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LIVY
VI
BOOKS XXIII—XXV
LIVY
WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION
IN THIRTEEN VOLUMES
VI
BOOKS XXIII—XXV
TRANSLATED BY
FRANK GARDNER MOORE
PROFESSOR EMERITUS IN COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

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# CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CONTENT</th>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TRANSLATOR’S PREFACE</td>
<td>vii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>THE MANUSCRIPTS</td>
<td>ix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BOOK XXIII</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SUMMARY OF BOOK XXIII</td>
<td>171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BOOK XXIV</td>
<td>173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SUMMARY OF BOOK XXIV</td>
<td>337</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BOOK XXV</td>
<td>339</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SUMMARY OF BOOK XXV</td>
<td>503</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX: THE TOPOGRAPHY OF SYRACUSE</td>
<td>505</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INDEX OF NAMES</td>
<td>511</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**MAPS AND PLANS—**

1. CENTRAL ITALY .............. At end
2. SOUTH ITALY AND SICILY .... ,`
3. SYRACUSE .......... ,`
4. TARENTUM .......... ,`
5. SPAIN .......... ,`
TRANSPLATOR'S PREFACE

This volume furnishes one span of a bridge ultimately to connect the Vth (1929) with the IXth (1935), that is, to link book XXII, the last of those translated by Professor Foster, with book XXXI, where the late Professor Sage began his work upon the Fourth Decade. In these three books (XXIII–XXV) are covered the years 216–212 B.C., including the consequences of disaster at Cannae, also Capua taken, Syracuse besieged for two years and finally captured, and the successes of Publius and Gnaeus Scipio in Spain, until they were separately overwhelmed by numbers.

For works dealing with this period of the Second Punic War the reader is referred to the Cambridge Ancient History, Vol. VIII, and the bibliographies for its chapters ii–iv, pp. 721 ff. Lists so recent and so generally accessible make it unnecessary to insert here a bibliography, to supplement those already contained in Vols. V (pp. xiii ff.) and IX (p. xv ff.). A recent work of Professor Fabricius, of Copenhagen, correcting current errors in the topography of Syracuse, is discussed in the Appendix.

The text here offered represents careful and oft-repeated consideration of its many problems. Obligations to a long line of previous editors, including Madvig, Weissenborn, H. J. Müller, Riemann, are gratefully acknowledged. In particular every student of Livy is now constantly aware of his great indebtedness to the labours of the late Professors Walters and
CONWAY, whose Oxford text edition reached a third volume in 1928 (books XXI-XXV). Every citation of the Puteanus made by them has been verified for the present volume by collation of the facsimile published by the Bibliothèque Nationale, with corrections in a very few instances.

Limited space for critical notes on so small a page obviously forbade the inclusion of the mass of interesting conjectures, often of recent date, especially many of the plausible supplementa suggested by Conway or Walters, where a short line (14–22 letters) may have been omitted in P or its archetype; also such emendations as Professor G. H. Hirst's aries for acies in XXIII, xvi. 12 (p. 54; Classical Review XXV, 109), or Professor E. H. Warmington's suggestion that in XXV, xxxvii. 11 (p. 480) ad arma may originally have been directly followed by ad portas, which in the MSS. and in our text follows the second discurrent, suspiciously repeated and hence, he thinks, to be omitted (as also ac, which may have been inserted later before velut).

The translator is indebted to the publishers of the Cambridge Ancient History for permission to use three maps from Vol. VIII, with such alterations as were deemed necessary. The map of Syracuse is based upon a large Italian sheet (Catania, 1931), with important additions and radical changes due chiefly to the map of the Danish historian Fabricius mentioned above.

It may be added that this translation was begun, as it happened, at Syracuse, with the passages in XXIV and XXV dealing with the siege and capture of the city, and that such an opportunity was due to a second visit after an interval of forty years.
THE MANUSCRIPTS

$P$ = codex Puteanus, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale 5730, 5th century.

$C$ = Colbertinus, Paris, do. 5731, 10th century (or 9th).

$R$ = Romanus, Vatican Library, 9th century.

$M$ = Mediceus, Florence, Laurentian Library, 10th century.

