὰ καθ’
8 αὐτοὺς οὐκ ἄξιον παραληπεῖν. βουλόμενοι γὰρ
μηδένα τῶν ἐν ταῖς ὑπεροχαῖς καὶ δυναστείας
ἀπελπίζειν τὴν ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐπικουρίαν καὶ συμ-
μαχίαν, οὐκ ἐβούλωςτο συνδυάζειν οὐδὲ προκατα-
λαμβάνειν σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ὀρκοῖς καὶ συνθήκαις,
ἀλλ’ ἀκέραιοι διαμένοντες κερδάϊνα τὰς ἐξ
9 ἐκάστων ἐλπίδας. τότε δὲ μεγάλην ἐποιουῦντο
φιλοτιμίαν, βουλόμενοι ταύτης τῆς τιμῆς τυχεῖν
παρὰ Ὀρμαιῶν, οὐ κατεπευγόμενοι συμμαχίας
οὐδ’ ἀγωνιῶντες ἀπλῶς οὐδένα κατὰ τὸ παρὸν
10 πλὴν αὐτῶν τῶν Ὀρμαιῶν, ἀλλὰ βουλόμενοι
κατὰ τὴν ὑπέρθεσιν τῆς ἐπιβολῆς ἀφαίρεισθαι τὰς
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the other demands, galling as they were, with equanimity. And so it ever is that the greater the evils we expect, the more easily we forget lesser misfortunes. So they at once voted a crown of ten thousand gold pieces to Rome, and, appointing Theaedetus ambassador and admiral, sent him off in early summer with the crown accompanied by Rhodophon to try by every means to make an alliance with Rome. This they did with the object, in case the Romans did not consent and the decree of the crown and their embassy were a failure, of attempting to gain their end by the personal action of the admiral; for by their laws he was, as admiral, empowered to act in such matters. For the policy of Rhodes had been so little dictated by sentiment, that although that state had for nearly a hundred and forty years taken part in the most glorious and finest achievements of the Romans, they had never made an alliance with Rome. The reason of their action in this respect should not be ignored. It was this. As they wished none of the kings and princes to despair of gaining their help and alliance, they did not desire to run in harness with Rome and engage themselves by oaths and treaties, but preferred to remain unembarrassed and able to reap profit from any quarter. But now they were most energetic in their efforts to obtain this distinction from Rome, not standing in urgent need of the alliance or fearing in the very least any other power except Rome alone for the present, but wishing by insistence on this project to free themselves from

*a i.e. a complimentary present offered to the goddess "Roma."

*b There is something amiss with the text, but the sense required is what I give.
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υπονοιας των δυσχερές τι διανοομένων περὶ τῆς 11 πόλεως. ἀρτι δὲ τῶν περὶ τὸν Θεαίδητον κατα-
pεπλευκτῶν, ἀπέστησαν Καύνιοι, κατέλαβοντο 12 δὲ καὶ Μυλασεῖς τὰς ἐν Εὐρώμῳ πόλεις. κατὰ
dὲ τὸν αὐτὸν καἰρὸν ἡ σύγκλητος ἐξέβαλε δόγμα
dιότι δεῖ Κάρας καὶ Λυκίους ἐλευθέρους εἶναι
πάντας, ὃς σὺν προσένεμε 'Ροδίους μετὰ τὸν 13 Ἀντιοχικὸν πόλεμον. τὰ μὲν οὖν κατὰ τοὺς
Καύνιους καὶ τοὺς Εὐρωμεῖς παχέως οἱ 'Ροδίοι
14 διωρθώσαντο· τοὺς μὲν ἴαρ' Καύνιοις Λύκωνα
πέμψαντες μετὰ στρατιωτῶν ἡνάγκασαν πάλιν
15 υφ' αὐτοὺς τάπτεσθαι, καὶ περὶ Κυβρατῶν αὐτοῖς
παραβοηθησάντων, ἐπὶ δὲ τὰς ἐν Εὐρώμῳ πόλεις
στρατεύσαντες ἐνίκησαν μάχῃ Μυλασεῖς καὶ Ἀλα-
βανδεῖς, ἀμφότερων παραγενομένων μετὰ στρα-
tιᾶς ἐπ' 'Ορθωσίαν. τοῦ δὲ περὶ τῶν Λυκίων
καὶ Καρῶν δόγματος αὐτοῖς προσπεσόντος, πάλιν
ἀπεσοβῆσαν τὰς διανοιας, δείκαντες μὴ ποτὲ
μᾶταίοι μὲν αὐτοῖς ἡ τοῦ στεφάνου δόσις γέγονε,
μᾶταιοι δ' αἱ περὶ τῆς συμμαχίας ἐλπίδες.

II. Res Graeciae

6 Ὁτι φησὶ Πολυβίος· πρῶτον ἐπιστήςαντες
τοὺς ἀναγινώσκοντας ἐπὶ τὴν περὶ Δεύνωνος καὶ
2 Πολυναράτου διάληψιν· μεγάλης γὰρ ὁμοίας τῆς
περιστάσεως καὶ τῆς μεταβολῆς οὐ μόνον παρὰ
tοῖς 'Ροδίοις, ἀλλὰ σχεδὸν ἁπάσας ταῖς πολιτείαις,
3 χρήσιμον ἀν εἰη τὸ τὰς προαιρέσεις τῶν παρ'
ἐκάστοις πολιτευμένων ἐπισκέψασθαι καὶ γνῶναι
tίνες φανήσονται τὸ κατὰ λόγον πεποιηκότες καὶ
tίνες παραπεπαίκότες τοῦ καθήκοντος, ἦνα οἱ
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the suspicions of those who entertained unfriendly ideas about their city. Soon after the arrival of Theaedetus at Rhodes, Caunus revolted, and the people of Mylasa took possession of the cities in Euromus. At the same time the senate issued a consultum setting free all the parts of Caria and Lycia which they had assigned to Rhodes at the time of the war with Antiochus. As for Caunus and Euromus the matter was soon set right by the Rhodians. Dispatching Lycon with troops they compelled the Caunians to submit again to them, although the people of Cibyra came to their help, and making an expedition to the cities in Euromus they defeated the Mylasians and Alabandians, who had both advanced with an armed force to Orthosia. But when they heard of the senatus-consultum about Lycia and Caria they were again alarmed, fearing that their gift of the crown had been made in vain and that their hopes of an alliance were equally vain.

II. Affairs of Greece

Three Classes of Anti-Roman Statesmen

(Cp. Livy xlv. 31. 4; 26. 5.)

6. In the first place I will ask my readers after reflection to pronounce on the conduct of Deinon and Polyaratus. For, as the dangers were then great and the change of circumstances abrupt, not only at Rhodes but in nearly all other states, it will be, I think, of some service to examine into the principles of the leading politicians in each place and decide which of them prove to have acted in a rational manner and which to have failed in their
4 ἐπιγινόμενοι, ὡσανεὶ τύπων ἐκτιθεμένων, δύνωνται κατὰ τὰς ὁμοίας περιστάσεις τὰ μὲν αἵρετα διώκειν, τὰ δὲ φευκτὰ φεῦγεν ἀληθῶς, καὶ μὴ περὶ τὸν ἔσχατον καίρον τῆς ζωῆς ἀβλεπτοῦντες τὸ πρέπον καὶ τὰς ἐν τῷ προγεγονότι βίω πράξεις αὐτῶν ποιῶσιν. συνεβαίνε τοιγαροῦν τρεῖς διαφορὰς γενέσθαι τῶν ἐμπεσόντων εἰς τὰς αὐτίας κατὰ τὸν πρὸς Περσέα πόλεμον. ὡν μία μὲν ἢν τῶν οὐχ ἥδεως μὲν ὀράντων κρινόμενα τὰ ὅλα καὶ τὴν τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐξουσίαν ὑπὸ μίαν ἀρχὴν πίπτουσαν, οὐτὲ δὲ συνεργοῦντων οὔτ' ἀντιπραττόντων ἀπλῶς 'Ῥωμαίους οὐδέν, ἀλλ' οἰδον ἐπιτετραφότων τῇ τύχῃ περὶ τῶν ἄποβη-7 σομένων: ἔτερα δὲ τῶν ἥδεως ὀράντων κρινόμενα τὰ πράγματα καὶ θυμωμένων νικάν τὸν Περσέα, μὴ δυναμένων δὲ συνεπιστάσθαι τοὺς ἱδίους πολίτας καὶ τοὺς ὁμοεθνεῖς πρὸς τὴν αὐτῶν 8 γνώμην τρίτη δὲ καὶ τῶν συνεπισπασμένων καὶ μεταρρυθμῶν τὰ πολιτεύματα πρὸς τὴν 7 Περσέως συμμαχίαν. πῶς οὖν ἐκαστοὶ τοῖτων ἐχεῖρισαν τὰ καὶ αὐτοὺς σκοτεῖν πάρεστιν. 2 μετέρρυμαν πρὸς Περσέα τὸ τῶν Μολοττῶν ἔθνος Ἀντίνους καὶ Θεόδοτος καὶ Κέραλος 3 μετ' αὐτῶν. <οἱ τῶν πραγμάτων ἀντιπεσόντων ταῖς ἐπιβολαῖς αὐτῶν ὀλοσχερῶς, καὶ περιστάντως τοῦ κινδύνου, καὶ συνεγκιζοντος τοῦ δεινοῦ, πάντες ὁμοίως χωρίσαντες τοῖς παρούσις 4 ἀπέθανον γενναίως. διότερ ἄξιον ἐπαινεῖν τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ προέσθαι μηδὲ περιδεῖν σφᾶς αὐτοὺς εἰς ἀναξίαν διὰθεσιν ἐμπεσόντας τοῦ 5 προγεγονότος βίου, καὶ μὴν ἐν Ἀχαΐα καὶ παρὰ Θεσσαλοίς καὶ Περραβοῖς ἔσχον αἰτίαν καὶ
duty; so that their successors, with these examples before them, may in similar circumstances be enabled without fail to pursue the course which is desirable and avoid that which is the reverse, and should not, by failing to see at the very end of their lives where the path of honour lies, dishonour all they may have achieved in the past. Now there were three classes of men who were accused for their conduct in the war with Perseus. The first consisted of those who did not indeed view with pleasure the final decision of the struggle and the subjection of the whole world by one power, yet neither supported the Romans in any way nor opposed them, but as it were committed the result to Fortune. The next class was composed of those who were glad to see matters coming to a decisive issue and wished Perseus success, but were unable to impose their views on their fellow-citizens and compatriots. Finally, there were those who did convert their states to their views and involve them in alliance with Perseus. 7. My present object, then, is to inquire how each of these classes handled their respective situations. Antinous, Theodotus, and Cephalus the Molottians involved themselves and their country in alliance with Perseus; and when facts fell out in a manner entirely adverse to their projects, when they stood in imminent danger, and the day of retribution was at hand, they all faced the situation and perished bravely. We should therefore very properly praise these men for not abandoning their principles and permitting themselves to adopt a principle that would give the lie to their previous life. Again in Achaea, Thessaly, and Perrhaebia numerous men were
πλείους διὰ τὴν ἡσυχίαν, ὡς ἐφεδρεύοντες τοῖς
6 καίροις καὶ φρονοῦντες τὰ Περσέως. ἀλλ' οὕτε
λόγον ἐν τῷ μέσῳ τοιούτου ἐξέβαλον οὕτε γρά-
φοντες οὕτε διαπεμπόμενοι πρὸς τὸν Περσέα
περὶ τινὸς ἐφωράθησαν, ἀλλὰ διεφύλαξαν ἀνεπι-
7 λήπτους ἑαυτοὺς. τοιγαροῦν εἰκότως οὕτοι καὶ
δικαιολογίαν καὶ κρίσιν ὑπέμενον καὶ πάσας
8 ἐξήλεγχον τὰς ἐλπίδας· οὐ γὰρ ἔλαττόν ἐστιν
ἀγεννίας σημείον τὸ μηδὲν αὐτῷ συνειδότα μοχ-
θηρὸν προεξάγειν ἐκ τοῦ ἥλιου αὐτὸν, ποτὲ μὲν τὰς
τῶν ἀντιπολιτευομένων ἀνατάσεις καταπλαγέντα,
pοτὲ δὲ τὴν τῶν κρατοῦντων ἐξουσίαν, τοῦ παρὰ
τὸ καθήκον φιλοζωεῖν.
9 Καὶ μὴν ἐν Ὁρδώ καὶ Κῆ καὶ πλείοσιν ἑτέραις
πόλεσιν ἐγένοντό τινες οἱ φρονοῦντες τὰ Περσέως,
οὐ καὶ λέγειν ἑθάρρουν περὶ Μακεδόνων ἐν τοῖς
idUser πολιτεύμασι καὶ κατηγορεῖν μὲν Ὁρμαιῶν
καὶ καθόλου συνιστάθηκα πρὸς τὸν Περσέα κοινο-
πραγίαν, οὐ δυνηθέντες δὲ μεταρρύθμισαι τὰ πολιτεύ-
10 ματα πρὸς τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως συμμαχίαν. τοῦ-
των δ' ἦσαν ἐπιφανέστατοι παρὰ μὲν τοῖς Κῆνοις
'Iππόκριτος καὶ Διομέδων ἀδελφοὶ, παρὰ δὲ
8 Ὁρδίους Δείνων καὶ Πολυάρατος. ὥν τὰς οὐκ
ἂν καταμεμψαίτο τὴν προαίρεσιν; οἴ πρῶτον
μὲν τοὺς πολίτας συνιστορας ἐχοντες πάντων
τῶν σφίσι πεπραγμένων καὶ τῶν εἰρημένων,
ἐπειτα δὲ τῶν γραμμάτων ἐναλκότων καὶ πεφω-
τισμένων καὶ τῶν παρὰ τοῦ Περσέως πρὸς ἐκεί-
νους διαπεμπομένων καὶ τῶν πρὸς τὸν Περσέα παρ'
2 ἐκείνων, ἀμα δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὑποχειρίων
γεγονότων τῶν διαπεμπομένων παρ' ἐκατέρων καὶ
πρὸς ἐκατέρους, οὐχ οἶοι τ' ἦσαν εἰκεῖν οὖν'
accused, owing to their inaction, of awaiting the development of circumstances and being favourably inclined to Perseus; but they were never convicted of having given expression to such sentiments either by writing to Perseus or communicating with him about any matter, and they gave no handle to anyone to accuse them. They were therefore justified in standing on their defence in submitting to trial, and employing every means to save themselves; for to put an end to one’s life when one is not conscious of having done anything unworthy simply from fear of the threats of political opponents or the power of the conquerors is no less a sign of cowardice than to cling to life at the sacrifice of honour.

But again in Rhodes, in Cos, and in several other cities there were some among those who sided with Perseus who had the courage to speak about the Macedonians in their cities, to accuse the Romans and to recommend unity of action with Perseus, but who proved incapable of persuading their countries to ally themselves with the king. Of these men the most distinguished in Cos were the brothers Hippocrates and Diomedon, and in Rhodes Deinon and Polyaratus. 8. Their course was one that no one can avoid condemning. In the first place their fellow-citizens were cognisant of all they had done and said; next both the letters of Perseus to them and theirs to him had been captured and published, and the emissaries employed on both sides had fallen into the hands of the Romans: and yet they could not resolve
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3 σβήτουν. τοιγαροῦν προσκαρτεροῦντες καὶ φιλο-
ξωοῦντες πρὸς ἀπεγγυσμένας ἐλπίδας καὶ τὸ
δοκοῦν εἶναι περὶ αὐτοῦς τολμηρόν καὶ παρά-
βολον ἀνέτρεψαι, ὡστε παρὰ τοῖς ἐπιγυμνομένοις
μηδ’ ἐσχατὸν ἐλέω καὶ συγγνώμη τόπον κατα-
4 λιπεῖν. ἐλεγχόμενοι γὰρ κατὰ πρόσωπον ὑπὸ
τῶν ᾦδίων χειρογράφων καὶ τῶν ὑπουργῶν οὐ
μόνον ἀτυχείν, ἐτὶ δὲ μᾶλλον ἀναίσχυντεῖν ἐδοξαν.
5 Θάς γάρ τις ἦν τῶν πλοῖζομένων, ὃς καὶ πολ-
λάκις εἰς τὴν Μακεδονίαν ἐπεπλεύκει, διαπ-
6 εσταλμένος ὑπὸ τῶν προερημένων. οὕτος ἐν τῇ
μεταβολῇ τῶν πραγμάτων συνειδῆς αὐτῷ τὰ
πεπραγμένα, δείσας ἀπεχωρήσειν εἰς τὴν Κνίδον.
τῶν δὲ Κνιδίων αὐτὸν εἰς φυλακὴν ἀποθεμένων,
ἔξαιτησε ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥοδίων ἠθέν εἰς τὴν Ῥόδον.
7 κάκει διὰ τῶν βασάνων ἐλεγχόμενος ἀνθωμο-
λογείτο καὶ σύμφωνος ἦν πᾶσι τοῖς ἐκ τῶν αἰχ-
μαλώτων γραμμάτων συνθήμασιν, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ
tαῖς ἐπιστολαῖς ταῖς παρὰ τοῦ Περσέως ἀπο-
στελλομέναις πρὸς τὸν Δέινωνα ἡ καὶ Πολυά-
8 ρατον καὶ παρὰ τούτων πρὸς ἐκεῖνον. ἔξ ὑπὸ
βαυμάξειν ἦν τίνι ποτὲ λογισμῷ χρώμενος ὁ Δεί-
νων προσανείχε τῷ ζήν καὶ τὸν παραδειγματισμὸν
ὑπέμενε τούτον.
9 Πολὺ δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἄβουλίαν καὶ κατὰ τὴν
ἀγεννίαν ὁ Πολυάρατος ὑπερέθετο τὸν Δέινωνα.
2 τοῦ γὰρ Ποπιλίου προστάξαντος Πτολεμαίῳ τῷ
βασιλεῖ τὸν Πολυάρατον ἀναπέμπειν εἰς τὴν
Ῥώμην, ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰς μὲν τὴν Ῥώμην οὐκ
ἐκρώσει πέμπειν, ἐντρεπόμενος τὴν πατρίδα καὶ
tὸν Πολυάρατον, εἰς δὲ τὴν Ῥόδον ἀποστέλλειν
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to yield to facts and remove themselves but still continued to dispute. Therefore by thus obstinately clinging to life in face of this desperate position, they so far annihilated their reputation for daring and venturesomeness, that they did not leave to posterity the slightest ground for pitying or pardoning them. For, convicted as they were to their faces by their own handwriting and their own emissaries, they were considered not so much to be unfortunate, as to be unabashed. There was in fact a certain ship captain called Thoas, who had made frequent voyages to Macedonia commissioned by these men. This Thoas, at the time when the change in the situation took place, feeling the burden of what he had done weigh on his conscience, left for Cnidus. There the Cnidians put him in prison, and upon the Rhodians demanding his extradition he came to Rhodes, and there when put to the torture made full confession in agreement with the interpretation of the whole cypher used in the captured correspondence and with the reading of the letters sent by Perseus to Deinon and Polyaratus and theirs to the king. This makes one wonder on what Deinon calculated in clinging to life and enduring this exposure.

9. But Polyaratus much surpassed Deinon in stupidity and cowardice. For when Popilius ordered King Ptolemy to send Polyaratus to Rome, the king did not think it fit to send him to Rome out of regard for Polyaratus himself and his country, but decided to send him to Rhodes, as Polyaratus had himself
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

3 διέλαβε, κάκεινον τούτο παρακαλούντος. παρα-  
στήσας οὖν λέμβον καὶ παράδος αὐτὸν Δημη-  
τρίω τινὶ τῶν φίλων ἐξαπέστειλεν. ἔγραφε δὲ  
4 καὶ τοῖς Ῥοδίοις ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐκπομπῆς. ὁ δὲ  
Πολυάρατος προσσχὼν Φασηλίδι κατὰ πλοῖν καὶ  
dιανοηθεὶς ἀττα δὴ ποτ’ οὖν, λαβὼν θαλλοῦς  
5 κατέφυγεν ἐπὶ τὴν κοινὴν ἐστίαν. δὴ εἶ τις  
ήρετο τὶ βούλεται, πέπεισμαι μὴδ’ ἄν αὐτὸν  
ἐχειν εἰπέν. εἰ μὲν γὰρ εἰς τὴν πατρίδα μολεῖν  
ἐπεθύμει, τὶ θαλλῶν ἔδει; τοῦτο γὰρ προὐκεῖτο  
6 ποι τοῖς ἀγουσιν αὐτὸν. εἰ δ’ εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην,  
καὶ μὴ βουλομένου ’κείνου τοῦτ’ ἐδει γενέσθαι κατ’  
ἀνάγκην. τὶ οὖν κατελείπεθ’ ἔτερον; ἄλλος γὰρ  
tόπος ὁ δεξόμενος αὐτὸν μετ’ ἀσφαλείας οὐκ ἦν.  
7 οὐ μὴν ἄλλα τῶν Φασηλιτῶν πεμψάντων εἰς τὴν  
Ῥόδον καὶ παρακαλοῦντων κομίζεσθαι καὶ παρα-  
lαμβάνειν τὸν Πολυάρατον, νομενχὼς οἱ Ῥόδιοι  
dιαλαβόντες ἀφρακτὸν μὲν ἐξαπέστειλαν τὸ παρα-  
pέμψον, ἀναλαβεῖν δ’ εἰς τὴν ναῦν ἐκώλυσον τὸν  
ἄρχοντα διὰ τὸ προστετάχθαι τοῖς ἐκ τῆς Ἀλεξαν-  
dρείας εἰς Ῥώμην ἀποκαταστήσαι τὸν ἀνθρώπον.  
8 παραγενομένης δὲ τῆς νεώς εἰς τὴν Φασηλίδα, καὶ  
tοῦ μὲν Ἔπιχάρους, ὅς ἦν ἄρχων τῆς νεώς, οὐ  
βουλομένου δέχεσθαι τῷ πλοῖῳ τῶν ἀνθρώπων,  
9 τοῦ <δὲ> Δημήτριον τοῦ προχειρισθέντος ὑπὸ τοῦ  
βασιλέως διὰ τὴν ἀναπομπὴν κελεύοντος ἀνίστα-  
σθαι καὶ πλεῖν αὐτὸν, καὶ τῶν Φασηλιτῶν συνεπ-  
ισχύοντος αὐτῶ διὰ τὸ δεδεῖναι μὴ τις ἐκ Ῥω-  
μαίων σφίζῃ διὰ ταῦτα μέμψει ἑπακολουθήσῃ,  
10 καταπλαγεὶς τῇ περιστασιν ἐνέβη πάλιν τὸν λέμ-  
bον πρὸς τὸν Δημήτριον. καὶ τὸν ἀπόπλουν  
11 ἐπιλαβόμενος ἀφορμῆς εὐκαίρου, προσδραμῶν  
12 ἐπιλαβόμενος ἀφορμῆς εὐκαίρου, προσδραμῶν
requested. He therefore procured a galley, and putting him in charge of Demetrius, one of the royal friends, sent him off, having written to inform the Rhodians that he had dispatched him. Polyaratus, when the ship put in to Phaselis on her voyage, with I don't know what notion in his head, took suppliant boughs and sought sanctuary at the common hearth of the town. It seems to me that if anyone had asked him what he wanted, he would not have been able to say himself. For had he wished to go to his country what was the use of the suppliant boughs, as such was the purpose of those who were conveying him? And had he wished to go to Rome, he would perforce have had to do so even had he not wished it. What other alternative then was open to him, there being no other place that could safely receive him? When, however, the Phaselites sent to Rhodes and begged the Rhodians to send to fetch Polyaratus and take him into their hands, the Rhodians, acting with great prudence, dispatched an undecked ship to escort him, but forbade the commander to take him on board, as people in Alexandria had been ordered to present the man at Rome. When the ship arrived at Phaselis and the commander Epichares refused to receive Polyaratus on board, while Demetrius, who had been appointed by the king to convey him bade him leave sanctuary and continue his voyage, the people of Phaselis backing up this demand, as they were afraid that in consequence of this matter they might incur some blame from Rome, Polyaratus, alarmed at his dangerous situation, went on board the galley again to Demetrius, but as they were sailing off availed himself of some plausible excuse to go
κατέφυγε πάλιν εἰς Καῦνον κάκεὶ παραπλησίως
13 ἐδείτο τῶν Καυνίων βοηθεῖν. τούτων δὲ πάλιν ἀποτριβομένων αὐτοῦ διὰ τὸ τάγμεσθαι μετὰ Ἀρδίων, διεπέμπτε πρὸς Κιβυράτας, δεόμενος αὐτοῦ δεξιάσθαι τῇ πόλει καὶ πέμψαι παραπομπῆν. 14 ἔσχε γὰρ ἀφορμὴν πρὸς τὴν πόλιν διὰ τὸ τεθραφθαί παρ᾽ αὐτῷ τοὺς παίδας Παγκράτους τοῦ τυράννου. τῶν δὲ πεισθέντων καὶ πουράντων τὰ παρακαλούμενα, παραγενόμενος εἰς τὴν Κιβυράν εἰς ἀπορίαν ἐνέβαλεν αὐτὸν τε καὶ τοὺς Κιβυράτας μελέω τῆς πρότερον, ὅτε παρὰ τοῖς 16 Φασηλίταις ἄν. οὕτε γὰρ ἔχειν παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἔθαρρον αὐτὸν διὰ τὸ δεδείναι τὸν ἀπὸ Ρωμαίων κίνδυνον, οὕτ᾽ ἀναπέμπειν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐδύναντο διὰ τὴν ἀπειρίαν τῶν κατὰ θάλατταν ἔργων, ἀτε 17 μεσόγαιοι τελέως ὑπάρχοντες. λοιπὸν ἦναγκάζοντο προσβείνει εἰς τὴν Ῥόδον καὶ πρὸς τὸν στρατηγὸν εἰς Μακεδονίαν, ἄξιοντες παραλαβεῖν 18 τὸν ἀνθρώπον. τοῦ δὲ Λενκίου γράφαντος τοῖς μὲν Κιβυράταις τηρεῖν ἐπιμελῶς τὸν Πολυάρατον καὶ κομίζειν εἰς τὴν Ῥόδον, τοῖς δὲ Ῥοδίους φροντίζειν τῆς κατὰ θάλατταν παραπομπῆς, ὅπως μετ᾽ ἀσφαλείας εἰς τὴν Ῥωμαίαν ἀνακομισθῆ, πειθαρχησάντων δ᾽ ἀμφοτέρων τοῖς γραφομένοις, 19 τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ συνέβη τὸν Πολυάρατον ἔλθειν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην, ἔκθεστθαι μὲν τὴν ἄβουλίαν τὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἀγεννίαν ἐφ᾽ ὦσον ὅσον τ᾽ ἄν, ἔκδοτον ἄν δὲ γενόμενον οὐ μόνον παρὰ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ βασιλέως, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ Φασηλίτῶν καὶ παρὰ Κιβυράτῶν καὶ παρὰ Ῥοδίων διὰ τὴν ἱδιὰν ἄνοιαν. 20 Τίνος οὖν χάριν τὸν πλεῖω λόγον πεποίημαι.
ashore, and again took refuge at Caunus, where likewise he implored the citizens to help him. When they again declined, as they formed part of the Rhodian dominion, he sent messengers to the people of Cibyra imploping them to receive him in their city and to send him an escort—the city being under obligations to him as the sons of their tyrant Panocrates had been brought up in his house—and they consented and did as he requested. By his arrival at Cibyra he placed himself and the people of that town in an even more difficult situation than the former one when he was at Phaselis. For they neither ventured to keep him with them, as they feared danger from Rome, nor could they send him to Rome owing to their ignorance of seamanship, as they were a purely inland people. Consequently they were compelled to send an embassy to Rhodes and another to the proconsul in Macedonia, begging them to take the man off their hands. When Aemilius wrote to the people of Cibyra to place Polyaratus under strict guard and take him to Rhodes, and at the same time to the Rhodians to see that he was properly escorted by sea, so that he might be conveyed safely to Roman territory, and when both requests were complied with, Polyaratus reached Rome in this manner, having made as notable an exhibition as he could of his stupidity and cowardice, and having been surrendered not only by King Ptolemy, but by the Phaselites, Cibyratae, and the Rhodians, all owing to his own folly.

If I am asked why I have dealt at length with the
21 περὶ Πολυαράτου καὶ Δείνωνος; οὐχ ἦνα συνεπεμβαίνειν δόξω ταῖς ἐκεῖνων ἀτυχίαις. καὶ γὰρ ἀτοπὸν γε τοῦτο τελέως· ἀλλ' ἦνα φανερὰν ποιήσας τὴν ἐκεῖνων ἀβουλίαν βέλτιον παρασκευάσω καὶ βουλεύεσθαι καὶ φρονεῖν τοὺς κατὰ τὰς περιστάσεις <eis> παραπλησίους ἐμπίπτοντας καὶ ροῦς.

10 Ἔξ ὁν μάλιστα κατίδοι τις ἀν ἁμα τὴν ὁξύτητα καὶ τὴν ἀβεβαιότητα τῆς τύχης, ὅταν <ἀ> μάλιστ' ἀν τοὺς αὐτοὺς χάριν οἰηται διαπονεῖν, ταῦτα παρὰ πόδας εὐρίσκεται τοῖς ἐχθροῖς κατασκευάζων. κίονας γὰρ κατεσκευάζε Περσεὺς, καὶ ταῦτα καταλαβὼν ἀτελεῖς Λεύκιος Αἴμιλιος ἐτελείωσε καὶ τὰς ἰδίας εἰκόνας ἐπέστησεν.

3 Ο δὲ θαυμάσας τὴν τῆς πόλεως θέσιν καὶ τὴν τῆς ἀκροπόλεως εὐκαρίαν πρὸς τοὺς ἐντὸς Ἰσθμοῦ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐκτὸς ἀπολαμβανομένους τόπους.

4 Ἐπισημηνύμενος δὲ τοῦ Σικυώνος τὴν όχυρότητα καὶ τὸ βάρος τῆς τῶν Ἀργείων πόλεως ἦλθεν εἰς Ἐπίδαυρον.

5 Πάλαι μετέωρος ὁν πρὸς τὴν τῆς Ὀλυμπίας θέαν ὄρμησε.
case of Polyaratus and Deinon, it was not in order to exult over their misfortunes, which would be indeed outrageous, but that I might by clearly exhibiting their lack of wisdom render such as find themselves placed by circumstance in a similar situation better prepared to act advisedly and wisely.

(Cp. Livy xlv. 27. 7.)

10. We can most clearly perceive both the abruptness and the uncertainty of Fortune from those instances where a man who thinks that he is undoubtedly labouring at certain objects for his own benefit suddenly finds out that he is preparing them for his enemies. For Perseus was constructing columns, and Lucius Aemilius, finding them unfinished, completed them and set statues of himself on them.

_Aemilius in the Peloponnese_

(Suid.; cp. Livy xlv. 28. 2.)

He admired the situation of Corinth and the favourable position of its acropolis as regards the command of both districts, that inside the Isthmus and that outside.

(Suid.; cp. Livy xlv. 28. 3.)

After noting the strength of the fortifications of Sicyon and the power of the city of Argos, he came to Epidaurus.

(Suid.; cp. Livy xlv. 28. 4.)

He hastened now to pay the visit to Olympia to which he had long looked forward.
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

6 Πολύβιος· Λεύκιος Αἰμίλιος παρῆν εἰς τὸ τέμενος τὸ ἐν Ὄλυμπίᾳ, καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα θεασάμενος ἐξεπλάγη καὶ τοσοῦτον εἶπεν ὅτι μόνος αὐτῷ δοκεῖ Φειδίας τὸν παρ᾽ Ὄμήρῳ Δία μεμιμήσθαι, διότι μεγάλην ἔχων προσδοκίαν τῆς Ὅλυμπίας μείζω τῆς προσδοκίας εὐρηκὼς εἶη τὴν ἀλήθειαν.

11 Ὅτι Αἰτωλοὶ τὸν βίον ἀπὸ ληστείας καὶ τῆς (14) 2 τοιαύτης παρανομίας εἰώθεισαν ἔχειν. καὶ ἐως μὲν ἔξην τοὺς Ἑλλήνας φέρειν καὶ λεγαλεῖν, ἐκ τούτων ἐπορίζοντο τοὺς βίους, πᾶσαν γῆν ἧγου- 3 μενοι πολεμίαν· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Ῥωμαίων ἐπιστάν- των τοῖς πράγμασι κωλυθέντες τῆς ἔξωθεν ἐπίκου- 4 ρίας εἰς ἑαυτοὺς κατήγισαν. καὶ πρότερον μὲν κατὰ τὸν ἐμφύλιον πόλεμον ὅτι ἐστιν ὁ τῶν 5 δεινῶν οὐκ ἔπραξαν· βραχεὶ δὲ ἀνώτερον χρόνῳ γεγευμένου τοῦ φόνου τοῦ κατ᾽ ἄλληλων ἐν ταῖς κατὰ τὴν Ἀρσινώειαν σφαγαῖς ἔτοιμοι πρὸς πάν ἡσαν, ἀποστεθηρωμένοι τὰς ψυχὰς, ὡστε μηδὲ 6 βουλὴν διδόναι τοῖς προεστῶσι. διόπερ ἦν ἀκρι- σίας καὶ παρανομίας καὶ φόνου πλήρη τὰ κατὰ τὴν Αἰτωλίαν, καὶ τῶν πραττομένων παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἐκ λογισμοῦ μὲν καὶ προθέσεως οὐδὲν ἐπετε- λεῖτο, πάντα δ᾽ εἰκῇ καὶ φύρδην ἐπράττετο, καθαπερεὶ λαῖλαπός τινος ἐμπεπτωκυνίας εἰς αὐ- τοὺς.

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Lucius Aemilius visited the temple in Olympia, and when he saw the statue of Zeus was awestruck, and said simply that Pheidias seemed to him to have been the only artist who had made a likeness of Homer’s Zeus; for he himself had come to Olympia with high expectations but the reality had far surpassed his expectations.

State of Aetolia

11. The Aetolians were accustomed to get their living by robbery and similar lawless conduct. And as long as it was in their power to raid and plunder the Greeks they lived upon them, regarding every country as an enemy. But afterwards under Roman administration they were prevented from supplying their wants from outside, and had to turn upon each other. Formerly in time of civil war, there was no excess of which they had not been guilty, and having a short time previously tasted each others blood in the massacres in the territory of Arsinoë, they were prepared to stick at nothing, having become utterly brutalized, so that they did not even allow their leading men to meet in council. Thus the whole of Aetolia was full of turbulence, lawless violence, and bloodshed; not one of their actions being the result of deliberation and set purpose, but all done at haphazard and confusedly, as if a whirlwind had descended on them.
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

12 Ὅτι οἱ κατὰ τὴν Ἡπειρον παραπλησία τούτος ἐπραττόν. ἐφ’ ὅσον γὰρ οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων μετριώτεροι τῶν κατὰ τὴν Αἰτωλίαν ἦσαν, ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ὅ προεστῶς αὐτῶν ἀσεβεῖστερος καὶ παρανομώτερος ὑπήρχε τῶν ἄλλων. δοκῶ γὰρ μὴ γεγονέναι μηδ’ ἔσεσθαι θηριωδεῖστερον ἀνθρωπον μηδ’ σκαῖτερον Χάροπος.

13 Ὅτι μετὰ τὴν τοῦ Περσέως κατάλυσιν ἀμα τῷ κριθήναι τὰ ὅλα πανταχόθεν ἐξέπεμπον πρέσβεις συγχαρησομένους τοῖς στρατηγοῖς ἐπὶ τοῖς γεγο-νόσων. τῶν δὲ πραγμάτων ὀλοσχερῶς ἐπὶ Ἄρωμαίοις κεκλικότων, ἐπιπολάζοντες διὰ τὸν καιρὸν οἱ ὁδοῦτες εἶναι φίλοι Ἄρωμαίων ἐν πάσι τοῖς πολιτεύμασι, εἰς τε τὰς προσβείας ὁδοὶ καθ-ίσταντο καὶ τὰς ἄλλας χρείας. διὸ συνέδραμον εἰς τὴν Μακεδονίαν ἐκ μὲν Ἀχαίας Καλλικράτης. Αριστόδαμος, Ἀγησίας, Φίλιππος, ἐκ δὲ Βουκο-τίας οἱ περὶ Μνάσιππον, ἐκ δὲ τῆς Ἀκαρναίας οἱ περὶ Χρέμαν, παρὰ δὲ τῶν Ἡπειρωτῶν οἱ περὶ τὸν Χάροπα καὶ Νικίαν, παρὰ δὲ τῶν Αἰτωλῶν οἱ περὶ τὸν Λυκίσκον καὶ Τίσιππον. ἀπάντων δὲ τούτων ὁμοί γενομένων καὶ πρὸς τὴν αὐτὴν ὑπόθεσιν ἀμιλλωμένων προθύμως, καὶ μηδενῶς ὑπάρχοντος ἀνταγωνιστοῦ διὰ τὸ τοὺς ἀντιπολιτευμένους ἀπάντας εἴκοντας τοῖς καίροις ἀνακεχωρηκέναι τελέως, ἀκοντὶ κατεκράτησαν τῆς ὑποδέσεως οἱ προειρημένοι. πρὸς μὲν οὖν τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις καὶ τὰς ἑθικὰς συστάσεις οἱ δέκα δι’ αὐτῶν τῶν στρατηγῶν ἐποιήσαντο τὴν ἐπιταγῆν, οὐσ δεήσει πορεύεσθαι τῶν ἀνδρῶν εἰς τὴν Ἡρώμην. οὗτοι δ’ ἦσαν ὡς ἐπίταν αὐτὶ 124
And of Epirus

12. The Epirots behaved in very much the same way. For while the majority of the people were more orderly than the Aetolians, their chief magistrate just so far exceeded all other men in contempt for divine and human law. For I think there never was and never will be a man more brutal and more unprincipled than Charops.

Congratulatory Embassies

(Cp. Livy xlv. 31. 6.)

13. After the fall of Perseus, matters being now finally decided, embassies from all parts were being sent to congratulate the senate on the event. Now that things had turned out entirely in favour of the Romans, those who were considered to be the friends of Rome came to the front owing to circumstances in all the states, and it was they who were appointed to these embassies or other posts. In consequence those who flocked to Macedonia were Callicrates, Aristodamus, Agesias and Philippus from Achaea, Mnasippus from Boeotia, Chremas from Acarnania, Charops and Nicias from Epirus, and Lyciscus and Tisippus from Aetolia. As all these men joined together and vied with each other in working for the same end and met with no opposition, all their political opponents having yielded to circumstances and entirely retired from politics, they attained their end without trouble. The ten legates conveyed through the strategi themselves their orders to the other cities and national leagues as to which of the envoys should proceed to Rome, these
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

ἀπέγραψαν οἱ προειρημένοι κατὰ τὰς ἵδιας ἀντι- 
παραγωγὰς, πλὴν ὀλίγων τελέως τῶν ἐκδηλῶν
8 τι πεποιηκότων. πρὸς δὲ τὸ τῶν Ἄχαιῶν ἔθνος πρεσβευτὰς ἐξέπεμψαν τοὺς ἐπιφανεστά-
τους ἀνδρας τῶν δέκα, Γάιον Κλαύδιον καὶ Γνάιον
9 Δομέτιον, διὰ δὴ αὐτίας, πρῶτον μὲν εὐλαβοῦ-
μενοι τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς μὴ ποτ’ οὐ πειθαρχήσωσι
τοῖς γραφομένοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ κινδυνεύσωσιν οἱ
περὶ τὸν Καλλικράτην, δοξατες ἐξειργάσθαι τὰς
10 κατὰ πάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων διαβολὰς, δὲ κατ’
ἀλήθειαν ἢν, δεύτερον δὲ διὰ τὸ μηθὲν ἐν τοῖς
αἰχμαλώτοις γράμμασιν ἀκριβές εὔφησθαι κατὰ
11 μηδενὸς τῶν Ἀχαιῶν. περὶ μὲν οὖν τούτων
μετὰ των χρόνων ἐξέπεμπτεν ὁ στρατηγὸς τὰς
ἐπιστολὰς καὶ τοὺς πρέσβεις, καίπερ οὐκ εὐδο-
κούμενος κατὰ γε τὴν αὐτοῦ γνώμην ταῖς τῶν
περὶ τὸν Δυκίσκον καὶ Καλλικράτην διαβολαῖς,
ὡς εὖ αὐτῶν τῶν πραγμάτων ὑστερον ἐγένετο
καταφανές.

14 "Οτι τῆς αὐτῆς ψυχῆς ἐστιν ἀγῶνας τε δια-
(15) τίθεσθαι καλῶς καὶ παρασκευὴν καὶ πότον μεγα-
λομερῆ χειρίσασθαι δεόντως καὶ παρατάξασθαι τοῖς
πολεμίοις στρατηγικῶς.

15 Τῶν γοῦν Ἡπειρωτῶν ἐβδομήκοντα πόλεις
(16) Πολυβίος φησιν ἀνατρέψαι Παύλου μετὰ τὴν
Μακεδόνων καὶ Περσέως κατάλυσιν. Μολοττῶν
δ’ ὑπάρξαι τὰς πλείστας· πέντε δὲ καὶ δέκα
μυριάδας ἀνθρώπων ἐξαιρετικῶς.

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being for the most part those nominated by the envoys themselves in their own list, the exceptions being men who had rendered conspicuous services. To the Achaean League, however, the legates sent their two most distinguished members, Gaius Claudius Pulcher and Gnaeus Domitius Ahenobarbus, for two reasons. In the first place they were apprehensive lest the Achaean should refuse to comply with their written instructions, and lest Callicrates and his colleagues should run actual risk, as they were thought to have trumped up the false accusations brought against all the Greeks, as in fact they had; and secondly because in the captured correspondence nothing had been found clearly implicating any Achaean. On this subject the proconsul shortly afterwards forwarded the letters and the envoys, although not personally approving of the accusations brought by Lyciscus and Callicrates, as became evident from what actually took place.

A Saying of Aemilius

(Cp. Livy xlv. 32. 11.)

14. A man with a mind capable of making good arrangements for games, and managing properly a sumptuous entertainment and banquet is likewise capable of marshalling his troops to meet the enemy with the skill of a general.

(From Strabo vii. 7. 3; cp. Livy xlv. 34. 6.)

15. Polybius says that Aemilius Paullus after the fall of Perseus destroyed seventy cities in Macedonia, most of them belonging to the Molotti, and that he sold into slavery a hundred and fifty thousand persons.
III. Res Αεγυπτι

16 "Οτι κατά τήν Αἴγυπτον οἱ βασιλεῖς ἀπολεῖνοι τοὺς πρὸς Ἁντίοχον πολέμου πρῶτον μὲν
(17 11) λυμένοι τοῦ πρὸς Ἁντίοχον πολέμου πρῶτον μὲν
2 εἰς Ὄρμην πρεσβευτὴν ἐξέπεμψαν Νουμήνιον,
ἐνα τῶν φίλων, εὐχαριστήσοντα περὶ τῶν εἰς
αὐτοὺς γεγονότων εὐεργετημάτων ἀπέλυσαν δὲ
cαὶ τὸν Λακεδαιμόνιον Μεναλκίδαν, ἑνεργῶς κε-
χρημένον τοῖς κατὰ τῆς βασιλείας καιροῖς πρὸς
τὴν ἱδίαν ἐπανόρθωσιν, Γαίου Ποπιλίου τὴν ὑπὲρ
tῆς ἀπολύσεως χάριν αἰτησαμένου παρὰ τῶν
βασιλέων.

I. Res Ιταλιας

17 "Οτι κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον Κότυς ὁ τῶν
(18 12) Ὀδρυσῶν βασιλεὺς ἀπέστειλε πρεσβευτὰς εἰς
τὴν Ὅρμην, ἀξιῶν ἀποδοθῆναι τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῶς καὶ
2 περὶ τῆς γενομένης πρὸς Περσέα κοινοπραγίας
dικαιολογούμενος. οἱ δὲ Ὄρμαιοι νομίζοντες
Ημᾶς οὐσία σφίζε τὸ προκείμενον, τοῦ πρὸς τὸν
Περσέα πολέμου κατὰ νοῦν προκεχωρηκότος, τὴν
3 δὲ πρὸς Κότυν διαφορὰν πρὸς οὐδὲν ἐτι διατείνειν,
sυνεχώρησαν αὐτῶς κομίζονται τὸν υἱὸν, ὅσον
4 ρείας χάριν δοθεῖσι εἰς Μακεδονίαν ἐαλύκει μετὰ
tῶν Περσέως τέκνων, βουλόμενοι τὴν αὐτῶν
πράτητα καὶ μεγαλοπρεπίαν ἐμφαίνειν, ἀμα δὲ καὶ
tὸν Κότυν ἀναδούμενοι διὰ τῆς τοιαύτης χάριτος. 128
III. Affairs of Egypt

16. In Egypt the kings, when relieved from the war with Antiochus, in the first place dispatched Numenius, one of the royal friends, on an embassy to Rome to return thanks for the benefits conferred on them. They also set free Menalcidas of Lacedaemon who had energetically availed himself of the distressed condition of the kingdom to obtain his restoration. It was Gaius Popilius who asked them to do this as a personal favour to himself.

I. Affairs of Italy

Embassy from Cotys

(Cp. Livy xlv. 42. 6.)

17. At this time Cotys, the king of the Odrysae, sent envoys to Rome to beg that his son might be given back to him and also to defend his action in having joined Perseus. The Romans, thinking that they had attained their main object now that the war against Perseus had ended in their favour, and that it served no purpose to prolong their difference with Cotys, allowed him to take back his son, who had been sent as a hostage, to Macedonia and captured together with the children of Perseus, wishing to show their leniency and magnanimity, and at the same time attaching Cotys to them by this favour.
18 "Οτι κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν καίρον ἦλθε καὶ Προυσίας (19 16) ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰς τὴν Ἑρώμην, συγχαρησόμενος τῇ
2 συγκλήτῳ καὶ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς ἐπὶ τοῖς γεγο-
νόσιν. ὁ δὲ Προυσίας οὐτος οὐδαμῶς γέγονεν
ἀξίου τοῦ τῆς βασιλείας προσχήματος. τεκ-
3 μῆραιτο δ' ἄν τις ἐκ τούτων. ὦ γε πρῶτον
μὲν, προσβεβτῶν παραγεγονότων Ἡρωμαῖκῶν πρὸς
αὐτὸν, ἐξυρημένος τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ πιλίον ἔχων
<λευκὸν> καὶ τήβεναν καὶ καλικίους ἀπήντα
tοῦτοι, καὶ καθόλου τοιαύτη διασκευὴ κεχρη-
μένος οἶνον ἤχουσιν οἱ προσφάτοι ἥλευθερωμένοι
4 παρὰ Ἡρωμαῖοι, οὔς καλοῦσι λιβέρτους: καὶ
dεξιωσάμενος τοὺς προσβεβτᾶς "ὁρᾶτ" ἔφη
"τὸν ὑμέτερον λιβέρτον ἐμὲ, πάντα βουλόμενον
χαρίζεσθαι καὶ μμείθεισθά τὰ παρ' ὑμῖν." ἦς
5 ἀγεννεστέραν φωνὴν οὐ βάδιον εὐρείν. τότε δὲ
κατὰ τὴν εἴσοδον τὴν εἰς τὴν συγκλήτον, στὰς
κατὰ τὸ θύρετρον ἀντίος τοῦ συνεδρίου καὶ καθεὶς
tὰς χεῖρας ἀμφοτέρας προσεκύνησε τὸν οὐδὸν καὶ
tοὺς καθημένους, ἑπιφθειχόμενος "χαίρετε, θεοὶ
σωτῆρες," ὑπερβολὴν οὐ καταλιπτῶν ἀνανδρίας,
ἀμα δὲ καὶ γυναικισμοῦ καὶ κολακείας οὐδενὶ τῶν
6 ἑπιγνωμένων. ἀκόλουθα δὲ τούτως καὶ κατὰ
tὴν κοινολογίαν εἰσελθὼν ἐπετελέσατο, περὶ δὲ
7 καὶ τὸ γράφειν ἀπρεπὲς ἦν. φαινεῖς δὲ τελέως
eὐκαταφρόνητος ἀπόκρισιν ἔλαβε δι' αὐτὸ τοῦτο
φιλάνθρωπον.
19 "Ἡδὴ δὲ τούτου τὰς ἀποκρίσεις εἰληφότος,
(20) (17) 2 προσέπεσε παραγίνεσθαι τὸν Ἐμενή. τοῦτο δὲ
τὸ πράγμα πολλὴν ἀπορίαν παρέσχε τοῖς ἐν τῷ
συνεδρίῳ: διαβεβλημένοι γὰρ πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ δια-
λήψεις ἀμεταθέτους ἔχοντες οἳκ ἐβουλοῦντο κατ'.
Prusias at Rome; Eumenes not received

(Cp. Livy xlv. 44. 19.)

18. At the same time King Prusias also came to Rome to congratulate the senate and the generals on what had happened. This Prusias was a man by no means worthy of the royal dignity, as may easily be understood from the following facts. In the first place when some Roman legates had come to his court, he went to meet them with his head shorn, and wearing a white hat and a toga and shoes, exactly the costume worn at Rome by slaves recently manumitted or "liberti" as the Romans call them. "In me," he said, "you see your libertus who wishes to endear to himself and imitate everything Roman"; a phrase as humiliating as one can conceive. And now, on entering the senate-house he stood in the doorway facing the members and putting both his hands on the ground bowed his head to the ground in adoration of the threshold and the seated senators, with the words, "Hail, ye saviour gods," making it impossible for anyone after him to surpass him in unmanliness, womanishness, and servility. And on entering he conducted himself during his interview in a similar manner, doing things that it were unbecoming even to mention. As he showed himself to be utterly contemptible, he received a kind answer for this very reason.

19. After Prusias had received his answer news came that Eumenes was on his way. This matter very much embarrassed the senate. For as they had now quarrelled with him, and their opinion of him remained unshaken, they did not wish to make
3 ουδένα τρόπον ἐμφανίζειν αὑτοὺς. πάσι γὰρ ἄναδεδειχτες πρῶτον καὶ μέγιστον φίλον τὸν βασιλέα τούτον ἐμελλον εἰς ὅψιν ἐλθόντες καὶ προσδεξάμενοι δικαιολογίαν, εἴ μὲν τὸ δοκοῦν ἀποκριθεῖν ἀκολουθοῦντες ταῖς ἱδίαις διαλή-
ψεως, ἐκθεατρεῖν αὐτοὺς, εἴ τοιοῦτον ἀνθρωπον ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἐξετήσασιν ἐν τοῖς ἀνώτεροι χρό-
νοις, εἴ δὲ δουλεύοντες τῇ τῶν ἐκτὸς φαντασία φιλανθρώπως ἀποκριθεῖν, παρόψεσθαι τὴν ἀλή-
5 θειαν καὶ τὸ τῇ πατρίδι συμφέρον. διόπερ εἴ έκατέρας τῆς ἀποφάσεως μέλλοντος ἀπιθάνου
τινὸς αὐτοὺς ἐξακολουθήσεως, εὑροντο λύσιν τοῦ
6 προβλήματος τουαύτης. ὦς γὰρ καθόλου δυσ-
αρεστούμενοι ταῖς τῶν βασιλεῶν ἐπιδημίαις δόγμα
τι τοιοῦτον ἐξέβαλον, μηδένα βασιλέα παραγίνε-
7 σθαι πρὸς αὐτοὺς. μετὰ δὲ ταύτα πυθόμενοι
τὸν Εὐμένη καταπεπλευκέναι τῆς Ἰταλίας εἰς
Βρεντέσιον ἐπαπέστειλαν τὸν ταμίαν φέροντα τὸ
δόγμα καὶ κελεύσοντα λέγειν πρὸς αὐτόν, εἴ
8 τι τυγχάνει τῆς συγκλήτου χρείαν ἔχων. εἴ δὲ
μηδενὸς δεῖται, παραγγειλοῦντα τὴν ταχύτητὴν αὐ-
9 τὸν ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἀπαλλάττεσθαι. ὁ δὲ βα-
σιλεὺς, συμμιξάντος αὐτῷ τοῦ ταμίου, γνοὺς τὴν
7 τῆς συγκλήτου προαίρεσιν εἰς τέλος ἀπεσιώπησεν,
10 οὐδενὸς φήσας προσδείσθαι. καὶ δὴ τούτῳ τῷ
τρόπῳ συνέβη τὸν Εὐμένη κωλυθῆναι τῆς εἰς
11 τὴν Ῥώμην ἀναβάσεως. συνηκολουθήκει δὲ καὶ
ἐτερόν τι πραγματικὸν τούτῳ τῷ διαβουλώ. }
12 μεγάλου γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν Γαλατῶν ἐπικρεμαμένου
κινδύνου τῇ βασιλείᾳ, προφανὲς ἦν ὦτι διὰ τὸν
σκυβαλισμὸν τούτον οἱ μὲν τοῦ βασιλέως σύμ-
μαχοι ταπεινωθήσονται πάντες, οἱ δὲ Γαλάται
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any pronouncement at all. For they had proclaimed to the whole world that this king was their first and greatest friend, and now, if they allowed him to meet them and to defend himself, should they tell him in reply what they were really led to think of him by their own judgement, they would expose themselves to ridicule for having in former times paid this high honour to a man of such a character: if on the other hand they made themselves the slaves of appearances and gave him a kind answer, they would be ignoring truth and the interest of their country. Since therefore, whichever course they decided to adopt would put them in a position not easy to justify, they hit on the following solution of the problem. Affecting to be displeased by the visits of kings in general, they issued a decree that no king should present himself to them; and in the next place, when they heard that Eumenes had arrived at Brundisium, they dispatched the quaestor bearing this decree, and with orders to tell Eumenes to inform him if he stood in need of any service from the senate: in case there was nothing the king wanted he was to order him to leave Italy as soon as possible. Eumenes, when he met the quaestor, understood the intention of the senate and remained perfectly silent after saying that he was in want of nothing. This, then, was the way in which the king was prevented from going up to Rome. But another more practical purpose had contributed to this decision. For, as the kingdom of Pergamus was menaced with a great danger from the Gauls, it was evident that by this repulse all the allies of the king would be humiliated, and the
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διπλασίως ἐπιρρωσθήσονται πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον.
13 διὸ πάντη πάντως βουλόμενοι ταπεινωθήσονται τοῦτων δὲ γνωμένων ἐτι κατ' ἀρχὰς τοῦ χειμῶνος, λοιπὸν ἢ σύγκλητος ἐκρημάτιζε ἀπασιν τοῖς παρα-
15 γεγονόσι κατὰ πρεσβείαιν· οὐ γὰρ ἦν οὔτε πόλις οὔτε δυνάστης οὔτε βασιλεὺς ὅσ οὐκ ἀπεστάλκει πρεσβείαιν κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν τὴν συγχαρη-
16 σομένην ἐπὶ τοῖς γεγονόσιν· οὐς ἀπασιν οἰκείως ἀπήντησε καὶ φιλενθρώπως πλὴν τῶν 'Ροδίων.
17 τούτους δὲ παρέπεμπε πουκίλας ἐμφάσεις ποιοῦσα περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος. ἐπείγετο δὲ καὶ <τὰ> κατὰ τοὺς Ἄθηναίους.

20 "Οτι οἱ Ἄθηναιοι παρεγένοντο πρεσβεύσουντες (21) (18) τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἀλιαρτίων σωτηρίας,
2 παρακούομενοι δὲ περὶ τούτου τοῦ μέρους ἐκ μεταθέσεως διελέγοντο περὶ Δήλου καὶ Δήμουν καὶ τῆς τῶν Ἀλιαρτίων χώρας, εἰς ἑαυτοὺς ἐξ- αὐτούμενοι τὴν κτήσιν· εἰςομ γὰρ διττὰς ἐντολάς.
3 οὐς περὶ μὲν τῶν κατὰ Δήλου καὶ Δήμουν οὐκ ἄν τις ἐπιτυμήσει διὰ τὸ καὶ πρότερον ἀντι- πεποιήσατο τῶν νῆσων τούτων, περὶ δὲ τῆς τῶν Ἀλιαρτίων χώρας εἰκότως ἄν τις καταμέμψαιτο.
4 τὸ γὰρ πόλιν σχεδὸν ἀρχαιοτάτην τῶν κατὰ τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἐπταικύνα ἡ συνεπανορθῶσι κατὰ πάν- τα τρόπον, τὸ δ' ἐναντίον ἐξαλείφειν, ἀφαιρο-
5 μένους καὶ τὰς εἰς τὸ μέλλον ἐλπίδας τῶν ἡκλη- ρηκότων, Δήλου ὡς οὔδενι μὲν ἄν δοξαί τῶν Ἐλλήνων καθήκειν, ἡκιστα δὲ τῶν ἄλλων Ἄθη-
6 ναίους. τὸ γὰρ τὴν μὲν ἴδιαν πατρίδα κοινήν
Gauls would undertake the war with redoubled vigour. So that it was with the view of thoroughly humiliating Eumenes that the senate arrived at this decision. This took place at the beginning of winter, and afterwards the senate dealt with all the embassies that had arrived. For there was no city or prince or king who had not at this time sent a mission to congratulate them. To all these they replied in suitable and kind terms with the exception of the Rhodians whom they dismissed with ambiguous declarations about their future. They also deferred giving an answer to the Athenians.

The Embassy from Athens

20. The embassy from Athens had come in the first place to beg that the people of Haliartus might be spared; but when this request was ignored, they changed the subject and spoke about Delos, Lemnos, and the territory of Haliartus, begging to be placed in possession of those places, for they had received a double set of instructions. We cannot blame them for asking for Delos and Lemnos, as they had previously laid claim to these islands; but as for the territory of Haliartus we are justified in finding fault with them. For not to strive by every means to retrieve the fallen fortunes of a city almost the most ancient in Boeotia, but on the contrary to erase it from the map, by depriving its unhappy inhabitants of all hope for the future, was evidently conduct unworthy of any Greek state and especially unworthy of Athens. For now, while they were making their own country the common refuge of all who
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ποιεῖν ἄπασιν, τὰς δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἀναιρεῖν, οὐδαμῶς
7 οὐκεῖον ἂν φανεῖῃ τοῦ τῆς πόλεως ἥδους. πλὴν
ἡ γε σύγκλητος καὶ τῆν Δῆλον αὐτοῖς ἔδωκε καὶ
tῆν Λήμνον <καὶ τῆν τῶν Ἀλιαρτίων χώραν> καὶ
tὰ μὲν κατὰ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τοιαύτην ἔσχε
dιάθεσιν.
8 Καὶ τὴν μὲν Λήμνον καὶ τὴν Δῆλον κατὰ τὴν
9 παρομίαν τὸν λύκον τῶν ὀτων ἐλαβον. πολλὰ
gὰρ ὑπέμειναν δυσκληρήματα συμπλεκόμενοι τοῖς
Δηλίοις· ἐκ δὲ τῆς τῶν Ἀλιαρτίων χώρας ὄνειδος
αὐτοῖς μᾶλλον ἡ καρπὸς τις συνεξηκολούθησεν.

21 "Ωτι κατὰ τὸν Καιρόν τοῦτον Θεαίδητος εἰσ-
(22) (19) ελθὼν εἰς τὴν σύγκλητον λόγους μὲν ἐποιήσατο
2 περὶ τῆς συμμαχίας· ὑπερθεμένης δὲ τῆς συγ-
κλήτου τὸ διαβούλιον, οὗτος μὲν μετήλλαξε τὸν
βίον κατὰ φύσιν· ἐτή γὰρ εἰχε πλείω τῶν ὦγδοι-
3 κοντα· παραγενομένων δὲ φυγάδων ἐκ τε Καύνου
καὶ Στρατονικείας εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην καὶ παρ-
ελθόντων εἰς τὴν σύγκλητον, ἐγένετο δόγμα
'Ροδίους ἐξάγειν τᾶς φουράς ἐκ τε Καύνου καὶ
4 Στρατονικείας. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Φιλόφρονα καὶ
'Αστυμήδην λαβόντες ταύτην τὴν ἀπόκρισιν ἀπ-
5 ἐπέλευσαν κατὰ σπουδὴν εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν, δεδίτες μὴ
παρακούσαντες οἱ 'Ρόδιοι περὶ τοῦ τᾶς φουράς
ἐξάγαγειν αὕτης ἄλλην ἄρχην ἐγκλημάτων ποιή-
σωσιν.
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wished to be citizens of it, to destroy thus the countries of others was by no means consonant with the traditions of the city. The senate, however, gave them, both Delos and Lemnos as well as this territory of Haliartus. Such was the decision about Athens.

In taking Lemnos and Delos they were, as the proverb has it, taking the wolf by the ears. For their connexion with the Delians had many unpleasant consequences, and from their possession of the territory of Haliartus they reaped more reproach than profit.

**Rhodian Matters**

21. At this time Theaedetus appeared before the senate, and spoke on the subject of an alliance; but the senate deferred their decision, and Theaedetus in the meantime died a natural death, being over eighty years of age. Exiles then arrived in Rome from Caunus and Stratonicea, and came before the senate, which passed a decree ordering the Rhodians to withdraw their garrisons from these cities. Philophron and Astymedes, on receiving this answer, took ship at once for home, as they were afraid of the Rhodians refusing compliance with the order to withdraw the garrisons, and thus giving rise to fresh complaints.
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22 Λεύκιος δὲ 'Ανίκιος, καὶ αὐτὸς 'Ρωμαίων
(14) (13) στρατηγήσας, Ἰλλυρίων καταπολεμήσας καὶ αἰχ-
μάλωτον ἀγαγὼν Γένθιον τὸν τῶν Ἰλλυρίων
βασιλέα σὺν τοῖς τέκνοις, ἀγώνας ἐπιτελῶν τοὺς
ἐπινικίους ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ παντὸς γέλωτος ἄξια
πράγματα ἐποίησεν, ὥς Πολύβιος ἱστορεῖ ἐν τῇ
2 τριακοστῇ. μεταπεμψάμενος γὰρ τοὺς ἐκ τῆς
Ἑλλάδος ἐπιφανεστάτους τεχνίτας καὶ σκηνήν
κατασκευάσας μεγίστην ἐν τῷ κήρῳ πρῶτοι
3 ἐίσηγεν αὐλητάς ἀμα πάντας. οὕτως δὲ ἦσαν
Θεόδωρος ὁ Βουώτιος, Θεόπομπος, Ἐρμιππος,
[6] Λυσίμαχος, οἵτινες ἐπιφανέστατοι ἦσαν. τού-
τους οὖν στήσας ἐπὶ τὸ προσκήνιον μετὰ τοῦ
4 χοροῦ αὐλείων ἐκέλευσεν ἀμα πάντας. τῶν δὲ
diaporevoμένων τὰς κρούσεις μετὰ τῆς ἀρμο-
ξούσης κινήσεως προσπέμψας οὐκ ἔφη καλὼς
αὐτοὺς αὐλείων, ἀλλ' ἀγωνίζεσθαι μᾶλλον ἐκέ-
λευσεν. τῶν δὲ διαπορούντων ὑπεδείξεν τις τῶν
ῥαδιόχων ἐπιστρέψαντας ἐπαγαγείν ἐφ' αὐτοὺς
7 καὶ ποιεῖν ὡςανεὶ μάχην. ταχὺ δὲ συνυπόσαντες
οἱ αὐληταὶ καὶ λαβόντες . . . οἴκειαν ταῖς ἑαυτῶν
8 ἀσελγείαις μεγάλην ἐποίησαν σύγχυσιν. συνεπι-
streφσαντες δὲ τοὺς μέσους χοροὺς πρὸς τοὺς
άκρους οἱ μὲν αὐληταὶ φυσῶντες ἄδιανότα καὶ
diaφέροντες τοὺς αὐλοὺς ἐπῆγον ἀνὰ μέρος ἐπ'
9 ἄλληλους. ἀμα δὲ τούτους ἐπικτυποοῦντες οἱ
χοροὶ καὶ συνεπεισίοντες τὴν σκηνὴν ἐπεφέροντο
τοῖς ἑαυτῖς καὶ πάλιν ἀνεχόμον ἐκ μεταβολῆς.
10 ὡς δὲ καὶ περιζωσάμενος τις τῶν χορευτῶν ἐκ
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BOOK XXX. 22. 1 – 10

Lucius Anicius’s Triumph over Genthius

(From Athenaeus xiv. p. 615; cp. Livy xlv. 43. 1.)

22. Lucius Anicius, the Roman praetor, upon conquering the Illyrians and bringing back as his prisoners Genthius, the king of Illyria, and his children, in celebrating games in honour of his victory, behaved in the most absurd manner, as Polybius tells us in his Thirtieth Book. For having sent for the most celebrated scenic artists from Greece and constructed an enormous stage in the circus, he first brought on all the flute-players at once. These were Theodorus of Boeotia, Theopompus, Hermippus and Lysimachus, who were then at the height of their fame. Stationing them with the chorus on the proscenium he ordered them to play all together. When they went through their performance with the proper rhythmic movements, he sent to them to say they were not playing well and ordered them to show more competitive spirit. They were at a loss to know what he meant, when one of the lictors explained that they should turn and go for each other and make a sort of fight of it. The players soon understood, and having got an order that suited their own appetite for licence, made a mighty confusion. Making the central groups of dancers face those on the outside, the flute-players blowing loud in unintelligible discord and turning their flutes about this way and that, advanced towards each other in turn, and the dancers, clapping their hands and mounting the stage all together, attacked the adverse party and then faced about and retreated in their turn. And when one of the dancers girt up his robes on the
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tοῦ καίροῦ στραφεῖς ἢρε τὰς χεῖρας ἀπὸ πυγμῆς πρὸς τὸν ἐπιφερόμενον αὐλητῆν, τὸν ἤδη κρότος
11 ἐξεισίος ἐγένετο καὶ κραυγὴ τῶν θεωμένων. ἦτι δὲ τούτων ἐκ παρατάξεως ἀγωνιζομένων ὀρχησταὶ
dύο εἰσῆγοντο μετὰ συμφωνίας εἰς τὴν ὀρχήστραν,
καὶ πύκται τέταρται ἀνέβησαν ἐπὶ τὴν σκηνὴν
12 μετὰ σαλπιγκτῶν καὶ βυκανιστῶν. δόμου δὲ
tούτων πάντων ἀγωνιζομένων ἀλεκτον ἢ τὸ
συμβαίνον. περὶ δὲ τῶν τραγῳδῶν, φησὶ ὁ
Πολύβιος, ὥς τὶ ἂν ἐπιβάλωμαι λέγειν, δόξῳ τοσὶ
dιαχλευάζειν.

II. Res Graeciae

23 Ὅτι ἐξεπολέμησαν κατὰ τὸν καίρον τοῦτον
(31 1) Κνώσιοι μετὰ Γορτυνίων πρὸς τοὺς Ῥαυκίους καὶ
συνθῆκας ἐπουργαντὸ πρὸς ἄλληλους ἐνόρκους μὴ
πρότερον λύσεων τὸν πόλεμον πρὶν ἡ κατὰ κράτος
2 ἐλείν τὴν Ῥαύκου. οἱ δὲ Ῥόδιοι κομισάμενοι
tὰ περὶ τῶν Καυνίων καὶ θεωροῦντες οὐ κατα-
λήγουσαν τὴν ὀργήν τῶν Ῥωμαίων, ἐπειδὴ περὶ
πάντων ἀκολούθως ταῖς ἀποκρίσεωι ἐπειθάρχη-
σαν, εὑθέως τοὺς περὶ Ἀριστοτέλην πρεσβευ-
tὰς καταστήσαντες ἐξέπεμπον εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην,
δόντες ἐντόλας πειράζειν πάλιν περὶ τῆς συμ-
3 μαχίας. οἱ καὶ παραγενθέντες εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην
θερείας ἀκμαζοῦσις εἰσῆλθον εἰς τὴν σύγκλητον
καὶ παραντικα περὶ τοῦ πεπειθάρχηκέναι τὸν
δῆμον τοὺς ἐπιταττομένους διεσάφουν καὶ παρεκά-
λον ὑπὲρ τῆς συμμαχίας, πολλοὺς καὶ ποικίλους
4 διακτικθέμενοι λόγους. ἡ δὲ σύγκλητος ἐδωκεν
ἀπόκρισιν, ἐν ἡ τὴν μὲν φιλίαν παρεσιώτητον,
spur of the moment, and turning round lifted up his hands in boxing attitude against the flute-player who was advancing towards him, there was tremendous applause and cheering on the part of the spectators. And while they were thus engaged in a pitched battle, two dancers with musicians were introduced into the orchestra and four prize-fighters mounted the stage accompanied by buglers and clarion-players and with all these men struggling together the scene was indescribable. As for the tragic actors Polybius says, “If I tried to describe them some people would think I was making fun of my readers.”

II. AFFAIRS OF GREECE

Cretan and Rhodian Matters

23. At this time the Cnosians and Gortynians finished their war with Rhaucus, having previously come to an agreement with each other not to desist from the war before they took Rhaucus by storm. The Rhodians on receiving the message about Caunus and seeing that the displeasure of the Romans did not diminish, when they had yielded complete obedience to the terms of their reply, at once appointed and sent Aristoteles and other envoys to Rome with instructions to try again to obtain an alliance. They reached Rome in the middle of summer, and, entering the senate-house, at once informed that body that their people had obeyed all orders, and begged for an alliance, using many various arguments. The senate returned an answer in which, making no mention of friendship,
περὶ δὲ τῆς συμμαχίας οὐκ ἔφη καθήκεν εἰτῇ
tούτῳ συγχωρείν 'Ροδίως κατὰ τὸ παρόν.

24 ὁμοιοὶ γὰρ ἦσαν οἱ τὴν Περαιάν κατοικοῦντες
(31 23) τοῖς οἰκέταις τοῖς ἐκ τῶν δεσμῶν ἀνελπίστως
2 λελυμένοις, οὕτως Ἀπιστοῦντες τοῖς παροῦσι
μείζων μὲν διαβαίνονσι τῇ κατὰ φύσιν κυνήσεως,
οὐ δοκοῦσι δὲ γινώσκεσθαι παρὰ τοῖς ἀπαντῶσιν
οὐδὲ συνορᾶσθαι διότι λέλυνται σαφῶς, ἐὰν μή τι
παράλογον ποιῶσι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐξηλαγμένον.

III. Res Asiae

25 ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς οὗτος βασιλεὺς ἀκούσας τοῖς ἐν τῇ
(31 3) Μακεδονίᾳ συντετελεσμένοις ἀγώνας ὑπὸ Ἀἰμι-
λίου Παύλου τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατηγοῦ, βουλό-
μενος τῇ μεγαλοδωρίᾳ ὑπεράραι τὸν Παύλου
ἐξέπεμψε πρέσβεις καὶ θεωρούσι εἰς τὰς πόλεις
καταγγελοῦντας τοὺς ἐσομένους ἀγώνας ὑπ' αὐτοῦ
ἐπὶ Δάφνης, ὡς πολλὴν γενέσθαι τῶν Ἑλλήνων
2 σπουδὴν εἰς τὴν ὡς αὐτὸν ἄφιξιν. ἄρχην δὲ
ἐποιήσατο τῆς πανηγύρεως τὴν πομπείαν οὗτος
3 ἐπιτελεσθεῖσαν. καθηγοῦντο τινες Ῥωμαϊκῶν
ἐχοντες καθοπλισμόν ἐν θώραξιν ἀλυσιδωτοῖς,
ἄνδρες ἀκμάζοντες ταῖς ἑλλικίαις πεντακισχίλιοι.
4 μεθ' οὗσι Μυσοὶ πεντακισχίλιοι. συνεχεὶς δὲ
ἡσαν Κίλικες εἰς τὸν τῶν εὐξώμων τρόπον καθ-
ωπλισμένοι τρισχίλιοι, χρυσοὺς ἐχοντες στεφάνους.
5 ἐπὶ δὲ τούτους Θρᾴκες τρισχίλιοι καὶ Γαλάται
πεντακισχίλιοι. τούτοις ἐπέβαλλον Μακεδόνες
dισμύριοι καὶ χαλκάσπιδες πεντακισχίλιοι, ἄλλοι
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they said that as regards an alliance the time had not come when it was proper for them to grant this to Rhodes.

24. The inhabitants of Peræa were like slaves unexpectedly released from their fetters, who, unable to believe the truth, take longer steps than their natural ones and fancy that those they meet will not know and see for certain that they are free unless they behave in some strange way and differently from other men.

III. Affairs of Asia

Games celebrated by Antiochus IV.

(From Athenaeus v. 194 and x. 439.)

25. This same king when he heard of the games celebrated in Macedonia by Aemilius Paullus the Roman general, ambitious of surpassing Paullus in magnificence sent out embassies and sacred missions to the towns to announce the games he was about to give at Daphne, so that people in Greece were very eager to visit Antioch then. The festival opened with a procession composed as follows: It was headed by five thousand men in the prime of life armed after the Roman fashion and wearing breastplates of chain-armour. Next came five thousand Mysians, and immediately behind them three thousand Cilicians armed in the manner of light infantry, wearing gold crowns. Next came three thousand Thracians and five thousand Gauls. They were followed by twenty thousand Macedonians of whom ten thousand bore golden shields,
δὲ ἀργυράσπιδες, ὡς ἔπηκολούθει μονομάχων 6 
ζεύγη διακόσια τετταράκοντα. τούτων κατό-
πων ἦσαν ἱππεῖς Νισαιοὶ μὲν χίλιοι πολιτικοὶ δὲ 
τρισχίλιοι, ὡς οἱ μὲν πλείους ἦσαν χρυσοφάλαιροι 
καὶ χρυσοστέφανοι, οἱ δ’ ἄλλοι ἀργυροφάλαιροι. 
μετὰ δὲ τούτους ἦσαν οἱ λεγόμενοι Ἐταίροι 
ἱππεῖς. οὗτοι δὲ ἦσαν εἰς χιλίους, πάντες χρυσο-
φάλαιροι. τούτως συνεχὲς ἦν τὸ τῶν φίλων 
σύνταγμα, ἵνα καὶ κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος καὶ κατὰ τὸν 
κόσμον. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτως ἔπιλεκτοι χίλιοι, οῖς 
ἐπηκολούθει τὸ καλοῦμενον ἄγημα, κράτιστον 
ἐναι δοκοῦν σύστημα τῶν ἱππέων, περὶ χιλίους. 
τελευταία δ’ ἦν ἡ κατάφρακτος ἱππος, οἰκείως τῇ 
προσηγορίᾳ τῶν ἱππῶν καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐσκεπα-
σμένων τοῖς ὁπλοῖς. ἦσαν δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ χίλιοι καὶ 
πεντακόσιοι. πάντες δ’ οἱ προειρημένοι εἶχον 
πορφυρᾶς ἐφαπτίδας, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ διαχρύσους 
καὶ ζωωτᾶς. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτως ἔξιππα μὲν ἦν 
ἐκατόν, τέθριππα δὲ τετταράκοντα, ἔπειτα ἐλε-
φάντων ἀρμα καὶ συνωρίς. καθ’ ἔνα δὲ εἴποντο 
ἐλέφαντες διεσκευασμένοι τριάκοντα καὶ ἔξ. 
12 Τὴν δ’ ἄλλην πομπὴν λέγειν ἐστὶ δυσσεφικτον, 
ὡς ἐν κεφαλαίῳ δε λεκτέων. ἐφηβοὶ μὲν γὰρ 
ἐπόμπυεσαν εἰς ὀκτακόσιους, χρυσοῦς ἔχοντες 
στεφάνους, βοῖς δ’ εὐτραφεῖς περὶ χιλίους, θεω-
ρικάὶ δ’ βραχὺ λειποῦσαι τρικάσιων, ἐλεφάντων 
13 δὲ ὀδόντες ὀκτακόσιοι. τὸ δὲ τῶν ἀγαλμάτων 
πλῆθος οὐ δυνατόν ἐξηγήσασθαι. πάντων γὰρ 
τῶν παρ’ ἀνθρώπων λεγομένων ἡ νομιζομένων 

1 Kaibel suggests διαμύριοι <χρυσάσπιδες μὲν μύριοι> καὶ 
χαλκ. πεντ., <οἱ> δὲ ἄλλοι which I render. 
2 I write θεωρικαί for θεωρίαί.
five thousand brazen shields and the rest silver shields. Next marched two hundred and fifty pairs of gladiators, and behind them a thousand horsemen from Nisa and three thousand from Antioch itself, most of whom had crowns and trappings of gold and the rest trappings of silver. Next to these came the so-called "companion cavalry," numbering about a thousand, all with gold trappings, and next the regiment of "royal friends" of equal number and similarly accoutred; next a thousand picked horse followed by the so-called "agema," supposed to be the crack cavalry corps, numbering about a thousand. Last of all marched the "cataphract" or mailed horse, the horses and men being armed in complete mail, as the name indicated. Of these too there were about fifteen hundred. All the above wore purple surcoats in many cases embroidered with gold and heraldic designs. Next came a hundred chariots drawn by six horses and forty drawn by four horses, and then a chariot drawn by four elephants and another drawn by a pair, and finally thirty-six elephants in single file with their housings.

It is a difficult task to describe the rest of the procession but I must attempt to give its main features. About eight hundred young men wearing gold crowns made part of it as well as about a thousand fat cattle and nearly three hundred cows presented by the various sacred missions and eight hundred ivory tusks. The vast quantity of images it is impossible to enumerate. For representations of all the gods and spirits mentioned or worshipped by men
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

θεῶν ἡ δαμόνων, προσέτι δὲ ἡρώων εἶδωλα διήγετο, τὰ μὲν κεχρυσωμένα, τὰ δ' ἠμφιεσμένα
14 στολαίς διαχρύσοισι. καὶ πάσι τούτοις οἱ προσήκοντες μύθοι κατὰ τὰς παραδεδομένας ἱστορίας
15 ἐν διασκευαῖς πολυτελέσι παρέκειστο. εἶπετο δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ Νυκτός εἴδωλον καὶ Ἡμέρας, Γῆς τε
16 καὶ Οὐρανοῦ, καὶ 'Ηοῦς καὶ Μεσημβρίας. τὸ δὲ τῶν χρυσωμάτων καὶ ἀργυρωμάτων πλῆθος
17 οὕτως ἀν τις ὑπονοήσεις ὅσον ἦν· ἐνὸς γὰρ τῶν φίλων, Διονυσίου τοῦ ἐπιστολιαγράφου, χίλιοι
18 παιδεῖ ἐπόμευσαν ἀργυρώματα ἔχοντες, ὃν οὐδὲν
19 ἦμεναι, πολυτελῶς διεσκευασμέναι. καὶ τῆς μὲν
πομπῆς τὰ ἐπιφανεστάτα ταῦτα ἦν.

26 Ἐπιτελεσθέντων δὲ τῶν ἀγώνων καὶ μονο-(31 4) μαχῶν καὶ κυνηγεσίων κατὰ τριάκονθ' ἡμέρας,
ἐν αἷς τὰς θέας συνετέλει, πέντε μὲν τὰς πρῶτας
2 φοντο κροκίνῳ μύρῳ. ἦν δὲ ταῦτα πεντεκαὶ-
δεκα, καὶ κυναμομοίνῳ τὰ ἴσα καὶ ναρδίνου.
παραπλησίως δὲ καὶ ταῖς ἔξης εἴσεφέρετο τῆλινον,
ἀμαράκινων, ἵππων, πάντα διαφέροντα ταῖς εὐ-
3 ωδίαις. ἐστρωτο δὲ εἰς εὐωχίαν ποτὲ μὲν χλία
τρίκλινα, ποτὲ δὲ χλία πεντακόσια μετὰ τῆς
πολυτελεστάτης διασκευής.

4 Athen. l. c. 'Ο δὲ χειρισμὸς ἐγίνετο τῶν πραγ-
and of all the heroes were carried along, some gilded and others draped in garments embroidered with gold, and they were all accompanied by representations executed in precious materials of the myths relating to them as traditionally narrated. Behind them came images of Night and Day, of Earth and Heaven, and of Dawn and Midday. The quantity of gold and silver plate may be estimated from what follows. The slaves of one of the royal “friends,” Dionysius, the private secretary, marched along carrying articles of silver plate none of them weighing less than a thousand drachmae, and six hundred of the king’s own slaves went by bearing articles of gold plate. Next there were about two hundred women sprinkling the crowd with perfumes from golden urns, and these were followed by eighty women seated in litters with golden feet and five hundred in litters with silver feet, all richly dressed. Such were the more remarkable features of the procession.

26. When the games, gladiatorial shows, and beast-fights, which lasted for the thirty days devoted to spectacles, were over, for the first five succeeding days every one who chose anointed himself in the gymnasium with saffron ointment out of gold jars: of those there were fifteen, and there were the same number of jars with ointment of cinnamon and spikenard. On the succeeding days ointments of fenugreek, marjoram, and orris were brought in, all of exquisite perfume. For banqueting there were sometimes a thousand tables laid and sometimes fifteen hundred, all furnished with the most costly viands.

All the arrangements were made by the king in
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μάτων δι' αὐτοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως. ἵππον γὰρ ἔχων εὔτελή παρέτρεχε παρὰ τὴν πομπῆν, τοὺς μὲν 5 προάγεν κελεύων τοὺς δὲ ἐπέχειν. κατὰ δὲ τοὺς πότους αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τὰς εἰσόδους ἐφιστάμενος οὓς μὲν εἰσῆγεν οὓς δ' ἀνέκλινε, καὶ τοὺς διακόνους δὲ τοὺς τὰς παραθέσεις φέροντας αὐτὸς 6 εἰσῆγε. καὶ περιπορευόμενος οὐ μὲν προσεκαθίζειν, οὐ δὲ προσανέπιπτε· καὶ ποτὲ μὲν ἀποθέμενος μετὰ τὸν ψυμὸν, ποτὲ δὲ τὸ ποτήριον ἀνεπίθα καὶ μετανίστατο καὶ περιήγην τὸν πότον, προπόσεις λαμβάνων ὅρθος ἄλλοτε παρ' ἄλλοις, 7 ἁμα δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἀκροάμασι προσπαίζων. προ- ἰούσης δ' ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς συνουσίας καὶ πολλῶν ἡδη 8 ἐκεχωρισμένων, ὑπὸ τῶν μίμων ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰσ- εφέρετο ὅλος κεκαλυμμένος καὶ εἰς τὴν γῆν ἐτίθετο 9 ὅς εἰς ὃν δῆτα τῶν μίμων. καὶ τῆς συμφωνίας προκαλομένης, ἀναπτήσας ὥρχεῖτο καὶ ὑπεκρί- νετο μετὰ τῶν γελωτοποιῶν, ὡστε πάντας αἴσχυ- νομένοις φεύγειν. ταῦτα δὲ πάντα συνετελέσθη ἐξ ὃν τὰ μὲν ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἐνοσφίσατο, παρα- στονύσας τὸν Φιλομήτορα βασιλέα παιδίσκον ὅντα, <τὰ> δὲ καὶ τῶν φίλων συμβαλλομένων. ἰεροσυλήκει δὲ καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν ἱερῶν.

27 ὁτι μετὰ τὴν συντέλειαν τῶν ἁγώνων, ἀρτί (31.5.) τούτων γεγονότων, ἦκον οἱ περὶ τὸν Τεβέριον 2 πρεσβευταί, κατασκόπων ἔχοντες τάξιν. οἷς οὐ- τως ἐπιδεξίως ἀπήγγησεν Ἀντίοχος καὶ φιλο- φρόνως ὠστε μη ὅλον τοὺς περὶ τὸν Τεβέριον ὑποπτευσάι τι περὶ αὐτοῦ πραγματικών ἡ παρα- τριβῆς ἐμφασίν ἔχον ἐκ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀλεξάν-
person. He rode on a sorry pony along the procession, ordering it to advance or halt as the case might be. At banquets, again, he stood himself at the entrance and led in some of the guests, and ushered others to their seats, himself leading in also the attendants who carried the dishes. Then he would walk round the room, occasionally sitting down and occasionally reclining, and then, putting down as the case might be the cup or the morsel he was holding, he would jump up and change his place, going all round the banquet, accepting toasts standing from this man or that and making fun of the musical performance. Finally when the carouse had been going on for long and many of the guests had already left, the king, entirely wrapped up, was carried in by the mimes and deposited on the ground as if he were one of themselves. The band was now summoned, and he, jumping up, would dance and act with the burlesque players, so that all the guests were abashed and left the feast. All the above display and outlay was provided for by the robberies he had committed in Egypt when he treacherously attacked King Philometor while yet a child, and partly by contributions from his friends. He had also sacrilegiously despoiled most of the temples.

27. Shortly after the end of the games Tiberius Gracchus and the other legates arrived in the quality of inspectors. Antiochus, however, was so adroit and courteous when he met them that Tiberius and his colleagues, far from acquiring any real suspicion about him or detecting anything indicative of disaffection due to what had happened at Alexandria,
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δρειαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν λεγόντων τι τοιοῦτον καταγινώσκειν διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς κατὰ τὴν ἀπάντησιν φιλανθρωπίας· ὅσα περὶ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ τῆς αὐλῆς παρεχόμενη τοῖς πρεσβευταῖς, μικρὸν δὲ καὶ τοῦ διαδήματος κατὰ τὴν ἐπίφασιν, καίπερ οὐκ ὥν τῇ προαιρέσει τοιοῦτος, ἀλλὰ τοῦναντίον.

I. Res Italicae

28 "Ὅτι τοῖς παρὰ τῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας Γαλατῶν πρεσβευταῖς συνεχώρησαν τὴν αὐτονομίαν μένουσιν εἴ ταῖς ἰδίαις κατοικίαις καὶ μὴ στρατευμένοις ἐκτὸς τῶν ἰδίων ὄρων.

II. Res Graeciae

29 "Ὅτι κατὰ τὴν Πελοπόννησον, παραγενομένων τῶν πρεσβευτῶν καὶ διασαφούντων τὰ κατὰ τὰς ἀποκρίσεις, οὐκέτι θόρυβος ἦν, ἀλλὰ ὀργή καὶ μύσος ἐκφανές πρὸς τοὺς περὶ τὸν Καλλικράτην.

2 "Ὅτι τοῦ περὶ Καλλικράτην μίσους καὶ Ἀνδρωνίδαν καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς τοὺς ὀμογνώμονας τούτων οὕτως ἄν τις τεκμήραιτο. τῆς γὰρ τῶν Ἀντιγονείων πανηγύρεως ἐν τῷ Σικυώνι συντελομένης, καὶ τῶν βαλανείων ἀπάντων ἐχόντων τὰς τε κοινὰς μάκτρας καὶ πυέλους ταύτας παρακειμένας, εἰς ὅσοι καὶ κομψότεροι τῶν ἀνδρώπων εἰώθασι καὶ ἰδιαί ἐμβαίνειν, εἰς ταύτας ὅτε τις.
even discredited those who said anything of the kind, owing to their exceedingly kind reception: for in addition to other favours he even gave up his palace to them, and very nearly gave up his crown to them as well, so far his demeanour went, although his real feelings were not so, but quite the reverse.

I. AFFAIRS OF ITALY

Treatment of Galatia

28. The autonomy of their country was granted by the senate to the Galatian envoys on condition that they remained in their own settlements and did not cross their frontier in arms.

II. AFFAIRS OF GREECE

Feeling against Callicrates

29. In Peloponnesus, when the envoys returned and reported the answer they had received, there was no longer any disturbance but unconcealed indignation and hatred against Callicrates and his party.

One can guess from the following circumstance how cordially Callicrates, Andronidas, and the rest of their party were detested. When the festival of the Antigoneia was being celebrated in Sicyon, and all the baths had their large public bathing-tubs open, and smaller ones next them, which the more genteel people used to enter privately, whenever any of the
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catheîa tōn perī tōn 'Androvwîdan kai Kalλikrâ-tηn, oúdeis étolma tōn ἐφεστῶτων ἐτὶ καθιέναι, πρὶν ἢ τὸν βαλανεῖτην τὸ μὲν ὑπάρχον ὑδωρ ἀφεῖναι 5 πάν, ἔτερον δὲ καθαρὸν ἐγχέαι. τοῦτο δὲ ἐποίουν, ὑπολαμβάνοντες ὡσανεὶ μιαίνεσθαι καθιέντες εἰς 6 ταῦτο τοῖς προειρημένοις ὑδωρ. τοὺς δὲ συμπλο- μοὺς τοὺς ἐν ταῖς κοιναῖς πανηγύρεσι τῶν Ἑλ- λήνων καί τοὺς χλευασμοὺς, ὅτε τὶς ἐπιβάλοιτο κηρύττειν τινὰ τῶν προειρήμενων, οὐδ' ἂν ἔξηγή- 7 σαιτο βαδίσεις οúdeis. ἔθαρρε οὐδ' καὶ τὰ παιδάρια κατὰ τὰς ὁδοὺς ἐκ τῶν διδασκαλεῖων ἐπανάγοντα κατὰ πρόσωπον αὐτοὺς προδότας ἀποκαλεῖν. τοιαύτη τις ὑπέδραμε προσκοπῆ καὶ μίσος κατὰ τῶν προειρημένων.

Res Italicae

30 "Ωτ' εἰς τὴν 'Ρώμην παραγεγονότων πρεσβευ-
(31 6) τῶν πλειόνων καὶ ἔτερων, ἐπιφανεστάτων δὲ παρὰ μὲν 'Ροδίων τῶν περὶ 'Αστυμήθην, παρὰ δὲ τῶν 'Αχαιῶν τῶν περὶ Εὐρέαν καὶ 'Αναξίδαμον καὶ Σάτυρον, παρὰ δὲ Προυσίων τῶν περὶ Πύθωνα, 2 τούτοις ἐχρημάτισεν ή σύγκλητος. οἱ μὲν οὖν παρὰ τοῦ Προυσίου κατηγοριάν ἐποιοῦντ' Ἑὐ- μένους τοῦ βασιλέως, φάσκοντες αὐτῶν τε τινα χωρία παραφεύγειν τὸν Ἐὐμένη καὶ τῆς Γαλατίας οὐκ ἀφίστασθαι τὸ παράπαν οὖδ' πειθαρχεῖν τοῖς 3 τῆς συγκλήτου δόγμασιν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς τὰ σφέτερα μὲν φρονοῦντας σωματοποιεῖν, τοὺς δὲ τὰ 'Ρω- μαίων αἱρομένους καὶ βουλομένους πολιτεύεσθαι τοῖς τῆς συγκλήτου δόγμασιν ἀκολούθως κατὰ 4 πάντα τρόπον ἔλαττον. ἦσαν δὲ τίνες πρεσβευ-
party of Callicrates and Andronidas went in to them, none of those who were waiting their turn ventured to enter the water after them, before the bath-keeper had let it all run off and poured in fresh. They did this because they considered that they would be, as it were, polluted by entering the same water as those people. And as for the hissing and hooting at public festivals when anyone attempted to proclaim one of these men as victor, it would not be easy to describe it. Even the children in the streets on their way back from school ventured to call them traitors to their faces. So deep was the prevailing aversion and hatred of them.

**Affairs of Italy**

*Embassies from Prusias, Rhodes, and Achaea*

30. Many other embassies also reached Rome this 165–164 B.C. year, the principal ones being that under Astymedes from Rhodes, that from the Achacans consisting of Eureas, Anaxidamus and Satyrus, and that from Prusias headed by Python. The senate gave audiences to all these. The envoys from Prusias complained of King Eumenes, asserting that he had annexed some Bithynian places, and did not by any means cease from meddling with Galatia, but disobeyed the decrees of the senate, continuing to strengthen his own partisans there and to weaken by every means in his power those who were favourable to Rome, and who desired to act in accordance with the decrees of the senate. There were also some
ταὶ καὶ παρὰ τῶν τῆς Ἀσίας πόλεων, οἱ κατηγόρουν τοῦ βασιλέως, ἐμφασιν ποιοῦντες τῆς πρὸς τὸν Ἀντίοχον κωνοπραγίας. ἡ δὲ σύγκλητος διακούσασα τῶν κατηγοροῦντων οὔτ' ἀπέρριπτε τὰς διαβολὰς οὔτ' ἐξέφαυς τὴν ἰσαρχὴς γνώμην, ἀλλὰ συνετήρει παρ' ἑαυτῇ, διαπιστοῦσα καθόλου τοῖς περὶ τὸν Εὐμένη καὶ τὸν Ἀντίοχον.

τοῖς γε μὴν Γαλάταις ἀεὶ τι προσετίθει καὶ συνετίσχεν περὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Τεβέριον ἦκοντες ἀπὸ τῆς προσβείας οὐδὲν περιτότερον ἡδυνήθησαν οὔτ' αὐτοὶ διαλαβεῖν οὔτε τῇ συγκλήτῳ διασαφῆσαι περὶ τῶν κατὰ τὸν Εὐμένη καὶ τὸν Ἀντίοχον, ἦπερ ἃ καὶ πρότερον οὔτε ἐν τῇ Ἦρωμᾷ διελάμβανον. οὔτως αὐτοὺς οἱ βασιλεῖς ἐξετέμοντο τῇ κατὰ τὴν ἀπάντησιν φιλανθρωπίᾳ.

31 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα προσκαλεσαμένη τοὺς Ῥοδίους (31 7) διήκουν τούτων. ὀ δ' Ἀστυμήθης εἰσελθὼν μετρίως ἔστη καὶ βέλτιον ἣν κατὰ τὴν πρὸ ταύτης προσβείαν ἀφέμενος γὰρ τοῦ κατηγορεῖν τῶν ἀλλων ὄρμησεν ἐπὶ τὸ παρατείθαι, καθάπερ οἱ μαστιγοῦμενοι τὰς πληγάς, φάσκων ἰκανοὶς προστίμους περιπεπτωκέναι τὴν πατρίδα καὶ μείζοσι τῆς ἀμαρτίας. καὶ προσθέμενος ἔξηγεῖτο τὰς ἐλαττώσεις, κεφαλαυδῶς διεξών, πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι Λυκίαν καὶ Καρίαν ἀπολούληκαν, εἰς ἢν ἐξ ἀρχῆς μὲν ἐδαπάνησαν χρημάτων ἰκανον πλήθος, τριτοὺς πολέμους ἀναγκασθέντες πολεμεῖν αὐτοῖς, νυνὶ δὲ προσόδων ἑστέρηται πολλῶν ὁιν ἐλάμβανον παρὰ τῶν προειρημένων. "ἀλλ' ἰσως" ἔφη "ταῦτα μὲν ἔχει λόγον· καὶ γὰρ ἐδώκας' ὑμεῖς αὐτὰ τῷ δήμῳ, μετὰ χάριτος <διὰ>.
envoys from Asiatic cities who accused Eumenes, laying stress on his understanding with Antiochus. The senate, after listening to the accusations, neither repelled them nor pronounced any opinion, but took note of them, generally distrusting Eumenes and Antiochus. As for the Galatians they continued to add to and further secure their liberties. Tiberius and his colleagues, on returning from their mission, were incapable of forming themselves or stating to the senate any opinion about Eumenes and Antiochus further than that which they had formerly entertained when in Rome. So well had the kings succeeded in relaxing their vigour by the warmth of their reception.

31. After this the senate summoned the Rhodians and gave them a hearing. Astymedes on entering took up a more moderate and better position than on his last embassy. For, desisting from bringing accusations, he began to make excuses, as slaves when scourged beg to be let off a certain number of lashes, saying that his country had been sufficiently mulcted and beyond what her offences deserved. He then proceeded to sum up the losses which Rhodes had suffered, mentioning first of all that of Lycia and Caria, on which provinces they had spent from the outset a considerable sum, having been compelled to undertake three wars against them, and now they were deprived of the large revenue derived from them. "But perhaps," he said, "in this you are justified; for it is true that you gave these districts to our people as a favour and token of goodwill, and
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

tην εὑνοιαν, καὶ ἀφανίζοντες αὐτὰ κατὰ λόγον ἔδοκείτε τούτῳ πράττειν, ἐμπεσοῦσθ ὑπὸ ὁψίας καὶ διαφορᾶς ὑμίν. ἀλλὰ Καῦνον δῆπον διακοσίων ταλαντῶν ἐξηγοράσαμεν παρὰ τῶν Πτολεμαίου στρατηγῶν καὶ Στρατονίκειαν ἐλάβομεν ἐν μεγάλῃ χάριτι παρ’ Ἀντίόχου τοῦ
7 Σελεύκου· καὶ παρὰ τούτων τῶν πόλεων ἀμφοτέρων ἔκατον καὶ εἰκοσι τάλαντα τῷ δήμῳ πρόσοδος ἐπιπτε καθ’ ἐκαστὸν ἔτος. τούτων ἀπασῶν ἐστερήμεθα τῶν προσόδων, θέλοντες πειθ
9 αρχεῖν τοῖς υμετέροις προστάγμασιν. ἔξ ὧν μείζονα φόρον ἐπιτεθείκατο τοῖς Ῥοδίοις τῆς ἀγνοίας ἡ Μακεδόσι τοῖς διὰ παντὸς πολεμίους ὑμῖν ὑπάρξασι. τὸ δὲ μέγιστον σύμπτωμα τῆς πό
10 λεως· καταλέυνε γὰρ τὴν λυμένος πρόσοδος ὑμῶν, Ἀδηλον μὲν ἀτελῆ πεποιηκότων, ἀφηρμε
νων δὲ τὴν τοῦ δήμου παρρησίαν, δὴ ἦς καὶ ἦς καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τῶν λιμένα καὶ τάλλα πάντα τῆς πόλεως
11 ἐτύγχανε τῆς ἁρμοζούσης προστάσιας. ὅτι δὲ
12 τοῦτο ἐστὶν ἄλλθες οὐ δυσχερὲς καταμαθεῖν· τοῦ γὰρ ἠλλουρίου κατὰ τοὺς ἀνώτερον χρόνος εὐρίσκοντος ἐκατον μυριάδας δραχμῶν, νῦν εὐρίσκει πεντεκαίδεκα μυριάδας, ὥστε καὶ λίαν, ὥς ἄνδρες Ῥωμαίοι, τὴν υμετέραν ὅργην ἦφθαι τῶν κυρίων
13 πόρων τῆς πόλεως. εἰ μὲν ὑπὸ συμβεβήκει πάνθημον γεγονέναι τὴν ἀμαρτίαν καὶ τὴν ἀλλοτριότητα τοῦ δήμου, τὰχ’ ἵσως ἔδοκείτε καὶ ὑμεῖς εὐλόγως ἐπίμονον καὶ δυσπαραίτητον ἔχειν
14 τὴν ὥργην· εἰ δὲ σαφῶς ἤστε παντάπασιν ὅλιγους γεγονότας αἰτίους τῆς τουαύτης ἀλογίας, καὶ τούτους ἀπαντας ἀπολωλότας ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ τοῦ
15 δήμου, τῷ πρὸς τοὺς μηδὲν αἰτίους ἀκαταλλάκτως
156
in revoking your gift now that we incur your suspicion and hostility you may seem to have acted reasonably. But as for Caunus, you will confess that we bought it from Ptolemy’s generals for two hundred talents, and that Stratoniceia was given us as a great favour by Antiochus son of Seleucus. From these two towns our state derived an annual revenue of a hundred and twenty talents. We lose the whole of this revenue if we consent to obey your orders. From this you see that you have imposed a heavier tribute on the Rhodians for a single mistake than on the Macedonians who had always been your foes. But the greatest calamity inflicted on our town is this. The revenue we drew from our harbour has ceased owing to your having made Delos a free port, and deprived our people of that liberty by which our rights as regards our harbour and all the other rights of our city were properly guarded. It is not difficult to convince you of the truth of this. For while the harbour-dues in former times were farmed for a million drachmae, they now fetch only a hundred and fifty thousand, so that your displeasure, men of Rome, has only too heavily visited the vital resources of the state. Now, had the whole people been responsible for our error and estrangement from you, you might possibly with some show of justice maintain that displeasure and deny forgiveness, but if, as you know well, the authors of this folly were quite few in number and have all been put to death by the state itself, why do you refuse to be reconciled to men who
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έχετε, καὶ ταῦτα πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους ἀπαντας εἶναι 16 δοκοῦντες προφτατοι καὶ μεγαλοψυχωτατοι; διό-περ, ὡς ἄνδρες, ἀπολωλεκὼς ὁ δῆμος τὰς προσ-όδους, τὴν παρρησίαν, τὴν ἱσολογίαν, ὑπὲρ δὲν τὸν πρὸ τοῦ χρόνον πᾶν ἀναδεχόμενος διατετελεκεν,

17 άξιοὶ καὶ δεῖται πάντων ὑμῶν, ἵκανὰς ἔχων πληγάς, λήξαντας τῆς ὀργῆς διαλυθῆναι καὶ συνθέσθαι τὴν συμμαχίαν, ἵνα γένηται τοῦτο συμφανεῖς ἀπασίν ὅτι τὴν μὲν ὀργήν ἀποτέθειοθε τὴν πρὸς Ἁρδίους, ἀνακεκριθάτε δ' ἐπὶ τὴν ἐξ ἄρχης αἴρεσι καὶ 18 φιλίαν. τοῦτον γὰρ χρείαν ἔχει νῦν ὁ δῆμος, οὐ τῆς διὰ τῶν ὀπλῶν καὶ στρατιωτῶν συμμαχίας." ταῦτα μὲν οὖν καὶ τούτως παραπλήσια διαλεξθείς Ἀστυμήδης ἐδόκει πρεπόντως τοῖς καιροῖς πε- 19 ποιήσασθι τοὺς λόγους: πλεῖστά γε μὴν συνήργησαν τοῖς Ἀρδίους πρὸς τὸ τυχεῖν τῆς συμμαχίας οἱ 20 περὶ τὸν Τεβέριον ἄρτι παραγεγονότες. οὗτοι γὰρ ἀπομαρτυρῶσαντες πρῶτον μὲν πᾶσιν τοῖς ἡς συγκλήτων δόγμαι πεπειθαρχηκέναι τοὺς Ἁρδίους, ἔπειτα πάντας τοὺς αὐτίους τῆς ἀλλο-τριώτητος κατακεκρίθαι θανάτου παρ' αὐτοῖς, ἥττησαν τοὺς ἀντιλέγοντας καὶ ἐποιήσαντο τὴν πρὸς Ἡρωμάιους συμμαχίαν.

32 ὅτι μετὰ τῶν χρόνων εἰσήλθον οἱ παρὰ τῶν (31 8) Ἁχαιῶν πρέσβεις, ἔχοντες ἐντὸς ἀκολούθως 2 ταῖς ἀποκρίσεσιν, αἱς πρότερον ἐλαβον· αὐταὶ δ' ἦσαν διὸτι θαυμάζουσιν πῶς, ὑπὲρ δὲν αὐτοὶ κεκρίκασι, περὶ τούτων αὐτοὺς παρακαλοῦσιν 3 κρίνειν. διὸ τότε παρῆσαν οἱ περὶ τῶν Εὐρέαν, 158
were in no way to blame, you who are considered to be most lenient and magnanimous towards all other peoples? Therefore, gentlemen, the people of Rhodes who have lost their revenue, their liberty, and their equality, things for which in past times they were ready to endure any suffering, beg and entreat you all, now that they have been sufficiently chastised, to abate your anger, to be reconciled to us and to make the alliance in order that it may be evident to all men that you have now laid aside your anger against the Rhodians and have resumed your original friendly attitude; for it is of this that our people stands in need now and not of an ally to support them by arms and soldiers.” In these and similar terms Astymedes addressed the senate, and he was thought to have spoken in a manner befitting the situation. The thing, however, which helped the Rhodians most to get their alliance was the recent arrival of Tiberius Gracchus and the other legates. For by testifying in the first place that the Rhodians had obeyed all the decrees of the senate and next that all those guilty of disaffection had been condemned to death at Rhodes, he overcame all opposition, and so the alliance with Rome was made.

Embassy from Achaea

32. Shortly afterwards the Achaean envoys entered, with instructions consequent on the answer they had previously received. This was that the senate were surprised that they should be asked to pronounce judgement on a matter already judged by the Achaecans. Owing to this Eureas and his colleagues
πάλιν εξ ἀρχῆς ἐμφανίζοντες διότι τὸ μὲν ἔθνος
οὔτε δικαιολογομένων ἀκήκοε τῶν κατηγια-
μένων οὔτε κρίσιν οὐδεμίαν πεποίηται περὶ αὐτῶν,
4 τὴν δὲ σύγκλητον ἄξιοι ππρόνοιαι οὐήσασθαι τῶν ἀνθρώπων,
ὅπως κρίσεως τῷ χώσι καὶ μὴ κατα-
5 φθαρῶσιν ἀκριτοι, καὶ μάλιστα μὲν αὐτὴν ἐξετά-
σασαν διασαφῆσαι τοὺς ἐνόχους ἄντας τοῖς ἐγ-
ekλήμασιν· εἰ δὲ διὰ τοὺς περιστασµοὺς αὐτὴ μὴ
dύναται τοῦτο ποιῆσαι, τοῖς Ἀχαίοις ἐπιτρέψαι
περὶ τοῦ πράγματος, οἱ πειράζονται μισοπονήρως
6 χρήσασθαι τοῖς αἰτίοις. ἡ δὲ σύγκλητος δι-
ακούσασα τῶν προσβευτῶν, ἀκολούθως ταῖς ἐν-
tολαῖς διαλεγομένων, καὶ δυσχρηστοῦσα διὰ τὸ
7 πανταχόθεν ἐξελέγχεσθαι· τὸ τε γὰρ κρίνειν ὡς
ἐνόμιζεν αὐτῇ καθήκειν, τὸ τε χωρὶς κρίσεως
ἀπολύειν τοὺς ἄνδρας πρόδηλον ἔχειν ἐδόκει τὸν
8 ὀλεθρον τοῖς φίλοις αὐτῶν· διόπερ ἀναγκαζοµένη
καὶ βουλοµένη παρελέαθαι καθόλου τὴν ἑλπίδα
τῶν πολλῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν κατεχοµένων σωτηρίας,
ὅπως συµµύσασαν πειθαρχώσων ἐν μὲν Ἀχαίῃ τοῖς
περὶ τὸν Καλλικράτην, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις πολυ-
tεύμασι τοῖς δοκοῦσιν εἶναι Ῥωµαίοις, ἐγγράφαν
9 ἀπόκρισιν τοιαύτην, ὅτι ἡµεῖς οὐκ ὑπολαµβά-
νοµεν συµφέρειν ὡς τοῖς Ῥωµαίοις· οὔτε τοῖς
ὑµετέροις δήµοις τούτοις τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐπανελθεῖν
10 εἰς οἶκον. ταύτης δὲ τῆς ἀποκρίσεως ἐκπαιδεύ-
σης, ὥστε μόνον περὶ τοὺς ἀνακεκληµένους ἐγένετο
τις ὀλοσχερῆς ἀθυµία καὶ παράλυσις τῆς ψυχῆς,
ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τοὺς Ἐλλήνας ὥσπερ κοινῶν τι
πένθος, ἀτε δοκούσης τῆς ἀποκρίσεως ὀλοσχερῆς
ἀφαιρεῖσθαι τῆν ἑλπίδα τῆς σωτηρίας τῶν ἀκλη-
ρούντων. κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἐλλάδα διαγγελθείσης
160
appeared on the present occasion to point out that the league had neither heard the defence of the accused nor pronounced any judgement on them, and they now begged the senate to consider the case of these men, and see that they were put on their trial, and not allowed to rot in exile unjudged. They begged the senate if possible to undertake the inquiry itself and to pronounce who were guilty of the charges; but if other calls on their time prevented this, to refer the matter to the Achaeans who would attempt to deal with the accused as their crimes merited. The senate, after listening to what the envoys said according to their instructions, found themselves in a quandary, as they were confronted by objections on all sides. They did not think it lay with them to pronounce judgement, while to set free the men without trial meant, they thought, the certain destruction of their own friends. Therefore, forced by circumstances, and wishing to cut short once for all the hope of the populace that those in detention might be saved, with the object of shutting people’s mouths and making them obedient to the party of Callicrates in Achaea, and to those in other states who were thought to be the friends of Rome, they gave a written answer in these words: “We do not think it the interest either of Rome or of your peoples that these men should return home.” Upon this answer being issued not only did the Achaeans who had been summoned to Italy fall into a state of utter despondency and helplessness, but all the Greeks in Rome went as it were into mourning, since the answer seemed to deprive the unhappy sufferers of all hope of restoration. And when the answer
<τῆς> ἀποκρίσεως τῆς τοῖς Ἀχαιῶις δεδομένης ὑπὲρ τῶν καταιτιαθέντων, τὰ μὲν πλήθη συνετρίβη ταῖς διανοίασι, καὶ τις οἶον ἀπελπισμὸς 12 ὑπέδραμεν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Χάροπα καὶ Καλλικράτην καὶ πάντες οἱ τῆς αὐτῆς ὑποθέσεως προεστῶτες μετέωροι πάλιν ἐγενήθησαν.
given to the Achaeans on the subject of the accused was announced in Greece, the spirits of the people were crushed and something like despair everywhere prevailed. But Charops and Callicrates and the defenders of their policy were again in high spirits.
FRAGMENTA LIBRI XXXI

I. Res Italieae

1 "On Tebérionous toûs Kàmmànovûs tà mèn biașa-
(9) mevos, tà ðè paraïlogișámènos ùpîkôous êpòîîse
'Rò̂maîòis.

2 Eîs ðè tîn 'Rò̂mînh kài plêîônôn paraïgego-
vôtovn <prêsebêntôv> êxhêmâtisev ë' sùgklêtôs
toîs peri 'Aptalôn kài toû 'Aðhînâvûn. sùnêbâiue
gàr toû Prousiân ou mûnon aûtvûn énëroyûs ke-
chríçhâi taîs diaîbolaîs taîs kata toû Eûmènê kài
toû 'Antîoxôn, allà kài toûs Gâlàtâs paraîzu-
kênâi kài toûs Sêlyeîs kài plêîous êtérôus kata
tîn 'Asiâv prôs tîn aûtvûn ùpóthèsov. òvî xârîn
ô basîleûs Eûmènês êzapsestâlkêi toûs âdêlfoûs,
ápologhshsméînov prôs tâs épîferoîmênavs dia-
bolâs. oî kài paraîlêîntes eîs tîn sûgklêtôn
êvdeîkhmênov êdoûxan prôs àpàntas toûs kàthgô-
roûntas pòûhshsathî tîn ãpologhîan, kài têlôs ou
mûnon ãpotrîfâmênov tâs épîferoîmênavs aîtîas,
allà kài tiûnhshntes èpavîlîthoun eîs tîn 'Asiâv.
6 ou mûn tîs ge kâtà toû Eûmènê kài kâtà toû
'Aptîoxôn ùpôphsh êlîhshn ë' sûgklêtos, allâ
FRAGMENTS OF BOOK XXXI

I. AFFAIRS OF ITALY

(Cp. Livy, epit. xlvi.)

1. Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus subjected to the Romans the Cammani partly by force and partly by fraud.

Embassy from Eumenes

Several embassies arrived at Rome this year, and the senate dealt with that headed by Attalus and Athenaeus. For Prusias had not only pushed the accusations he brought himself against Eumenes and Antiochus, but had instigated the Galatians, the people of Selge and other Asiatic peoples to bring similar complaints. In consequence of this Eumenes had sent his brothers to defend him against all these charges. When they appeared before the senate it was thought that they made a satisfactory defence against all the accusers, and finally having not only freed Eumenes from the charges but having received special marks of honour they returned to Asia. The senate, however, did not cease to entertain suspicions of Eumenes and Antiochus, but appointed and

* An Asiatic people.
ΤΑ ΠΑΥΛΟΥ ΣΟΦΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΜΑΝΟΣ ΣΕΡΓΙΟΥ ΚΑΤΑΣΤΗ-
7 σαυρα προσβεντας ἐξαπέστελλεν, ἀμα μὲν ἐποπτευ-
8 σοντας τα κατα τους Ἔλληνας, ἀμα δὲ τοῖς Μεγα-
9 λοπολίταις καὶ τοῖς Δακεδαμονίωις διευκρινήσου-
10 τας περὶ τῆς ἀντίλεγομένης χώρας, μάλιστα δὲ
11 πολυπραγμονήσουτας τα κατα τον Ἀντίοχον καὶ
12 τα κατα τον Εὐμένη, μὴ τις ἐξ αυτῶν παρασκευὴ
gίνεται καὶ κοινοπραγία κατὰ Πρωμαίων.

2 "Ὅτι Δημήτριος ὁ τοῦ Σελεύκου πολὺν ἦδη
3 (12) χρόνων κατεχόμενος ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ κατὰ τὴν ὀμη-
4 ρείαν πάλαι μὲν ἔδόκει παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον κατ-
5 ἐχεσθαι. δοθήκα τὸν ἑπό Σελεύκου τοῦ πατρὸς
6 τῆς ἐκείνου πίστεως ἐνεκεν, Ἀντίοχον δὲ μετ-
7 ειληφότος τὴν βασιλείαν οὐκ ὀφείλειν ὑπὲρ <τῶν>
8 ἐκείνου τέκνων ὀμηρεύειν. ὦ μὴν ἀλλὰ τὸν μὲν
9 πρὸ τοῦ χρόνου ἤγε τὴν ἡσυχίαν, καὶ μάλιστα διὰ
10 τὴν ἄδυναμίαν. ἢν γὰρ ἔτι παῖς· τότε δὲ τὴν
11 ἀκμαίοτάτην ἐχων ἡλικίαν ἐπουήσατο λόγους,
12 εἰσελθὼν εἰς τὴν σύγκλητον, ἀξίων καὶ παρα-
13 καλῶν κατάγειν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλείαν· καθήκειν
14 γὰρ αὐτῷ μᾶλλον ἢ τοὺς Ἀντίοχον τέκνοις τὴν
15 ἀρχήν. διαθεμένου δὲ καὶ πλείονας λόγους αὐτοῦ
16 πρὸς τὴν προοριμένην ὑπόθεσιν καὶ μάλιστα
17 προσδραμόντος ἐν τῷ λέγειν, διότι συμβαίνει καὶ
18 πατρίδα καὶ τροφὸν τὴν Ῥώμην ὑπάρχειν αὐτῷ,
19 καὶ τοὺς μὲν υἱοὺς τῶν ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου σύμπαντας
20 ἀδελφῶν ἐχειν διάθεσιν, τοὺς δὲ θουλευτας πατέ-
21 ρων διὰ τὸ παραγενέσθαι μὲν ἔτι νῆπιος, τότε δὲ
22 κατὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν ὑπάρχειν ἐτῶν εἰκοσὶ καὶ τριών,
23 <ἐν>ετρέποντο μὲν ἄπαντες ἀκούοντες ἐν ἑαυτοῖς,
24 κοινῇ γε μὴν ἐδοξε τῇ συγκλήτῳ τὸν μὲν Δημή-
25
BOOK XXXI. 1. 6-2. 6

dispatched Gaius Sulpicius and Manius Sergius as
legates to observe the state of affairs in Greece, to
decide the question of the territory in dispute between
Megalopolis and Lacedaemon, but chiefly to inquire
diligently into the proceedings of Antiochus and
Eumenes in case they were making any preparations
to attack Rome and acting in concert against her.

Measures taken regarding Syria, Macedonia, and Egypt

2. Demetrius, the son of Seleucus, had now been
held in hostage at Rome for many years, and it
had long been thought that his detention was unjust,
since he had been given by his father Seleucus as
a hostage for his own good faith, and now that
Antiochus had succeeded to the crown he should
not be required to serve as hostage for the children
of Seleucus. He had, however, taken no steps pre-
viously, chiefly owing to want of capacity, as he was
still a boy. But now, having fully come to years of
discretion, he appeared before the senate and
addressing that house begged and entreated to
be sent home to assume the crown, to which he
said he had a better claim than the children of
Antiochus. When he had spoken at considerable
length in this sense and especially appealed to his
hearers by saying that Rome was his fatherland
and his nurse, that the sons of the senators were
all like brothers to him and the senators them-
selves like fathers, since he had come to Rome when
quite an infant and was now twenty-three years of age, they were all personally affected, but their
public decision was to keep Demetrius in Rome and
τριον κατασχεῖν, τῷ δὲ καταλελειμμένῳ παιδὶ
7 συγκατασκευάζειν τὴν ἀρχήν. τούτῳ δὲ ἐποίησεν,
ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, ὑπιδομένῃ τὴν ἀκμὴν τοῦ Δημη-
τρίου, μᾶλλον δὲ κρίνασα συμφέρειν τοῖς σφετέροις
πράγμασι τὴν νεότητα καὶ τὴν ἀδυναμίαν τοῦ
8 παιδὸς τοῦ διαδεδεγμένου τῆς βασιλείας. ἐγέ-
νετο δὲ τούτῳ δὴλον ἐκ τῶν μετὰ ταύτα συμβάντων.
9 εὔθεως γὰρ καταστήσαντες πρεσβευτὰς τοὺς περὶ
Γναίων Ὁκτάνιοι καὶ Σπόριοι Δοκρήτιοι καὶ
Λεύκιον Ἀντήλιον ἐξέπεμψαν, τοὺς διοικήσαντας
10 τὰ κατὰ τὴν βασιλείαν ὡς αὐτῆ προηγεῖτο διὰ τὸ
μηδένα τὸν ἐμποδῶν στηρίζομεν εἰναι τοῖς ἐπι-
ταττομένοις, τοῦ μὲν βασιλέως παιδὸς ὄντος, τῶν
δὲ προεστῶτων ἀσμενίζοντων ἐπὶ τῶν μη παρα-
δεδόσθαι τὰ πράγματα τῷ Δημητρίῳ̣ μάλιστα
11 γὰρ τούτῳ προσεδόκων. οἱ μὲν οὖν περὶ τὸν
Γναίων ἐξώρμησαν, ἔχοντες ἐντολὰς πρῶτον μὲν
τὰς ναῦς τὰς καταφράκτους διαπρῆσαι, μετὰ δὲ
tαύτα τοὺς ἐλέφαντας νευροκοπῆσαι καὶ καθὸλου
12 λυμήνασθαι τὴν βασιλείαν δύναμιν. προσενετει-
λαντο δὲ τούτοις καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν Μακεδονίαν ἐπι-
σκέϕασθαι̣ συνέβαλε γὰρ τοὺς Μακεδόνας ἀρχείς
όντας δημοκρατικῆς καὶ συνεδριακῆς πολιτείας
13 στασίαξεν πρὸς αὐτούς. ἔδει δὲ τοὺς περὶ τὸν
Γναίων καὶ τὰ περὶ τοὺς Γαλάτας καὶ τὰ κατὰ
14 τὴν Ἀριαράθου βασιλείαν ἐποπτεύσαι. μετὰ δὲ
tων χρόνων αὐτοῖς ἐπαπεστάλη γράμματα παρὰ τῆς
συγκλήτου καὶ τοὺς ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ βασιλεῖσ δια-
λύσαι κατὰ δύναμιν.

3 "Οτι παρεγένοντο κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν παρ'
(14) Ἀριαράθου τὸν νεωτῆ διαδεδεγμένου τὴν Καπ-
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help to establish on the throne the surviving child of Antiochus IV. The senate acted thus, in my opinion, because they were suspicious of a king in the prime of life like Demetrius and thought that the youth and incapacity of the boy who had succeeded to the throne would serve their purpose better. This was made evident by what happened afterwards. For they at once named as legates Gnaeus Octavius, Spurius Lucretius, and Lucius Aurelius and dispatched them to Syria to manage the affairs of that kingdom as the senate determined, there being no one likely to oppose their orders, since the king was a child and the principal people were only too glad that the government had not been put in the hands of Demetrius, as they had been almost certain it would be. Octavius and his colleagues thereupon left, with orders in the first place to burn the decked warships, next to hamstring the elephants, and by every means to cripple the royal power. They were also ordered to look into the affairs of Macedonia; for the Macedonians, being unaccustomed to democratic and parliamentary government, were quarrelling among themselves. The legates also had to report on the condition of Galatia and the kingdom of Ariarathes, and shortly afterwards they received a dispatch from the senate ordering them to do all in their power to reconcile the kings in Alexandria.

Embassy from Ariarathes

3. At the same time envoys arrived from Ariarathes, who had recently succeeded to the throne of Cap-
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παδοκῶν βασιλείαν πρέσβεις, ἀνανεωσόμενοι τὴν 
tε φιλίαν καὶ συμμαχίαν τὴν προὔπαρχουσαν,
2 καὶ καθόλου παρακαλέσοντες τὴν σύγκλητον ἀπο-
δέξασθαι τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως εὐνοιαν καὶ προθυμίαν,
ήν ἔχει καὶ κουνή καὶ κατ’ ἰδίαν πρὸς ἄπαντας
3 Ῥωμαίοις. ἣ δὲ σύγκλητος διακούσασα τῶν
λόγων τήν τε φιλίαν ἀνενεώσατο καὶ τὴν συμ-
μαχίαν καὶ καθόλου τὴν ὅλην αἱρεσιν ἀποδεξαμένη
4 τοῦ βασιλέως φιλανθρώπως ἐγενήθη. τούτῳ δ’
ἐγένετο μάλιστα διὰ τὸ τοὺς περὶ τὸν Τεβέριον,
καθ’ όν καίρων ἐξαπεστάλησαν ἐπισκεφόμενοι τὰ
κατὰ τοὺς βασιλεῖς, ἐπανελθόντας εὐφήμους λό-
γους πονήσασθαι περὶ τε τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ καθόλου
5 τῆς βασιλείας αὐτῶν. οῖς πιστεύσαντες οἱ τοῦ
συνεδρίου τοὺς τε πρεσβευτὰς φιλανθρώπως ἀπ-
edέξαντο καὶ τὴν ὅλην αἱρεσιν τοῦ βασιλέως.

II. Res Graeciae

4 "ΟΤΙ ῬΩΔΙΟΙ ΔΙΑΠΕΠΝΕΥΚΟΤΕΣ ΕΚ ΤΗΣ ΠΕΡΙ ΑΥΤΟΥΣ
(15; 16) ΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΗΣ ΔΥΣΧΕΡΕΙΑΣ ΕΞΕΜΠΟΥ ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ 'ΡΩΜΗΝ
2 ΠΡΕΣΒΕΥΤΑΣ ΤΟΥΣ ΠΕΡΙ ΚΛΕΑΓΟΡΑΝ, ΚΑΛΥΝΔΑ ΜΕΝ
3 ΑΞΙΟΥΣΟΝΤΑΣ ΣΦΙΣΙ ΠΑΡΑΧΩΡΗΘΗΝΑΙ, ΠΕΡΙ ΔΕ ΤΩΝ
ΕΧΟΝΤΩΝ ΕΝ ΤΗ ΔΥΝΑΙ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΡΙΑ ΚΤΗΣΕΙΣ ΑΙΤΗΣΟ-
ΜΕΝΟΥΣ ΤΗΝ ΣΥΓΚΛΗΤΟΝ, ΙΝ’ ΑΥΤΟΙΣ ΕΧΕΙΝ ΕΞΗ, ΚΑΘΑ
4 ΚΑΙ ΠΡΟΤΕΡΟΝ. ἘΨΗΦΙΣΑΝΤΟ ΔΕ ΚΑΙ ΚΟΛΟΣΟΝ
ΣΤΗΣΑΙ ΤΟΥ ΔΗΜΟΥ ΤΩΝ 'ΡΩΜΑΙΩΝ ΕΝ Τῌ ΤΗΣ
'ΑΘΗΝΑΣ ΙΕΡΩ ΤΡΙΑΚΟΝΤΑΠΤῌΧΩΝ.

5 "ΟΤΙ ΤΩΝ ΚΑΛΥΝΔΕΩΝ ἈΠΟΣΤΑΝΤΩΝ ΚΑΥΝΙΩΝ, ΚΑΙ
(16) (17) ΜΕΤΑ ΤΑῦΤΑ ΠΟΛΙΟΡΚΕΙΝ ἘΠΙΒΑΛΟΜΕΝΩΝ ΑΥΤΟΥΣ ΤΩΝ
ΚΑΥΝΙΩΝ, ΤΑΣ ΜΕΝ ἈΡΧΑΣ ἘΠΕΚΑΛΕΣΑΝΤΟ ΚΥΝΙΟΥΣ
2 ΟΙ ΚΑΛΥΝΔΕΙΣ· ΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΡΑΠΕΣΟΝΤΩΝ ΚΑΤΑ ΒΟΗ-
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padocia, to renew the previously existing alliance, and to beg the senate in general to avail themselves of the friendship and goodwill borne by that king towards the Roman state and all its citizens. The senate, after listening to their speech, renewed the alliance and replied in courteous terms, approving in general the king’s attitude. This was chiefly owing to the fact that Tiberius and the other legates, when they were sent to inquire into the conduct of the kings, had on their return reported favourably concerning this king’s father and the general state of the kingdom. Relying on this report the senate received the embassy courteously and approved the king’s attitude.

II. Affairs of Greece

Rhodes and Caria

4. The Rhodians, delivered from their difficult position, now breathed freely and sent Cleagoras on an embassy to Rome to beg that Calynda might be ceded to them and to ask the senate to allow those of their citizens who owned property in Lycia and Caria to hold possession of it as before. They also voted to erect in the temple of Athena a colossal statue of the Roman People thirty cubits high.

5. Upon Calynda revolting from Caunus and the Caunians undertaking the siege of the city, the Calyndians at first appealed to Cnidus for help. With the aid of the Cnidians they held out for a
III. Res Asiae

6 Ὅτι Γάιος ὁ Γάλλος, χωρὶς τῶν ἀρτὶ ῥηθέντων ἀλογημάτων, παραγενόμενος εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐκ-θέματα κατὰ τὰς πόλεις εξέθηκε τὰς ἐπιφανε-2 στάτας, κελεύων, εἴ τις βούλεται κατηγορεῖν Εὐ-μένους τοῦ βασιλέως, ἀπαντᾷν εἰς Σάρδεις ἐπὶ τινα 3 χρόνον ὅρισμένον. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα παραγενηθεὶς αὐτὸς εἰς τὰς Σάρδεις, ἀποκαθίσας ἐν τῷ γυμ-νασίῳ περὶ δέχ᾽ ὡμέρας διήκουε τῶν κατηγοροῦν-4 των, πᾶσαν ἐπιδεχόμενον αὐξρολογίαν καὶ λοι-δορίαν κατὰ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ καθόλου πᾶν ἐλκων 5 πράγμα καὶ κατηγορίαν, ἀπε παρεστηκὼς ἀν-θρωπος τῇ διανοίᾳ καὶ φιλοδοξίᾳ ἐν τῇ πρὸς Εὐμένην διαφορα. 6 Ὅτι καθ᾽ ὅσον ἔδόκουν οἱ Ὄρωναὶ θερινήγερον τῷ Εὐμένει προσφέρεσθαι, κατὰ τοσοῦτο συν-έβαλεν τοὺς Ἐλληνας προσουκειοῦσθαι, φύσει τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀεὶ τῷ θλιβομένῳ τὴν εὐνοιαν προσ-νεμόντων.

7 Ὅ δὲ Ἀριαράθης ὁ βασιλεύς Καππαδοκίας προσ- (17) (15) δεδεμένος τοὺς εἰς τὴν Ἑρωμην ἀποσταλέντας προσβεντάς, νομίσας εκ τῶν ἀποκρίσεων ἐν ὀρθῷ κείσθαι τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτῶ〈νον〉, ἐπειδὴ καθίκται
time against the enemy, but fearing for the future decided to send an embassy to Rhodes, to put their city in the hands of the Rhodians. The Rhodians, sending succour by sea and land, raised the siege and occupied the city, the possession of which was secured to them by the senate.

III. AFFAIRS OF ASIA

6. Gaius Sulpicius Gallus, besides the indiscretions I have just mentioned, upon reaching Asia posted up notices in the principal towns, ordering all who wished to bring accusations against King Eumenes to present themselves at Sardis by a given date. Afterwards, when he himself arrived at Sardis, he sat for about ten days in the gymnasium listening to the accusers, admitting any kind of foul and abusive language against the king, and in general attaching weight to every fact and every accusation, being a man whose mind was deranged and who gloried in his quarrel with Eumenes.

The harsher the conduct of the Romans to Eumenes the more attached to him did the Greeks become, since men naturally bestow their affections on any one who is in distress.

Ariarathes of Cappadocia

7. Ariarathes, the king of Cappadocia, on the return of the envoys he had sent to Rome, thinking from the answers he received that his kingdom was now on a safe footing, since he had succeeded
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tης Ἦτωμαίων εὐνοίας, ἐθνε τοῖς θεοῖς χαριστήρια
2 τῶν γεγονότων καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας εἶστια. μετὰ
dὲ ταῦτα πρεσβευτὰς ἀπέστειλε πρὸς τοὺς περὶ
tὸν Λυσίαν εἰς τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν, ὑπουράζων
ἀνακομίσασθαι τὰ τῆς ἀδελφῆς καὶ μητρὸς ὁστά.
3 τὸ μὲν οὖν ἐγκαλεῖν ὑπὲρ τοῦ γεγονότος ἄ-
σεβήματος ἀπεδοκίμαζεν, οὐ βουλόμενος ἐρεβίζειν
tοὺς περὶ τὸν Λυσίαν, ὅπα μὴ διαλυμοῦ ὑπὲρ τῆς
προθέσεως, καὶ τὸν βαρέως φέρων τὸ γεγονός·
ἀξιωματικὰς δὲ δοὺς ἐντολὰς ἐξαπέστειλε τοὺς
4 πρέσβεις. τῶν δὲ περὶ τὸν Λυσίαν συγχωρη-
σάντων, καὶ τῶν ὀστῶν ἀνακομίσθηντων ὡς
αὐτῶν, ἀποδεξάμενος μεγαλομερῶς τὴν παρουσίαν
αὐτῶν ἔθαψε παρὰ τὸν τοῦ πατρὸς τάφον κηδε-
μονικός.
3 "Οτι κατὰ τοὺς καιροὺς τούτους παρεγένοντο
(13) πρέσβεις ἐκ τῆς Ἦτωμῆς πρῶτον μὲν οἱ περὶ τὸν
Μάρκου Ἰούνιον, διευκρινήσοντες τὰ πρὸς τοὺς
2 Γαλάτας διαφέροντα τῷ βασιλεῖ. ἐπειδὴ γάρ
οὐκ ἐπιθυμήσαν οἱ Τρόκμοι δι’ αὐτῶν ἀποτεμέσθαι
τῆς Καππαδοκίας οὐδὲν, ἀλλ’ ἐκ χειρὸς ... ὡκο-
δομήσαντο τὴν δίκην ἐπιβαλόμενοι τολμῶν, κατα-
φυγόντες ἐπὶ Ἦτωμαίους διαβάλλειν ἐπειρώντο
3 τὸν Ἀριαράθην. ὥστε χάριν ἀπεστάλησαν οἱ περὶ
tὸν Ἰούνιον. πρὸς οὐς ὁ βασιλεὺς ποιησάμενος
tοὺς ἀρμόζοντας λόγους καὶ τάλλα φιλανθρώπως
ὀμιλήσας ἑκεῖνους μὲν εὐλογούντας ἀπέστειλε.
4 μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, παραγεγομένων πρεσβευτῶν τῶν
περὶ Γνάιον Ὀκτάουνον καὶ Σπόριον Δοκρήτιον
καὶ διαλεγομένων τῷ βασιλεῖ πάλιν <περὶ> τῶν
5 πρὸς τοὺς Γαλάτας αὐτῷ διαφέροντων, βραχέα
περὶ τούτων κωνολογησάμενος καὶ φήσας εὐεπ-
in gaining the goodwill of the Romans, paid a thank-offering to the gods for his success and gave a banquet to his nobles. After this he sent envoys to Lysias at Antioch, being anxious to recover the bones of his sister and mother. He thought it better not to accuse Lysias of the crime, as he did not wish to irritate him for fear of being disappointed in his object, although he was deeply aggrieved, but dispatched the envoys with instructions simply to proffer the request. Lysias granted it, and upon the bones being brought back to him, he gave them a splendid reception on their arrival and buried them reverently beside his father's tomb.

8. About this time legates arrived from Rome, in the first place Marcus Junius, to settle the difference between the Galatians and King Ariarathes. For since the Trocmi could not succeed by their own efforts in obtaining a slice of Cappadocia, but when they ventured on the attempt at once met with the punishment they deserved, they appealed to Rome and attempted to traduce Ariarathes. It was for this reason that Junius was sent. The king having addressed him in a suitable manner and behaved to him in other respects with every courtesy, was thanked by this legate before his departure; and when in the next place Gnaeus Octavius and Spurius Lucretius arrived and again spoke to Ariarathes about his difference with the Galatians, the king, after briefly touching on this matter and saying

« The minister of Antiochus Eupator.»
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άγωγος εἶναι πρὸς τὸ κριθὲν, λοιπὸν ἡδὴ τὸν πλεῖω λόγον ὑπὲρ τῶν κατὰ Συρίαν ἐποιεῖτο πραγμάτων, εἰδῶς ἔκεισε προάγοντας τοὺς περὶ 6 τῶν Ὀκτάοιοι, ὑποδεικνύων αὐτοῖς τὴν ἀκατα-
στασίαν τῆς βασιλείας καὶ τὴν εἰκασία τῶν προεστῶτων αὐτῆς καὶ προσεπαγγελλόμενος ἀκολουθήσειν μετὰ δυνάμεως καὶ συνεφεδρεύειν τοῖς καιροῖς, ἔως ἂν ἐπανέλθωσι πάλιν ἐκ τῆς
7 Συρίας ἀσφαλῶς. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Γνάων ἐν πάσιν ἀποδεχόμενοι τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως εὐνοιαν καὶ προθυμίαν κατὰ μὲν τὸ παρόν οὐκ ἔφασαν
8 προσδείσθαι τῆς παραπομπῆς, εἰς δὲ τὸ μέλλον, ἐάν τις ὑποπίπτῃ χρεία, διασαφήσειν ἀόκνως·
kρίνειν γὰρ αὐτὸν ἑνα τῶν ἀληθινῶν Ἡρωαιόης φίλων.

9 "Οτι κατὰ τὴν Συρίαν Ἀντίοχος ὁ βασιλεὺς
(11) βουλόμενος εὐπορήσαι χρημάτων προέθετο στρα-
tεύειν ἐπὶ τὸ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερὸν εἰς τὴν Ἑλυ-
2 μαίδα. παραγενόμενος δ᾽ ἐπὶ τοὺς τόπους καὶ
dιαψευδήσεις τῆς ἐλπίδος διὰ τὸ μὴ συγχωρεῖν τῇ
παρανομίᾳ τοὺς βαρβάρους τοὺς βαρβάρους <τοὺς> οἰκοῦντας περὶ
3 τὸν τόπον, ἀναχωρῶν ἐν Τάβαις τῆς Περσίδος
4 ἔξελπε τὸν βίον, δαιμονήσας, ὡς ἐνιοὶ φασὶ, διὰ
tὸ γενέσθαι τινὰς ἐπισημασίας τοῦ δαιμονίου κατὰ
tὴν περὶ τὸ προειρημένον ἱερὸν παρανομίαν.

IV. RES ITALIAE

10 "Οτι μετὰ τὸ μερίσαι τοὺς Πτολεμαίους τὴν
(18) 176
that he would be ready to bow to their decision, went on to talk about the affairs of Syria, as he knew that Octavius and his colleague were going on there. He called their attention to the unsettled state of the kingdom and the unprincipled character of its rulers, and in addition he offered to accompany them with an armed force and wait to see what turn matters took until they returned safely from Syria. The legates, while gratefully acknowledging the king's kindness and zeal in every respect, said that they did not require the escort for the present, but as regards the future, if they had need of any such service they would have no hesitation in informing him, regarding him as they did, as one of the true friends of Rome.

_Death of Antiochus Epiphanes_

9. In Syria King Antiochus, wishing to provide himself with money, decided to make an expedition against the sanctuary of Artemis in Elymaïs. On reaching the spot he was foiled in his hopes, as the barbarian tribes who dwelt in the neighbourhood would not permit the outrage, and on his retreat he died at Tabae in Persia, smitten with madness, as some people say, owing to certain manifestations of divine displeasure when he was attempting this outrage on the above sanctuary.

_IV. Affairs of Italy_

_The Rival Ptolemies_

10. After the two Ptolemies had partitioned the 163-162 B.C.
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βασιλείαν παρεγένετο Πτολεμαῖος ὁ νεώτερος εἰς τὴν Ἡρώμην, ἀθετεῖν βουλόμενος τὸν γεγονότα
2 μερισμὸν αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφόν, φάσκων οὐχ ἔκών, ἀλλὰ κατ’ ἀνάγκην τῷ καιρῷ περιληφθεῖς
3 πεποιηκέναι τὸ προσταττόμενον. καὶ παρεκάλει τὴν σύγκλητον μερίσαι τὴν Κύπρον αὐτῷ καὶ γὰρ τούτου γενομένου καταδεστέραν ἔξειν μερίδα
4 τάδελφον παρὰ πολύ. τῶν δὲ περὶ τὸν Κανολήμον καὶ Κώντον ἀπομαρτυροῦντων τοῖς περὶ τὸν Μένιλλον, τοῖς παρὰ τὸν πρεσβυτέρου παραγεγονόσι πρεσβευταῖς, διότι καὶ τὴν Κυρήνην ὁ νεώτερος καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα δὶ αὐτοῦς ἔχοι· τοιαύτην ἡ γὰρ γενέσθαι τὴν τῶν ὀχλῶν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἄλλο-
5 τριστήτα καὶ προσκοπήν· διὸ καὶ παρ’ ἐλπίδα καὶ παραδόξως δεδομένων αὐτῷ τῶν κατὰ Κυρήνην πραγμάτων ἀσμένως δεξιαίτο, καὶ σφαγῶν τμηθέντων καὶ λάβοι τοὺς ὀρκοὺς παρὰ τάδελφον καὶ
6 δοιή περὶ τούτου· τοῦ δὲ Πτολεμαίου πάσι τούτοις ἀντιλέγοντος, ἡ σύγκλητος, ἀμα μὲν ὀρῶσα τὸν μερισμὸν... γεγονότα τελέως, ἀμα δὲ βουλομένη διειλείν τὴν βασιλείαν πραγματικῶς, αὐτῶν αἰτίων γενομένων τῆς διαρέσεως, συγκατέθετο τοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ νεωτέρου παρακαλομένοις ἐπὶ τῷ σφετέρῳ
7 συμφέροντι. πολὺ γὰρ ἥδη τοῦτο τὸ γένος ἐστὶ τῶν διαβουλιῶν παρὰ Ἡρωμαίοις, ἐν οἷς διὰ τῆς τῶν πέλας ἀγνοίας αὐξοῦσι καὶ κατασκευάζονται τὴν ἰδίαι ἀρχὴν πραγματικῶς, ἀμα χαριζόμενοι καὶ δοκοῦντες εὐρεγετεῖν τοὺς ἀμαρτάνοντας.
8 διὸ καὶ καθορῶντες τὸ μέγεθος τῆς ἐν Ἀἰγύπτῳ δυναστείας καὶ δεδιότες, Αν ποτε τῶν προστάτων,
9 μὴ μείζον φρονήσῃ τοῦ καθήκοντος, κατέστησαν πρεσβευτὰς Τίτον Τορκουάτον καὶ Γνάιον Μερόλαν
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kingdom the younger brother arrived in Rome, wishing to annul the terms of the partition between himself and his brother, saying that he had done what he was ordered not of his own free will, but forced to consent by the pressure of circumstances. He begged the senate to assign Cyprus to him, for even with this addition his share would be much inferior to his brother's. Canuleius and Quintus testified in favour of Menyllus the envoy of the elder brother, saying that the younger brother owed both Cyrene and his life to their own action, so great was the hostility and aversion with which the populace regarded him. When, therefore, contrary to his expectations and hopes the sovereignty of Cyrene had been given to him, he had been only too glad to accept it and had exchanged oaths with his brother as to this over victims solemnly immolated. All this was denied by the younger Ptolemy, and the senate, seeing that the division had been quite unfair and wishing to make an effective partition of the kingdom due to themselves, acceded to the request of the younger brother, which coincided with their own interests. For many decisions of the Romans are now of this kind: availing themselves of the mistakes of others they effectively increase and build up their own power, at the same time doing a favour and appearing to confer a benefit on the offenders. So, seeing as they did the size of the Egyptian kingdom, and fearing lest if it once fell into the hands of a ruler capable of protecting it, he might have too high an idea of himself, they appointed Titus Torquatus and Gnaeus...
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tòus katóxontas èpì tòn Kúpron tòn Ptolemaíon kai tèlenwsontas áma tìn èkeinwv kai tìn autòwv 10 pròtheson. kai paraxrhìma topòtous éxapéstelal, dòntes èntolàs diáludai tòus èdelfoús kai kata-
skevássai tì vewterpí tìn Kúpron xwríz polémou.

11 "Oti kata tòn kairov topòtov prompseousíhs (19) 2 thè perì tòn Gváion peripteitias, òs ânhrèthi, kai
tòv parà topò topò basileíwv 'Auntióchou presbevontwv,
òn ò Lusías épemìse, paragégonotwv kai pollovís
diathemèwn lógous ùpèr tòu mè kkekouwníkènai
3 thè prágew tòv topò basileíwv filous, ò mèn
sýgklhntos parapémpete tòv presbevntas, ou boulo-
mènì didónavi perì topòtwv apòfason ou'demían ou'd
4 èkttíhe và katholov thè autíhs gnwìmhn, ò dé
Dhímítrios ptophèiès èpì tòis ònggelmenous èx
autíhs prosekálai tòv Polúbion kai prosanéferein
diapòrwv ei dei pálew èntuchèw thì sýgklhítw perì
5 tòv kai' autòn. ò dé parékálai mè dè pros
<topò> autòv lìthon ptaiein, ìlì' én èautì tòs
èlpidas èxew kai tolmàv tì basileias áxion
pollàs gár upodeikynwv àphormàs tòv énestòtatas
6 kairoyv. ò dé Dhímítrios sunnoíhsas tò legó-
menon tòte mèn àpesuwnpsev, met' olygon dé tìn
tàv suníthwn 'Apolllwníw metédwke perì tòv
7 autòv. ò dé proeirhmenos, akakos òn kai
koomhí néos, sunèboullèue peíran èti labeinv thìs
sýgklhítou: pepeísithai gárr, èpei thìs basileías
àlogos autòn èstèrjhsev, thìs ñ' ómherías autòn
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Merula as legates to accompany Ptolemy to Cyprus and carry out the purpose of that king and their own. They dispatched them at once with orders to reconcile the brothers and establish the younger brother in Cyprus without war.

Escape of Demetrius from Rome

11. At this time when the news arrived of the calamity that had happened to Gnaeus Octavius, how he had been assassinated, and when the envoys sent by Lysias on behalf of King Antiochus appeared and were profuse in their assurances that the friends of the king had had no part in the deed, the senate paid scant attention to the embassy, not wishing to pronounce any decision on the matter or to express in any manner their opinion. But Demetrius, excited by the news, at once sent for Polybius and submitted to him his doubt as to whether or not he should address the senate again on the question of his own situation. Polybius begged him not to stumble twice on the same stone, but to trust in himself and take some bold course worthy of a throne; for, he said, there were many opportunities for action suggested by the present situation. Demetrius understood this advice and held his peace for the present, but shortly afterwards communicated with one of his intimate friends, Apollonius, about the same matter. This man, being of an unsuspecting character and quite young, advised him to try the senate once more, for he felt sure, that as they had unjustly deprived him of his kingdom, they would at least release him from his
8 ἀπολύσειν· ἀτοπον γὰρ εἶναι τελέως, Ἀντιόχου τοῦ παιδὸς διαδεδεγμένου τὴν ἐν Συρίᾳ βασιλείαν, 9 Δημήτριον ὁμηρεύειν ύπὲρ αυτοῦ. τούτοις μὲν οὖν τοῖς λόγοις πεισθεὶς πάλιν εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὴν σύγκλητον ὁ προειρημένος καὶ παρεκάλει τῆς γε κατὰ τὴν ὁμηρείαν ἀνάγκης αὐτὸν ἀπολύσει, ἐπεὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἐκρίναν Ἀντιόχῳ συγκατασκευάζειν.  

10 καὶ πλείω δὲ πρὸς ταύτην τὴν ὑπόθεσιν αὐτοῦ διαλεχθέντος, ἐμείνεν ἡ σύγκλητος ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς αἱρέσεως· ὅπερ εἰκὸς ἦν. καὶ γὰρ πρότερον οὐ διὰ τὸ μὴ λέγειν τὰ δίκαια τὸν Δημήτριον ἐκρίνει τὴν ἁρχήν τῷ παιδί συνδιαφυλάττειν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ συμφέρειν τοῖς σφετέροις πράγμασιν, μενόντων δὲ τῶν ὁλῶν ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς διαθέσεως μένειν εἰκὸς ἦν καὶ τὴν τῆς συγκλήτου διάληψιν ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς προαρέσεως.

12 Πλὴν ὁ γε Δημήτριος μάτην ἐξάσας τὸ κύκνειον (20) καὶ γνοὺς ὅτι καλῶς αὐτῷ συνεβούλευεν ὁ Πολύβιος μὴ δίς πρὸς τὸν αὐτὸν λίθον πταίειν, μεταμεληθεῖς ἐπὶ τοῖς γεγονόσιν, ἀμα δὲ καὶ φύσει μεγαλόφρων υπάρχων καὶ τόλμαν ἵκανὴν ἔχων πρὸς τὸ κριθέν, εὐθέως ἐκάλει Δίοδωρον προσφάτως ἐκ τῆς Συρίας παραγεγονότα καὶ μετεδίδου περὶ τῶν καθ' αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ Διόδωρος προφεύς μὲν ἐγεγόνει τοῦ Δημήτριον, πανοῦργος δ' ὃν καὶ κατωπτευκώς ἐπιμελῶς τὰ κατὰ τὴν Συρίαν ὑπεδείκνυεν αὐτῷ, διότι τῶν μὲν ἐκεί τεταραγμένων διὰ τὸν Γναῖτο φῶνον, καὶ διαπιστοῦντων τῶν μὲν πολλῶν τοῖς περὶ τὸν Λυσίαν, τῶν δὲ περὶ τὸν Λυσίαν τοῖς πολλοῖς, τῆς δὲ συγκλήτου πεπεισμένης ἐκ τῶν τοῦ βασιλέως φίλων γεγονέναι τὴν εἰς τοὺς σφετέρους προσβευτάς παρανομίαν, κάλλιστον εἶναι
position as hostage, since it was quite unreasonable that now, when the young Antiochus had succeeded to the throne of Syria, Demetrius should serve as hostage for him. Persuaded by this reasoning Demetrius again appeared before the senate and begged the house to release him at least from his obligation as hostage, as they had decided to secure the throne to Antiochus. After he had spoken at some length in this sense, the senate adhered to its original resolve, as was only to be expected. For on the former occasion it was not because Demetrius was not right in what he said that they had decided to keep the young king on the throne, but because it suited their own interest. And as the conditions remained the same, it was to be expected that the decision of the senate should be based on the same policy.

12. But Demetrius, having sung his swan's song in vain and recognizing the soundness of Polybius's advice not to stumble twice on the same stone, repented of what he had done, but, being naturally high-spirited and having courage adequate to carry out his designs, at once called Diodorus who had recently arrived from Syria and informed him of his position. Diodorus had been the foster-father of Demetrius; he was an able man and had carefully studied the situation in Syria, and he now pointed out to Demetrius that since great disturbance prevailed there owing to the murder of Octavius, since Lysias and the populace mutually distrusted each other, and since the senate was convinced that the outrage on their envoys had been due to the king's friends, the time was very
5 καὶ ἑπιφανὴν τοῖς πράγμασιν ταχέως γὰρ τοὺς μὲν ἐκεῖ μεταρρύθμευς τὴν βασιλείαν εἰς αὐτόν, κἂν ὀλος μετὰ παιδὸς ἐνὸς ποιήσηται τὴν παρουσίαν, τὴν δὲ σύγκλητον οὐ τολμήσειν ἐτιβοηθεῖν οὔδε συνεπισχῖν τοῖς περὶ τὸν Λυσίαν
6 τοιαῦτα διεργασαμένοις. λοιπὸν εἶναι τὸ λαθεῖν ἐκ τῆς Ἐρώμης ἀπελθόντας, καὶ μηδένα λαβεῖν
7 ἐννοιαν τῆς ἐπιβολῆς αὐτοῦ. δοξάντων δὲ τούτων μετεπέμπτο τὸν Πολύβιον καὶ δηλώσας τὰ δε-
δομένα παρεκάλει συνεπιλαβέσθαι τῆς ἐπιβολῆς καὶ συνδιανοηθῆναι πῶς ἂν χειρισθεὶ τὰ κατὰ
8 τὸν δραμόν. συνέβαινε δὲ κατὰ τὸν καὶ τοῦτον Μένυλλον μὲν τὸν Ἀλαβανδέα παρεῖναι
πρεσβεύοντα παρὰ τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου χάριν τὸν συγκαταστήματι καὶ δι-
καιολογηθῆναι πρὸς τὸν νεότερον Πτολεμαίον
ἐπίγγανε δὲ προὐπάρχουσα τῷ Πολυβίῳ πρὸς τὸν
9 Μένυλλον ἰσχυρὰ συνῆθεσα καὶ πίστις. διὸ καὶ
νομίσας αὐτὸν ἐπιτηδεῖον εἶναι πρὸς τὴν ἐνεστῶσαν
χρείαν συνέστησε τῷ Δημητρίῳ μετὰ μεγάλης σπου-
10 δῆς καὶ φιλοτιμίας. ὁ δὲ κοινωνήσας τῆς ἐπι-
βολῆς ἀνεδέξατο τὴν τε ναῦν ἐποιμάσαι καὶ τάλλα
11 πρὸς τὸν πλοῦν ἀπαρτείν. οὕτως μὲν οὖν εὗρὼν
ἐν τῷ στόματι τοῦ Τιβέριος ὄρμουσαν Καρχη-
12 δονίαν ναῦν ἰεραγωγοῦ, ταύτην ἐναυλωσατο· συμ-
βαίνει δὲ τὰ πλοῖα ταῦτα λαμβάνεσθαι κατ’ ἐκλογὴν
ἐκ τῆς Καρχηδόνος, ἐφ’ οἷς εἰς τὴν Τύρον ἐκ-
πέμπουσι οἱ Καρχηδόνοι τὰς πατρίους ἀπαρχὰς
toῖς θεοῖς· ἐναυλοῦτο δὲ φανερῶς εἰς τὴν ἱδίαν
13 ἀνακομιδὴν. διὸ καὶ τὴν τε τῶν ἐπιμηνίων
παρασκευὴν ἀνυπόπτως ἐποιεῖτο καὶ φανερῶς
ἐλάλει καὶ συνετάττε τοῖς ναυτικοῖς.
favourable for his appearing suddenly on the scene. For the Syrians would at once transfer the crown to him, even if he appeared accompanied only by a single slave, while the senate would not go so far as to help and support Lysias after his conduct. All that remained then was to escape from Rome secretly without anyone having any notion of his plan. Having come to this decision, Demetrius sent for Polybius and communicated the project to him, begging him to assist him in it and join him in planning the best means of escape. At that time it happened that there was a certain Menyllus of Alabanda present, on an embassy from the elder Ptolemy, with the object of confronting and answering the younger Ptolemy. Polybius had long been intimate with this Menyllus, and had great confidence in him. So that, thinking him to be the proper person to engage in the present service, he introduced him to Demetrius, recommending him very cordially and warmly. Menyllus consented to take part in the project, and engaged to have a ship ready and to provide all else that was required for the voyage. Finding a Carthaginian ship that had carried sacred offerings anchored at the mouth of the Tiber, he hired it. Such ships were specially selected at Carthage for the conveyance of the traditional offering of first-fruits to their gods that the Carthaginians send to Tyre. Menyllus chartered her openly to convey himself home; so that he could without any suspicion send on board a month's stock of provisions and could speak openly to the ship's officers and make arrangements with them.
13 Ἐπεδή δὲ πάντ’ ἦν ἔτοιμα τῷ ναυκλῆρῳ λοιπὸν (21) ἐδει τὸν Δημήτριον ἀπαρτίζειν τὰ καθ’ αὐτὸν, τὸν τροφέα προαπέστειλεν εἰς τὴν Συρίαν ὀτακουστήσοντα καὶ κατοπτεύσοντα τάκει συμβαίνοντα περὶ τοὺς ὀχλους. οὗ δὲ σύντροφος Ἀπολλώνιος ἔκτο ἀρχής αὐτῷ μετέιχε τῆς ἐπιβολῆς. δυνεῖν δ’ ὑπαρχόντων ἀδελφῶν, Μελεάγρου καὶ Μενεσθέως, τούτους ἐκοινώσατο τὴν πράξιν, ἀλλὰ δ’ οὔδεν τῶν μετ’ αὐτοῦ, καίτοι πλείονων ὀντων. οὗτοι δ’ ἦσαν Ἀπολλώνιοι κατὰ φύσιν νυοί, τοῦ μεγάλην μὲν εὐκαρίαν ἔχοντος παρὰ Σελέύκῳ, μεταστάντος δὲ κατὰ τὴν Ἀντιόχου 4 μετάληψιν τῆς ἀρχῆς εἰς Μίλητον. τῆς δὲ συνταχθείσης ἡμέρας πρὸς τοὺς ναυτικοὺς συνεγγιζούσης, ἐδει γενέσθαι παρά τιν τῶν φίλων ὑποδοχὴν πρὸς τὴν ἔξοδον. παρὰ γὰρ αὐτῷ ποιεῖν τὸ δεῖπνον οὐχ οἶον τ’ ἦν. εἰθὺστο γὰρ ἐπιμελῶς καλεῖν ἀπαντας τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν ὄντας. οἱ δὲ συνειδότες τὴν πράξιν ἐμελλόν ἐκ οἰκοῦ δειπνήσαντες ἐπὶ τὸ πλοῖον ἦξεν, ἔχοντες ἐνα παῖδα μεθ’ ἐαυτῶν ἐκαστος τους γὰρ λοιποὺς ἀπεστάλκειαν εἰς Ἀναγενείας, κατὰ τὴν ἐπιούσαν αὐτοῦ παρεσφόμενοι. τὸν δὲ Πολύβιον συνεβαίνειν κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον ἡσθενήκοτα μένειν κατὰ κλίνυν, εἰδέναι δὲ πάντα τὰ πραττόμενα, τοῦ Μενύλλου συνεχῶς αὐτῷ μεταδόντος αἱεί περὶ τῶν ὑποπτῶντων. διόπερ ἀγωνιάσας ὁ προειρημένος μη τῆς συνθείας ἐλκυσθείσης, ἀτε τοῦ Δημητρίου συμποτικοῦ φυσικῶς καὶ νεωτέρου τελέως ὑπάρχοντος, ἀπόρημα τι γένηται περὶ τὴν ἔξοδον διὰ τὴν μέθην, γράφας βραχὺ πιττάκιον καὶ σφραγισμένος πέμπει παρ’ αὐτοῦ παῖδα συσκοτάζοντος.
13. When the skipper had made all his preparations and it only remained for Demetrius to make his own arrangements, he first of all sent his foster-father off to Syria, to find out by listening to conversations and by what he observed what was the state of popular feeling there. His foster-brother Apollonius had taken part in the project from the outset, and he also took the two brothers of Apollonius, Meleager, and Menestheus, into his confidence, but no other member of his suite, though it was fairly numerous. These brothers were really the sons of that Apollonius who had stood in high favour with Seleucus, but had removed to Miletus upon Antiochus succeeding to the crown. The day agreed upon with the ship's officers was now approaching, and it became necessary to arrange for a party at the house of one of his friends in order to enable Demetrius to go out; for it was impossible to dine at his own house, since he had been in the habit of scrupulously inviting all members of his suite. Those who had been initiated into the plot were to dine at home and come on board the ship, each attended by one slave, having sent their other slaves on to Anagneia, saying they would follow them on the following day. Polybius happened at the time to be ill in bed, but he knew of all that was going on, as Menyllus kept him constantly informed. So being very much afraid that if the banquet were unduly prolonged, as Demetrius was naturally fond of his cups and extremely young, he might find some difficulty in going out owing to the effects of drink, he wrote and sealed a short note, and sent off a slave of his own with it shortly after dusk.
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

ἀρτι τοῦ θεοῦ, συντάξας ἐκκαλεσάμενον τὸν οἶνο-
χόν τοῦ Δημητρίου δοῦναι τὸ πιττάκιον, μηδὲν
εἰπόντα τίς ἢ παρὰ τίνος, καὶ κελεύειν ἀποδίδοναι
10 τῷ Δημητρίῳ παραχρῆμα διαναγώναι. γενο-
μενων δὲ πάντων κατὰ τὸ συνταχθέν, λαβὼν
11 ὁ Δημήτριος ἐπανέγγινω· τὸ δὲ πιττάκιον περιεῖχε
τὰς γνώμας ταῦτας.

12 ὁ δρῶν τὰ τοῦ μέλλοντος οἴχεται φέρων.
13 τόλμα τι, κινδύνευε, πράττ', ἀποτύγχανε,
επίτυχε, πάντα μᾶλλον ἡ σαυτὸν προοῦ.

14 Ταῦτα διαναγώνουσ ὁ Δημήτριος καὶ συναχισα
(22) τὰς ὑποθέσεις, καὶ τίνες καὶ παρὰ τίνος εἰσίν,
παρατίκα προσποιηθεῖς ὡς ἐπιναύσιος γεγονὼς
ἀπηλλάττετο, συμπροπεμπόντων αὐτὸν καὶ τῶν
2 φίλων. παραγενόμενος δ' ἔτι σκηνὴν τούς μὲν
ἀνεπιπηδείους τῶν οἰκετῶν ἐξεπεμψεν εἰς τὰς
Ἀναγνείας, συντάξας λαβόντας τὰ λίνα καὶ τοὺς
3 κόνας ἀπαντάν ἔτι τὸ Κύρκαιον· ἐκεῖ γὰρ ἐπι-
μελῶς εἰσόθηκε κυνηγετεῖν τὸν ὤν. εξ οὗ καὶ τῆς
πρὸς τὸν Πολύβιον αὐτῷ συνθείας τὴν καταρχὴν
4 γενέσθαι συνέπεσεν. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τοῖς περὶ
τὸν Νικάνορα διεσάφει τὴν ἐπιβολὴν καὶ κοι-
5 νόνειν παρεκάλει τῶν αὐτῶν ἐλπίδων. πάντων
δὲ προθύμως ἐξαμένων τὸν λόγον, παρῆγγειλε
κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐπανελθόντας ἐπὶ τὰς ἱδίας κατα-
λύσεις τοῖς μὲν πασίν συντάξας προάγειν ὑπὸ τὴν
ἐσωθινὴν εἰς τὰς Ἀναγνείας καὶ μετὰ τῶν κυνηγῶν
6 ἀπαντάν εἰς τὸ Κύρκαιον, αὐτοὺς δὲ λαβόντας
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with orders to call out Demetrius's cup-bearer and deliver the note to him, not mentioning who he was, or from whom it was, but begging him to give it to Demetrius to read at once. All was done as had been ordered, and Demetrius took it and read it. The note contained the following saws:

The doer is away with all the tarrier's gear.
Night favours all alike but most the brave.¹
Be brave and risk it, act to lose or win,
Anything but to give thyself away.
Be sober and remember to distrust;
These are the sinews of the mind.²

14. Demetrius, having read this and understanding the purport of the lines and from whom they came, at once left the house pretending that he felt sick, escorted by his friends. On arriving at a hut he sent off to Anagneia those of his slaves whom it did not suit him to keep, ordering them to bring the nets and dogs and meet him at Cerceii, for that was where he used constantly to go and hunt the wild boar, which was in fact the beginning of his intimacy with Polybius. In the next place he informed Nicanor and his friends of his plan, and begged them to throw in their lot with him. Upon their all readily consenting, he asked them to return at once to their residences and order their slaves to proceed in the early morning to Anagneia, and joining the huntsmen meet them at Cerceii. They themselves were to put

¹ Euripides, Phoen. 633.
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

έσθήτας τὰς ὄδοιπορικὰς ἀνακάμπτειν ὡς αὐτόν, εἰπόντας τοῖς οἰκέταις ὅτι μετὰ Δημητρίου συμ-μέξουσιν αὐτοῖς κατὰ τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἐπὶ τὸν προ-7 ειρημένον τόπον. γενομένων δὲ πάντων καθὼς προείρηται, προῆγον εἰς τὴν 'Ωστίαν νυκτὸς ἐπὶ 8 τὸ στόμα τοῦ Τιβέριος. ὁ δὲ Μένυλλος προ-πορεύομενος ἐκοινολογεῖτο τοῖς ναυτικοῖς, φάσκων αὐτῷ προσπεπτωκέναι παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως δι' ὁ 9 δεόν ἔστιν αὐτὸν μὲν μένειν κατὰ τὸ παρὸν ἐν τῇ 'Ῥώμῃ, τῶν δὲ νεανίσκων τοὺς πιστοτάτους ᾑκτέμισαι πρὸς αὐτόν, παρ' ὃν ἐπιγνώσεται πάντα 10 τὰ κατὰ τὸν ἀδελφὸν. διόπερ αὐτὸς μὲν οὐκ ἐφησεν ἐμβαίνειν, τοὺς δὲ νεανίσκους ἦξεν περὶ 11 μέσας νύκτας τοὺς μέλλοντας πλεῖν. τῶν δὲ ναυκλήρων ἀδιαφοροῦντων διὰ τὸ μένειν αὐτοῖς 12 τὸ ταχθὲν ναῦλον ἐξ ἀρχῆς καὶ πάντα κατηρτι-13 κότων ἐκ πολλοῦ τὰ πρὸς τὸν πλοῦν, παρῆσαν οἱ περὶ τὸν Δημήτριον κατὰ τρίτην φυλακὴν ἴηγουσαν, ὄντες ὅκτῳ καὶ πάντες πέντε καὶ παιδάρια τρία. 12 τοῦ δὲ Μενύλλου κοινολογηθέντος αὐτοῖς καὶ παραδείσαντος τὴν τῶν ἐπιμηγίων παρασκευήν, ἐτὶ δὲ συστήσαντος τῷ ναυκλήρῳ καὶ τοῖς ἐπι-13 βάταις ἐκτενῶς, οὗτοι μὲν ἐπέβησαν, ἵ δὲ κυ-βερνήτης ἄρτι διαφαύσκοντος ἄρας τὰς ἀγκύρας ἐτέλει τὸν πλοῦν, ἀπλῶς οὐδεμίαν ἐννοιαν ἔχων τοῦ πράγματος, ἀλλ' ὡς στρατιώτας τινὰς ἄγων 14 παρὰ τοῦ Μενύλλου πρὸς τὸν Πτολεμαίον. 15 Ἐν δὲ τῇ 'Ῥώμῃ κατὰ τὴν ἐπιούσαν οὐδες 2(23) ἐπιζητήσειν ἐμελέο τὸν Δημήτριον οὐδὲ τοὺς μετ' 2 ἐκείνου προάγοντας· οἱ μὲν γὰρ αὐτοῦ μένοντες ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ Κύρκαιον ὤρμηκότα διελάμβανον, οἱ δ' ἐν ταῖς θ' Ἀναγνείαις ἄπνυτων ἐπὶ τὸν αὐτὸν τόπου, 

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on travelling dress and return to him, after telling their slaves that they would fetch Demetrius and join them next day at the above place. All was managed as I have stated, and they went on by night to Ostia at the mouth of Tiber. Menyllus had preceded them and communicated with the officers of the ship, saying that he had had a message from the king to the effect that he must himself remain in Rome for the present, but must send on to him in advance the most trustworthy of his young soldiers, who would give him all the news about his brother. So he said he himself would not embark, but that the soldiers who were to make the voyage would arrive about midnight. The ship's officers were not concerned at this, since the fare agreed upon had been prepaid, and they had made all their preparations for the voyage long ago. Demetrius and those with him arrived at the end of the third watch of the night, being eight in number with five grown-up slaves and three slave boys. After Menyllus had conversed with them, pointing out the provisions for the voyage, and recommending them very cordially to the skipper and his crew, they went on board and the pilot heaved anchor just as it was getting light and set sail, having no idea at all of the truth, but fancying he was conveying some soldiers from Menyllus to Ptolemy.

15. In Rome no one was likely to look next day for Demetrius or those who left with him. For those who remained on the spot supposed he had started for Cercei, and those in Anagneia were going to meet him at the same spot, supposing he would come there.
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3 οὗ ἐκεῖ παρεσόμενον. διὸ συνεβαίνει τελέως ἀσθμὸν εἶναι τὸν δρασμόν, ἡώς οὗ τῶν παιδῶν τις μεμαστυγωμένος ἐν ταῖς 'Ἀναγνείαις ἔδραμεν ἐπὶ τὸ Κίρκαυν, ὡς ἐκεῖ τῷ Δημήτριῳ συμμίξων.

4 οὖν εὖρων δὲ πάλιν εἰς τὴν Ἐρώμην ἔτρεχεν, ὡς κατὰ πορείαν ἀπαντήσων. οὐδεμίη δὲ συντυχὼν αὐτῷ τούτῳ διεσάφησεν τοῖς ἐν Ἐρώμῃ φίλοις καὶ τοῖς καταλελειμμένοις ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας. ἐπι-ξητομένου δὲ τοῦ Δημήτριού κατὰ τὴν τετάρτην ἡμέραν ἀφ' ἦς ὁρμησεν, ὑπενοίηθη τὸ γεγονός.