$B$ = Bambergensis, Bamberg, 10th century (or 11th).

$D$ = Cantabrigiensis, Trinity College, Cambridge, 12th century.

$A$ = Agennensis, British Museum, 13th century.

$N$ = Laurentianus Notatus, Florence, 13th century (rarely cited).

$F$ = Fragmenta Monacensia (two), Munich, 11th century.

$x$ = inferior MS. or MSS., 14th or 15th century (for $P^x$, $A^x$, etc., see below).

$y$ = late correction in a MS. (e.g., $A^y$).

$z$ = early editor or commentator.

From $P$ all the rest of the MSS. of XXI–XXV are directly or indirectly descended. In the critical notes corrections presumed to be by the original scribe are

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2 A few chapters of XXIII only, beginning at xxxii. 11 and xlvii. 1.
THE MANUSCRIPTS

marked $P^1$, by later hands, $P^2$, $P^3$, etc., corrections which cannot be so listed (mainly erasures), $P^x$; and so for the other MSS. Arabic numbers in parenthesis indicate three or more MSS., as follows:

(1) CRMDA (with $B$ from XXIV. vii. 8, and so for each of the numbers below $^1$).
(2) CRMD (3) CRMA (4) CRM (5) CRDA (6) CRD (7) CMDA (8) CMD (9) CMA (10) RMDA (11) RMD (12) RMA (13) RDA (14) MDA

$^1$ Unless $B$ is separately mentioned.
Livy

From the Founding of the City

Book XXIII
T. LIVI

AB URBE CONDITA

LIBER XXIII

I. Hannibal\textsuperscript{1} post Cannensem pugnam castraque\textsuperscript{2} capta ac direpta confestim ex Apulia in Samnium moverat, accitus in Hirpinos a Statio Trebio\textsuperscript{3} pollicente se Compsam traditurum. Compsanus erat Trebius nobilis inter suos; sed premebat cum Mopsiorum factio, familiae per gratiam Romanorum potentis. Post famam Cannensis pugnae volgatumque Trebi sermonibus adventum Hannibalis cum Mopsiani\textsuperscript{4} urbe excessissent, sine certamine tradita urbs Poeno praesidiumque acceptum est. Ibi praeda omni atque impedimentis relictis, exercitu partito Magonem regionis eius urbes aut deficientis ab Romanis accipere aut detractantis cogere ad defectionem iubet, ipse per agrum Campanum mare inferum petit, oppugnaturus Neapolim, ut urbem maritimam haberet. Ubi fines Neapolitanorum

\textsuperscript{1} Hannibal Valla: habeus Hannibal P(1).
\textsuperscript{2} castraque Valla: castra A\textsuperscript{\textregistered}: binaque castra Luchs: \textit{om.} P(1).
\textsuperscript{3} Trebio Gronorius: \textit{om.} P(1).
\textsuperscript{4} Mopsiani Gronorius: compsam P(1).
I. After the battle of Cannae and the capture and plunder of the camps, Hannibal had moved at once out of Apulia into Samnium, being invited into the land of the Hirpini by Statius Trebius, who promised that he would turn over Compsa to him. Trebius was a Compsan of high rank among his people, but opposed by the party of the Mopsii, a family made powerful by the favour of the Romans. After the news of the battle of Cannae, and when the coming of Hannibal had been made known by utterances of Trebius, since the Mopsii had left the city, it was handed over to the Carthaginians without resistance and a garrison admitted. There Hannibal left all his booty and the baggage, divided his army, and ordered Mago either to take over such cities of that region as were deserting the Romans or to compel them to desert in case they refused. He himself made his way through the Campanian region to the Lower Sea,1 intending to attack Neapolis, that he might have a seaport. On entering the territory of the

1 I.e. the Tuscan Sea; cf. xxxviii. 1.
intravit, Numidas partim in insidiis—et pleraeque
cavae sunt viae sinusque occulti—quaemunque apte
poterat disposuit, alios praec se actam praedam ex
agris ostentantis obequitare portis insit. In quos,
quia nce multi et incompositi videbantur, cum turma
equidum erupisset, ab cedentibus consulto tracta in
insidias circumventa est; nce evasisset quisquam,
i mare propinquum et hand procul litore naves,
piscatoriae pleraeque, conspectae peritis nandi
dedissent effugium. Aliquot tamen eo proelio
nobiles iuvenes capti caesique, inter quos et Hegeas,
praefectus equitum, intemperantius cedentes secutus
eccidit. Ab urbe oppugnanda Poenum absterruere
conspecta moenia haudquaquam prompta oppug-
nanti.

II. Inde Capuam flectit iter luxuriantem longa
felicitate atque indulgentia fortunae, maxime tamen
inter corrupta omnia lientia plebis sine modo liber-
tatem exerceentis. Senatum et sibi et plebi obnoxium
Paeuvius Calavius fecerat, nobilis idem ac popularis
homo, ceterum malis artibus nactus opes. Is cum
eo forte anno quo res male gesta ad Trasumennum est
in summo magistratu esset, iam diu infestam senatu
plebem ratus per occasionem novandi res magnm
ausuram facimus ut, si in ea loca Hannibal cum vic-
tore exercitu venisset, trucidato senatu traderet

1 He was called medimtaticus; cf. xxxv. 13. For the defeat
of Flaminius at the Trasumennus cf. XXII. iv ff.
Neapolitans, he stationed some of the Numidians in B.C. 216 ambush, wherever he conveniently could (and most of the roads are deep-cut and the turnings concealed). Other Numidians he ordered to ride up to the gates, making a display of the booty they were driving along before them from the farms. Against these men, because they seemed to be few in number and disorganized, a troop of cavalry made a sally, but being drawn into the ambush by the enemy's purposely retreating, it was overpowered. And not a man would have escaped if the proximity of the sea and the sight of vessels, chiefly of fishermen, not far from the shore had not given those who could swim a way of escape. However a number of young nobles were captured or slain in that battle, among them Hegeas, a cavalry commander, who fell as he rashly pursued the retreating. From besieging the city the Carthaginian was deterred by the sight of walls such as by no means invited an attacker.

II. Hannibal then directed his march to Capua, which was vegetating from long-continued prosperity and the favour of fortune, but, along with the general corruption, especially from the licence of the common people, who enjoyed an unlimited freedom. As for the senate, Pacuvius Calavius, a noble who was at the same time of the people's party, but had gained his influence by base arts, had made it subservient both to himself and to the common people. He, being in their highest office, as it happened, in the year of the defeat at the Trasumennus, thought that the commons, long hostile to the senate, would use the opportunity of a revolution and dare to commit a great crime, namely, if Hannibal should come into the region with his victorious army, they would slay
A.D.C. 38

4 Capuan Poenis, inprobus homo sed non ad extremum perditus, cum mallet incolumi quam exsera re publica dominari, nullam autem incolumem esse orbatam publico consilio erederet, rationem iniit qua et senatum servaret et obnoxium sibi ae plebi faceret. Vocato senatu cum sibi defectionis ab Romanis consilium placitum nullo modo, nisi

6 necessarium fuisset, praefatus esset, quippe qui liberos ex Appii Claudii filia haberet filiamque Romam nuptum M. Livio dedisset; ceterum maiorem multo rem magisque timendam instare; non enim per defectionem ad tollendum ex civitate senatum plebem spectare, sed per caedem senatus vacam rem publicam tradere Hannibali ac Poenis velle;

8 eo se periculo posse liberare eos, si permittant sibi et certaminum in re publica obliti credant,—eum omnes victi metu permitterent, "Claudam" inquit "in curia vos et, tamquam et ipse eogitati facinoris particeps, adprobando consilia quibus nequiquam adversarcr, viam saluti vestrae inveniam. In hoe fidem, quam voltis ipsi, accipite." Fide data egressus claudi curiam iubet, pracsidiumque in vestibulo reliquit, ne quis adire curiam iniusu suo neve inde egredi possit.