7 τῇ δὲ πέμπτῃ σύγκλητοι εὐθέως συνήγησαν περὶ τούτων, ἐν οἷς συνεβαίνει τὸν Δημήτριον ἐκτὸς ἦδη τοῦ πορθμοῦ τοῦ κατὰ Σικελίαν ὑπάρχειν. τὸ μὲν οὖν διώκειν ἀπέγνωσαν, ἀμα μὲν ὑπολαμβα- νοντες αὐτὸν πολὺ προειληφέναι κατὰ τὸν πλοῦν, καὶ γὰρ ἐσχε φορὸν ἀνεμον, ἀμα δὲ προοράμενοι τὸ βουληθέντες κωλύειν ἀδυνατήσαι προβεβητὰς δὲ κατέστησαν μετὰ τινὰς ἡμέρας τοὺς περὶ Τεβέριον Γράκχον καὶ Λεύκιον Λέντλον καὶ Σερούλιον Γλαυκίαν, οὕτως ἔμελλον πρῶτον μὲν ἐποπτεύσειν τὰ κατὰ τοὺς Ἑλλήνας, εἶτ᾽ ἐπιβα- λόντες ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν τὰ τε κατὰ τὸν Δημήτριον καραδοκήσεωι καὶ τὰς τῶν ἄλλων βασιλεῶν προ- αίρεσεις ἐξετάσεωι καὶ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς Γαλάτας ἀντι- λεγόμενα τοῖς προειρημένοις διευκρινῆσει. διὸ τὸν Τεβέριον κατεστήσαντο . . . πάντων αὐτόπτην γεγονέαν. καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐν τού- τοίς ἦν.

13 Ὡ δὲ Δημήτριος προσανέχων τῇ παρουσίᾳ τοῦ διαποσταλησομένου πρὸς αὐτὸν.
The consequence was that his escape was entirely unnoticed, until one of the slaves who had been scourged in Anagneia ran off to Cerceii, supposing he would meet Demetrius there, and when he failed to do so ran on again to Rome, thinking he would meet him on the road. But not finding him anywhere he informed the friends of Demetrius in Rome and the members of the household who were left behind. When four days after his departure people began to look for Demetrius, a suspicion of the truth arose, and on the fifth day, when Demetrius had already passed the Straits of Messina, a special meeting of the senate was held on the subject. Any idea of pursuit was abandoned because on the one hand they supposed that he was well advanced on his voyage, as the wind was favourable, and on the other hand they saw that they could not prevent him even if they wished. After a few days they appointed three commissioners, Tiberius Gracchus, Lucius Lentulus, and Servilius Glaucia to examine first of all into the state of Greece, and then, crossing to Asia, to await the result of Demetrius’s action, and to inquire into the sentiments of the other kings, and decide the differences between the latter and the Galatians. The reason why they appointed Tiberius Gracchus was that he had personal knowledge of all these subjects. Such was the state of affairs in Italy.

(Suid.)

Demetrius was anxiously expecting the arrival of the messenger who was to be sent to him.
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V. Res Asiae

16 "Οτι Ἀρταξίας ἐβούλετο ἐπανελέσθαι . . . παρ- (17 5) (15) αὐνέσεσι δὲ Ἀριαράθου τοῦτ’ οὐκ ἔπραξεν ἀλλ’
2 ἐντιμότερον εἶχεν αὐτὸν ἢ πρότερον. οὕτως ἡ τε
τοῦ δικαίου φύσις ἔχει μεγάλην δύναμιν, αἱ τε τῶν
ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν γνώμαι καὶ παρανέσεις, ὥστε μὴ
μόνον τοὺς φίλους ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἑχθροὺς πολλάκις
σώζει καὶ μετατιθέναι τὰς φύσεις αὐτῶν πρὸς τὸ
βέλτιον.
3 "Οτι παντὸς ἐπιστολίου τὸ κάλλος ἐστὶ συστατι-
kώτερον.

VI. Res Africae

17 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Πτολεμαῖος δ νεώτερος παρα-
(26) (25) γεγονὼς εἰς τὴν Ἔλλαδα μετὰ τῶν πρεσβευτῶν
2 συνηθοῖς ξενολογίων ἐμβρίθες. ἐν οἷς προσ-
elάβετο καὶ τὸν Μακεδόνα Δαμάσιππον, ὁς κατα-
σφάξας ἐν τῷ Φάκῳ τοὺς συνέδρους ἐφύγεν μετὰ
3 γυναικὸς καὶ τέκνων ἐκ τῆς Μακεδονίας. ἀφ-
ικόμενος δ’ εἰς τὴν τῶν Ῥοδίων Περαιάν καὶ
ξενισθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου προετίθετο πλεῖν εἰς τὴν
4 Κύπρον. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Τορκονάτον θεωροῦντες
αὐτὸν συνεσταμένον ξενικὴν χεῖρα βαρεῖαν ὑπ-
εμίμηνησκον τῶν ἐντολῶν, διότι δεὶ χωρίς πολέμου
5 ποιεῖσθαι τὴν κάθοδον. καὶ τέλος ἐπεισάν αὐτὸν
ἐως Σίδης προαγάγοντα τὸ ξενολογίων διαλύσασθαι
καὶ τῆς εἰς Κύπρον ἐπιβολής ἀποστηναι καὶ συμ-
μίσγειν αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τοὺς τῶν Κυρηναίων ὄρους.
6 αὐτοὶ δὲ πλεύσαντες εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἐφασαν
παραστήσεσθαι τὸν βασιλέα πρὸς τὰ παρακαλοῦ-
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BOOK XXXI. 16. 1 - 17. 6

V. AFFAIRS OF ASIA

16. Artaxias wished to kill . . . but by the advice of Ariarathes instead of doing so held him in greater honour than formerly. Such is the power of justice, and of the opinion and advice of good men that thereby not only our friends but our enemies are often saved and their natures changed for the better.

Good looks are a better recommendation than any letter.

VI. AFFAIRS OF AFRICA

The Rival Ptolemies

17. After this the younger Ptolemy arriving in Greece with the legates, collected a powerful force of mercenaries, among whom was the Macedonian Damasippus, who, after murdering the members of the council at Phacus fled from Macedonia with his wife and family. Arriving in the Rhodian Peraea, the king was hospitably received there by the state, and proposed to sail for Cyprus. Torquatus and his colleagues, seeing that he had got together this formidable force of mercenaries, reminded him of their instructions, which were that his return to Cyprus must be effected without war, and finally persuaded him after proceeding as far as Side to dismiss the troops, and abandoning his attempt on Cyprus to meet them on the borders of Cyrene. They themselves, they said, would sail to Alexandria, and after inducing the king to submit to the senate's request,
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μενα καὶ συναντήσεων ἐπὶ τοὺς ὄρους, ἔχοντες
κάκεινον μεθ' αὐτῶν. τούτοις μὲν οὖν τοῖς
λόγοις πεισθεὶς ὁ νεῶτερος Πτολεμαῖος, ἀπογνώσ
tὰ κατὰ τὴν Κύπρον τὸ μὲν ξενολόγιον διέλυσεν,
aυτὸς δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον εἰς Κρήτην ἀπέπλευσεν,
tὸν τε Δαμάσιππον ἔχων μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν
πρεσβευτῶν ἑνα Γνάιον Μερόλαν. ξενολογῆσας δὲ
ἐκ τῆς Κρήτης περὶ χιλίους στρατιώτας ἀνήχθη
καὶ διάρας εἰς τὴν Λιβύην κατέσχεν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀπιν.
18 οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Τορκουάτον διακομισθέντες εἰς (27) (26) τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἐπειρώντο μὲν παρακαλεῖν τὸν
πρεσβύτερον Πτολεμαῖον διαλύσθαι πρὸς τὸν ἅδελ-
2 φὸν καὶ συγχωρεῖν αὐτῷ τὴν Κύπρον· τὸν <ἀν τὰ> Πτολεμαῖον τὰ μὲν ἐπαγγελλομένου, τὰ δὲ παρ-
ακούοντος, καὶ τῷ τουτῷ πρόπῳ κατατρίβοντος
3 τῶν χρόνων, στρατοπεδεύων ὁ νεῶτερος μετὰ τῶν
Κρήτων ἐν τῇ Λιβύη περὶ τὸν Ἀπιν κατὰ τὸ συν-
tεταγμένον καὶ τελέως ἀσχάλλων ἐπὶ τῷ μηδὲν
diaσαφήσασθαι, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἔξαπεστιεὶ τῶν
Γνάιον εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν, ὡς διὰ τοῦτο κἂν
4 τοὺς περὶ τὸν Τορκουάτον ἐπιγενομένους· συνεξ-
ομοιωθέντος δὲ τούτῳ τοῖς πρότερον, καὶ τοῦ
χρόνου διελκομένου, καὶ τετταράκοντα διελθο-
σὼν ἡμερῶν, καὶ μηδενὸς προσπέπτοντος, εἰς
5 ἀποριαν ἐνέπιπτε περὶ τῶν ὅλων. ὁ γὰρ πρε-
σβύτερος βασιλεὺς πάν γένος ἀρεσκείας προσφε-
rόμενος πάντας ἐξιδιάσατο τοὺς πρεσβευτὰς καὶ
παρακατέσχε τὸ πλεῖον οὐχ ἐκόντας, ἀλλ' ἀκολοντας.
6 κατὰ δὲ τὸν καιρὸν τούτου προσέπεσε τῷ νεωτέρῳ
Πτολεμαίῳ τοὺς τε Κυρηναίους ἀφεστάναι καὶ
τὰς πόλεις συμφρονεῖν τούτους, κεκοιμωνηκέναι
dὲ περὶ τῆς ἀποστάσεως καὶ Πτολεμαίον τὸν
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would come to meet him on the frontier accompanied by his brother. The younger Ptolemy, persuaded by these arguments, gave up his Cyprian project, disbanded his mercenary force, and took ship first of all for Crete accompanied by Damasippus and one of the legates, Gnaeus Merula. After collecting in Crete a force of about a thousand soldiers he set sail and crossing to Africa landed at Apis. Meanwhile Torquatus and the other legates on arriving at Alexandria attempted to induce the elder Ptolemy to be reconciled to his brother and cede Cyprus to him. When the king kept on alternately promising and refusing and thus wasted time, his younger brother, who, as had been agreed, remained encamped with his Cretans near Apis in Africa, and was exceedingly put out at receiving no information, at first sent Gnaeus to Alexandria, supposing that he would bring Torquatus and the others. But when Gnaeus proved equally inactive, and time dragged on, forty days having passed without any news, he did not know what to make of the whole matter. For the elder king by every kind of complaisance won over the legates and detained them with him rather against their will than otherwise. At the same time news reached the younger Ptolemy that the Cyreneans had revolted, that the towns were in sympathy with them, and that Ptolemy Sympetesis, an Egyptian,
7 Συμπετήσων, ὅσ ἦν τὸ γένος Αἰγύπτιος, ἐπιστεύθη δὲ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τῶν ὁλων ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως, καθ’ ὄν καίρου ἐποιεῖτο τὸν πλοῦν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην.
8 τοῦτων δὲ προσπιπτόντων τῷ βασιλεί, καὶ μετ’ ὁλίγον διότι στρατοπεδεύουσιν ἐν τοῖς ὑπαίθροις οἱ Κυρηναῖοι, δείσας μὴ βουλόμενος προσλαβεῖν τὴν Κύπρον καὶ τὴν Κυρήνην ἀπολέσῃ, πάντα τάλλα πάρεργα θέμενος ἀνέξευξεν ἐπὶ Κυρήνης.
9 παραγενόμενος δ’ εἰς τὸν μέγαν καλούμενον Καταβαθμὸν κατέλαβε τοὺς Λίβνας μετὰ τῶν 10 Κυρηναίων κατέχοντας τὰς δυσχωρίας. ὁ δὲ Πτολεμαῖος ἀποροφυμενος ἐπὶ τῷ συμβαίνοντι τοὺς μὲν ἡμίσεις τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐμβαθάσας εἰς τὰ πλοία περιπλείν τὰς δυσχωρίας ἐπέταξε καὶ κατὰ νάτον τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐπιφαίνεσθαι, τοὺς δ’ ἡμίσεις ἐκς ἀυτὸς ἐβιάζετο κατὰ στόμα πρὸς 11 τὴν ἀνάβασιν. τῶν δὲ Λιβύων κατάπλαγέντων τῇ εἴ αμφοῖν ἐφοδιαν καὶ λειπόντων τοὺς τόπους, ἀμα τῆς ἀναβάσεως ἐγένετο κύριος καὶ τῆς ὑποκεμένης Τετραπυργίας, ἐν ἤ συνέβαινε πλήθος 12 ἀφθονον ὑδατον ὑπάρχειν. οθεν ἄφορμής ἐβδομαίος ἦκε διὰ τῆς ἔρημου. παραπλεόντων δ’ αὐτῷ καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ Μοχυρίου, συνέβαινε τοὺς Κυρηναίους στρατοπεδεύειν <πεζοὺς μὲν> ὄντας εἰς ὀκτακισχίλιους, ἢπεις δὲ περὶ πεντακοσίους. οἱ γὰρ Κυρηναῖοι πείραν εἰληφότες τῆς τοῦ Πτολεμαίου προαιρέσεως ἐκ τῶν <κατὰ> τὴν Ἀλεξ- ἀνδρειαν πεπραγμένων καὶ θεωροῦντες οὐ βασιλικήν, ἄλλα τυραννικὴν οὖσαν τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ὀλην αἰρεσιν, οὐχ οἷοὶ τ’ ἦσαν ἐθελοντὴν σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ὑποτάττειν, ἄλλα πάν ὑπομένειν ἐτόλμων, ἀντεχόμενοι τῆς πρὸς τὴν ἑλευθερίαν
whom he had placed in charge of the country when he left for Rome, had taken the part of the insurgents. When he received this news, and when soon afterwards he heard that the Cyreneans had taken the field, fearing lest by trying to add Cyprus to his dominions he should lose Cyrene also, he treated all other matters as of lesser moment and at once marched on Cyrene. Upon reaching the place known as the Great Slope he found the Libyans and Cyreneans occupying the pass. Ptolemy, taken aback by this, embarked half of his force on the ships with orders to sail round the pass and take the enemy in the rear, while he himself with the other half advanced directly to force the ascent. Upon the Libyans taking fright at this double attack and abandoning their position, he made himself master of the ascent and the place called the Four Towers beneath it, where there was plenty of water. Setting out thence he arrived after six days' march through the desert. The force under Mochyrinus coasted along parallel to him until they found the Cyreneans encamped eight thousand strong in foot and five hundred in cavalry. For the Cyreneans had gained experience of Ptolemy's character from his behaviour at Alexandria, and, seeing that his government and his whole disposition were those of a tyrant rather than a king, they were by no means disposed to submit willingly to his rule, but were resolved to suffer anything for the prospect
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16 ἐλπίδος. διὸ καὶ τότε συνεγγίσαντος αὐτοῦ ἐξ αὐτῆς παρετάξαντο· καὶ τέλος ἡττήθη.

19 "Ὁτι κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τούτον ἦλθε καὶ Γνάιος (28)(27) ὁ Μερόλας ἐκ τῆς 'Ἀλεξάνδρείας, διασαφῶν τῷ βασιλεῖ διότι πρὸς οὐθὲν τῶν ἀξιωμένων προσελήφθη, ὁ ἀδελφός, ἀλλὰ φησι δεῖν μένειν ἐπὶ 2 τοὺς ἀρχής διομολογούμενοι. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ταῦτα διακούσας, εὐθέως προχειρισμένοι Κομανὸν καὶ Πτολεμαίον τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς ἐξαπέστελλε προσβεντάς εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην μετὰ τοῦ Γναίου, δια- σαφῆσονται τῇ συγκλήτῳ περὶ τῆς τάδελφοῦ πλεον-

2 εξίας καὶ καταφρονήσεως. ἀπέλυσε δὲ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν καὶ τοὺς περὶ Τίτον ἀπράκτους 

4 ὁ πρεσβύτερος Πτολεμαῖος. καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὴν 'Ἀλεξάνδρειαν καὶ Κυρήνην ἐπὶ τούτων ἦν.

VII. Res Italiae

20 "Ὁτι κατὰ τοὺς υποκειμένους καιροὺς ἦκον (xxxii. 1) παρὰ τὸν νεώτερον Πτολεμαίου πρέσβεις οἱ περὶ τὸν Κομανὸν καὶ παρὰ τοῦ πρεσβύτερου παρα-

πλησίως οἱ περὶ τὸν Μένυλλον τὸν Ἀλαβάνθεα. ὑπὸ εἰσελθόντων εἰς τὴν συγκλήτων καὶ πολλῶν 

2 λόγων γνωμένων καὶ φιλαπέχθων κατὰ πρόσωπον εἰς ἀλλήλους, καὶ τῶν περὶ Τίτον καὶ Γνάιον 

ἀπομαρτυροῦντων καὶ συνεπεισχυντῶν τῷ νεω-

3 τέρῳ μετὰ πολλῆς σπουδῆς, ἔδοξε τῇ συγκλήτῳ 

τοὺς περὶ Μένυλλον ἐν πένθῳ ἡμέραις ἀποτρέχειν ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης, καὶ τὴν συμμαχίαν <ἀν>αιρεῖν 

τὴν πρὸς τὸν πρεσβύτερον, πρὸς δὲ τὸν νεώτερον 

πέμψαι προσβεντάς τοὺς διασαφῆσοντας τὰ δε-

4 δογμένα τῇ συγκλήτῳ. καὶ κατεστάθησαν Πόπλιος 200
18. They, therefore, on his approach, at once offered battle and in the end he was worsted.

19. At this time Gnaeus Merula also came from Alexandria and informed Ptolemy that his brother had not met any of the demands, but maintained that their original agreement must be adhered to. The king, on learning this, at once appointed the brothers Comanus and Ptolemy his envoys, and dispatched them to Rome together with Gnaeus to inform the senate of his brother's selfish greed and contempt for their orders. At the same time the elder Ptolemy dismissed Torquatus without his having achieved anything. Such was the state of affairs at Alexandria and in Cyrene.

VII. Affairs of Italy

Embassies from the Ptolemies

20. At the time I am dealing with, Comanus and his brother arrived on an embassy from the younger Ptolemy and Menyllus of Alabanda from the elder one. They all entered the house together, where they had a long and acrimonious dispute with each other; but when both Torquatus and Merula confirmed the statements of the younger brother and warmly supported him, the senate decreed that Menyllus must leave Rome in five days, that their alliance with the elder Ptolemy was at an end, and that legates should be sent to the younger brother to inform him of their decision. Publius
'Απούστιος καὶ Γάιος Λέντλος, οἱ καὶ πλεύσαντες ἐξ αὐτῆς εἰς τὴν Κυρήνην ἀνήγγειλαν τῷ Πτολε-μαίῳ τὰ δεδομένα μετὰ πολλῆς σπουδῆς. ὁ δὲ Πτολεμαῖος ἐπαρθεὶς εὔθεως ἐξενολόγης καὶ ταῖς ἐπιβολαῖς ὅλος καὶ πᾶς ἦν περὶ τὴν Κύπρον. καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐν τούτοις ἦν.

VIII. Res Africae

21 "Οτι κατὰ τὴν Διβύνην Μασαννάσασ θεωρῶν (32 2) τὸ πλῆθος τῶν πόλεων τῶν περὶ τὴν μικρὰν Σύρττιν ἐκτυσμένων καὶ τὸ κάλλος τῆς χώρας, ἢν καλοῦσιν 'Εμπόρια, καὶ πάλαι τὸ πλῆθος τῶν προσόδων τῶν γυνομένων ἐν τούτοις τοῖς τόποις ὀφθαλμῶν, ἐπεβάλετο καταπειράζειν τῶν Καρχηδονίων ὡς πολλοῖς ἀνώτερον χρόνοις τῶν νῦν λεγομένων καιρῶν. τῆς μὲν οὖν χώρας ταχέως ἐγενήθη κύριος, ἀτε τῶν ὑπαίθρων κρατῶν διὰ τὸ τοὺς Καρχηδονίους αἰεὶ μὲν ἄλλοτρίους ύπάρχειν τῆς ἐν τῇ γῇ χρείας, τότε δὲ καὶ τελέως ἐκτεθηλύνθαι διὰ τὴν πολυχρόνων εἰρήνην. τῶν δὲ πόλεων οὐκ ἡδυνήθη γενέσθαι κύριοι διὰ τὸ τοὺς Καρχηδονίους ἐπιμελῶς τηρεῖν αὐτάς. ἀμφοτέρων δὲ ποιουμένων τὴν ἀναφορὰν ἐπὶ τὴν σύγκλητον υπὲρ τῶν ἀμφισβητούμενων, καὶ προσβευτῶν πολλάκις ἐληλυθότων διὰ ταῦτα παρ’ ἐκατέρων, αἰεὶ συνεβαίνει τοὺς Καρχηδονίους ἐλαττοῦσθαι παρὰ τοῖς 'Ρωμαίοις, οὐ τοῖς δικαίοις, ἀλλὰ τῷ πεπείθαν τοὺς κρίνοντας συμφέρειν σφίσι τῆν τοιαύτην γνώμην, ἐπείτοι χρόνοις οὐ πολλοὶς ἀνώτερον αὐτὸς ὁ Μασαννάσασ διώκων τὸν Ἀφθήρα τὸν ἀποστάτην μετὰ στρατοπέδου.
Apustius and Caius Lentulus were appointed and at once took ship for Cyrene where they announced this important decision to Ptolemy. The king, much elated by it, at once began to collect troops and was entirely occupied with his projected attempt on Cyprus. Such was the state of affairs in Italy.

VIII. AFFAIRS OF AFRICA

Massanissa and Carthage

21. In Africa Massanissa, seeing the numbers of the cities founded on the coast of the Lesser Syrtis and the fertility of the country which they call Emporia, and casting envious eyes on the abundant revenue derived from this district, had tried, not many years before the time I am dealing with, to wrest it from Carthage. He easily made himself master of the open country as he could command it, owing to the Carthaginians, who had always been poor soldiers, having latterly become completely enervated in consequence of the long peace. He could not, however, get hold of the towns as they were carefully guarded by the Carthaginians. Both parties appealed to the senate about their differences, and numerous embassies had come from both on the subject, but the Carthaginians always came off second best at Rome, not because they had not right on their side, but because the judges were convinced that it was in their own interest to decide against them. Their claim to the country was evidently just; for Massanissa himself not many years previously, while pursuing with an army Aphther
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diodon ἦτήσατο τοὺς Καρχηδονίους διὰ ταύτης τῆς χώρας [οἱ δ' οὐχ ὑπῆκουσαν], ὥς οὖθεν αὐτῷ 8 προσηκούσης. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τέλος εἰς τοῦτο συνεκλείσθησαν οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι διὰ τῶν ἀποφάσεων κατὰ τοὺς νῦν λεγομένους καυροὺς ὡστε μὴ μόνον τὰς πόλεις καὶ τὴν χώραν ἀποβαλεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πεντακόσια τάλαντα προσθείναι τῆς καρπείας τῶν χρόνων, εἰς οὖ συνέβη γενέσθαι τῇν ἀμφισβήτησιν.

IX. Res Italiae

22 "Ὅτι τὸ μέγιστον καὶ κάλλιστον σημεῖον τῆς (xxxii. 8) Δευκίου Αἰμιλίου προαιρέσεως μεταλλάξαντος τοῦ 2 βίου ἐγένετο πᾶσιν ἐκθῆλον· οίος γὰρ ὁ τρόπος ἐκώντος [αὐτοῦ] ἐδοξάζετο, τοιοῦτος εὐρέθη τὸν βίον μεταλλάξαντος, ὁ μέγιστον εἶποι τις ἂν 3 ὑπάρχειν τεκμήριον ἀρετής. ὁ γὰρ πλείστων μὲν τῶν καθ' αὐτὸν ἐξ Ἰβηρίας χρυσὸν εἰς τὴν Ἑρώμην μετεννοχώς, μεγίστων δὲ θησαυρῶν κύριον γενόμενον ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ, πλείστης δὲ περὶ τὰ προειρημένα τετευχώς ἐξουσίας τοσοῦτον ἀπέ- 4 ἔλεπτο τῶν ἰδιον βίου ὡστε . . . μὴ δύνασθαι τὴν φερνὴν τῇ γυναικὶ διαλύσαι πᾶσαν ἐκ τῶν ἐπίπλων, εἰ μὴ τῶν ἐγγείων τινὰς προσαπέδοντο κτήσεων. ὑπὲρ ὅν ἢμεῖς τὰ κατὰ μέρος ἐν τοῖς πρὸ τούτων 5 εἰρήκαμεν. ἐξ ὁδι' εἶποι τις ἂν καταλυσθαι τὴν δόξαν τῶν θαυμαζομένων παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλησ 6 περὶ τοῦτο τὸ μέρος ἀνδρῶν· εἰ γὰρ τὸ διδομένων χρημάτων ἐπὶ τῷ τοῦ διδόντος συμφέροντι, τοῦτων ἀπέχεσθαι θαυμαστὸν ἔστιν, δ ἱέγεται γεγονέναι περὶ τε τῶν Ἀθηναίων Ἀριστείδην καὶ περὶ τὸν

1 I exclude οἱ δ' οὐχ ὑπῆκουσαν.
who had rebelled against him, had begged permission from them to pass through this district, thus acknowledging that he had no claim to it. But nevertheless at the end the Carthaginians were in such straits owing to the decisions of the senate at the time I am speaking of, that they not only lost the country and the towns in it, but had to pay in addition five hundred talents for the mesne revenue of it since the dispute originated.

IX. Affairs of Italy

Aemilius Paullus and Scipio

22. The most striking and splendid proof of the integrity of Lucius Aemilius became manifest to all after his death; for the same high reputation which he had possessed during his life continued when he had departed from it; and this we may say is the best proof there can be of virtue. The man, I say, who had brought to Rome from Spain more gold than any of his contemporaries, who had had at his disposal the vast treasure of Macedonia, and had been at perfect liberty to use all this money as he chose, died so poor that his sons could not pay his wife the whole of her jointure out of the personalty, and without selling some of the real property. Of this I have spoken in detail above. We may say that the reputation of those most admired in this respect by the ancient Greeks has been put into shadow. For if it is an admirable thing to refuse to touch money offered in the interest of the giver, as Aristeides
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7 Θηβαῖον Ἐπαμινώνδας, τὸ κύριον γενόμενον αὐτὸν ἀπάσης τῇς βασιλείας καὶ λαβόντα τὴν ἐξουσίαν ὡς βούλεται χρήσασθαι, μηδενὸς ἐπιθυμήσαι πόσω
8 θαυμαστότερὸν ἐστιν; εἰ δὲ ἀπίστω τὸ λεγόμενον ἐνοικέναι δόξης τις, ἐκεῖνο δεὶ λαμβάνειν ἑν νῦ, διὸτι σαφῶς ὁ γράφων ἦδει μάλιστα Ἡρωμαῖοις ἀναληψομένους εἰς τὰς χεῖρας τὰ βυβλία ταῦτα διὰ τὸ τὰς ἐπιφανεστάτας καὶ τὰς πλείστας αὐτῶν
9 πράξεις ἐν τούτοις περιέχεσθαι· παρ' οἷς οὔτ' ἀγνοεῖσθαι ταῦτα δυνατὸν οὔτε συγγνώμης τεύξε- 10 σθαι τὸν ψευδολόγον εἰκός, διόπερ οὐδεὶς ἂν ἐκὼν εἰς πρόδηλον ἀπιστίαν καὶ καταφρόνησον ἔδωκεν
11 αὐτὸν. καὶ τοῦτο μνημονεύσθω παρ' ὅλην τὴν πραγματείαν ἡμῖν, ὅταν τι παράδοξον δοκῶμεν λέγειν περὶ Ἡρωμαίων.

23 Τῆς δὲ κατὰ τὴν διήγησιν ἐφόδου καὶ τῶν (xxxii. 9) καιρῶν ἐφεστακότων ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν ταύτην, βούλομαι τὸ κατὰ τὴν προτέραν βυβλον ἐν ἐπι- αγγελίᾳ καταλειφθέν συνεκπληρώσαι τῶν φιληκῶν
2 ένεκα. προὔπεσχόμην γὰρ διηγήσασθαι διὰ τί καὶ πῶς ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο προέκοψε καὶ θάττον ἡ καθήκεν ἔξελαμψεν ἡ τοῦ Σκυπίωνος ἐν τῇ Ἡρώμη δόξα, 3 σὺν δὲ τούτῳ πῶς ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον αὐξηθῆναι συνέβη τῷ Πολυβίῳ τὴν πρὸς τὸν προειρημένον φιλίαν καὶ συνήθειαν ὡστε μὴ μόνον ἐως τῆς Ἰταλίας καὶ τῆς Ἐλλάδος ἐπιδιατείναι τὴν περὶ αὐτῶν φήμην, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς πορρωτέρω γυνώμοις γενέσθαι τὴν
4 αἴρεσιν καὶ συμπεριφορὰν αὐτῶν. διὸτι μὲν οὖν ἢ καταρχῇ τῆς συστάσεως ἐγενήθη τοὺς προειρ- μένους ἐκ τινὸς χρήσεως βυβλίων καὶ τῆς περὶ 5 τούτων λαλιάς δεδηλώκαμεν· προβαινοῦσις δὲ τῆς συνηθείας καὶ τῶν ἀνακεκλημένων ἐκπεμπο- 206
of Athens and Epaminondas of Thebes are said to have done, how much more admirable is it for one who had a whole kingdom at his sole disposal, and had liberty to do what he wished with it, to covet none of it? If this appears incredible to anyone, I beg him to consider that the present writer is perfectly aware that this work will be perused by Romans above all people, containing as it does an account of their most splendid achievements, and that it is impossible either that they should be ignorant of the facts or disposed to pardon any departure from truth. So that no one would willingly expose himself thus to certain disbelief and contempt. And this should be borne in mind through this whole work, whenever I seem to make any startling statements about Romans.

23. Now that the progress of my narrative and the date call our special attention to this family, I wish in order to satisfy the reader's curiosity to execute a promise I made in the previous book and left unfilled, and this was that I would tell how and why the fame of Scipio in Rome advanced so far and became so brilliant more quickly than it should, and to tell also how his friendship and intimacy with the author grew so great that this report about them not only spread to Italy and Greece, but that even further afield their liking and intercourse were a matter of common knowledge. Now I have already explained that their acquaintance took its origin in the loan of some books and conversation about them. But as their intimacy grew, and when the Achaeans in
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μένων ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις, διέσπευσαν ὁ τε Φάβιος καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων οἱ τοῦ Λευκίου νεανίσκοι πρὸς τὸν στρατηγὸν μείναι τὸν Πολύβιον ἐν τῇ 'Ῥώμῃ.

6 γενομένου δὲ τούτου, καὶ τῆς συμπεριφορᾶς ἐπὶ πολὺ προκοπτούσης, ἐγένετο συγκύρημα τι τουθὲν τῶν ἐκπορευμένων γάρ ποτὲ κατ’ αὐτὸ πάντων ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας τῆς τοῦ Φάβιον, συνέβη τὸν μὲν Φάβιον ἐπὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἀπονεύσαι, τὸν δὲ Πολύβιον ἐπὶ θάτερα μετὰ τοῦ Σκιπίωνος. προαγόντων δ᾿ αὐτῶν ὁ Πόπλιος ἰσυχῇ καὶ πρᾶς τῇ φωνῇ φθεγξάμενος καὶ τῷ χρώματι γενόμενος ἐνερευθῆς, "τί δαί" φησίν ὁ Πολύβιε, δύο τρώγομεν ἀδελφοί, καὶ διαλέγειν συνεχῶς καὶ πάσας τὰς ἐρωτήσεις καὶ τὰς ἀποφάσεις ποιεῖ

10 πρὸς ἐκείνου, ἐμὲ δὲ παραπέμπεις; ἦ δῆλον ὅτι καὶ σὺ περὶ ἐμοῦ τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχεις διάληψιν, ἢν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους πολίτας ἔχειν πυνθάνομαι; δοκῶ γὰρ εἶναι πᾶσιν ἦσυχίος τις καὶ νωθρός, ὡς ἄκουσ, καὶ πολὺ κεχωρισμένος τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς αἰρέσεως καὶ πράξεως, ὅτι κρίσεις οὐχ ἀφοῦμαι λέγειν. τὴν δ᾿ οἰκίαν οὐ φασὶ τοιοῦτον ἐπιτείν προστάτην εἰς ἡς ὀρμῶμαι, τὸ δ᾿ ἐναντίον ὁ καὶ μάλιστα μὲ λυπεῖ."  

24 'Ο δὲ Πολύβιος ἐξεισθεὶς τῇ τοῦ μειρακίου (xxxii. 10) καταρχῇ τῶν λόγων· οὐ γὰρ εἰχε πλέον ἐτῶν Ῥωμαϊκῆς αἰρέσεως· μὴ πρὸς θεῶν, Σκιπίων, ἐφη, "μηδὲ λέγε ταῦτα μηδ' ἐν νῷ λάμβανε ταῦτα ἐν τῷ παράπαν. οὐδὲ γὰρ καταγωγής ποιεῖς παραπέμπτων ἐγὼ σε ποιῶ τούτο, πολλοὶ γε δεῖν, ἀλλὰ τῷ πρεσβύτερον εἶναι τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐν τῷ ταῖς ὀμολόγιαις ἀρχομαι, ἀπ' ἐκείνου καὶ λῆγω πάλιν

1 I suggest δύο γὰρ ἐσμεν, τῷ μὲν ἀδελφῷ.
detention were sent off to provincial towns, Fabius and Scipio, the sons of Lucius Aemilius, urgently begged the praetor to allow Polybius to remain in Rome. This was done, and their intercourse now becoming much closer, the following incident took place. On one occasion when they were all coming out together from the house of Fabius, the latter happened to take a turning leading to the forum, while Polybius and Scipio turned off in the opposite direction. As they advanced Scipio, addressing Polybius in a quiet and gentle voice, and blushing slightly said: "Why, Polybius, since there are two of us, do you constantly converse with my brother and address to him all your questions and explanations, but ignore me? Evidently you also have the same opinions of me that I hear the rest of my countrymen have. For, as I am told, I am believed by everybody to be a quiet and indolent man, with none of the energetic character of a Roman, because I don’t choose to speak in the law courts. And they say that the family I spring from does not require such a protector as I am, but just the opposite; and this is what I feel most."

24. Polybius was surprised at the way in which the young man opened the conversation; for he was then not more than eighteen years old. "For goodness’ sake, Scipio," he said, "don’t talk in that way, or get any such notion into your head. I don’t, I assure you, do this because I have a low opinion of you or ignore you, but because your brother is your senior. I both begin conversation with him and finish

* The brother of Scipio who was adopted by Quintus Fabius Maximus Cunctator.
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eis ἐκείνον ἐν <τε> ταῖς ἀποφάσει καὶ συμβουλίαις πρὸς ἐκείνον ἀπερείδομαι, δοκῶν καὶ σὲ τὴν
4 αὐτῆς μετέχειν γνώμης ἐκείνῳ. σοῦ γε μὴν ἄγαμαι νῦν ἄκοιν, ὅτι δοκεῖ σοι <λυπηρὸν> τὸ
πραύτερον εἶναι τοῦ καθήκοντος τοῦ ἐκ ταύτης τῆς οἰκίας ὀρμωμένους. δῆλος γὰρ εἰ διὰ τούτων
5 μέγα φρονών. ἐγώ δὲ κἂν αὐτὸς ἥδεως σοι συνεπιδοθῆν ἐμαυτὸν καὶ συνεργὸς γενοίμην εἰς
tὸ καὶ λέγειν τι καὶ πράπτειν ἄξιον τῶν προγόνων.
6 περὶ μὲν γὰρ τὰ μαθήματα, περὶ δὲ νῦν ὅρῳ σπουδάζοντας ὦμᾶς καὶ φιλοτιμομένους, οὐκ ἀπορήσετε τῶν συνεργηθῶν ὦμῶν ἐτοίμως, καὶ σοι
7 κάκεινω πολὺ γὰρ δὴ τῷ φύλῳ ἀπὸ τῆς 'Ελλάδός ἐπιρρέον ὅρῳ κατὰ τὸ παρόν τῶν τουτών ἄν-
8 θρώπων. εἰς δὲ τὰ λυποῦντά σε νῦν καθὼς φῆς, δοκῶ μηδένα συναγωνιστὴν καὶ συνεργὸν ἄλλον
9 εὑρεῖν ἅν ἡμῶν ἐπιτηδειότερον." ἐτὶ δὲ ταῦτα λέγοντος τοῦ Πολυβίου, λαβόμενος ἀμφότεραις
χερσὶ τῆς δεξιάς αὐτοῦ καὶ πιέσας ἐμπαθώς "εἰ
gὰρ ἐγὼ ταύτην," φησίν, " ἵδομι τὴν ἡμέραν,
ἐν ἡ σὺ πάντα τάλλα δεύτερα θέμενος ἐμοὶ προσ-
10 ἔξεις τῶν νοῦν καὶ μετ' ἐμοῦ συμβιώσεις. δόξῳ
gὰρ αὐτόθεν εὐθέως ἐμαυτῶ καὶ τῆς οἰκίας ἄξιος
11 εἶναι καὶ τῶν προγόνων." ὃ δὲ Πολυβίος τὰ
μὲν ἔχαιρε, θεωρῶν τὴν ὀρμήν καὶ τὴν ἀποδοχὴν
tοῦ μειρακίου, τὰ δὲ διηπορεῖτο, λαμβάνων ἐν
νῷ τὴν ὑπεροχὴν τῆς οἰκίας καὶ τὴν εὐκαιρίαν τῶν
12 ἀνδρῶν. πλὴν ἀπὸ γε ταύτης τῆς ἀνθομολογήσεως οὐκέτι τὸ μειράκιον ἔχορίσθη τοῦ Πολυβίου,
pάντα δ' ἣν αὐτῷ δεύτερα τῆς ἐκείνου
25 συμπεριφορᾶς. ἀπὸ δὲ τούτων τῶν καιρῶν
(xxxii. 11) λοιπὸν ἣδη κατὰ τὸ συνεχὲς ἐπ' αὐτῶν τῶν
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with him, and as for any explanations and advice, I address myself especially to him in the belief that your opinions are the same as his. However, now I admire you when you say that you are pained to think that you are of a milder character than becomes members of this family; for that shows that you have a high spirit. I myself would be delighted to do all in my power to help you to speak and act in a way worthy of your ancestors. For as for those studies which I see now occupy and interest you, you will be in no want of those ready to help both of you; so great is the crowd of such men that I see flocking here from Greece at present. But as regards what you say now troubles you I don’t think you could find anyone more efficient than myself to forward your effort and help you.” Before Polybius ceased speaking, Scipio, grasping his right hand in both his own and pressing it warmly, said: “Would I could see the day on which you, regarding nothing else as of higher importance, would devote your attention to me and join your life with mine; for then I shall at once feel myself to be worthy of my house and my forefathers.” Polybius was on the one hand very happy to see the enthusiasm and affection of the young man, yet was embarrassed when he reflected on the high position of the family and the wealth of its members. However, after this mutual explanation the young man never left his side, and preferred his society to anything else. 25. From that time onwards continuing in the actual conduct
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πραγμάτων πείραν αὐτῶν διδόντες ἀλλήλους εἰς πατρικὴν καὶ συγγενικὴν ἥλθον αἱρεσιν καὶ φιλοστοργίαν πρὸς ἀλλήλους.

2 Πρώτη δὲ τις ἐνέπεσεν ὀρμῇ καὶ ζήλος τῶν καλῶν τὸ τὴν ἑπὶ σωφροσύνη δόξαν ἀναλαβεῖν καὶ παραδραμεῖν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ μέρει τοὺς κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἡλικίαν ὑπάρχοντας. ὅπερ δὲ μέγας οὕτως καὶ δυσέφικτος οἱ στέφανος εὐθήρατος ἢν κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ διὰ τὴν ἑπὶ τὸ

4 χεῖρον ὀρμὴν τῶν πλείστων. οἱ μὲν γὰρ εἰς ἐρωμένους τῶν νέων, οἱ δ' εἰς ἔταιρας ἐξεκέχυντο, πολλοὶ δ' εἰς ἀκροάματα καὶ πότους καὶ τὴν ἐν τούτοις πολυτελείαν, ταχέως ἡρπακότες ἐν τῷ Περσικῷ πολέμῳ τὴν τῶν Ἕλληνων εἰς τούτο τὸ

5 μέρος εὐχέρειαν. καὶ τηλικαύτη τις ἐνεπτυκώ-

(xxxi. 24 3) kei peri tā touaútā tōn ērgwōn akrasía tois néōs woste polloús men érωmēnou ἡγορακέναι
talántou, polloús dē taríxhō Poutikou kearámou

53 trıakosión drachmōn. ἐφ' ois kai Márkos <άγα-

(xxxi. 24 4) naktōn> εἰπε ποτε πρὸς τὸν δήμον ὅτι μάλιστ' ἂν
catídoien tēn ἑπὶ τὸ' χείρον προκοπῆν tῆs po-
luteías ek touτōn, osan poloumēnov pleion eurí-

(xxxi. 24 4) skwos ois men euprepéis paiðes tōn ágrōn, tā

6 de kerasmía tou taríxhō tōn zeughlatōn. svnu-

(xxxi. 11 6) ēbē de tēn parousai aiρesin ois eklamaipai kata tōs νῦν λεγομένους kaiρουs próton men diā tō

cataxuθeíseis tēs ēn Makedonía basileías dokein

adērīton autōis ὑπάρχειν tēn peri tōn ὅλων

7 ēxousían, ἐπειτα διὰ τὸ πολλὴν ἐπιφασὶν γενέσθαι
tῆs euđaimoniās peri te touvs kat' idían bivos kai

(xxxi. 11 6) peri tā kowna, tōn ēk Makedonías metakomī-

8 othéntωn eis tēn 'Ρώμην χορηγίων. πλὴn d ge

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of life to give proof to each other of their worth, they
came to regard each other with an affection like that
of father and son or near relations.

The first direction taken by Scipio's ambition to
lead a virtuous life, was to attain a reputation for
temperance and excel in this respect all the other
young men of the same age. This is a high prize
indeed and difficult to gain, but it was at this time
easy to pursue at Rome owing to the vicious ten-
dencies of most of the youths. For some of them
had abandoned themselves to amours with boys and
others to the society of courtesans, and many to
musical entertainments and banquets, and the
extravagance they involve, having in the course of
the war with Perseus been speedily infected by the
Greek laxity in these respects. So great in fact was
the incontinence that had broken out among the
young men in such matters, that many paid a talent
for a male favourite and many three hundred drachmas
for a jar of caviar. This aroused the indignation of
Cato, who said once in a public speech that it was the
surest sign of deterioration in the republic when
pretty boys fetch more than fields, and jars of caviar
more than ploughmen. It was just at the period
we are treating of that this present tendency to
extravagance declared itself, first of all because they
thought that now after the fall of the Macedonian
kingdom their universal dominion was undisputed,
and next because after the riches of Macedonia had
been transported to Rome there was a great display
of wealth both in public and in private. Scipio,
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Σκιπίων ὀρμήσας ἐπὶ τὴν ἐναντίαν ἀγωγήν τοῦ βιον καὶ πάσας ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις ἀντιταξάμενος καὶ κατὰ πάντα τρόπον ὁμολογούμενον καὶ σύμφωνον ἐαυτὸν κατασκευάζας κατὰ τὸν βιόν ἐν ἴσως πέντε τοῖς πρώτοις ἐτεις πάνθημον ἐποιήσατο τὴν ἐπὶ ἐυταξία καὶ σωφροσύνη δόξαν.

9 Μετά δὲ ταῦτα κατὰ τὸ συνεχὲς ὁρμήσας ἐπὶ τὸ περὶ τὰ χρήματα μεγαλοψυχία καὶ καθαρότητι διενεχεῖν τῶν ἄλλων. πρὸς δὲ τούτο τὸ μέρος καλὴν μὲν ὑποδοχὴν εἶχε τὴν μετὰ τοῦ κατὰ φύσιν πατρὸς συμβίωσιν, καλὰς δ' ἐκ φύσεως ὀρμᾶς αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τὸ δέον· πολλὰ δ' αὐτῷ καὶ ταυτόματον συνήργησε πρὸς τὴν ἐπιβολὴν ταύτην.

26 Πρώτη μὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ μετήλλαξεν τῶν βιῶν ἡ ἡ (xxxii. 12) τοῦ κατὰ θέσιν πατρὸς μήτηρ, ἦτις ἦν ἀδελφῆ μὲν τοῦ κατὰ φύσιν πατρὸς αὐτοῦ Δευκίου, γυνὴ δὲ τοῦ κατὰ θέσιν πάππου Σκιπίωνος τοῦ μεγάλου 2 προσαγορευθέντος. ταύτης ἀπολιπούσης ὀυσίαν μεγάλην κληρονόμος ὡς πρῶτον ἐν τούτοις ἐμελλε 3 πεῖραν δώσειν τῆς ἐαυτοῦ προαιρέσεως. συνεβαίνε ἔδε τὴν Ἀιμιλίαν, τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν ὄνομα τῇ προερημένῃ γυναικὶ, μεγαλομερῇ τὴν περίστασιν ἔχειν ἐν ταῖς γυναικείαις ἐξόδοις, ἀτε σωηκμα- 4 κυίαν τῷ βίῳ καὶ τῇ τύχῃ τῇ Σκιπίωνος· χωρὶς γὰρ τοῦ περὶ τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὴν ἀπήνην κόσμου καὶ τὰ κανὰ καὶ τὰ ποτήρια καὶ τάλλα τὰ πρὸς τὴν θυσίαν, ροτε μὲν ἀργυρᾶ, ροτε δὲ χρυσᾶ, πάντα συνεξηκολούθει κατὰ τὰς ἐπιφανείας ἐξόδους 5 αὑτῆ, τὸ τε τῶν παιδισκῶν καὶ τὸ τῶν οἰκετῶν τῶν παρεπομένων πλῆθος ἀκόλουθον ἢν τούτους. 6 ταύτην δὴ τὴν περικοπῆν ἀπασαν εὐθέως μετὰ τοῦ τῆς Ἀιμιλίας τάφον ἐδωρήσατο τῇ μητρί, . . . 214
however, setting himself to pursue the opposite course of conduct, combating all his appetites and moulding his life to be in every way coherent and uniform, in about the first five years established his universal reputation for strictness and temperance.

In the next place he sedulously studied to distinguish himself from others in magnanimity and cleanliness in money matters. In this respect the part of his life he spent with his real father was an excellent grounding for him, and he had good natural impulses towards the right; but chance too helped him much in carrying out this resolve.

26. The first occasion was the death of the mother of his adoptive father. She was the sister of his own father, Lucius Aemilius, and wife of his grandfather by adoption, the great Scipio. He inherited from her a large fortune and in his treatment of it was to give the first proof of his high principle. This lady whose name was Aemilia, used to display great magnificence whenever she left her house to take part in the ceremonies that women attend, having participated in the fortune of Scipio when he was at the height of his prosperity. For apart from the richness of her own dress and of the decorations of her carriage, all the baskets, cups, and other utensils for the sacrifice were either of gold or silver, and were borne in her train on all such solemn occasions, while the number of maids and men-servants in attendance was correspondingly large. Immediately after Aemilia’s funeral all these splendid appointments were given

\[ ^{a} \text{Lucius Aemilius Paulus.} \]

\[ ^{b} \text{Aemilia, wife of the great Scipio and mother of Publius Cornelius Scipio Africanus, who adopted his cousin the son of L. Aemilius Paulus.} \]
κατά την εὐθείαν. διό τὸν πρὸ τοῦ χρόνου ἀνα-

κεχωρηκυίας αὐτῆς ἐκ τῶν ἐπισήμων ἐξόδων, τότε
κατὰ τὸ χρόνον οὕσης ἐπιφανοῦς καὶ πανδήμου θυσίας,
ἐκπορευμένης αὐτῆς ἐν τῇ τῆς Ἀμυλίας περικοπῇ
καὶ χορηγίᾳ, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους καὶ τῶν ὀρει-
κόμων καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τῆς ἀπήνθησης τῆς αὐτῆς

8 ὑπαρχοῦσης, συνεβή τὰς γυναῖκας θεωμένας τὸ

γεγονός ἐκπλήττεσθαι τὴν τοῦ Σκιπίώνος χρηστο-
tητα καὶ μεγαλοψυχίαν καὶ πάσας προτεινούσας
tὰς χεῖρας εὐχεσθαι τῷ προεἰρημένῳ πολλὰ κα-

9 γαθά. τούτῳ δὲ πανταχῆ μὲν ἂν εἰκότως φαί

νυντι λογικόν, ἐν δὲ Ἦρωμη καὶ θαυμαστῶν ἀπλῶς

γὰρ οὕδεις οὐδενὶ δίδωσι τῶν ἰδίων ὑπαρχόντων

10 ἐκὼν οὐδέν. πρώτῃ μὲν οὖν αὐτῇ καταρχῇ τῆς

ἐπὶ καλοκάγαθρα φήμης αὐτῷ συνεκύρησε καὶ

μεγάλην ἐποίησε προκοπῆν, ἀτε τοῦ τῶν γυναικῶν

gένους καὶ λάλου καὶ κατακοροῦς ὄντος, ἐφ' ὦ τι

ἀν ὁμήρηση.

27 Μετὰ δὲ ταύτα ταῖς Σκιπίώνος μὲν τοῦ μεγάλου

(.xxxii. 13) θυγατράσω, ἀδελφαῖς δὲ τοῦ κατὰ θέσιν πα-
tρόσω, . . . λαβόντος, αὐτὸν ἐδει τὴν ἡμίσειαν ἀπο-

2 δοῦναι τῆς φερνῆς. ὦ γὰρ πατὴρ συνέθετο μὲν

ἐκατέρα τῶν θυγατέρων πεντήκοντα τάλαντα δώ-

3 σεω, τούτων δὲ τὸ μὲν ἡμισο παραχρήμα τοῖς

ἀνδράσιν ἐδωκεν ἡ μήτηρ, τὸ δ' ἡμισο κατέλειπεν

4 ἀποθησάκουσα προσοφειλόμενον, οἶδεν ἐδει τὸν

Σκιπίωνα διαλύειν τούτῳ τὸ χρέος ταῖς τοῦ

5 πατρὸς ἀδελφαῖς. κατὰ δὲ τοὺς Ἦρωμαῖν νό-
mους δέον ἐν τρισὶν ἔτεσιν ἀποδοῦναι τὰ προσ-

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by Scipio to his mother, who had been for many years separated from her husband, and whose means were not sufficient to maintain a state suitable to her rank. Formerly she had kept to her house on the occasion of such functions, and now when a solemn public sacrifice happened to take place, and she drove out in all Aemilia's state and splendour, and when in addition the carriage and pair and the muleteers were seen to be the same, all the women who witnessed it were lost in admiration of Scipio's goodness and generosity and, lifting up their hands, prayed that every blessing might be his. Such conduct would naturally be admired anywhere, but in Rome it was a marvel; for absolutely no one there ever gives away anything to anyone if he can help it. This then was the first origin of his reputation for nobility of character, and it advanced rapidly, for women are fond of talking and once they have started a thing never have too much of it.

27. In the next place he had to pay the daughters of the great Scipio, the sisters of his adoptive father, the half of their portion. Their father had agreed to give each of his daughters fifty talents, and their mother had paid the half of this to their husbands at once on their marriage, but left the other half owing on her death. Thus Scipio had to pay this debt to his father's sisters. According to Roman law the part of the dowry still due had to be paid to the ladies in

* Her name was Papiria.
οφειλόμενα χρήματα τῆς φερνής ταῖς γυναιξὶ, προδοθέντων πρώτων τῶν ἐπίπλων εἰς δέκα
8 μῆνας κατὰ τὸ παρ’ ἐκείνους ἔθος, εὐθέως ὁ Σκι-
pίων συνέταξε τῷ τραπεζίτῃ τῶν εὑκοσι καὶ πέντε
tαλάντων ἐκατέρα ποιήσασθαι τὴν ἀνταπόδοσιν
7 ἐν τοῖς δέκα μησί. τοῦ δὲ Θεβερίου <καὶ> τοῦ
Νασικᾶ Σκιπίωνος, οὗτοι γὰρ ἦσαν ἀνδρεῖς τῶν
προερημένων γυναικῶν, ἀμα τῷ διελθεῖν τοὺς
dέκα μῆνας προσπορευμένων πρὸς τὸν τραπε-
ζίτην καὶ πυθανομένων, εἰ τι συνετέακτο Σκι-
pίων αὐτῷ περὶ τῶν χρημάτων, κάκεινον κελεύ-
οντος αὐτοὺς κομίζεσθαι καὶ ποιούντος τὴν δια-
γραφὴν ἐκατέρω τῶν εὑκοσι καὶ πέντε ταλάντων,
8 ἀγνοεῖν αὐτὸν ἐφασαν· δεῖν γὰρ αὐτοὺς οὐ πάν
κατὰ τὸ παρόν, ἀλλὰ τὸ τρίτον μέρος κομίζεσθαι
9 κατὰ τοὺς νόμους. τοῦ δὲ φάσκοντος οὕτως
αὐτῷ συντεταχέναι τὸν Σκιπίωνα, διαπιστήσαντες
προῆγον ἐπὶ τὸν νεανίσκον, διειληφότες ἐκείνον
10 ἀγνοεῖν. καὶ τοῦτ’ ἐπασχον οὐκ ἀλόγως· οὐ
γὰρ οἶνον πεντήκοντα τάλαντα δοίη τις ἀν ἐν
Ῥώμη πρὸ τρωὼν ἐτῶν, ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ τάλαντον ἐν
11 πρὸ τῆς τεταγμενῆς ἡμέρας· τοιαύτῃ τῆς ἔστι καὶ
τηλικαύτῃ παρά πάντας ἀμα μὲν ἀκρίβεια περὶ
tὸ διάφορον, ἀμα δὲ λυσιτέλεια περὶ τὸν χρόνον.
12 οὐ μὴν ἄλλα προσπορευθέντων αὐτῶν καὶ πυθανο-
μένων πῶς τῷ τραπεζίτῃ συντεταχε, τοῦ δ’
eἰπόντος ἀποδοῦναι πᾶν τὸ χρήμα ταῖς ἀδελφαίς,
ἀγνοεῖν αὐτὸν ἐφασαν, ἀμα τὸ κηδεμονικόν ἐμ-
13 φαντάζετες· ἐξείναι γὰρ αὐτὸν κατὰ τοὺς νόμους
14 χρήσθαι τοῖς διαφόροις ἰκανον ἐτὶ χρόνον. ὦ δὲ
Σκιπίων ἐφησεν ἀγνοεῖν τούτων οὐδὲν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς
μὲν τοὺς ἀλλοτρίους τὴν ἐκ τῶν νόμων ἀκρίβειαν
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three years, the personal property being first handed over within ten months according to Roman usage. But Scipio at once ordered his banker to pay each of them in ten months the whole twenty-five talents. When the ten months had elapsed, and Tiberius Gracchus and Scipio Nasica, who were the husbands of the ladies, applied to the banker and asked him if he had received any orders from Scipio about the money, and when the banker asked them to receive the sum and made out for each of them a transfer of twenty-five talents, they said he was mistaken; for according to law they should not at once receive the whole sum, but only a third of it. But when he told them that these were Scipio's orders, they could not believe it, but went on to call on the young man, under the impression that he was in error. And this was quite natural on their part; for not only would no one in Rome pay fifty talents three years before it was due, but no one would pay one talent before the appointed day; so universal and so extreme is their exactitude about money as well as their desire to profit by every moment of time. However, when they called on Scipio and asked him what orders he had given the banker, and he told them he had ordered him to pay the whole sum to his sisters, they said he was mistaken, at the same time insisting on their care for his interests, since he had the legal right to use the sum for a considerable time yet. Scipio answered that he was quite aware of that, but that while as regards strangers he insisted on the letter
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tηρεῖν, τοῖς δὲ συγγενέσι καὶ φίλοις ἄπλως χρή-
15 σθαί <καὶ> γενναῖως κατὰ δύναμιν. διὸ παρα-
λαμβάνειν αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευσκαν πάν τὸ χρῆμα παρὰ τοῦ
16 τραπεζίτου. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Τεβέριον ταῦτά
ἀκούσαντες ἐπανήγγειλεν σιωπῶντες, καταπεπληγ-
μένου μὲν τὴν τοῦ Σκυπίωνος μεγαλομυχίαν,
κατεγνωκότες δὲ τῆς αὐτῶν μικρολογίας, καί
περ ὄντες οὐδενὸς δεύτερος Ἑρωμαῖοι.

28 Μετὰ δ' ἔτη δύο μεταλλάξαντος τοῦ κατὰ φύσιν
(xxxii. 14) πατρὸς αὐτοῦ Δευκίου καὶ καταλιπόντος κληρο-
νόμους τῆς οὐσίας αὐτῶν τε καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν
Φάβιον, καλὸν τι καὶ μνήμης ἄξιοι ἔποιήσεν. ο' 
2 γὰρ Δευκίου ὑπάρχων ἀτεκνὸς διὰ τὸ τοὺς <μὲν>
eἰς ἐτέρας οἰκίας ἐκδεδόθαι, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ύιοὺς,
οὗ ἐτρέφε διαδόχους [καὶ] τοῦ γένους, πάντας
3 μετηλλαχέαναι, τούτους ἀπέλιπε τὴν οὐσίαν. ὁ 
δὲ Σκυπίων θεωρῶν αὐτοῦ τὸν ἀδελφὸν κατα-
δεέστερον ὄντα τοῖς ὑπάρχουσιν ἐξεχώρησεν πάντων
τῶν ὑπαρχόντων, οὕτως τῆς ἄλλης τιμῆσεις ὑπὲρ
ἐξήκοντα τάλαντα, διὰ τὸ μέλλειν οὕτως ἵσον
ὑπάρχειν αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν τὸν Φάβιον.
4 γενομένου δὲ τούτου περιβοήτου, προσέθηκεν
ἐτερον τούτω δειγμα τῆς αὐτοῦ προαιρέσεως
5 ἐμφανέστερον. βουλομένου γὰρ τάδελφον μονο-
μαχίας ἐπὶ τῷ πατρὶ ποιεῖν, οὐ δυναμένου δὲ
δέξασθαι τὴν δαπάνην διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἀνα-
λισκομένων χρημάτων, καὶ ταύτης τὴν ἡμίσειαν
6 εἰσήγεικεν ὁ Σκυπίων ἡκ τῆς ίδιας οὐσίας. ἔστι
δ' οὐκ ἐλάττων ἡ σύμπασα τριάκοντα ταλάντων,
7 εάν τις μεγαλομερῶς ποῦ. . . φήμης περὶ αὐ-
8 τοῦ <διαδιδομένης, μετήλλαξεν ἡ μήτηρ. ὁ δὲ
τοσοῦτον ἀπέσχε τοῦ κομίσασθαι <τι> ὃν πρότερον
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of the law, he behaved as far as he could in an informal and liberal way to his relatives and friends. He therefore begged them to accept the whole sum from the banker. Tiberius and Nasica on hearing this went away without replying, astounded at Scipio's magnanimity and abashed at their own meanness, although they were second to none in Rome.

28. Two years later, when his own father Aemilius died, and left him and his brother Fabius heirs to his estate, he again acted in a noble manner deserving of mention. Aemilius was childless, as he had given some of his sons to be adopted by other families and those whom he had kept to succeed him were dead, and he therefore left his property to Scipio and Fabius. Scipio, knowing that his brother was by no means well off, gave up the whole inheritance, which was estimated at more than sixty talents, to him in order that Fabius might thus possess a fortune equal to his own. This became widely known, and he now gave an even more conspicuous proof of his generosity. His brother wished to give a gladiatorial show on the occasion of his father's funeral, but was unable to meet the expense, which was very considerable, and Scipio contributed the half of it out of his own fortune. The total expense of such a show amounts to not less than thirty talents if it is done on a generous scale. While the report of this was still fresh, his mother died, and Scipio, far from taking back any of the
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...
BOOK XXXI. 28. 8 – 29. 3

gifts I mentioned above, gave the whole of it and the residue of his mother's property to his sisters, who had no legal claim to it. So that again when his sisters had thus come into the processional furniture and all the establishment of Aemilia, the fame of Scipio for magnanimity and family affection was again revived.

Having thus from his earliest years laid the foundations of it, Publius Scipio advanced in his pursuit of this reputation for temperance and nobility of character. By the expenditure of perhaps sixty talents—for that was what he had bestowed from his own property—his reputation for the second of these virtues was firmly established, and he did not attain his purpose so much by the largeness of the sums he gave as by the seasonableness of the gift and the gracious manner in which he conferred it. His reputation for temperance cost him nothing, but by abstaining from many and varied pleasures he gained in addition that bodily health and vigour which he enjoyed for the whole of his life, and which by the many pleasures of which it was the cause amply rewarded him for his former abstention from common pleasures.

29. It remained for him to gain a reputation for courage, nearly the most essential virtue in all states and especially so in Rome; and for this the training required of him was correspondingly severe. Chance, however, assisted him also in this determination. For the members of the royal house of Macedon had always been devoted to hunting, and the Macedonians had reserved the most suitable
πρὸς τὴν τῶν θηρίων συναγωγήν, ταῦτα συνέβη τὰ χωρία τετηρήθασι μὲν ἔπιμελῶς, καθάπερ καὶ πρότερον, πάντα τὸν τοῦ πολέμου χρόνον, κεκυνηγήθασιν ἔνδει μηδέποτε τῶν τεττάρων ἔτῶν διὰ τούς περισσαμούς. ἦ καὶ θηρίων ὑπῆρχε πλήρη παντοδαπῶν. τοῦ δὲ πολέμου λαβόντος κρίσιν, ὁ Λεύκιος καλλίστην ὑπολαμβάνων καὶ τὴν ἁσκησιν καὶ τὴν ψυχαγωγίαν ὑπάρχειν τοὺς νέους τὴν περὶ τὰ κυνηγεία, τοὺς τε κυνηγούς συνέστησε τοὺς βασιλικοὺς τῷ Σκιτίων καὶ τὴν ἔξοισιαν τὴν περὶ τὰ κυνηγεία παρέδωκε τούτω πάσαιν ἤς ἐπιλαβόμενος ὁ προερημένος καὶ νομίσας οἴονεί βασιλεύειν, ἐν τούτῳ κατεγίνετο πάντα τὸν χρόνον, ὅσον ἐπέμενε τὸ στρατόπεδον μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἐν τῇ Μακεδονίᾳ. γενομένης δὲ μεγάλης ἐνθουσιάσεως περὶ τούτῳ τὸ μέρος, ὡς κατὰ τῇ ἡλικίᾳ ἀκμαίως ἔχοντος αὐτοῦ καὶ κατὰ φύσιν οἰκείως διακειμένου, καθάπερ εὐγενοῦς σκύλακος, ἐπάρμοσον αὐτοῦ συνέβη γε· νέαθαι τὴν περὶ τὰς κυνηγείας ὀρμήν. διὸ καὶ παραγενόμενοι εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην καὶ προσλαβὼν τὸν τοῦ Πολυβίου πρὸς τούτῳ τὸ μέρος ἐνθουσιασμόν, ἐφ’ ὅσον οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν νέων περὶ τὰς κρίσεις καὶ τοὺς χαρετισμοὺς ἐσπούδαζον, κατὰ τῇ ἄγοραν ποιούμενοι τὴν διατριβήν, καὶ διὰ τούτων συνιστάνει ἑαυτοὺς ἐπειρώντο τοῖς πολλοῖς, ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ὁ Σκιτίων ἐν ταῖς κυνηγείαις ἀναπτρεφόμενος καὶ λαμπρὸν ἄεὶ τι ποιῶν καὶ μνήμης· ἔξων καλλίως δόξαν ἐξεφέρετο τῶν ἄλλων. οἷς μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἦν ἐπαίνον τυχεῖν, εἰ μὴ βλάψαειν τινα τῶν πολιτῶν· ὁ γὰρ τῶν κρίσεων τρόπος τούτω ἐπιφέρειν εἶσθεν· ὁ δ’ ἀπλῶς οὐδένα λυπών
areas for breeding game. These districts during the war had been as carefully preserved as formerly, but had never been hunted for four years owing to the exigencies of the times, so that there was an abundance of big game of every kind. When the war had been brought to a conclusion, Aemilius, thinking that hunting was the best training and amusement for the young men, placed the royal huntsmen at Scipio’s disposal, and gave him complete control over the preserves. Scipio, availing himself of this and regarding himself as being nearly in the position of king, spent the whole time that the army remained in Macedonia after the battle of Pydna in this pursuit, and, as he became a very enthusiastic sportsman, being of the right age and physique for such an exercise, like a well-bred dog, this taste of his for hunting became permanent. So that when he arrived in Rome and when he found in Polybius one equally devoted to the chase, all the time that other young men gave up to law affairs and greetings, spending the whole day in the forum and thus trying to court the favour of the populace, Scipio was occupied by the chase, and by his brilliant and memorable exploits, acquired a higher reputation than anyone. For the others could not win praise except by injuring some of their fellow-citizens, this being the usual consequence of prosecutions in the law courts; but Scipio, without ever vexing a soul, gained this
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12 πρὸς λόγον ἀμιλλώμενος. τοιγαροῦν ὁλίγων χρόνων τοσοῦτον παρέδραμε τοὺς καθ' αὐτὸν ὅσον οὐδεὶς πω μνημονεύεται Ἦρωμαιῶν, καὶ πέρι τὴν ἑναντίαν ὁδὸν πορευθεὶς ἐν φιλοδοξίᾳ τοῖς ἀλλοῖς ἀπασὶ πρὸς τὰ Ἦρωμαιῶν ἐθη καὶ νόμιμα.

30 Ἔγὼ δὲ πλείω πεποίημαι λόγον ύπὲρ τῆς (xxxii. 16) Σκιτίωνος αἱρέσεως ἐκ τῆς πρώτης ἡλικίας, ἰδείαν μὲν ὑπολαμβάνων εἶναι τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις, ὀφελμὸν δὲ τοῖς νέοις τὴν τοιαύτην ἱστορίαν,

2 μᾶλλον δὲ βουλόμενος πίστιν παρασκευάζειν τοῖς λέγεσθαι μέλλουσι ἐν ταῖς ἐξῆς βύβλοις περὶ αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸ μήτε διαπορεῖν τοὺς ἀκούοντας διὰ τὸ παράδοξα των φανήσεσθαι τῶν συμβαι-

3 νόντων μετὰ ταῦτα περὶ αὐτοῦ, μητ' ἀφαιρο-

μένους τάνδρος <τὰ> κατὰ λόγον γεγονότα κατ-

ορθώματα τῇ τύχῃ προσάπτειν, ἀγνοοῦντας τὰς αἰτίας, ἐξ ὧν ἕκαστα συνέβη γενέσθαι, πλὴν τελέως ὁλίγων, ἃ δὲ Μόνα προσάπτειν τῇ τύχῃ καὶ ταυτομάτῳ.

4 Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἡμεῖς διεληλυθότες κατὰ τὴν παρέκβασιν αὕθες ἐπάνωμεν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκτροπὴν τῆς ὕποκειμένης διηγήσεως.

X. RES GRAECIAE

31 "Οτι 'Ρόδιοι τάλλα σώζοντες τὴν τοῦ πολιτεύ-

(25) (17a) ματος προστασίαν βραχὺ παρώλυσθον ἐν τούτοις τοῖς καίροις, ὡς ἐμῇ δόξα: ἐπεδέξαντο γὰρ σῖτου μυριάδας ὡκτῶ καὶ εἴκοσι παρ' Εὔμενοις χάριν τοῦ τὸ λογευθὲν ἐκ τούτων δανειζέσθαι, τὸν δὲ 226
universal reputation for courage, matching his deeds against their words. So that in a short space of time he had outstripped his contemporaries more than is recorded of any other Roman, although the path he pursued to gain glory was quite the opposite of that followed by all others in accordance with Roman usage and custom.

30. I have spoken at such length of the development of Scipio's character from his earliest years partly because I thought the story would be agreeable to those advanced in years and salutary for the young, but chiefly in order to secure credence for all I shall have to tell of him in the Books which follow, so that readers may neither hesitate to accept as true anything in his subsequent life that seems astonishing nor depriving the man himself of the credit of his meritorious achievements put them down to chance from ignorance of the true cause of each. There were some few exceptions which we may assign to good luck and chance.

After this long digression I will now resume my regular narrative.

X. Affairs of Greece

The Rhodians and Eumenes

31. The Rhodians, while in other respects maintaining the dignity of their state, slightly deviated from it at this time, in my opinion, by accepting from Eumenes 280,000 medimni of corn for the purpose of lending out the proceeds and applying the interest to
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tόκον εἰς τοὺς μισθοὺς ὑπάρχειν τοῖς παιδευταῖς
2 καὶ διδασκάλοις τῶν νιῶν. τοῦτο δὲ, στενο-
χωρίας μὲν ὑπαρχοῦσης καθάπαξ ἐπὶ τῶν κατ'
ιδιαν βίων, ᾧς ἂν ἐπιδεξαύτο τις παρὰ τῶν
φίλων ἕνεκα τοῦ μὴ περικεῖν ἀπαίδευτα γενό-
μενα τὰ τέκνα διὰ τὴν ἀπορίαν εὐκαιρῶν δὲ
tῶ βιῶν πάν ἂν τις ὑπομείναι μάλλον ἡ τὸν διδά-
μενον τοῖς διδασκάλοις μισθὸν ἑρανίζεσθαι παρὰ
3 τῶν φίλων. ὅσω δὲ μείζον δεὶ πολιτείαν ἰδιῶτον
φρονεῖν, τοσώδε καὶ τὸ πρέπον ἐπὶ τῶν πολιτικῶν
μάλλον ἡ τῶν ἰδίων τηρητέων, 'Ροδίοις δὲ καὶ
tελέως διὰ τε τὴν εὐκαιρίαν τὴν ἐν τοῖς κοινοῖς
καὶ τὴν ἐπίφασιν τῆς σεμνότητος.

XI. Res Asiae

32 Ὅτι κατὰ τὴν 'Ασιὰν Προυσίας μὲν ἐξέπεμψεν
(xxxii. 3) εἰς τὴν 'Ρώμην πρεσβευτὰς μετὰ Γαλατῶν τοὺς
2 κατηγορήσοντας Εὐμένους, οὗτος δὲ πάλιν τῶν
ἀδελφὸν 'Ατταλον ἐξαπέστειλεν ἀπολογισμόμενον
3 πρὸς τὰς διαβολάς. Ἀριαράθης δὲ τῇ τε 'Ρώμη
στέφανον ἀπὸ χρυσῶν μυρίων ἐπεμψε καὶ πρε-
σβευτὰς τοὺς διασαφήσοντας τῇ συγκλήτῳ τὴν
πρὸς τὸν Τεβέριον ἀπάντησιν αὐτοῦ καὶ καθόλου
παρακαλέσοντας διασαφεῖν ὑπὲρ ὧν ἂν δέωνται,
διότι πάν ποιήσειν ἔτομος ἐστὶ 'Ρωμαίοις τὸ παρ-
αγγελλόμενον.

33 Ὅτι τοῦ Μηνοχάρους παραγενηθέντος εἰς τὴν
(xxxii. 4) 'Αντιόχειαν πρὸς Δημήτριον καὶ διασαφήσαντος
2 τῷ βασιλεῖ τὴν γεγενημένην ἐντεύξιν αὐτῷ πρὸς
τοὺς περὶ Τεβέριον ἐν τῇ Καππαδοκία, νομίσας
ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀναγκαιότατον εἶναι τῶν παρόντων
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the payment of the salaries of the tutors and teachers of their sons. Such a gift might perhaps be accepted from his friends by a private person who found himself in temporary straits in order not to allow his children to remain untaught through poverty, but the last thing that anyone in affluent circumstances would submit to would be to go a-begging among his friends for money to pay teachers. And, as a state should have more pride than a private person, more strict propriety of conduct should be observed in public transactions than in private, and especially by the Rhodians owing to the wealth of the community and their noted sense of dignity.

XI. Affairs of Asia

32. In Asia, Prusias and the Galatians dispatched envoys to Rome to accuse Eumenes, and that prince sent his brother Attalus to defend him against the charges. Ariarathes sent a "crown" of a thousand gold pieces to the goddess Rome and envoys to inform the senate of his reply to Tiberius, begging them to point out to him what they required of him, as he was ready to comply with all the commands of the Romans.

Submission of Demetrius

33. When Menochares reached Demetrius at Antioch and informed him of his interview with Tiberius Gracchus in Cappadocia, the king, thinking that the most urgent thing for the present was to
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tο τούς προειρημένους ἀνδρας ἐξομιλήσαι καθ’
3 ὅσον οἷός τ’ ἦν, πάντα τάλλα πάρεργα ποιησάμενος
diεπέμπετο πρὸς τούτους, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον εἰς
Παμφυλίαν, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πάλιν εἰς Ῥόδον,
pάντα ποιήσεν Ῥωμαίοις ἀναδεχόμενος, ἔως
ἐξειργάσατο βασιλεύς ὑπ’ αὐτῶν προσαγορεύν-
4θῆναι. καὶ γὰρ ἦν ὁ Τεβέριος εὕνους αὐτῶ
διαφερόντως· διὸ καὶ μεγάλα συνεβάλετο πρὸς τὸ
καθικέσθαι καὶ κτήσασθαι τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν
5 αὐτῶν. ὁ δὲ Δημήτριος τυχὼν τῆς προειρή-
μένης ἀφορμῆς εὐθέως εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἔπεμπε
πρεσβευτὰς στέφανον τε κομίζοντας καὶ τὸν
αὐτόχειρα τοῦ Γναίου γεγονότα καὶ σὺν τούτοις
tὸν κριτικὸν Ἰσοκράτην.
BOOK XXXI. 33. 2–5

talk over Tiberius as far as he could, treated other matters as of secondary importance and sent messages to Tiberius first to Pamphylia and next to Rhodes, engaging to submit entirely to Rome, and finally succeeded in getting himself recognized as king. Tiberius indeed was very kindly disposed to Demetrius, and therefore contributed much to the success of his efforts and his establishment on the throne. Demetrius having thus gained his object, at once sent envoys to Rome conveying a present of a "crown," as well as the murderer of Gnaeus Octavius and the critic Isocrates.
FRAGMENTA LIBRI XXXII

I. Res Italiae

1 "Оти ката тон кайрον τούτον ἵκον παρ’ Ἀρια-(5) ράθου πρέσβεισ στέφανον τε κομιζοντες ἀπὸ μυρίων χρυσῶν καὶ διασαφοῦντες τὴν τοῦ βασι-
λέως προαίρεσιν, ἥν ἔχει πρὸς τὰ Ρωμαιῶν
2 πράγματα, ... καὶ τούτων μάρτυρας ἐπήγγοντο
3 τοὺς περὶ τὸν Τεβέριον. ὃν ἀνθομολογησαμένων ἡ σύγκλητος τὸν τε στέφανον ἀπεδέξατο μετὰ μεγάλης χάριτος καὶ τὰ μέγιστα τῶν παρ’ αὐτῆ
νομιζομένων δῷρων ἀνταπέστειλε, τὸν τε σκίπωνα
4 καὶ τὸν ἐλεφάντινου δίρρον. τούτους μὲν οὖν ἐξ αὐτῆς ἐτὶ πρὸ τοῦ χειμῶνος ἀπέλυσεν ἡ σύγ-
5 κλητος. μετὰ δὲ τούτους Ἀττάλου παραγενθέντος, ἢδη τῶν ὑπάτων τὰς ἀρχὰς εἰληφότων, καὶ τῶν Γαλατῶν αὐτοῦ κατηγορησάντων, οὐς
6 ἀπεστάλκει Προουσίας, <καὶ> πλειόνων ἐτέρων ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀσίας, διακούσασα πάντων ἡ σύγκλητος
οὐ μόνον ἀπέλυσε τῶν διαβολῶν τὸν Ἀττάλον,
ἀλλὰ καὶ προσαυξήσασα τοῖς φιλανθρώποις ἐξ-
7 απέστειλε· καθ’ ὅσον γὰρ ἀπηλλοτρίωτο τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ διεφέρετο πρὸς τὸν Εὐμένη, κατὰ
tοσοῦτον ἐφιλοποιεῖτο καὶ συνήξε τὸν Ἀττάλον.
I. Affairs of Italy

Embassies of Ariarathes and Attalus

1. At this time arrived the envoys from Ariarathes 160-159 B.C. bringing the "crown" of ten thousand gold pieces, and informing the senate of the king's friendly mind towards Rome. They appealed for this to the testimony of Tiberius, and when the latter confirmed what they said, the senate accepted the crown with many thanks and sent in return the most honourable gifts that they are used to bestow, the sceptre and the ivory chair. These envoys were let go by the senate at once, before the beginning of winter, and afterwards when the consuls had already entered on office, Attalus presented himself. When the Galatians sent by Prusias and several other envoys from Asia accused Attalus, the senate, after giving them all a hearing, not only dismissed the charges, but sent Attalus back loaded with kindesses. For the greater their estrangement from Eumenes and their hostility to him, the more did they court the friendship of Attalus and strengthen his power.
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

2 Ὡτι ἢκον καὶ παρὰ τοῦ Δημητρίου τοῦ βασι-
(6) λέως πρέσβεις οἱ περὶ τὸν Μηνοχάρην, στέφανον
ἀπὸ μυρίων χρυσῶν τῇ 'Ρώμῃ κομίζοντες, ἀμα
dὲ καὶ τὸν προσενέγκαντα τῷ Γναίῳ τὰς χεῖρας
2 ἄγοντες. ἢ δὲ σύγκλιτος ἐπὶ πολύν μὲν χρόνον
dιηπόρησε περὶ τούτων πῶς δὲὶ χρήσασθαι τοῖς
3 πράγμασιν, ὦμως δὲ προσεδέξατο καὶ τοὺς πρε-
σβευτὰς καὶ τὸν στέφανον τοὺς γε μὴν ἀγομένους
4 ἀνθρώπους οὐ προσεδέξατο. καὶ τοῖς γε Δη-
mήτριοι οὐ μόνον τὸν Λεπτίνην ἀπέστειλε τὸν
αὐτόχειρα τοῦ Γναίου γενόμενον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν
5 Ἰσοκράτην. οὕτως δ' ἦν μὲν γραμματικὸς τῶν
τὰς ἀκροάσεις ποιομένων, φύσει δ' ὁν λάλος
καὶ πέρπερος καὶ κατακορής προσέκοπτε μὲν
καὶ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, ἀτε καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἀλκαῖον
ἐν ταῖς Συγκρίσεωι ἐπιδεξίως σκωπτόντων αὐτόν
6 καὶ διαχλευαζόντων, παραγεγόμενος δ' εἰς τὴν
Συρίαν καὶ καταφρονήσας τῶν ἀνθρώπων οὐκ
ήρκειτο περὶ τῶν ἱδίων ἐπιτηδευμάτων ποιοῦ-
7 μενος τοὺς λόγους, ἀλλὰ καὶ πραγματικὰς ἀπο-
φάσεις ἐξέβαλε, φάσκων δίκαια πεποιθέναι τὸν
Γναίον, δεῖν δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους προσβευτὰς
ἀπολωλέναι πρὸς τὸ μηδὲ τὸν ἀγγελοῦντα κατα-
λειφθῆναι τοῖς Ῥωμαῖοις τὸ γεγονός, ἢν παὐ-
σωνται τῶν ὑπερηφάνων ἐπιταγμάτων καὶ τῆς
8 ἀνέδην ἐξουσίας. τοιαῦτα μὲν οὖν ρυπολογῶν
ἐνέπεσεν εἰς τὴν προειρημένην ἀτυχίαν.

3 Ἐγένετο δὲ τι περὶ τοὺς προειρημένους ἄξιον
(7) 2 μνήμης. ο μὲν γὰρ Λεπτίνης μετὰ τὸ προσε-
νεγκείν Γναίῳ τὰς χεῖρας εὐθέως ἐν τῇ Λαοδικείᾳ
περιήγη φανερῶς, φάσκων δίκαια πεποιηκέναι
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Embellies from Demetrius

2. Envoys headed by Menochares also came from King Demetrius bringing the "crown" of ten thousand gold pieces dedicated to Rome, and with the assassin of Gnaeus Octavius in their custody. The senate remained long in doubt as to how to deal with the matter, but nevertheless they received the crown and the envoys. They did not, however, take over the men who were in custody. And yet Demetrius had not only sent Leptines, the murderer of Gnaeus, but also Isocrates. This man was one of those grammarians who declaim in public, and being by nature a chatterbox, a braggart, and a bore, had given offence in Greece also, where Alcaeus had very cleverly taken him off and made fun of him in his *Comparisons*, and when he came to Syria and conceived a contempt for the inhabitants, he was not satisfied with holding forth on his own subjects, but gave vent to pronouncements on public affairs, saying that Gnaeus had met with his deserts, and that the other legates should have been killed also, so that not one should be left to report the matter to the Romans, and this would put a stop to their haughty orders and their unrestrained exercise of power. It was by these incautious utterances that he got himself into trouble as I have stated.