III. Tum vocato ad contionem populo "Quod saepe" inquit "optastis, Campani, ut supplicii sumendi vobis ex improbo ae detestabili senatu
the senators and hand over Capua to the Carthaginians. A bad man, but not utterly abandoned, he preferred to dominate a state still intact rather than one that had been wrecked, yet believed that none was intact if deprived of its deliberative body. He accordingly entered upon a scheme to save the senate and at the same time to make it submissive to himself and to the commons. Summoning the senate he began by saying that, unless it should prove necessary, a plan to revolt from the Romans would by no means have his approval, since he had children by a daughter of Appius Claudius and had given a daughter in marriage to Marcus Livius at Rome. But, he went on to say, something much more serious and more to be dreaded was impending; for the common people were not aiming to rid the state of the senate by a revolt, but by the massacre of the senate wished to hand over the republic, left helpless, to Hannibal and the Carthaginians. From that danger he could free them if they should leave it to him, and, forgetting civil conflicts, trust him. When, overcome by fear, they unanimously left matters to him, "I will shut you up," he said, "in the Senate House and, just as if I were myself a sharer in the crime intended, by approving plans which it would be vain for me to oppose, I will find a way to save you. For this accept a pledge, as you yourselves desire." Having given the pledge he went out, ordered the Senate House to be closed and left a guard before the entrance, that no one might be able to enter the Senate House or leave it without his order.

III. Then calling the people to an assembly he said: "You have often desired, Campanians, to have the power to exact punishment from a base and
LIVY

A.U.C. 538

2 potestas esset, cum non per tumultum expugnantes domos singulorum, quas praesidiis clientium servorumque tuentur, cum summo vestro periculo, sed 3 tutam habetis ac liberam; clausos omnis in curia\(^1\) accipite, solos, inermis. Nec quiequam raptim aut forte temere egeritis; de singulorum capite vobis ius sententiae dicendae faciam, ut quas quisque meritus est poenas pendat; sed ante omnia ita vos irae indulgere oportet, ut potiorem ira salutem atque utilitatem vestram habeatis. Etenim hos, ut opinor, odiestis senatores, non senatum omnino habere non 5 voltis; quippe aut rex, quod abominandum, aut, quod unum liberae civitatis consilium est, senatus habendus est. Itaque duas res simul agendae vobis sunt, ut et veterem senatum tollatis et novum 6 cooptetis. Citari singulos senatores iubebo de quorum capite vos consulam; quod de quoque censueritis fiet; sed prius in eius locum virum fortem ac strenuum novum senatorem cooptabitis 7 quam de noxio supplicium sumatur." Inde consedit et nominibus in urnam coniectis citari quod primum sorte nomen excidit ipsumque e curia produci iussit. 8 Ubi auditum est nomen, malum et improbum pro se quisque clamare et supplicio dignum. Tum Paenuius "Video quae de hoc sententia sit; date igitur pro malo atque improbo bonum senatorem et iustum."

10 Primo silentium erat inopia potioris subiciundi; deinde eum aliquis omissa vereundia quempiam

\(^1\) curia \(D^2\) Madvig: curiam \(P(3)D^2\)

8
odious senate. That power you have, not by b.c. 216
riotously storming, with great danger to yourselves,
the houses of individuals who defend them with
garrisons of clients and slaves, but you have the power
secure and unrestricted. As they are shut up there,
every man of them, in the Senate House, seize them,
left alone, unarmed! And do nothing in haste or at
haphazard. I will give you the right to decide their
fate in each separate case, so that each shall pay the
penalty he has deserved. But above all things you
should vent your wrath with due regard to the con-
viction that your safety and advantage are worth
more than wrath. For it is these senators that you
hate, I think; it is not your wish to have no senate
at all. In fact you must either have a king—save
the mark!—or else a senate, the only deliberative
body in a free state. And so you have two things to
do at the same time—to do away with the old senate,
and to choose a new one. I will order the senators
to be called one by one and will consult you as to
their fate. Whatever is your opinion in each case
shall be done, but before punishment is inflicted on the
guilty one you will choose in his place a brave and
active man as a new senator." He then sat down,
and after the names had been placed in the urn, he
ordered the first name drawn by lot to be called and
the man himself to be led out of the Senate House.
On hearing the name every man shouted his loudest,
that he was a bad man and base and deserved punis-
ment. Upon that Pacuvius said: "I see what your
verdict is in this man's case; therefore in place of a
bad man and base nominate a good and just senator."
At first there was silence from their inability to
suggest a better man. Then when someone, over-
Livy

nominasset, multo maiore ex templo clamor oriabatur, cum aliis negarent nosse, aliis nunc probra nunc humilitatem sordidamque inopiam et pudendae artis aut quaestus genus obiecerent. Hoc multo magis in secundo ac tertio citato senatore est factum, ut ipsius pacniter homines appareret, quem autem in eius substituerent loeum deesse, quia nec eosdem nominari attinebat, nihil aliud quam ad audienda probra nominatos, et multo humiliores obscurioresque ceteri erant eis qui primi memoriae occurrerant. Ita dilabi homines, notissimum quodque malum maxime tolerabile dicentes esse inuentesque senatum ex custodia dimitti.

IV. Hoc modo Pacuvius cum obnoxium vitae beneficio senatum multo sibi magis quam plebi fecisset, sine armis iam omnibus concedentibus dominabatur.

2 Hinc senatores omissa dignitatis libertatisque memoria plebem adulari; 1 salutare, benigne invitare, apparatis accipere epulis, eas causas suscipere, ei semper parti adesse, secundum eam litem iudices dare quae magis popularis aptiorque in volgus favori conciliando esset; iam vero nihil in senatu agi aliter quam si plebis ibi esset concilium. Prona semper civitas in luxuriam non ingeniorum modo vitio sed afluenti copia voluptatum et inlecebris omnis amoenitatis maritimaet terrestrisque, tum vero

1 adulari Salmasius: advari P: adfari P²(1).
2 agi Madvig: act P(4): actum CzDA.

1 Capua, prospering by its varied industries established by the Etruscans, was already noted for its wealth and a luxury greater than that of Croton and Sybaris; Polybius VII. i. 1 and III. xci. 6; Cicero Leg. Agr. II. 95; cf. Strabo V. iv. 3.

10
coming his timidity, named a man, at once there was b.c. 21 a much louder outcry. some saying they did not know him, others taunting him, now with shameful conduct, now with low rank and sordid poverty and the disreputable nature of his trade or business. All the more was this done in the case of the second and third senator called. So it was clear that people were dissatisfied with the man himself, but had no one to put in his place. For nothing was gained by once more naming the same men, who had been named only to be reviled. And the rest were much lower in rank and less known than those who first came to mind. Accordingly men slipped away, saying that the most familiar evil is the most endurable, and bidding Paevius release the senate from confinement.

IV. In this way Paevius, having made the senate much more subservient to himself than to the common people by saving their lives, ruled without arms, as all now gave way to him. Thereafter the senators, forgetting their rank and freedom, flattered the common people, greeted them, invited them graciously, entertained them at well appointed feasts; invariably undertook cases, appeared as counsel, or as jurors gave a verdict, only for that side which was the more popular and better suited to win favour with the populace. Moreover, nothing was done in the senate otherwise than if a meeting of the common people was being held there. The state had always been inclined to luxury, not only from defects in character, but also from the abundant opportunity for indulgences and the beguilement of all the charms of sea and land. But at that time, thanks to the servility of the leading men and the
ita obsequio principum et licentia plebei lascivire
ut nec libidini nec sumptibus modus esset. Ad
contemptum legum, magistratum, senatuum accessit
unum, post Cannensem cladem, ut, cuini aliqua ver-
seundi erat, Romanum quoque spernerent imperium.

Id modo erat in mora ne extemplo deficerent, quod
combium vetustum multas familias claras ac potentis
Romanis miscuerat, et 1 cum militarent aliquot 2 apud
Romanos, maximum vinculum erant trecenti equites,
nobilimus quisque Campanorum, in praesidia Sicu-
larum urumb delecti ab Romanis ac missi. V. Horum
parentes cognatique aegre pervicerunt ut legati ad
consulem Romanum mitterentur.

Hic nondum Canusium profectum sed Venusiae cum
paucis ac semiemibus consulem invenerant, quam
poterant 3 maxime miserabilem bonis sociis, superbis
atque infidelibus, ut erant Campani, spernendum.