3. What happened in regard to these two men is worth mentioning. Leptines, after he had murdered Gnaeus, at once began to go about in Laodicea quite openly, saying that he had done rightly and with the

\* Probably an Epicurean philosopher and writer of this name.
καὶ μετὰ τῆς τῶν θεῶν γνώμης ταῦτα πεπραχέναι.
3 τοῦ δὲ Δημητρίου παραλαβόντος τὰ πράγματα, προσεπορεύετο τῷ βασιλεῖ, παρακαλῶν αὐτὸν
μὴ δεδιέναι ἵνα τὸν Γναῖον φόνον μηδὲ βου-
λεύσθαι μηδὲν δυσχερὲς κατὰ τῶν Λαοδικέων.
4 αὐτὸς γὰρ εἰς τὴν Ἡρώμην πορεύσεσθαι καὶ διδά-
ξειν τὴν σύγκλητον ὅτι μετὰ τῆς τῶν θεῶν γνώμης
ταῦτα πεποίηκεν. καὶ πέρας διὰ τὴν ἐτοιμότητα
καὶ προθυμίαν αὐτὸς μὲν ἀνευ δεσμῶν ἤχθη καὶ
6 φυλακῆς, ὁ δὲ Ἰσοκράτης ἐμπεσὼν εἰς τὴν αὐτίαν
όλοσχερῶς παρεξέστη τῇ διανοίᾳ. τοῦ κλοιοῦ
δ' αὐτῷ περὶ τὸν πράξαν περιτεθέντος καὶ τῆς
ἀλύσεως, σπανίως μὲν καὶ τὴν τροφὴν προσέτε,
tῆς δὲ τοῦ σώματος θεραπείας εἰς τέλος ἀπέστη.
7 διὸ καὶ παρεγένετ' εἰς τὴν Ἡρώμην θέαμα θαμα-
σιον, εἰς ὅπως ἀποβλέψας ἃν τις ὀμολογήσειν διότι
καὶ κατὰ σῶμα καὶ κατὰ ψυχὴν οὔδὲν ἐστιν
ἀνθρώπου φοβερότερον, ὅταν ἀπαξ ἀποθηρωθῇ.
8 ἢ τε γὰρ ὅψις ἐκτόπως ἢν αὐτοῦ φοβερὰ καὶ
θηριώδης, ὡς ἂν πλεῖον ἐνιαυτὸ μὴ τῶν ρύπων,
9 μὴ τοὺς ὀνύχας, μὴ τὰς τρίχας ἀφηρημένου, τὰ
τε κατὰ τὴν διάνοιαν ἐκ τῆς τῶν ὀμμάτων
ἐμφάσεως καὶ κινήσεως τουαύτην ἐποιεῖτο τὴν
φαντασίαν ὡστε τὸν θεωσάμενον πρὸς πᾶν ζῶον
10 ἐτοιμότερον ἢν προσελθεῖν ἢ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον. ὁ
δὲ Λεπτῖνος μένων ἐπὶ τῆς ἐς ἄρχησε προαιρέσεσ
εἰς τε τὴν σύγκλητον ἐτοιμὸς ἦν εἰσπορεύεσθαι
πρὸς τε τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας ἀπλῶς ἀνθωμολο-
γεῖτο περὶ τῆς πράξεως, καὶ προσδιωρίζετο
μὴδὲν αὐτῷ δυσχερὲς ἀπαντήσεων ὑπὸ Ἡρωμαῖων.
11 καὶ τέλος εὐστόχησε τῆς ἐλπίδος· ἢ γὰρ σύγ-
κλητος, ὡς ἢμοι δοκεῖν, ὑπολαβοῦσα διότι δόξει
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favour of Heaven. Upon the accession of Demetrius he approached the king and begged him to have no fear owing to the murder of Gnaeus, and to take no vigorous steps against the Laodiceans. "For I, myself," he said, "will go to Rome and convince the senate that I did the deed by the will of the gods." And finally, owing to his readiness and eagerness to go, he was brought to Rome unfettered and without a guard. But Isocrates, as soon as he found himself accused, completely lost his wits, and after the collar with its chain had been put on his neck, seldom took any food and entirely left off taking any care of his person. So that when he arrived in Rome he was a wonderful spectacle, and when one looked at him one could not but confess that there is nothing more terrible in body and soul than a man once he has become absolutely like a beast. For both his aspect was strangely terrifying and beastlike, as for more than a year he had neither washed nor cut his nails and hair; and the disorder of his mind, as was evident from the expression and rolling of his eyes, impressed one with such terror, that anyone who looked at him would have been readier to approach any beast than this man. Leptines, however, maintaining his original attitude, was ready to appear before the senate, and confessed his crime quite simply to those who conversed with him, maintaining at the same time that the Romans would not deal severely with him. And he proved to be quite right. For the senate, taking into consideration, as it seems to me, that the
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toîs polloîs èxeiν toû fôvou dîkhn, ènâ tôus aîtîous paralabôsas tîmôrîhstai, tôutous mên
12 ou proseôdèxiato mikroî deîn, ètîrhei de tîn aîtîan âkérâioun, òst' èxeiν èzousiâν, ôte boulîthièi,
13 xhrîsaðhâi toîs ègklîhmasi. diô kai tîn âpôkriwv êdôkki toîaûtîn tîô Dêmîtrîw, diôti teûzetai
tîwv fîlanvðrîwv, èdâ tô ìkâvôn poïî tî suγ-
kliâtw kâta tîn tîs ârkhîs èzousiâv.
14 *Hkîn dê kai parâ tôw 'Akhaiwv prêsbêis oi
pêri Êvûwvna kai Tîlekîlênh ùpêr tôwv kâitnai-
mênwv, kai málwta tôo Polybîwv kai tôo Sтра-
tîwv xârîw. tôus mên gâp loîtpous sîxêdn àpântas
ô krîwos ñdà katanalâwkei, tôus ñe ðî kai mnîmîs
16 àxîous. parhîsan d' òi prêsbêis èntolâs êxontes
âplôs àxiwmatîkâs xârîw tôu prôs mîdên ânti-
17 filoûnikêiwn tî suγklîhtw. eîspôrëvðêtwn dê kai
povshamênwv tôus àrmôzontas lògous, ouð' ìsw
oudên ëvûsthî, tô d' ènântîwv ëdôxê tî suγklîhtw
mêneîn èpî tôwv ùpôkeimênwv.

II. Res Graeciae

4 "Òti Lûkîskouv tôo Aîtwloû tåraxôdos òntos
(19) (20 ) kai thôrûbôdos, ânairêtêntos dê toûtoû, tô
êxîs òi Aîtwloû òmôfrônîsâv kai òmônoûsâv
2 ènôs ànvrîwv påraxwðrîsântos: tîlikauîth tîs
èstw, òs èoike, dûnâmès èn taîs tôwv ànvrîwv
fûsêswn, òstî mîpì mónov stratôpêda kai póleis,
alla kai tôs ëvnikàs suvstâseis kai tôs òlo-
schereîs diâfôràs tîs oîkouvûnhîs di' ènôs ànvrîs
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people would think that the murder was avenged, if those guilty of it were given up and punished, scarcely gave a reception to these envoys, but kept the grievance open so as to have the power to make use of the accusations when they wished. The reply, therefore, that they gave to Demetrius was simply this, that he would meet with kindness from them, if his conduct during his reign was satisfactory to the senate.

There also came from Achaea an embassy consisting of Xenon and Telecles to plead in favour of the accused Achaeans and chiefly on behalf of Polybius and Stratius. For most of the rest, at least those of any note, had already paid their debt to time. The envoys came with orders simply to present a request to avoid anything like a dispute with the senate. They appeared before the house and addressed it in suitable language, but even this had no result, the senate deciding on the contrary to leave matters as they were.

II. Affairs of Greece

Aetolia after the Death of Lyciscus

4. Lyciscus the Aetolian was a turbulent and noisy man, and after he was slain, the Aetolians from this time forward lived in unison and concord, simply owing to the removal of this one man. So great it seems is the power exercised by men’s natures that not only armies and cities, but national groups and in fact all the different peoples which compose the
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ἀρετήν καὶ κακίαν ποτὲ μὲν τῶν μεγίστων κακῶν
ποτὲ δὲ τῶν μεγίστων ἀγαθῶν πείραν λαμβάνειν.

3 Ὅτι Δυκίσκος κάκιστος ὥν καλῶς κατέστρεψε
tὸν βίον, ὡστε τοὺς πλείστους εἰκότως ὀνειδίζειν
τῇ τύχῃ διότι <τὸ> τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν ἄθλον
tὴν εὐθανασίαν τοῖς χειρίστοις ἐνίοτε περιτίθησιν.

5 Ὅτι τὰ κατὰ τὴν Αἰτωλίαν καλῶς διετέθη,
(20) (21) κατεσβεσμένης ἐν αὐτοῖς τῆς ἐμφύλειν στάσεως
2 μετὰ τὸν Δυκίσκου θάνατον, καὶ Μνασίππου τοῦ
Κορωναίου μεταλλάξαντος τὸν βίον βελτίων ἢ
ἡ διάθεσις κατὰ τὴν Βουωτίαν, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ
kατὰ τὴν Ἀκαρνανίαν Ἑρέμα γεγονότος ἐκποδών.
3 σχεδὸν γὰρ ὡςανεὶ καθαρμόν τυνα συνέβη γενέσθαι
tῆς Ἑλλάδος, τῶν ἀληθήρων αὐτῆς ἐκ τοῦ ζῆν
4 μεθισταμένων. καὶ γὰρ καὶ τὸν Ἡπειρῶτην
Χάροπτα συνεκύρησε κατὰ τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν τοῦτον
5 ἐν Βρεντεσίῳ μεταλλάξαι τὸν βίον. τὰ δὲ κατὰ
tὴν Ἡπειρον ἐτ ἐν ἀκαταστασίαις ἢ καὶ ταρα-
χαῖς, ὡς κατὰ τοὺς ἐπάνω χρόνους, διὰ τὴν
Χάροπτος ὑμότητα καὶ παρανομίαν, εξ οὐ συνέβη
6 τελεσθῆναι τὸν πρὸς Περσέα πόλεμον. μετὰ
<γὰρ> τὸ κατακρίναι Δεύκιον Ἀνίκιον καὶ <Δεύ-
κιον Αἰμίλιον ἀνελεῖν> τοὺς μὲν τῶν ἐπιφανῶν
ἀνδρῶν, τοὺς δὲ ἀπαγαγεῖν εἰς τὴν Ὀἰμυν, ὥσιν
7 καὶ βραχεῖαν ὑποβιών εἶχον, τότε λαβῶν ὁ Χάρος
τὴν ἑξοσίαν ὁ βούλοιτο πράττειν, ὡς ἐστὶ τῶν
δεινῶν ὀποίον ὡς ἑποίει, τὰ μὲν δὲ αὐτοῦ, τὰ
dὲ διὰ τῶν φίλων, ἄτε νέος μὲν ὃν αὐτὸς κομιδῆ,
whole world, experience the extremities sometimes of misfortune and sometimes of prosperity, owing to the good or bad character of a single man.

Lyciscus was a thoroughly bad man but he ended his life nobly, so that most people reasonably upbraid Fortune, in that she sometimes grants to the worst men that fine death which is the guerdon due to the good and brave.

Career of Charops in Epirus

5. The condition of Aetolia at once improved when their civil broils were extinguished after the death of Lyciscus, and the state of affairs became much better also in Boeotia, when Mnasippus of Coronea had departed this life, and in Acarnania again the same took place when Chremas was removed. We may almost say, in fact that Greece underwent a sort of purgation by the deaths of these men who had been her curse. For it happened that Charops of Epirus also ended his days at Brundisium during this year. Epirus, however, remained still as in the preceding years in a very unsettled and disturbed state, all due to the cruelty and lawless violence exercised by Charops ever since the end of the war with Perseus. For after the decision of Lucius Anicius and Lucius Aemilius to put some of the notables to death and transport to Rome all those who had incurred the least suspicion, Charops, being now at liberty to do what he wished, committed every kind of crime either personally or through his friends,
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συνδεδραμηκότων δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν τῶν χειρόστων καὶ τῶν εἰκαστάτων ἀνθρώπων διὰ τὸν ἓκ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων νοσημόν. εἰχε δ’ οἷον ἐφεδρείαν καὶ ῥοπὴν πρὸς τὸ πιστεύεσθαι διότι πράττει κατὰ τινά λόγον ἁ ποιεῖ καὶ μετὰ τῆς Ῥωμαίων γνώμης τὴν τε προϋπάρχουσαν αὐτῷ σύστασιν πρὸς τοὺς προειρημένους καὶ πρὸς ταύτην Μύρτωνα προεβυθῆν ἀνθρωπον καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ Νικάνορα,

10 τὰλλα τε μετρίους ἀνθρώπους καὶ δοκοῦντας εἶναι Ῥωμαίων φίλους, οἱ πολὺ τι κεχωρισμένοι τὸν πρὸ τοῦ χρόνου ἀπάσης ἀδικίας οὐκ οἶδ’ ὅπως τότε συνεπέδωκαν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ συνεπιστρέφει καὶ κοινωνεῖν ταῖς τοῦ Χάρτοπος ἀνομίαις.

11 ἐπειδὴ δ’ ὁ προειρημένος τοὺς μὲν κατὰ τὴν ἀγοράν ἀναφανδὸν ἐφόνευσε, τοὺς δ’ ἐν ταῖς ἰδίαις οἰκίαις, ἔνιοις δ’ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγρῶν καὶ κατὰ τὰς ὁδοὺς ἐπαποστέλλων ἐδολοφόνησε καὶ πάντων τῶν τεθνεώτων ἐξηνδραποδίσατο τοὺς βίους, ἀλλην

12 ἐπεισῆγε μηχανήν. προέγραφε γὰρ τοὺς εὐκαροῦντας τοὺς βίους φυγάδας, οὐ μόνον ἄνδρας ἀλλὰ καὶ γυναίκας: ἀναταθεῖς δὲ τὸν φοβοῦν τοῦτον ἐχρηματίζει’ ἀεὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄνδρας δ’ ἐαυτοῦ, τὰς δὲ γυναίκας διὰ τῆς μητρὸς Φιλώ-τιδος· πάνυ γὰρ εὐφνεῖς ἐγένετο καὶ τούτῳ τὸ πρόσωπον, πρὸς δὲ βίαν καὶ πλεῖον τι δυνάμενον συνεργεῖν ἡ κατὰ γυναῖκα.

13 Ἐπειδὴ δὲ πάντας καὶ πάσας ἐξήγυνασαντο 21) (22) κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν, εἰσήγην εἰς τὸν δῆμον οὐδὲν ἡπτοῦν ἀπαντᾷς τοὺς προγεγραμμένους. οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ Φωνίκῃ τὰ μὲν διὰ τὸν φόβον, τὰ δὲ καὶ δελεαζόμενοι διὰ τῶν περὶ τὸν Χάροτα κατέκριναν οὐ φυγῆς ἀλλὰ θανάτου πάντας τοὺς

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being himself very young, and all the worst and most unprincipled characters having gathered about him in the hope of stealing other people's property. A sort of support and colour for the belief that he did all he did for valid reason, and with the approval of Rome, lay in his previous close relations with the Romans and in his association with Myrton, an elderly man and his son Nicanor, both of them men of good character and supposed to be friends of the Romans. They had been previously very far from being guilty of any wrong, but for some reason or other they now devoted themselves to the support of Charops and participation in his crimes. After Charops had murdered some citizens openly in the market-place and others in their own houses, after he had sent emissaries to assassinate others at their country-seats and on the roads, and had confiscated the property of all who perished, he introduced a new device, which was to proscribe and sentence to exile all those who were well off, not only the men, but their wives. Under the terror of this menace he went on extorting money himself from the men and from the women through his mother Philotis: for she too was a great expert at this, and as regards the application of force more capable of helping him than one could expect from a woman.

6. After they had stripped them all, both men and women, to the utmost of their power, they nevertheless brought all the proscribed before the popular assembly. The people of Phoenice by a majority, either terrorized or seduced by Charops, condemned all the accused not to exile, but to death as enemies.
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προσαγγελθέντας ὃς ἀλλότρια φρονοῦντας Ἄρω-3 μαίων. οὗτοι μὲν οὖν πάντες ἔφυγον, ὁ δὲ
χάροψ ὄρμησεν εἰς τὴν Ἀρώμην, ἔχων χρήματα καὶ τοὺς περὶ τὸν Μύρτωνα μεθ' αὐτοῦ, βουλό-
μενος ἐπισφραγίσασθαι διὰ τῆς συγκλήτου τὴν
4 αὐτοῦ παρανομίαν. ἐν ὃς καιρὸς κάλλιστον μὲν
ἐγένετο δείγμα τῆς 'Ρωμαίων αἰρέσεως, κάλ-
λιστον δὲ θέαμα πάσι τοῖς Ἑλλησ τοῖς παρεπ-
5 δήμοις, μάλιστα δὲ τοῖς ἀνακεκλημένοις: ὁ τε
γὰρ Μάρκος, ἀρχιερεύς ὁν καὶ πρῶτος τῆς συγ-
κλήτου γραφόμενος, ὁ τε Λεύκιος ὁ τὸν Περσέα
μικῆςα, μεγίστην ἔχων πίστιν καὶ δύναμιν,
πυθανόμενοι τὰ πεπραγμένα τῷ Χάροπτι κατὰ
tὴν Ὡπειρόν ἐκώλυσαν εἰς τὰς οἰκίας αὐτῶν
6 εἰσέναυ τὸν Χάροπτα. οὗ γενομένου περιβοητοῦ
πάντες ἔγενθησαν οἱ παρεπιδημοῦντες περιχα-
ρεῖς, ἀποδεχόμενοι τὸ μισοπόνηρον τῶν Ῥωμαίων.
7 μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τοῦ Χάροπτος εἰσελθόντος εἰς τὴν
συγκλήτον, οὐ συγκατέθετο τοῖς ἀξιομένοις οὐδ'
8 ἐβουλήθη δούναι ῥητὴν ἀπόκρισιν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς
ἀποστελλομένοις προσβευταῖς ἐφὶ δῶσει ἐντολὰς
9 ἐπισκέψασθαι περὶ τῶν γεγονότων. ὁ δὲ Χάροψ
ἀναχωρῆσας ταῦτην μὲν τὴν ἀπόκρισιν ἀπεσιώ-
πησε, γράψας δὲ πρὸς τὴν ὁδίαν ὑπόθεσεν ἀρμό-
ζουσαν ἀπήγγειλεν ως συνενδοκοῦντων Ῥωμαίων
tοῖς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πραττομένοις.

III. Res Italiae

7 Ὅτι παρὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἦκου πρέσβεις ...
(17) καὶ παρὰ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν οἱ περὶ Θεαρίδαν καὶ
2 Στέφανον ὑπὲρ τῶν Δηλίων. τοῖς γὰρ Δηλίοις
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of Rome. So all these men went into exile; but Charops now left at once for Rome, taking plenty of money and Myrton into the bargain with him, wishing to obtain from the senate a sanction for his lawless violence. This was an occasion on which the Romans gave a very fine example of their high principle and a splendid exhibition of it to all the Greeks resident in Rome, and especially to those in detention there. For both Marcus Aemilius Lepidus, who was pontifex maximus and princeps senatus, and Lucius Aemilius Paullus, who had conquered Perseus and possessed the highest credit and influence, when they learnt of what Charops had done in Epirus, forbade him to enter their houses; and when this was noised abroad all the Greek residents were filled with joy, recognizing the Roman hatred of iniquity. After this, when Charops appeared before the senate, that body neither accorded his requests nor consented to give him a definite answer, but said that they would give the legates they were sending instructions to inquire into what had taken place. Charops, however, after his departure, suppressed this answer, but composed one that suited his own case and published it to make out that the Romans approved of his actions.

III. Affairs of Italy

7. Envoys arrived from Athens and Thearidas and Stephanus from Achaea on behalf of the Delians. For after the cession of Delos to Athens, the Delians,
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dοθείσης ἀποκρίσεως παρὰ Ἄρωμαι, μετὰ τὸ συγχωρηθῆναι τὴν Δῆλον τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, αὐτοῖς 3 μὲν ἐκχωρεῖν ἐκ τῆς νῆσου, τὰ δὲ ὑπάρχοντα κομίζεσθαι, μεταστάντες εἰς Ἀχαίαν οἱ Δῆλοι καὶ πολιτογραφηθέντες ἐβούλοντο τὸ δίκαιον ἐκλαβεῖν παρὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων κατὰ τὸ πρὸς τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς 4 σύμβολον. τῶν δὲ Ἀθηναίων φασκόντων μηδὲν εἶναι πρὸς αὐτοὺς τῆς δικαιοδοσίας ταύτης, ἦτοιντο ῥύσια τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς οἱ Δῆλοι κατὰ 5 τῶν Ἀθηναίων. ὑπὲρ ὧν τότε προσβεύσαντες ἔλαβον ἀπόκρισιν κυρίας εἶναι τὰς κατὰ τοὺς νόμους γεγενημένας παρὰ τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς οἰκονομίας περὶ τῶν Δηλίων.

IV. Res Pergami

8 (22) ὁτι Εὐμένης ὁ βασιλεὺς τῇ μὲν σωματικῇ (23) δυνάμει παραλειμμένος ἦν, τῇ δὲ τῆς ψυχῆς 2 λαμπρότητι προσανείχεν, ἀνὴρ ἐν μὲν τοῖς πλεί- στοις οὐδενὸς δεύτερος τῶν καθ' αὐτὸν βασιλέων γενόμενος, περὶ δὲ τὰ σπουδαίτατα καὶ κάλλιστα 3 μείζων καὶ λαμπρότερος· ὅσ γε πρῶτον μὲν παραλαθῶν παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς τῆς βασιλείας συν- εσταλμένην τελέως εἰς ὀλίγα καὶ λιτὰ πολισμάτα ταῖς μεγίσταις τῶν καθ' αὐτὸν δυναστείων ἐφ- 4 ἀμιλλον ἐποίησε τὴν ἵδιαν ἀρχὴν, οὐ τῇ τοῖς πλείον συνεργῷ χρώμενος, οὐθ' ἐκ περιπετείας, ἀλλὰ διὰ τῆς ἀγχυνοίας καὶ φιλοπονίας, ἔτι δὲ πράξεως τῆς 5 αὐτοῦ. δεύτερον φιλοδοξότατος ἐγεννηθη καὶ πλείστας μὲν τῶν καθ' αὐτὸν βασιλέων πόλεις Ἐλληνίδας εὐεργετήσε, πλείστους δὲ κατ' ἱδίαν 6 ἀνθρώπους ἐσωματοποίησε. τρίτον ἀδελφοὺς ἔχων 246
having in response to an embassy been ordered by
the Romans to evacuate the island, taking their
personal property with them, migrated to Achaea,
and becoming Achaean citizens claimed that the
procedure in suits brought by them against Athenians
should be in accordance with the convention between
Athens and the Achaeans. When the Athenians
denied that this convention applied in any way to
them, the Delians demanded the right to make
reprisals on the Athenians. This was the reason of
their embassy, and the answer received was that all
arrangements about the Delians made by the
Achaeans according to their laws should stand.

IV. Affairs of Pergamus

8. King Eumenes had lost all his bodily vigour,
but his brilliant mental qualities were unimpaired.
He was a man in most matters second to none of the
princes his contemporaries, but he was greater and
more brilliant than any of them in all that was most
important and honourable. In the first place while
the kingdom, as he inherited it from his father, was
confined to a few wretched little towns, he made his
own dominions such as to rival the greatest contem-
porary powers, not for the most part helped by
Fortune or by any revolution of circumstance, but
by his own acuteness, industry, and energy. Next he
was most eager to win reputation, and not only
conferred more benefits than any king of his time on
Greek cities, but established the fortunes of more
individual men. Thirdly, having three brothers not
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τρεῖς καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν καὶ πρᾶξιν . . . , πάντας τούτους συνέσχε πειθαρχοῦντας αὐτῷ καὶ δορυφοροῦντας καὶ σύζοντας τὸ τῆς βασιλείας 
7 ἀξίωμα. τούτο δὲ σπανίως εὑροὶ τις ἂν γεγονός.

V. RES ITALIAE

9 (18) Ὅτι τῶν Ἰοσίων πλεονάκης πεπρεσβευκότων 
eis tēn Ῥώμην καὶ διασαφοῦντων ὅτι Δελματεῖς 
tῆς χώραν ἀδικοῦσι καὶ τὰς πόλεις τὰς μετ' 
2 αὐτῶν ταττομένας: αὕται δ' εἶσιν Ἑπέτιον καὶ 
Τραγύριον: ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τῶν Δαορσῶν ἐγ-
3 καλούντων, ἐξαπέστειλεν ἡ σύγκλητος πρεσβευτὰς 
tους περὶ Γάιον Φάννιον ἐποπτεύσοντας τὰ κατὰ 
tῆν Ἰλιυρίδα, καὶ μάλιστα τούτων τὰ κατὰ τοὺς 
4 Δελματεῖς. οὕτως δὲ, μέχρι μὲν ἐξὶ Πλευράτος, 
ὑπῆκουν ἐκεῖνω: μεταλλάξαντος δὲ τούτου τὸν 
βίον, καὶ διαδεξαμένου Γενθίου τὴν βασιλείαν, 
ἀποστάντες ἀπὸ τούτου τοῖς ὀμόροις προσπο-
λέμουν καὶ κατεστρέφοντο τοὺς ἀστυγείτονας, ἢν 
ἔνυι καὶ φόρος αὐτοῖς ἐφεροῦ· ὁ δὲ φόρος ἦν 
5 θρέμματα καὶ σῶτος. καὶ οἱ μὲν περὶ Φάννιον 
ἐπὶ τούτοις ἑξώρμησαν.

10 (24) Ὅτι οἱ βασιλεῖς Ἀριαιράθης παρεγένετο εἰς τὴν 
(20) 2 Ῥώμην ἤτι θερείας οὖσης: τότε δὲ, παρελη-
φότων ὑπάτων τὰς ἀρχὰς τῶν περὶ τὸν Σέξτον 
Ἰουλίον <καὶ Λεύκιον Ἀὐρήλιον>, ἐγένετο περὶ 
tὰς κατ᾽ ἱδίαν ἑντεύξεις, οἰκεῖαν ποιούμενος περι-
κοτὴν καὶ φαντασίαν τῆς ὑποκεμενής περιστά-
κεις. παρῆσαν δὲ καὶ παρὰ Δημήτριον πρέσβεις 
οἱ περὶ τὸν Μιλτιάδην πρὸς ἐκατέραν τὴν ὑπὸ-
θεσιν ἡμισυμένοι· καὶ γὰρ πρὸς Ἀριαιράθην ἀπο-
far behind him in age and activity, he kept them all in the position of his obedient satellites and guardians of the dignity of his throne, a thing for which one can find few parallels.

V. Affairs of Italy

Mission of Fannius to Dalmatia

9. As the people of Issa had often sent embassies to Rome to complain that the Dalmatians continued to raid their territory and the cities in league with them, Epetium and Tragyrium, and as similar accusations had been brought by the Daorsi, the senate dispatched a commission under Gaius Fannius to inquire into the state of Illyria and especially into the conduct of the Dalmatians. The latter, as long as Pleuratus lived, submitted to him, but when he died and Genthius succeeded to the throne, revolting from him they took to making war on the tribes on their borders and reduced the neighbouring peoples, some of whom even paid them tribute in the shape of cattle and corn. This was the object of the mission of Fannius.

10. King Ariarathes arrived in Rome while it was yet summer; and then after the consuls Sextus Julius Caesar and Lucius Aurelius Orestes had entered on office, he occupied himself with private interviews, adapting his dress and retinue to his present distressed circumstances. Miltiades also arrived on a mission from Demetrius, tuned to speak in either sense; for he was ready to defend Demetrius against
λογείσθαι καὶ κατηγορεῖν αὐτοῦ παρεσκευάζοντο 4 φιλαπεχθῶς. ἀπεστάλκει δὲ καὶ Ὀροφέρνης πρεσβευτὰς τοὺς περὶ Τιμόθεου καὶ Διογένην, στέφανον τε κομίζοντας τῇ 'Ῥώμη καὶ τὴν φιλίαν καὶ τὴν συμμαχίαν ἀνανεωσομένους, τὸ δὲ πλεῖον συγκαταστησομένους <πρὸς> τὸν Ἀριαράθην καὶ τὰ μὲν ἀπολογησομένους, τὰ δὲ κατηγορήσοντας. 5 ἐν μὲν οὖν ταῖς κατ' ἰδίαις ἐνυπέξεσιν μείζω φαντασίαι εἰλκον οἱ περὶ τὸν Διογένην καὶ Μιλτιάδην, ἀτε καὶ κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος πρὸς ἕνα συγκρινόμενοι καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἄλλην περικοπὴν εὐτυχοῦτες πρὸς 6 ἐπτακότα θεωροῦμενοι· παραπλησίως δὲ καὶ περὶ τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων ἐξήγησιν πολὺ περιήγαν. 7 πάν μὲν γὰρ καὶ πρὸς παντοῖα λέγειν ἑθάρρουν, οὐδένα λόγον ποιούμενοι τῆς ἀληθείας, τὸ δὲ λεγόμενον ἀνυπεύθυνον ἢν, οὐκ ἔχον τὸν ἀπο- 8 λογησόμενον. λοιπὸν ἀκοντί τούθεν πεύδοις ἐπικρατοῦντος, ἑδόκει σφίσι τὰ πράγματα κατὰ γνώμην χωρεῖν.

VI. Res Asiae

11 "Ὅτι οὐκ ὅλγοι τῶν ἀνθρώπων διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸ (25 2) πλεῖον ἐπιθυμοῦν καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα προσέθηκαν τοῖς (xxxiii. 12a) χρήμασιν, οἰς Ὀροφέρνης ὁ τῆς Καππαδοκίας 2 (3) βασιλεὺς κατάληπτος γενόμενος ἀπώλετο καὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἐξέπεσεν. ἢμεῖς δὲ συγκεφαλαίωσά- 3 (4) μεν τὴν τούτων κάθοδον έπανάξομεν τὴν διήγησιν τὴν εἰθισμένην τάξιν, ἣ χρώμεθα παρ’ ὅλην τὴν πραγματείαν· καὶ γὰρ ύπ’ ὑπερβάντες τὰ κατὰ τὴν 'Ελλάδα προελάβομεν τῶν κατὰ τὴν 250
Ariarathes, and to accuse the latter with the utmost bitterness. Orophernes too had sent Timotheus and Diogenes as envoys bringing a crown dedicated to Rome and charged to renew the alliance, but chiefly to confront Ariarathes and both to defend themselves and accuse him. In the private interviews Diogenes and Miltiades and their colleagues made a greater impression, being many against one, and having also all the outward appearance of a prosperity that contrasted with the king's distress. They also possessed over him a decided advantage in the statement of their case; for they had the courage to assert anything and to meet every kind of argument, with an utter disregard for truth, and they took no responsibility for what they said, as there was no one to confute them. So that as falsehood had no trouble in gaining the day, their business seemed to be going on as they wished.

VI. Affairs of Asia

11. Not a few men from lust for gain have sacrificed even their lives for money, among them Orophernes, the king of Cappadocia, who falling a victim to this passion perished himself and lost his kingdom. Now having given this brief account of the restoration of Ariarathes, I shall resume that regular course of my narrative which I follow throughout the whole of this work. For in the present instance, passing over the affairs of Greece, I appended those Asiatic affairs
"Αςίαν τὰ κατὰ τὴν Καππαδοκίαν διὰ τὸ μηδεμίαν εὐλογον ἔχειν διαιρεσιν τὸν ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἀπόπλουν καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τὰ πράγματα κάθοδον [τού]

4 (5) Ἀριαράθου. διόπερ ἔπανειμ δηλώσων τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα γενόμενα περὶ τοὺς αὐτούς καιροὺς.

5 (6) ἐν οἷς ἔδινον καὶ παράλογον πράγμα συνέβη γενέ-

6 (7) σθαὶ περὶ τὴν τῶν Ὀρωπίων πόλων ὑπὲρ οὖ ὁ τὰ μὲν ἀναδραμόντες, τὰ δὲ προλαβόντες τοῖς χρόνοις συγκεφαλαιωσόμεθα τὴν ὄλην πράξιν, ἵνα μὴ κατὰ μέρος αὐτῆς οὔσης οὐδ’ ὄλως ἐπιφανοὺς ἐν διη-

7 (8) ποιῶμεν τὴν διήγησιν. ὅταν γὰρ μόλις τὸ ὁλον ἄξιον ἐπιστάσεως φαίνηται τοῖς ἀκούοντοι, ἢ ποῦ γε τοῖς κατὰ μέρος ἐκ διαστῆματος λεγομένοις τὸν νοῦν προσέξει τις τῶν φιλομαθῶν;

8 (9) ὁτι κατὰ τὸ πλεῖστον ἐν ταῖς ἐπιτυχίαις ὡς ἐπίπαν ἀνθρωποι συμφρονοῦσι, κατὰ δὲ τὰς ἀποτυχίας ἀσχάλλοντες τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐλκώδεις

9 (10) καὶ δύσκολοι γίνονται πρὸς τοὺς φίλους. δ' καὶ περὶ τὸν Ὀροφέρνην συνέβη γενέσθαι, τῶν πραγ-

10 (1) Ὀροφέρνην . . . οἰκίων χρόνον Καππαδοκίας (xxxii. 20) βασιλεύσαντα καὶ παριδόντα τὰς πατρίους ἀγωγάς φησιν ἐν τῇ τριακοστῇ δευτέρᾳ εἰσαγαγεῖν τὴν Ἰακῆ καὶ τεχνιτικῆ ἄσωτίαν.

12 ὁτι ᾧ Ἀτταλὸς ὁ ἄδελφος Εὐμένους παραλαβῶν (22 8) τὴν ἐξουσίαν πρῶτον ἐξήνεγκε δείγμα τῆς αὐτοῦ (23) προαιρέσεως καὶ πράξεως τὴν Ἀριαράθου κατ-

αγωγῆν ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλείαν.

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which relate to Cappadocia, as I found no justifiable means of separating the departure of Ariarathes from Italy from his return to power. I will, therefore, now go back to the events that happened in Greece at the same date. Among these that which befell the city of Oropus was especially singular and strange. I will give a succinct account of the whole of this matter, partly recurring to the past and partly anticipating the future, so that, the separate details of it being by no means striking, I may not by relating them under different dates produce a narrative both obscure and insignificant. For when the whole seems scarcely worth close attention what chance is there of any student really making it an object of study when it is told disjointedly under different dates?

For the most part when men are successful they get on well together, but when unsuccessful they get vexed with things and become irritable and fretful with their friends. This was the case with Orophernes when things went against him and Theotimus, and each blamed the other.

(From Athen. x. p. 440 b.)

Polybius says that Orophernes reigned for a short time in Cappadocia, and despising their traditional customs introduced the refined debauchery of Ionia.

12. The first example given by Attalus of his principles and policy after he succeeded his brother Eumenes was to restore Ariarathes to his kingdom.

a For some account of this matter see Pausanias vii. 11. 4-7.
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VII. Res Italiae

13 (23) Ὄτι τῶν περὶ τῶν Γάιον Φάννιον παραγεγονό-
(19) τῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἰλλυρίδος καὶ διασαφούστων ὡς τὸν
tοσοῦτον ἀπέχοιν οἱ Δελματεῖς τοῦ διορθοῦσθαι
tι τῶν ἐγκαλουμένων πρὸς τοὺς ὑπ’ αὐτῶν φα-
σκοντας ἀδικεῖσθαι συνεχῶς, ἦσον ἐπιδέχοντο καθόλου παρ’ αὐτῶν, λέγοντες οὐδὲν
2 αὐτοῖς εἶναι καὶ Ῥωμαίοις κοινὸν πρὸς δὲ τού-
tοις διεσάφοιν μὴ<τε> κατάλυμα δοθῆναι σφίσι
μήτε παροχῇν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ὑπὸν, οὓς εἶχον
παρ’ ἐτέρας πόλεως, ἀφελέσθαι τοὺς Δελματεῖς
3 μετὰ βίας αὐτῶν· ἐτοίμους δ’ εἶναι καὶ τὰς χεῖρας
προσάγειν, εἰ μὴ συνείξαντες τῷ καιρῷ μετὰ
4 πολλῆς ἡσυχίας ἐποίησαντο τὴν ἀπόλυσιν. ὅψ
ἡ σύγκλητος ἀκούσας μετ’ ἐπιστάσεως ἤγανάκτην
μὲν καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν Δελματέων ἀπειθεῖν καὶ σκαί-
ότητι, τὸ δὲ πλείστον ὑπέλαβε τὸν καιρὸν ἐπιτή-
δειον εἶναι πρὸς τὸ πολεμήσαι τοῖς προειρήμενοι
5 διὰ πλείους αἰτίας. τά τε γὰρ μέρη ταῦτα τῆς
Ἱλλυρίδος τὰ νεῦοντα πρὸς τὸν Ἀδριαν ἀνεπί-
6 σκεπτα τελέως ἦν αὐτοῖς, ἐξ οὗ Δημήτριον τὸν
Φάρμον ἔξεβαλον, τοὺς τε κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν
ἀνθρώπους οὐκ ἐβούλοντο κατ’ οὐδένα τρόπον
7 ἀποθηλύνεσθαι διὰ τὴν πολυχρόνιον εἰρήνην. ἔτος
γὰρ ἦν τότε δωδεκατὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ πρὸς Περσέα
8 πολέμου καὶ τῶν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ πράξεων. διόπερ
ἐβούλευντο, πολέμου ἐνστησάμενοι πρὸς τοὺς
προειρήμενους ἁμα μὲν ὡσανεὶ καυνοποίησαι τὰς
ὀρμάς καὶ προθυμίας τῶν ἱδίων ὁχλῶν, ἁμα δὲ
καταπληξάμενοι τοὺς Ἰλλυρίους ἀναγκάσαι πειθ-
9 ἀρχεῖν τοῖς ὑπ’ αὐτῶν παραγγελλομένοις. αὐ-
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BOOK XXXII. 13. 1 - 9

VII. Affairs of Italy

War with Dalmatia resolved on

13. On the return of Gaius Fannius and the other legates from Illyria, they reported that the Dalmatians were so far from consenting to set right any of the constant abuses complained of by their accusers, that they would not even listen to them, saying they had nothing in common with the Romans. They also reported that they had neither been given a residence nor supplied with food, and that the Dalmatians had even taken away from them by force the horses they had brought from another town, and were ready to lay violent hands on the legates themselves, had they not yielded to circumstances and left quite quietly. The senate heard them with much attention and were highly indignant at the stubbornness and rudeness of the Dalmatians; but their chief motive for action was that for several reasons they thought the time a suitable one for making war on the Dalmatians. For to begin with they had never once set foot in those parts of Illyria which face the Adriatic since they expelled Demetrius of Pharos, and next they did not at all wish the Italians to become effeminate owing to the long peace, it being now twelve years since the war with Perseus and their campaigns in Macedonia. They, therefore, resolved by undertaking a war against the Dalmatians both to recreate, as it were, the spirit and zeal of their own troops, and by striking terror into the Illyrians to compel them to obey their behests.
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

ται μὲν οὖν ἦσαν αὐτίαι δι’ ἀς ἐπολέμησαν ’Ρωμαίοι Δελματέδου: τοῖς γε μὴν ἐκτός τὸν πόλεμον ἀνεδείκνυον, ὡς διὰ τὴν εἰς τοὺς πρεσβευτὰς ὑβριν κεκρικότες πολεμεῖν.

14 (26) Κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τούτον παραγεγονότων πρε- (24) σβευτῶν εὗ ’Ηπείρου παρά τε τῶν τὴν Φωικήν κατεχόντων καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἐκπεπτωκότων καὶ 2 ποιησαμένων λόγοις κατὰ πρόσωπον, ἐδωκεν ἀπόκρισιν αὐτοῖς ἡ σύγκλητος ὅτι δώσει περὶ τούτων ἐντόλας τοῖς ἀποστελλομένοις πρεσβευταῖς εἰς τὴν ’Ιλλυρίδα μετὰ Γαίου Μαρκίου.

VIII. PRUSIAE BELLUM CUM ATTALO

15 (27) "Ὅτι Προυσίας μετὰ τὸ νικήσαν τὸν Ἀτταλον (25) μετὰ τὸ παρελθεῖν πρὸς τὸ Πέργαμον παρα- σκευασάμενος θυσίαν πολυτελῆ προσήγαγε πρὸς 2 τὸ τέμενος τάσκλητιον, καὶ βουθυτήσας καὶ καλ- λιερήσας τότε μὲν ἐπανήλθεν εἰς τὴν παρεμβολὴν, 3 κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐπιούσαν καταστήσας τὴν δύναμιν ἐπὶ τὸ Νικηφόριον τοὺς τε νεως ἀπαντᾶς δι- ἐφθειρὲ καὶ τὰ τεμένη τῶν θεῶν, ἐσύλησε δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀνδριάντας καὶ τὰ λίθινα τῶν ἀγαλμάτων. 4 τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον καὶ τὸ τάσκλητιον βαστάσας ἀγαλμα, περιττῶς ὕπο Φυρομάχου κατεσκευα- 5 σμένον, ἀπῆγγεκεν ὡς αὐτὸν, ὅ τῇ πρότερον ἡμέρα κατασπένδων ἐβουθύτει καὶ κατηύχετο, δεόμενος, ὁπερ εἰκός, ἰλεων αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι καὶ εὔμενη κατὰ 6 πάντα τρόπον. ἐγὼ δὲ τὰς τοιαύτας διαθέσεις καὶ πρότερον εὐρήκα ποι, περὶ Φιλίππου ποιού- 7 μενος τὸν λόγον, μανικάς. τὸ γὰρ ἁμα μὲν θύεων καὶ διὰ τούτων ἐξιλάσκεσθαι τὸ θείον, προσ-
These, then, were the reasons why the Romans went to war with the Dalmatians, but to the world at large they gave out that they had decided on war owing to the insult to their ambassadors.

14. At this time envoys came from Epirus both on behalf of those in possession of the city of Phoenice and of the exiled party. After they had spoken in the presence of each other the senate answered that they would give instructions on the subject to the commissioners they were sending to Illyria under Gaius Marcius.

VIII. THE WAR OF PRUSIAS WITH ATTALUS

15. Prusias on approaching Pergamus after his victory over Attalus prepared a magnificent sacrifice which he brought to the temple of Asclepius, and having offered the oxen and obtained favourable omens, returned on that day to his camp; but on the next day directing his army to the Nicephorium, he destroyed all the temples and sacred precincts of the gods, and carried off the bronze and marble statues; finally removing and carrying off for himself the statue of Asclepius, an admirable work of art by Phyromachus, that very Asclepius to whom on the previous day he had offered libations, sacrifices and prayers, supplicating him of course to be in every way merciful and gracious to him. On a previous occasion, in speaking of Philip, I have described such conduct as that of a madman. For at one and the same time to sacrifice and thus to sue for the favour
κυνοῦντα καὶ λιπαροῦντα τὰς τραπέζας καὶ τοὺς βωμοὺς ἐξάλλως, ὅπερ ὁ Προσίας εἶδοστο ποιεῖν
8 γονυπετῶν καὶ γυναικζόμενος, ἀμα δὲ ταῦτα καὶ
λυμαίνεσθαι καὶ διὰ τῆς τούτων καταφθορᾶς τὴν
eis τὸ θείον ύβριν διατίθεσθαι, πῶς οὐκ ἁν εἶποι
tis εἴναι θυμοῦ λυπώντος έργα καὶ πυχῆς έξ-
9 εστηκυίας τῶν λογισμῶν; ὃ καὶ τότε συνέβαινε
γίνεσθαι περὶ τὸν Προσίαν. ἀνδρὸς μὲν γὰρ
'έργον' οὐδὲν ἐπιτελεσάμενος κατὰ τὰς προσ-
βολὰς, ἀγεννῶς δὲ καὶ γυναικοθύμως χειρίσας καὶ
tὸ πρὸς θεοὺς καὶ τὰ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους μετήγαγε
10 τὸ στράτευμα πρὸς ἸΕλαίαν' καὶ καταπεράσας
tῆς ἸΕλαίας καὶ τινὰς προσβολὰς ποιησάμενος,
oüðéν δὲ πράττεν δυνάμενος διὰ τὸ Σώσανδρον
tὸν τοῦ βασιλέως σύντροφον εἰσεληλυθότα μετὰ
στρατιωτῶν εὑρεὺς αὐτοῦ τὰς ἐπιβολὰς, ἀπήρεν
11 ἐπὶ Θυατείρων. κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἑπάνωδον τὸ τῆς
'Αρτέμιδος ιερὸν τῆς ἐν ἸΕρᾶ κόμη μετὰ βίας
12 ἑσύλησεν. ὄμοιως καὶ τὸ τοῦ Κυννείου Ἀπόλ-
λωνος τέμενος τὸ περὶ Τῆμον οὐ μόνον ἑσύλησεν,
13 ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ πυρὶ διέφθειρεν. καὶ ταῦτα δια-
πραξάμενος ἐπανήλθεν εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν, οὐ μόνον
τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς πεπολεμηκὼς.
14 ἐταλαίπωρησε δὲ καὶ τὸ πεζικὸν στρατεύμα τῷ
Προσία κατὰ τὴν ἑπάνωδον ὑπὸ τε τοῦ λιμοῦ καὶ
tῆς δυσεντερίας, ὡστε παρὰ πόδας ἐκ θεο-
πέμπτου δοκεῖν ἀπηντηθαί μὴν αὐτῷ διὰ
tαύτας τὰς αἰτίας. . . .
16 (28) "Ὅτι Ἀτταλὸς ἦν ἥττηείς παρὰ Προσίαυν, προ-
(26) χειρισάμενος Ἁθήναιον τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐξαπέστειλε
μετὰ τῶν περὶ τὸν Πόπλιου; διασαφήσοντα τῇ
2 συγκλήτῳ τὸ γεγονός. οἱ γὰρ ἐν τῇ Ρώμῃ, τοῦ
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of the god, worshipping and adoring most devoutly his tables and altars, as Prusias used to do with genuflexions and womanish mummery, and then to spoil these very objects and by their destruction to inflict an outrage on the divinity, cannot be otherwise described than as the act of a man frenzied by passion and with his mind unhinged—as was actually the case with Prusias then. For after doing nothing worthy of a man in his attacks on the town, but behaving in a cowardly and womanish manner both to gods and men, he marched his army back to Elaea. After making an attempt on Elaea and delivering a few assaults, which were quite ineffectual, as Sosander the king’s foster-brother had entered the town with some troops and frustrated his attempts, he withdrew to Thyateira, attacking and despoiling on his retreat the temple of Artemis at Hiera Come. Similarly he not only despoiled, but burnt to the ground the sanctuary of Apollo Cynneius near Temnus, and after those exploits returned to his own country, having waged war not only on men but on gods. His infantry also suffered much on the retreat from hunger and dysentery, so that it seemed that the vengeance of heaven visited him instantly for these misdeeds.

16. Attalus, when defeated by Prusias appointed his brother Athenaeus as his envoy and sent him off together with Publius Lentulus to inform the senate of the fact. For in Rome, when Andronicus arrived
μὲν Ἀνδρονίκου παραγεγομένου καὶ διασαφοῦντος

3 τὰ περὶ τὴν πρώτην ἐφοδον τῶν πολεμίων, οὐ

προσείχον, ἀλλ' ὑπενόουν τὸν Ἀτταλον βουλόμενον

αὐτῶν ἐπιβαλεῖν τῷ Προυσίᾳ τὰς χειρὰς προφάσεις

προκατασκευάζεσθαι καὶ προκαταλαμβάνειν διά-

4 βολαῖς: ἀμα δὲ τοῦ τε Νικομήδους καὶ τῶν περὶ

τὸν Ἀντίφιλον, τῶν παρὰ τοῦ Προυσίου πρε-

σβετῶν, διαμαρτυρομένων μηδὲν εἶναι τούτων, ἕτε

μᾶλλον ἰπιστεῖτο τὰ λεγόμενα περὶ τοῦ Προυσίου.

5 μετὰ δὲ τῶν χρόνων ἐπιδιασαφομένης τῆς πραγ-

ματείας, ἀμφιδοξίσασα περὶ τῶν προσπιτῶν ἡ

σύγκλητος ἐξαπέστειλε πρεσβευτὰς Λεύκιον

Ἀπολήμου καὶ Γάιον Πετρώνιον τοὺς ἐπισκεψο-

μένους πῶς ἔχει τὰ κατὰ τοὺς προειρημένους

βασιλεῖς.
and informed them of the first attack by the enemy, they paid no attention to him, but suspected that Attalus, intending himself to attack Prusias, was preparing a pretext and anticipating the protest of Prusias by bringing false accusations against him. And as Nicomedes and the envoy of Prusias Antiphilus assured them that there was no truth in it, they were still less inclined to believe this report about Prusias. But after a short time, when further information to the same effect arrived, the senate, in doubt what to believe, dispatched as legates Lucius Apuleius and Gaius Petronius to inquire into the relations of the two kings.
FRAGMENTA LIBRI XXXIII

I. Res Italiae

1 "Оти ἡ σύγκλητος ἐτη κατὰ χειμῶνα διακούσας τῶν περὶ τῶν Πόπλιον Λέντλον ὑπὲρ τῶν κατὰ Προσίαν διὰ τὸ νεωστὶ παραγεγονέναι τούτους ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας, εἰσεκαλέσατο καὶ τὸν Ἀθήμαιον
2 τὸν Ἀττάλου τοῦ βασιλέως ἀδελφὸν. οὐ μέντοι πολλῶν προσεδεήθη λόγων, ἀλλ’ εὐθέως κατα-
στήσασα πρεσβευτὰς συνεξαπέστελλε τῷ προ-
eιρημένῳ τοὺς περὶ Γάιον Κλαύδιον Κέντωνα
καὶ Λεύκιον Ὄρτισιον καὶ Γάιον Αὐρογκολήιον,
ἔντολας δοῦσα κωλύειν τὸν Προσίαν Ἀττάλῳ
πολεμεῖν.

3 Παρεγένοντο δὲ καὶ παρὰ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν πρέ-
σβεις εἰς Ῥώμην ὑπὲρ τῶν κατεχομένων οἱ περὶ
Ἐένωνα τὸν Αἰγιέα καὶ Τηλεκλέα τὸν Αἰγιε-
4 ράτην. ὃν ποιησαμένων λόγους ἐν τῇ συγκλήτῳ,
καὶ τοῦ διαβουλίου προτεθέντος, παρ’ ὁλίγον
ἡλθον ἀπολύσαι τοὺς κατηγομένους οἱ τοῦ
5 συνεδρίου. τὴν δ’ αἰτίαν ἔσχε τοῦ μὴ συν-
τελεσθῆναι τῇ ἀπόλυσιν Ἀθλος Ποστόμιος, στρα-
τηγὸς ὃν ἔξαπέλεκυς καὶ βραβεύων τὸ διαβούλιον.
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FRAGMENTS OF BOOK XXXIII

I. Affairs of Italy

The War between Prusias and Attalus

1. The senate, while it was still winter, had heard what Publius Lentulus had to report about King Prusias, as this legate had just returned from Asia, and they now summoned also Athenaeus, the brother of King Attalus. They did not, however, require many words from him, but at once appointed Gaius Claudius Cento, Lucius Hortensius, and Gaius Aurunculeius their legates and sent them off in company with Athenaeus with orders to prevent Prusias from making war on Attalus.

Embassy on behalf of the Achaean exiles

There came also to Rome an embassy from the Achaeans consisting of Xenon of Aegium and Telecles of Aegeira on behalf of those in detention. After they had spoken in the senate, upon the matter being put to the vote, the senate came very near setting the suspects free. That their liberation was not carried out was the fault of Aulus Postumius Albinus, at this time praetor and as such presiding
Animadversa tripartita varietas est in tribus philosophis, quos Athenienses Romam ad senatum legaverant inpetratum uti multam remitteret, quam fecerat is propter Oropi vastationem. Ea multa fuerat talentum fere quingentum. Erant isti philosophi Carneades ex Academia, Diogenes Stoicus, Critolaus Peripateticus. Et in senatum quidem introducti interprete usi sunt C. Acilio senatore; sed ante ipsi seorsum quisque ostendandi gratia magno conventu hominum dissertaverunt. Tum admirationi fuisse aiunt Rutilius et Polybius philosophorum trium sui cuiusque generis facundiam. "Violenta," inquiunt, "et rapida Carneades dicebat, scita et teretia Critolaus, modesta Diogenes et sobria."

"Ort tòv èk tìs ἮΡώμης προσβεντῶν ἀνα-καμψάντων eis tìn Ἀχαιαν καὶ διασαφούντων ὃτι παρ’ ὅλιγον ἔλθοι τὰ πράγματα τοῦ πάντας ἐπανελθεῖν τοὺς κατεχομένους, εὐέλπιδες γενό-
over the senate. For while there were three resolutions, one for their release, another opposed to this, and a third for postponement of the release for the present, the majority being in favour of release, Aulus passing over the third alternative put the question in general terms: “Who is for releasing the men and who against it?” Consequently those who were for delay joined those who were for absolute refusal, and thus gave a majority against release. Such were these events.

Embassy from Athens

(From Aulus Gellius, N.A. vi. (vii.) 14. 8-10.)

2. A difference was noticed in the three philosophers whom the Athenians sent to Rome as their envoys to the senate, to obtain the remission of the fine imposed by the latter for the pillage of Oropus. It was a fine of about five hundred talents. The philosophers were Carneades of the Academy, Diogenes the Stoic, and Critolaus the Peripatetic. When introduced into the senate they employed the senator Gaius Acilius as their interpreter, but each of them had previously spoken before huge crowds to exhibit their skill. Rutilius and Polybius tell us that in each philosopher a different kind of eloquence was admired. “Carneades,” they say, “spoke vehemently and rapidly, Critolaus with skill and smoothness, and Diogenes with sobriety and modesty.”

The Achaean exiles

3. When the envoys from Rome returned to Achaea and reported that all those in detention had been very nearly returning, the people became
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

μενοι καὶ μετεωρισθέντες οἱ πολλοὶ πάλιν ἐξ αὐτῆς ἐπεμπον Τηλεκλέα <καὶ> τὸν Μεγαλο-πολίτην Ἀναξίδαμον. καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ Πελο-πόνησον ἐπὶ τούτων ἦν.

II. Res Rhodiorum

4 "Οτι 'Αριστοκράτης ὁ τῶν Ροδίων στρατηγὸς ὡς μὲν κατὰ τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν ἀξιωματικός καὶ καταπληκτικός. διόπερ ἐκ πάντων τοῦτον υπέ-έλαβον οἱ 'Ρόδιοι τελεῖς ἀξιόχρεων ἡγεμόνα καὶ προστάτην ἔχειν τοῦ πολέμου. διευθυνθέντοι μέν-τοι γε τῶν ἑλπίδων ἐλθὼν γὰρ εἰς τὰς πράξεις ὑπέπερ εἰς πῦρ, καθάπερ τὰ κίβδηλα τῶν νομι- σμάτων, ἀλλοίως ἐφάνη. τοῦτο δ' ἐγένετο δῆλον ἐπὶ αὐτῶν τῶν ἔργων.

III. Res Cypri

5 . . . προτείνειν αὐτῷ πεντακόσια τάλαντα παρα-
(3) χωρήσαντι τῆς Κύπρου, καὶ τάλλα συνακολού-θησαντα λυσιτελή καὶ τίμια παρ' αὐτῷ συνεπι- 
δεικνύει, προσενεγκαμένω την χρείαν ταύτην.
2a Τῷ δὲ Πτολεμαίῳ γενομένης προσαγγελίας 
παρείναι τῶν 'Αρχίαν . . .
2 "Οτι 'Αρχίας βουλόμενος τήν Κύπρον προδοῦνα 
τῷ Δημητρίῳ καὶ φωραθεὶς καὶ εἰς κρίσιν ἀχθεὶς 
καλωδίων τῶν ἐκ τῆς αὐλαίας παραπεπετασμένων 
3 έαυτόν ἀπεκρέμασεν. τῷ γὰρ ὅτι διὰ τὰς
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hopeful and elated and at once sent off Telecles and Anaxidamus of Megalopolis on another embassy. Such was the state of matters in Peloponnesus.

II. AFFAIRS OF RHODES

4. Aristocrates, the Rhodian general, was dignified and imposing in appearance, and from all this the Rhodians imagined that they had a perfectly capable commander and director of the war. But they were deceived in their hopes. For when he came to be tested by action, like base coin tried by fire, he turned out quite otherwise, as was shown by actual facts.

III. AFFAIRS OF CYPRUS

(Suidas.)

5. Demetrius offered Archias five hundred talents if he gave up Cyprus, and pointed out to him the other advantages and honours that would accrue to him if he rendered him this service

(Suidas.)

When news reached Ptolemy that Archias had arrived . . .

(Cp. Suidas.)

Archias purposed to betray Cyprus to Demetrius, but when detected and prosecuted he hanged himself by a rope taken from the curtain of the entrance door. So true is it that owing to covetousness "vain

* The governor of Cyprus under Ptolemy.


THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

ἐπιθυμίας κενοὶ κενὰ λογίζονται κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν. καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος δόξας πεντακόσια τάλαντα προσλήψεσθαι καὶ τὰ προὐπάρχοντα χρήματα καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα προσαπέβαλεν.

IV. Res Ariarathis

6 "Ὅτι κατὰ τοὺς καίρους τούτους καὶ Πριηνεῖς ἔνεπεσον παραλόγως συμφορᾶ. δεξάμενοι γὰρ παρ' Ὀροφέρνους, ὅτ' ἐκράτησε τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἐν παραθήκῃ τετρακόσια τάλαντα ἀπητοῦντο κατὰ τοὺς ἐξῆς χρόνους ὑπ' Ἀριαράθου, ὅτε μετέλαβε

3 τὴν ἀρχήν. οἱ μὲν οὖν Πριηνεῖς, ὃς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, ὅρθως ἦσαντο, φάσκοντες μηδενὶ προῆςσαθαί τὰ χρήματα ζῶντος Ὁροφέρνους πλὴν αὐτῶ τῶ

4 παρατεθεμένω. οὖ δὲ Ἀριαράθης πολλοῖς ἐδόκει παραπίπτειν τοῦ καθήκοντος, ἀπαιτῶν τὴν ἀλλοτρίαν παραθήκην. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἔως μὲν τούτου τάχ' ἀν τις ἔχει συγγνώμην αὐτῶ καταπεράζοντι τῷ δοκείν τῆς ἐκεῖνον βασιλείας εἶναι τὰ χρήματα. τὸ δὲ καὶ πορρωτέρῳ προβαίνειν ὥργῆς καὶ φιλοτιμίας οὐδαμῶς ἐδόκει γενέσθαι κατὰ λόγον.

6 κατὰ δὲ τοὺς νῦν λεγομένους καιροὺς ἐπαποστείλας ἐλεηλάτη τὴν χώραν τῶν Πριηνέων, συνεργοῦντος Ἀστάλου καὶ παροξύνοντος αὐτῶν διὰ τὴν ἱδίαν

7 διαφοράν, ἣν εἰχὲ πρὸς τοὺς Πριηνεῖς. πολλῶν δὲ καὶ σωμάτων καὶ θρεμμάτων ἀπολομένων καὶ πρὸς τῇ πόλει πτωμάτων γενομένων, ἀμύνασθαι μὲν οὐχ οἷοὶ τ' ἦσαν οἱ Πριηνεῖς, ἐπρέσβευν δὲ καὶ πρὸς Ὀρδίους, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτ' ἐπὶ Ὀρδίους

8 κατέφυγον. οἱ δ' οὐ προσεῖχον τοῖς λεγομένοις. καὶ Πριηνεῖς μὲν μεγάλας ἔχοντες ἐλπίδας

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heads make vain plans," as the proverb says. For thinking to gain five hundred talents he lost both all the money he had and his life into the bargain.

IV. AFFAIRS OF ARIARATHE

6. At about this time an unexpected disaster overtook the people of Priene. For having received from Orophernes when he was in power four hundred talents as a deposit, they were asked subsequently to return it by Ariarathes when he recovered his kingdom. Now the position of the Prienians in my opinion was correct, when they refused to give up the money to anyone except the depositor during the lifetime of Orophernes, and Ariarathes was thought by many to have exceeded his rights in demanding the return of a deposit not his own. One might, however, pardon him to a certain extent for this attempt, on the ground that the money as he thought belonged to his kingdom; but his conduct in proceeding to extreme measures dictated by anger and determination to enforce his will cannot, I think, be justified. At the time I am speaking of he sent a force to devastate the territory of Priene, helped and encouraged by Attalus owing to that prince's own quarrel with Priene. After the loss of many slaves and cattle and when some buildings were laid in ruins close to the city, the Prienians proved unable to defend themselves, and having in the first place sent an embassy to Rhodes appealed to the Romans, who paid no attention to their demand. The Prienians had based high hopes on
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ἐπὶ τῷ πλήθει τῶν χρημάτων τοῖς ἐναντίοις
9 ἐνεκύρησαν· τῷ μὲν γὰρ Ὀροφέρνει τήν παραθήκην ἀπέδωκαν, ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀριαράθου ἰκαναῖς τισι βλάβαις περιέπεσον ἀδίκως διὰ τήν παραθήκην.

V. Res Italiae

7 (9) "Οτι τῶν περὶ τῶν Ὀρτήσιον καὶ Αὐρογκο-
(6) λήμον παραγεγονότων ἐκ τοῦ Περγάμου καὶ δια-
σαφούντων τήν τε τοῦ Προυσίου καταφρόνησιν
2 τῶν τῆς συγκλήτου παραγγελμάτων, καὶ διότι
παρασπονδήσας καὶ συγκλείσας εἰς τὸ Πέργαμον
αὐτοὺς τε καὶ τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἀττάλον πᾶσαν
3 βίαιν ἐνεδείξατο καὶ παρανομίαν, ἡ συγκλήτος
ὁργισθείσα καὶ βαρέως φέρουσα τὸ γεγονός ἐξ
αὐτῆς δέκα πρεσβευτὰς κατέστησε τοὺς περὶ
Λεύκιον Ἀνίκιον καὶ Γάιον Φάννιον καὶ Κόντον
4 Φάβιον Μάξιμον, καὶ παραχρήμ’ ἐξαπέστειλεν,
ἐντολὰς αὐτοῖς δοῦσα διαλύσαι τὸν πόλεμον καὶ
tὸν Προυσίαν ἀναγκάσαι δίκας ὑποσχεῖν Ἀττάλῳ
tῶν κατὰ πόλεμον ἀδικημάτων.

8 (7) "Οτι κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν ἦκον <πρεσβευταί>
(4) 2 καὶ παρὰ Μασσαλητῶν, <οἶ> πάλαι μὲν κακῶς
πάσχοντες ὑπὸ τῶν Διυγνσίων, τότε δὲ συγ-
kλειμένου τελέως, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις καὶ πολιορ-
kουμένων τῶν πόλεων Ἀντιπόλεως καὶ Νικαιας,
ἐξαπέστειλαν πρεσβευτὰς εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην τοὺς
tά τε γενόμενα διασαφήσοντας καὶ δεσμομένους
3 σφίσι βοηθεῖν. ὡν καὶ παρελθόντων εἰς τὴν
συγκλήτον, ἐδοξε τῷ συνεδρίῳ πρεσβευτὰς πέμψα τι
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their command of so large a sum but the result was just the opposite. For they paid the deposit back to Orophernes, and unjustly suffered considerable damage at the hands of King Ariarathes owing to this same deposit.

V. Affairs of Italy

Attalus and Prusias

7. On Hortensius and Aurunculeius returning from Pergamus and reporting how Prusias had treated the orders of the senate with scorn, and how by treachery he had shut them and Attalus up in Pergamum and been guilty of every kind of violence and lawlessness, the senate was very indignant and deeply aggrieved at his conduct, and at once appointed ten legates headed by Lucius Anicius, Gaius Fannius, and Quintus Fabius Maximus, whom they dispatched promptly with orders to put a stop to the war and compel Prusias to make amends to Attalus for the wrongs he had inflicted on him during the war.

Ligurian War

8. At about the same time envoys also arrived from the people of Marseilles, who had for long suffered from the incursions of the Ligurians, and were now entirely hemmed in, the cities of Antibes and Nice being besieged as well. They therefore sent envoys to Rome to inform the senate of this and beg for help. Upon their coming before the senate, it was decided to send legates to witness with
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tous αμα μεν αυτόπτας ἐσομένους τῶν γινομένων, ἀμα δὲ πειρασμένους λόγῳ διορθώσασθαι τῶν βαρβάρων τῇ ἄγνοιᾳ.

9 (10) Ὡτὶ τῶν Μασσαλιτῶν διαπρεσβευσαμένων πρὸς (7) Ρωμαίοις κακῶς πάσχειν αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν Λύγνοτίων, παραχρῆμα κατέστησαν Φλαμίνιον καὶ Ποπίλιον Λαυάτον καὶ Λεύκιον Πόπιον πρε-2 σβεντάς. οἱ καὶ πλέοντες μετὰ τῶν Μασσα-λητῶν προσέχον τῆς Οξύβιων χώρας κατὰ 3 πόλιν Λύγνοιν. οἱ δὲ Λυγνοτίων προακήκοοτές ὅτι πάρεισιν ἐπιτάξοντες αὐτοῖς λύειν τὴν πολιορκίαν, τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἔτι καθορμιζομένους 4 ἐπελθόντες ἐκώλυσαν τῆς ἀποβάσεως, τὸν δὲ Φλαμίνιον καταλαβόντες ἀποβεβηκότα καὶ τὰς ἀποσκευὰς ἀποτεθεμένον, τὰς μὲν ἀρχὰς ἐκεί-5 λευνοι αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἀπολύσατοι, τοῦ δὲ παρακούοντος ἢρξαντο τὰ σκεύη διαρτάζειν. τῶν δὲ παίδων καὶ τῶν ἀπελευθέρων ἀντιποιουμένων καὶ κωλυόντων, ἀπεβιάζοντο καὶ προσέφερον τού-6 τοις τὰς χείρας. ἐν δὲ καὶ τοῦ Φλαμινίου βοηθοῦντο τοῖς ἱδίοις, τούτοις μὲν κατέτρωσαν, δύο δὲ τῶν οἰκετῶν κατέβαλον, τοὺς δὲ λουτποῖς κατεδίωξαν εἰς τὴν ναῦν, ώς τὸν Φλαμίνιον μόνις ἀποκόψαντα τάπηγα καὶ τὰς ἀγκύρας διαφυγεῖν 7 τὸν κίνδυνον. οὕτως μὲν ἀποκομιθεὶς εἰς Μασ-8 σαλιαν ἐθεραπεύετο μετὰ πάσης ἐπιμελείας: ἢ δὲ σύγκλητος πυθομένη τὰ γεγονότα παραχρῆμα τὸν ἐνα τῶν ὑπάτων Κώντον Ὁπίμον ἐξαπέστελλε μετὰ δυνάμεως πολεμήσοντα τοῖς Οξυβίοις καὶ Δεκήταις.

10 (11) Ὅ δὲ Κώντος συναθροίσας τὰς δυνάμεις εἰς (8) τὴν τῶν Πλακεντίων πόλιν καὶ ποιησάμενος

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their own eyes what was happening, and to attempt by remonstrances to correct the misconduct of the barbarians.

9. Upon the Massaliots sending an embassy to Rome to complain of the conduct of the Ligurians, the senate at once appointed as their legates Flaminius Popilius Laenas and Lucius Pupius. Accompanying the Massaliots they put in to a town called Aegitna in the territory of the Oxybii. The Ligurians on hearing that they were coming to order them to raise the siege, prevented the others who were bringing their ship to anchor from disembarking, but finding that Flaminius was already on shore and had stowed away his baggage, they at first ordered him to quit the place, and, when he refused, began to pillage his things. When his slaves and freedmen tried to get hold of the things and prevent their seizure they forced them away and attacked them; and when Flaminius now came up to the help of his own people, they wounded him, struck down two of his servants, and chased the others on board, so that Flaminius only just managed by cutting the shore and anchor cables to escape from the danger. He was carried back to Marseilles, and nursed there with every attention; and the senate on hearing of the incident dispatched one of the consuls, Quintus Opimius, with an armed force to make war on the Oxybii and Decietae.

10. Opimius collected his forces at Piacenza, and
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tην πορείαν διὰ τῶν Ἀπεννίσων ὄρων ἦκεν εἰς
2 τοὺς Ὁξύβιους. στρατοπεδεύσας δὲ παρὰ τὸν
"Ἀπρωνα ποταμὸν ἀνεδέχετο τοὺς πολεμίους,
pυνθανόμενος αὐτοῦς ἀθροίζεσθαι καὶ προθύμους
3 εἶναι πρὸς τὸ διακυδυνεῖν καὶ προσαγαγῶν
tὴν στρατιάν ὁ Κόντος πρὸς τὴν Αὔγιτναν, ἐν
ἡ συνεβη τοὺς πρεσβευτὰς παρασπονδηθήναι, τὴν
πόλιν κατὰ κράτος ἐλὼν ἐξηνδραποδίσατο καὶ
τοὺς ἀρχηγοὺς τῆς ὑβρεως ἀπέστειλε δεσμίους
4 εἰς τὴν Ἔρωμην. καὶ ταῦτα διαπραξάμενος ἀπ-
5 ἡμα τοῖς πολεμίοις. οἱ δ' Ὁξύβιοι νομίζοντες
ἀπαραίτητον αὐτοῖς εἶναι τὴν εἰς τοὺς πρεσβευτὰς
ἀμαρτίαν, παράλογω των χρησάμενοι θυμῷ καὶ
λαβόντες ὁμὴν παραστατικήν, πρὶν ἡ τοὺς Δεκή-
tας αὐτοῖς συμμεσκα, περὶ τετρακισχιλίους ἀθροι-
6 οθέντες ὀρμήσαν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους. ὁ δὲ
Κόντος ἤδων τὴν ἔφοδον καὶ τὸ θράσος τῶν
βαρβάρων τὴν μὲν ἀπόνοιαν αὐτῶν κατεπλάγη,
θεωρῶν δὲ μηδὲν λόγῳ ταύτη χρωμένους τοὺς
ἐχθροὺς εὐθαρσῆς ἦν, ἀτε τριβήν ἐν πράγμασιν
ἐχθόν καὶ τῇ φύσει διαφερόντως ἀγχίσους ὑπ-
7 ἀρχῶν. διόπερ ἔξαγαγὼν τὴν αὐτοῦ στρατιάν
καὶ παρακαλέσας τὰ πρέποντα τοῖς καιροῖς ἦκε
8 βάδην ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους. χρησάμενος δὲ
συντόνῳ προσβολῆς ταχέως ἐνίκησε τοὺς ἀντι-
tαξαμένους καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν ἀπέκτεινεν,
tοὺς δὲ λυτοὺς ἠνάγκασε φυγεῖν προτροπάδην.
9 οἱ δὲ Δεκῆται <συν>ηθροισμένοι παρῆσαν, ώς
μεθέξοντες τοῖς Ὁξύβιοι τῶν αὐτῶν κυνδύνων.
10 ύπερήσαντες δὲ τῆς μάχης τοὺς τε φεύγοντας ἐξελέ-
ξαντο καὶ μετ' ὀλίγον συνεβαλον τοῖς Ἔρωμαιοις
11 μετὰ μεγάλης ὀρμῆς καὶ προθυμίας. ἔτηθέν-

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BOOK XXXIII. 10. 1–11

marching across the Apennines reached the country of the Oxybii. Encamping beside the river Apro he waited for the enemy, hearing that they were collecting and were ready to give battle. Then leading his army to Aegitna, the town in which the legates had been treacherously attacked, he took it by assault, sold the inhabitants into slavery, and sent the ringleaders of the outrage in chains to Rome. After this success he went to meet the enemy. The Oxybii, thinking that their offence against the legates was inexpiable, showed extraordinary spirit, and with frenzied eagerness for the fray, before being joined by the Decietae, collected a force of about four thousand men and threw themselves on the enemy. Opimius, seeing the barbarians attack him so boldly, was amazed at their desperate courage; but knowing that they had no good grounds for this display of valour, felt full of confidence, as he was a practised commander and exceedingly intelligent. Therefore, leading out his army and exhorting them in terms suitable to the occasion, he advanced slowly to meet the enemy. Pressing home his attack vigorously he soon got the better of his adversaries, slew many of them and forced the others to headlong flight. The Decietae now arrived in full force, thinking that they would take part in the battle side by side with the Oxybii, but arriving after all was over, received the fugitives into their ranks; they shortly afterwards attacked the Romans with great spirit and resolution, but when worsted in the fight
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tes de tʰi máxʰi parautʰiaka pánθes paréðwkan
sfʰas aútoús kai tʰn pólon eis tʰn 'RWmaiówn
12 pístʰn. O de Kóntos kýrios genómenos tou̱tówn
tʰn éthnœuvre parautʰiaka méν tʰs χw参考资料 missing
at once unconditionally surrendered themselves and their city. Opimius having overcome these tribes added as much of their territory as he thought fit to that of Marseilles, and compelled the Ligurians to give the Massaliots in future hostages for certain periods. He himself, after disarming his adversaries and distributing his forces among the different cities, went into winter quarters in Liguria. This campaign, then, both began and ended rapidly.

The Rival Ptolemies

11. At the time when the senate dispatched Opimius to make war on the Oxybii the younger Ptolemy came to Rome and appearing before the senate accused his brother, asserting that he was responsible for the plot against himself. Exhibiting the scars left by his wounds, and laying full stress besides in his speech on the atrocity of the deed, he pleaded for pity. Neolaïdes and Andromachus also came as envoys from the elder king to defend him against these accusations, but the senate would not even listen to their defence, so much were they prepossessed by the younger brother’s charges. Ordering these envoys to leave Rome at once, they appointed five legates, headed by Gnaeus Merula and Lucius Thermus, to support the younger brother, and furnishing each of them with a quinquereme ordered them to re-establish Ptolemy in Cyprus,
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7 εἰς Κύπρον, τοὺς δὲ κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν συμμάχους ἔγραψαν ἐξείναι συμπράττεν ἑτοι Πτολεμαίῳ τὰ κατὰ τὴν κάθοδον.

VI. RES PERGAMI

12 "Οτι κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν Ὀταλός ἐτι κατὰ χει-(10) μῶνα συνήθροοιε μεγάλας δυνάμεις, ἀτε καὶ τῶν περὶ μπὸ Ἀριαράθην καὶ τὸν Μιδριδάτην ἐξ- απεσταλκότων αὐτῷ στρατιῶν ἵππεων καὶ πεζῶν κατὰ τὴν συμμαχίαν, ὑν ἤγετο Δημήτριος Ἀρια-

22 ράθου. ὧντος δὲ περὶ ταύτας αὐτοῦ τὰς κατα-

3 σκευάς, ἦκον ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης οἱ δέκα πρέσβεις,

4 οἱ καὶ συμμίχαντες αὐτῷ περὶ Κάδους καὶ κοινο-

5 λογηθέντες περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων ὠρμησαν πρὸς

6 τὸν Προυσίαν. ἑπειδὴ δὲ συνέμειξαν, διεσάφοι

7 αὐτῷ τὰ παρὰ τῆς συγκλητοῦ μετὰ πολλῆς ἀνα-

8 τάσεως. ὁ δὲ Προυσίας ἐναι μὲν τῶν προστατο-

9 μένων προσεδέχετο, τοὺς δὲ πλείστους ἄντελεγε.

10 διόπερ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι προσκόπταντες αὐτῷ τὴν τε

11 φιλίαν ἀπείπαντο καὶ τὴν συμμαχίαν, καὶ πάντες

12 ἔξ αὐτῆς ἀπηλλάττοντο πάλιν ὡς τὸν Ὀταλον.

13 ὁ δὲ Προυσίας μετανοήσας μέχρι μὲν των ἐπ-

14 ηκολούθει λυπαρῶν, ἐπει δ’ οὐδὲν ἤνυεν, ἄπολλα-

15 γεὶς ἐν ἀμηχανίας ἦν. οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι τὸν

16 μὲν Ὀταλον ἐκέλευον προκαθίσαντα τῆς αὐτοῦ

17 χώρας μετὰ δυνάμεως αὐτὸν μὲν μὴ κατάρχειν

18 τοῦ πολέμου, ταῖς δὲ πόλεσι ταῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ ταῖς

19 κώμαις τὴν ἀσφάλειαν παρασκευάζειν· αὐτοὶ δὲ

20 μερίσαντες σφᾶς αὐτούς, οἱ μὲν ἔπλεον κατὰ

21 σπουδὴν ἀπαγγελοῦντες τῇ συγκλήτω τῇ ἀ-

22 πείθειν τοῦ Προυσίαν, των δ’ ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰωνίας

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writing to their allies in Greece and Asia to the effect that they had their permission to assist his return.

VI. Affairs of Pergamus

12. In Asia Attalus began as early as the winter to collect large forces, Ariarathes and Mithridates having sent him under the terms of their alliance an army consisting of cavalry and infantry under the command of Demetrius, the son of Ariarathes. While he was occupied in these preparations, the ten legates arrived from Rome. After meeting him near Cadi and conversing about the situation they left to visit Prusias, and when they met him, delivered the message from the senate in a very threatening manner. Prusias yielded to some of the commands, but resisted most of them. Consequently the Romans broke with him, renouncing their friendship and alliance, and all of them left on the spot to join Attalus. Prusias now thought better of it, and followed them for some distance entreating them, but when this had no effect, he left them and was now at a loss what to do. The legates ordered Attalus to protect his frontiers with an army and not to open hostilities himself, but to place his towns and villages in safety. They now separated, and while some of them left in haste to announce to the senate the contumacy of Prusias, others went to different parts
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εὐχωρίσθησαν, ἔτεροι δ' ἐφ' Ἕλλησπόντου καὶ
tῶν κατὰ τὸ Βυζάντιον τόπων, μιὰν ἔχοντες καὶ
9 τὴν αὐτήν πρόθεσιν ἀπαντῶν, ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς Προ-
σιοῦ φιλίας καὶ συμμαχίας ἀποκαλεῖν τοὺς ἄν-
θρωποὺς, Ἀττάλῳ δὲ προσνέμειν τὴν εὐνοιαν
cαὶ συμμαχεῖν κατὰ δύναμιν.
13 Κατὰ δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς καυροὺς Ἀθήναιος κατ-
(11) ἐπλευσε ναυσὶ καταφράκτως ὅγδοήκοντα. Ὄν
2 αἱ πέντε μὲν τετρήρεις ἦσαν Ὑπόλιων τῶν ἀπο-
σταλεσθῶν εἰς τὸν Κρητικὸν πόλεμον, εἰκοσὶ δὲ
Κυζικηνῶν, ἐπτὰ δὲ ἐπὶ ταῖς εἰκοσὶ τῶν περὶ
tὸν Ἀτταλοῦ, αἱ δὲ λοιπαὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων.
3 ουσισάμενος δὲ τὸν πλοῦν ἐφ' Ἕλλησπόντου καὶ
συνάψας ταῖς πόλεσι ταῖς ὑπὸ Προσιοῦ ταττο-
μέναις ἀποβάσεις τε συνεχεῖς ἐποιεῖτο καὶ κακῶς
4 διετίθει τὴν χώραν. ἂ δὲ σύγκλιτος διακού-
σασα τῶν παρὰ τοῦ Προσιοῦ πρεσβευτῶν ἀνα-
κεχωρηκότων ἐξ αὐτῆς τρεῖς ἄλλους ἀπέστειλεν,
"Ἀππιόν τε τὸν Κλαύδιον καὶ Λεύκιον Ὀσπιοῦν
5 καὶ Ἀιλοῦ Ποστόμιον. οὗ καὶ παραγενόμενοι
πρὸς τὴν Ἀσίαν διέλυσαν τὸν πόλεμον, εἰς τὰς
τοιαύτας συνθήκας ἐπαγαγόμενοι τοὺς βασιλέας
6 ἀμφοτέρους, ὡστε παραχρήμα μὲν εἰκοσὶ κατα-
φράκτους νῆας ἀποδοθῆναι Προσιῶν Ἀττάλῳ,
pεντακόσια δὲ τάλαντα κατενεγκεῖν ἐν ἑτεῖν
7 εἴκοσι. τὴν δὲ χώραν ἀμφοτέρους ἔχειν ἤν καὶ
πρότερον εἰχὼν, ὅτι εἰς τὸν πόλεμον ἐνέβαινον.
8 διορθώσασθαι δὲ Προσιῶν καὶ τὴν καταφθορὰν
tῆς χώρας τῆς τε Μηθυμναίων καὶ τῶν Αἰγαίων
καὶ τῆς Κυμαίων καὶ Ἡρακλειωτῶν, ἔκατον
9 τάλαντα δόντα τοῖς προειρημένοις γραφεῖσιν

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of Ionia and others to the country near the Hellespont and Byzantium, all with one and the same project, that is to call on the inhabitants to desert the alliance of Prusias and, as far as lay in their power, to favour the cause of Attalus and cultivate his alliance.

13. At about the same time Athenaeus arrived with eighty decked ships of which five were Rhodian quadriremes from the fleet that had been sent to the Cretan war, twenty were Cyzicene, twenty-seven belonged to Attalus, and the rest to the other allies. Sailing to the Hellespont and approaching the cities which owed allegiance to Prusias he made frequent landings and inflicted damage on their territory. The senate, after hearing the report of the legates who had returned from Prusias, at once dispatched three others, Appius Claudius, Lucius Oppius, and Aulus Postumius, who on reaching Asia put an end to the war, inducing both kings to make a treaty, by the terms of which Prusias was to hand over at once twenty decked ships to Attalus, and to pay him five hundred talents in twenty years, each keeping the territory that was theirs before they entered on hostilities. Prusias also undertook to repair the damage he had done to the territory of Methymna, Aegae, Cyme, and Heracleia, paying a hundred talents to those cities. The treaty having been
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δ’ ἐκ τούτων τῶν συνθηκῶν, ἀπῆγγον τὰς δυνάμεις εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν οἱ περὶ τὸν "Αττάλον,
10 τὰς ναυτικὰς καὶ τὰς πεζικὰς. καὶ τῆς μὲν 'Αττάλον καὶ Προσίου διαφορὰς τοιοῦτος ὃ
tε κατὰ μέρος χειρισμὸς ἐγενήθη τῶν πρά-
ξεων . . .

VII. Res Italiae

14 "Οτι κατὰ τὸν καίρον τούτον ἐν τῇ 'Ῥώμῃ τῶν
(13) ἐκ τῆς 'Αχαίας πρεσβευτῶν εἰσελθόντων εἰς
tὴν σύγκλητον περὶ τῶν ἀνακεκλημένων, ἐδοξε
tῷ συνεδρίῳ μένειν ἐπὶ τῶν ὑποκειμένων.

15 "Οτι ὁ Ἡρακλείδης ἐτι τῆς θερείας ἀκμαζούσης
(14) παρῆν εἰς τὴν 'Ῥώμην ἀγων τὴν Δασδίκην καὶ
2 τὸν 'Αλέξανδρον. ποιούμενος δὲ τὴν παρεπι-
δημίαν μετὰ περατείας ἄμα καὶ κακουργίας ἐν-
εχρόνιε, κατασκευαζόμενος τὰ περὶ τὴν σύγ-
κλητον.

3 Καὶ Ἡστυμήδης ὁ Ἡρόδιος, πρεσβευτὴς ἀμα
καὶ ναύαρχος καθεσταμένος, παρελθὼν ἐξ αὐτῆς
eἰς τὴν σύγκλητον διελέγετο περὶ τοῦ πολέμου
4 τοῦ πρὸς Κρηταιεῖς. ἢ δὲ σύγκλητος προσ-
έχουσα τὸν νοῦν ἐπιμελῶς παραχρήμα πρεσβευτᾶς
ἐξαπέστειλε τοὺς περὶ Κόντον λύσοντας τὸν
πόλεμον.