Et auxit rerum suarum suiique contemptum consul
nimes detegendo cladem nudandoque. Nam cum
legati aegre ferre senatum populumque Campanum
adversi quiequam evenisse Romanis nuntiassent
pollicerenturque omnia quae ad bellum opus essent,

4 "Morem magis" inquit "loquendi cum sociis ser-
vastis, Campani, iubentes quae opus essent ad bellum
imperare, quam convenienter ad praesentem for-

5 tunae nostrae statum locuti estis. Quid enim nobis

1 et Crétier: et quod P(2).4 Conway 2.
2 aliquot (aliquod) P(2).4 2: aliquando Conway, placing
cum-clause after Campanorum.
3 poterant P(1): poterat z.

1 As belonging to the most prominent families and di-
persed among the cities of Sicily, they were in effect hostages.
licence of the common people, they were so un-R.C.216 restrained that no limit was set to passion or to expense. To their contempt for laws, the magistrates, the senate, there was now added, after the defeat at Cannae, their disparagement of the Roman power also, for which there used to be some respect. All that held them back from at once revolting was that the long-established right of intermarriage had united many distinguished and powerful families with the Romans, and that, although a considerable number were serving on the Roman side, the strongest bond was the three hundred horsemen, noblest of the Campanians, who had been chosen to garrison Sicilian cities by the Romans and sent thither.¹ V. Their parents and relatives with difficulty carried their point, that representatives should be sent to the Roman consul. These men found the consul not yet departed for Canusium, but with a few half-armed men at Venusia,² exciting the utmost pity in good allies, but contempt in the haughty and faithless, such as were the Campanians. And the consul increased the contempt for his situation and for himself by needlessly uncovering and laying bare the disaster. For when the delegation had reported that the senate and the Campanian people were distressed that any reverse had befallen the Romans, and were promising everything that might be needed for the war, he said: “You, Campanians, have observed the customary manner of speaking to allies, in bidding me requisition whatever is needed for the war, rather than spoken conformably to the present state of our fortunes.

¹ Immediately after the battle of Cannae; XXII. xlix. 14; liv. 1 and 6.
ad Cannas reliquit est, ut, quasi ¹ aliquid habeamus, id quod deest exponi ab sociis velimus? Pedites vobis imperemus, tamquam equites habeamus? Pecuniam deesse dicamus, tamquam ea tantum desit?

6 Nihil, ne quod suppleremus quidem, nobis reliquit fortuna. Legiones, equitatus, arma, signa, equi virique, pecunia, commatus aut in acie aut binis postero die amissis castris perierunt. Itaque non invetis nos in bello oportet, Campani, sed paene bellum pro nobis suscipiatis. Veniat in mentem, ut trepidos quandam maiores vestros intra mœnia compulso, nee Samnites modo hostem sed etiam Sidicinum pavanis, receptos in fidem ad Saticulam defenderimus, coeptumque propter vos cum Sammitibus bellum per centum prope annos variante fortuna eventum tulerimus. Adicite ad hanc, quod fœcud acquam deditis, quod leges vestras, quod ad extremum, id quod ante Cannensem certe cladem maximum fuit, civitatem nostram magnae parti vestrum dedimus communicavimusque vobiscum. Itaque communem vos hanc cladem quae accepta est credere, Campani, oportet, communem patriam tuendam arbitrari esse. ¹

11 Non cum Samnite aut Etrusco res est, ut quod a nobis ablatum sit in Italia tamquam imperium maneat; Poenus hostis, ne Africae quidem indigena,² ab ultimis terrarum oris, freto Oceani Herculisque

¹ quasi A²: quia P(I).
² indigena P(I): indigenam x Madvig.