VIII. Bellum Rhodiorum cum Cretensibus

16 "Οτι κατὰ τὸν καίρον τούτον οἱ Κρηταιεῖς πρε-
(15) σβεντᾶς ἀπέστειλαν πρὸς 'Αχαιοὺς ὑπὲρ βοηθείας
<τοὺς περὶ> 'Ἀντιφάταν Τηλεμάνστου Γορτύνιον,
drawn up on these terms, Attalus withdrew his forces both military and naval to his own country. Such were the incidents in the quarrel between Attalus and Prusias and such was its end.

VII. AFFAIRS OF ITALY

The Achaean exiles

14. At Rome during this year when the envoys 154-153 B.C. from Achaea appeared before the senate to plead for the Achaeans in detention it was decided to make no change.

15. Heracleides at the height of summer came to Rome bringing Laodice and Alexander. He made a long stay there, trying by means of jugglery and base intrigue to work upon the senate.

Astymedes of Rhodes, who held the two posts of admiral and envoy, came at once on his arrival before the senate and spoke about their war with the Cretans. The senate after listening to him with attention instantly sent a commission under Quintus to put an end to the war.

VIII. THE WAR BETWEEN RHODES AND CRETE

16. At this time the Cretans sent to the Achaeans as their envoy Antiphatas, the son of Telemnastus

*Alexander Balas, a pretended son of Antiochus Epiphanes.
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παραπλησίως δὲ καὶ Ὄλιοι τοὺς περὶ Θεοφάνην.
2 οὐσὶς δὲ τῆς συνόδου τῶν Ἀχαίων ἐν Κορώνῳ,
καὶ διαλεγομένων τῶν πρεσβευτῶν ἐκατέρων ὑπὲρ
tῆς βοηθείας, ἔρρεσαν ταῖς γνώμαις οἱ πολλοὶ
3 μᾶλλον ἐπὶ τοὺς Ὀλίους, ἐντρεπόμενοι καὶ τὸ
tῆς πόλεως ἀξίωμα καὶ τὴν ὀλην αἴρεσιν τῆς
4 πολιτείας καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν. εἰς δὲ βλέπουν Ἀντι
φάτας ἐβουλήθη πάλιν ἐπεισελθεῖν, τοῦ δὲ στρα-
tηγοῦ συγχωρήσαντος ἐχρήσατο λόγοις βαρυ-
5 τέροις ἡ κατὰ Κρήτα καὶ σπουδαιότεροι: καὶ
γὰρ ἦν ὁ νεανίσκος οὐδαμῶς Κρητικός, ἀλλὰ
6 πεφυγὼς τὴν Κρητικὴν ἀναγωγίαν. διὸ καὶ
συνέβαινε τοὺς Ἀχαίως ἐπιδέχεσθαι τὴν παρρη-
σίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ μᾶλλον ἐτί διὰ <τὸ> τὸν πατέρα
του προερημένου Τηλέμαχον μετὰ πεντακοσίων
Κρητῶν ἔλθοντα συμπεπολεμηκέναι τὸν πρὸς Νάβων
7 πόλεμον εὐγενῶς αὐτοῖς. πλὴν διακούσαντες οὐ-
δὲν ἦττον ὄρμην εἴχον οἱ πολλοὶ τοῖς Ὀλίους
βοηθεῖν, ἐως Καλλικράτης ὁ Λεοντήσιος ἀνα-
στὰς οὐκ ἐφὶ δὲν οὔτε πολεμεῖν οὐδὲν χωρὶς
tῆς Ῥωμαίων γνώμης οὔτε βοηθεῖαν πέμπειν
8 οὔτεν καὶ οὔδενός. καὶ διὰ ταῦτα κατίσχυσε
μένειν ἐπὶ τῶν ὑποκειμένων.
17 "Ὅτι οἱ Ὀλίου δυσθετούμενοι τοῖς συμβαί-

(15) νοις εἰς παραλόγους τινὰς ἐνέπεσαν ὄρμας καὶ
παρασκευὰς καὶ πρὸς παραπλησίαν διάθεσιν ἤλθον
τοῖς ἐν ταῖς πολυχρονίοις ἀρρωστίαις δυσποτημοῦσι.
2 καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνῳ πολλάκις, ἐπειδὰν πάντα ποιοῦντες
κατὰ λόγον τῆς θεραπείας καὶ πειθαρχοῦντες
τοῖς ἱατρῶις μὴ δύνωνται τῆς ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον
προκοπῆς ἀψασθαι, δυσθετούμενοι τοῖς συμ-
βαίνουσιν ἀποδυσπετεῖν ἀναγκάζονται, καὶ τινὲς
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of Gortyna, and the Rhodians sent Theophanes, each begging for help. The Achaean assembly was sitting at Corinth, and when both envoys addressed them on the subject, the majority were more favourably inclined to the Rhodians out of respect for the dignity of that city and the character in general of the Rhodian state and its citizens. Antiphatas, noticing this, expressed a wish to address them a second time, and on receiving the permission of the strategus did so in terms more weighty and serious than is usual with a Cretan. For, as a fact, this young man was not at all Cretan in character but had escaped the contagion of Cretan ill-breeding. The Achaeans in consequence put up with his freedom of speech, and still more because his father Telemnastus had come with five hundred Cretans to help them in their war against Nabis, and had borne himself gallantly. Nevertheless, after they had listened to him, the majority was still inclined to help the Rhodians, until Callicrates of Leontium rose and said that they should not go to war with anyone or send help to anyone without taking the advice of Rome. For this reason it was finally decided to take no steps.

17. The Rhodians, dissatisfied with the turn of events, adopted strange resolutions and expedients, and fell into a condition like that of those afflicted by chronic sickness. For such men, when, after following scrupulously all the treatment imposed on them and obeying the orders of their physician, they fail to see any sign of improvement, are often dissatisfied with the result and give up the treatment
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μὲν θύταις καὶ μάντεσι προσέχειν, ἐνιοὶ δὲ πάσης ἐπωδής καὶ παντὸς περιάμματος πείραν λαμβάνειν. ὦ καὶ περὶ τοὺς Ἀρδίους συνέβαυνε· πάντων γὰρ αὐτοῖς παρὰ δόξαν ἀπαντωμένων, ἡναγκάζοντο παντὶ τῷ λεγομένῳ προσέχειν καὶ πάσαν ἐξίσους σωματοποιεῖν καὶ προσδέχεσθαι.

καὶ τούτ’ ἐδόκουν πάσχειν εἰκότως· ὅταν γὰρ μηδὲν ἀνύηται τῶν κατὰ λόγον, δὲ γὰρ κατ’ ἀνάγκην ἐνεργεῖσθαι τὸ συνεχές, ἀνάγκη πείραν λαμβάνει καὶ τῶν παρὰ λόγον. διὸ καὶ Ἀρδίου ἐμπεσόντες εἰς τοιαύτην διάθεσιν ἐποίησάν τι τῶν γνωμένων καὶ ὅν ἀπεδοκίμασαν ἀρχοντα, τούτων πάλιν εἰλοντο ἀρχοντα, καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ παράλογα.

IX. Res Italiae

18 "Οτι πρεσβεων διαφόρων παραγενομένων εἰς τὴν Ἀράμην ἡ σύγκλητος πρῶτον μὲν εἰσεκαλέσατο τὸν Εὐμένουσ τοῦ βασιλέως νῦν Ἀτταλον· παραγεγόνει γὰρ ἐπὶ παῖς ὅν κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τούτων εἰς Ἀράμην χάριν τοῦ τῆς συγκλήτως αὐτῷ διάθεσις καὶ τὰς πατρικὰς ἀνανεώσασθαι φιλίας καὶ ξενίας. οὕτος μὲν οὐν φιλανθρώπως ὑπὸ τῆς συγκλήτως καὶ τῶν πατρικῶν φίλων ἀποδεχθεὶς καὶ λαβὼν ἀποκρίσεις ἃς ἐβούλετο καὶ τιμᾶς ἀρμοζοῦσας τῇ καθ’ αὐτὸν ἥλικια, μετὰ τινὰς ἡμέρας ἐπανήλθεν εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν, πασῶν αὐτῶν τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἐλλάδα πόλεων ἐκτενῶς καὶ μεγαλοπρόσωπος ἀποδεξαμένων κατὰ τὴν δίοδον. ἦκε δὲ καὶ Δημήτριος κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν, τυχῶν δὲ μετρίας ἀπΟδοχῆς ὡς παῖς αὖθις ἀν-
perforce, some of them taking the advice of performers of sacrifice and of soothsayers, and others resorting to all kinds of charms and amulets. The same thing happened to the Rhodians. For when everything had turned out contrary to their expectations, they listened perforce to all kinds of advice and gave substance and welcome to every kind of hope. And this seems quite natural; for when all reasonable action has failed and we are still compelled to go on doing something, we must perforce resort to unreasonable courses. The Rhodians, therefore, having reached this condition acted as often happens in such cases, choosing magistrates whom they had rejected and acting unreasonably in other respects.

IX. Affairs of Italy

Visits of the young Attalus, Demetrius, and Alexander Balas

18. Several embassies arrived in Rome, and the 154-153 B.C. senate summoned in the first place Attalus, the son of King Eumenes, who had come to Rome at this time while still a boy to be introduced to the senate, and renew in his own person his father’s friendships and hospitable relations. Having met with a kind reception from the senate and his father’s friends and received the answers he wished, and such honours as suited his age, he returned home after a few days, all the Greek cities through which he passed giving him a cordial and generous reception. Demetrius also arrived at the same time, and after being received with no great state, as he was still a
6 εχώρησεν εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν. ὁ δ' Ἡρακλείδης κεχρονικώς ἐν τῇ 'Ῥώμῃ παρῆλθεν εἰς τὴν σύγκλητον, ἔχων μεθ' ἐαυτοῦ τὴν Λαοδίκην καὶ 7 τοῦ 'Αλέξανδρον. πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ὁ νεανίσκος ἐποιήσατο τινας μετρίους λόγους, ἥξιον δὲ 'Ῥωμαίους μνησθῆναι τῆς πρὸς τὸν Ἀντίοχον τὸν αὐτὸν πατέρα φιλίας καὶ συμμαχίας, μάλιστα δὲ 8 συγκατασκευάζειν αὐτῷ τὴν βασιλείαν· εἰ δὲ μῆ, συγχωρήσαι τὴν κάθοδον καὶ μη κωλύσαι τοὺς θουλομένους συμπράττειν αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸ 9 καθικέσθαι τῆς πατρίδος άρχης. ὁ δ' Ἡρακλείδης παραλαβὼν τὸν λόγον καὶ πολλῆς τινα ποιησάμενος Ἀντίοχον μὲν μνείαν ἐπὶ ἁγαθῷ, Δημητρίου δὲ κατηγορίαν, εἰς τοῦτο κατήντησεν ὅτι δεῖ συγχωρεῖν τὴν κάθοδον τῷ τε νεανίσκῳ καὶ τῇ Λαοδίκῃ κατὰ τὸ δίκαιον, οὕτων Ἀντίοχον 10 τοῦ βασιλέως ἐκγόνους κατὰ φύσιν. τοῖς μὲν οὖν μετρίοις τῶν ἀνθρώπων οὐδὲν ἥρεσκε τούτων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν κατασκευὴν τοῦ δράματος ἐνένοιαν καὶ τὸν Ἡρακλείδην ἐβδελύττοντο προφανῶς. 11 οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ τεθεραπευμένοι ταῖς Ἡρακλείδου γοητείαις συγκατηνέχθησαν ἐπὶ τὸ γράφειν δόγμα 12 τοιοῦτον· "Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ Λαοδίκη, βασιλέως νιόλ, φίλου καὶ συμμάχου ἡμετέρου γεγενημένου, ἐπελθόντες ἐπὶ τὴν σύγκλητον λόγου ἐποιήσαντο· 13 ή δὲ σύγκλητος αὐτοῖς ἐξουσίαν ἐδωκέν ἐπὶ τὴν πατρίδαν άρχην καταπορεύεσθαι, καὶ βοηθεῖν αὐ- 14 τοῖς, ὡς ἥξιον, ἐδοξεν." ὁ δ' Ἡρακλείδης ἑπιλαβόμενος τῆς ἀφορμῆς ταύτης εὐθέως ἐξενο- λόγει καὶ προσεκαλέτο τῶν ἑπιφανῶν ἀνδρῶν . . . ἀφικόμενοι δ' εἰς τὴν "Ἐφεσον ἐγίνετο περὶ τὴν παρασκευήν τῆς προκειμένης ἐπιβολῆς. 288
boy, returned home. Heracleides too, after having spent some time in Rome, appeared before the senate accompanied by Laodice and Alexander. The young man spoke first in a reasonable manner, begging the Romans to remember their friendship and alliance with his father Antiochus, and entreating them, if they could, to help him to regain his kingdom, but if not, to allow his return and not to prevent those who were willing to assist him in winning back his father’s throne. After him Heracleides addressed them, delivering a long panegyric of Antiochus and accusing Demetrius, and finally maintaining that it was only just that they should allow the return of the young man and Laodice, who were the real children of King Antiochus. None of this pleased sober-minded members who understood the artful construction of the plot, and were frankly disgusted with Heracleides, but the majority, seduced by the charlatanry of Heracleides, were persuaded to draw up a consultum in these terms. “Alexander and Laodice, the children of a king who was our friend and ally, came before the senate and addressed it. The senate thereupon gave them authority to go home to regain their father’s throne, and it was decided to grant their request for help.” Heracleides now, availing himself of this permission, at once began to hire mercenaries and summoned to his aid a number of distinguished men. On arriving at Ephesus he occupied himself with preparations for his enterprise.
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X. Res Syriæ

19 Καὶ Δημήτριον δὲ φησι, τὸν ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης τὴν ὀμηρείαν διαφυγόντα, ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ καὶ τριακοστῇ βασιλεύσαντα Σύρων πολυπότην ὄντα τὸ πλείστον τῆς ἡμέρας μεθύσκεσθαι.

FRAGMENTA INCERTAE SEDIS

20 "Ὅτι οὖν ἄπαξ οἱ πολλοὶ σχῶσιν ὁρμὴν πρὸς τὸ φιλεῖν ἡ μισεῖν τινας ὑπερβαλλόντως, πάσα πρόφασις ἵκανή γίνεται πρὸς τὸ συντελεῖν τὰς αὖτων προθέσεις.

21 Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὅκνῳ μὴ ποτ’ εἰς τὸ περιφερόμενον ἐμπεσὼν λάθω, πότερον ὁ τὸν τράγον ἀμέλυν αφρονέστερος ή ὁ τὸ κόσκινον ὑπέχων· δοκῶ γὰρ δὴ κἀγὼ πρὸς ὁμολογούμενην ψευδολογίαν ἀκριβολογούμενος καὶ τὸν ἐπιμετροῦντα λόγον εἰσφέρων παραπλήσιον τι ποιεῖν. διὸ καὶ μάτην τελέως περὶ τούτων λέγειν, εἰ μὴ τις καὶ γράφειν ἐνύπνια βουλεῖται καὶ θεωρεῖν ἑγρηγορότος ἐνύπνια.
X. Affairs of Syria

(Athenaeus x. p. 440 b.)

19. Polybius tells us in his thirty-third Book that Demetrius, who escaped from Rome when he was a hostage, and became king of Syria, was much given to drink and was tipsy for the greater part of the day.

UNPLACED FRAGMENTS

20. When once the multitude are impelled to love or hate anyone in excess, any pretext is sufficient for them to execute their projects.

21. But I fear that the well-known adage may apply to me unknown to myself: "Which is the greater simpleton, the man who milks a he-goat or he who holds a sieve to catch the milk?" For it may be said of me that by confuting in detail what is confessed to be a lie, and doing so at great length, I am behaving in a very similar manner. So I shall be told I entirely waste my time in speaking of this matter, unless indeed I wish to record dreams and take into serious consideration the visions of a man with his eyes open.
I. Generalia nonnulla. De argumento huius libri

1. Οἱ δ' ἐν τῇ κοινῇ τῆς ἱστορίᾳ γραφῇ χωρίς ἀποδείξαντες τὴν τῶν ἠπείρων τοπογραφίαν, καθ-άπερ "Εφορὸς τε ἐποίησε καὶ Πολύβιος.

3. Πολύβιος... φήσας περὶ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν καλῶς μὲν Εὐδοξοῦ, κάλλιστα δ' οὐφόρον ἐξηγεῖσθαι περὶ κτίσεων, συγγενείων, μεταναστάσεων, ἀρχηγετῶν, ἡμεῖς δέ, φησί, τὰ νῦν ὄντα δηλώσομεν καὶ περὶ θέσεως τῶν καὶ διαστημάτων τούτο γάρ ἐστιν οἰκειότατον χωρογραφία. ἀλλὰ μὴν σύγγε, ὃ Πολύβιε, ὁ τὰς λαοδογματικὰς ἀποφάσεις περὶ τῶν διαστημάτων εἰσάγων οὐκ ἐν τοῖς ἔξω τῆς Ἑλλάδος μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς.

7. Πολύβιος οὖν ὁ ἱστοριογράφος πεπραγμάτευται βιβλίον, ο ἐπιγραφήν ἔχει "περὶ τῆς ὑπὸ τὸν ἱσημερινὸν οἰκήσεως" αὐτῇ δὲ ἐστὶν ἐν μέσῃ τῇ διακεκαμένῃ ζώνῃ. καὶ φησιν οἰκεῖσθαι τοὺς 292
I. Some General Remarks. The Subject of this Book

(From Strabo viii. 1. 1, C 332.)

1. Those who in a general history have dealt separately with the geography of the continents like Ephorus and Polybius.

(Id. x. 3. 5, C 465.)

Polybius says that in regard to Greece Eudoxus has given a good and Ephorus a very good account of the foundation of cities, genealogies, migrations, and the planters of colonies; "but I," he adds, "will describe the actual situation of places and give the actual distances, that being the most essential thing in geography." But yet it is you, Polybius, who introduce the popular misstatements of distances not only outside Greece, but in Greece itself.

(From Geminus, Elements of Astronomy, C 16.)

Polybius the historian has composed a book with the title On the parts of the globe under the Celestial Equator, that is to say in the middle of the torrid zone. He says that the region is inhabited,
τόπους καὶ εὐκρατοτέραν ἔχειν τὴν οἰκησιν τῶν
περὶ τὰ πέρατα τῆς διακεκαυμένης ζώνης κατ-
οικοῦντων. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἱστορίας φέρει τῶν κατ-
wπτευκότων τὰς οἰκήσεις καὶ ἐπιμαρτυροῦντων τοῖς
φανομένοις, ὁ δὲ ἐπιλογίζεται ἐπὶ τῆς φυσικῆς
9 περὶ τὸν ἥλιον ὑπαρχοῦσης κινήσεως. ο γὰρ
ἥλιος περὶ μὲν τοὺς τροπικοὺς κύκλους πολὺν
ἐπιμένει χρόνον κατὰ τε τὴν πρόσοδον τὴν πρὸς
αὐτοὺς καὶ τὴν ἀποχώρησιν, ὡστε σχεδὸν ἐφ' ἴμερας
τετταράκοντα μένει πρὸς αἰσθησιν ἐπὶ
10 <τῶν> τροπικῶν κύκλων. δι' ἄν αὐτίαν καὶ τὰ
μεγέθη τῶν ἡμερῶν σχεδὸν ἐφ' ἴμερας μ' τὰ
αὐτὰ διαμένει. ὁθὲν ἐπιμονής γυνομένης πρὸς
τὰς οἰκήσεις τὰς κειμένας ὑπὸ τοὺς τροπικοὺς
ανάγκη ἐκπυροῦσθαι τὴν οἰκησιν καὶ ἀοίκητον
γίνεσθαι διὰ τὴν τοῦ καύματος ὑπέρβολήν. ἀπὸ
δὲ τοῦ ἱσημερινοῦ κύκλου ταχείας συμβαίνει τὰς
ἀποχώρησεις γίνεσθαι. ὁθὲν καὶ τὰ μεγέθη τῶν
ἡμερῶν περὶ τὰς ἱσημερίας μεγάλας λαμβάνει τὰς
παραυξήσεις. εὐλόγον οὖν καὶ τὰς ὑπὸ τὸν
ἱσημερινὸν κειμένας οἰκήσεις εὐκρατοτέρας ὑπ-
ἀρχεῖν, ἐπιμονῆς μὲν <οὖ> γυνομένης ἐπὶ τοῦ κατὰ
κορυφὴν σχείου, ταχέως δὲ ἀποχωροῦντος τοῦ ἥ-
11 λίου. πάντες γὰρ οἱ μεταξὺ τῶν τροπικῶν κύκλων
οἰκοῦντες παρὰ τὴν πάροδον ὀμοίως κεῖνται τοῦ
ἡλίου. πλείονας δὲ χρόνους ἐπιμένει τοῖς περὶ τοὺς
12 τροπικοὺς οἰκοῦσι. δι' ἄν αὐτίαν εὐκρατοτέρας
ἐίναι συμβεβήκε τὰς ὑπὸ τὸν ἱσημερινὸν οἰκήσεις,
αἴτινες κεῖνται ἐν μέσῃ τῇ διακεκαυμένῃ ζώνη,
tῶν περὶ τὰ πέρατα τῆς διακεκαυμένης οἰκήσεων,
αἴτινες ὑπὸ τοὺς τροπικοὺς κύκλους κεῖνται.
13 Πολύβιος δὲ ποιεῖ ζώνας ἐξ, δύο μὲν τὰς τοῖς
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and has a more temperate climate than that of those who inhabit the extremities of the torrid zone. On the one hand he cites the accounts given by those who have actually visited the region, and can testify to the fact, and on the other he argues from the nature of the sun’s movements. For at the solstices the sun remains a long time near the tropic circles both in approaching them and receding from them, so that we actually see it stay in their neighbourhood for about forty days; for which reason the length of the day remains almost the same for about forty days. So owing to the length of its stay over the climates lying under the tropic circles, that region is burnt up and is uninhabitable owing to the excessive heat. But from the equinoctial circle or equator the sun recedes rapidly, so that the length of the day rapidly increases or decreases after the equinoxes. It is reasonable then to suppose that the climates situated under the equator are more temperate, as the sun does not prolong his stay near the extreme point but rapidly recedes from it. For all those who live between the two tropic circles are equally exposed to the passage of the sun; but he remains longer over those who live under the actual tropics. So for this reason the region under the equator in the middle of the torrid zone has a more temperate climate than those at the extremities of the torrid zone, which lie under the tropic circles.

(From Strabo ii. 3. 1, C 96.)

Polybius makes the zones six in number, two lying
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

ἀρκτικοῖς ὑποπιπτοῦσας, δύο δὲ τὰς μεταξὺ τούτων τε καὶ τῶν τροπικῶν <καὶ δύο τὰς μεταξὺ τούτων> καὶ τοῖς ἰσημερινοῖ.

15 'Ο δὲ Πολύβιος τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ εὗ, τὸ ποιεῖν τινας ζώνας τοῖς ἀρκτικοῖς διοριζομένας, δύο μὲν τὰς ὑποπιπτοῦσας αὐτοῖς, δύο δὲ τὰς μεταξὺ τούτων καὶ τῶν τροπικῶν.

16 Εἶ δ', ὥσπερ Ἐρατοσθένης φησίν, ἡ ὑποπιπτοῦσα τῷ ἰσημερινῷ ἐστὶν ἐὑκρατος, καθάπερ καὶ Πολύβιος ὁμοδοξεὶ—προστίθησι δ' οὗτος καὶ διότι ψηλοτάτῃ ἐστὶ· διόπερ καὶ κατομβρεῖται, τῶν βορείων νεφών κατὰ τοὺς ἐπίσημα ἐκεῖ τοῖς ἀναστήμασι προσπιπτόντων πλείστων—πολὺ κρείττων τρίτην εὑκρατον ταύτην ποιεῖν στενήν τινα, ἡ τὰς ὑπὸ τοὺς τροπικοὺς εἰσάγειν.

17 'Ενίσθαται δ' ὁ Ποσειδώνιος τῷ Πολυβίῳ, διότι φησὶ τὴν ὑπὸ τῷ ἰσημερινῷ οἴκησιν ψηλοτάτην.

18 Περὶ δὲ τοῦ ἄριθμοῦ αὐτῶν πολλῆ διαφωνία τοῖς μετ' αὐτῶν γέγονεν· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἔξ αὐτὰς εἶπον, ὡς Πολύβιος καὶ Ποσειδώνιος, τὴν διακεκαυμένην εἰς δύο διαιροῦντες.

II. DE ULIIXIS NAVIGATIONE, PROPE SICILIAM
PRAESENTIM

2 'Εκ μηδενὸς δὲ ἀληθοῦς ἀνάπτευ κενὴν τερατο-
under the arctic circles, two between these and the tropic circles, and two between the latter and the equinoctial circle or equator.

*(Id. ii. 3. 2, C 97.)*

Polybius is mistaken in making some zones determined by the arctic circles, two immediately under them, and two between them and the tropic circles.

*(Id.)*

But if, as Eratosthenes says, the zone under the equator is temperate, agreeing in this with Polybius—the latter adds that it is very high and therefore has a rainfall, the clouds from the north during the etesian winds being arrested by the heights in large masses—it is much better to assume that this is a third narrow temperate zone, than to introduce here the two zones under the tropic circles.

*(Id.)*

Poseidonius is against the statement of Polybius that the region under the equator is very high.

*(From Achilles, Introduction to the Phaenomena, C 31.)*

Those after Aratus are not at all agreed about the number of the zones. Some, like Polybius and Poseidonius, say they are six, dividing the torrid zone into two.

**II. On the Voyage of Ulysses, especially in the neighbourhood of Sicily.**

*(Strabo i. 2. 9, C 20.)*

2. It is not like Homer to build an empty narrative
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2 logian oux 'Oμηρικον. prōssiptpei γαρ, ως eikós, ὡς πιθανώτερον αὖ oūtw tis ψεύδουτο, eὶ kata-
3 mίσγου τι καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν ἄληθινῶν: ὀπερ καὶ Πολύβιος φησι περὶ τῆς 'Οδυσσέως πλάνης ἐπι-
χειρών.

4 Καὶ Πολύβιος δ' ὀρθώς ὑπονοεῖ τὰ περὶ τῆς πλάνης: τὸν γαρ Ἄιλολον τὸν προσημαίνοντα τοὺς ἐκπλοὺς ἐν τοῖς κατὰ τὸν πορθμὸν τόπους ἀμφιδρόμοις οὗτοι καὶ δυσἐκπλοὶ διὰ τὰς παλιρ-
ροίας ταμίαν τε εἴρησθαι τῶν ἀνέμων καὶ βασιλέα
5 νενομίσθαι φησί, καθάπερ Δαναὸν μὲν τὰ ύδρεῖα τὰ ἐν "Αργεῖ παραδείγαντα, 'Ἀτρέα δὲ τοῦ ἦλιον τὸν ὑπεναντίον τῷ οὐρανῷ δρόμον, μάντεις τε καὶ
6 ἱεροσκοπουμένους ἀποδείκνυσθαι βασιλέας: τοὺς θ' ἱερεὰς τῶν Αἰγυπτίων καὶ Ἡλείαν καὶ Μάγους σοφία τῶι διαφέροντας τῶν ἀλλων ἣγε-
μονίας καὶ τιμῆς τυχάνειν παρὰ τοῖς πρὸ ἡμῶν.
7 οὖτω δὲ καὶ τῶν θεῶν ἕνα ἐκαστὸν τῶν χρησίμων τινὸς εὔρετὴν γενόμενον τιμᾶσθαι. ταῦτα δὲ
8 προσικονομησάμενος οὐκ ἔξ τὸν Ἄιλολον ἐν μύθου σχῆματι ἀκούσθαι, οὐδ' οἷη τὴν 'Οδυσσέως πλάνην, ἀλλὰ μικρὰ μὲν προσμεμυθεσθαι, καθ-
9 ἀπέρ καὶ τῷ 'Ιλιακῷ πολέμῳ, τὸ δ' ὅλον περὶ Σικελίαν καὶ τῷ ποιητῇ πεποιηθαί καὶ τοῖς ἀλλοις συνγραφεῖσιν, ὡςοι τάπιξώρια λέγουσι τὰ
10 περὶ τὴν 'Ιταλίαν καὶ Σικελίαν. οὐκ ἐπανεῖ δὲ
11 περὶ τὴν τοιαύτην τοῦ 'Ερατοσθένους ἀπόφασιν, διότι φησί τότ' ἄν εὑρεῖν τια ποῦ 'Οδυσσεύς πεπλάνηται, ὅταν εὐρή τὸν σκυτέα τὸν συγγράμαντα
12 τὸν τῶν ἀνέμων ἄσκον. καὶ τοῦτο δ' οἰκείως

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full of marvels on no basis of truth. For naturally the fact is that one makes falsehood more credible if one mixes a little truth with it, as Polybius also says when he undertakes to deal with the wanderings of Ulysses.

(Id. i. 2. 15-17, C 23-25.)

Polybius is right in his notion about the wanderings of Ulysses. For he says that Aeolus, the man who gave sailing directions for the seas near the Straits, which have a current setting both ways and are difficult to pass owing to the tides, was supposed to be the dispenser of the winds and a king, just as Danaus, who first showed them how to make the reservoirs in Argos, and Atreus who discovered that the motion of the sun was contrary to that of the heavens, and seers and those who practised divination from sacrifices, were styled kings, and the Egyptian priests, and the Chaldaeans and the Magi, who were distinguished from other men by some special science, enjoyed in early times peculiar precedence and honour, and just as each of the gods is honoured as the author of some useful invention. Having thus prepared his way, he does not allow us to treat Aeolus and the whole of the wanderings of Ulysses as mythical, but he says, that while some mythical elements have been added, as in the case of the Trojan war, the main statements about Sicily correspond to those of the other writers who treat of the local history of Italy and Sicily. Neither does he applaud the dictum of Eratosthenes that we may find out where Ulysses travelled when we find the cobbler who sewed the bag of the winds. And it is, he says, quite in accordance with the facts about the
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eιρήσθαι τοῖς συμβαίνοντι περὶ τὸ Σκύλλαιον καὶ
tὴν θῆραν τῶν γαλεωτῶν, τὸ ἐπὶ τῆς Σκύλλης,

13 αυτοῦ δ' ἵχθυά, σκόπελον περιμαμώωςα,
dελφίνας τε κύνας τε καὶ εἶ τοθι μείζον ἐλησι
κήτος.

14 τοὺς γὰρ θύνους ἄγελθητιν γερομένους παρὰ τὴν
'Italιαν, ἐπειδὰν ἐκτέσσοι καὶ κωλυθῶσι τῆς
Σικελίας ἁβασθαι, περιπτείτεν τοῖς μείζοις τὸν
ζώων, οἷν δελφίνων καὶ κυνῶν καὶ ἄλλων κητωδῶν,
15 ἐκ δὲ τῆς θῆρας αὐτῶν πιαίνοθαι τοὺς γαλεώτας,
16 οὐς καὶ ξιφίας λέγεσθαι καὶ κύνας φησί. συμβαίνειν γάρ ταύτων ἐνθάδε καὶ κατὰ τὰς ἀναβάσεις
tοῦ Νείλου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων υδάτων, ὅπερ ἐπὶ πυρὸς
καὶ ύλης ἐμπυραμένης ἀθροιζόμενα γὰρ τὰ θηρία
φεύγειν τὸ πῦρ ἡ τὸ ύδωρ καὶ βορᾶν γίνεσθαι τοῖς
κρείττοσι.

3 Ταῦτα δ' εἰπὼν διηγεῖται τῶν γαλεωτῶν θῆραν,
2 ὡς συνίσταται περὶ τὸ Σκύλλαιον. σκοπὸς γὰρ
εφεστηκε κοινὸς ύφορμούσιν ἐν δικάποις σκαφή-
3 δίους πολλοῖς, δύο καθ' έκαστον σκαφίδιον. καὶ
ὁ μὲν ἐλαύνει, ὁ δ' ἐπὶ τῆς πρώρας έστηκε δόρυ
ἐχων, σημείαντος τοῦ σκοποῦ τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν
tοῦ γαλεώτου. φέρεται δὲ τὸ τρίτον μέρος
4 ἔξαλον τὸ ζώον. συνάμαντος δὲ τοῦ σκάφους ὁ
μὲν ἐπληξεν ἐκ χειρὸς, εἰτ' ἐξέσπασεν ἐκ τοῦ
5 σώματος τὸ δόρυ χωρὶς τῆς ἐπιδορατίδος· ἄγκι-
στρώθης τε γάρ ἐστι καὶ χαλαρῶς ἐνηρμοστά
τῷ δόρατι ἐπίτηδες, καλώδιον δ' ἔχει μακρὸν
ἐξημένον. τοῦτ' ἐπιχαλώσῳ τῷ τρωθέντι, τέως
6 ἀν κάμη σφαδαζόν καὶ υποφεύγον· τότε δ' ἐλκου-
Scyllaean rock and the method of fishing for sword-fish, when he says about Scylla—

Her heads, with which the ravening monster dives
In quest of dolphins, dog-fish, or of prey
More bulky.\footnote{Od. xii. 95-7.}

For when the tunnies swimming in shoals along the Italian coast are carried out of their course and are unable to approach the Sicilian coast they fall a prey to larger animals, such as dolphins, sharks, and other marine monsters. By preying on them the sword-fish (galeotae), also called xiphiae and sea-dogs, are fattened. For in this case and in that of the rising of the Nile and other waters, the same thing happens as in the case of forest fires. The wild animals collect to escape from the fire or the water and are devoured by the more powerful ones.

3. After saying this he describes the method of fishing for the sword-fish as practised near the Scyllaean rock. There is a single signaller for the whole fleet of small sculling boats. In each boat, whenever the signaller announces the appearance of the sword-fish, one man rows and another stands on the prow holding a harpoon. The fish swims with the third part of his body out of the water. When the boat gets near it the man strikes it from close quarters and then pulls out of its body the shaft of the spear, leaving the point, which is barbed and is on purpose loosely fixed into the shaft, having a long line attached to it. They give the wounded fish line until he is tired out by his struggles and his effort to escape. Then they land him or pull him
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συν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ἢ εἰς τὸ σκάφος ἀναλαμβάνονσιν,
7 ἐὰν μὴ μέγα ἢ τελέως τὸ σῶμα. κἂν ἐκπέσῃ
dὲ εἰς τὴν θάλατταν τὸ δόρυ, οὐκ ἀπόλωλεν. ἔστι
gὰρ πηκτὸν ἐκ τε δρυὸς καὶ ἑλάτης, ὡστε βαπτι-
ζομένου τοῦ δρύινου βάρει μετέωρον εἶναι τὸ
8 λοιπὸν καὶ εὐανάληττον. συμβαίνειν δὲ ποτὲ
cαὶ τιτρώσκεσθαι διὰ τοῦ σκαφίδιου τὸν κωπη-
lάτην διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ ξίφους τῶν γαλεωτῶν
cαὶ τὸ τὴν ἀκμὴν τοῦ ζῴου συναγρώδη εἶναι καὶ
tὴν θήραν.
9 Ὅκ τε δὴ τῶν τοιούτων εἰκάζοι τις ἂν, φησί,
περὶ Σικελίαν γενέσθαι τὴν πλάνην κατὰ τὸν
"Ομηρον, ὡς τῇ Σκύλλῃ προσήψῃ τὴν τοιαύτην
θήραν, ἡ μάλιστ' ἐπιχωρίος ἐστι τῷ Σκυλλαίῳ,
10 καὶ ἐκ τῶν περὶ τῆς Χαρύβδεως λεγομένων ὁμοίων
11 τοῖς τοῦ πορθμοῦ πάθεσι. τὸ δὲ

τρίς μὲν γὰρ τ' ἀνίψων

12 ἀντὶ τοῦ δὲς γραφικὸν εἶναι ἀμάρτημα ἡ ἱστορικὸν.
kαὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ Μήνιγγι δὲ τοῖς περὶ τῶν Λωτοφάγων
eἰρημένοις συμφωνεῖν.
4 Εἰ δὲ τινα μὴ συμφωνεῖ, μεταβολᾶς αἰτιάσθαι
deῖν ἢ ἀγνοιαν ἢ καὶ ποιητικὴν ἐξουσίαν, ἢ συν-
έστηκεν εἰς ἱστορίας καὶ διαθέσεως καὶ μῦθου.
2 τῆς μὲν οὖν ἱστορίας ἀλήθειαν εἶναι τέλος, ὡς ἐν
Νεῶν καταλόγῳ τὰ ἐκάστοτος τόποις συμβεβηκότα
λέγοντος τοῦ ποιητοῦ, τὴν μὲν πετρήσασαν, τὴν
dὲ ἐσχατῶσαν πόλιν, ἄλλην δὲ πολυτρήμωνα,
3 τὴν δ' ἀγχίαλον. τῆς δὲ διαθέσεως ἐνέργειαν
εἶναι τὸ τέλος, ὡς ὅταν μαχομένους ἐισάγη,
4 μῦθου δὲ ἡδονὴν καὶ ἐκπληξίων. τὸ δὲ πάντα
into the boat, unless he is exceedingly heavy. If the shaft happens to fall into the sea, it is not lost, for it is composed of oak and pinewood, so that when the oaken part of it sinks owing to its weight the rest remains on the surface and can be easily picked up. Sometimes the rower is wounded through the boat owing to the length of the fish's sword, and the fact that in his force and in the method of hunting him he is like a wild boar.

From all this, he says, one may conjecture that according to Homer Ulysses is wandering near Sicily, since he attributes to Scylla that method of fishing which is especially practised by the natives near the Scyllaean rock, and also because what he says about Charybdis resembles what happens in the straits. And as for "thrice she disgorges," it is rather an error in the text for "twice" than an error of fact. And what happens in the island of Meninx is in agreement with the description of the Lotus-eaters.

4. And if there is anything that does not correspond with reality, we must set it down to change or error or poetic licence, a combination of history, disposition, and myth. Now the end aimed at by history is truth, and so we find the poet in the Catalogue of Ships mentioning the peculiar features of each place, calling one town "rocky," another "on the border," another "with many doves," another "by the sea"; and the end aimed at by disposition is vividness, as in his battle scenes, while the aim of myth is to please or astonish. But to invent everything neither produces illusion nor is it

*Od. xii. 105.*
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πλάττειν ού πιθανον ούδ’ Ὅμηρικόν· τὴν γὰρ ἐκείνου ποίησιν φιλοσόφημα πάντας νομίζειν, οὐχ ὃς Ἑρατοσθένης φησὶ, κελεύων μὴ κρίνειν πρὸς τὴν διάνοιαν τὰ ποιῆματα μηδ’ ἱστορίαν ἀπ’ αὐτῶν ζητεῖν. πιθανῶτερὸν τε τὸ ἐνθεν δ’ ἐννήμαρ φερόμην ὅλοις ἀνέμοισιν ἐν βραχεί διαστήματι δέχεσθαι—οἱ γὰρ ὅλοι οὐκ εὐθύδρομοι—ἡ ἔξωκενίζειν, ὡς ἂν οὐρίων πνεόντων συνεχῶς. συνθεῖς δὲ τὸ διάστημα τὸ ἐκ Μαλεῶν ἐπὶ στήλας σταδίων δισμυρίων καὶ δισχιλίων πεντακοσίων, εἰ, φησὶ, τούτῳ θεύμεν ἐν ταῖς ἐννέα ήμέραις διηνύσθαι ἱσοτάχως, ἐκάστης ἂν ἡμέρας ὁ πλοῦς συμβαίνονι σταδίων δισχιλίων πεντακοσίων. τίς οὖν ἱστορηκεν ἐκ Λυκίας ἢ Ῥόδου δευτεραῖον τινα ἅφιγμένοι εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν, ὁντος τοῦ διαστήματος σταδίων τετρακισ-
χιλίων; πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἐπιζητοῦντας πῶς τρίς εἰς Σικελίαν ἐλθὼν οὖθ’ ἀπαξ διά τοῦ πορθμοῦ πέπλευκεν Ὀδυσσεύς, ἀπολογεῖται διότι καὶ οἱ ύπερον ἐφευγον ἀπὸ τῶν πλοῶν τούτων. τοι-αὕτα μὲν εἰρήκεν.

III. Contra priores Scriptores Geographicos

DISPUTAT POLYBIUS

5 Ἡλύβιος δὲ τὴν Ἐὐρώπην χαραγματοῖς τοὺς μὲν ἀρχαῖοις ἐὰν φησί, τοὺς δ’ ἐκείνους ἐλέγχοντας ἐξετάζειν Δικαιάρχων τε καὶ Ἑρατοσθένη τὸν τελευταίον πραγματευσάμενον περὶ γεωγραφίας καὶ Πυθέαν, ὥς οὖ παρακρούσθηναι πολλοὺς,
like Homer; for all consider his poems to be philosophical works, and refuse to follow the advice of Eratosthenes who tells us not to judge the poems by their meaning or seek for history in them. Polybius says, too, that to understand

Nine days by cruel storms I thence was borne

of a short voyage is more likely, as cruel winds do not carry us straight, than to understand that he sailed out into the ocean as if fair winds blew all the time. And reckoning the distance from Cape Malea to the Pillars of Hercules as twenty-two thousand stades, he says if this were traversed in nine days at a uniform pace it would mean that each day he made 2500 stades. Now, who has ever heard of anyone sailing from Lycia or Rhodes to Alexandria in two days, the distance here being 4000 stades? And to those who object that Ulysses, though he came thrice to Sicily, did not once pass the Straits of Messina, he replies that every one after him also avoided this route. This, then, is what he says.

III. Polybius's Criticism of Previous Geographical Writers

(Id. ii. 4. 1–3, C 104.)

5. Polybius in his account of the geography of Europe says that he dismisses older authors, but that he will examine those who find fault with them, Dicaearchus and Eratosthenes, the latest author who has dealt with geography, and Pytheas who has

*Od. ix. 82.*
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ολὴν μὲν τὴν Βρεττανικῆν ἐμβαδὸν ἐπελθεῖν
φάσκοντος, τὴν δὲ περὶμετρὸν πλεύσων ἢ τετ-
3 τάρων μυριάδων ἀποδόντος τῆς νῆσου, προσιτο-
ρήσαντος δὲ καὶ τὰ περὶ τῆς Θούλης καὶ τῶν
τόπων ἔκεινων, ἐν οἷς οὔτε γῆ καθ’ αὐτὴν ὑπῆρχεν
ἐτὶ οὔτε θάλαττα οὔτ’ ἀήρ, ἀλλὰ σύγκρισι τι ἐκ
4 τούτων πλεύσομεν θαλαττίῳ ἔοικός, ἐν δὲ φησὶ τῆν
γῆν καὶ τὴν θάλατταν αἰώρεισθαι καὶ τὰ σύμπαντα,
καὶ τοῦτον όσ’ ἂν δεσμὸν εἶναι τῶν ὀλων, μὴτε
5 πορευτὸν μήτε πλωτὸν ὑπάρχοντα. τὸ μὲν οὖν
τῷ πλεύσομεν έοικός αὐτὸς ἑωρακέναι, τάλλα δὲ
6 λέγεις ἔξ ἀκοῆς. ταῦτα μὲν έν τῷ Πυθέου, καὶ
διότι ἐπανελθὼν ἐνθέντε πᾶσαν ἐπέλθω τὴν
παρωκεανῖτιν τῆς Εὐρώπης ἀπὸ Γαδεύρων ἔως
7 Τανάϊδος· φησὶ δ’ οὖν ο Πολύβιος ἀπιστον καὶ
αὐτὸ τούτο πῶς ἰδιώτη ἀνθρώπῳ καὶ πένητι τὰ
τοσαῦτα διαστήματα πλωτὰ καὶ πορευτὰ γένουτο.
8 τὸν δ’ Ἑρατοσθένη διαπορήσαντα εἰ χρῆ πιστεύειν
tούτως, ὅμως περὶ τε τῆς Βρεττανικῆς πεπιστευ-
κέναι καὶ τῶν κατὰ Γάδευρα καὶ τῆν Ἰβηρίαν.
9 πολὺ δὲ φησὶ βελτιων τῷ Μεσσηνίῳ πιστεύειν ἢ
tούτῳ· ο μὲντοι γε εἰς μίαν χώραν τῆν Παγχαῖαν
λέγει πλεύσαι· ὁ δὲ καὶ μέχρι τῶν τοῦ κόσμου
περάτων κατωπτευκέναι τῇ προσάρκτιον τῆς
Εὐρώπης πᾶσαν, ἡν οὔτ’ ἂν τῷ Ἐρμῆ πιστεύσαι
10 τις λέγοντι. Ἑρατοσθένῃ δὲ τὸν μὲν Εὐήμερον
Βεργαίοιν καλεῖν, Πυθέα δὲ πιστεύειν, καὶ ταῦτα
11 μηδὲ Δικαιάρχου πιστεύσαντος. τὸ μὲν οὖν
“μηδὲ Δικαιάρχου πιστεύσαντος” γελοίον, ὅσπερ
led many people into error by saying that he traversed the whole of Britain on foot, giving the island a circumference of forty thousand stades, and telling us also about Thule, those regions in which there was no longer any proper land nor sea nor air, but a sort of mixture of all three of the consistency of a jellyfish in which the land and sea float, this medium, in which one can neither walk nor sail, holding everything together, so to speak. He says he himself saw this jellyfish-like substance but the rest he derives from hearsay. That is the account that Pytheas gives, and he tells us that he came back thence and starting again followed the whole shore of the ocean from Cadiz to the river Tanaïs. Polybius, then, says that it is in itself incredible that a private man and a poor man should have traversed such vast distances in a ship or on foot, but that Eratosthenes, while doubting if one should believe this, still believes in the account of Britain and the neighbourhood of Gades and the rest of Spain. But Polybius says it is far better to believe the Messenian Euhemerus than Pytheas, for Euhemerus says that he sailed only to one country, Panchaia, but Pytheas says that he personally visited the whole northern coast of Europe as far as the ends of the world, a thing we would not even believe of Hermes himself if he told us so. Eratosthenes, however, he says, calls Euhemerus a Bergaean, but believes Pytheas whom not even Dicaearchus believed. Now to say "whom not even Dicaearchus believed" is ridiculous, as if we

a The celebrated rationalist, who pretended that he had discovered in an island called Panchaia evidence for his statements regarding the gods.

b i.e. as great a liar as Antiphanes of Berga, a traveller who told many marvellous tales.
ΤΗΣ ΕΥΡΩΠΥΣΗΣ Άγνοιαν. Ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνη μὲν καὶ Δικαιάρχων συγγνώμη τοῖς μὴ κατιδοσί τοὺς τόπους ἐκεῖνους. Πολυβίω δὲ καὶ Ποσειδώνιω

13 τῆς Ευρώπης ἀγνοια. Ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνη μὲν καὶ Δικαιάρχων συγγνώμη τοῖς μὴ κατιδοσί τοὺς τόπους ἐκεῖνους. Πολυβίω δὲ καὶ Ποσειδώνιω

14 τῆς ἀν συγγνῷν; Ἀλλά μὴν Πολυβίως γε ἐστὶν ὁ λαοδοματικᾶς καλῶν ἀποφάσεις, ἄς ποιουται περὶ τῶν ἐν τούτων τοῖς τόποις διαστημάτων καὶ ἐν ἀλλοις πολλοῖς, Ἀλλ' οὖδ' ἐν οἷς ἐκεῖνους ἐλέγχει

6 καθαρεύων. τοῦ γοῦν Δικαιάρχου μυρίους μὲν εἰπόντος τοὺς ἐπὶ στῆλας ἀπὸ τῆς Πελοποννήσου σταδίους, πλείους δὲ τούτων τοὺς ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀδριαν μέχρι τοῦ μυχοῦ, τοῦ δ' ἐπὶ στῆλας τὸ μέχρι τοῦ πορθμοῦ τρισκελίους ἀποδόντος, ὥς γίνεσθαι τὸ λοιπὸν ἐπτακισχίους τὸ ἀπὸ πορθμοῦ μέχρι

2 στηλῶν, τοὺς μὲν τρισκελίους ἐὰν φησιν εἰτ' εὖ λαμβάνονται εἴτε μή, τοὺς δ' ἐπτακισχίους οὐδετέρως, οὔτε τὴν παραλία ἐκμετροῦντι οὔτε

3 τῆς διὰ μέσου τοῦ πελάγους. τὴν μὲν γὰρ παραλίαν ἐουκεῖναι μᾶλιστ' ἀμβλεία γωνία, βεβηκνίᾳ

4 ἐπὶ τε τοῦ πορθμοῦ καὶ τῶν στηλῶν, κορυφὴν δ' ἔχουση Νάρβωνα, ὥστε συνιστασθαι τρίγωνον, βάσιν ἔχον τὴν διὰ τοῦ πελάγους εὐθείαν, πλευράς

5 δὲ τὰς τὴν γωνίαν ποιούσας τὴν λεχθεῖσαν. ἄν ἡ μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ πορθμοῦ μέχρι Νάρβωνος μυρίους ἐστὶ καὶ πλειώνων ἡ διακοσίων ἐπὶ τοῖς χιλίοις, ἡ δὲ λοιπὴ μικρῶ ἐλεύθον [ἐλαττῶν ἡ] ὅκτα-

6 κυσχιλίων. καὶ μὴν πλείστον μὲν διάστημα ἀπὸ τῆς Εὐρώπης ἐπὶ τὴν Διβύην ὄμολογεθέναι κατὰ τὸ Τυρρηνικὸν πέλαγος σταδίων οὐ πλειώνων ἡ τρισκελίων, κατὰ τὸ Σαρδόνιον δὲ λαμβάνειν

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should take him as a standard, an author in whom Polybius himself detects so many errors. I have spoken above of Eratosthenes’ mistaken notion of the west and north of Europe. But while we should excuse him and Dicaearchus who had never seen these districts, how can we excuse Polybius and Poseidonius? Who but Polybius is it who calls the statements they make about distances in this case and in many others popular misstatements, but he is not even correct where he confutes them. 6. As for Dicaearchus at least he says that the distance from the Peloponnesus to the Pillars of Hercules is 10,000 stades, and that that to the head of the Adriatic is more. The distance as far as the Straits in going to the Pillars he estimates at 3000, so that the remainder from the Straits to the Pillars amounts to 7000. Here Polybius says that he leaves it out of consideration whether Dicaearchus is right or not in his estimate of 3000 stades, but that he is not right in that of 7000, whether we follow the coast or go straight across the sea. For the coast-line resembles an obtuse angle, the two sides resting on the Straits and the Pillars respectively, and the apex being at Narbo, so that a triangle is formed the base of which is the straight line across the sea and the two sides those forming the above angle. Of these sides the one reaching from the Straits to Narbo measures more than 10,200 stades, and the other a little less than 8000 stades. Now the longest distance from Europe to Africa across the Tyrrhenian Sea is not more than 3000 stades; across the Sardinian Sea
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

7 συναγωγήν. ἄλλ' ἐστώ, φησί, καὶ ἐκεῖνο τρισ-
χιλίων, προελήφθω δ' ἐπὶ τούτους δισχιλίων
σταδίων τὸ τοῦ κόλπου βάθος τοῦ κατὰ Νάρβωνα,
ὡς ἃν κάθετος ἀπὸ τῆς κορυφῆς ἐπὶ τὴν βάσιν
8 τοῦ ἀμβλυγωνίου. δήλων οὖν, φησίν, ἐκ τῆς
παιδικῆς μετρήσεως ὅτι ἡ σύμποσα παραλία ἥ
ἀπὸ τοῦ πορθμοῦ ἐπὶ στῆλας ἐγγίστα ὑπερέχει τῆς
diὰ τοῦ πελάγους εὐθείας πεντακοσίων σταδίων.
9 προστεθέντων δὲ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Πελοποννήσου ἐπὶ
tὸν πορθμὸν τρισχιλίων, οἱ σύμπαντες ἔσσονται
στάδιοι, αὐτοὶ οἱ ἐπ' εὐθείας, πλείους ἡ
dιπλάσιοι
10 ὃν Δικαιάρχος εἶπε. πλείους δὲ τούτων τοὺς
ἐπὶ τὸν μυχὸν τὸν 'Αδριατικὸν δεῖσει, φησί,
tιβέναι κατ' ἐκεῖνον.

11 'Αλλ', ὃ φίλε Πολύβιε, φαίη τις ἂν, ὡσπερ
tούτου τοῦ ψεύσματος ἑναργῇ παρίστησι τὸν
12 ἐλεγχὸν ἢ πείρα ἐξ αὐτῶν ὅν εἰρήκας αὐτὸς, εἰς
μὲν Λευκάδα ἐκ Πελοποννήσου ἐπτάκοσίους,
ἐντεῦθεν δὲ τοὺς ἰσούς εἰς Κόρκυραν, καὶ πάλιν
ἐντεῦθεν εἰς τὰ Κεραύνια τοὺς ἰσούς καὶ ἐν
dεξιά
eἰς τὴν 'Ιαπωδίαν ἀπὸ τῶν Κεραυνίων τὴν 'Ιλλυρι-
κὴν παραλίαν σταδίων ἐξακισχιλίων ἐκατὸν
dεξιὰ
cοντα. οὔτως κάκεινα ψεύσματα ἔστων ἀμφότερα,
καὶ ὁ Δικαιάρχος εἶπε, τὸ ἀπὸ πορθμοῦ ἐπὶ στῆλας
ἐναι σταδίων ἐπτακισχιλίων, καὶ ὁ σὺ δοκεῖς ἀπο-
dεῖξαι. ὁμολογοῦσι γὰρ οἱ πλεῖστοι λέγοντες τὸ διὰ
dιὰ
dπελάγους μυρίων εἶναι καὶ δισχιλίων.

15 Πῶς οὐκ ἂν εἰκότως δόξειεν ὑπερβεβηκέναι καὶ
ἀπολεληρηκέναι τὸν Βεργαίον 'Αντιφάνην καὶ
καθόλου μηδενὶ καταλιπεῖν ὑπερβολὴν ἀνοίας τῶν
ἐπιγνωμένων;
it is somewhat shorter, but let us, he says, call it there also 3000 stades, and besides this let us assume that the depth of the Gulf of Narbo, or let us say of a perpendicular from the apex to the base of the obtuse angle is 2000 stades. Then, he says, it is evident from a schoolboy's geometry that the whole coast-line from the Straits to the Pillars is longer by very nearly 500 stades than the straight line across the sea. Then if we add to this the 3000 stades from the Peloponnesus to the Straits, the whole distance along this straight line will be more than double the estimate of Dicaearchus, and according to him we must reckon the distance to the head of the Adriatic as even more than this.

But one feels inclined to say, "my dear Polybius, the falsity of all this is clearly demonstrated when tested by your own statements, which are that it is 700 stades from the Peloponnesus to Leucas, the same distance from Leucas to Corecyra, and again the same from Corecyra to the Ceraunian Mountains, and the length of the whole Illyrian coast on the right as far as Iapydia from the Ceraunian mountains onwards 6150 stades. So that both the above statements are false, both that of Dicaearchus that it is 7000 stades from the Straits to the Pillars and the one which you think you have proved. For almost every one is agreed that the direct distance by sea amounts to 12,000 stades.

How, then, can we avoid thinking that Eratosthenes in the nonsense he tells has surpassed even Antiphanes of Berga and rendered it impossible for any subsequent writer to excel him in absurdity?
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7 Ἐξῆς δὲ τὰ τούτῃ Ἐρατοσθένους ἐπανορθοῖ, τὰ μὲν εὖ, τὰ δὲ χεῖρον λέγον ἡ ἐκεῖνος. ἐξ Ἰθάκης μὲν γὰρ εἰς Κόρκυραν τριακοσίους εἰπόντος, πλείους φησὶν εἶναι τῶν ἐνακοσίων, ἐξ Ἐπιδάμνου δὲ εἰς Θεσσαλονίκειαν ἐνακοσίους ἀποδόντος,

3 πλείους τῶν δυσχλίων φησί. ταῦτα μὲν εὖ, ἀπὸ δὲ Μασσαλίας ἐπὶ στῆλας λέγοντος ἐπτακισχλίους, ἀπὸ δὲ Πυρήνης ἐξακισχλίους, αὐτὸς λέγει χεῖρον πλείους ἡ ἐνακισχλίους τοὺς ἀπὸ Μασσαλίας, ἀπὸ δὲ Πυρήνης μικρὸν ἐλάττως ἡ ὀκτακισχλίους.

4 ἐγγυτέρω γάρ τῆς ἀληθείας ἐκεῖνος εἰρήκεν. οἱ γὰρ νῦν ὁμολογοῦσιν, εἰ τις τὰς τῶν ὀδῶν ἀνωμαλίας ὑποτέμνειτο, μὴ μεῖζω τῶν ἐξακισχλίων σταδίων εἶναι τὸ μῆκος τὴν σύμπασαν ἸΒηρίαν ἀπὸ 5 Πυρήνης ἔως τῆς ἐσπερίου πλευρᾶς. ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν τὸν Τάγον ποταμὸν ὀκτακισχλίων τίθησι τὸ μῆκος ἀπὸ τῆς πηγῆς μέχρι τῶν ἐκβολῶν, οὐ δήποτε τὸ σὺν τοῖς σκολιώμασι—οὐ γὰρ γεωγραφικὸν τοῦτο—ἀλλ’ ἐπ’ εὐθείας λέγων καίτοι γε ἀπὸ Πυρήνης αἱ τοῦ Τάγου πηγαὶ πλέον διέχουσιν

6 ἡ χλίους σταδίους. πάλιν δὲ τοῦτο μὲν ὅρθως ἀποφαίνεται ὅτι ἀγνοεῖ τὰ ἸΒηρικὰ ὁ Ἐρατοσθένης καὶ διότι περὶ αὐτῆς ἔσθ’ ὅπου τὰ μαχόμενα ἀπὸ—7 φαίνεται, ὅσ γε μέχρι Γαδείρων ὁπὸ Γαλατῶν περιουκείσθαι φήσας <τὰ> ἔξωθεν αὐτῆς, εἰ γε τὰ πρὸς δύσων τῆς Εὐρώπης μέχρι Γαδείρων ἔχουσιν ἐκείνου, τούτων ἐκλαθόμενος κατὰ τὴν τῆς ἸΒηρίας

8 περίοδον τῶν Γαλατῶν οὐδαμοῦ μείνηται. τὸ <δὲ> μῆκος τῆς Εὐρώπης ὁτι ἐλαττόν ἐστι τοῦ συνάμφων τῆς τε Αἰβίνης καὶ τῆς Ἀσίας ἐκθείς, 9 οὐκ ὅρθως τὴν σύγκρισιν ποιεῖται. τὸ μὲν γὰρ
7. Next Polybius corrects Eratosthenes, in some cases rightly but in others making worse mistakes himself. For while Eratosthenes says it is 300 stades from Ithaca to Corcyra, Polybius says it is more than 900, and while Eratosthenes gives the distance from Epidamnus to Thessalonica as 900 stades, Polybius says it is above 2000. In these two cases he is right, but when, Eratosthenes having said that it is 7000 stades from Marseilles to the Pillars and 6000 from the Pyrenees to the Pillars, Polybius makes a worse mistake in giving these distances as 9000 and nearly 8000 respectively, Eratosthenes’ statement being nearer the truth. For it is now generally agreed that the width of the whole of Spain from the Pyrenees to its western coast is as the crow flies not more than 6000 stades. But Polybius says that the length of the Tagus alone from its source to its mouth is 8000 stades, not I suppose reckoning its windings—for that is not correct in geography—but meaning in a straight line. And yet the distance of the source of the Tagus from the Pyrenees is more than 1000 stades. Again, he is right in saying that Eratosthenes is mistaken about Spain, and that in some cases his statements about it are evidently contradictory. Eratosthenes indeed says that the further side of Spain as far as Gades is surrounded by Gaulish inhabitants, in which case if the Gauls inhabit the outer side of Europe as far as Gades, why forgetting this does he in his detailed description of Spain never mention Gauls? And when he states that the length of Europe is less than that of Africa and Asia combined he makes a false comparison.
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στόμα τὸ κατὰ στήλας φησίν ὅτι κατὰ τὴν ἱσ-
10 ἡμερήνυν δύσων ἐστίν, ὅ δὲ Τάναϊς ῥεῖ ἀπὸ θερμῆς ἀνατολῆς.

11 Προπεπτωκυίας δὲ τῆς Εὐρώπης ἄκρας πλεῖσοι,
βέλτιον μὲν οὖσα εὐρήκε περὶ αὐτῶν Ἐρατο-
12 σθένους, οὕτω δὲ ἱκανῶς. ἐκεῖνοι μὲν γὰρ τρεῖς ἔφη,
τὴν ἐπὶ τὰς στήλας καθήκουσαν, ἐφ’ ἦς ἡ Ἰβηρία,
καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τὸν πορθμὸν, ἐφ’ ἦς ἡ Ἰταλία, καὶ
τρίτην τὴν κατὰ Μαλέας, ἐφ’ ἦς τὰ μεταξὺ τοῦ
'Αδριῶν καὶ τοῦ Εὐξείνου πάντ’ ἔθνη καὶ τοῦ
13 Τανάϊδος. οὖσα δὲ τὰς μὲν δύο τὰς πρώτας ὁμοίως
ἐκτίθεται, τρίτην δὲ τὴν κατὰ Μαλέας καὶ Σοῦνον,
ἐφ’ ἦς ἡ Ἐλλάδα πᾶσα καὶ ἡ Ἰλλυρία καὶ τῆς
14 Θράκης τινά, τετάρτην δὲ τὴν κατὰ τὴν Θρακίαν
χερρόνησον, ἐφ’ ἦς τὰ κατὰ Σηστόν καὶ "Ἀβυδον
στενά—ἐχουσί δ’ αὐτὴν Θράκες—πέμπτην δὲ τὴν
cατὰ τὸν Κυμερικὸν Βόσπορον καὶ τὸ στόμα τῆς
Μαιώτιδος.

IV. De Lusitania

8 Πολύβιος δ’ ὁ Μεγαλοπολίτης ἐν τετάρτῃ καὶ
τριακοστῇ τῶν Ἰστοριῶν περὶ τῆς ἐν Ἰβηρία
Δυσιτανίας χώρας διαλεγόμενος φησιν ὅτι βάλανοι
εἰσὶ κατὰ βάθος ἐν τῇ αὐτῷθα θαλάττῃ πεφυτευμέναι,
ὡς τὸν καρπὸν σιτουμένους τοὺς θύννους πιαίνε-
2 σθαί. διόπερ οὐκ ἂν ἀμάρτοι τις λέγων ὅσ εἶναι
θαλαττίους τοὺς θύννους.

3 Λέγει δ’ ὁ Πολύβιος καὶ μέχρι τῆς Λατίνης ἐκ-
pίπτειν τὴν βάλανον ταύτην, εἰ μὴ ἄρα, φησὶ,
καὶ ἡ Σαρδῶ φέρει καὶ ἡ πλησιόχωρος ταύτη.
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For he says that the Strait between the Pillars lies due west while the Tanaïs flows from south-east.

(Id. ii. 4. 8, C 108.)

There are several peninsulas jutting out from Europe, and Polybius has given a better description of them than Eratosthenes, but not an adequate one. The latter says there are three, that which runs down to the Pillars and is occupied by Spain, that running down to the Straits and occupied by Italy, and thirdly that terminated by Cape Malea and comprising all the peoples between the Adriatic and the Euxine and Tanaïs. Polybius agrees about the two first, but makes the third that reaching to Malea and Sunium, occupied by the whole of Greece, by Illyria and parts of Thrace, the fourth being the Thracian Chersonese, on which is the Strait between Sestus and Abydus, inhabited by Thracians, and the fifth that of the Cimmerian Bosporus and the mouth of the Palus Maeotis.

IV. On Lusitania

(From Athenaeus vii. p. 302 e.)

8. Polybius of Megalopolis in the Thirty-Fourth Book of his Histories, in speaking of that portion of Iberia called Lusitania, says that there are oak-trees planted deep in the sea, on the fruit of which the tunnies feed and get fat. So that we should not be wrong in calling the tunnies sea-hogs.

(Strabo iii. 2. 7, C 145.)

Polybius says that these acorns are carried as far as Latium and washed up, unless indeed, he adds. Sardinia too and that neighbourhood produce them.
4 Τὴν κατὰ Λυσιτανίαν—χώρα δ' ἐστὶν αὐτῇ τῆς Ἰβηρίας, ἤν νῦν Ῥωμαῖοι Σπανίαν ὄνομάζουσι—
διηγούμενος εὐδαμονίαν Πολύβιος ὁ Μεγαλο-
πολίτης . . . ἐν τῇ τετάρτῃ καὶ τριακοστῇ τῶν
Ἰστοριῶν φησιν ὡς αὐτόθι διὰ τὴν τοῦ ἀέρος
εὐκρασίαν καὶ τὰ ἥσαν πολύγονα καὶ οἱ ἁνθρωποί,
καὶ οἱ ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ καρποὶ οὐδέποτε φθείρονται.
5 Ῥόδα μὲν γὰρ αὐτόθι καὶ λευκόα καὶ ἀσπάραγοι καὶ
τὰ παραπλῆσια τούτων οὐ πλεῖον διαλεῖπει
6 μηνῶν τριῶν, τὸ δὲ θαλάσσιον ὤσιν καὶ κατὰ τὸ
πλῆθος καὶ κατὰ τὴν χρηστότητα καὶ κατὰ τὸ
7 κάλλος μεγάλην ἔχει διαφόραν πρὸς τὸ γνώμενον
ἐν τῇ καθ' ἡμᾶς θαλάσσῃ. καὶ ὁ μὲν τῶν κρυ-
θῶν Ψικελικὸς μεδιμνὸς ἐστὶ δραχμῆς, ὁ δὲ τῶν
8 πυρῶν ἐννέα ὀβολῶν Ἀλεξανδρειῶν· τοῦ δ' οὖν
δραχμῆς ὁ μετρητής καὶ ἔριφος ὁ μέτριος ὀβολοῦ
καὶ λαγώσ. τῶν δ' ἀρνῶν τριώβολον καὶ τετρά-
βολον ἡ τιμή. ὃς δὲ πίων ἐκατὸν μνᾶς ἁγῶν
9 πέντε δραχμῶν καὶ πρόβατον δυέιν. τάλαντον
dὲ σύκων τριῶν ὀβολῶν, μόσχος δραχμῶν πέντε
10 καὶ βοῦς ζύγιμος δέκα. τὰ δὲ τῶν ἀγρίων ζώων
κρέα σχεδὸν οὐδὲ κατηξιοῦτο τιμῆς, ἀλλ' ἐν
ἐπιδόσει καὶ χάριτι τὴν ἄλλαγνην ποιούνται τούτων.
BOOK XXXIV. 8. 4 – 9. 3

(Athenaeus viii. p. 330 e.)

Polybius, in the Thirty-Fourth Book of his Histories speaking of the natural wealth of Lusitania (a district of Iberia, or, as the Romans now call it, Spain), tells us that owing to the favourable climate both men and animals are very prolific, and the land is constantly productive. For roses, white violets, asparagus, and similar plants only cease flowering for three months, and as for the sea-fish, in quantity, excellence, and beauty it is far superior to that in our own sea. The Sicilian medimnus of barley costs one drachma and that of wheat nine Alexandrian obols, the metreta of wine costs a drachma and a fair-sized kid or hare one obol. Lambs are three or four obols apiece, a fat pig weighing a hundred minae costs five drachmae and a sheep two. A talent’s weight of figs can be had for three obols, a calf for five drachmae and a ploughing ox for ten. The flesh of wild animals is scarcely thought worth pricing, but is given away for nothing or exchanged.

V. ON SPAIN

(Strabo iii. 1. 6, C 139.)

9. The inhabitants are known as Turdetani and Turduli, some considering them to be the same and others different. Among the latter is Polybius, who says that the Turduli are next to the Turdetani on the north.

(Id. iii. 2. 15, C 151.)

The fertility of their country results in the Turde-
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tο πολιτικὸν συνηκολούθησε τοῖς Τουρδητανοῖς, καὶ τοῖς Κελτικοῖς δὲ διὰ τὴν γειτνίασιν, ὡς δ' εὑρηκε Πολύβιος, διὰ τὴν συγγένειαν.

4 Καὶ Δικαιάρχος δὲ καὶ Ἐρατοσθένης καὶ Πολύβιος καὶ οἱ πλείστοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων περὶ τῶν πορθμῶν ἀποφαίνουσι τὰς στήλας.

5 Φησί δὲ ο Πολύβιος κρήνην ἐν τῷ Ἡρακλείῳ τῷ ἐν Γαδείροις εἶναι, βαθμῶν ὦλιγῶν κατάβασιν ἔχουσαν εἰς τὸ ύδωρ, πότιμον, ἣν ταῖς παλιρροίαις τῆς θαλάττης ἀντιπαθεῖν, κατὰ μὲν τὰς πλῆμας ἐκλείπουσαν, κατὰ δὲ τὰς ἀμπώτεις πληρουμένην.

6 αἰτιάται δ' ὅτι τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἐκ τοῦ βάθους εἰς τὴν ἑπιφάνειαν τῆς γῆς ἐκπέπττον, καλυφθείσης μὲν αὐτῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ κύματος κατὰ τὰς ἐπιβάσεις τῆς θαλάττης, εὑργεῖ τῶν οἰκείων τοιουτῶν ἐξόδων, ἀναστρέψαν δὲ εἰς τὸ ἔντος ἐμφράττει τοὺς τῆς πηγῆς πόρους καὶ ποιεῖ λευκυδρίαν γυμνωθείσης δὲ πάλιν εὐθυπορήσαν ἐλευθεροὶ τὰς φλέβας τῆς πηγῆς, ὡστ' ἀναβλύειν εὐπόρως.

8 Πολύβιος δὲ τῶν περὶ Καρχηδόνα Νέαν ἀργυρεῖων μυηθεῖς μέγιστα μὲν εἶναι φησὶ, διεχεῖν δὲ τῆς πόλεως ὅσον εἰκόσι σταδίους, περιελήφοτα

9 κύκλων τετρακοσίων σταδίων, ὅπου τέτταρας μυριάδας ἀνθρώπων μένει τῶν ἐργαζομένων, ἀναφέροντας τότε τῷ δήμῳ τῶν Ῥωμαίων καθ' ἐκάστην ἥμεραν δισμυρίας καὶ πεντακισχίλιας

10 δραχμὰς. τὴν δὲ κατεργασίαν τὴν μὲν ἀλλήν εῶ—μακρὰ γάρ ἔστι—, τὴν δὲ συρτὴν βῶλον τὴν ἀργυρίτιν φησὶ κόπτεσθαι καὶ κοσκίνοις εἰς ύδωρ

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tani as well as the Celts, owing to their proximity, or as Polybius says, owing to their kinship, having a quiet and orderly character.

(Id. iii. 5. 5, C 170.)

Dicaearchus, Eratosthenes, and Polybius and most Greeks place the Pillars at the Straits.

(Id. iii. 5. 7, C 172.)

Polybius says there is a spring in the temple of Hercules at Gades, a few steps leading down to the water, which is drinkable. It behaves in a contrary manner to the tide of the sea, disappearing at high tide and filling again at low water. The reason of this, he says, is that the air which comes from the depths to the surface of the earth is prevented, when the spring is covered by the sea as the tide advances, from finding its natural outlet, and is driven back to the interior, thus stopping up the passage of the spring and causing the flow of water to cease; but when the spring is uncovered again the air resumes its direct course and sets free the veins of the spring so that it bubbles up in abundance.

(Id. iii. 2. 10, C 147.)

Polybius, in speaking of the silver mines near New Carthage, says they are very extensive and are distant about twenty stades from the town, extending in a circle for four hundred stades. Here forty thousand miners lived who at that period produced for the Roman government a daily sum of twenty-five thousand drachmae. I say nothing of the working of the mines in other respects—for it is a long story—but the lumps of silver ore which are washed down by the streams are crushed, he says,
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

10 Полубиос δ' ἐν τῇ τετάρτῃ καὶ τριακοστῇ τῶν Ἰστοριῶν μετὰ τὴν Πυρῆνην φησὶν ἔως τοῦ Νάρβωνος ποταμοῦ πεδίον εἶναι, δὲ ὁφέρεσθαι ποταμοῦ Ἰλλέβεριν καὶ Ῥόσκυνον, ἰέντας παρὰ πόλεις ὀμωνύμοις, κατοικουμένας ὑπὸ Κελτῶν.

11 ὁμότεσθαι τὴν δὲ πέμπτην ὑπόστασιν χωνευθείσαν, ἀποχυθέντος τοῦ μολίβδου, καθαρὸν τὸν ἀργυρὸν ἔξαγεν.

12 Πολύβιος δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἴαναν καὶ τοῦτον ἐκ τῆς Κελτιβηρίας ρεῖν φησι, διέχοντας ἄλληλων ὅσον ἐνακοσίους σταδίους.

13 Πολύβιος δὲ τὰ τῶν Οὐακκαίων καὶ τῶν Κελτιβήρων ἔθνη καὶ χωρία διεξιότα ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσι καὶ Σεγεσάμαι καὶ Ἰντερκατίαν.

14 Τοιοῦτον δὲ τινα ὕφισταται τῇ κατασκευῇ καὶ λαμπρότητι ἀντίπτερον Πολύβιος Ἰβηροῦ τῶν βασιλέως οἰκίαν. δὲ καὶ ἐξηλωκέναι λέγει τὴν τῶν Φαιάκων πτηθὴν πλὴν τοῦ τούς κρατήρας ἐν μέσῳ τῆς οἰκίας ἐστάναι πλήρεις οὕτων κριθίνου, ἀργυροῦς ὑπεις καὶ χρυσοῦς.

VI. DE GALLIA

10 Πολύβιος δ' ἐν τῇ τετάρτῃ καὶ τριακοστῇ τῶν Ἰστοριῶν μετὰ τὴν Πυρῆνην φησὶν ἔως τοῦ Νάρβωνος ποταμοῦ πεδίον εἶναι, δὲ ὁφέρεσθαι ποταμοῦ Ἰλλέβεριν καὶ Ῥόσκυνον, ἰέντας παρὰ πόλεις ὀμωνύμοις, κατοικουμένας ὑπὸ Κελτῶν.

2 ἐν οἷς τῷ πεδίῳ τούτῳ εἶναι τοὺς λεγομένους

3 ἰχθύς ὀρυκτοῦς. εἶναι δὲ τὸ πεδίον λεπτόγειον καὶ πολλὴν ἄγρωστιν ἔχον πεφυκυίαν. ὑπὸ δὲ
and passed through sieves into water. The deposit is then again crushed and sifted and while the water is running off undergoes a third crushing. This is done five times in all and the fifth deposit, after the lead has been drained off, produces pure silver.

(\textit{Id. iii. 2. 11, C 148.})

Polybius says that this river (the Baetis) and the Anas flow from Celtiberia, being distant from each other about nine hundred stades.

(\textit{Id. iii. 4. 13, C 62; Athenaeus i. p. 16 c.})

Polybius in enumerating the tribes and cities of the \textit{Paccae} and Celtiberians counts among the other cities Segesama and Intercatia.

(Athenaeus i. p. 16 c.)

The construction and splendour of the house of Menelaus as described by Homer recalls Polybius's description of the house of a Spanish king, who, he says, vied with the Phaeacians in luxury, except that the bowls in the middle of the house which were made of gold and silver were full of beer.

\section{VI. On Gaul}

(\textit{Id. viii. p. 332 a.})

10. Polybius, in the Thirty-Fourth Book of his \textit{Histories} says that after the Pyrenees as far as the river Narbo there is a plain traversed by the rivers Illeberis and Roscynus which pass towns of the same name inhabited by Celts. In this plain are found the so-called underground fish. The plain has a light soil and a great deal of \textit{agrostis} grows there. Under the plants, when the soil consists
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taúτην διάμμου τῆς γῆς οὖσας ἐπὶ δύο καὶ τρεῖς πῆχεις, ὑπορρεῖν τὸ πλαξόμενον ἀπὸ τῶν ποταμῶν 4 ὕδωρ, μεθ' οὗ ἱεθῦες κατὰ τὰς παρεκκύσεις ὑποτέχοντες ὑπὸ τῆς γῆς χάριν τῆς τροφῆς—φιληδοῦσι γὰρ τῇ τῆς ἀγρώστεως μίζη—πεποίηκασι pάν τὸ πεδίον πληρες ἵθυων ὑπογείων, οὓς ἀν- ὀρύττοντες λαμβάνουσιν.

5 Περὶ δὲ τῶν τοῦ 'Ροδανοῦ στομάτων Πολύβιος . . . ἐπιτιμᾶ Τιμαιῶ, φήσας εἰναι μὴ πεντάστομον, ἀλλὰ διστομον.

6 'Ο δὲ Λίγηρ μεταξὺ Πικτόνων τε καὶ Ναμυτῶν ἐκβάλλει. πρότερον δὲ Κορβιλῶν ὑπήρχεν ἐμ- πόριον ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῷ ποταμῷ, περὶ ἡς εἶρηκε Πολύβιος, μνησθεὶς τῶν ὑπὸ Πυθέου μυθολογη- θέντων, ὡς Μασσαλιώτων μὲν τῶν συμμιξάντων Σκιπίων ουδέσι εἰχε λέγειν οὐδὲν μνήμης ἄξιον, ἐρωτηθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ Σκιπίωνος περὶ τῆς Βρετταν- νικῆς, οὐδὲ τῶν ἐκ Νάρβωνος οὐδὲ τῶν ἐκ Κορ- βιλῶνος, αἰτέρ ἴσαν ἀρισταὶ πόλεις τῶν ταύτη, Πυθέας δὲ ἐθάρρησε τοσαύτα ψεύσασθαι.

8 Φησὶ δὲ Πολύβιος καὶ ἰδιόμορφόν τι γεννᾶσθαι ζῶον ἐν αὐταῖς, ἐλαφοειδές τὸ σχῆμα πλην αὐχένος καὶ τριχόματος, ταύτα δὲ ἐνδεικνύει κάπρως ὑπὸ δὲ τῷ γενείῳ πυρήνα ἱσχειν ὁσον σπιθαμαίον ἀκρόκομον, πωλικῆς κέρκου τὸ πάχος.

10 "Ετι φησί Πολύβιος ἐφ' έαυτοῦ κατ' Ἀκυληίαν μάλιστα ἐν τοῖς Ταυρίσκοις τοῖς Νωρικοῖς εὑρε- θῆναι χρυσεῖον οὔτως εὐφυές ὡστ' ἐπὶ δύο πόδας 322
of sand to the depth of two or three cubits, the flood water of the rivers penetrates, and together with the water in flood-time certain fish descending in search of food—for they are very fond of the roots of the agrostis—make all the plain full of subterranean fish which they catch by digging them up.

(Strabo iv. 1. 8, C 183.)

As regards the mouths of the Rhone Polybius finds fault with Timaeus. It has not, he says, five mouths, but only two.

(Id. iv. 2. 1, C 190.)

The Loire falls into the sea between the Pictones and the Namnitae. There was formerly a trading port called Corbilo on this river, which Polybius mentions in talking of the fictions of Pytheas. He says that none of the Massaliots who met Scipio and were questioned by him had any particular information to give him about Britain, nor had the people from Narbo, or those from Corbilo, the finest cities in those parts, and yet Pytheas has boldly made so many false statements about it.

(Id. iv. 6. 10, C 207.)

Polybius says there is a peculiar animal in the Alps, like a deer in form except its neck and coat, which are like a boar’s. Under its chin it has a hard growth about a span long and with hairs at the end, about as thick as a colt’s tail.

(Id. iv. 6. 12, C 208.)

Polybius says that in his time a gold mine was discovered not far from Aquileia in the country of the Noric Taurisci, so easy to work that when the
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ἀποσύραντι τὴν ἑπιπολὴς γῆν εὐθὺς ὁρυκτὸν
11 εὐρίσκεσθαι χρυσὸν. τὸ δὲ ὅρυγμα μὴ πλεῖόνων
12 ὑπάρχειν ἦ πεντεκαίδεκα ποδῶν. εἶναι δὲ τοῦ
χρυσοῦ τὸν μὲν αὐτόθεν καθαροῦ, κυάμου μέγεθος
ἡ θέρμου, τοῦ ὁγδοῦν μέρους μόνον ἀφευθήνετο,
tὸν δὲ δεῖσθαι μὲν χωνείας πλεῖονος, σφόδρα δὲ
13 λυσιτελοὺς. συνεργασαμένων δὲ τοὺς βαρβαροὺς
τῶν 'Ιταλιῶτῶν ἐν διμήνῳ, παραχρῆμα τὸ χρυσὸν
eὐωνότερον γενέσθαι τῷ τρίτῳ μέρει καθ' ὁλην
14 τὴν 'Ιταλίαν. αἰσθομένους δὲ τοὺς Ταυρίσκους
μυοπωλεῖν ἐκβαλόντας τοὺς συνεργαζομένους.

15 'Ο δ' αὐτὸς ἀνήρ περὶ τοῦ μεγέθους τῶν ".Alphaes
καὶ τοῦ ύψους λέγων παραβάλλει τὰ ἐν τοῖς
"Ελλησίων ὄρη τὰ μέγιστα, τὸ Ταύγητον, τὸ Δύ-
καιον, Παρνασσόν, "Ολυμπον, Πήλιον, "Οσσαν,
16 ἐν δὲ Θράκη Αἶμον, Ἡρόδοπην, Δούνακα. καὶ
φησιν ὅτι τούτων μὲν ἐκαστὸν μικρὸν δεῖν αὐθ-
ημερον εὐξώνοις ἀναβήναι δυνατόν, αὐθημερον δὲ
17 καὶ περιελθέντι, τὰς δ' "Alphais οὐδ' ἀν πεμπταῖος
ἀναβαίνῃ τις: τὸ δὲ μήκος ἑστὶ δισχιλίων καὶ
diakosίων σταδίων τὸ παρῆκον παρὰ τὰ πεδία.
18 τέτταρας δ' ὑπερβάσεις ὅνομαζει μόνον, διὰ
Λυγυρῶν μὲν τὴν ἑγγυστά τῷ Τυρρηνικῷ πελάγει,
εἶτα τὴν διὰ Ταυρίνων, ἤν Ἄννίβας διήλθεν, εἶτα
19 τὴν διὰ Σαλασσῶν, τετάρτην δὲ τὴν διὰ Ἀρτιῶν,
ἀπάσος κρημνώδεις. λίμνας δὲ εἶναι φησιν ἐν
τοῖς ὄρεσι πλεῖονς μὲν, τρεῖς δὲ μεγάλος, ὡν ἡ
μὲν Βήνακος ἔχει μῆκος πεντακόσιων σταδίων,
πλάτος δὲ <ἐκατὸν> τριάκοντα, ἐκρεῖ δὲ ποταμὸς
20 Μύγκιος: ἢ δ' ἔξης Λάριος πετρακοσίων, πλάτος
δὲ στενωτέρα τῆς πρῶτον, ἔξησι δὲ ποταμὸν
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earth on the surface was scraped off to the depth of two feet the diggers found gold at once. The deposit was not deeper than fifteen feet. The gold consisted partly of nuggets as big as a bean or a lupine, which were pure gold when the eighth part only had been smelted off, and partly of stuff which required a good deal of smelting but was very rich. After the Italians had been working it together with the natives for two months, the price of gold throughout Italy at once fell by one-third. But the Taurisci, when aware of this, expelled the other workers and made a monopoly of it.

(1d.)

Polybius also in talking of the size and height of the Alps compares with them the greatest mountains in Greece, Taygetus, Lycaenum, Parnassus, Olympus, Pelion and Ossa, and Haemus, Rhodope, and Dunax in Thrace. He says that each of these can be ascended by a pedestrian in about one day and that the circuit of each may be made in the same time, but it takes at least five days to ascend the Alps, and the length of that part of the chain which rises from the plain is two thousand two hundred stades. He only mentions four passes, one through Liguria nearest the Tyrrhenian Sea, that through the country of the Taurini, which Hannibal crossed, that through the country of the Salassi, and that through Rhaetia, all very steep. He says there are several lakes in the mountains, three of them very large, Benacus (Garda) being five hundred stades long and thirty in breadth, the river Mincius flowing from it. Next comes Larius (Como), four hundred stades in length but narrower than the
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21 τὸν 'Αδούαν' τρίτη δὲ Οὐερβανδός μῆκος ἑγώς τριακοσίων σταδίων, πλάτος δὲ τριάκοντα, ποταμὸν δὲ ἐξήσι μέγαν Τίκων. πάντες δὲ εἰς τὸν Πάδον συρρέουσι.

VII. De Italia

11 Πολύβιος δὲ διάφορον οὖν ἐν Καπύνη φησὶ γίνεσθαι τὸν ἀναδειδρίτην καλοῦμενον, ὃ μηδένα συγκρίνεσθαι.

2 Φησὶ δὲ Πολύβιος πεζῇ μὲν εἶναι τὴν παραλίαν τὴν ἀπὸ Ἰαπυγίας μέχρι πορθμοῦ καὶ τρισχιλίων σταδίων, κλύζεσθαι δ’ αὐτὴν τῷ Σικελικῷ πελάγει, πλέοντι δὲ καὶ πεντακοσίων δέουσαν.

3 Τῆς δὲ Τυρρηνίας μῆκος μὲν τὸ μέγιστον εἶναι φασὶ τὴν παραλίαν ἀπὸ Λούνης μέχρι Ωστίων δισχιλίων ποὺ καὶ πεντακοσίων σταδίων’ πλάτος δὲ τοῦ ἡμίσους ἐλαττον τὸ πρὸς τοὺς ὀρεσίν. εἰς μὲν οὖν Πίσας ἀπὸ Λούνης πλείους τῶν τετρακοσίων σταδίων εἰσὶν, ἐντεῦθεν δ’ εἰς Οὐδαλέρρας διακόσιοι ὕδατοκοντα, πάλιν δ’ ἐνθέδε εἰς Ποπλώνων διακόσιοι ἐβδομήκοντα, ἐκ δὲ Ποπλώνων εἰς Κόσαν ἑγώς ὀκτακόσιοι, οἱ δὲ ἐξακόσιοί φασίν. Πολύβιος δ’ οὐκ εὗ καὶ τῶς πάντας χιλίους τριακοσίους τριάκοντα λέγει.

4 Αἰθάλη, νῆσος Τυρσίων ... Πολύβιος δ’ ἐν τριακοστῇ τετάρτῃ λέγει Αἰθάλειαν τὴν Δήμυνον καλείσθαι.

5 Καλοῦσι δ’ αὐτὸν Κρατήρα, ἀπὸ τοῦ Μισηνοῦ μέχρι τοῦ Ἀθηναίου, δυεῖν ἄκρωτηρίων, κολπού-
last, the Adda flowing from it. The third is Verbanus (Maggiore), three hundred stades long and thirty broad, from which a large river, the Ticinus, flows. All these streams fall into the Po.

VII. ON ITALY

(Athenaeus i. p. 31 d.)

11. Polybius says that the wine made in Capua from trellised vines is particularly good and no other can be compared with it.

(Strabo v. 1. 3, C 211.)

Polybius says the coast from Iapygia to the straits measures by road three thousand stades and is washed by the Sicilian sea. By sea the distance is less than five hundred stades.

(Id. v. 2. 5, C 222.)

The extreme length of the coast of Etruria they say from Luna to Ostia is 2500 stades, the extreme breadth near the hills is less than half this. It is more than 400 stades from Luna to Pisa, from Pisa to Volaterra 280 stades and from there to Populonia 270. From Populonia to Cosa it is nearly 800 or as some say 600. Polybius is wrong in giving the whole length as 1330 stades.

(Steph. Byzantius.)

Aethale, an island off Etruria. Polybius in his Thirty-Fourth Book says that Lemnos was called Aethaleia.

(Strabo v. 4. 3, C 242.)

They call the bay which is formed by the two capes, Misenum and the temple of Minerva, the
μενον. ὑπὲρ δὲ τοῦτων τῶν ἴσων Καμπανία πᾶσα ἵδρυται, πεδίον εὐδαμονεστατον τῶν ἀπάν-
6 των. . . 'Αντίοχος μὲν οὖν φησι τὴν χώραν
tαύτην 'Οπικοὺς οἰκήσαι, τούτοις δὲ καὶ Αὔσσωνας
7 καλεῖσθαι. Πολύβιος δ' ἐμφαίνει δύο ἐθνη νομίζων
tαῦτα. 'Οπικοὺς γάρ φησι καὶ Αὔσσωνας οἴκειν
tὴν χώραν ταύτην περὶ τὸν Κρατήρα.
8 Πολύβιος δ' ἀπὸ τῆς 'Ιαπυγίας μεμιλιάσθαι
φησι, καὶ εἶναι μίλια πεντακόσια ἐξήκοντα δύο
eis . . . Σίλαν πόλιν, ἐντεῦθεν δ' εἰς 'Ακυληίαν
ἐκατὸν ἐβδομήκοντα ὄκτω.
9 Μετὰ δὲ ταύτας τὸ Λακίνιον, Ἡρας ἱερόν,
πλούσιον ποτὲ ὑπάρξαι καὶ πολλῶν ἀναθημάτων
10 μεστὸν. τὰ διάρματα δ' οὐκ εὐκρινῶς λέγεται·
πλῆν ὡς γε ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ σταδίους ἀπὸ πορθμοῦ
μέχρι Λακίνιον Πολύβιος ἀποδίδωσι χιλίους καὶ
11 τριακοσίους, ἐντεῦθεν δὲ καὶ διάρμα εἰς ἀκραν
Ιαπυγίαν ἐπτακοσίους.
12 Πολύβιος δὲ τῶν τριῶν κρατήρων τὸν μὲν κατερ-
13 ρυκέκαι φησίν ἐκ μέρους, τοὺς δὲ συμμένειν· τοὺς
δὲ μέγιστον τὸ χεῖλος ἐχειν περιφέρεσ ὅν πέντε
σταδίων, κατ' ὀλίγον δὲ συνάγεσθαι εἰς πεντῆ-
14 κοντα ποδῶν διάμετρον· καθ' οὖβ ἄθαντες εἰναι τὸ
μέχρι θαλάττης σταδιαῖον, ὡστε καθόραν ταῖς
15 νηεμίαις. ἐὰν μὲν οὖν νότος μέλλῃ πνεῖν, ἀχλών
ομιχλώδη καταχείσθαι κύκλῳ φησὶ τῆς νηείδος,
16 ὡστε μηδὲ τὴν Σικελίαν ἀπωθεὶ φαίνεσθαι· ὅταν
δὲ βορεάς, φλόγας καθαράς ἀπὸ τοῦ λεχθέντος
κρατήρος εἰς ὑψός ἑξαίρεσθαι καὶ βρόμους ἐκ-
πέμπεσθαι μεῖζους· τὸν δὲ ζέφυρον μέσην τυν ἓχειν
17 τάξιν. τοὺς δ' ἄλλους κρατήρας ὁμοειδεῖς μὲν
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BOOK XXXIV. 11. 5 – 17

"Crater." Above this coast lies the whole of Campania, the most fertile of all plains. Antiochus says this region was inhabited by the Opici, who were also called Ausones. Polybius, however, evidently regards them as two nations, for he says that this region near the Crater is inhabited by Opici and Ausones.

(Id. vi. 3. 10, C 285.)

Polybius says that from Iapygia the road has milestones. It is 560 miles to Sila (?), and from there to Aquileia 178.

(Id. vi. 1. 4, C 261.)

After these capes comes the Lacinium, the temple of Juno, once very rich and full of numerous offerings. The distances are not stated exactly. Polybius, however, speaking roughly, gives the distance from the Straits to the Lacinium as 1300 stades and from thence to the headland of Iapygia as 700.

(Id. vi. 2. 10, C 276.)

Of the three craters of the Holy Island of Vulcan Polybius says one has partly collapsed, but the others are entire. The edge of the largest is circular and is five stades in circumference. It gradually contracts to a diameter of fifty feet. At this spot the height straight down to the sea is one stade, so that in calm weather the sea is visible. When the south wind is going to blow, a thick haze gathers all round the island so that not even Sicily is visible; but when the north wind is going to blow clear flames spring up to some height from the crater I was speaking of and louder rumblings than usual issue from it. The signs foretelling a west wind are half way between the two. The other craters are similar, but the
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18 εἶναι, τῇ δὲ βία λείπεσθαι τῶν ἀναφυσιμάτων· ἐκ τε δὴ τῆς διαφορᾶς τῶν βρόμων καὶ ἐκ τοῦ πόθεν ἀρχεται τὰ ἀναφυσιμάτα καὶ αἱ φλόγες καὶ αἱ λιγνύες προσημαίνεσθαι καὶ τὸν εἰς ἥμεραν τρίτην πάλιν μέλλοντα ἄνεμον πνείν. τῶν γούν ἐν Διπάραις γενομένης ἀπλοῖας προεπεῖν τὺνας φησι τὸν ἐσόμενον ἄνεμον καὶ μῇ διαφεύσασθαι.

19 ἀφ' οὗ δὴ τὸ μυθωδέστατον δοκοῦν εἴρηθαι τῷ ποιητῇ οὖ μάτην φἀνεσθαι λεχθὲν, ἀλλ' αἰωνία-

20 μένου τὴν ἀλήθειαν, ὅταν φη ταμίαν τῶν ἄνεμων τὸν Αἴολον.

VIII. De Thracia, Macedonia, Graecia

12 Καὶ ἄλλα δ' οὐ πιστὰ λέγει, τὸ τε συντετρήθησαν τὰ πελάγη . . . ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐρίσκεσθαι κέραμον τε Ῥίκον καὶ Θάσιον ἐν τῷ Νάρων, καὶ τὸ ἄμφω κατοπτεύοντα τὰ πελάγη ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκίων, καὶ τῶν νῆσων τῶν Λιβυρνίδων . . . τιθείς, ὥστε κῦκλον ἔχεν σταδίων καὶ πεντακοσίων, καὶ τὸ τὸν Ἰστρον ἐνι πῶν στομάτων εἰς τὸν 'Αδριαν

2 ἐμβάλλειν. τοιαῦτα δὲ καὶ τοῦ Ἐρατοσθένους ἔνια παρακούσματα ἐστὶ λαοδογματικά, καθάπερ Πολύβιός φησι καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων λέγων συγγραφέων.

2a 'Εκ δὲ τῆς Ἀπολλωνίας εἰς Μακεδονίαν ἢ Ἐγνατία ἐστὶν ὅδος πρὸς ἑω, βεβηματισμένη κατὰ μίλιον καὶ κατεστηλωμένῃ μέχρι Κυψέλων καὶ Ἐβρον ποταμοῦ· μιλίων δ' ἐστὶ πεντακοσίων

3 τριάκοντα πέντε. λογιζομένω δὲ, ὡς μὲν οἱ πολλοὶ, τὸ μίλιον ὀκταστάδιον τετρακισχίλιον ἄν εἶν στάδιοι καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς διακώσας ὁγδοῦκοντα, ὥς δὲ Πολύβιος, προστιθεῖς τῷ ὀκταστάδιῳ δί-

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force of their discharge is less. And he states that from the difference of the rumblings, and from the direction from which the discharges and the smoke and flame come, one can foretell from what quarter the wind will blow even three days later. At least some of the people in Lipara, he says, when wind-bound, foretold what wind would blow and were not wrong. So that what seems to us Homer’s most mythical statement, when he calls Aeolus the dispenser of the winds, was not quite an idle tale, but darkly hinted at the truth.

VIII. On Thrace, Macedonia, and Greece

(Strabo vii. 5. 9, C 317.)

12. Among other improbable things Theopompus states that the Ionian Sea and the Adriatic have an underground connexion, Chian and Thasian pottery being found in the Naro, and again that the two seas are visible from a certain mountain, and that the Liburnian islands have a circumference of as much as 500 stades, and that one of the mouths of the Danube falls into the Adriatic. These and some assertions of Eratosthenes are mere vulgar errors, as Polybius says in speaking of the latter and other writers.

(Id. vii. 7. 4, C 322.)

From Apollonia the Via Egnatia runs east to Macedonia. It has been measured and marked with milestones as far as Cypselia and the river Hebrus, the distance being 535 miles. If we reckon the mile, as most people do, at 8 stades, this makes 4280 stades, but if like Polybius we add to the 8 stades 2 plethra,
πλεθρον, ὃ ἐστὶ τρίτον σταδίου, προσθετέον ἄλλους σταδίους ἐκατὸν ἐβδομήκοντα ὁκτὼ, τὸ τρίτον τοῦ τῶν μιλίων ἀριθμοῦ. συμβαίνει δὲ ἀπὸ ᾧσυν διαστήματος συμπίπτειν εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν ὅδον τοὺς τ’ ἐκ τῆς Ἀπολλωνίας ὄρμηθέντας καὶ τοὺς ἑξ.

6 Ἐπιδάμμων. ἦ μὲν οὖν πᾶσα Ἐγγατία καλεῖται, ἦ δὲ πρῶτη ἐπὶ Κανδαουίας λέγεται, ὦρους Ἡλιομικοῦ, διὰ Λυχνιδοῦ πόλεως καὶ Πυλῶνος, τόπου ὀριζοντος ἐν τῇ ὄψε ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἡλιορίδα καὶ τῆς Μακεδονίας. ἐκεῖθεν δ’ ἐστὶ παρὰ Βαρνοῦντα διὰ Ἡρακλείας καὶ Λυγκηστῶν καὶ Ἐορδῶν εἰς Ἐδεσσαν καὶ Πέλλαν μέχρι Θέα-

8 σαλανικείας. μίλια δ’ ἐστὶ, φησὶ Πολύβιος, ταῦτα διακάσια ἑξήκοντα ἑπτά.

9 Ὅσι ἐκ Περίνθου εἰς Βυζάντιον εἰσὶν ἐξακόσιοι τριάκοντα, ἀπὸ δὲ Ἐθροῦ καὶ Κυψέλων εἰς Βυ-

ζάντιον μέχρι Κυανέων τρισχίλιοι ἐκατόν, ὡς φησιν Ἀρτεμίδωρος, τὸ δὲ σύμπαν μήκος ἀπὸ Ίονίου κόλπου τοῦ κατὰ Ἀπολλωνίαν μέχρι

10 Βυζάντιον ἐπτακισχίλιοι τριακόσιοι εὔκοσι προσ-

τίθησι δ’ ὁ Πολύβιος καὶ ἄλλους ἐκατόν ὁγδοῆ-

κοντα, τὸ τρίτον τοῦ σταδίου προσλαμβάνων ἐπὶ τοῖς ὁκτὼ τοῦ μιλίου σταδίων.

11 Ὡ δὲ περίμετρος μῆ κατακολπίζοντι τετρακισ-

χιλίων σταδίων, ὡς Πολύβιος.

12 Πολυβίον δ’ εἰρηκότος τὸ ἀπὸ Μαλεῶν ἐπὶ τὰς ἄρκτους μέχρι τοῦ Ἦστρου διάστημα περὶ μυρίων σταδίων, εὐθύνει τούτῳ ὁ Ἀρτεμίδωρος οὐκ ἀ-

τόπως . . . κατ’ ἐκείνων δὴ συμβαίνει τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Ἦστρου ἐπὶ Μαλέας ἐξακισχίλιων πεντακοσίων. αὐτίον δὲ τούτου τὸ μῆ τὴν σύντομον καταμετρεῖν ἀλλὰ τὴν τυχόνσαν, ἦν ἐπορεύθη τῶν στρατηγῶν τις. 332
i.e. the third of a stade, we must add 678 stades, the third of the number of miles. Travellers starting from Apollonia and from Epidamnus strike this road at an equal distance from their point of departure. The whole road is called Via Egnatia, but the first section passing through the town of Lychnidus and through Pylon, the point on the road which separates Illyria from Macedonia, derives its name from Candavia, a mountain of Illyria. Thence it passes along Mt. Barnus through Heraclia Lyncestis, and Eordea to Edessa and Pella and finally Thessalonica. The length of this part is according to Polybius 267 miles.

(Strabo, epit. vii. 57.)

From Perinthus to Byzantium the distance is 630 stades, from the Hebrus and Cypsela to Byzantium as far as the Cyanean rocks it is 3100 according to Artemidorus, and the whole distance from the Ionian gulf at Apollonia to Byzantium is 7320 stades, Polybius adding a further 180 stades, as he reckons the mile at 8\(\frac{1}{3}\) stades.

(Id. viii. 21, C 335.)

The circumference of the Peloponnesus sailing from cape to cape is 4000 stades according to Polybius.

(Id. viii. 8. 5, C 335.)

Polybius says that the distance due north from Cape Malea to the Danube is about 1000 stades, but Artemidorus corrects him, and no wonder. According to him the distance from the Danube to Malea is 6500 stades. The reason of the discrepancy is that Polybius does not reckon the distance in a straight line, but by the route some general chanced to follow.
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

IX. De Asia

13 Τά δ' ἐπ' εὐθείας τούτοις μέχρι τῆς 'Ἰνδικῆς τὰ αὐτὰ κεῖται καὶ παρὰ τῷ 'Αρτεμιδώρῳ, ἀπερ καὶ παρὰ τῷ 'Ερατοσθένει. λέγει δὲ καὶ Πολύ-βιος περὶ τῶν ἐκεῖ μάλιστα δεῖν πιστεύειν ἐκείνων.

X. De Alexandria, Aegypti urbe

14 Ὁ γοῦν Πολύβιος γεγονὼς ἐν τῇ πόλει βδελύτ- 
2 τεται τὴν τότε κατάστασιν καὶ φησὶ τρία γένη 
3 φύλων, ὃς καὶ πολιτικῶν, καὶ τὸ μυσθοφορικόν, 
βαρὺ καὶ πολὺ καὶ ἄναγωγον' ἐξ ἔθους γὰρ 
παλαιόν ἔνοικόν ἔτρεφον τοὺς τὰ ὁπλὰ ἔχοντας, 
ἀρχεῖν μάλλον ἢ ἀρχεσθαι δεδιδαγμένους διὰ τὴν 
4 τῶν βασιλέων οὐδένειαν. τρίτον δ' ἐν γένος 
τὸ τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρεων, οὕτω αὐτὸ εὐκρινῶς πολι- 
τικόν διὰ τὰς αὐτὰς αἰτίας, κρεῖττον δ' ἐκείνων 
5 ὁμος· καὶ γὰρ εἰ μιγάδε, Ἑλλήνης ὁμως ἀν- 
έκαθεν ἦσαν καὶ ἐμέμηντο τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Ἔλ- 
6 λήγων ἔθους. ἡφαιστεύει τις καὶ τούτου τοῦ 
πλῆθους, μάλιστα ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἐρυγέτου τοῦ Φύσκω- 
νος, καθ' ὅν ἦκεν εἰς τὴν 'Αλεξάνδρειαν ὁ Πολύβιος 
7—καταστασιαζόμενος γὰρ ὁ Φύσκων πλεονάκις 
τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐφίει τὰ πλήθη καὶ διέφθειρε—, 
8 τοιούτων δή, φησίν, ὄντων τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει, 
λοιπὸν ἢν τῷ ὄντι τὸ τοῦ ποιητοῦ.

Ἀγνυπτόνδ' ἵναι δολιχὴν ὅδον ἀργαλέην τε.
BOOK XXXIV. 13. 1–14. 8

IX. ON ASIA

(Id. xiv. 2. 29, C 663.)

13. Artemidorus agrees with Eratosthenes in his estimate of the direct distance from the Euphrates to India. Polybius says that we should mainly rely on Artemidorus for information about India.

X. ON ALEXANDRIA

(Id. xvii. 1. 12, C 797.)

14. Polybius at least, who visited the city, was disgusted with its condition at the time. He says it is inhabited by three classes of people, first the native Egyptians, an acute and civilized race; secondly by the mercenaries, a numerous, rough, and uncultivated set, it being an ancient practice there to maintain a foreign armed force which owing to the weakness of the kings had learnt rather to rule than to obey; thirdly there were the Alexandrians themselves, a people not genuinely civilized for the same reason, but still superior to the mercenaries, for though they are mongrels they came from a Greek stock and had not forgotten Greek customs. But when this population had been nearly annihilated, chiefly by Euergetes Physcon, in whose reign Polybius came to Alexandria—for this king being frequently troubled by seditions exposed the populace to the onslaught of the soldiers and destroyed them—the city fell into such a state that afterwards Homer's line was really true—

To Egypt is a long and dangerous road.α

α Homer, Od. iv. 485.
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

B. FRAGMENTA LATINA

15 Polybius latitudinem Europae ab Italia ad oceannum scripsit [x[ii] l m pass. esse, etiam tum inconferta magnitudine. Est autem ipsius Italiae, ut diximus, [x[ii] xx m ad Alpis, unde per Lugdunum ad portum Morinorum Britannicum, qua videtur mensuram agere

2 Polybius, [x[ii] lxviii.

Polybius a Goditano freto longitudinem directo cursu ad os Maeotis [xxxiii] xxxvii mil. d passuum prodidit, ab eodem initio ad orientem recto cursu Siciliam [xii] l mil. passuum, Cretam ccclxxv m passuum, Rhodum clxxxvii m d passuum, Chelidonias tantundem, Cyprum ccxxv m passuum, inde Syriae Seleuciam Pieriam cxv mil. passuum, quae conputatio efficit [xxiii] xl m passuum.

3 In ipso vero capite mox Baeticae ab ostio freti xxv mil. pass. Gadis, longa, ut Polybius scribit, xii mil., lata iii mil. passuum. Abest a continente proxima parte minus pedes dcc, reliqua plus vii mil. passuum.

4 Ultra Siciliam quod est ad Salentinos Ausonium Polybius appellat.

5 At inter duos Bosporos, Thracium et Cimmerium, directo cursu, ut auctor est Polybius, d m pass. intersunt.

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B. LATIN FRAGMENTS

(Pliny, Nat. Hist. iv. 121.)

15. Polybius states that the breadth of Europe from Italy to the Ocean is 1150 miles, the true distance not having been determined at that date. For, as I said, the length of Italy as far as the Alps is 1120 miles and thence through Lyons to the British harbour of the Morini, which seems to be the distance measured by Polybius, 1169 miles.

(Ibid. vi. 206.)

Polybius says that the distance from the straits of Gades to the mouth of the Palus Maeotis is 3437 miles, from the same point in a direct line east to Sicily 1250 miles, thence to Crete 375 miles, thence to Rhodes 187 miles, thence to the Chelidonian islands the same, thence to Cyprus 225 miles, and thence to Seleucia Pieria in Syria 115 miles, the whole amounting to 2340 miles.

(Ibid. iv. 119.)

Not far at the very point of Baetica, twenty-five miles from the mouth of the strait is the island of Gades, 12 miles long and 3 miles broad according to Polybius. It is distant from the continent at the nearest point less than 700 feet, the distance of most of it being more than 7 miles.

(Ibid. iii. 75.)

The sea beyond Sicily as far as the Salentini is called by Polybius the Ausonian Sea.

(Ibid. iv. 77.)

Between the two Bospori, the Thracian and Cimmerian, the distance according to Polybius is 500 miles.
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

6 Agrippa totius Africae a mari Atlantico cum inferiori Aegypto [xxx] l m passuum longitudinem, Polybius et Eratosthenes diligentissimi existimati ab oceano ad Carthaginem magnam [xii] m passuum, ab ea Canopum, Nili proximum ostium, [xvi] xxviii m pass. fecerunt.

7 Scipione Aemiliano res in Africa gerente Polybius annalium conditor, ab eo accepta classe scrutandi illius orbis gratia circumvectus, prodidit a monte eo ad occasum versus saltus plenos feris, quas generat Africa, ad flumen Anatim cccclxxxvi m passuum.

8 Ad proximam, quae minor est, a Carthagine ccc m pass. Polybius tradit, ipsum c m passuum aditu, ccc m ambitu.

9 Polybius in extrema Mauretania contra montem Atlantem a terra stadia viii abesse prodidit Cernen.

16 Magnitudo dentium videtur quidem in templis praecepua, sed tamen in extremis Africac, qua confinis Aethiopiae est, postium vicem in domiciliis praebere, saepesque in his et pecorum stabulis pro palis elephantorum dentibus fieri Polybius tradidit auctore Gulusa regulo.
Agrippa gives the total length of Africa from the Atlantic and including lower Egypt as 3050 miles. Polybius and Eratosthenes, who are considered the most careful authorities, make it 1100 miles from the ocean to Carthage and 1628 miles from Carthage to Canopus, the most westerly mouth of the Nile.

When Scipio Aemilianus was in command in Africa Polybius the historian went round in a squadron furnished by the general for the purpose of exploring that continent, and tells us that from Mt. Atlas to the west as far as the river Anatis for 496 miles there are woods full of those wild beasts that Africa produces.

To the lesser Syrtis from Carthage it is according to Polybius 300 miles, the Syrtis itself being 100 miles from the shore and 300 miles in circumference.

Polybius states that Cerne is an island at the extremity of Mauretania over against Mt. Atlas, 8 miles distant from the shore.

16. The size of the elephants' tusks is chiefly to be observed in the temples, but still in the extreme parts of Africa which border on Aethiopia they are used in houses as door-posts, and palings round houses and stables are constructed of tusks, as Polybius tells us on the authority of the African prince Gulusa.
The Histories of Polybius

2 Polybius, Aemiliani comes, in senecta hominem ab his adpeti refert, quoniam ad persequendas feras vires non subpetant. Tunc obsidere Africae urbes, eaque de causa cruci fixos vidisse se cum Scipione, quia ceteri metu poenae similis absterrerentur eadem noxa.

3 Trogus auctor est circa Lyciam penicillos mollissimos nasci in alto, unde ablatae sint spongeae, Polybius super aegrum suspensos quietiores facere noctes.
BOOK XXXIV. 16. 2–3

(Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* viii. 47.)

Polybius, who accompanied Scipio Aemilianus, tells us that lions in their old age attack men, as they have no longer sufficient strength to pursue beasts. Then they haunt the neighbourhood of towns, and for this reason he and Scipio saw several hanging crucified, to deter the others from hurting men for fear of a similar penalty.

(*Ibid.* xxxi. 131.)

Trogus tells us that near Lycia very soft small sponges are produced at the bottom of the sea in the places whence sponges have been plucked. Polybius says that if they are hung above a sick man, his nights are quieter.
FRAGMENTA LIBRI XXXV

I. Bellum Celtibericum

1 Πύρωνος πόλεμος, ὁ 'Ρωμαίων πρὸς τοὺς Κελτὶ- βηρας συσταθεὶς. θαυμαστῇ γὰρ ἔσχε τὴν ἱδιό-
2 τητα τὴν τε συνέχειαν τῶν ἀγώνων. τοὺς γὰρ κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα πολέμους καὶ τοὺς κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν ὡς ἐπίπαν μία μάχη κρίνει, σπανίως δὲ δευτέρα, καὶ τὰς μάχας αὐτὰς ἐἰς καιρὸς ὁ κατὰ τὴν πρώτην ἐφόδου καὶ σύμπτωσιν τῆς δυνάμεως.
3 κατὰ δὲ τοῦτον τὸν πόλεμον τὰναντία συνέβαινε τοῖς προερημένοις. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ κινδύνους ὡς ἐπίπαν ἡ νῦξ διέλυε, τῶν ἄνδρῶν οὕτ' εἰκεν ταῖς ψυχαῖς οὔτε παρακαθίεναι τοὺς σῶμας βουλο-
4 μένων διὰ τὸν κόπον, ἀλλ' ἐξ ὑποστροφῆς καὶ μεταμελείας αὐθίς ἄλλας ἀρχὰς ποιομένων. τὸν γε μὴν ὁλον πόλεμον καὶ τὴν συνέχειαν τῶν ἐκ παρατάξεως διακρίσεων ὁ χειμών ἐπὶ ποσὸν διείργε. καθόλου γὰρ, εἴ τις διανοηθεὶς πῦρων πόλεμον, οὐκ ἂν ἔτερον ἡ τοῦτον νόησει.
5 Ἡσ. ὁτι ἐπειδὴ οἱ Κελτίβηρες ἀνοχὰς ποιησάμενοι πρὸς Μάρκον Κλαύδιον τὸν στρατηγὸν τῶν 'Ρω-
6 μαίων ἐξαπέστειλαν τὰς προσβείας εἰς τὴν 'Ρώμην, οὕτως μὲν τὴν ἕσουχαν ἡγον, καραδοκοῦντες τὴν 342
FRAGMENTS OF BOOK XXXV

I. THE CELTIBERIAN WAR

(From Suidas.)

1. The war between the Romans and the Celtiberians was called the "fiery war," so remarkable was the uninterrupted character of the engagements. For while wars in Greece and Asia are as a rule decided by one battle, or more rarely by two, and while the battles themselves are decided in a brief space of time by the result of the first attack and encounter, in this war it was just the opposite. The engagements as a rule were only stopped by darkness, the combatants refusing either to let their courage flag or to yield to bodily fatigue, and ever rallying, recovering confidence and beginning afresh. Winter indeed alone put a certain check on the progress of the whole war and on the continuous character of the regular battles, so that on the whole if we can conceive a war to be fiery it would be this and no other one.

2. After the Celtiberians had made a truce with Marcus Claudius Marcellus, the Roman commander, and had sent embassies to Rome, they remained inactive awaiting the decision of the senate, while
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

2 ἀπόφασιν τῆς συγκλήτου, Μάρκος δὲ στρατεύσας εἰς τοὺς Λυσιτανοὺς καὶ τὴν Νερκόβρικα πόλιν κατὰ κράτος ἔλη ἐν Κορδύβα τὴν παραχεμασίαν
3 ἐποιεῖτο. τῶν δὲ προσβεβοι εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην παραγενομένων, τοὺς μὲν παρὰ τῶν Βελλῶν καὶ Τίττων, ὃσι τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἦρωντο, παρεδέξαντο
4 πάντας εἰς τὴν πόλιν, τοὺς δὲ παρὰ τῶν Ἄρανακῶν πέραν τοῦ Τιβέρεως ἔκελευσαν κατασκηνοῦν διὰ τὸ πολεμίου υπάρχειν, ἐως βουλεύσωνται
5 περὶ τῶν ὀλιν. γενομένου δὲ καυροῦ πρὸς ἐντευξίν, κατὰ πόλιν ὁ στρατηγὸς εἰσῆγε τοὺς
6 συμμάχους. οἱ δὲ καῖπερ ὄντες βάρβαροι ... διετίθεντο λόγους καὶ πάσας ἐξευκρινεῖν ἐπειρῶντο
7 τὰς διαφοράς, ὑποδεικνύντες ὡς, εἰ μὴ συσταλκήσονται καὶ τεῦξονται τῆς ἄρμοξύσης κολάσεως οἱ πεπολεμηκότες, παραντικὰ μὲν, ἐπανελθόντων τῶν Ῥωμαίικῶν στρατοπέδων ἐκ τῆς Ἰβηρίας, ἐκ χειρὸς προσεπιθήσουσι τὴν δύκην αὐτοῖς, ὡς
8 προδότας γεγονόσι, ταχὺ δὲ πάλιν αὐτοὶ κινήσουσι πραγμάτων ἄρχῆν, εὰν ἀνεπιτίμητοι διαφύγωσιν ἐκ τῆς πρώτης ἀμαρτίας, ἐτοίμους δὲ πάντας πρὸς κανονομιάν ποίησον τοὺς κατὰ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν,
9 ὡς ἰκανοὶ γεγονότες ἀντίπαλοι Ῥωμαίοις. διάπερ ἡξίουν ἢ μένειν τὰ στρατόπεδα κατὰ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν καὶ διαβάσουν καθ' ἐκαστὸν ἔτος ὑπατὸν ἐφεδρεύσοντα τοῖς συμμάχοις καὶ κολάσοντα τὰς
10 Ἄρανακῶν ἀδικίας, ὃι βουλομένους ἀπάγειν τὰς δυνάμεις παραδειγματιστέον εἶναι τὴν τῶν προερημένων ἐπανάστασιν, ἵνα μηδεὶς ἐτί ποιεῖν
11 θαρρῇ τὸ παραπλήσιον τούτοις. οἱ μὲν οὖν Βελλῶν καὶ Τίττων συμμαχοῦντες Ῥωμαίοις ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τούτοις παραπλήσια διελέξθησαν. 344
Marcus after an expedition into Lusitania, in which he took by assault the city of Nercobrica, retired into winter quarters at Cordova. When the embassies arrived in Rome those from the Belli and Titti who had taken the side of Rome were all admitted into the city, but those from the Aravcae, as they were enemies, were ordered to encamp on the other side of the Tiber until a decision was arrived at about the whole question. When the time for their audience came the Praetor Urbanus first introduced the allies. Although foreigners they spoke at length and attempted to lay before the senate a clear statement of all the points in dispute, pointing out that if those who had taken up arms did not meet with proper chastisement they would at once take vengeance on themselves as having betrayed the cause, and if their former fault remained unpunished, very soon again commence disturbances and make the whole of Spain disposed to rebel, under the idea that they had proved themselves more than a match for the Romans. They therefore demanded either that the legions should remain in Spain and that a consul should proceed there every year to protect the allies and check the malpractices of the Aravcae, or if the senate desired to withdraw their forces, the revolt of the Aravcae should be punished in such an exemplary fashion that no one would dare to do the like again. Such was the substance of the speeches made by the Belli and Titti, the allies.
12 ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις εἰσήγην τοὺς παρὰ τῶν πολεμίων.
13 οἱ δ' Ἀρακάκαι παρελθόντες κατὰ μὲν τὴν ὑπό-

κρισιν ἐχρώντο τοῖς λόγοις ὑποπεπτυσθέντως καὶ
tαπεινώς, τῇ γε μὴν προσιόρεσε [ὡς] διέφαινον
14 εἰκονοστὸς τοῖς ὀλοίς οὖν ἤττωμεν. καὶ
gὰρ τα τῆς τύχης ἀδήλα πολλάκις ὑπεδείκυνον
καὶ τὰς προγεγενημένας μάχας ἀμφιδηρίτους ποι-

ούντες ἐν πάσαις ἔμφασιν ἀπέλειπον ὡς ἐπικυδε-
15 στέρων αὐτῶν γεγονοῦσιν. τέλος δ' ἦν τῶν λόγων·
eἰ μὲν τι δεῖ ρητὸν πρόστιμον ὑπομένειν τῆς ἀγνοίας,
ἀναδεχεθαί τούτ' ἔφασαν, τελεσθέντος
dὲ τοῦ προστάγματος ἐπανάγειν ἥξιοιν ἐπὶ τὰς
cατὰ Τεβέριον ὀμολογίας αὐτοῖς γενομένα πρὸς
tὴν σύγκλητον.
3 οἱ δ' ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ διακούσαντες ἀμφοτέρων
eἰσήγαγον τοὺς παρὰ τὸν Μάρκελλον πρέσβεις.
2 θεωροῦντες δὲ καὶ τούτοις ἰέποντας ἐπὶ τὴν
dιάλυσιν καὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν προσνέμοντα τὴν
αὐτοῦ γνώμην τοῖς πολεμίων μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς
3 συμμάχοις, τοῖς μὲν Ἀρακάκαις ἐδωκαν καὶ τοῖς

συμμάχοις ἀπόκρισιν ὅτι Μάρκελλος ἀμφοτέροις
ἐν Ἰβηρία βιασαφήσει τὴν τῆς συγκλήτου γνώμην,
4 αὐτοὶ δὲ νομίσαντες τοὺς συμμάχους ἀληθῆ καὶ

συμφέροντα σφίσι λέγειν, τοὺς δ' Ἀρακάκας
ἀκμὴν μεγαλοφορεῖν, τὸν δὲ στρατηγὸν ἀποδει-
5 λιὰν τὸν πόλεμον, ἐντολὰς ἐδωκαν δὲ ἀπορρήτων
tοῖς παρ' ἐκεῖνον πρεσβευταῖς πολεμεῖν γενναίοις
6 καὶ τῆς πατρίδος ἄξιοις. ἔπειδὴ δὲ τὸν πόλεμον
ἐποίησαν κατάμονον, πρῶτον μὲν τῷ Μάρκελλῳ
dιαπιστήσαντες ἐτερον στρατηγὸν ἐμελλόν δια-
7 πέμπτων εἰς τὴν Ἰβηρίαν· ἦδη γὰρ ἐτυχον ὑπατοι
tότε καθεσταμένου καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς παρειληφότες
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of the Romans. The envoys of the hostile tribes were then introduced. The Aravacae when they presented themselves assumed in their speech a humble and submissive attitude, but made it evident that at heart they were neither disposed to make complete submission nor to accept defeat. For they more than once hinted at the uncertainty of Fortune, and by making out that the engagements that had taken place were hotly contested left the impression that in all of them they thought they themselves had fought more brilliantly than the Romans. The gist of the speeches was that if a fixed penalty were to be imposed on them for their error they would consent to pay it; but when they had complied with this they demanded that the Romans should revert to the terms of their convention with the senate in the time of Tiberius Gracchus.

3. After the senate had heard both parties, the legates from Marcellus were introduced. When the house saw that these also were pacifically inclined, and that the general himself was more disposed to favour the enemy than the allies, they replied to the Aravacae and to the allies, that Marcellus would inform both parties in Spain of the decision of the senate. But their private opinion being that what the allies said was both true and to the advantage of Rome, that the Aravacae still had a high opinion of themselves, and that the general was afraid of the war, they gave secret orders to the legates he had sent to continue to fight bravely and worthily of their country. Having thus determined to pursue the war, they first of all, as they distrusted Marcellus, were minded to send another general to Spain—for Aulus Postumius Albinus and Lucius Licinius
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

Αὔλος Ποστόμιος καὶ Λεύκιος Λικίνιος Λεύκολ-λος. ἔπειτα περὶ τὰς παρασκευὰς ἐγίνοντο φιλοτήμως καὶ μεγαλομερῶς, νομίζοντες διὰ ταῦτας τῆς πράξεως κριθήσεσθαι τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν.

κρατηθέντων μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἑχθρῶν πάντας ὑπέλαβον σφίσι ποιήσει τὸ προσταττόμενον, ἀποστρεφαμένων δὲ τὸν ἑνεστῶτα φόβον οὗ μόνον Ἀραβάκας καταθαρρήσειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀπαντᾶς.

4 Ὅσῳ δὲ φιλοτιμότερον ἡ σύγκλητος διέκειτο πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον, τοσοῦτο σφίσι τὰ πράγματ' ἀπέβαψε παραδοξότερα. τοῦ μὲν γὰρ Κοίντου τοῦ τὸν πρότερον ἐναισθ. στρατηγήσαντος ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ καὶ τῶν μετ' αὐτοῦ στρατευσαμένων ἡγγελκότων εἰς τὴν Ἑρμηνίαν τὴν τε συνέχειαν τῶν ἐκ παρατάξεως κυυδύνων καὶ τὸ πλήθος τῶν ἀπολωλτών καὶ τὴν ἄνδρειάν τῶν Κελτηβήρων,

3 τοῦ δὲ Μαρκέλλου προφανῶς ἀποδειλωντός τὸν πόλεμον, ἐνέπεσε τις πτοίᾳ τοῖς νέοις παράλογοις, οἵαν οὐκ ἔφασαν οἱ προεβαίναν γεγενημένην πρότερον. εἰς γὰρ τοῦτο προβῆτα τὰ τῆς ἀποδειλάσεως ἄντε μὴτε χυλάρχους προπορεῦσθαι πρὸς τὴν ἄρχην τοὺς ίκανοὺς, ἀλλ' ἐλλείπειν τὰς χώρας,

5 τὸ πρότερον εἰθυμεμένων πολλαπλασιών προπορεύσθαι τῶν καθηκόντων, μὴτε τοὺς εἰσφερομένους ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπάτων προσβευτας ὑπακούειν, οὗτ

6 ἔδει πορεύεσθαι μετὰ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ, τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, τοὺς νέους διακλίνειν τὰς καταγραφὰς καὶ τοιαύτας πορίζεσθαι προφάσεις ἃς λέγεις μὲν αἰσχρὸν ἢν, ἐξετάζει δ' ἀπρεπές, ἐπιτέμνειν δ' ἀδύνατον. τέλος δὲ καὶ τῆς συγκλήτου καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων ἐν ἀμηχανίαις ὄντων τῷ τὸ πέρας ἔσται 348
Lucullus had already been designated as consuls and had entered on their office—and in the next place began to make energetic and lavish preparations for the campaign, thinking that the future of Spain depended on its issue. For they supposed that if this enemy were vanquished, all others would submit to their authority, but that if the enemy could avert their present peril, not only would the Aravacae be encouraged to resist, but all the other tribes also.

4. But the more eager the senate was to pursue the war, the more alarming did they find the state of affairs. For since Quintus Fulvius Nobilior, their former commander in Spain, and the members of his force had spread the report in Rome of the constant succession of pitched battles, the great losses suffered by the Romans and the valour of the Celtiberians, and as Marcellus was evidently afraid of continuing the war, such an extraordinary panic took hold of the young recruits as their elders said they never remembered before. This fit of cowardice went so far, that neither did competent officers present themselves as military tribunes, but their posts were not filled, although formerly many more than the required number of qualified officers used to apply, nor were the legates, nominated by the consuls, who should have accompanied the general, willing to serve; but the worst of all was that the young men avoided enrolment, finding such excuses as it was disgraceful to allege, unseemly to examine, and impossible to check. Finally, when both the senate and the magistrates were at a loss to know what would be
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tης τῶν νέων ἀνασχυντίας—τούτῳ γὰρ ἡναγκάζοντο χρῆσθαι τῷ ρήματι διά τὰ συμβαίνοντα—
8 Πόπλιος Κορνήλιος ['Αφρικανός], νέος μὲν ὄν, δοκῶν δὲ σύμβουλος γεγονέναι τοῦ πολέμου, <τῆς> ἐπὶ καλοκαγαθίᾳ καὶ σωφροσύνῃ δόξαν
9 ὀμολογουμένην πεποιημένος, τῆς δ' ἐπὶ ἄνδρεις φήμης προσδεόμενος, θεωρῶν τὴν σύγκλητον ἀπορουμένην, ἀναστὰς εἰπεν εἰτεν χιλιάρχον εἰτε πρεσβευτὴν πέμπτειν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν Ἰβηρίαν μετὰ τῶν ὑπάτων ἐξείναι· πρὸς ἀμφότερα γὰρ ἐτούμως ἐχειν. καίτοι γ' ἐφῆ κατ' ἱδίαι μὲν αὐτῷ τῆν εἰς Μακεδονίαν ἐξοδον ἀμα μὲν ἀσφαλεστέραν
10 ἡμα δ' οἰκειοτέραν· εἰναι συνέβαπεν γὰρ τότε τοὺς Μακεδόνας ἐπ' ὄνοματος καλεῖν τὸν Σκι-
11 πίωνα διαλύσοντα τὰς ἐν αὐτοῖς στάσεις· ἄλλα τοὺς τῆς πατρίδος καιροὺς ἐφη κατεπείγειν μᾶλλον καὶ καλεῖν εἰς τὴν Ἰβηρίαν τοὺς ἀληθιῶς φίλο-
12 δοξούντας. πᾶσιν δὲ παραδόξου φανείσις τῆς ἑπαγγελίας καὶ διὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν καὶ διὰ τὴν ἀληθινὴν, παραυτικὰ μὲν ευθέως συνέβη μεγάλην ἀποδοχὴν γενέσθαι τοῦ Σκιπίωνος, ἐτὶ δὲ μᾶλλον ταῖς ἐχτὶς ἡμέραις· οἱ γὰρ πρότερον ἀποδειλίωντες, ἐκτρέπομενοι τὸν ἐκ παραθέσεως ἑλεγχον, οἱ μὲν πρεσβεύσειν ἑθελουσίν ἐπηγγέλλοντο τοῖς στρατη-
13 γοῖς, οἱ δὲ πρὸς τὰς στρατιωτικὰς καταγράφας προσεπορεύοντο κατὰ συστρέμματα καὶ συνήθειας.

5 Πολύβιος· ἐνέπεσε δὲ τις ὄρμη τῷ Σκιπίωνι καὶ διαπόρησει, εἰ δὲ συμβαλεῖν καὶ μονομαχῆσαι πρὸς τὸν βάρβαρον.

2 'Ὁ δ' ἵππος ὁ τοῦ Σκιπίωνος ἐδυσχρήστησε μὲν 350
the end of this shameless conduct on the part of the young men—for so they were compelled by circumstances to describe it—Publius Cornelius Scipio, who was still young and was thought to have advised the prosecution of the war, having now attained an unquestioned reputation for nobility of conduct and temperance of life, but being desirous of gaining the like for courage, when he saw the difficulty that faced the senate, rose and asked to be allowed to be sent to Spain either as tribune or as legate with the consuls; for he was ready to go in either capacity. Although, he said, as far as concerned himself personally, it was both safer and more agreeable for him to proceed to Macedonia—for at this time he had been specially invited by the Macedonians to go there and settle their domestic quarrels, yet the voice of their country at this critical time summoned more urgently to Spain all true devotees of glory. All were surprised at this offer owing to Scipio's youth and his cautiousness in general, and Scipio became very popular both at the moment and still more on the following days. For those who previously shirked their duty, ashamed now of being shown up by a comparison of their conduct with his, began some of them to volunteer for the post of legate and the rest to flock in groups to enrol themselves as soldiers.

(Suidas; cp. Livy, epit. xlviii.)

5. Scipio was assailed at the same time by an eager impulse to meet the barbarian in single combat and by doubt whether he should do so.

(Suidas.)

Scipio's horse was disabled by the blow, but did
υπὸ τῆς πληγῆς, οὐ μὴν ὀλοσχέρως ἐσφάλμησε. διόπερ ὁρθὸς ἀπέπεσεν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ὁ Σκυπῆων· Πολύβιος.

II. Achaeorum exsules liberantur

6 ῾Ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν ἐξ ᾿Αχαίας φυγάδων ἐντευχθεῖσα διὰ Πολύβιον υπὸ Σκυπῆων, ὡς πολὺς ἐν τῇ συγκλήτῳ λόγῳ ἑγώνετο, τῶν μὲν διδόντων κάθ-2 οδὸν αὐτοῖς, τῶν δὲ ἐνυσταμένων, ἀναστὰς ὁ Κάτων "Ὃσπερ οὐκ ἔχοντες" εἶπεν "ὁ πρᾶττωμεν, καθῆμεθα τὴν ἡμέραν ἡλῑην περὶ γεροντίων Γρα-κκῶν ξητοῦντες, πότερον υπὸ τῶν παρ᾽ ἡμῖν ἡ 3 τῶν ἐν ᾿Αχαία νεκροφόρων ἐκκομμαθῶσιν." Ῥήμα-σθείσης δὲ τῆς καθόδου τοῖς ἀνδράσιν, ἡμέρας ὀλίγας οἱ περὶ τὸν Πολύβιον διαλιπόντες αὕθις ἐπεχείρουν εἰς τὴν σύγκλητον εἰσελθεῖν, ὡς ἀς πρῶτον εἶχον ἐν ᾿Αχαίᾳ τιμᾶς οἱ φυγάδες ἀναλάβοιεν, καὶ τοῦ Κάτωνος ἀπεπειρῶντο τῆς 4 γνώμης. ὁ δὲ μειδιάσας ἐφή τὸν Πολύβιον, ὡσπερ τὸν Ῥοδοσέα, βούλευται πάλιν εἰς τὸ τοῦ Κύκλωπος σπῆλαιον εἰσελθεῖν, τὸ πιλίον ἕκει καὶ τὴν ξώνην ἐπιτελησμένον.
BOOK XXXV. 5. 2 – 6. 4

not entirely collapse, so that in losing his seat he fell on his feet.

II. LIBERATION OF THE ACHAEN EXILES

(From Plutarch, Cato Mai. 9.)

6. Cato was approached by Scipio on behalf of 151-150 B.C. the Achaean exiles through the influence of Polybius, and when there was a long debate in the senate, some advocating their return and others opposing it, Cato rose and said: "Just as if we had nothing to do we sit here all day disputing about some wretched old Greeks whether they shall be carried to their graves by bearers from Rome or from Achaea." And when their restitution was voted, and a few days afterwards Polybius intended to enter the house to demand that the exiles should recover the honours they had previously enjoyed in Achaea, and asked Cato's advice, Cato smiled and said that Polybius, like Ulysses, wanted to enter the cave of the Cyclops again, because he had forgotten his cap and belt.
FRAGMENTA LIBRI XXXVI

I. Bellum Punicum Tertium

1 "Ισως δὲ τινες ἐπιζητοῦσι πῶς ἴμεῖς οὐκ ἐναγωνίσματι κεχρήμεθα προφερόμενοι τούς κατὰ μέρος λόγους, τοιαύτης ύποθέσεως ἐπειλημμένοι καὶ τηλικάτης πράξεως· ὁπερ οἱ πλεῖστοι ποιοῦσι τῶν συγγραφέων, εἰς ἀμφότερα τὰ μέρη δια-τιθέμενοι τοὺς ἑνόντας λόγους. ἐγώ δὲ διότι μὲν οὐκ ἀποδοκιμάζω τοῦτο τὸ μέρος, ἐν πλείσι τοποῖς τῆς ἱστορίας δὴλον πεποίημαι, πολλάκις ἀπηγγελκὼς δημηγορίας καὶ συντάξεις ἀνδρῶν πολιτικῶν· ὅτι δ' οὐκ ἔκ παντὸς τρόπου τούτου προαιροῦμαι πράττειν, νῦν ἔσται συμφανές· οὔτε γὰρ ύπόθεσιν ἐπιφανεστέραν ταύτης εὑρεῖν ράδιον τιθεμενοι τοις λόγοις, ἀλλ' ἂν τοῖς ἀρμόζονι πρὸς τὸν ὑποκείμενον καιρόν, τοῖς ἱστοριογράφοις ἠμμελετάν τοῖς ἀκούοντις οὐδ' ἐναποδείκνυθαι τὴν αὐτῶν δύναμιν, ἀλλὰ <τὰ> κατ' ἀλήθειαν ῥηθέντα <καθ'> ὅσον οἶνον τε 354
I. The Third Punic War

1. Perhaps some may ask themselves why I do not, now that I have to deal with a subject of such importance and so momentous an event, display my talent and report the particular speeches after the fashion of most authors who lay before us all that it is possible to say on either side. That I do not disapprove of such a practice is evident from various passages of this work in which I have quoted both the speeches and the writings of politicians, but it will now be made clear that it is not my principle to do this on any and every pretext. For it is not easy to find a subject more renowned than the present nor ampler material for comparisons; nor again is anything more facile for myself than such an exercise. But on the one hand neither do I think it is the proper part of a politician to display his ingenuity and indulge in discursive talk on any and every subject of debate that may arise, but simply to say what the situation demands, nor is it the proper part of a historian to practise on his readers and make a display of his ability to them, but rather to find out by the most diligent inquiry.
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πολυπραγμονήσαντας διασαφείν, καὶ τούτων τὰ καιριώτατα καὶ πραγματικώτατα.

2 Πάλαι δὲ τούτου κεκυρωμένου βεβαιῶς ἐν ταῖς (1) ἐκάστων γνώμαις καιρὸν ἐξήτουν ἑπτήδειον καὶ 2 πρόφασιν εὐσχήμονα πρὸς τοὺς ἐκτός. πολὺ γὰρ δὴ τούτου τοῦ μέρους ἐφροντίζου Ἄρωμαιοι,
3 καλῶς φρονοῦντες· ένστασις γὰρ πολέμου κατὰ τὸν Δημήτριον δικαία μὲν εἶναι δοκοῦσα καὶ τὰ νυκή- 3 ματα ποιεῖ μείζω καὶ τὰς ἀποτεύξεις ἀσφαλεστέρας, ἀσχήμων δὲ καὶ φαύλη τούναντιν ἀπεργάζεται:
4 διὸ καὶ τότε περὶ τῆς τῶν ἐκτός διαλήψεως πρὸς ἀλλήλους διαφερόμενοι παρ’ ὅλουν ἀπέστησαν τοῦ πολέμου.

3 “Ὅτι τῶν Καρχηδονίων πάλαι βουλευμένων (1) περὶ τοῦ πῶς ἀπαντήσαι <δεῖ πρὸς> τὴν Ἄρωμαιῶν ἀπόκρισιν, καὶ τῶν Ἰτυκαίων ὑποτεμομένων τὴν ἑπίνοιαν αὐτῶν, τοῖς Ἄρωμαιοις τὴν ἐαυτῶν παραδόντων πόλιν, ὀλοσχερῆς ἀμηχανία περιέστη τοὺς 2 ἀνθρώπους. μᾶς γὰρ ἐλπίδος ἔτι φαινομένης αὐτοῖς, εἴ συγκαταβαίνει εἰς τὸ δοῦναι τὴν ἐπι- 2 τροπὴν περὶ αὐτῶν, διότι πάντως εὐδοκεῖν ποιῆσονι 3 τοὺς Ἄρωμαιοις, διὰ τὸ μηδ’ ἐν ταῖς μεγίσταις περιστάσεσιν καταπολεμηθέντες, καὶ πρὸς τοῖς 3 τείχεσι τῶν πολεμίων ὑπαρχόντων, μηδέποτε τὴν 4 ἐπιτροπὴν δεδωκέναι τῆς πατρίδος, καὶ ταῦτης τῆς ἑπίνοιας τῶν καρπῶν ἀπέβαλον, προκατα- 4 5 ληφθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰτυκαίων· οὐδὲν γὰρ ξένων οὐδὲ παράδοξον ἐμελλε φανήσεσθαι τοῖς Ἄρωμαιοις,
6 εἰ ταῦτα ποιήσαιεν τοῖς προειρημένοις. οὐ μὴν 356
and report to them what was actually said, and even of this only what was most vital and effectual.

2. They had long ago made up their minds to act thus, but they were looking for a suitable opportunity and a pretext that would appeal to foreign nations. For the Romans very rightly paid great attention to this matter, since, as Demetrius says, when the inception of a war seems just, it makes victory greater and ill-success less perilous, while if it is thought to be dishonourable and wrong it has the opposite effect. So on this occasion their disputes with each other about the effect on foreign opinion very nearly made them desist from going to war.

3. The Carthaginians had been for long debating how they should answer the Roman reply, and now when the people of Utica forestalled their design by surrendering their city to Rome, they were entirely at a loss how to act. The one and only hope that presented itself to them was to consent to commit themselves to the faith of the Romans; since they thought that was sure to gratify these, as not even in the season of their greatest danger when they had been utterly defeated and the enemy was at their gates had they ever thus surrendered the liberty of their country. But now the fruit of this project was snatched from them by the people of Utica anticipating them, since they would no longer seem to the Romans to be acting in any remarkable or unexpected way by following the example of Utica. However, now that they were
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<άλλα> κακῶν αἱρέσεως καταλειτομένης, ἢ τὸν πόλεμον ἀναδέχεσθαι γενναῖως ἢ διδόναι τὴν ἑπιτροπὴν περὶ τῶν καθ’ αὐτούς, πολλοὺς καὶ ποικίλους ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ δι’ ἀπορρήτων ποιησάμενοι λόγους κατέστησαν πρεσβευτὰς αὐτοκράτορας, καὶ τούτους ἐξαπέστελλον, δόντες ἐντολὴν βλέποντας πρὸς τὰ παρόντα πράττειν τὸ δοκοῦν <συμφέρειν> τῇ πατρίδι. ἦσαν δ’ οἱ πρεσβεύοντες Γίςκων Στρυτάνος ἑπικαλούμενος, Ἀμίλκας, Μίσδης, Γιλλίμας, Μάγων. ἦκοντες <δ’> οἱ πρέσβεις παρὰ τῶν Καρχηδονίων εἰς Ὁρμην καὶ καταλαβόντες πόλεμον δεδομένων καὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἁρμηκότας μετὰ τῶν δυνάμεων, οὐκέτι διδόντων βουλήν αὐτοῖς τῶν πραγμάτων, ἔδωκαν τὴν ἑπιτροπὴν περὶ αὐτῶν.

4 Περὶ δὲ τῆς ἑπιτροπῆς ἔρηται μὲν ἥμων καὶ (2) πρότερον, ἀναγκαίον δ’ ἔστω καὶ νῦν ὑπομνῆσαι κεφαλαίωσι. οἱ γὰρ διδόντες αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν Ὁρμην ἑπιτροπὴν διδόσαν πρῶτον μὲν χώραν τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν αὐτοῖς καὶ πόλεις τὰς ἐν ταύτη, σὺν δὲ τούτων ἄνδρας καὶ γυναῖκας τους ὑπάρχοντας ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ καὶ ταῖς πόλεσιν ἀπαντας, ομοῖως ποταμοὺς, λιμένας, ἱερὰ, τάφους, συλλήβδην ὡστε πάντων εἶναι κυρίους Ὁρμαιῶν, αὐτοὺς δὲ τους διδόντας ἄπλως μηκέτι μηδενός.

3 γενομένης δὲ τῆς ἀνθομολογήσεως τοιαύτης ύπὸ τῶν Καρχηδονίων, καὶ μετ’ ὁλίγου εἰσκληθέντων αυτῶν εἰς τὸ συνεδρῖον, ἐλεγεν ὁ στρατηγὸς τῆς τῆς συγκλήτου γνώμην ὅτι καλῶς αὐτῶν βεβουλευμένων δίδωσιν αὐτοῖς ἢ σύγκλητος τῆς τ’ ἐλευθερίαν καὶ τοὺς νόμους, ἐτὶ δὲ τὴν χώραν ἀπασαν καὶ τὴν τῶν ἄλλων ὑπαρχόντων κτήσιν καὶ κοινῆ καὶ 358
left with the choice of two evils, either to accept war with brave hearts or to entrust themselves to the faith of Rome, after a long secret discussion in the senate they appointed plenipotentaries and sent them to Rome with instructions to do whatever they thought was in the interest of their country under present circumstances. The names of the envoys were Giscon, surnamed Strytanus, Hamilcar, Misdes, Gillimas, and Mago. But when these envoys from Carthage arrived in Rome they found that war had already been decided on, and that the generals had left with their armies and therefore, as the situation left them no choice, they committed Carthage to the faith of Rome.

4. I have previously stated what this phrase (dedere se in fidem) means, but it is here necessary to remind my readers briefly of its significance. Those who thus commit themselves to the faith of Rome surrender in the first place the whole of their territory and the cities in it, next all the inhabitants of the land and the towns, male and female, likewise all rivers, harbours, temples, tombs, so that the result is that the Romans enter into possession of everything and those who surrender remain in possession of absolutely nothing. Shortly after this surrender had been made by the Carthaginians they were called into the senate, where the praetor conveyed to them the decision of the senate, that as they had been well advised, the senate granted them freedom and their laws, besides their whole territory and all other possessions both public and private. The
κατ’ ἵδιαν. οἱ δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι ταῦτ’ ἀκούσαντες ἔχαρον, δόξαντες ως ἐν κακῶν αἱρέσει καλῶς σφίσσων κεχρῆσθαι τὴν σύγκλητον, ἄτε τῶν ἀναγκαιοτάτων καὶ μεγάστων αὐτοῖς συγκεχωρημένων.

6 μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τοῦ στρατηγοῦ διασαφῶντος διότι τεύχονται τούτων, εἶνεν τριακοσίων ὁμήρους εἰς τὸ Διλύβαιον ἐκπέμψασιν ἐν τριάκονθ' ἡμέραις τοὺς υἱοὺς τῶν ἐκ τῆς σύγκλητου καὶ τῆς γερουσίας καὶ τοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπάτων παραγγελλομένοις πεθαρχήσωσιν, ἐπὶ ποσὸν ἠπόρησαν πούα τὰ διὰ τῶν ὑπάτων αὐτοῖς ἐσται παραγγελλόμενα: πλὴν τότε γ’ εὖ αὐτῆς ὥρμησαν, σπεύδοντες

7 ἀναγγείλαν τῇ πατρίδι περὶ τούτων. παραγενόμενοι δ' εἰς τὴν Καρχηδόνα διεσάφουν τοῖς πολίταις

9 τὰ κατὰ μέρος. οἱ δὲ διακούσαντες τάλλα μὲν ἐνδεχομένως ἐνόμιζον βεβουλεύσθαι τοὺς πρεσβευτὰς, περὶ δὲ πόλεως μὴ γεγονέναι μνείαν εἰς μεγάλην ἐπίστασιν αὐτοὺς ἦγε καὶ πολλὴν ἀμηχανίαν.

5 Ἐν δὲ τῷ καιρῷ τούτῳ φασὶ Μάγωνα τὸν

(3) Βρέττιον χρήσασθαι λόγοις ἀνδρόωδεσι καὶ πραγματικοῖς. δύο γάρ, ως ἐοικε, καιροὺς ἐφασκεν εἶναι τοῦ βουλεύσασθαι περὶ σφῶν καὶ τῆς πατρίδος, ὅτι τὸν μὲν ἐνα παρείσθαι. δειν γὰρ οὐ μὰ Δίᾳ νῦν διαπορείν τί διὰ τῶν ὑπάτων αὐτοῖς παραγγελθήσεται, καὶ διὰ τί περὶ πόλεως οὐδεμίαν ἐπούσατο μνείαν ἢ σύγκλητος, ἀλλὰ καθ’ ὅν

4 καιρὸν ἐδίδοσαν τὴν ἐπιτροπήν. δόντας δὲ σαφῶς γνωσίσκειν διότι πάν τὸ παραγγελλόμενον ἐπιδεκτέον ἐστίν, εὰν μὴ τελέως ὑπερήφανον τῇ καὶ

5 παρὰ τὴν προσδοκίαν· εἰ δὲ μὴ, τὸτε πάλιν βουλεύσαθαι πότερα δεῖ προσδέχεσθαι τὸν πόλεμον 360
Carthaginians on hearing this were pleased, thinking that in the choice of evils they had been well treated by the senate, as all that was most essential and important had been conceded to them. But after this, when the praetor informed them that they would obtain these favours if within thirty days they sent to Lilybaeum three hundred hostages, sons of senators or of members of the Gerousia, and if they obeyed the orders of the consuls, they were somewhat at a loss to know what these orders would be. However they left at once to announce all this at Carthage, and on coming there they informed their fellow-citizens of all the particulars. On hearing these they all thought that the envoys had obtained a satisfactory result in general, but the fact that there was no mention of the city caused serious anxiety and surprise.

5. At this time Mago the Bruttian was said to have spoken in a manly and practical fashion. For, as it seems, he said there were two opportunities of deciding about themselves and their country of which the one had been let slip. For the proper time, surely, to question what the orders of the consuls would be and why the senate made no reference to their city was not the present but the time when they put themselves at the mercy of Rome. Once they had done this they should be clearly aware that they must accept any order unless it were flagrantly oppressive and beyond expectation. In the latter case they must again consider if
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εἰς τὴν χώραν καὶ πάσχειν ὃ τι ποτ' ἂν οὕτως ἐπιφέρῃ τῶν δεινῶν, ἥ κατορρωδήσαντας τὴν τῶν πολεμίων ἐφοδιόν ἔθελοντὴν ἀναδεχεσθαι πάν τὸ 6 προστατόμενον. πάντων δὲ διὰ τὸν ἐφεστῶτα πόλεμον καὶ διὰ τὸ τῆς προσδοκίας ἀδήλου φερομένων ἐπὶ τὸ πειθαρχεῖν τοὺς παραγγελλομένους, ἔδοξεν πέμπειν τοὺς ὀμήρους εἰς τὸ Διλύβαιον. 7 καὶ παραυτίκα καταλέξαντες τρικοσίους τῶν νέων ἔξεπεμπον μετὰ μεγάλης οἰμωγῆς καὶ δακρύων, ἀτε προπεμπόντων ἐκαστον τῶν ἀναγκαίων καὶ συγγενῶν, καὶ μάλιστα τῶν γυναικῶν ἐκκαλοῦσαν τῷ τὴν τοιαύτην διάθεσιν. ἐπεὶ δὲ κατέπλευσαν εἰς τὸ Διλύβαιον, οἱ μὲν ἐς αὐτῆς παρεδόθησαν διὰ τῶν ὑπάτων Κοίντων Φαβίω Μαξίμω—συνέβαιν γὰρ τοῦτον ἐπὶ τῆς Σικελίας τετάχθαι 8 στρατηγοῦ τότε—δι' οὗ παρακομισθέντες ἀσφαλῶς εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην συνεκλείσθησαν ὁμοῦ πάντες εἰς τὸ τῆς ἐκκαϊδεκήρους νεώριον . . .

6 Καὶ τῶν μὲν ὄμηρων ἐκείσε παραχθέντων, οἱ (4) στρατηγοὶ κατήχησαν εἰς τὴν τῆς Ῥώμης ἀκραν. 2 τούτων δὲ προσπεπτωκότων τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις ὀρθῇ καὶ περίφοβῳ ἂν ἤ πόλις διὰ τὴν ἀδηλότητα 3 τῶν προσδοκιμένων. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς πρεσβεύτας πέμπειν τοὺς πεισμένους τῶν ὑπάτων τῷ δεῖ ποιεῖν καὶ διασφάλιστας ὑπὲρ πᾶν τὸ 4 παραγγελλόμενον ἐτοιμοὶ πάντες εἰσάν. τῶν δὲ πρεσβευτῶν ἀφικομένων εἰς τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων παρεμβολῆς, καὶ τοῦ συνεδρίου συναχθέντος, εἰσελθόντες οἱ πρέσβεις διελέγοντο κατὰ τὰς ἐντολὰς. 5 ὥς δὲ πρεσβύτερος τῶν ὑπάτων ἐπαινέσας αὐτῶν τῆς πρόθεσιν καὶ προαιρέσιν ἐκέλευε παραδίδοναι τὰ θ' ὅπλα καὶ τὰ βέλη πάντα χωρίς δόλου καὶ 362
they should expose their country to war and its terrors, or not daring to face the attack of the enemy, yield unresistingly to every demand. But as they all, owing to the war being close upon them and owing to the uncertainty of the future, were inclined to obey the orders, it was decided to send the hostages to Lilybaeum, and choosing at once three hundred of their young men they dispatched them with great lamentations and tears, as each was escorted by his near friends and relatives, the women being especially violent in their grief. On arriving at Lilybaeum the hostages were at once handed over through the consuls to Quintus Fabius Maximus, who was then in command in Sicily, and by him they were safely conveyed to Rome and the whole body confined in the dock of the large warship with sixteen banks of oars.

6. After the hostages had been brought to Rome the Roman commander landed at the Cape of Utica. Upon this news reaching Carthage the whole city was in great excitement and terror, owing to the uncertainty that prevailed as to what they were to expect. They decided, however, to send envoys to the consuls to ask them what they must do and inform them that all were disposed to obey any command. Upon their arrival at the Roman camp a council was called and the envoys spoke according to their instructions. The elder of the two consuls, after commending their decision and their compliant temper, ordered them to surrender all their arms and missiles without fraud or deceit. The envoys
6 ἀπάτης. οἱ δὲ πρέσβεις ποιήσεω μὲν ἔφασαν τὸ παραγγελλόμενον, σκοπεῖσθαι δ' αὐτοὺς ἤξιον τὸ συμβησόμενον, ἐὰν αὐτοὶ μὲν παραχωρήσωσι τῶν ὀπλών, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ λαβόντες ἀποπλεύσωσιν. ὀμοις ταῦτα ἐδωκαν.

7 Δήλον ἐγένετο διότι μέγα τὸ βάσταγμα τῆς πόλεως ἢν πλείονα γὰρ εἴκοσι μυριάδων ὀπλα παρέδωκαν Ἡρωμαίοις καὶ καταπέλτας δισχίλιοις.

7 'Απλώς δ' οὐδὲν εἶδος τῶν μελλόντων ἐγνωσαν, (5) 2 εἴς αὐτής δὲ τῆς ἐμφάσεως ὀπτευόμενοι τῶν πρέσβεων εἰς παντοδαπὰς οἰμωγάς καὶ θρήνους ἐν-ἐπιπτον.

3 Οἱ δὲ πάντες ἀμ' ἀνακεκραγότες εἴς αὐτής 4 οἴονεi παρελύθησαν. ταχὺ δὲ τοῦ λόγου διαδοθέντος εἰς τὸ πλῆθος, οὐκέτι συνέβαινε γίνεσθαι τὴν ἀλογίαν, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τοὺς πρεσβευτὰς ὄρμων, ὡς αὐτοὺς σφίζει τῶν κακῶν ὄντας τούτων, 5 οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τοὺς κατειλημμένους τῶν Ἰταλικῶν καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀπηρείσαντο τὸν θυμὸν, οἱ δὲ πρὸς τὰς πύλας τῆς πόλεως . . .

8 Ἀμίλκας, δ' καὶ Φαμέας, Καρχηδονίων στρα- (6) τηγός, δη υπήρχε κατὰ μὲν τὴν ἡλικίαν ἀκμάζων καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἐξίν ἐφρωμένος, τὸ δὲ μέγιστον ἐφόδιον πρὸς πολεμικὴν χρείαν, ἵππεὺς ἄγαν ἀγαθός καὶ τολμηρός.

2 Οἱ δὲ διαξηλοτυπούμενοι πρὸς τὸν Σκιπίωνα ἐπεβάλοντο διασύρειν τὰς πράξεις αὐτοῦ. 364
said they would comply with the order, but begged the Romans to consider what would happen to them if they gave up all their arms and the Romans took them and sailed away with them. Nevertheless they gave them up.

(Suidas.)

It was evident that the power of the city was very great, for they gave up to the Romans more than two hundred thousand suits of mail and two thousand catapults.

(Suidas.)

7. They had absolutely no notion of any kind of what was in store for them, but auguring the worst from the manner alone of the envoys, they gave vent to every kind of lament and plaint.

(Suidas.)

After one loud cry they remained, as it were, without power of utterance. But when the news quickly spread among the people there was no more speechlessness, but some threw themselves upon the envoys, as if it were all their fault, others attacked such Italians as were detained in the city and vented their wrath on them, and others rushed to the gates.

(Suidas.)

8. Hamilcar, also known as Phameas, the Carthaginian general, was in the prime of life, of great personal vigour, and what is most important in a soldier, a good and bold rider.

(Suidas.)

Others from extreme jealousy of Scipio tried to belittle his achievements.
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3 (2) Τὰς προφυλακὰς βλέπων ὁ Φαμέας, ὥν οὐκ ἦν ἄψυχος, ἐξέκλινε τὰς πρὸς τὸν Σκιπίωνα συμπλοκὰς. καὶ ποτε συνεγγύσας ταῖς ἐφεδρεῖαις, προβαλόμενος ὥρθυν ἀπότομον ἐπέστη καὶ πλείω χρόνον.

4 (3) Αἱ δὲ σημεῖα τῶν Ῥωμαίων συνεπεφεύγεσαν εἰς βουνόν· καὶ πάντων δόντων γνώμας ὁ Σκιπίων

5 (4) ἔφη, ... ὦταν ἐξ ἀκεραίου βουλεύωνται, καὶ πλεῖω ποιεῖσθαί πρόνοιαν τοῦ μηδὲν παθεῖν ἢ τοῦ δρᾶσαι κακῶς τούς ἐχθροὺς.

6 (5) Οὐ χρὴ θαυμάζειν εἰ φιλοτιμότερον ἐξηγούμεθα τὰ κατὰ τὸν Σκιπίωνα καὶ πᾶν τὸ ὑθέν ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ μετὰ διαστολῆς ἐξαγγέλλομεν.

II. Res Graeciae

9 Ὅτι περὶ Καρχηδονίων, ὅτε κατεπολέμησαν

(περὶ Ῥωμαίων, καὶ περὶ τῶν κατὰ τὸν Ψευδο-

φιλιστὸν κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα πολλοὶ καὶ πάντοιοι

dιεφέροντο λόγοι, τὰς μὲν ἀρχὰς ὑπὲρ τῶν κατὰ

2 κατὰ τὸν Ἑυδοφιλιστὸν. τὰ μὲν οὖν περὶ

1 Καρχηδονίους ἀμφιδοξομένας εἰχὲ τὰς ἀποφάσεις

καὶ τὰς διαλήψεις. ἔνιοι μὲν γὰρ συγκατήρουν

τὸς Ῥωμαίοις, φάσκοντες αὐτοὺς φρονίμως καὶ

πραγματικῶς βουλεύσασθαι περὶ τῆς δυναστείας.

4 τὸ γὰρ τὸν ἐπικραμάμενον φόβον καὶ τὴν πολλὰς

μὲν ἡμιφισβητηκυῖαν πρὸς αὐτοὺς πόλιν ὑπὲρ τῆς

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(Suidas.)

Seeing the strength of the outposts, Phameas, who was by no means timid, used to avoid any engagement with Scipio, and once when he approached the Roman reserve force he got under shelter of a steep ridge and halted there for a considerable time.

(Suidas.)

The Roman maniples fled to the top of a hill, and when every one had given his advice, Scipio said, "When men are consulting about a fresh emergency they must rather take care to avoid disaster than scheme how to damage the enemy."

(Suidas.)

It should not be a matter of surprise to anyone if I display particular interest in Scipio and report all his utterances at length.

II. AFFAIRS OF GREECE

9. Both about the Carthaginians when they were crushed by the Romans and about the affair of the pseudo-Philip many divergent accounts were current in Greece, at first on the subject of the conduct of Rome to Carthage and next concerning their treatment of the pseudo-Philip. As regards the former the judgements formed and the opinions held in Greece were far from unanimous. There were some who approved the action of the Romans, saying that they had taken wise and statesmanlike measures in defence of their empire. For to destroy this source of perpetual menace, this city which had constantly
ΤΗΣ ΗΣΤΟΡΙΑΣ ΠΟΛΥΒΙΟΥ

ηγεμονίας, ἐτὶ δὲ καὶ νῦν δυναμένην ἀμφισβητῆσαι σὺν καιρῷ, ταύτην ἐπανελομένους βεβαιώσαι τῇ σφετέρᾳ πατρίδι τὴν ἀρχὴν νοῦν ἔχοντων εἶναι καὶ μακρὰν βλεπόντων ἀνθρώπων.

5 Ἔννοι de τούτως ἄντελεγον, φάσκοντες οὔ τη<ρεύν αὐτοὺς τὴν προαίρεσιν ἢ κατεκτή- 

6 σαντο τὴν ἡγεμονίαν καὶ κατὰ μικρὸν εἰς τὴν Ἀθηναίων καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων ἐκτρέπεσθαι φιλ- 

7 αρχὰς καὶ βραδύτερον μὲν ἐκεῖνων ὀρμαῖν, ἦξεν δ', 

8 ἐπὶ ταῦτα τέλος ἐκ τῶν προφανομένων. πρότερον 

9 μὲν δὲ προοίμων μὲν ἐκτεθείσθαι τῆς ἑδίας προα- 

10 ρέσεως τὰ κατὰ Περσέα, βαστάσαντας ἐκ ριζῶν τὴν Μακεδόνων βασιλείαν, τετελεικέναι δὲ κατὰ 

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disputed the supremacy with them and was still able to dispute it if it had the opportunity and thus to secure the dominion of their own country, was the act of intelligent and far-seeing men.

Others took the opposite view, saying that far from maintaining the principles by which they had won their supremacy, they were little by little deserting it for a lust of domination like that of Athens and Sparta, starting indeed later than those states, but sure, as everything indicated, to arrive at the same end. For at first they had made war with every nation until they were victorious and until their adversaries had confessed that they must obey them and execute their orders. But now they had struck the first note of their new policy by their conduct to Perseus, in utterly exterminating the kingdom of Macedonia, and they had now completely revealed it by their decision concerning Carthage. For the Carthaginians had been guilty of no immediate offence to Rome, but the Romans had treated them with irremediable severity, although they had accepted all their conditions and consented to obey all their orders.

Others said that the Romans were, generally speaking, a civilized people, and that their peculiar merit on which they prided themselves was that they conducted their wars in a simple and noble manner, employing neither night attacks nor ambushes, disapproving of every kind of deceit and fraud, and considering that nothing but direct and open attacks were legitimate for them. But in the present case, throughout the whole of their proceedings in regard to Carthage, they had used deceit and fraud, offering certain things one at a time and keep-
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παρείλαντο πάσας τὰς ἑλπίδας τοῦ βοηθεῖν αὐτοῖς
11 τοὺς συμμάχους. τούτο δὲ μοναρχικῆς πραγματο-
ποιίας οίκείου εἶναι μάλλον ἡ πολιτικῆς καὶ
Ῥωμαϊκῆς αἵρεσεως καὶ προσευκὸς ἀσεβήματι
καὶ παρασπονδήματι κατὰ τὸν ὀρθὸν λόγον.
12 ἦσαν δὲ τνεῖς οἳ καὶ τούτοις ἀντιλέγοντες. εἰ μὲν
γὰρ πρὶν ἡ δοῦνα τοὺς Καρχηδονίους τὴν ἐπιτροπὴν
αὐτῶν οὔτως ἐχείριζον τὰ πράγματα, κατὰ βραχὺ
tὰ μὲν προτείνοντες, τὰ δὲ παραγμονδοῦντες, εἰκότως
ἀν αὐτοὺς ἐνόχους φαίνεσθαι τοῖς ἐγκαλουμένοις.
13 εἰ δὲ δόντων αὐτῶν τῶν Καρχηδονίων τὴν ἐπι-
τροπὴν ὡστε βουλεύεσθαι ὉΡωμαίους ὁ τι ποτὲ
φαίνοντο περὶ αὐτῶν, οὔτω <κατὰ> τὴν ἐξουσίαν,
ὡς ποτε δοκοὶ σφίσι, τὸ κριθὲν ἐπέταττον καὶ
παρήγγελλον, οὐκ<έτι τὸ> γυνόμενον ἀσεβήματι
παραπλήσιον <εἰν>καί <μήν> οὐδὲ παρασπο-
νδήματι <μικ>ροῦ <δ>έων· <ἔ>νοιο ὃ <ἔφ>ασαν οὐκ
14 ἀδικήματι τὸ παρά<παν>· τριῶν γὰρ <ον>ῶν
dιαφορῶν, <εἰ>ς ὃς <τὸ π>ᾶν ἐγκλήμα φύσει
καταντῶν, εἰς οὐδεμίαν ἐμπίπτειν τούτων τὸ
15 γυνόμενον ὑπὸ ὉΡωμαίων· ἀσεβήμα μὲν γὰρ εἶναι
τὸ περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ τοὺς γονεῖς καὶ τοὺς τεθνεώ-
tας ἁμαρτάνειν, παρασπονδήμα δὲ τὸ πορὰ τὰς
ἐνόρκους καὶ τὰς ἐγγράπτους ὁμολογίας πρατ-
τόμενον, <ἀδικήμα> δὲ τὸ παρὰ τοὺς νόμους καὶ·
16 τοὺς ἑθίσμους ἐπιτελοῦμεν<ον>· ὃν οὐδὲν <κατά> τὸ
παρὸν ἐνόχους εἶναι ὉΡωμαίους· οὐ γὰρ εἰς τοὺς
θεοὺς οὐδὲ εἰς τοὺς γονεῖς οὐδὲ εἰς τοὺς τεθνεῶτας
ἐξαμαρτάνειν, οὐδὲ μήν ὄρκους οὐδὲ συνθήκας
παραβαίνειν, τὸ δ᾿ ἐναντίον αὐτοὺς ἐγκαλεῖν τοῖς
17 Καρχηδονίοις ὅτι παραβεβήκασι. καὶ μὴν οὐδὲ

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ing others secret, until they cut off every hope the city had of help from her allies. This, they said, savoured more of a despot's intrigue than of the principles of a civilized state such as Rome, and could only be justly described as something very like impiety and treachery. And there were others who differed likewise from these latter critics. For, they said, if before the Carthaginians had committed themselves to the faith of Rome the Romans had proceeded in this manner, offering certain things one at a time and gradually disclosing others, they would of course have appeared to be guilty of the charge brought against them. But if, in fact, after the Carthaginians had of their own accord committed themselves to the faith of the Romans and given them liberty to treat them in any way they chose, the Romans, being thus authorized to act as it seemed good to them, gave the orders and imposed the terms on which they had decided, what took place did not bear any resemblance to an act of impiety and scarcely any to an act of treachery; in fact some said it was not even of the nature of an injustice. For every crime must naturally fall under one of these three classes, and what the Romans did belongs to neither of the three. For impiety is sin against the gods, against parents, or against the dead; treachery is the violation of sworn or written agreements; and injustice is what is done contrary to law and custom. Of none of these three were the Romans guilty on the present occasion. Neither did they sin against the gods, against their parents, or against the dead, nor did they violate any sworn agreement or treaty; on the contrary they accused the Carthaginians of doing this. Nor, again, did
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νόμους οὐδ’ ἠθεσάμενος οὐδὲ τὴν κατ’ ἱδίαν πίστιν ἀδετείν· λαβόντας γὰρ τὴν ἐπιτροπὴν παρ’ έκόντων ὁ βούλουντο πράττειν, οὐ πειθαρχούντων τοῖς παραγγελλόμενοις, οὕτως αὐτοῖς προσάγειν τὴν ἀνάγκην.

10 Περὶ μὲν οὖν Ὀθημαίων καὶ Κορυθεσίων ταῦτ’ ἐλέγετο· περὶ δὲ τοῦ Ψευδοφιλίππου τὸ μὲν πρῶτον οὖν’ ἀνεκτὸς ὁ λόγος ἐφαίνετο· πάρεστὶ τις ἐπὶ τὴν Μακεδόνιαν ἀεροπετῆς Φίλιππος, καταφρονήσας οὐ μόνον Μακεδόνων ἀλλὰ καὶ Οθημαίων, οὐδεμιᾶν ἀφορμὴν εὐλογον ἔχων πρὸς τὴν ἐπιβολὴν, ἀτε γνωσκομένου τοῦ κατ’ ἄλληθειν Φιλίππου διότι σχεδὸν ὀκτωκαίδεκα γεγονὼς ἔτων μετήλλαξε τὸν βίον ἐν Ἀλβα τῆς Ἰταλίας δυὸν ύστερον

4 ἔτεσιν αὐτοῦ τοῦ Περσέως. μετὰ δὲ μήνας τρεῖς ἡ τέτταρας προσπεσσότης φήμης διότι νενίκηκε μάχη τούς Μακεδόνας πέραν τοῦ Στρυμόνος <κατὰ> τὴν Ὀδομαντικήν, τινὲς μὲν ἀπεδέχοντο 5 τὸν λόγον, οἱ δὲ πλείους ἀκμὴν ἡπίστουν. μετ’ οὐ πολὺ δὲ πάλιν ἀμφοὶ τοῦ λόγου προσπέπτοντος ὅτι νικᾶ μάχη τούς Μακεδόνας ἐπὶ τάδε τοῦ Στρυμόνος καὶ πάσης Μακεδονίας κρατεῖ, καὶ Θεσπαλῶν γράμματα καὶ προσβευτὰς πεμφάντων πρὸς τοὺς Ἀχαίους καὶ παρακαλοῦντων βοήθειν, ὥς καὶ περὶ αὐτοὺς ὑπάρχοντος κυνδύνου, θαυμα- 6 στὸν ἐφάνη καὶ παράδοξον τὸ γεγονὸς· οὐδεμιὰ γὰρ οὔτε πιθανότης οὔτ’ εὐλογία προσφαίνετο περὶ 7 τοῦ συμβεβηκότος. τοιαύτα μὲν οὖν περὶ τού- των ἦσαν διαθέσεις.

11 Ὅτι προσπεσνότων εἰς τὴν Πελοπόννησον γραμ- μάτων τοῖς Ἀχαιόις παρὰ τοῦ Μανιλίου διότι καλῶς ποιήσουσι Πολυβίου τὸν Μεγαλοπολίτην

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they break any laws or customs or their personal faith. For having received from a people who consented willingly full authority to act as they wished, when this people refused to obey their orders they finally resorted to force.

10. This, then, is what was said concerning the Romans and Carthaginians. As for the false Philip, at first the story seemed utterly inadmissible. Here is a Philip fallen from the skies who appears in Macedonia, making light not only of the Macedonians but of the Romans too, with no plausible reason to show for his enterprise, as it was well known that the real Philip died at the age of about eighteen at Alba in Italy, two years after the death of Perseus himself. But when three or four months later the report came that he had defeated the Macedonians in a battle beyond the Strymon in the country of the Odomanti, some accepted the news as true, but most people still remained incredulous. But when again, a short time after, it was reported that he had defeated the Macedonians on this side of the Strymon and was master of the whole of Macedonia, and when the Thessalians sent a letter and envoys to the Achaeans begging for their help, as they themselves were now in peril, the whole thing seemed most wonderful and extraordinary, for such an event had not previously seemed remotely probable or at all to be reckoned with. Such was the state of opinion about these matters.

11. When a letter reached the Peloponnesus addressed to the Achaeans from Manilius, saying that they would do well to send Polybius of Megalo-
ΤΗΣ ΠΕΛΟΠΟΝΝΗΣΟΥΝ.

12 Οὐ χρῆ δὲ θαυμαζέων ἐὰν ποτὲ μὲν τῷ κυρίῳ σημαίνωμεν αὐτοὺς ὀνόματι, ποτὲ δὲ ταῖς κοινὰς ἐμφάσεσιν, οἷον ὀὕτως "ἐμοῦ δὲ ταῦτ᾽ εἰσόντος" 2 καὶ πάλιν "ἡμῶν δὲ συγκαταθημένων." ἐπὶ πολὺ γὰρ ἐμπεπλεγμένων ἡμῶν εἰς τὰς μετὰ ταῦτα μελλούσας ἱστορεῖσθαι πράξεις, ἀναγκαῖον ἐστὶ μεταλαμβάνεις τὰς περὶ αὐτῶν σημασίας, ἵνα μήτε τούνομα συνεχῶς προφερόμενοι προσκόπτωμεν ταυτολογοῦντες μήτε πάλιν "ἐμοῦ" καὶ "δι᾽ ἐμὲ" παρ᾽ ἕκαστον λέγοντες λάθωμεν εἰς 3 φορτικὴν διάθεσιν ἐμπίπτοντες, ἀλλὰ συγχρώμενοι πᾶσι τούτοις καὶ μεταλαμβάνοντες ἀεὶ τὸ τῷ καυρῷ πρέπον ἐφ᾽ ὅσον οἶδαν τὸ διαφέυγωμεν τὸ 4 λίαν ἔπαχθες τῆς περὶ αὐτῶν λαλίας, ἐπειδὴ φύσει μὲν ἀπρόσδεκτός ἦστιν ὁ τοιοῦτος λόγος, ἀναγκαῖος δὲ ὑπάρχει πολλάκις ὅταν μὴ δυνατόν ἄλλως 5 ἡ δηλώσαι τὸ προκείμενον. γέγονε δὲ τι πρὸς

(XXXVII. 4) (XXXVII. 2)
polis at once to Lilybaeum as he was required for the public service, the Achaeans voted to send him in response to this written request of the consul. I, myself, thinking that for many reasons I ought to obey the Romans, put every other consideration aside and set sail early in summer. On arriving at Corcyra and finding there a letter addressed by the consuls to the Corcyraeans, in which they informed them that the Carthaginians had already delivered the hostages to them and were ready to comply with all their orders, I thought that the war was over, and that there was no further need for my services, and therefore I at once sailed back to the Peloponnesus.

12. It should cause no surprise if at times I use my proper name in speaking of myself, and elsewhere use general expressions such as "after I had said this" or again, "and when I agreed to this." For as I was personally much involved in the events I am now about to chronicle, I am compelled to change the phrases when alluding to myself, so that I may neither offend by the frequent repetition of my name, nor again by constantly saying "when I" or "for me" fall unintentionally into an ill-mannered habit of speech. What I wish is by using these modes of expression alternately and in their proper place to avoid as far as possible the offence that lies in speaking constantly about oneself, as such personal references are naturally unwelcome, but are often necessary when the matter cannot be stated clearly without them. Luckily I have been assisted in
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τούτῳ τὸ μέρος ἦμιν οἶον ἐκ ταύτων μεχρί γε τῶν καθ' ἦμᾶς καιρῶν ταύτων ἦμιν ονόμα κεκληρονομηκέναι κυρίως, ὅσον γε καὶ ἦμᾶς εἰδέναι.

13 Ὁτι κατὰ τι σύμπτωμα τῶν μὲν τοῦ Καλλικρά-
τοις εἰκόνων εἰσφερομένων κατὰ τὸ σκότος, τῶν
δὲ τοῦ Δικόρτα κατὰ τὴν ᾧτὴν ἤμεραν ἐκφερο-
μένων εἰς τὸ φῶς κατὰ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς διάθεσιν,
2 πάντας ἦνάγκαζε τὸ γινόμενον ἐπιφθέγγεσθαι
dιότι δεὶ μηδέποτε τοῖς καιροῖς ὑπερηφάνως
χρῆσαί κατὰ τῶν πέλας, εἰδότα διότι καὶ λίαν
tούτ' ἔστιν οἴοιν ἐπιτήδευμα τῆς τύχης, τὸ τοῖς
αὐτῶν ἐπινοήμασι καὶ νομοθετήμασιν ἐξ ὑπο-
στροφῆς αὐτοὺς ὑποβάλλει τοὺς νομοθετήσαντας.

3 Ὁτι αὐτὸ τὸ φύσει φιλόκαινον τῶν ἀνθρώπων
ἐκανόν ἐστι πρὸς πάσαν μεταβολήν.

III. Res Bithyniae

14 Ὁτι Ἦωμαι ἐπεμψαν προσβεντὰς τοὺς ἐπι-
ληψομένους τῆς ὄρμης τῆς τοῦ Νικόμηδους καὶ
κωλύσοντας τὸν Ἀτταλον πολεμείν τῷ Προσίᾳ,
2 καὶ κατεστάθησαν Μάρκους Δικύνιος, ἀνθρωπο-
pοδαγρικός καὶ τελείως ἀδύνατος τοῖς ποσί, καὶ
μετὰ τούτον Αἴλος Μαγκύνος, ὃς κεραμίδος εἰς
tὴν κεφαλὴν ἐμπεσοῦσας αὐτῷ τηλικαύτας καὶ
tοσαύτας οὐλὰς εἰχε διὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς ὡστε θαυ-
μαστὸν εἶναι τῶς ἔσῳθη, καὶ Δεύκιος Μαλλέολος,
ὃς πάντων ἐδοκεῖ Ἦωμαι ἀναισθητότατος ὑπ-
3 ἀρχεῖν. τῆς δὲ πράξεως προσδειμένης τάχους καὶ
tόλμης ἐδοκοῦν ἀφυεστάτοι πρὸς τὴν χρείαν εἶναι
4 ταύτην οἱ καθεσταμένοι. διὸ καὶ φασὶ Μάρκουν
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BOOK XXXVI. 12. 5 - 14. 4

this matter by the fortuitous fact that no one as far as I know, up to the time in which I live at least, has received from his parents the same proper name as my own.

13. It chanced that on one and the same day the portraits of Callicrates were carried in in darkness, while those of Lycortas on the same day were brought out into the light to occupy their original position, and this made every one remark that no one should misuse his success to persecute his neighbours, since he should know that it is the peculiar function of Fortune to bring to bear in turn on the legislators themselves the very laws they themselves originated and passed.

The love of innovation natural to man is in itself sufficient to produce any kind of revolution.

III. AFFAIRS OF BITHYNIA

(Cp. Livy, epit. l.)

14. The Romans sent legates to check the aggressive spirit of Nicomedes and to prevent Attalus from going to war with Prusias. Those appointed were Marcus Licinius, a gouty man quite weak upon his legs, Aulus Mancinus, who in consequence of a tile falling on his head had received so many serious wounds on the head, that it is a wonder he escaped with his life, and Lucius Malleolus, who was thought to be the most stupid man in Rome. As the matter called for rapid and bold action, the legates selected were considered to be the most incompetent that could be found for this task. Owing
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Πόρκιον τὸν Κάτωνα προσαγορευόμενον εἰπεῖν ἐν συγκλήτῳ διότι συμβῆσται μὴ μόνον ἀπολομενον φθάσαι τὸν Προυσιαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν Νικο-
5 μήδην γηράσαντ’ ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ πῶς γὰρ οἶδον τὸ καταταχῆσαι, πῶς δὲ καταταχῆσασιν ἀνύσασθαι τι τὴν προσβείαν, μήτε πόδας μήτε κεφαλῆν μήτε καρδίαν ἔχουσαν.

15 Ὄτι Προυσίας ὁ βασιλεὺς, εἰδεχθῆς ὅν κατὰ τὴν ἐμφασιν, καίπερ ἐκ συλλογισμοῦ βελτίων ὑπάρχων, ἡμίσας ἅνηρ <ἡν> κατὰ τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν καὶ πρὸς τὰς πολεμικὰς χρείας ἠγεννῆς καὶ γυναι-
2 κώδης. οὐ γὰρ μόνον δειλὸς ἦν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὰς κακοπαθείας ἀλλότριος καὶ συλλήβδην ἐκτεθηλυμένος καὶ τῇ ψυχῇ καὶ τῷ σώματι παρ’ ὅλον τὸν βίον ὅπερ ἡκιστα βούλονται περὶ τοὺς βασιλεῖς ὑπάρχειν ἀπάντες μὲν, μάλιστα δὲ τὸ 
4 τῶν Βιθυνῶν γένος. πολλή δὲ τις ἄσελγεια καὶ περὶ τὰς σωματικὰς ἐπιθυμίας αὐτῶς συνεξηκο-
5 λούθει. ταύτες δὲ καὶ φιλοσοφίας καὶ τῶν ἐν τούτους θεωρημάτων ἀπειρος εἰς τέλος ἦν καὶ συλλήβδην τοῦ καλοῦ τί ποτ’ ἔστων οὐδ’ ἔννοιαν 
6 εἰχε, Σαρδανάπαλλου δὲ βάρβαρον βίον ἔζη καὶ 
7 μεθ’ ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτωρ. τοιγαροῦν ἀμα τῷ δράξασθαι βραχείας ἐλπίδος τοῦ τῶν βασιλευο-
μένων πλῆθος ἀμετάκλητον ὄρμην ἔσχεν εἰς τὸ 
μὴ μόνον ἀλλότρια φρονεῖν τοῦ βασιλέως, ἀλλὰ καὶ τιμωρίαν βούλεσθαι παρ’ αὐτοῦ λαμβάνειν.

IV. Bellum Punicum Tertium

16 Ὅτι Μασανάσσης ὁ ἐν Διβύῃ τῶν Νομάδων 
(๘๘๑.๑๐) βασιλεὺς ἄνηρ ἦν τῶν καθ’ ἡμᾶς βασιλέων ἄριστος 
(๘๘๑.๓๒) καὶ μακαριώτατος, ὃς ἐβασιλευσεν ἐτη πλεῖω τῶν 
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to this they say that Marcus Porcius Cato remarked in the senate that before it was finished not only would Prusias be dead but Nicomedes, too, would have died of old age in his royal state; for how could the commission act expeditiously, or if it did, achieve any result, as it had not feet nor a head nor a heart.

15. King Prusias was an ill-favoured man, and though possessed of fair reasoning power, was but half a man as regards his appearance, and had no more military capacity than a woman; for not only was he a coward, but he was incapable of putting up with hardship, and, to put it shortly, he was effeminate in body and mind through his whole life, a defect that no one, and least of all Bithynians, like to see in a king. In addition to this he was most incontinent in satisfying his sensual appetites; he was entirely a stranger to literature, philosophy, and all such studies, and generally speaking had no notion whatever of what goodness and beauty are, but lived by day and night the barbarous life of a Sardanapallus. So that all his subjects, the moment they saw the least chance of success, became irrevocably resolved not only to throw off allegiance to the king, but to exact punishment from him.

IV. The Third Punic War

16. Massanissa, the king of the Numidians in Africa, 149-148 B.C., one of the best and most fortunate men of our time, reigned for over sixty years, enjoying excellent
3 ἐνενήκοντα γὰρ ἐτῶν ἐγεγόνει. ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ
dυναμικῶτατος τῶν καθ’ αὐτὸν κατὰ τὴν σωματι-
κὴν ἐξίν, ὅσ, ὅτε μὲν στῆναί δέοι, στὰς ἐν τοῖς
αὐτοῖς ἤχυσει δὴ ἡμέρας ἔμενε, καθεξόμενος <ديةς>
4 πάλιν οὐκ ἦγείρετο. καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τῶν ἱππικῶν
κακοπάθειαν ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτα συνεχῶς διακαρτε-
5 ρῶν οὐδὲν ἐπάσχειν. σημεῖον δὲ τῆς σωματικῆς
αὐτοῦ δυνάμεως ἐχὼν ἐνενήκοντ’ ἐτη, καθ’ ὅν
καυρὸν μετήλλαξε τὸν βίον, ύπὸν ἀπέλειπτε τεττάρων
ἐτῶν, ἀνομα Σθέμβανον, ὁ μετὰ ταῦτα Μικύθης
6 νιστοῦσατο, πρὸς δὲ τοῦτοι ύποὺς ἐννέα. διὰ
dὲ τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους τούτων εὔνοιαν διετήρησε
τὸν ὄλον βίον πάσης ἐπιβουλῆς καὶ παντὸς οἰκείου
μιᾶς ματατος ἁμοιουν αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι τὴν βασιλείαν.
7 τὸ δὲ μέγιστον καὶ θειότατον τοῦτον· τῆς γὰρ
Νομαδίας ἀπάσης ἀχρήστου τὸν πρὸ τοῦ χρόνου
ὑπαρχοῦσης καὶ νομίζομένης ἀδυνάτου τῇ φύσει
8 πρὸς ἡμέρας καρπὸς ὑπάρχειν, πρῶτος καὶ
μόνος ὑπέδειξε διότι δύναται πάντας ἐκφέρειν τοὺς
ἡμέρας καρπὸς οὐδὲ ὅποιας ἠττον, ἐκάστω τῶν
ὑπὸν ἐν διαστάσει μυριοπλέθους ἁγροὺς κατα-
9 σκέυασας παμφόρους. τῇ μὲν οὖν ἐκείνου μετα-
στάσει ταῦτ’ ἀν τις εὐλόγως ἐπιφθείξαι τοι
10 δικαιῶς. ὃ δὲ Σκιπίων παραγενόμενος εἰς τὴν
Κίρταν ἡμέρα τρίτη μετὰ τὸν βασιλείως θάνατον
dιώκησε καλῶς πάντα.
11 Μασανάσσην δ’ ἰστορεῖ Πολύβιος ἐνενήκοντα
μὲν ἐτῶν ἀποθανεῖν, τετράετες καταλιπόντα παϊ-
12 δίμιον ἐξ αὐτοῦ γεγενημένον· ὅλιγον δ’ ἐμπροσθεν
τῆς τελευτῆς μάχη νικήσαντα μεγάλη Καρχη-
δονίους ὀφθήναι τῇ ὑστεραιά πρὸ τῆς σκηνῆς
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health and attaining a great age, for he lived till ninety. He also excelled all his contemporaries in bodily strength, for when it was necessary to stand, he could stand in the same place for a whole day without shifting, and again, if he were seated, he never used to get up. And he could also continue to ride hard by night and day without feeling any the worse. The following is a proof of his bodily strength. At the age of ninety, the age at which he died, he left a son of four years old called Sthembanus, subsequently adopted by Micipses, besides nine other sons. Owing to the affectionate terms they were all on he kept his kingdom during his whole life free from all plots and from any taint of domestic discord. But his greatest and most godlike achievement was this. While Numidia had previously been a barren country thought to be naturally incapable of producing crops, he first and he alone proved that it was as capable as any other country of bearing all kinds of crops, by making for each of his sons a separate property of 10,000 plethra which produced all kinds of crops. It is only proper and just to pay this tribute to his memory on his death. Scipio arrived in Cirta two days after the king's death and set everything in order.

(From Plutarch, An seni sit gerenda respublica, p. 791 f.)

Polybius tells us that Massanissa died at the age of ninety, leaving a four-year-old child of which he was the father. A little before his death, he defeated the Carthaginians in a great battle, and next day he was seen in front of his tent eating
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δυπαρὸν ἄρτον ἐσθίοντα καὶ πρὸς τοὺς θαυμάζοντας εἴπειν ὅτι τοῦτο ποιεῖ... 

V. Bellum Macedonicum

17 Ἔγὼ δέ, φησιν ὁ Πολύβιος ἐπιτιμῶν τοῖς τὴν (xxxvii. 9 τύχην καὶ τὴν εἰμαρμένην ἐπιγράφουσιν ἐπὶ τε τὰς (xxxvii. 4) κοινὰς πράξεις καὶ τὰς καὶ ἵδιαν περιπετείας, νῦν βούλομαι περὶ τούτου τοῦ μέρους διαστείλασθαι καθ' ὅσον ὁ τῆς πραγματικῆς ἱστορίας ἐπιδέχεται 2 τρόπος. ὃν μὲν ἡ Δι' ἀδύνατον ἡ δυσχερὲς τὰς αἰτίας καταλαβεῖν ἀνθρωπὸν ὄντα, περὶ τούτων ἵσως ἃν τις ἀπορῶν ἐπὶ τὸν θεόν τὴν ἀναφορὰν ποιοῖτο καὶ τὴν τύχην, οἶον ὀμβρων καὶ υφετῶν ἐξαισίων ἐπιφορὰ συνεχῆς, ἡ τάναντία πάλιν ἀληθῶν καὶ πάγων καὶ διὰ ταῦτα φθορὰ καρπῶν, ὀμοίως λοιμικαὶ διαθέσεις συνεχεῖς, ἀλλὰ παραπλήσια τούτους, ὃν οὐκ εὔμαρας τὴν αἰτίαν εὑρεῖν. 

3 διόπερ εἰκότως περὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἀκολουθοῦντες ταῖς τῶν πολλῶν δόξαις διὰ τὴν ἀπορίαν, ἱκετεύοντες καὶ θύοντες ἐξελασκόμενοι τὸ θείον, πέμπομεν ἐρησόμενοι τοὺς θεοὺς τί ποτ' ἂν ἡ λέγουσιν ἡ πράττουσιν ἡμῖν ἀμεινοῦν εἴη καὶ γένοιτο παύλα 4 τῶν ἐνεστῶτων κακῶν. δι' ὃν δὲ δυνατὸν ἐστὶ τὴν αἰτίαν εὑρεῖν, εξ ἡς καὶ δι' ἡν ἐγένετο τὸ συμβαίνον, οὕχι μοι δοκεῖ τῶν τοιούτων δεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ θείον. 

5 ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἀναφοράν. λέγω δ' οἶον οὕτως. ἐπέσχεν ἐν τοῖς καθ' ἡμᾶς καιροῖς τὴν Ἐλλάδα πᾶσαν ἀπαίδεα καὶ συλλήβδην ὀλγαναθρωπία, δι' ἡν αἱ τε πόλεις ἐξηρημώθησαν καὶ ἀφορίζων εἶναι συνεβαίνε, καίπερ οὔτε πολέμων συνεχῶν ἔσχη- 6 κότων ἡμᾶς οὔτε λοιμικῶν περιστάσεων. εἰ τις 382
a dirty piece of bread, and to those who expressed their surprise said he did it . . .

V. THE MACEDONIAN WAR

17. For my part, says Polybius, in finding fault with those who ascribe public events and incidents in private life to Fate and Chance, I now wish to state my opinion on this subject as far as it is admissible to do so in a strictly historical work. Now indeed as regards things the causes of which it is impossible or difficult for a mere man to understand, we may perhaps be justified in getting out of the difficulty by setting them down to the action of a god or of chance, I mean such things as exceptionally heavy and continuous rain or snow, or on the other hand the destruction of crops by severe drought or frost, or a persistent outbreak of plague or other similar things of which it is not easy to detect the cause. So in regard to such matters we naturally bow to popular opinion, as we cannot make out why they happen, and attempting by prayer and sacrifice to appease the heavenly powers, we send to ask the gods what we must do and say, to set things right and cause the evil that afflicts us to cease. But as for matters the efficient and final cause of which it is possible to discover we should not, I think, put them down to divine action. For instance, take the following case. In our own time the whole of Greece has been subject to a low birth-rate and a general decrease of the population, owing to which cities have become deserted and the land has ceased to yield fruit, although there have neither been continuous wars nor epidemics. If, then, any
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οὖν περὶ τούτου συνεβούλευσεν εἰς θεοῦς πέμπτεν ἔρησομένους τί ποτ’ ἀν ἢ λέγοντες ἢ πράττοντες πλείονες γνωίμεθα καὶ κάλλιον οἰκοίμημεν τὰς πόλεις, ἀρ’ οὐ μᾶταις ἢν ἐφαίνετο, τῆς αἰτίας προφανοῦς ὑπαρχοῦσης καὶ τῆς διορθώσεως ἐν ἂν τοῖς κειμένης; τῶν γὰρ ἀνθρώπων εἰς ἀλαζονεῖαν καὶ φιλοχρημοσύνην, ἄτι δὲ θαυμιάν ἐκτετραμμένων καὶ μὴ βουλομένων μήτε γαμεῖν μήτ’, ἕαν γῆμωσι, τὰ γνώμενα τέκνα τρέφειν, ἀλλὰ μόλις ἐν τοῖς πλείστον ᾧ δῶ πάρα τοῦ πλούσιον τούτοις καταλίπειν καὶ σπαταλώντας θρέψαι, ταχέως ἦλοθε τὸ κακὸν αἰξηθέν. ὅτε γὰρ ἐνὸς οότος ἡ δυναὶ, τοῦτοι τοῦ μὲν πόλεμος, τοῦ δέ νόσος ἐνστάσα παρεῖλετο, δήλον ὡς ἀνάγκη καταλείπεσθαι τὰς οἰκήσεις ἐρήμους, καὶ καθάπερ ἐπὶ τῶν μελητῶν τὰ σιμήν, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον κατὰ βραχυ καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἀπορουμένας ἀδύνατεῖν. ὑμερ ὠν οὐδὲ χρεία παρὰ τῶν θεῶν πυνθάνεσθαι πῶς ἂν ἀπολυθείημεν τῆς τουαύτης βλάβης. ὁ γὰρ τυχῶν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἔρει διότι μάλιστα μὲν αὐτοὶ δι’ αὐτῶν, μεταθέμενοι τὸν ζῆλον, εἰ δὲ μή, νόμους γράφαντες, ἦνα πρέφηται τὰ γνώμενα. περὶ τούτων οὕτε μάντεων οὕτε τερατείων χρεία. ὃ δ’ αὐτὸς λόγος καὶ περὶ τῶν κατὰ μέρος. ἀλλ’ ἐπ’ ἐκείνων ἐφ’ ὃν ἀλήπτους ἢ δυσλήπτους εἶναι τὰς αἰτίας συμβαίνει, διαπορητέου. ὃν ἐν ἦν καὶ τὸ περὶ Μακεδόνας γεγενημένον. Μακεδόνες μὲν γὰρ ὑπὸ Ρωμαίων πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων ἐτετεύχεσαν φιλανθρωπίων, κοινῆ μὲν πάντες ἀπολυθέντες μοναρχικῶν ἐπιταγμάτων καὶ φόρων καὶ μεταλαβόντες ἀπὸ δουλείας ὀμολογομένως ἔλευσθιαν, ὑδίᾳ δὲ πάλιν κατὰ πόλεις ἐκλυθέντες 384
one had advised us to send and ask the gods about this, and find out what we ought to say or do, to increase in number and make our cities more populous, would it not seem absurd, the cause of the evil being evident and the remedy being in our own hands? For as men had fallen into such a state of pretentiousness, avarice, and indolence that they did not wish to marry, or if they married to rear the children born to them, or at most as a rule but one or two of them, so as to leave these in affluence and bring them up to waste their substance, the evil rapidly and insensibly grew. For in cases where of one or two children the one was carried off by war and the other by sickness, it is evident that the houses must have been left unoccupied, and as in the case of swarms of bees, so by small degrees cities became resourceless and feeble. About this it was of no use at all to ask the gods to suggest a means of deliverance from such an evil. For any ordinary man will tell you that the most effectual cure had to be men's own action, in either striving after other objects, or if not, in passing laws making it compulsory to rear children. Neither prophets nor magic were here of any service, and the same holds good for all particulars. But in cases where it is either impossible or difficult to detect the cause the question is open to doubt. One such case is that of Macedonia. For the Macedonians had met with many signal favours from Rome; the country as a whole had been delivered from the arbitrary rule and taxation of autocrats, and, as all confessed, now enjoyed freedom in place of servitude, and the several cities had, owing to the beneficent action
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ἐκ μεγάλων στάσεων καὶ φόνων ἐμφυλίων διὰ τῆς Ἡρωμαίων . . . . . . πλείστους ἐπείδον αὐτῶν ἐν πάνυ βραχεῖ χρόνω φυγαδευθέντας καὶ στρεμμέθεντας καὶ φονευθέντας ἢ τῶν ἐν τοῖς πρῶτοις καιροῖς ὑπὸ τῶν κατ᾽ ἀλήθειαν βασιλείων . . .

14 οἱ δὲ μὲν τοῦ Δημητρίου καὶ πάλιν μετὰ Περσέως μαχόμενοι πρὸς Ἡρωμαίους ἴπτήθησαν, ἀνδρὶ δὲ στυγνῷ συναγωνιζόμενοι καὶ περὶ τῆς τούτου βασιλείας ἀνδραγαθήσαντες ἐνίκησαν

15 Ἡρωμαίους. ἐξ ὧν τίς οὐκ ἢν ἐπαπορήσειεν ἐπὶ τῶν συμβάντι; τῇ γὰρ αὐτίαν εὐρέων τούτων ὄντων δυσχερές. διότερ ἄν τις ἐπὶ τῶν τοιούτων διαθέσεων δαιμονοβλάβειαν εἶπει τὸ γεγονός καὶ μήν ἐκ θεῶν ἄπασι Μακεδόσων ἀπηντήσθαι. δῆλον δὲ ἐστιν ἐκ τῶν λέγεσθαι μελλόντων.
of Rome, been freed from serious civil discord and internecine massacres. . . . But now they witnessed in quite a short time more of their citizens exiled, tortured and murdered by this false Philip than by any of their previous real kings. . . . But while they were defeated by the Romans in fighting for Demetrius and Perseus, yet now fighting for a hateful man and displaying great valour in defence of his throne, they worsted the Romans. How can anyone fail to be nonplused by such an event? For here it is most difficult to detect the cause. So that in pronouncing on this and similar phenomena we may well say that the thing was a heaven-sent infatuation, and that all the Macedonians were visited by the wrath of God, as will be evident from what follows.
FRAGMENTA LIBRI XXXVIII

I. Ex Prooemio

1 (3) "Οτι ἡ λη βίβλος περιέχει τήν συντελειαν τῆς Ἑλληνικής ἀτυχίας. καίπερ γὰρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ καθόλου καὶ κατὰ μέρος πλεονάκως ἐπταυκύας, ὥμως οὐδ' ὅποιος ἀν τις τῶν πρῶτων ἐλαττωμάτων οἰκειότερον ἐφαρμόσαι τὸ τῆς ἀτυχίας ὀνομα καὶ τὴν ἐννοιαν ταύτην ὡς τοῖς καθ' ἡμᾶς γεγονόσιν. οὔ γὰρ μόνον ἀφ' ὑπὸ ἐπαθόν ἐλεήσαι τις ἀν τοὺς Ἑλληνας, ἐτὶ δὲ μᾶλλον ἐφ' οἷς ἐπράξαν ἡτυχηκέναι νομίσειε, πυθόμενος περὶ ἐκάστων τὰς ἀληθείας. δοκοῦντος γοῦν μεγίστον πάθους γεγονέναι τοῦ περὶ τοὺς Καρχηδονίους οὐκ ἐλαττῶν ἀν τις ἡγήσαιτο, κατὰ δὲ τι μείζον τὸ περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα τότε συμβάν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ τόπον ἐσχατὸν ἀπολογίας γε πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιγνωμένους περὶ σφῶν ἀπέλειπον, οὕτω δ' οὐδ' ἄφορμὴν εὐλογον ἐδοσαν τοῖς βουλομένοις σφίσι βοηθεῖν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἡμαρτημένων, καὶ Καρχηδονίου μὲν ἀμα ταῖς περιπετείαις ἀρδην ἀφανισθέντες ἀνεπαισθητοί τῶν σφετέρων εἰς τὸ μέλλον ἐγένοντο συμπτωμάτων, οἱ δ' Ἔλληνες ἑφορώντες τὰς αὐτῶν ἀτυχίας παίσι παίδων παραδόσιμον ἐποίησαν τὴν ἀκληρίαν. ὦστε καθ' ὅσον τοὺς ζωντας μετὰ
FRAGMENTS OF BOOK XXXVIII

I. FROM THE INTRODUCTION

1. The thirty-eighth Book contains the completion of the disaster of Greece. For though both the whole of Greece and her several parts had often met with mischance, yet to none of her former defeats can we more fittingly apply the name of disaster with all it signifies than to the events of my own time. For not only are the Greeks to be pitied for what they suffered, but we cannot fail to think that what they did was still more disastrous to them when we know the truth in detail. The ruin of Carthage is indeed considered to have been the greatest of calamities, but when we come to think of it the fate of Greece was no less terrible and in some ways even more so. For the Carthaginians at least left to posterity some ground, however slight, for defending their cause, but the Greeks gave no plausible pretext to any one who wishes to support them and acquit them of error. And again the Carthaginians, having been utterly exterminated by the calamity which overtook them, were for the future insensible of their sufferings, but the Greeks, continuing to witness their calamities, handed on from father to son the memory of their misfortune. So that inasmuch
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tμωρίας ἔλεεωτέρους νομίζομεν τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς δεινοῖς ἐκλειπόντων τῶν βίων, κατὰ τοσοῦτο καὶ τὰς τότε περιπετείας τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἔλεεωτέρας νομιστέοι τῶν συμβάντων Καρχηδονίων, 8 ἠῶ τις ἀφροντιστῶν τοῦ καθήκοντος καὶ τοῦ καλοῦ, πρὸς αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ συμφέρον ἀποβλέπων 9 πούήται τὴν ἀπόφασιν, ὅτι δ᾽ ἐστὶ τὸ νῦν εἰρήμενον ὑφ᾽ ἡμῶν ἀληθές, εἴποι τις ἀν ὑπομνησθεὶς καὶ παρακεῖστα τὰς δοκούσας μεγίστας συμφορὰς γεγονέναι κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα πρὸς τὰ νῦν ὑφ᾽ ἡμῶν λεγόμενα.

2 (4) Μέγιστον ἡ τύχη δοκεῖ φόβον ἐπιστῆσαι τοῖς (1b) "Ἑλλησι κατὰ τὴν Ἐρέτου διάβασιν εἰς τὴν Εὐρώ-
2 πην" τότε γὰρ ἐκυδύνευσαν μὲν πάντες, ἔπταυσαν δὲ τελέως ὀλυγιστο, μάλιστα δὲ τούτων Ἀθηναίων.
3 προϊδόμενοι γὰρ ἐμφρόνως τὸ μέλλων ἐξέλιτον
4 τὴν πατρίδα μετὰ τέκνων καὶ γυναικῶν. βλάβην μὲν οὖν ὁ καρός αὐτοῖς ἐπήνεγκε· κύριοι γὰρ γεννηθέντες οἱ βάρβαροι πικρῶς διέφθειραν τὰς Ἀθήνας· οὐ μὴν ὄνειδος οὐδ᾽ αἰσχύνην, τὸ δ᾽ ἐναντίον εὐκλεῖαν παρὰ πάσι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὴν μεγίστην ἀπηνέγκαντο <διότι πάντ᾽ ἐν ἐλάττων θέμενοι τῆς αὐτῆς τύχης εἰλαντο κοινωνεῖν τοῖς
5 ἄλλοις "Ἑλλησι. τουγαρών καλὴ χρησάμενοι προ-
αίρεσει, παρὰ πόδας οὐ μόνον ἀνεκτήσαντο τὴν πατρίδα καὶ τὴν ἔαιτων χώραν, ἄλλα καὶ περὶ τῆς τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων ἡγεμονίας μετ᾽ ὀλίγον
6 ἡμφιοβήτου πρὸς Δακεδαμοὺς. μετὰ δὲ ταύτα πάλιν ὑπὸ Σπαρτιατῶν καταπολεμηθέντες εἰς τοὺτ᾽ ἀνάγκης ἦλθον ὥστε καθελεῖν τά τείχη
7 τῆς αὐτῶν πατρίδος. ἄλλα καὶ τοῦτο Δακεδαι-
μονίων, οὐκ Ἀθηναίων ἀν τις εἶναι φήσει τούγ-

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as we consider that those who remain alive and suffer punishment are more to be pitied than those who perished in the actual struggle, we should consider the calamities that then befel Greece more worthy of pity than the fate of Carthage, unless in pronouncing on the matter we discard all notion of what is decorous and noble, and keep our eyes only on material advantage. Every one will acknowledge the truth of what I say if he recalls what are thought to have been the greatest misfortunes that had befallen Greece and compares them with my present narrative.

2. The greatest terror with which fortune afflicted Greece is supposed to have been the crossing of Xerxes to Europe. For then we all were in danger but very few came to grief; first and foremost the Athenians, who, intelligently foreseeing what would happen, abandoned their city, taking their wives and children with them. Of course at the time they suffered severe damage, for the barbarians became masters of Athens and destroyed the town pitilessly. They did not, however, incur any reproach or shame, but on the contrary their action was universally regarded as being most glorious, in that, regardless of what might happen to themselves, they decided to throw in their fortunes with the rest of Greece. And in consequence, by this brave resolve, not only did they at once recover their fatherland and their country, but were soon disputing with Sparta the hegemony of Greece. And subsequently, when they were crushed in the war with Sparta, they were actually forced to pull down the walls of their own city; but it must be said that the fault here lay not with the Athenians.
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κλημα, διότι βαρύτερον ἐχρήσαντο τῇ δοθείσῃ
8 σφίσι παρὰ τῆς τύχης ἐξουσίᾳ. Σπαρτιάται <δ'>
HeaderText: ΗΤΤΤΗΘΕΝΤΕΣ ὑπὸ Θηβαίων πάλιν ἀπέβαλον τὴν
.parseLong(t) τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἡγεμονίαν καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τῆς τῶν
.parseInt(t) ἐκτός ἄρχης ἀποστάντες συνεκλείσθησαν εἰς τοὺς
.getInt(t) τῆς Λακωνικῆς ὀροὺς. καὶ τὶ δὴ τούτ' αἰσχρόν,
.getInt(t) εἰ περὶ τῶν καλλίστων ἀμφισβητοῦντες ἐπὶ το-
.parseInt(t) σοῦτον ἐπταίσαν ὡστε πάλιν ἐπὶ τὴν πάτριον ἀνα-
.getInt(t) χωρῆσαι δυναστείαν; διό τα γεγονότα ταῦτα
.getInt(t) συμπτώματα μὲν εἶναι φατέον, ἀτυχήματα δ' οὔ
.getInt(t) δαμάσως ῥητέον. Μαντινεῖς ἡγαγάθησαν ἐκ-
.getInt(t) λιπεῖν τὴν πατρίδα διοικισθέντες ὑπὸ Λακεδαι-
.getInt(t) μονιῶν καὶ διασπασθέντες οἰκῆσαι κατὰ κώμας.
.getInt(t) ἀλλὰ πάντες ἐπὶ τούτοις Οὐ τὴν τῶν Μαντινέων
.getInt(t) ἀβουλίαν, ἀλλὰ τὴν Λακεδαιμονίων ὡνείδιζον.
.getInt(t) Θηβαῖοι μετὰ τινα χρόνον ἀρδήν ἐπείδον τὴν
.getInt(t) αὐτῶν πατρίδα γενομένην ἀνάστατον, ὃτε προ-
.getInt(t) θέμενος Ἀλέξανδρος εἰς τὴν Ἄσιαν διαβαίνειν
.getInt(t) ὑπέλαβε διὰ τῆς εἰς Θηβαίους τιμωρίας τῷ φόβῳ
.getInt(t) φρουρήσεως τοὺς Ἑλλήνας κατὰ τοὺς ἱδίους περι-
.getInt(t) σπασμοῦς. ἀλλὰ τότε πάντες ἥλεον μὲν τοὺς
.getInt(t) Θηβαίους ὡς ἄδικα καὶ δεινὰ πεπονθότας, δι-
.getInt(t) εἰδικαίου δὲ τὴν πρᾶξιν ταυτὴν οὔδεὶς Ἀλέξανδρον.

3 (5) τοιγαροῦν βραχεὶ χρόνων τυχόντες ἐπικουρίας των
.getInt(t) (1ο) 2 αὕτης ὄκουν τὴν πατρίδα μετ' ἀσφαλείας. ὃ γὰρ
.getInt(t) παρὰ τῶν ἐκτὸς ἔλεος οὐ μικρὸν ἐπίχειρον ἐστὶ
.getInt(t) τοῖς ἄδικως ἀκληροῦσιν, εἰ γε πολλάκις ἰδεῖν
.getInt(t) ἐστον ἀμα ταῖς τῶν πολλῶν ὀρμαίς καὶ τὴν τύχην
.getInt(t) μεταβαλλομένην καὶ τοὺς κρατοῦντας αὐτοὺς μετα-
.getInt(t) μελομένους καὶ διορθοιμένους τὰς τῶν παραλόγως
.getInt(t) ἡτυχηκότων περιπετείασ. πάλιν ἐπείθοντο κατά
.getInt(t) τινας καϊρὸν Χαλκιδεῖς καὶ Κορινθιαὶ καὶ τινὲς
.getInt(t) 392
but with the Lacedaemonians, who made an oppressive use of the power that Fortune had placed in their hands. The Spartans again in their turn when defeated by the Thebans lost the hegemony of Greece, and afterwards renouncing all projects of foreign conquest were confined to the limits of Laconia. And what disgrace was there in this, if after struggling for the highest prize they so far failed that they had to retire once more to their ancestral dominions? So all these events may be described as misfortunes but not by any means as disasters. The Mantineans again were compelled to abandon their city when the Spartans dispersed them and broke them up and to live in villages. But every one in this case blamed the Spartans, and not the Mantineans for their unwisdom. The Thebans some time afterwards witnessed the utter destruction of their city when Alexander, intending to cross to Asia, thought that by chastising the Thebans he would frighten the other cities into subjection to him while he was otherwise occupied. But then every one pitied the Thebans for the cruel and unjust treatment they suffered, and no one attempted to justify this act of Alexander. 3. And consequently in a short time with some slight assistance they were able to restore their city and again dwell safely in it. For the compassion of others is no small help to those who have suffered undeserved misfortune, and we often see that general sympathy is attended by a change of Fortune and that those in power themselves repent of their conduct and repair the calamity that they unjustifiably inflicted. Again for a certain time Chalcis, Corinth and some
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ἐτεραὶ πόλεις διὰ τὴν τῶν τόπων εὑρισκαί τοὺς
4 ἐν Μακεδονία βασιλεύσας καὶ φρουρᾶς ἔχον· ἄλλα
tους μὲν δουλεύοντας πάντες ἐσπούδαζον κατὰ
dύναμιν ἔλευθεροῦν, τοὺς δὲ καταδουλώσαμένοις
5 ἐμύσουν καὶ πολεμίους ἦγοῦντο διὰ τέλους. καθ-
όλου δὲ κατὰ πόλεις ἐπταιοι καὶ κατὰ πόλιν ἐσφάλ-
lοντο τὸν πρὸ τοῦ χρόνον ὡς ἐπίσταν, οἱ μὲν ὑπὲρ
ἡγεμονίας καὶ πραγμάτων ἁμφισβητούντες, οἱ δὲ
ὑπὸ μονάρχου καὶ βασιλέων παρασπονδοῦμενοι.
6 διὸ καὶ σπανίως ἀν εὗροι <οἷς> ὠνείδος ἰκολούθει
τῶν ἀκληροῦντων ἡ καὶ τὸ τῆς ἄτυχίας ὅνομα
7 διέμενεν· ἀκληρεῖν μὲν γὰρ ἄπαινας ἡγητέων καὶ
κοινῇ καὶ κατʼ ἱδίαν τοὺς παραλόγους συμφοραῖς
περιτιπποτας, ἄτυχεῖν δὲ μόνους τούτους οἷς διὰ
τὴν ἱδίαν άβουλίαν ὠνείδος αἱ πράξεις ἐπιφέροντο.
8 κατὰ <δὲ> τοὺς ὑποκειμένους καίροις ἡτύχησαν
άμα Πελοποννήσιοι, Βοιωτοὶ, Φωκεῖς, . . . , εἰς,
Λοκροί, τινὲς τῶν τὸν Ἰόνιον κατουκοῦντων
9 κόλπον, μετὰ δὲ τούτους ἑτὶ Μακεδόνες· . . . , μὴ
μόνον κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος . . . . . τῶν πρότε-
ρον, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ . . . . . . ἐπίσταν οὐκ ἡκλή-
ρησαν, ἀλλ' ἡτύχησαν ἄτυχεῖαν αἰσχρὰν ὡς ἐν
10 μάλιστα καὶ ἐπονείδιστον· ἀμα μὲν γὰρ ἀπιστίαν,
ἀμα δὲ ἀνανδρίαν ἐδείξαν, καὶ πράξεις αὐτοῖς
11 ἐπήνεγκαν διὰ τὴν ἄτ . . . . . , ἀμα. τοιγαρ-
οῦν στερηθέντες πάντων τῶν καλῶν οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ
στέ , . . . , ἐνιοὶ δὲ καὶ δ . . . . . . ντες εἰς τᾶς
πόλεις τότε παρεδέξαντο ρᾶβδους καὶ πελέκεις
12 ἐθέλο . . . . : ἐν μεγάλῳ γὰρ φόβῳ διὰ τὴν
<ὑπέρ>βολ<ήν> τῶν ἱδίων ἁμερημάτων ἤσαν,
13 εἰ χρ<ή> <λέγειν> ἱδίων· ἐγὼ γὰρ ἡγομήκεναι <μὲν
φαίνω ἀν τοὺς> πολ<λοὺς> καὶ παραπιπακέναι
other cities owing to their favourable situations were obliged to obey the kings of Macedonia and to receive garrisons. But in this case all did their best to free them from slavery and looked with hatred and persistent enmity on those who had subjected them to it. To speak generally, they were single cities or groups of cities which in former times came to grief, some of them contending for supremacy or practical objects and others treacherously seized by despots and kings. So that in very few cases did the victims of misfortune incur reproach or did they continue to be spoken of as having met with disaster. For we should consider that all states or individuals who meet with exceptional calamities are unfortunate, but that only those whose own folly brings reproach on them suffer disaster. In the time I am speaking of a common misfortune befel the Peloponnesians, the Boeotians, the Phocians, the Euboeans, the Locrians, some of the cities on the Ionian Gulf, and finally the Macedonians . . . not resulting merely from the number of defeats they suffered, far from it, but by their whole conduct they brought on themselves no misfortune, but a disaster as disgraceful and discreditable as it could be. For they showed both faithlessness and cowardice and brought on their heads all this trouble. . . . Therefore they lost every shred of honour, and for various reasons consented to receive the Roman lictors into their cities, in such terror were they owing to their own offences, if they must be called their own. For I should rather say that the people in general acted
ΤΗΣ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΚΗΣ ΔΙΥΓΓΗΣΕΩΣ ᾽ΗΘΟΣ ἔΠΙ ΔΗΜΗΚΤΙΚΩΤΕΡΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΦΙΛΟΤΙΜΟΤΕΡΑΝ ΦΑΙΝΟΜΕΘΑ ΠΟΙΟΫΜΈΝΟΙΝ
2 ΠΕΡΙ ΑΥΤΩΝ ΤΗΝ ἈΠΑΓΓΕΛΙΑΝ. ΚΑΙΤΟΙ ΤΙΝΕΣ ἸΣΩΣ ἘΠΙΤΥΜΗΣΟΥΝ ἩΜῖΝ ὩΣ ΦΙΛΑΠΕΧΘΩΣ ΠΟΙΟΥΜΕΝΟΙ ἘΠΙ ΤΗΝ ΓΡΑΦΗΝ, ΟΣ ΚΑΘΗΚΟΝ ἩΝ ΜΑΛΙΣΤΑ ΠΆΝΤΩΝ
3 ΠΕΡΙΣΤΕΛΛΕΙΝ ΤΑΣ ΤΩΝ ᾽ΕΛΛΗΝΩΝ ἈΜΑΡΤΙΑΣ. ἘΓΩ Δ' ΟΤΕ ΦΙΛΟΝ ΟΥΔΈΠΟΤ' ἍΝ ΥΠΟΛΑΜΒΆΝΩ ΓΝΗΣΙΟΝ ΝΟΜΙΣΘΈΙΝΑΙ ΠΑΡΑ ΤΟΙΣ ὌΡΘΩΣ ΦΡΟΝΟΥΣΙΝ ΤΟΝ ΔΕΔΙΟΤΑ
4 ΚΑΙ ΦΟΒΟΪΜΕΝΟΝ ΤΟΥΣ ΜΕΤΑ ΠΑΡΡΗΣΙΑΣ ΛΟΓΟΥΣ, ΚΑΙ ΜΗΝ ΟΥΔΈ ΠΟΛΙΤΗΝ ἈΓΑΘΟΝ ΤΟΝ ΕΥΚΑΤΑΛΕΙΠΟΝΤΑ ΤΗΝ ἈΛΗΘΕΙΑΝ ΔΙΑ ΤΗΝ ἘΣΟΜΕΝΗΝ ὙΠ' ΕΝΙΩΝ ΠΡΟΣΚΟΠΗΝ
5 ΠΑΡ' ΑΥΤΟΝ ΤΟΝ ΚΑΙΡΟΝ ΣΥΝΓΡΑΦΕΑ ΔΕ ΚΟΙΝΩΝ ΠΡΑΞΕΩΝ ΟΥΔ' ὈΛΩΣ ΑΠΟΔΕΚΤΈΟΝ ΤΟΝ ἈΛΛΟ ΤΙ ΠΕΡΙ
6 ΠΛΕΙΟΝΟΝ ΠΟΙΟΫΜΕΝΟΝ ΤΗΣ ἈΛΗΘΕΙΑΣ. ὍΣΟΥ ΓΑΡ ΕΙΣ ΠΛΕΙΟΥΣ ΔΙΑΤΕΙΝΕΙ ΚΑΙ ΕΠΙ ΠΛΕΙΩ ΧΡΟΝΟΝ ᾽Η <ΔΙΑ> ΤΩΝ ΥΠΟΜΙΝΗΜΑΤΩΝ ΠΑΡΆΔΟΣΙΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΚΑΙΡΟΝ ΛΕΓΟΜΕΝΩΝ, ΤΟΣΟΤΩΡ ΧΡΗ ΜΆΛΛΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΝ ΓΡΑΦΟΝΤΑ ΠΕΡΙ ΠΛΕΙΣΤΟΝ ΠΟΙΕΙΣΘΑΙ ΤΗΝ ἈΛΗΘΕΙΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥΣ ἈΚΟΥΟΝΤΑΣ ἈΠΟΔΕΧΕΘΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΤΟΙΑΤΗΝ ΑÏΡΕΣΩΝ.
7 ΚΑΤΑ ΜΕΝ ΓΆΡ ΤΟΥΣ ΤΩΝ ΠΕΡΙΣΤΑΣΕΩΝ ΚΑΙΡΟΥΣ ΚΑΘΗΚΕΙ ΒΟΘΕΙΝΙΟΝ ΤΟΥΣ ᾽ΕΛΛΗΝΑΣ ὈΝΤΑΣ ΤΟΙΣ ᾽ΕΛΛΗΝΙ ΚΑΤΑ ΠΆΝΤΑ ΤΡΩΠΟΝ, ΤΑ ΜΕΝ ἈΜΥΝΟΝΤΑΣ, ΤΑ ΔΕ ΠΕΡΙΣΤΕΛΛΟΝΤΑΣ, ΤΑ ΔΕ ΠΑΡΑΙΤΟΥΜΕΝΟΥΣ ΤΗΝ ΤΩΝ ΚΡΑΤΟΥΝΤΩΝ ὈΡΓΗΝ ΟΠΕΡ ἩΜΕΙΣ ἝΠΙ ΑΥΤΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΠΡΑΓ-8 ΜΆΤΩΝ ἘΠΟΙΗΣΟΜΕΝ ἈΛΗΘΙΝΩΣ ΤΗΝ <Δ'> ΥΠΕΡ ΤΩΝ ΓΕΓΟΝΟΤΩΝ ΤΟΙΣ ἘΠΙΓΥΝΟΜΕΝΟΙΣ ΔΙΑ ΤΩΝ ΥΠΟΜΙΝΗΜΑΤΩΝ ΠΑΡΆΔΟΣΙΝ ἈΜΥΓΗ ΠΑΝΤΟΣ ΨΕΥΔΟΥΣ ἈΠΟΛΕΙΠΕΘΑΙ ΧΆΡΙΝ ΤΟΥ ΜΗ ΤΑΪΣ ΑΚΟΑΙΣ ΤΕΡΠΕΣΘΑΙ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΟ ΠΑΡΟΝ ΤΟΥΣ ἈΝΑΓΝΩΣΚΟΝΤΑΣ, ΑΛΛΑ ΤΑΪΣ ΨΥΧΑΙΣ 396
mistakenly and failed in their duty, but that the actual authors of the mistakes were the real offenders.

4. It should not surprise anyone if abandoning here the style proper to historical narrative I express myself in a more declamatory and ambitious manner. Some, however, may reproach me for writing with undue animosity, it being rather my first duty to throw a veil over the offences of the Greeks. Now neither do I think that a man who is timid and afraid of speaking his mind should be regarded by those qualified to judge as a sincere friend, nor that a man should be regarded as a good citizen who leaves the path of truth because he is afraid of giving temporary offence to certain persons; and in a writer of political history we should absolutely refuse to tolerate the least preference for anything but the truth. For inasmuch as a literary record of facts will reach more ears and last longer than occasional utterances, a writer should attach the highest value to truth and his readers should approve his principle in this respect. In times of danger it is true those who are Greek should help the Greeks in every way, by active support, by cloaking faults and by trying to appease the anger of the ruling power, as I myself actually did at the time of the occurrences; but the literary record of the events meant for posterity should be kept free from any taint of falsehood, so that instead of the ears of readers being agreeably tickled for the present, their minds may be reformed.
διορθοῦσθαι πρὸς τὸ μὴ πλεονάκις ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς διασφάλεσθαι. καὶ περὶ <μὲν> τούτων ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἦμῖν εἰρήσθω.

5 Οὐ γὰρ ἀγνοῶ διότι τινὲς ἐπιλήψονται τῆς πραγματείας, φάσκοντες ἀτελὴ καὶ διερρημμένην ἡμᾶς πεποιηθαί τὴν ἐξήγησιν τῶν πραγμάτων,

2 <εἰς> ἐπιβαλλόμενοι γὰρ λόγου χάριν διεξεῖν τὴν Καρχηδόνος πολιορκίαν, κατείτα μεταξὺ ταῦτα τὴν ἀπολύπτωντες καὶ μεσολαβήσαντες σφᾶς αὐτούς μεταβαίνομεν ἐπὶ τᾶς Ἑλληνικᾶς καντεῦθεν ἐπὶ τᾶς Μακεδονικᾶς ἢ Συριακᾶς ἢ τινας ἑτέρας

3 πράξεις. ξητεῖν δὲ τοὺς φιλομαθοῦντας τὸ συνεχές καὶ τὸ τέλος ἰμείρειν ἀκοῦσαι τῆς προθέσεως· καὶ γὰρ τὴν ψυχαγωγίαν καὶ τὴν ἀφέλειαν οὕτω μᾶλλον

4 συνεκτρέχειν τοῖς προσέχουσιν. ἐμοὶ δ' οὖχ οὕτως δοκεῖ, τὸ δ' ἐναντίον. μάρτυρα δὲ τούτων ἐπικαλεσάμην ἂν αὐτὴν τὴν φύσιν, ἢτις κατ' οὐδ' ὁποῖαν τῶν αἰσθήσεων εὐδοκεῖ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐπιμένεις κατὰ τὸ συνεχές, ἀλλ' ἂεί μεταβολῆς ἐστῖν οἰκεία, τοῖς δ' αὐτοῖς ἐγκυρεῖν ἐκ διαστήματος

5 βούλεται καὶ διαφοράς. εἰ ὅτι ἂν τὸ λεγόμενον ἐναργές πρῶτον μὲν ἐκ τῆς ἀκοῆς, ἢτις οὕτε κατὰ τὰς μελῳδίας οὕτε κατὰ τὰς λεκτικὰς ὑποκρίσεις εὐδοκεῖ συνεχῶς ταῖς αὐταῖς ἐπιμένεις στάσεις,

6 ὅ δὲ μεταβολικὸς τρόπος καὶ καθόλου πάν τὸ διερρημμένον καὶ μεγίστας ἔχων ἀλλαγὰς καὶ

7 πυκνοτάτας αὐτὴν κινεῖ. παραπλησίως καὶ τὴν γεύσιν εὖροι τις ἂν οὐδὲ τοῖς πολυτελεστάτοις βρώμασιν ἐπιμένειν δυναμένην, ἀλλὰ συκχαίνουσαν καὶ χαίρουσαν ταῖς μεταβολαῖς καὶ προσημειωτέρως ἀποδεχομένην πολλάκις καὶ τὰ λιτὰ τῶν

8 ἐδραμάτων ἢ τὰ πολυτελῆ διὰ τὸν ξενισμὸν. τὸ 398
in order to avoid their falling more than once into the same errors. Enough on this subject.

5. I am not unaware that some people will find fault with this work on the ground that my narrative of events is imperfect and disconnected. For example, after undertaking to give an account of the siege of Carthage I leave that in suspense and interrupting myself pass to the affairs of Greece, and next to those of Macedonia, Syria and other countries, while students desire continuous narrative and long to learn the issue of the matter I first set my hand to; for thus, they say, those who desire to follow me with attention are both more deeply interested in the story and derive greater benefit from it. My opinion is just the reverse of this; and I would appeal to the testimony of Nature herself, who in the case of any of the senses never elects to go on persistently with the same allurements, but is ever fond of change and desires to meet with the same things after an interval and a difference. What I mean may be illustrated in the first place from the sense of hearing, which never either as regards melodies or recitation readily consents to give ear persistently to the same strain, but is touched by a diversified style and by everything that is disconnected and marked by abrupt and frequent transitions. Take again the sense of taste. You will find that it is incapable of constantly enjoying the most luxurious viands but becomes disgusted with them and likes change, often preferring quite simple dishes to expensive ones merely owing to their
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8' αὐτὸ καὶ περὶ τὴν ὀρασίν ἵδοι τις ἂν γνώμενον· ἥκιστα γὰρ δύναται πρὸς ἐν μένειν ἀτενίζουσα, κινεὶ δ' αὐτὴν ἡ ποικιλία καὶ μεταβολὴ τῶν ὀρωμένων. μάλιστα δὲ περὶ τὴν ψυχὴν τούτο τις ἂν ἵδοι συμβαίνου· αἱ γὰρ μεταλήψεις τῶν ἀτενισμῶν καὶ τῶν ἐπιστάσεων οἰον ἀναπαύσεις εἰσὶ τοῖς εἰναὶ συγγραφεῖν οἱ λογιστατοὶ δοκοῦσι μοι προσαναπεπαύσθαι τῷ τρόπῳ τούτῳ, χινὲς μὲν μυθικαὶ καὶ διηγηματικαὶ κεχρημέναι παρεκβάσεις, τινὲς δὲ καὶ πραγματικαὶ, ὡστε μὴ μόνον ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα τόπους ποιεῖσθαι τὰς μεταβάσεις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐκτὸς περιλαμβάνειν.

2 λέγω δ' οἶδον ἐπειδὰν τὰ κατὰ τὴν Θετταλίαν ἐξηγούμενοι καὶ τὰς Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Φεραίου πράξεις μεταξὺ τὰς κατὰ Πελοπόννησον Λακεδαιμονίων ἐπιβολὰς διηγῶνται, καὶ πάλιν τὰς Ἀθηναίων, ἕτε δὲ τὰ κατὰ Μακεδονίαν ἡ τὴν Ἰλλυρίδα, κάπετα διατριβάντες λέγωσι τὴν Ἰθικράτους εἰς Ἀἴγυπτον ὀρτείαν καὶ τὰ Κλεάρχου πραχθέντα παρανομήματα κατὰ τὸν Πόντον. ἐξ ὦν κεχρημένοις μὲν ἀπαντᾶς εὐρίοι τις ἂν τῷ τοιούτῳ χειρισμῷ, κεχρημένοις γε μὴν ἀτάκτως,

3 ἡμᾶς δὲ τεταγμένως. ἐκεῖνοι μὲν γὰρ μνησθέντες πῶς Βάρδυλλος ὁ τῶν Ἰλλυρίων βασιλεὺς καὶ Κερσοβλέπτης ὁ τῶν Ὁρακῶν κατεκτήσαντο τὰς δυναστείας, οὐκέτι προστίθεασι τὸ συνεχές, οὐδὲ ἀνατρέχουσι ἐπὶ τάκολουθον ἐκ διαστήματος, ἀλλὰ καθάπερ ἐν ποιήματι χρησάμενοι πάλιν ἐπαν-ἀγοῦσιν ἐπὶ τὰς ἔξι ἀρχής ὑποθέσεις. ἡμεῖς δὲ πάντας διηγημένους τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους τόπους τῆς οἰκουμένης καὶ τὰς ἐν τούτοις πράξεις καὶ 400
novelty. And the same holds good as regards the sense of sight. For it is quite incapable of gazing constantly at one object, but requires variety and change to captivate it. But this is especially true as regards the intellect. For hard workers find a sort of rest in change of the subjects which absorb and interest them. 6. And this, I think, is why the most thoughtful of ancient writers were in the habit of giving their readers a rest in the way I say, some of them employing digressions dealing with myth or story and others digressions on matters of fact; so that not only do they shift the scene from one part of Greece to another, but include doings abroad. For instance, when dealing with Thessalian affairs and the exploits of Alexander of Pherae, they interrupt the narrative to tell us of the projects of the Lacedaemonians in the Peloponnese or of those of the Athenians and of what happened in Macedonia or Illyria, and after entertaining us so tell us of the expedition of Iphicrates to Egypt and the excesses committed by Clearchus in Pontus. So that you will find that all historians have resorted to this device but have done so irregularly, while I myself resort to it regularly. For the authors I allude to, after mentioning how Bardyllis, the king of Illyria, and Cersobleptes, the king of Thrace, acquired their kingdoms, do not give us the continuation or carry us on to what proved to be the sequel after a certain lapse of time, but after inserting these matters as a sort of patch, return to their original subject. But I myself, keeping distinct all the most important parts of the world and the events that took place in each,
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μίαν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἑφοδον ἀεὶ ποιοῦμενοι κατὰ τὴν
τάξιν τῆς διαλήψεως, ἐτὶ δὲ καθ' ἐκαστὸν ἔτος
ωρισμένως ἔξηγοῦμεν τὰς καταλήλους πράξεις
6 ἐνεστηκώς, ἀπολείπομεν πρόδηλον τοὺς φιλο-
μαθοῦσι τὴν ἐπακαναγωγὴν ἐπὶ τὸν συνεχῆ λόγον
καὶ τὰς μεσολαβηθείσας ἀεὶ τῶν πράξεων, ὦστε
μηδὲν ἄτελες μηδ' ἐλλιπές γίνεσθαι τοῖς φιληκόσοις
7 τῶν προειρημένων. καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων ἐπὶ
tοσοῦτον.

II. Bellum Punicum Tertium

7 (1) "Ὅτι Ἀσδρούβας ὁ στρατηγὸς Καρχηδονίων
( xxxix. 1) κενόδοξος ἦν ἄλαζων καὶ πολὺ κεχωρισμένος τῆς
2 πραγματικῆς καὶ στρατηγικῆς δυνάμεως. πολλὰ
δὲ σημεία τῆς ἀκρισίας αὐτοῦ. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ
παρῆν ἐν πανοπλίᾳ, πορφυρίδα θαλαττίαν ἐπι-
pεπορπημένος, ἴσικα Γολόσση συνεγίνετο τῷ τῶν
Νομάδων βασιλεί, μετὰ μαχαιροφόρων δέκα.
3 ἔπευρα προβάς ἀπὸ τῶν δέχ' ὅσον εἰκοσὶ πόδας
ἀπέστη, προβεβλημένος τάφρον καὶ χάρακα, καὶ
κατένευε τῷ βασιλεί προσέναι πρὸς αὐτὸν, καθ-
4 ἥκον γίνεσθαι τοῦναττιόν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ὁ Γολόσ-
σης ἀφελῶς ἑχὼν Νομαδικῷ τῷ πρόπῳ μόνος
προσῆμεν πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ προσεγγίσας ἥρετο τίνα
5 φοβούμενος τὴν πανοπλίαν ἑχὼν ἤκε. τοῦ δ' ἐἰπὸντος ὡς Ἐρωμαῖος, "οὐκ ἂν ἄρ'" ἐφησεν ὁ
Γολόσσης "ἐδωκας σαυτὸν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, μηδε-
mίαν ἑχὼν ἀνάγκην. πλὴν τί βούλει καὶ τί
6 παρακαλεῖς;" φησίν. ὁ δ' Ἀσδρούβας "ἐγώ" φησὶν "προσβευτὴν σε παρακαλῶ γενέσθαι πρὸς
τὸν στρατηγὸν καὶ πᾶν ἀναδέχεσθαι διότι ποιη-
σομεν τὸ προσταττόμενον· μόνον ἀπόσχεσθε τῆς
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and adhering always to a uniform conception of how each matter should be treated, and again definitely relating under each year the contemporary events that then took place, leave obviously full liberty to students to carry back their minds to the continuous narrative and the several points at which I interrupted it, so that those who wish to learn may find none of the matters I have mentioned imperfect and deficient. This is all I have to say on the subject.

II. The Third Punic War

7. Hasdrubal, the Carthaginian general, was an empty-headed braggart and very far from being a competent statesman or general. There are many evidences of his lack of judgement. To begin with, at his meeting with Golosses, king of the Numidians, he appeared in a complete suit of armour over which was fastened a cloak of sea purple and with a retinue of ten swordsmen. Then advancing in front of these ten men he remained at a distance of about twenty feet from the king protected by a trench and palisade, and made signs to him to come to him, while it ought to have been the reverse. However, Golosses with true Numidian simplicity advanced to him unaccompanied, and when he approached him asked him in fear of whom he had come thus armed cap-a-pie. Hasdrubal answered, "In fear of the Romans." "But then," said Golosses, "you would scarcely have trusted yourself in the town without any necessity. But what do you want, what is your request?" "I beg you," answered Hasdrubal, "to act as my envoy to the general, and I consent on my part to submit to any terms, if only they will spare this
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7 ταλαπώρου πόλεως ταύτης." καὶ [ὅ] Γολόσσης
"παιδικὴν δοκεῖς μοι" φησὶν "άξιωσιν ἀξιοῦν,
8 ὃ βέλτιστε· ὑπὲρ ὤν γὰρ ἐξ ἀκεραίου προσβεβοῦντες,
ἐτι καθημένων ἐν Ἰτύκῃ Ῥωμαίων, οὔκ ἐδύνασθε
πεῖθεν, τίνι λόγῳ νῦν ἁξιοῖς ταῦτα σοι συγ-
χωρεῖσθαί, περιτετειχισμένοι καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ
cατὰ θάλατταν καὶ σχεδὸν ἀπάσας ἀπεγνωκὼς τὰς
tῆς σωτηρίας ἐλπίδας;" δὲ Ἀσδροῦβας ἀγνοεῖν
αὐτὸν ἐφη· καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐξωθεῖν συμμάχους
ἀκμὴν καλὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχεις· οὔ γὰρ πώ τὰ περὶ
tοὺς Μαυρουσίους ἤκηκοει καὶ τὰ περὶ τῶν
ὑπαύθρων δυνάμεων [οτὶ σώζονται]. καὶ <μὴν>
οὔκ ἀπελπίζεων τὰ καθ’ αὐτοὺς, μάλιστα δὲ πεποι-
θέναι τῇ τῶν θεῶν συμμαχία καὶ ταῖς ἐν ἐκείνοις
10 ἐλπίσαις· οὔ γὰρ περιόφεσθαι σφᾶς προφανῶς παρα-
σπονδουμένοις, ἀλλὰ πολλὰς δώσειν ἄφορμας πρὸς
11 σωτηρίαν. διὸ παρακαλεῖν ἥξιον τὸν στρατηγὸν
cαὶ τῶν θεῶν ἐνεκεν καὶ τῆς τύχης φείσασθαι
tῆς πόλεως, εἰδῶτα σαφῶς διότι μὴ δυνάμενοι
tυχεῖν τούτου κατασφαγήσονται πρότερον ἡ παρα-
12 χωρίσουσιν ταύτης. τότε μὲν ὦν ταὐτα καὶ
παραπλήσια διαλεχθέντες ἐχωρίσθησαν, ταξάμενοι
μετὰ τρίτην ἦμεραν πάλιν συμπορεύεσθαι· τοῦ
8 (2) δὲ Γολόσσου μεταδόντος τῷ στρατηγῷ περὶ τῶν
(xxxix. 2) εἰρημένων, γελάσας ὁ Πόπλιος "ταῦτα μέλλων
ἀξιοῦν" ἐφη "τοιαύτην καὶ τηλικαύτην ἀσέβειαν
eἰς τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἦμων ἐν<απ>εδείξω καὶ
νῦν ἐπὶ τοῖς θείοις τὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχεις, παραβεβη-
2 κὼς καὶ τοὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων νόμους;" τοῦ δὲ
Βασιλέως βουλομένου τι προσυπομμηνήσκειν τὸν
Σκιπίωνα, καὶ μάλιστα διότι <δεῖ> συντέλειαν
3 ἐπιτίθεσθαι τοὺς πράγμασι· χωρὶς γὰρ τῶν
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unhappy city.” “My good friend,” said Golosses, “you seem to me to make a perfectly childish request. How do you expect, now you are surrounded by land and sea and have almost abandoned every hope of safety, to persuade the Romans to grant you what they refused you, when at the time they were still in Utica, you approached them with your strength yet intact?” “You are mistaken,” said Hasdrubal, “for I still have good hopes of what our foreign allies may do for us.” For he had not yet heard what had happened to the Moors or to his own force in the field. And he added that he was not even in despair as regards their own resources: for he chiefly relied on the support of the gods and the hope he placed in them. “Surely,” he said, “they will not suffer us to be thus undisguisedly betrayed but will give us many means of salvation.” He therefore begged him to implore the general to think of the gods and of Fortune and to spare the town, and he might be quite sure that if they could not obtain this request they would all rather be slaughtered than give up the town. After conversing more or less in this sense they separated, agreeing to meet again in three days. 8. When Golosses communicated the conversation to Scipio the latter laughed and said, “I suppose you were about to make this request, when you treated our prisoners in such an inhuman manner, and now you expect help from the gods after violating even the laws of men.” And when the king wished to submit some further reflections to Scipio and chiefly that he ought to bring matters to a conclusion; for, apart from
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αδήλων καὶ τὴν κατάστασιν τῶν ὑπάτων ἡδή συνεγγίζειν, ὡς δεῖν ἐφή στοχάζοντα, μὴ τοῦ χειμώνος προκαταλαβόντος ἐπελθὼν ἐτέρος ἀκονίτε λάβῃ τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν τῶν ἐκείνου πό

4 νων· καὶ δὴ τούτων λεγομένων ἐπιστήμας ὁ στρατηγὸς ἐκέλευσεν ἀναγγέλλειν διότι δίδωσι τὴν ἀσφάλειαν αὐτῶ καὶ γνωστική καὶ τέκνοις καὶ δέκα τῶν συγγενῶν <καὶ> φίλων οἰκίας, σὺν δὲ τούτοις δέκα τάλαντα λαβεῖν ἐκ τῶν ἱδίων υπαρχόντων καὶ τῶν οἰκετῶν ἔξαγαγεῖν ἑκατὸν

5 οὐσ ἢν αἱρῆται. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὁ Γολόσσης ἐξων τὰ φιλάνθρωπα συνήηε πρὸς τὸν Ἀσδρούβαν

6 τῇ τρίτῃ τῶν ἡμερῶν· ὁ δὲ πάλιν ἐξεπερέυετο μετὰ μεγάλης ἀξίας ἐν τῇ πορφυρίδι καὶ τῇ παν-

7 οπλίᾳ βάδην, ὡστε τοὺς ἐν ταῖς τραγῳδίαις τυ-

8 ραννοὺς πολὺ τι προσοφείλειν. ἦν μὲν οὖν καὶ φύσει σάρκων, τότε δὲ καὶ κοιλίαν εἰλήφει καὶ τῷ χρώματι παρὰ φύσιν ἐπικεκαυμένος ἦν, ὡστε δοκεῖν ἐν πανηγύρει που διαιτᾶσθαι παραπλησίως τοῖς σιτευτοῖς βουνών, ἀλλὰ μὴ τηλικούτων καὶ τοιούτων κακῶν προστατεῖν, ὡς οὖν ἀν ἐφίκουτο

9 τῷ λόγῳ διεξιῶν οὐδεὶς. οὗ μὴν ἀλλ᾽ ἐπεὶ συνῆθε τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ διήκουσε τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ προτευομένων, πολλάκις τὸν μηρὸν πατάξας, τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ τὴν τύχην ἐπικαλεσάμενος, οὕδεποτε ταῦτην ἔσεσθαι τὴν ἡμέραν ἐφασκεν ἐν ἦ συμβιβάσεται τὸν ἥλιον Ἀσδρούβαν βλέπειν

9 ἄμα καὶ τὴν πατρίδα πυρπολουμένην· καλὸν γὰρ ἐντάφιον εἶναι τοῖς εὕ φρονοσὶ τὴν πατρίδα καὶ

10 τὸ ταύτης πῦρ. ὡσθ᾽ ὅτε μὲν εἰς τὰς ἀπο-

φάσεις αὐτοῦ τις βλέψει, θαυμάζειν τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ τὸ μεγαλόψυχον τῶν λόγων, ὥστε δ᾽ εἰς τὸν

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the uncertainty of things, the appointment of the new consuls was close at hand and he should take this into consideration, lest when he was overtaken by winter another commander should succeed him and without any trouble credit himself with the result of all his pains, the general paid careful attention to what he said, and told him to inform Hasdrubal that he answered for the safety of himself, his wife and children, and the families of ten of his friends, and that, in addition to this, he might keep ten talents out of his own fortune and carry off with him any slaves he chose to the number of a hundred. Golosses conveying this kind offer met Hasdrubal again two days afterwards. The Carthaginian again advanced slowly to meet him in great state, wearing his full armour and purple robe, leaving the tyrants of tragedy much to seek. He was by nature corpulent, and he had now become pot-bellied and was unnaturally red in the face, so that it looked as if he were living like a fatted ox in the plenty of a festival, instead of being at the head of a people suffering from such extreme misery that it would be difficult to set it down in words. However, when he met the king and listened to Scipio's offer, slapping his thigh often and calling upon the gods and Fortune, he said that the day would never come on which Hasdrubal would look at the same time on the sun and on his city being consumed by fire; for the most noble funeral for right-minded men was to perish in their native city and amid her flames. So that when we look at his utterances we admire the man and his high-souled words, but when we turn
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χειρισμὸν τῶν πραγμάτων, τὴν ἀγεννίαν κατα-
πλήττεσθαι καὶ τὴν ἀναινδρίαν· ὡς πρῶτον μὲν,
τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν διαφθειρομένων ὀλοσχερῶς
ὑπὸ τοῦ λιμοῦ, πότους αὐτὸς συνῆγε καὶ δευτέρας
τραπέζας παρετίθετο πολυτελεῖς καὶ διὰ τῆς
ιδίας εὐεξίας παραδειγματίζει τὴν ἐκεῖνων ἀτυχίαν.

11 ἀπιστον μὲν γάρ ὅν τὸ τῶν ἀποθησκόντων πλή-
θος, ἀπιστον δὲ τὸ τῶν αὐτομολούντων καθ' ἑ
13 ἡμέραν διὰ τὸν λιμὸν· ἐπειτα τοὺς μὲν διαχλενάζων,
ὁς δ' ἐνυβρίζων καὶ φονεύων κατεπλήττετο τοὺς
πολλοὺς καὶ τούτω τῷ τρόπῳ συνεἶχε τὴν ἐξου-
σίαν, ἢ μόλις ἄν χρήσατο τῦραννος ἐν εὐτυχοῦσῃ
πόλει, καὶ ἐν δεδυστυχίαις πατριδί. διὸ καὶ
λίαν δοκῶ καλῶς ἢμῖν εἰρήσθαι διότι προστάτας
πραγμάτων ὁμοιότερος τῶν παρὰ τοῖς Ἐλλησι
τότε καὶ παρὰ τοῖς Καρχηδονίους ὑπαρξάντων
15 οὖν ἀν εὐροὶ τις ῥαδίως. τοῦτο δ' ἔσται δὴλον,
ὅταν ἕκ παραθέσεως τὸν ὑπὲρ ἐκείνων ποιησώμεθα
λόγον.

III. BELLUMachaicum

9 (7) Ὅτι παραγενομένων ἐκ Πελοποννήσου τῶν
(1) περὶ τὸν Αὐρηλίον πρεσβευτῶν καὶ διασαφοῦν-
2 τῶν τὰ συμβεβηκότα περὶ αὐτοῦ, ὅτι παρ' ὀλίγον
τοῖς ὀλοις ἐκινδύνευσαν, καὶ λεγόντων μετ' αὐξή-
σεως καὶ κανονολογίας· οὐ γὰρ ὡς κατὰ περι-
πέτειαν ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς ἥκοντος τοῦ δεινοῦ διεσάφων,
ἀλλ' ὡς κατὰ πρόθεσιν ὁρμηκότων τῶν 'Ἀχαιῶν
3 ἐπὶ τὸ παραδειγματίζειν αὐτοὺς· ἡ σύγκλητος
ἡγανάκτησεν μὲν ἐπὶ τοὺς γεγονόσιν ὡς οὐδέποτε
καὶ παραχρῆμα πρεσβευτάς κατεστήσατο τοὺς
περὶ τὸν Ἰουλίον, καὶ τούτους ἑπεμπε δοῦσα τοι-
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to his actual behaviour we are amazed by his igno-
bility and cowardice. For, to begin with, when the
rest of the citizens were utterly perishing from
famine, he gave drinking-parties and offered his
guests sumptuous second courses and by his own
good cheer exposed the general distress. For the
number of deaths was incredibly large and so was
the number of daily desertions due to famine. And
next by making mock of some and inflicting outrage
and death on others he terrorized the populace and
maintained his authority in his sorely stricken
country by means to which a tyrant in a prosperous
city would scarcely resort. Therefore I think I was
exceedingly right in saying as I did that it would
not be easy to find men more like each other than
those who then swayed the destinies of Greece and
Carthage. This will become evident when I come
to speak of the former and compare them with this
man.

III. THE ACHAEN WAR

9. When Aurelius Orestes and the other legates
returned from the Peloponnesus and informed the
senate of what had happened to them and how they
had been very nearly in danger of their lives, both
exaggerating the truth and exercising their inven-
tion—for they did not represent the danger to
which they had been exposed as a fortuitous one,
but pretended that the Achaean had of set purpose
determined to make an example of them—the
senate was more indignant at the occurrence than
it had ever been before, and at once appointed
a commission under Sextus Julius Caesar and dis-
4 autas evtolas, dioti dei metriws epitixmhsantas
kai mevphamenvos eti tois gegovosi to pleion
parakalein kai didaskein toous 'Axiouvs meta
tois eti ta xeurista parakalousi proskein
mht autous libhein eis thn pros 'Rwmavous
5 allotrióptta dieumpesontas, all ei eti kai
ou poihsasthai tina diorhswi touton ennoimwn,
apereiusamenvous thn agnoian eti toutous aitious
6 tis amartias. eix wv kai lian deilou egeneto
dioto kai touti peri tou Auvrilou edwke tas
evtolas oui diaspasai boulomenvi to ethvos,
alla ptohsei kai kaptiplhesiathai [boulomenvi]
thn auidheian kai thn apethseian toutou 'Axiouw.
7 tines men oui upelambanov kath upsokrion toutou
'Rwmavous... diath to mevnei atelei taka
8 Karxhdoa: to de altheis ouz ouwes eixe,
alpodegedemenvi to ethvos ek pollou xronou kai
noumizontes eixe auto pstovn malista touton 'Ellh-
nikhon, anaqobhsei men ekriwai diath to
pronymatiizesiathai pera tou deontos, polemon 8
analabein o diamorfi olochrephi pros toutou 'Axiouw ouvdamow
eboulonti.

10 (8) Oti oi peri tou Seston proagonites ek ths
(2) 'Rwmys eis thn Peloponvson aptunthesan tous
2 peri tou Thearidan, ou 'eper yasan presbeutai
pem fistsenous upo toutou 'Axiouw paratthsmenvoi
kai didazontes thn sygkhrson uper toutou eis tous
3 peri tou Auvrilou gevomenon aloummatou. ois
kai sumpipantes oj proerphmeoi parakalesan
autous anakampttein eis thn 'Axiav, oti peri
pantov toutov exousin evtolas autol dialegesethi
4 tois 'Axiouw. paragenvomenw de tout peri tou
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patched it with instructions, however, merely to administer a mild censure for what had taken place, and then to beg and instruct the Achaeans not to give heed in future to those who urged them to the worst courses or to incur before they were aware of it the hostility of Rome, but once again to correct their errors and bring the blame home to the real authors of the offence. This made it quite evident that by the instructions they gave to Aurelius they did not wish to dissolve the League, but to alarm the Achaeans and to deter them from acting in a presumptuous and hostile manner. Some, it is true, thought that the Romans were playing false, as the fate of Carthage was still undecided. This, however, was not the fact; but having for so long acknowledged the League and regarding it as the most loyal of the Greek powers, they thought fit to alarm the Achaeans and curb their undue arrogance, but by no means wished to go to war with them or proceed to an absolute rupture.

10. Sextus Julius and his colleagues on their way from Rome to the Peloponnesus met the envoys headed by Thearidas who had been sent by the Achaeans to excuse themselves and to inform the senate of the truth concerning the foolish insults inflicted on Aurelius and his fellow-legates. Sextus and his colleagues upon meeting the Achaean envoys begged them to return to Achaea, as they themselves were charged to discuss the whole matter with the Achaeans. When upon reaching the Pelop-
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Σέξτον εἰς τὴν Πελοπόννησον καὶ διαλεγομένων τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς ἐν τῇ τῶν Αἰγινέων πόλει καὶ προφερομένων πολλοὺς καὶ φιλανθρώπους λόγους, 5 καὶ τὸ περὶ τοὺς πρεσβευτὰς ἐγκλήμα παραπεμπόντων καὶ σχεδὸν οὐδὲν προσδέομεν δικαιολογίας, ἀλλὰ βέλτιον ἐκδεχομένων τὸ γεγονὸς αὐτῶν τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, καθόλου δὲ παρακαλοῦντων μὴ πορρωτέρω προβῆναι τῆς ἁμαρτίας μήτε τῆς εἰς αὐτοὺς μήτε τῆς εἰς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, 6 τὸ μὲν σωφρονοῦν μέρος ἀσμένως ἀπεδέχετο τὰ λεγόμενα καὶ λίαν ἐνετρέπετο, συνειδὸς αὐτῷ τὰ πετραγμένα καὶ πρὸ ὁφθαλμῶν λαμβάνον τὰ συμβαίνοντα τοῖς πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἀντιταττομένους, 7 τὸ δὲ πλῆθος τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀντιλέγει μὲν οὐδὲν εἰχε τοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ τὸν Σέξτον λεγομένου δικαίους, ἀλλὰ ἦγε τὴν ἑσυχίαν, ἔμενε δὲ νοσοῦν 8 καὶ διεθθαρμένον. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Δίαυν καὶ Κριτόλαον καὶ πάντες οἱ μετέχοντες αὐτοῖς τῆς αὐτῆς γνώμης· οὗτοι δὲ ἦσαν ὁσπερ ἐπίτηδες εἰς ἕκάστης πόλεως κατ' ἐκλογὴν οἱ χείριστοι καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς ἔχθροι καὶ λυμανόμενοι τὸ ἔθνος. 9 καθάπερ ἡ παρουσία φησίν, οὐ μόνον τὰ διδόμενα τῇ δεξιᾷ παρὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐδέχοντο τῇ λαϊκῇ χειρί, καθόλου δὲ καὶ συλλίπηδην παρέπαυσαν τοῖς λογισμοῖς. ὑπέλαβον γὰρ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους διὰ τὸ τὰς ἐν τῇ Διβύῃ καὶ τὰς κατὰ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν πράξεις δεδομένα τὸν ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν πόλεμον πάν 10 ὑπομένειν καὶ πᾶσαν προέσθαι φωνὴν. διὸ νομίζοντες ὅτι τὸ παρὸν ἀπεκρίθησαν φιλανθρώπως τοῖς πρεσβευταῖς τοὺς μὲν περὶ τὸν Θεαρίδαν ὡμοὶ ἀποστέλλειν εἰς τὴν σύγκλητον, αὐτοὶ δὲ παρακολουθήσαντες εἰς τὴν Τεγέαν καὶ κοινο- 412
ponnesus they conversed with the Achaeans in Aegium their language was most courteous; they scarcely alluded to the charge of ill-treating the legates or demanded any justification of the conduct of the Achaeans, but taking a more favourable view of what had occurred than the Achaeans themselves, begged them not to give any further offence either to the Romans or to the Lacedaemonians. Upon this all the wiser people gladly accepted the advice, conscious as they were of their error and having before their eyes the fate that awaited those who opposed Rome; but the majority, while having nothing to say against the just strictness of Sextus and being obliged to keep silence, yet remained ill-conditioned and demoralized. And Diaeus and Critolaus and all who shared their views—and these were, so to speak, a deliberate selection from each city of the worst men, the most god-forsaken and the greatest corrupters of the nation—not only as the proverb has it, took with the left hand what the Romans gave with the right, but were under an entire and absolute misconception. For they imagined that the Romans, owing to their campaigns in Africa and in Spain, were afraid of a war with the Achaeans, and consequently tolerated everything and were ready to say anything. Consequently, thinking that they were masters of the situation, they answered the legates in courteous terms, insisting, however, upon sending Thearidas and his colleagues to the senate: they themselves would accompany the legates as far as Tegea, where they
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λογιθέντες τοῖς Λακεδαίμονισι . . ., ἵνα γένηται
12 τις ὤμολογημένη λύσις περὶ τοῦ πολέμου. ταῦτα
δὲ ἀποκριθέντες ἐν τοῖς ἔξης ἥγουν ἐπὶ τὴν πάλαι
προκειμένην αὐτοῖς ἄγνοιαν τὸ ταλαίπωρον ἔθνος.
13 καὶ τούτ’ εἰκότως συνεβαίνε γίνεσθαι δὲ ἀπειρίαι
καὶ κακίαι τῶν κρατοῦντων.

11 (9) Τὸ δὲ τέλος τῆς ἀπωλείας ἡνύσθη τοὐδὲ τινι
(3) 2 τρόπω. παραγενομένων γὰρ εἰς τὴν Τεγέαν
τῶν περὶ τὸν Σέξτον καὶ τοὺς Λακεδαίμονις
ἐπιστασαμένων χάριν τοῦ σύμφωνον αὐτοῖς γενεύ-
σθαι πρὸς τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς τὴν τε περὶ τῶν προ-
γενοῦσων ἐγκλημάτων δικαιοδοσίαν (καὶ) τὴν κατὰ
τὸν πόλεμον ἐποχήν, ἐως ἃν πέμψωσι Ρωμαίοι
3 τοὺς περὶ τῶν ὀλων ἐπισκεφτομένους, συνεδρεύ-
σαντες οἱ περὶ τὸν Κριτόλαον ἔκριναν τοὺς μὲν
アルバム διακλῖναι τὴν ἀπάντησιν, τὸν δὲ Κριτό-
4 λαον προάγει εἰς τὴν Τεγέαν. ὁ μὲν οὖν προ-
ειρημένος ἦδη σχεδὸν ἀπηλπικότων τῶν περὶ τὸν
5 Σέξτον ἤλθε, γενομένης δὲ συγκαταστάσεως πρὸς
τοὺς Λακεδαίμονις εἰς οὐδὲν συγκατέβασεν,
φίλος οὐκ ἔχειν ἐξουσίαν οὐδὲν οἰκονομεῖν ἄνευ τῆς
τῶν πολλῶν γνώμης. ἐπανοίσων δὲ τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς
εἰς τὴν ἔξης ἐφ’ σύνοδον, τὴν ἔδει γενέσθαι μετὰ
6 μήνας ἐξε. διὸ σαφῶς ἐπιγνόντες οἱ περὶ τὸν
Σέξτον ἔθελοκακότατα τὸν Κριτόλαον καὶ δυσ-
χεράνοντες ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀπαντωμένοις τοὺς μὲν Λα-
κεδαίμονις ἀπέλυσον εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν, αὐτοὶ δὲ
ἐπαινήγον εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, κατεγνωκότες ἄγνοιαν
7 καὶ μανίαν τοῦ Κριτόλαον. ὁ δὲ Κριτόλαος
χωρισθέντων τούτων ἐπιπορευόμενος κατὰ τὸν
χειμῶνα τὰς πόλεις ἐκκλησίας συνήγε, προφάσει

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would discuss matters with the Lacedaemonians and try to find a means of coming to an agreement with them which would put an end to the war. After giving this answer, they by their future conduct, led on the unhappy nation to adopt the mistaken policy they had set their hearts on. What else could be expected when those in power were so ignorant and ill-disposed?

11. The end of the catastrophe was brought about in the following way. When Sextus and the other legates reached Tegea they invited the Lacedaemonians to attend there so that they might act in unison towards the Achaeans, both as regards exacting justice for their offences in the past and as regards the suspension of hostilities, until the Romans should send commissioners to deal with the whole situation. Critolaus and his party now held a meeting at which it was decided that the others should decline to meet the Romans, but that Critolaus alone should proceed to Tegea. Critolaus arrived at Tegea when Sextus and his colleagues had almost given up all hope of his coming, and when they called in the Lacedaemonians to negotiate he refused to make any concessions, saying that he was not empowered to arrange anything without taking the opinion of the people, but that he would refer the matter to the next Assembly which was to meet in six months. So that Sextus and his colleagues, now recognizing that Critolaus was guilty of wilful obstruction, and indignant at his answer, allowed the Lacedaemonians to return home and themselves left for Italy, pronouncing Critolaus to have acted in a wrong-headed way and like a madman. After their departure Critolaus visited the different cities during the winter and called meetings,
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μὲν χρώμενος ὅτι βούλεται τὰ ῥηθέντα πρὸς
tοὺς Λακεδαμιονίους καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τῇ Τεγέα
8 διασαφεῖν αὐτοῖς, τῇ ἀληθεία κατηγορίαν
πουόμενος ’Ρωμαίων καὶ πᾶν τὸ λεγόμενον ὑπ’
9 ἐκείνων ἐπὶ τὸ χείρον ἐκδεχόμενος, εἰς ὅπερ δυσ-
10 μένειαν καὶ μίσος ἐνειργάζετο τοῖς ὀχλοῖς. Ἄμα
δὲ τούτων παρήγγειλε τοῖς ἄρχουσι μὴ πράττειν
τοὺς ὀφειλέτας μηδὲ παράδεχεσθαι τοὺς ἀπαγομέ-
νους εἰς φυλακὴν πρὸς τὰ χρέα, τοὺς ἐράνους
ἐπιμόνους ποιεῖν, ἐως ἂν λάβῃ τὰ τοῦ πολέμου
11 κρίσιν. λοιπὸν ἐκ τῆς τουαύτης δημαγωγίας
πᾶν τὸ λεγόμενον ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ πιστὸν ἐγίνετο,
καὶ πρὸς πᾶν τὸ παραγγέλλομεν ἐτοιμὸν ἢ τὸ
πλῆθος, περὶ μὲν τοῦ μέλλοντος ἀδύνατον προ-
νοεῖσθαι, τῇ δὲ παρ’ αὐτὰ χάριτι καὶ βρατώνη
deleaζόμενον.

12 (10) Ὁ δὲ Κώντος ὁ Κακίλιος ἐν τῇ Μακεδονίᾳ
(4) τάδε πυθανόμενος καὶ τὴν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ
γενομένην ἀκρισίαν καὶ ταραχὴν ἐξεπεμψε πρε-
σβετὰς Γνάουν Παπείριον καὶ τὸν νεώτερον
Ποπίλιον Λαυάτου, σὺν δὲ τούτω Αδλον Γα-
2 βίνον καὶ Γάιον Φάννιον· οἱ καὶ συνηγμένων
τῶν Ἀχαιῶν εἰς Κόρινθον, κατὰ τύχην ἐλθόντες
εἰς τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν καὶ παραχθέντες εἰς τὰ
πλήθη διετίθεντο πολλοὺς οὕτως καὶ φιλανθρώπους
λόγους παραπλησίους τοῖς περὶ τὸν Σέξτον,
3 πάσαν ἐνδεικνύμενοι φιλοτιμίαν χάριν τοῦ μὴ
προβῆναι τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς εἰς ὀλοσχερεστέραν ἀπ-
ἐχθειαν πρὸς Ἐρμοῖον μήτ’ ἔκκε τῆς πρὸς Λα-
κεδαμιονίους προφάσεως μήτε διὰ τῆς πρὸς
4 αὐτῶν ἐκείνων ἀλλοτριότητος. ὃν οἴ μὲν πολλοὶ
dιακοῦοντες οὐδαμῶς ἀνείχοντο, χλευάζοντες δὲ
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on the pretext that he wished to inform the people of the language he had used to the Lacedaemonians and the Roman legates at Tegea, but in reality for the purpose of accusing the Romans and giving the worst sense to all that they had said, by which means he inspired the populace with hostility and hatred. At the same time he advised the magistrates not to exact payment from debtors or to admit into the prisons those arrested for debt, and also to make the enforced contributions permanent, until the war was decided. As a result of such appeals to the rabble everything he said was accepted as true, and the people were ready to do anything he ordered, incapable as they were of taking thought for the future, and enticed by the bait of present favour and ease.

12. When Quintus Caecilius in Macedonia heard of all this, and of the foolish excitement and commotion in the Peloponnesus, he dispatched there as legates Gnaeus Papirius, the younger Popilius Laenas, Aulus Gabinius, and Gaius Fannius. They happened to arrive when the General Assembly of the Achaeans was being held at Corinth, and when brought before the people addressed them at length in the same conciliatory terms as Sextus and his colleagues had done, employing every effort to prevent the Achaeans from proceeding to acts of declared hostility towards Rome, either on account of their difference with Sparta or owing to their dislike of the Romans themselves. The people, on listening to them, showed no disposition to comply, but jeered at the legates, hooted and
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tous preōbeis metà thorūbou kai kraughēs exébalon.
5 kai gar synethroisē thlebos erghasthriakōn kai
banaivōn anērōtōn ὅσον oudeōte pāsai men
gar ekoρūξan ai póleis, pandhmei de kai málista
pws h tōn Korinhwv. olugous de tis kai lían
7 ἢρεσκε τὰ λεγόμενα διὰ τῶν πρεσβευτῶν. ὦ ἔ θ
Kritolao, ὦσπερ κατ᾽ εὐχὴν υποθέσεως ἐπειλημμένους καὶ
θεάτρου συνενθουσιῶντο καὶ παρε
πετηκότος ταῖς διανοίαις, κατανίστατο μὲν τῶν
ἀρχόντων, διέσυρε δὲ τοὺς ἀντιπολιτευμένους,
ἐνεπαρρησιάζετο δὲ τοῖς τῶν Ῥωμαίων πρεσβευ-
ταῖς, φάσκων βούλεσθαι μὲν Ῥωμαίων φίλος
ὑπάρχειν, δεσπότας δ做强 ἄν εὐδοκῆσαι κτησα-
μενος. καθόλου δὲ παρῆκε, λέγων ὡς, ἐὰν μὲν
ἀνδρὲς ὡς, οὐκ ἀπορήσουσι συμμάχους, ἐὰν ὄδ
10 ἀνδρόγυνοι, κυρίων. καὶ πολλὰ ὅτι τινὰ πρὸς
ταύτην τὴν ὑπόθεσιν ἐμπορευόντας καὶ μεθοδευό-
11 μενος ἐκάνει καὶ παρώξυνε τοὺς ὀχλοὺς. ἐποίει
δ’ ἐμφάσεις καὶ περὶ τοῦ μῆ τυχόντως χρῆσαί
taῖς ἐπιβολάις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν βασιλέων τινὰς
καὶ τῶν πολιτευμάτων ἐνα κοινωνεὶν αὐτῷ τῆς
13 (11) προθέσεως. τῶν δὲ τῆς γερουσίας βουλομένων
(5) ἐπιλαμβάνεσθαι καὶ κωλύειν αὐτῶν τῶν τοιούτων
λόγων, περισσαπάμενος τοὺς στρατιώτας καταν-
ίστατο, κελεύων προσελθεῖν, ἐγνίσαι, τολμῆσαι
2 τινα μόνον ἄφασθαι τῆς χλαμύδος. καθόλου δ’
ἐφ’ πολλὸν ἢδη χρόνον παρακατεσχηκώς αὐτὸν
οὐκέτι δύνασθαι καρτερεῖν, ἀλλ’ ἐρεῖν τὸ φαινόμε-
3 νον. δεῖν γὰρ οὐ Δακεδαμονίους οὐδὲ Ῥωμαίους
ἀγωνιάν οὕτως ὄντως ἐς αὐτῶν συνεργοῦντας
τοὺς ἔχθροις’ εἶναι γὰρ των τοὺς πλεῖον Ῥωμαίους

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hustled them out of the meeting. For never had there been collected such a pack of artizans and common men. All the towns, indeed, were in a drivelling state, but the malady was universal and most fierce at Corinth. There were a few, however, who were exceedingly gratified by the language of the legates. But Critolaus, thinking he had got hold of the very handle he had been praying for and of an audience ready to share his fervour and run mad, attacked the authorities and inveighed against his political opponents, and used the utmost freedom of language regarding the Roman legates, saying that he wished to be friends with Rome, but he was not at all minded to make himself subject to despots. The general tenour of his advice was that if they behaved like men they would be in no want of allies, but if they behaved no better than women they would have plenty of lords and masters. By dealing freely and systematically in such phrases he continued to excite and irritate the mob. He much insisted that his policy was by no means a haphazard one, but that some of the kings and states shared his design.

13. When the assembly of elders wished to check him and keep him from using such language, he defied them, soliciting the aid of the soldiery and calling on anyone who chose to come on, to approach him, or to dare even to lay hands on his cloak. He said in fine that he had long held his hand, but could put up with this sort of thing no longer, but would say what he felt. "For," he said, "we should not so much fear the Lacedaemonians or the Romans, as those among ourselves who are co-operating with the enemy. Yes, there are some who favour
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eυνοοῦντας καὶ Λακεδαίμονίους ἧ τοῖς σφετέροις
4 πράγμασιν, καὶ τούτων πίστιν ἐφερεν· ἡφι γὰρ
Εὐαγόραν τὸν Ἀιγιέα καὶ τὸν Τριταίεα Στρατι-
tίον πάντα τὰ λεγόμενα δι’ ἀπορρήτων ἐν ταῖς
5 συναρχίαις διασαφεῖν τοῖς περὶ τὸν Γνάιον. τοῦ
dὲ Στρατίου συμμειχέναι μὲν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις
ὀμολογοῦντος καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα συμμίξεις φάσκοντος
φίλοις οὖσι καὶ συμμάχους, ἀνηγγελκέναι δ’
ὁρκιζομένον μηδὲν τῶν ἐν ταῖς συναρχίαις εἰρημέ-
νων, ὀλίγοι μὲν τινες ἐπίστευν, οἱ δὲ πλείους προσ-
6 εδέχοντο τὰς διαβολὰς. δ’ ὁ Κριτόλαος παρ-
οξύνας τοὺς ὀχλοὺς διὰ τῆς τούτων κατηγορίας
ἐπεισε τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς πάλιν ψηφίσασθαι λόγῳ
μὲν τὸν πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους πόλεμον, ἐργῷ δὲ
7 τὸν πρὸς Ὀρμαίους· καὶ προσεπεμέτρησεν ἔτερον
ψῆφισμα παράνομον, ὡστε κυρίους εἶναι τοὺς
ἀνθρώπους οὓς [ἂν] ἐπὶ στρατηγίαν αἰρήσονται·
dι’ οὗ τρόπον τινὰ μοναρχικὴν ἀνέλαβεν ἔξουσίαν.
8 Οὕτως μὲν οὖν ταῦτα διουκησάμενος ἐγίνετο
περὶ τὸ πραγματοκοπεῖν καὶ Ὀρμαίους ἐπιβάλλειν
tὰς ἱερας, οὐδενὶ λόγῳ τούτῳ πράττων, ἀλλὰ
πάντων ἀσβεστάτους καὶ παρανομωτάτους ἐπι-
9 βαλλόμενος· τῶν δὲ πρέσβεων δ’ μὲν Γνάιος εἰς
Ἀθηνᾶς ἀπήρεν κακεῖθεν εἰς Λακεδαίμονα προσ-
edreusαν toίς καιροίς, ὁ δ’ Ἄγλος εἰς Ναυπακτον,
οἱ δὲ δύο μέχρι τῆς τοῦ Καικίλιου παρουσίας
ἐμειναν ἐν ταῖς Ἀθηναῖς. καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὴν
Πελοπόννησον ἐν τούτοις ἤν.
10 "Ὅτι Πυθέας ἦν μὲν ἄδελφος Ἀκαστίδοι τοῦ
(xxxix. 7) σταδιέως, υἱὸς δὲ Κλεομνάστου, κακῶς δὲ βε-
(xl. 1) βιωκῶς καὶ δοκῶν ἐαυτῷ παρακεχρήσθαι τὴν
2 πρώτην ἥλικιαν, ὀμοίως δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὴν πολιτείαν
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the Romans and Lacedaemonians more than our own interests.” He even produced proofs of this, saying Euagoras of Aegium and Stratius of Tritaea communicated all the secret decisions of the magistrates to Gnaeus. And when Stratius confessed he had associated with the legates and said he would continue to do so, as they were friends and allies, but swore that he had never reported to them anything that had been said at the meetings of magistrates, a few people believed him, but most gave ear to the accusation. Critolaus having excited the mob by the charges he brought against these men, persuaded the Achaeans again to vote for war, nominally against Sparta, but really against Rome. He added another unconstitutional decree, enacting that the men they chose as strategi should have absolute power, by which means he acquired a kind of despotic authority.

Critolaus then, having carried through these measures, set himself to intrigue against and attack the Romans, not listening to reason, but forming projects which outraged the laws of god and man. As for the legates, Gnaeus proceeded to Athens and thence to Sparta to await the progress of events, while Aulus went to Naupactus and the other two remained in Athens until the arrival of Caecilius. Such was the state of affairs in the Peloponnesus.

14. Pytheas was the brother of Acastides the stadium-runner and the son of Cleomnastus. He had led an evil life and was thought to have been debauched in his early years. He was also reckless
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θρασύς καὶ πλεονέκτης καὶ δι' Ευμένους καὶ Φιλεταίρου σεσωματοποιημένος <διὰ> τὰς προερημένας αἰτίας.

3 Polybius Achivus quamvis tune in Africa cum Scipione fuerit, tamen quia domesticam cladem ignorare non potuit, semel in Achaia pugnatum Critolao duce asserit. Diaeum vero adducem ex Arcadia militem ab eodem Metello praetore oppressum cum exercitu docet.

15 Ὁτι τοῦ Κριτολάου τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τῶν (xxxix. 8) Αχαιῶν μετηλλαχότος, καὶ τοῦ νόμου κελεύοντος, ἐπὶ τὸν ἔνοπτον στρατηγόν, τὸν προγεγονότα διαδέχεσθαι τὴν ἀρχήν, ἔως ἂν ἦν καθήκωσα σύνοδος γένηται τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, ἐπέβαλε τῷ Αχιλῷ καὶ προεστάναι τῶν κοινῶν πραγμάτων. διότι ἐκπέμψα εἰς τὰ Μέγαρα καὶ παραγενόμενος εἰς Ἀργοὺς ἐγραψε ταῖς πόλεσι πάσαις τῶν οἰκογενῶν καὶ παρατρόφων τῶν ἄκμαξτας ταῖς Ἱλικίαις εἰς μυρίους καὶ δισεκίλιους ἐλευθεροῦ καὶ καθοπλίσαντας πέμπει εἰς τὴν Ὀρωνθοῦν. ἐμέρισε δὲ ταῖς πόλεσι τὴν ἐπιβολὴν τῶν σωμάτων εἰκῆ καὶ ἀνίσως, καθάπερ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπραττεν. οἷς δ' ἂν ἐλλείπῃ τὸ τῶν παρατρόφων πλῆθος, ἁναπληροῦν ἐδεὶ τὴν ἐκάστους καθήκουσαν μοῖραν ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων οἰκετῶν. θεωρῶν δὲ τὴν ἀπορίαν τὴν ἐν τοῖς κοινοῖς ἵσχυρᾶν οὐδαν διὰ τὸν πρὸς Δακεδαμονίους γεγονότα πόλεμον, ἐπαγγελίας ποιεῖσθαι συνηνάγκαζε καὶ κατ' ἰδίαν εἰσφέρειν τοὺς εὐπόρους, οὗ μόνον τοὺς ἄνδρας ἄλλα καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας. ἀμα δὲ
and grasping in public life, and for the reasons I have stated above had been indebted for his advancement to Eumenes and Philetaerus.

(From Orosius v. 3.)

Polybius the Achaean, though he was then with Scipio in Africa, nevertheless, as he could not remain in ignorance of the disaster of his own country, tells us there was only one battle in Achaea, Critolaus being in command. But he adds that Diaeus, who was bringing up reinforcements from Arcadia, was defeated by the same praetor Metellus.

15. Upon the death of Critolaus, the strategus of the Achaean, since the law enjoined that if anything happened to the actual strategus he should be succeeded by his predecessor until the regular Assembly of the Achaean met, the management and direction devolved on Diaeus. Consequently, sending a message to Megara and proceeding himself to Argos, he wrote to all the cities to set free twelve thousand of such of their home-born and home-bred slaves as were in the prime of life, and after arming them, to send them to Corinth. But he apportioned the number of slaves ordered to be sent by each city as he chose and unfairly, as he always did about other matters. If they had not enough home-bred slaves, they had to supply the deficiency from their other slaves. As he saw that their public exchequers were very badly off in consequence of the war with Sparta, he compelled them to make also special calls and to exact contributions from the wealthier inhabitants, not only from men but from women also. At the same time he
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tóu tois paraggeileiv sundhmei tois èn taḯs ἡλικίαις ἀθροίζεσθαι μετὰ τῶν ὄπλων εἰς τὴν Κόρινθον.
8 εἶ δὲν συνεβαίνε γίνεσθαι ταῖς πόλεισι πλήρεις ἀκρι-
9 σίας, ταραχῆς, δυσθυμίας. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀπ-
ολωλότας ἐπῆνουν, τοὺς δὲ ἐκπορευομένους ἥλεουν,
καὶ προσκατεκλαίοντο πάντες ώςανεὶ προορώμενοι
10 τὸ μέλλον· τὴν δὲ τῶν οἰκετῶν ἀνάτασιν καὶ τὸν
ἐπισυρμὸν βαρέως ἑφερον, ώς ἂν τῶν μὲν ἥλευ-
θερωμένων ἄρτι, τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν πρὸς τὴν ἐλπίδα
11 ταύτην μεμετεωρισμένων. ἀμα δὲ τούτοις οἱ
μὲν ἄνδρες εἰσφέρειν ἰναγκάζοντο παρὰ τὴν αὐτῶν
προαίρεσιν ὅτι τις ἔχειν δόξειν, αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες
ἀφαιροῦμεναι σφῶν αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν ἰδίων τέκνων
τὸν κόσμον ὑστερ ἐπίτιθες εἰς αὐτὸν τὸν ὀλέθρων
16 εἰσέφερον. ἀπάντων <δὲ> τούτων ἐν ἐνὶ καρῷ

(xxix. 9) συμβαινόντων, ἢ τῶν κατὰ μέρος αἰὲ προσ-
(xl. 3) πιπτόντων κατάπληξις ἀφήρειτο τῶν ἀνθρώπων
τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν ὅλων ἐπίστασιν καὶ διάληψιν, δὴ ἢς
ἐμελλὼν προνοεῖσθαι <δι>ότι πάντες εἰς πρόδηλον
ὀλέθρων ἀγονοὺν μετὰ τέκνων καὶ γυναικῶν.
2 λοιπῶν, οἷον ὑπὸ χειμάρρου τυφὸς λάβρου προ-
ωθοῦμενοι καὶ φερόμενοι μετὰ βίας, ἐπηκολοῦθουν
τῇ τοῦ προεστῶτος ἀγνοίᾳ καὶ παρακοπῆ. Ἡλειοὶ
3 μὲν γὰρ καὶ Μεσσηνοὶ κατὰ χώραν ἔμειναν,
προσδιοκώμετε τὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ στόλου κύνδυνον· οὔς
οὐδὲν ἂν τῶν παρόντων ἁνησεν, εἶπερ ἐφάνη
tὸ νέφος ἐκεῖνο κατὰ τὴν εἰς ἄρχῃς πρόθεσιν.
4 Πατρεῖς δὲ καὶ τὸ μετὰ τούτων συντελικον
βραχεῖ χρόνῳ πρότερον ἐπταίκει κατὰ τὴν Φωκίδα,
καὶ τὸ συμβαίνον ἢ πολλῶ τῶν κατὰ Πελο-
5 πόντησον ἐλεεινότερον. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ ζῆν

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ordered all citizens capable of bearing arms to muster at Corinth. In consequence all the cities were full of confusion, disturbance, and despondency. They praised those who had fallen and pitied those who were marching off, and everyone apart from this was perpetually in tears as if they foresaw the future. They suffered much from the insolence and impudence of the slaves, some of whom had been just set free while the rest were excited by the hope of freedom. At the same time the men were forced to contribute willy-nilly whatever they were supposed to possess, and the women, stripping themselves and their children of their jewellery, had to contribute this, almost as of set purpose, to a fund that could only bring destruction on them.

16. As all this was happening at one and the same time, the dismay created by the particular events of every day rendered people incapable of that general and careful reflection, which would have made them foresee that they all with their wives and children were clearly on the road to ruin. So, as if carried away and swept down by the force of a fierce torrent, they resigned themselves to the demented and perverse guidance of their leader. The people of Elis and Messene indeed remained at home in expectation of an attack by the fleet, but they would have profited nothing by the circumstances if that cloud had appeared on their horizon as was originally contemplated. The people of Patrae and those who contributed assistance together with them had a short time previously met with disaster in Phocis, and their case was much more lamentable than that of their allies in the Peloponnese; for some of them in strange desperation had put an
παραλόγως αὐτοὺς ἐξήγη, οἷς δ' ἐφευγον ἐκ τῶν πόλεων ἀνοδίας, πρὸς οὓδέν ὄρισμένον ποιοῦμενοι τὴν ἀναχώρησιν διὰ τὴν ἐκπλήξιν τῶν γυνομένων

6 ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἤγον ἐκδώσοντες ἀλλήλους τοῖς πολεμίοις ὡς ἀλλοτρίους γεγονότας 'Ῥωμαίων, οἷς δ' ἐμήγη καὶ κατηγόρον τῶν πέλας, οὗτος ἐπιζητοῦντος κατὰ τὸ παρόν τὴν τοιαύτην χρείαν· οἱ δὲ μεθ' ἑκατηρίας ἀπήντων, ὑμολογοῦντες παρεσπονδηκέναι καὶ πυθανόμενοι τί δεὶ πάσχειν, μηδέπω μηδενός ἐπιζητοῦντος

7 λόγον ὑπὲρ τούτων. πάντα δ' ἦν πλήρης παρηλιογμένης φαρμακείας τῶν ῥιπτοῦντων ἐαυτοὺς εἰς τὰ φρέατα καὶ κατὰ κρημνῶν, ὡστε κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν κἀν ἔχθρον ἔλεγαι θεασάμενον τὴν

8 τότε περιπέτειαν τῆς Ἑλλάδος. τὸν μὲν γὰρ πρὸ τοῦ χρόνου ἐσφάλλοντο καὶ τοῖς ὅλοις ἔπταιον ἐνίοτε, ποτὲ μὲν ὑπὲρ πραγμάτων διαφερόμενοι, ποτὲ δὲ παρασπονδούμενοι διὰ τῶν μονάρχων.

9 κατὰ δὲ τοὺς νῦν λεγομένους καιροὺς ἡτύχησαν ἀτυχίαν ὑμολογομένην διὰ τὴν τῶν προεστῶτων ἀβουλίαν καὶ διὰ τὴν ἱδίαν ἀγνοίαν. οἱ δὲ

10 Ὑπῆραν ἐκλιπόντες πανδημεῖ τὴν πόλιν ἔρημον τελέως κατέλειπον· ἐν οἷς καὶ Πυθέας εἰς Πελοπόννησον ἀποχωρήσας μετὰ γυναικὸς καὶ τῶν τέκνων ἥλατο κατὰ τῆς χώρας.

11 Παράδοξος αὐτῶ ἐφάνη ἡ ἀπάντησις τῶν πολεμίων. ἀλλὰ μοι δοκεῖ κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν κενὰ κενοὶ λογίζονται. λοιπὸν εἰκότων τοῖς τοιούτοις τὰ πρόδηλα παράδοξα φαίνεται.
end to their lives, and others were flying from the cities across country, directing their flight to no particular place, but terror-stricken by what was taking place in the towns. Some arrested others to surrender them to the enemy as having been guilty of opposition to Rome, and others informed against their friends and accused them, although no such service was demanded of them at present. Others again presented themselves as suppliants, confessing their treachery and asking what their punishment should be, in spite of the fact that no one as yet demanded any explanation of their conduct in this respect. The whole country in fact was visited by an unparalleled attack of mental disturbance, people throwing themselves into wells and down precipices, so that, as the proverb says, the calamity of Greece would even arouse the pity of an enemy, had he witnessed it. In former times indeed they had erred gravely and sometimes entirely come to grief, quarrelling now about questions of state and now betrayed by despots, but at the time I speak of they met with what all acknowledge to be a real calamity owing to the folly of their leaders and their own errors. The Thebans even abandoned their city in a body and left it entirely desert: among them was Pytheas, who fled to the Peloponnese with his wife and children and was wandering about the country.

The enemies' answer seemed surprising to Diaeus; but I think that as the proverb says, "Empty heads have empty notions." So that naturally such people think that what is obvious is surprising.
12 Καὶ ἐβουλεύετο περὶ τῆς εἰς οἶκον ἀνακομιδῆς, ὁμοιων ποιῶν ὡς εἰ τις ἄπειρος ὑπάρχων τοῦ νεῶν καὶ μέλλων αὐτόν ῥίςτεν εἰς τὸ πέλαγος περὶ μὲν τοῦ ῥώμαυ μὴ βουλεύοιτο, ῥώμας δὲ διανοοῖτο περὶ τοῦ πῶς ἀν ἐκνήξαιτο πρὸς τὴν γην.

17 Ὅτι ἀρτί τοῦ Διαίου παρόντος εἰς τὴν Κόρινθον, καθεσταμένου στρατηγοῦ διὰ τῶν πολλῶν, ἦκον oἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀνδρωνίδαν παρὰ τοῦ Καικιλίου· καθ’ ὅν προδιάδοσ φήμην ὡς συμφρονοῦντων τοῖς ἕχθροις, παρέβαλε τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τοῖς ὁχλοῖς, ὥστε μετὰ πάσης ὑβρεως συλληφθέντας ἀπαχθήναι 3 δεδεμένους. ἦκε δὲ καὶ Φίλων ὁ Θετταλὸς πολλὰ φιλάνθρωπα τοῖς 'Αχαιοῖς προτείνων· 4 ὃν ἀκούοντες συνέπραξάν τινες τῶν ἐκ τῆς χώρας, ἐν οἷς ἦν καὶ Στρατίος ἤδη γηραιὸς ὤν, ὡς ἐμπλεκόμενος καὶ λιπαρῶν ἐδέητο τοῦ Διαίου πει- 5 σθήναι τοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ Καικιλίου προτεινομένου. οἱ δὲ συνεδρεύσαντες τοῖς μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ Φίλωνος λε- 6 γομένους οὐ προσεῖχον· οὐκ ἐνόμισαν γὰρ κοινὴν εἶναι τὴν σωτηρίαν, ἀλλ’ τὸ σφέτερον συμφέρον καὶ τὴν αὐτῶν ἀσφάλειαν ἐν πλείστω τιθέμενον ταῦτα λέγειν. πρὸς τοῦτον ὄν ὁ σκοπὸν ἐβουλεύσαντο περὶ τῶν ἐνεστώτων, ἐν καὶ πάντων 7 ᾧ μα διήμαρτον. σαφῶς γὰρ σφίσι τὰ πεπραγμένα συνειδότες οὐδαμῶς ἐδύναντο πιστεύειν διότι 8 τύχοιεν ἀν τινος ἐλέου παρὰ 'Ρωμαίων. τὸ δ’ ὑπὲρ τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ τῆς τῶν πολλῶν σωτη- ρίας παθεῖν ὁ τι δέοι γενναῖως οὐδ’ ἐν νῷ καθ- 428
And he (Diaeus) began to think about the best way of getting home, acting just like a man who cannot swim but is about to throw himself into the sea, and never hesitates in making the plunge, but having made it begins to think how he can swim to shore.

17. A short time after the arrival of Diaeus at Corinth, on his having been appointed strategus by the people, Andronidas and his colleagues returned from their embassy to Caecilius. He had previously circulated a report that they were in league with the enemy and he now gave them up to the mob, so that they were arrested with every circumstance of ignominy and led off to prison in chains. Philo of Thessaly also came the bearer of many kind offers to the Achaean's, and certain Achaean's, on learning of this, gave him their support, among others Stratius, who was now advanced in years, and embracing and imploring Diaeus, begged him to accept the proposals of Caecilius. But the members of the assembly paid no attention to what Philo said, for they did not think that the whole nation would be spared, but that Philo spoke so in his own interest and concerned chiefly for his own safety and that of his friends. They therefore discussed the situation under this impression, although they were entirely wrong in entertaining it. For as they were perfectly conscious of their guilt, they could not conceive that the Romans could possibly have any compassion on them. They did not in the least think of making any brave sacrifice for the sake of the state, and the safety of
άπαξ ἐλάμβανον· ὁπερ ὡς ἄνδρῶν φιλοδόξων καὶ
9 προστατεύνοις φασκόντων τῆς Ἑλλάδος. ἀλλὰ γὰρ
πῶς ἐμελλε καὶ πόθεν παραστήσεσθαι τούτῳ τοῖς
φρόνημα τοῖς προειρημένοις; ἦσαν γὰρ οἱ βουλευόμενοι
Δίαιος καὶ Δαμόκριτος, ἀρτί τῆς καθόδου
tετευχῶς διὰ τὴν ἐνεστώσαν ἀκρισίαν, σὺν
dὲ τούτους Ἀλκαμένης, Θεοδέκτης, Ἀρχικράτης.
10 ὑπὲρ ὃν, τίνες ἦσαν καὶ τίνα φύσιν ἐκαστὸς εἶχε
καὶ τίνα προσάρέσων καὶ βίον, εὑρητὶ διὰ πλεονῶν.
18 ὁθεν ἐν τοιοῦτοις ὄντος τοῦ διαβουλίου καὶ τὸ
(ςχια.11)2 τέλος ἀκόλουθον ἐξέβη τῶν δοξάντων. παραυτικά
(ξλ.5) μὲν οὖν συνέκλεισαν οὐ μόνον τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἀν-
δρωνίδαν καὶ Δάγιον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν ὑποστράτηγον
Σωσικράτην, ἐπενεγκαντες αἰτίαν ὅτι προστάτησαι
τοῦ διαβουλίου καὶ συναποφήγατο πέμπτεν πρὸς
τὸν Κακίλιον καὶ συλλήβδην πάντων εὐ̣η τῶν
3 κακῶν αἰτίων· εἰς δὲ τὴν ἐπαύριον καθίσαντες
dικαστας τοῦ μὲν Σωσικράτους κατεδίκασαν βάνα-
tον καὶ δήσαντες καὶ στρεβλοῦντες προσεκαρτέρουν,
ἐως διεφθεραν τὸν ἄνθρωπον, οὐδὲν εἰπόντα τῶν
4 ἐκεῖνοι προσδοκομένων. τὸν δὲ Δάγιον καὶ
τὸν Ἀνδρωνίδαν καὶ τὸν Ἀρχιππον ἀφήκαν, ἄμα
μὲν τοῦ πλήθους εἰς ἐπίστασιν παραγενομένου
dιὰ τὴν εἰς τὸν Σωσικράτη παρανομίαν, ἀμα δὲ
tοῦ Διαίου λαβόντος παρὰ μὲν Ἀνδρωνίδου
tάλαντον, παρὰ δὲ Ἀρχιππον τεταράκοντα μνᾶς.
5 οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῦ σκάμματος ὄν, τὸ δὴ λεγόμενον,
ἔδυνατο λῆξαι τῆς περὶ τοῦτο τὸ μέρος ἀναίσχυν-
6 τίς καὶ παρανομίας ὁ προειρημένος. παραπλήσια
δὲ τούτους ἑπραξε καὶ βραχεὶ χρόνῳ πρότερον
eἰς Φιλίνον τὸν Κορίνθιον προθεὶς γὰρ αἰτίαν
ὅτι διαπέμπτεται πρὸς Μεναλκίδαν καὶ τὰ Ἡρωμαιῶν
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the people in general, as was their duty if they were men who valued their reputations and pretended to be the leaders of Greece. But how could they possibly show any such spirit, for the members of the Council were Diaeus and Damocritus—who had recently been allowed to return owing to the prevailing unwisdom—and in addition Alcamenes, Theodectes, and Archicrates, all men of whom I have already spoken at length, describing who they were and what were their characters, principles, and lives.

18. Such being the members of the council, the result of their deliberations was in accord with their characters. Not only did they at once imprison Andronidas and Lagius, but the under-strategus Sosicrates as well, alleging that he had presided over the previous council, and had taken part in the decision to send to Caecilius, and was in fact the main cause of all the evil. On the following day they appointed a tribunal and condemned Sosicrates to death, and binding him on the rack continued the torture until he died under it without making any such avowal as they expected. As for Lagius and Andronidas and Archippus, they released them, partly because the attention of the people had been aroused by the flagrant injustice of their treatment of Sosicrates, and partly because Diaeus received a talent from Andronidas and forty minae from Archippus; for Diaeus could not even when he was at bay, as the saying is, abstain from such shameless and illegal exactions. He had a short time previously behaved in a very similar manner to Philinus of Corinth. For accusing him of communicating with Menalcidas and of being a partisan
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προνεὶ, τὸν τε Φιλίνου καὶ τοὺς νίους αὐτοῦ μαστιγῶν καὶ στρεβλῶν ἐν συνόψει πάντας ἀλλήλων οὐ πρότερον ἔληξε πρὶν ἦ διεφθειρε τὰ μετέρακια 7 καὶ τὸν Φιλίνου. τοιαύτης δὲ τῆς ἀνοίας καὶ τῆς ἀκρισίας συμβαινούσης περὶ πάντας οὖν οὐδ’ ἂν ἐν βαρβάροις εὗροι τίς βαθίως, δὴ λον ὡς εἰκότως ἂν τις ἐπιξητήσειε τῶς οὐκ ἀρδην ἀπ- 8 ὀλοντο πάντες. ἐγὼ γὰρ ἂν ἐπούμι διόκτιο δοκεῖ μοι καθαπερανε τύχη τίς ἀντερείσαι παν- ούργος καὶ τεχνικὴ πρὸς τὴν ἀνοιαν καὶ μανίαν τῶν ἡγουμένων, ἦτις ἐξωθουμένη πάντη καὶ πάντως ὑπὸ τῆς ἁγνοίας τῶν προεστῶτων, βου- λομένη δὲ κατὰ πάντα τρόπον σώζεω τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς, ἐπὶ τὸ καταλειπόμενον ἠθέν ὁσπερ 9 ἀγαθὸς παλαιστής. τοῦτο δ’ ἢ τὸ ταχέως σφήλαι <καὶ> βαθίως ἠττήσαι τοὺς “Ἐλλήνας. 10 ὅπερ ἐποίησε. διὰ γὰρ τούτῳ συνέβη μῆτε τὴν τῶν ‘Ῥωμαίων ὄργην καὶ θυμὸν ἐκκαυθῆναι πορρωτέρω, μηδ’ ἐλθεῖν τὰς ἐκ τῆς Διβύτης δυ- νάμεις, μῆτε τοὺς προεστῶτας, ὄντας οἶνος εἶπον, ἐπιλαβομένους δὲ προτερήματος, ἀποδείξασθαι τὴν 11 αὐτῶν ἀσέβειαν εἰς τοὺς ὀμοφύλους. τί γὰρ εἰκός ἢν πράξαι τούτου κατὰ τῶν ἱδίων, ἐπι- λαβομένους ἀφορμῆς τινος ἢ προτερήματος, δὴ λον ἑστών ἐκ τῶν προερημένων διὰ τὸ κατὰ λόγον. 12 ἀπαντές δὲ τότε τὴν παρουμιαν ταύτην διὰ στόμα- τος ἔσχον, ὡς “εἰ μὴ ταχέως ἀπωλόμεθα, οὐκ ἄν ἐσώθημεν.”

V. Excidium Carthaginis

19 'Εσπεὶ δὲ παρελθὼν εἰς τὸ τεῖχος, τῶν Καρχη- (xxxix. 3) δονίων ἐκ τῆς ἀκρας ἀμυνομένων, εὑρε τὴν διὰ 432
of the Romans, he continued to flog and rack Philinus himself and his sons before each others' eyes until both the father and the boys gave up the ghost. One is inclined to ask oneself, in view of the fact that all were guilty of such folly and demoralization as it would not be easy to find among barbarians, how it came to pass that the whole nation was not utterly destroyed. For my part I should say that some sort of resourceful and ingenious fortune counteracted the folly and insanity of the leading statesmen—a power which, though the leaders in their folly took every means and every opportunity to expel her, yet had resolved to leave nothing undone to save Achaea, and like a skilful wrestler adopted the sole device left to her, and that was to bring about the speedy discomfiture and easy defeat of the Greeks, as she in fact did. For owing to this the indignation and wrath of the Romans were not still further aroused, nor did the forces come from Africa, nor were the leading statesmen, whose characters were such as I said and who only wanted a pretext, able to reveal fully their guilty intentions to their countrymen. For it is evident from the analogy of their previous conduct, such as I have described it, how they would probably have acted against their own people if they had had any opportunity or achieved any success. Everybody in fact kept repeating the proverb, "Had we not perished so soon we would never have been saved."

V. The Fall of Carthage

(From Plutarch, *Apophthegmata*, p. 200.)

19. Scipio had reached the wall, the Carthaginians still defending themselves from the citadel, and as
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μέσου θάλασσαν ού πάνυ βαθεῖαν όδον, τοῦ Πολυβίου συμβουλεύοντος αὐτῷ κατασπείραι τριβόλους σιδήρους ἢ σανίδας ἐμβαλεῖν κεντρωτάς, ὡς μὴ διαβαίνοντες οἱ πολέμιοι προσμάχωνται τοῖς χῶμασιν, ἐφε γελότων εἶναι, κατειληφότας τὰ τείχη καὶ τῆς πόλεως ἐντὸς ὄντας, εἶτα πράττειν ὅπως οὐ μαχοῦνται τοῖς πολεμίοις.

20 Ὄστι τοῦ Ἀσδρούβου τοῦ τῶν Καρχηδονίων στρατηγοῦ ἱκέτου παραγενομένου τοῖς τοῦ Σκιπιὼνος γόνασιν, οἱ στρατηγὸς ἐμβλέψας εἰς τοὺς συνόντας "ὀρᾶτ", ἐφε "τὴν τύχην, ὡς ἄνδρες, ὡς ἀγαθὴ παραδειγματίζειν ἐστὶ τοὺς ἀλογίστους τῶν ἀνθρώπων. οὐτός ἐστὶν Ἀσδρούβας ὁ νεωστὶ πολλῶν αὐτῶ καὶ φιλανθρώπων προτεινομένων ὑφ᾽ ἡμῶν ἀπαξίων, φάσκων δὲ κάλλιστον ἐντάφιον εἶναι τὴν πατρίδα καὶ τὸ ταύτης πῦρ, νῦν πάρεστι μετὰ στεμμάτων δεόμενος ἡμῶν τυχεῖν τῆς ζωῆς καὶ πάσας τὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχων ἐν ἡμῖν. ἀ τὸς ὅν ἕν υπὸ τὴν ὄψιν θεασάμενος ἐν νῷ λάβοι διότι δεὶ μηδὲποτε λέγειν μηδὲ πράττειν μηδὲν ὑπερήφανον ἀνθρωπόν ὄντα;" καὶ προ-

3 (3) ελθόντες τινὲς τῶν αὐτομόλων ἐπὶ τὸ πέρας τοῦ τέγους παρητοῦντο τοὺς προμαχόμενοις ἀνασχεῖν

5 μικρὸν τοῦ δὲ στρατηγοῦ κελεύσαντος ἐπισχεῖν, ἦρξαντο τὸν Ἀσδρούβαν λοιδορεῖν οἱ μὲν εἰς ἐπιορκίαιν, φάσκοντες αὐτὸν πολλάκις ἐπὶ τῶν ἱερῶν ὀμωμοχέναι μὴ προλέψειν αὐτούς, οἱ δὲ εἰς ἀνανδρίαν καὶ καθόλου τῆς ψυχῆς ἀγεννίᾳν

6 καὶ ταὐτ ἐποίουν μετὰ χλευασμοῦ καὶ λοιδορίας ἀσυροῦς καὶ δυσμενικῆς.

7 Κατὰ δὲ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον ἡ γνήθη θεωροῦσα τὸν Ἀσδρούβαν προκαθήμενον μετὰ τοῦ στρα-
he found that the depth of the sea between them was not very great, Polybius advised him to set it with iron caltrops or to throw into it planks furnished with spikes to prevent the enemy from crossing and attacking the mole, "But it is absurd," said Scipio, "now we have taken the wall and are inside the town to take steps to prevent our fighting our enemy."

20. When Hasdrubal, the Carthaginian commander, threw himself as a suppliant at Scipio's knees, the general turning to those round him said, "Look, my friends, how well Fortune knows to make an example of inconsiderate men. This is that very Hasdrubal who lately rejected the many kind offers I made him, and said that his native city and her flames were the most splendid obsequies for him; and here he is with suppliant boughs begging for his life from me and reposing all his hopes on me. Who that witnesses this with his eyes can fail to understand that a mere man should never either act or speak presumptuously?" Some of the deserters now came forward to the edge of the roof and begged the front ranks of the assailants to hold back for a moment, and when Scipio gave this order they began to abuse Hasdrubal, some of them for having violated his oath, saying that he had often sworn solemnly that he would not desert them, and others for his cowardice and general baseness of spirit. And this they did with jeers and in the most insulting, coarse, and hostile language.

At this moment his wife, seeing Hasdrubal seated with Scipio in front of the enemy, came out from
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tηγοῦ προῆλθεν εκ τῶν αὐτομόλων, αὐτὴ μὲν ἔλευθερίας καὶ σεμνῶς ἡμιφιεσμένη, τοὺς δὲ παῖδας ἐν χυτωνίσκοις ἔξι έκατέρου τοῦ μέρους προσειληφθεῖν

8 ταῖς χερσὶ μετὰ τῶν ἰδίων ἐνδυμάτων. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὄνομαστὶ προσεφώνει τὸν 'Ασδροῦβαν, τοῦ δ' ἀποσιωπῶντος καὶ νεύσοντος εἰς τὴν γῆν, τὰς μὲν ἄρχας τοὺς θεοὺς ἐπεκαλεῖτο καὶ τῷ στρατηγῷ μεγάλας ἀπένειμε τὰς χάρτας, διότι τὸ μὲν ἐκεῖνον μέρος οὐκ αὐτῇ μόνον, ἀλλὰ 9 καὶ τὰ τέκνα σώζεται. βραχὺ δ' ἐπισχοῦσα τὸν 'Ασδροῦβαν ἦρετο πῶς αὐτῇ μὲν φάσκων οὐδὲν κατ' ἴδιαν παρὰ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ πορίζοιτο τὴν σωτηρίαν αὐτοκολήσας, πῶς δ' οὔτως> ἀναισχύντως ἔγκαταλιπὼν τὰ πράγματα καὶ τοὺς ἀστοὺς αὐτῷ πιστεύοντας ὑπέλειπο τρός τοὺς

10 πολεμίους, πῶς δὲ παρὰ τούτοις τολμᾶ καθήσαται νῦν θαλλοῦς ἔχων πρὸς οὗ . . . . πολλάκις οὐδέποτε ταύτῃ ἐσεσθαι τὴν ἡμέραν, καὶ ἡ συμβήκεται τὸν ἡλιον ἀμα καθορὰν 'Ασδροῦβαν <ζῶντα>.

21 καὶ τὴν πατρίδα πυρπολομένην καὶ ἐπιστρέφας

(ṣṣxix. 5) εἴς αὐτῆς καὶ λαβόμενός μου τῆς δεξιᾶς ὡς Πολύβιες," ἐφή "καλὸν μέν, ἀλλ' οὐκ οἶδ' ὡσ τῶν ἐγὼ δέδια καὶ προορῶμαι μή ποτέ τὶς ἄλλος τοῦτο τὸ παράγγελμα δῶσει περὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας πατρίδος." ταύτης δὲ πραγματικῶτεραν καὶ νομε-2 χεστέραν οὐρά ἐπείειν τὸ γάρ <ἴν> τοῖς

3 μεγίστοις κατορθώμασι καὶ ταῖς τῶν ἐχθρῶν συμφοραῖς ἐννοιαν λαμβάνειν τῶν οἰκείων πραγμάτων καὶ τῆς ἐναντίας περιστάσεως καὶ καθόλου πρόχειρον ἐχειν ἐν ταῖς ἐπιτυχίαις τῆς τῆς τύχης ἐπισφάλειαν ἀνδρός ἐστι μεγάλου καὶ τελείου καὶ συλλήβδην ἄξιον μνήμης.

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the crowd of deserters, herself dressed like a great lady, but holding her children, who wore nothing but their smocks, by each hand and wrapping them in her cloak. At first she called on Hasdrubal by his name, but when he maintained silence and bent his eyes to the ground, she began by calling on the gods and expressing her deepest thanks to Scipio for sparing as far as he was concerned not only herself but her children. Then, after a short silence, she asked Hasdrubal how without saying a word to her he had deserted them all and betaken himself to the Roman general to secure his own safety; how he had thus shamelessly abandoned the state and the citizens who trusted in him, and gone over secretly to the enemy; and how he had the face to sit now beside the enemy with suppliant boughs in his hands, that enemy to whom he had often boasted that the day would never dawn on which the sun would look on Hasdrubal alive and his city in flames. . . . 21. Turning round to me at once and grasping my hand Scipio said, "A glorious moment, Polybius; but I have a dread foreboding that some day the same doom will be pronounced upon my own country." It would be difficult to mention an utterance more statesmanlike and more profound. For at the moment of our greatest triumph and of disaster to our enemies to reflect on our own situation and on the possible reversal of circumstances, and generally to bear in mind at the season of success the mutability of Fortune, is like a great and perfect man, a man in short worthy to be remembered.
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22 Ὅ δὲ Σκιπίων πόλιν ὄρῳν . . . . τότε ἄρδην (xxxix. 6) τελευτῶσαν ἐς πανωλεθρίαν ἐσχάτην, λέγεται μὲν δακρύσαι καὶ φανερὸς γενέσθαι κλαῖων ὑπὲρ πολεμίων. ἐπὶ πολὺ δ’ ἐννοούς ἐφ’ ἐαυτοῦ γενόμενος τε καὶ συνιδὼν ὧτι καὶ πόλεις καὶ ἔθνη καὶ ἄρχας ἀπάσας δεῖ μεταβαλεῖν ὡσπερ ἀνθρώπους δαιμόνια, καὶ τοῦτ’ ἔπαθε μὲν Ἰλιον, εὐτυχῆς ποτὲ πόλις, ἔπαθε δὲ ἡ Ἀσσυρίων καὶ Μῆδων καὶ Περσῶν ἐπ’ ἐκείνου ἄρχη μεγίστη γενομένη καὶ η ἡ μάλιστα ἐναγχος ἐκλάμψασα ἡ Μακεδόνων, εἴτε ἐκών, εἴτε προφυγόντος αὐτὸν τοῦτο τοῦ ἔπους <εἰπεῖν>,

ἔσσεται ἦμαρ ὅταν ποτ’ ὀλώλῃ Ἰλίοις ἴρῃ καὶ Πρίαμος καὶ λάδος ἐνμελείων Πριάμου.

3 Πολυβίου δ’ αὐτὸν ἐρομένου σὺν παρρησίᾳ· καὶ γὰρ ἦν αὐτοῦ καὶ διδάσκαλος· ὁ τι βούλοιτο δ’ λόγος, φασὶν οὐ φυλαξάμενον ὑνομάσαι τὴν πατρίδα σαφῶς, ὑπὲρ ἃς ἂρα ἐς τὰνθρώπεια ἄφορῶν ἔδειδει. καὶ τάδε μὲν Πολυβίου αὐτὸς ἀκούσας συγγράφει.
BOOK XXXVIII. 22. 1 - 3

(From Appian, *Punica*, 132.)

22. Scipio, when he looked upon the city as it was utterly perishing and in the last throes of its complete destruction, is said to have shed tears and wept openly for his enemies. After being wrapped in thought for long, and realizing that all cities, nations, and authorities must, like men, meet their doom; that this happened to Ilium, once a prosperous city, to the empires of Assyria, Media, and Persia, the greatest of their time, and to Macedonia itself, the brilliance of which was so recent, either deliberately or the verses escaping him, he said:

A day will come when sacred Troy shall perish,
And Priam and his people shall be slain.\(^a\)

And when Polybius speaking with freedom to him, for he was his teacher, asked him what he meant by the words, they say that without any attempt at concealment he named his own country, for which he feared when he reflected on the fate of all things human. Polybius actually heard him and recalls it in his history.

\(^a\) *Iliad* vi. 448-9.
I. Res Graeciae

1 (12) Ὁτι Αὐλὸς Ποστὸμος ἄξιος γέγονεν ἐπισημασίας

2 ἀπενετέθεν. οἰκίας μὲν γὰρ ἦν καὶ γένους

3 πρώτου, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἵδιαν φύσιν στωμύλος καὶ

λάλος καὶ πέρπερος διαφερόντως. ἐπιθυμήσας

δ' εὐθέως ἐκ παίδων τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς ἀγωγῆς καὶ

dialēktou polus mēn ἢν ἐν τούτοις καὶ κατακορῆς,

4 ὥστε δ' ἐκείνον καὶ τὴν αἴρεσιν τῆν Ἑλληνικῆν

προσκόψαι τοῖς προσβυτέροις καὶ τοῖς ἄξιο-

5 λογοτάτοις τῶν Ῥωμαίων, τέλος δὲ καὶ ποίημα

γράφειν καὶ πραγματικὴν ἱστορίαν ἐνεχείρησεν,

ἐν ἡ διὰ τοῦ προομίου παρεκάλει τοὺς ἐντυγχά-

νοτας συγγνώμην ἔχειν, ἐὰν Ῥωμαῖος ὅν μὴ

δύνηται κατακρατεῖν τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς διαλέκτου

καὶ τῆς κατὰ τὸν χειρισμὸν οἰκονομίας. πρὸς δὲν

οἰκείως ἀπηντηκέναι δοκεῖ Μάρκος Πόρκικος

Κάτων. θαυμάζειν γὰρ ἐφ' ἐπ' ἐπ' τίνα λόγον

ποιεῖται τοιαύτην παραίτησιν. εἰ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ

to τῶν Ἀμφικτύωνων συνεδρίων συνέταττε γράφειν

ἰστορίαν, ἰσώς ἔδει προφέρεσθαι ταῦτα καὶ παρ-

7 αυτεῖσθαι μηδεμίαν <δ' ἀνάγκης οὔσης ἐθελοντὴν

ἀπογράφασθαι κατείτα αὐτοπεσθαί συγγνώμην

ἔχειν, ἐὰν βαρβαρίζῃ, τῆς ἄπάσης ἀτοπίας εἶναι

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I. Affairs of Greece

1. Aulus Postumius was a man deserving of mention for the following reason. He was a member of one of the first families, but naturally wordy, loquacious, and vainglorious to excess. From childhood he had set his heart on acquiring Greek culture and the Greek tongue, and in both he was too much of an adept, so much so that it was partly his fault that admiration for Greece became offensive in the eyes of the older and more distinguished Romans. He even went so far as to attempt to write in Greek a poem and a serious history, in the preface to which he begs his readers to excuse him, if, as a Roman, he has not a complete mastery of the Greek language and their method of treating the subject. Marcus Porcius Cato answered him, as I think, very properly on the subject. For he said he wondered what reason he had for making this apology. Had he indeed been ordered by the Amphictyonic Council to write a history, possibly he would have been justified in speaking thus and offering excuses; but to undertake of his own accord and under no compulsion to write a history, and then to beg to be pardoned for his barbarisms, was obviously ludicrous,
8 σημεῖον, καὶ παραπλησίως ἀχρηστον ἡσανεῖ τις εἰς τοὺς γυμνικοὺς ἀγώνας ἀπογραφάμενοι πυγμήν ἡ παγκράτιον, παρελθὼν εἰς τὸ στάδιον, ὅτε δέοι μάχεσθαι, παραιτοῦτο τοὺς θεομένους συγγνώμην ἔχειν, ἐὰν μὴ δύνηται μήτε τὸν πόνον ὑπομένειν μὴτε τὰς πληγάς. δήλον γὰρ ὡς εἰκὸς γέλωτα τὸν τοιοῦτον ὀφλεῖν καὶ τὴν δίκην ἐκ χειρὸς λαμβάνειν ὁπερ ἔδει καὶ τοὺς τοιούτους ἑστοριογράφους, ἵνα μὴ κατετόλμων τοῦ καλῶς ἔχοντος.

9 παραπλησίως δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὸν λοιπὸν βίον ἐξήλοκε ητὰ χείριστα τῶν Ἐλληνικῶν καὶ γὰρ φιλήδονος ἦν καὶ φυγόπονος. τούτο δ' ἔσται δήλον εἴς αὐτῶν τῶν ἐνεστῶτων· ὁς πρῶτος παρών ἐν τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Ἐλλάδα τόποις, καθ' ὅν καρδίν συνέβαμε γίνεσθαι τὴν ἐν Φωκίδι μάχην, σκηψάμενος ἀσθένειαν εἰς Θήβας ἀνεχώρησεν χάριν τοῦ τῆς μάχης πρῶτος ἔγραψε τῇ συγκλήτῳ περὶ τοῦ κατορθώματος, προσδιασαφῶν τὰ κατὰ μέρος, ὡς μετεχηκὼς αὐτὸς τῶν ἀγώνων.

10 Πολύβιος δὲ τὰ συμβάντα περὶ τὴν ἀλώσιν ἐν (x1. 7) οἴκτου μέρει λέγων προστίθησι καὶ τὴν στρατιωτικὴν ὁλυγωρίαν τὴν περὶ τὰ τῶν τεχνῶν ἔργα καὶ τὰ ἀναθήματα· φησὶ γὰρ ἰδεῖν παρῶν ἔρρημένους πίνακας ἐπ' ἐδάφους, πεπενύοντας δὲ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐπὶ τούτων. ὄνομάζει δ' αὐτῶν Ἀριστείδου γραφὴν τοῦ Διονύσου, ἐφ' οὗ τινες εἰρηνεῖας φασι τὸ "οὐδὲν πρὸς τὸν Διόνυσον," καὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα τὸν καταπονούμενον τῷ τῆς Δημανείρας χιτῶνι.

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BOOK XXXIX. 1. 8 – 2. 3

and served just as little purpose, as if a man who had entered his name at the games for the boxing-contest or the pancration, upon appearing in the stadium, when the time came for the fight, were to beg the spectators to pardon him if he could not support the labour of the tussle or the blows. For it is evident that such a man would certainly be ridiculed and receive summary punishment; and so should such historians have been treated, to prevent them from such audacious disregard of the proprieties. This man in the rest of his behaviour likewise had adopted the worst vices of the Greeks. For he was both fond of pleasure and averse to toil, as will be evident from the actual facts. On his very first appearance, indeed, in Greek parts, when the battle in Phocis took place, he feigned indisposition and retired to Thebes so as not to have to take part in the fight, and when it was over he was the first to write to the senate about the victory, adding abundance of detail as if he had himself taken part in the engagement.

The Capture of Corinth

(From Strabo viii. 6. 28.)

2. Polybius, appealing to our sentiments of pity in his account of the capture of Corinth, mentions among other things the contempt of the soldiers for works of art and votive offerings. He says he was present himself and saw pictures thrown on the ground with the soldiers playing draughts on them. Among them he names the picture of Dionysus by Aristeides which some say gave origin to the phrase, "Nothing like Dionysus," and the Heracles tortured by the tunic of Deianira.
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8 (14) "Οτι δια την προϋπάρχουσαν του πλήθους πρὸς (11. 8) Φιλοποίμενα εύνοιαν οὐ καθείλον τὰς εἰκόνας αὐ-
τοῦ ἐν πόλει τινων οὐσας· οὕτως μοι δοκεῖ πᾶν τὸ γνώμενον ἀληθῶς ἐνεργάζεσθαι τινα δυσεξ-
ἀλευττον εὐνοιαν τοῖς εὗ παθοῦσι.

2 Διὸ καὶ δικαίως ἂν εἴποι τις τὸ περιφερόμενον,
οὐ θύρι, τὸ δὴ λεγόμενον, ἀλλ' ἀμφότεροι διέφευσει.

3 Οὕσων δὲ πολλῶν μὲν εἰκόνων αὐτοῦ μεγάλων
δὲ τιμῶν, δὰ αἱ πόλεις ἐψηφίσατο, Ῥωμαίος
ἀνήρ ἐν τοῖς περὶ Κόρωνθου ἀτυχήμασι τῆς Ἑλλάδος
ἐπεχείρησεν ἀνελείν ἀπάσας καὶ διώκειν αὐτὸν,
ἐνδεικνύμενος ὡσπέρ ἐτὶ ζώντα Ῥωμαίοις πολέμιον
καὶ κακόν τους γενέσθαι. λόγων δὲ λεχθέντων καὶ
Πολυβίου πρὸς τὸν συκοφάντην ἀντεπόντως, οὔθ'
ὁ Μόμμιος οὔτε οἱ πρέσβεις ὑπέμειναν ἀνδρὸς
ἐνδόξου τιμᾶς ἰσαρία.

4 ... ἐπεβάλετο διδάσκειν διὰ πλειώνων ἀκολού-
θεως τοῖς ἐν ἀρχαῖς ἦμῖν εἰρημένοις περὶ τάνδρος.

5 ταῦτα δ' ἤν ὅτι διαφέροιτο μὲν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους
πολλάκις ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐπιταττομένων, διαφέροιτο δ' ἐτὶ
tosοῦτον ἐφ' ὅσον διδάσκειν καὶ πείθειν
ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀμφισβητομένων, οὔδὲ τοῦτο ποιεῖν

6 εἰκῇ. πείραν δὲ τῆς προαιρέσεως αὐτῶν ἀληθινῆν
ἐφη καὶ τὸ δὴ λεγόμενον ἐκ πυρὸς παρεσχῆσθαι
χάριν κατὰ τοὺς Φιλιππικούς καὶ κατὰ τοὺς
3. Owing to the long-standing affection of the people for Philopoemen, the statues of him which existed in some towns were left standing. So it seems to me that all that is done in a spirit of truth creates in those who benefit by it an undying affection.

Therefore we may justly cite the current saying that he had been foiled not at the door but in the street.

(From Plutarch, *Philopoemen* 21.)

There were many statues and many decrees in his honour in the different cities, and a certain Roman at the time so disastrous to Greece, when Corinth was destroyed, attempted to destroy them all, and, as it were, to expel him from the country, accusing him as if he were still alive of being hostile and ill-disposed to the Romans. But on the matter being discussed and on Polybius refuting the false accusation, neither Mummius nor the legates would suffer the honours of the celebrated man to be destroyed.

Polybius set himself to give full information to the legates about Philopoemen, corresponding to what I originally stated about this statesman. And that was, that he often was opposed to the orders of the Romans, but that his opposition was confined to giving information and advice about disputed points, and this always with due consideration. A real proof of his attitude, he said, was that in the wars with Antiochus and Philip he did, as the saying
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7 'Antiochikous kairoûs: pleiósthn gar ãxounta rôthyn toû tòn 'Ellhnwn kai dia thn autóu dúnamnv kai thn tòn 'Axaioû allhwn òltiwnótata diateth-
8 rhekéna thn prós 'Rwmaioun filían, metașchônta toû dôgmatoû toûs 'Axaioûs, én ò tetrapêmhn prôteron ths 'Rwmaiwn diabásews 'Antwóch kai toûs Aítwloûs toûn apô ths khóras pôlemou ëx-
ënegovkán, toûv ãllwv 'Ellhnwv schêdon ãpántwv
9 ãppelôttrwpemévnoû ths 'Rwmaiwn filías. òn oi déka diakouûantas kai thn proaîresin àpodexe-
menov toû légontos suñexwîrîsan kataîmounos autóv
10 tás tîmâs ùpárkein en pásaia tâis pôlesi. labô-
menos dé ths àphorîmhs taûths Polûbios <tâs>
eîkônas ùtîsato toû stpratîghôn, kaiîper õôîa
metâkekomwemévna eis 'Akarwânav êk Peloîпов-
nvîsan, légw dé thn 'Axaioû kai thn 'Aratóv kai
11 Ïlloîpôîmenos. òn oî ágastheî toû plîbos autóv
thn proaîresin êstîsenv autóv iðînûn eîkôna.

4 (15) "Ôti meta thn katástasen tôn déka, òn èpouî-
(xl. 9) santo en th 'Axaioû, ouûî oî déka toû tamiâ
 tô melîlonti pûleîn thn oúsiân toû Díaioû swv-
êtâxan, óî ti aîn èkleîsasai boulêthî thn
ùparchîntov ò Polûbios, ùphelônta kai dînta
2 dòreneoû, tâlla pûleîn toûs ùnovuménoûs. ò dé
proeîrîmenos tosoûtoûn àpêseçhe toû prosoîdeîsasai
ti toû toîuîtov òos kai toûs filous parêkalêsè
kathôn mîthênov èpîboînhaî toûv ùpo toû tamiou
3 pûloumévnoû. suñebâime gar toûton èpporpevou-
menov tôs pûleis pàntîwv toû Díaioû kouw-
nosántov pûleîn tôs oûsias, tôw kai kata-
4 kriðêntov, òsoni mi glanced òn yneas eîxon. òn
în tînes men ou proseîçhov, oî dé katakaloúthîsantès
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is, save them from the fire. For then, being the most influential man in Greece owing to his personal power and that of the Achaean League, he in the truest sense maintained his friendship for Rome, helping to carry the decree of the league, in which four months before the Romans crossed to Greece the Achaean League decided to make war from Achaean on Antiochus and the Aetolians, nearly all the other Greeks being at the time ill-disposed to Rome. The ten legates therefore, giving ear to this and approving the attitude of the speaker, permitted the tokens of honour Philopoemen had received in all the towns to remain undisturbed. Polybius, availing himself of this concession, begged the general to return the portraits, although they had been already carried away from the Peloponnesus to Acarnania—I refer to the portraits of Achaeus, of Aratus, and of Philopoemen. The people so much admired Polybius's conduct in the matter that they erected a marble statue of him.

4. After the appointment of the ten commissioners which took place in Achaean, these commissioners ordered the quaestor who was about to sell the property of Diaeus to set aside and present to Polybius whatever objects he chose to select for himself and then sell the rest to bidders. Polybius was so far from accepting any gift of the kind that he even begged his friends not to desire to acquire any of the things sold by the quaestor, who was now visiting the cities, and selling the property of all who had sided with Diaeus and had been condemned, except those who had children or parents. Some of his friends did not pay attention to his advice,
ΤΗΣ ΣΥΜΒΟΥΛΙΑ ΚΑΛΛΙΩΤΗΝ ΔΩΞΑΝ ΕΞΗΝΕΓΚΑΝΤΟ ΠΑΡΑ ΤΟΙΣ ΠΟΛΙΤΑΙΣ.

5 (16) Ταῦτα δὲ διουκήσαντες ἐν ἐξ μησίν οἱ δέκα (xl. 10) [καὶ] τῆς ἐαρινῆς ὥρας ἐνυσταμένης ἀπέπλευσαν εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, καλὸν δὲίγμα τῆς Ῥωμαίων προαιρέσεως ἀπολελοιπότες πάσι τοῖς Ἑλλησιον.

2 ἐνετείλαντο δὲ τῷ Πολυβίῳ χωριζόμενοι τὰς πόλεις ἐπιπορευθῆναι καὶ περὶ <ἀν> οἱ ἀνθρώποι ἀμφιβάλλουσι διευκρινῆσαι, μέχρις οὐ συνήθειαν

3 ἐξωσί τῇ πολιτείᾳ καὶ τοῖς νόμοις. ὅ δὲ καὶ μετὰ τινὰ χρόνον ἐποίησε τοὺς ἀνθρώπους στέρξαι τὴν δεδομένην πολιτείαν καὶ μηδὲν ἀπόρημα μήτε κατ’ ἱδίαν μήτε κατὰ κοινὸν ἐκ τῶν νόμων γενέσθαι

4 περὶ μηδενός. διὸ καὶ καθόλου μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀποδεχόμενοι καὶ τιμῶντες τὸν ἄνθρα, περὶ τῶν ἑσχάτων καιροὺς καὶ τὰς προειρημένας πράξεις εὐδοκούμενοι κατὰ πάντα τρόπον ταῖς μεγίσταις τιμαῖς ἐτίμησαν αὐτὸν κατὰ πόλεις καὶ ξῶντα

5 καὶ μεταλλάξαντα. πάντες <δ’> ἐκριναν κατὰ λόγον τοῦτο ποιεῖν· μὴ γὰρ ἐξεργασμένοι τοῦτον καὶ γραψάντος τοὺς περὶ τῆς κοινῆς δικαιοδοσίας νόμους ἀκριτα πάντα ἢν καὶ πολλῆς γέμοντα

6 ταραχῆς. διὸ καὶ τοῦτο κάλλιστον Πολυβίῳ πεπράξθαι νομιστέον πάντων τῶν προειρημένων.

6 (17) Ὅτι δ’ οἱ στρατηγοὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων μετὰ τὸ (xl. 11) χωρισθῆναι ἐξ Ἀχαίας τὸ συνέδριον, ἐπισκευάζασας τὸν ἐν Ἰσθμῷ τόπον καὶ κοσμῆσας τὸν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ καὶ Δελφοῖς νεὼν ταῖς ἐξῆς ἡμέραις ἐπεπορευέτο τὰς πόλεις τιμώμενος ἐν ἐκάστη καὶ τυχαίνων

2 τῆς ἀρμοδιότητος χάριτος. εἰκότως δὲ τιμᾶσθαι

3 συνέβαινεν αὐτὸν καὶ κοινῇ καὶ κατ’ ἱδίαιν· καὶ
but those who followed it earned the high approval of their fellow-citizens.

5. The ten commissioners, having settled these matters in six months, left for Italy in the spring, leaving behind them a good example to the whole of Greece of the policy of Rome. On quitting Polybius, they enjoined him to visit the cities, and clear up any matters about which people were doubtful, until they grew accustomed to the constitution and laws; and after a certain time he succeeded in making people accept the constitution granted to them, and saw to it that no difficulty on any subject arose either in public or in private due to the laws. So that while they had from the first generally approved and honoured Polybius, in this latter period, and in their satisfaction with what he advised as I above narrated, each city now took every means to confer the highest honours on him during his life and after his death. And this was universally thought to be fully justified; for had he not perfected and drawn up the laws on the subject of common jurisdiction, all would have remained undecided and in the utmost confusion. So we should consider this to be the most brilliant achievement of Polybius among all those I mentioned.

6. The Roman general, after the general assembly had left Achaea, repaired the Isthmian course and adorned the temples at Delphi and Olympia, and on the following days visited the different cities, honoured in each of them and receiving testimonies of the gratitude due to him. It was only natural indeed that he should be treated with honour both in public and in private. For his conduct had been
Γάρ ἐγκρατῶς καὶ καθαρῶς ἀνεστράφη καὶ πράως ἔχρησατο τοῖς ὅλοις πράγμασι, μέγαν καὶρὸν ἐν τοῖς Ἐλλησὶν ἔχων καὶ μεγάλην ἔξουσίαν.

4 καὶ γὰρ ἐν οἷς ἐδόκει παρεωρακέναι τι τῶν καθηκόντων, ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐκ ἐφαίνετο δὴ ἐαυτὸν τοῦτο πεποιηκέναι, διὰ δὲ τοὺς παρακειμένους φίλους.

5 τούτῳ δ’ ἦν ἐκφανέστατον ἐν τοῖς τῶν Χαλκιδέων ἰππεύσιν, οὕς ἀνέιλεν.

II. RES AEGYPTI

7 (18) "Οτι Πτολεμαῖος ὁ τῆς Συρίας βασιλεὺς κατὰ (xl. 12) τὸν πόλεμον πληγεῖς ἐτελεύτησε τὸν βίον, κατὰ μὲν τινας μεγάλων ἐπαίνων καὶ μνήμης ὧν ἄξιος,

2, 3 κατὰ δὲ τινας τούναντιον, πρᾶς μὲν γὰρ ἢν καὶ χρηστὸς, εἰ καὶ τις ἄλλος τῶν προγεγονότων

4 βασιλέων. ομηλεῖον δὲ τούτοις μέγιστον· ὅς πρῶτον μὲν οὐδένα τῶν ἐαυτοῦ φίλων ἐπ’ οὐδενὶ τῶν ἐγκλημάτων ἐπανείλετο· δοκῶ δὲ μηδὲ τῶν ἄλλων Ἀλεξανδρέων μηδένα δὴ εἰκεῖνα ἀποθανεῖν.

5 ἔπειτα δόξας ἐκπέσειν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ὑπὸ τάξιν θρησκόν, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ λαβὼν κατ’ αὐτοῦ καιρὸν ὀμολογοῦμενον ἀμνηστάκατον ἐποίησατο

6 τὴν ἁμαρτίαν· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πάλιν ἐπιβουλεύσατο τῇ Κύπρῳ, κύριος γενόμενος ἐν Λατήθῳ τοῦ σώματος ἁμα καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτοῦ, τοσοῦτον ἀπέσχε τοῦ κολάζειν ὡς ἐχθρόν ὀστε καὶ ἔως ἐκκατοχήν παρὰ τὰς πρότερον ὑπαρχοῦσας αὐτῶς κατὰ συνθήκας καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα δώσειν ὑπέσχετο.

7 κατὰ μέντοι γε τὰς ἐπιτυχίας καὶ κατορθώσεις ἔξελεν<τό> τῇ ψυχῇ, καὶ τις ὄλον ἀσωτία καὶ ῥᾳδιμία περὶ αὐτῶν Ἀιγυπτικῆ συνέβαινεν· καὶ> 450
unexacting and unsullied and he had dealt leniently with the whole situation, though he had such great opportunities and such absolute power in Greece. If, indeed, he was thought to be guilty of any deflection from his duty I at least put it down not to his own initiative, but to the friends who lived with him. The most notable instance was that of the cavalrymen of Chalcis whom he slew.

II. Affairs of Egypt

7. Ptolemy, King of Syria, died of his wounds in the war. In the opinion of some he deserved high praise and a place in history, but others think contrariwise. It was true that he was gentle and good, more so than any previous king. The strongest proof of this is, that in the first place he did not put to death any of his own friends on any of the charges brought against them; and I do not believe that any other Alexandrian suffered death owing to him. Again, although his dethronement was thought to be due to his brother, firstly, when in Alexandria he had, as was admitted, a chance of being revenged on him he treated his fault as one to be condoned, and next when his brother again conspired to deprive him of Cyprus, and he was master at Lapethus of his person and his life, he was so far from punishing him as an enemy that he loaded him with gifts in addition to what he already possessed under treaty, and promised him his daughter in marriage. However, in seasons of good fortune and success his mind grew relaxed and weakened, and he suffered from a sort of Egyptian waste of energy and indolence. And it
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κατὰ τὰς τοιαύτας διαθέσεις εἰς περιπετείας ἐνέπιπτεν.

III. Ex Epilogo

8 (19) Ὅτι δὲ Πολύβιος φησι κατὰ τὸ τέλος τῆς συγ-
γραφῆς, ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἠμεῖς καταπράξαντες ἐκ
τῆς Ρώμης ἐπανήλθομεν, ὡσπερ κεφαλαία τῶν
τῶν προπεπολιτευμένων κατεργασμένων, χάριν
2 ἀξίαν τῆς πρὸς Ἦρωμαίος εὔνοιας. διὸ καὶ
πᾶσι τοῖς θεοῖς εὐχᾶς ποιοῦμεθα τὸ λοιπὸν μέρος
τῆς ζωῆς ἐν τούτοις καὶ ἐπὶ τούτων διαμεῖναι,
θεωροῦντες τὴν τύχην ὡς ἐστὶν ἀγαθὴ φθονῆσαι
τοῖς ἀνθρώποις καὶ μάλιστα κατὰ τοῦτο τὸ μέρος
ἰσχύει καθ’ ὅ τις ἂν δοκῇ μάλιστα μακαρίζεσθαι
καὶ κατορθοῦν ἐν τῷ βίῳ.

3 Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν οὖν γενέσθαι συνέπεσεν,
ἡμεῖς δὲ παραγεγονότες ἐπὶ τὸ τέρμα τῆς ὅλης
πραγματείας Βουλόμεθα, προσαναμνήσαντες τῆς
ἀρχῆς καὶ τῆς προεκθέσεως ἢς ἐποιησάμεθα κατα-
βαλόμενοι τὴν ἱστορίαν, συγκεφαλαιώσασθαι τὴν
ὅλην ὑπόθεσιν, οἰκεῖωσαντες τὴν ἀρχὴν τῷ τέλει
4 καὶ καθόλου καὶ κατὰ μέρος. Εξεθέμεθα τοιγαρ-
οῦν ἐν ἄρχαις ὧτι τῆς μὲν προκατασκευῆς ποιη-
5 σόμεθα τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀφ’ ὅν Τίμαιος ἀπέλυτεν. ἐπί-
δραμόντες δὲ κεφαλαιωδῶς τὰς κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν
καὶ Σικελίαν καὶ Λιβύην πράξεις, ἐπειδή περὶ
μόνων τῶν τόπων τούτων κάκεινος πεποίηται
τὴν ἱστορίαν, ὅτι ἀνήλθομεν ἐπὶ τοὺς χρόνους,
ἐν οἷς Ἀννίβας μὲν παρέλαβε τὰς Καρχηδόνος
δυνάμεις, ὃ δὲ Δημιουργὸν Φιλίππος τὴν ἐν Μακε-
δονίᾳ βασιλείαν, Κλεομένης δ’ ὁ Σπαρτιάτης
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was when he was in this condition that reverses used to befall him.

III. FROM THE EPILOGUE

8. Polybius says at the end of his work: "Accord-ingly, having achieved this I returned home from Rome. I had, as it were, been enabled to capitalize the results of my previous political action, a favour which my devotion to Rome well merited. Therefore, I pray to all the gods, that during the rest of my life all may remain in the same condition and on the same terms, seeing as I do how apt Fortune is to envy men, and how she especially puts forth her power in cases where we think that our life has been most blessed and most successful.

"So it happened to fall out; and I, now I have reached the end of my whole work, wish, after recalling to my readers the initial scheme that I laid before them as the foundation of the work, to give a summary of the whole subject matter, establishing both in general and in particular the connexion between the beginning and the end. I explained therefore at the beginning that I would commence my introductory books from the point where Timaeus left off, and after a cursory view of events in Italy, Sicily, and Africa—this author having dealt only with these parts in his history—upon reaching the time when Hannibal was entrusted with the Carthaginian forces, when Philip, son of Demetrius, succeeded to the throne of Macedon, when Cleomenes of Sparta was exiled from Greece

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6 ἐπηγγειλάμεθα διότι πάλιν ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν καιρῶν ἀρξάμενοι καθ’ οὔς ἦν ὀλυμπιὰς ἑνάτη καὶ τριακοστῇ πρὸς ταῖς ἐκατόν, διέξιμεν τὰς κοινὰς τῆς οἰ-κουμένης πράξεις, περιγράφοντες κατ’ ὀλυμπιάδας καὶ διαρροῦντες κατ’ ἔτος καὶ συγκρίνοντες ἐκ παραβολῆς τὰς καταλλήλους ἔως τῆς Ἐκρηκτο-δόνος ἀλώσεως καὶ τῆς Ἀχαιῶν καὶ Ῥωμαίων περὶ τὸν Ἰσθμὸν μάχης, ἔτι δὲ τῆς ἐπηγγειλάμενης ἐκ τούτων ἀποκαταστάσεως περὶ τοὺς Ἐλλήνας.
7 εἰς ὅτι τὸ κάλλιστον ἐφαμεν, ἀμα δὲ ὦφελιμωτάτον περιγενέσθαι τοῖς φιλομαθοῦσι τοῦτο δ’ ἦν τὸ γνώναι πῶς καὶ τίνι γένει πολιτείας ἐπικρατηθέντα σχεδὸν ἀπαντὰ τὰ κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην ὑπὸ μίαν ἀρχὴν ἔπεσε τὴν Ῥωμαῖών, δ’ ἰδοὺ πρῶτον οὐχ
8 εὐρίσκεται γεγονός. τούτων δὴ πάντων ἡμῶν ἐπιτετελεσμένων λείπεται διασαφῆσα τοὺς χρό-νους τοὺς περιειλημμένους ὑπὸ τῆς ἱστορίας καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν βύβλων καὶ <τὸν> ἀριθμὸν τῆς ὅλης πραγματείας.
and when Antiochus inherited the throne of Syria and Ptolemy Philopator that of Egypt, I undertook to make a fresh beginning from this date, i.e. the 139th Olympiad, and henceforth to deal with the general history of the whole world, classing it under Olympiads, dividing those into years and taking a comparative view of the succession of events until the capture of Carthage, the battle of the Achaeans and Romans at the Isthmus and the consequent settlement of Greece. As I said, students by this treatment will attain the best and most salutary result, which is to know how and by what system of polity the whole world was subjected to the single rule of Rome—an event without any parallel in the past. Now that I have actually accomplished all this, nothing remains for me but to indicate the dates included in the history, to give a list of the number of books and an index of the whole work.”
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