¹ On the contrary, it was by aiding the Sidicinians against the Samnites that the Campanians became involved in the 1st Samnite War, 343 B.C.; VII. xxix.
For what has been left to us at Cannae, so that, as if we had something, we may wish what is lacking to be made up by the allies? Are we to requisition infantry from you, as though we had cavalry? Are we to say that money is lacking, as if that alone were lacking? Nothing has fortune left us, even to supplement. Legions, cavalry, arms, standards, horses and men, money and supplies have vanished either in the battle or in the loss of two camps the next day. And so you, Campanians, have not to help us in war, but almost to undertake the war in our stead. Recall how, when your ancestors were once confined in alarm within their walls, dreading not only the Samnite enemy but also the Sidicinian, we took them under our protection and defended them at Saticula. Also how with varying fortunes we endured for almost a hundred years the war begun with the Samnites on your account. Add to this that upon your submission we gave you a fair treaty and your own laws, and finally—and before the disaster at Cannae this was certainly the greatest privilege—our citizenship to a large number of you and shared it with you. A share, then, Campanians, you should believe you have in this disaster which has befallen us, and should think that you must defend the country in which you have a share. Not with the Samnite or Etruscan is the struggle to have the power which has been wrested from us nevertheless remain in Italy. A Carthaginian enemy, not even of African origin, is dragging after him from the farthest limits of the world, from the strait of Ocean and the Pillars of Hercules, soldiers who

2 Really seventy-one years. More rhetorical exaggeration in *propter vos*, and especially in the following sentence.
columnis, expertem omnis iuris et condicionis et linguae prope humanae militem tradit. Hunc natura et moribus inmitem ferumque insuper dux ipse efferavit pontibus ac molibus ex humanorum corporum strue faciendis et, quod proloqui etiam piget, vesi cor-
poribus humanis docendo. His infandis pastos epulis, quos contingere etiam nefas sit, videre atque habere dominos et ex Africa et a Carthagine iura petere et Italian Numidarum ac Maurorum pati provinciam esse, cui non, genito modo in Italia, detestabile sit? Pulchrum erit, Campani, prolapse
clade Romanum imperium vestra fide, vestris viribus retentum ac recuperatum esse. Triginta milia peditum, quattuor milia equitum arbitror ex Cam-
pania scribi posse; iam pecuniae adfatim est fru-
mentique. Si parem fortunae vestræ fidem habetis, nec Hannibal se vicisse sentiet nec Romani vetos esse.”

VI. Ab 2 haec oratione consulis dimissis redcunti-
busque domum legatis unus ex iis, Vibius Virrius, tempus venisse ait quo Campani non agrum solum ab Romanis quondam per iniuriam adempitatum recupe-
rare, sed imperio etiam Italyae potiri possint; foedus cuin cum Hannibale quibus velit legibus facturos; neque controversiam fore quin, cum ipse confecto bello Hannibal victor in Africam decedat exerci-
tumque deportet, Italiae imperium Campanis relin-
quatur. Hace Virrio loquenti adsensi omnes ita

1 Campani : campanis P(1).

1 So Polybius had said of Hannibal’s polyglot troops, oíš oũ νόμος, oũk ēθος, oũ λόγος, κτλ., XI. xix. 4.
2 Livy makes Varro repeat exaggerated statements about Hannibal; cf. Appian Hann. 28.
are unacquainted with any civilized laws and organization and, one may almost add, language too.\footnote{1}

Ruthless and barbarous by nature and custom, these men have been further barbarized by the general himself, in making bridges and embankments of piled up human bodies, and by teaching them—horrible even to relate—to feed upon the bodies of men.\footnote{2} To see and have as our masters men who fatten upon these unspeakable feasts, men whom it is a crime even to touch, and to get our law from Africa and Carthage, and to allow Italy to be a province of the Numidians and the Mauri—who, if merely born in Italy, would not find that abominable? It will be a glorious thing, Campanians, if the Roman power, brought low by disaster, shall have been maintained and restored by your loyalty and your resources. Thirty thousand foot-soldiers and four thousand horsemen can be enrolled from Campania, I believe. Moreover you have sufficient money and grain. If you have a loyalty to match your prosperity Hannibal will not be aware of his victory, nor the Romans of their defeat."

VI. After this speech of the consul the legates were dismissed, and on their way home Vibius Virrius, one of them, said the time had come when the Campanians could not only recover the territory formerly taken from them unjustly by the Romans, but could also gain authority over Italy. For they would make a treaty with Hannibal on their own terms. And there would be no doubt that, when Hannibal, upon the completion of the war, retired as victor to Africa and removed his army, authority over Italy would be left to the Campanians. Having agreed unanimously with these words of Virrius, they
renuntiant legationem uti deletum omnibus videretur nomen Romanum. Extemplo plebes ad defectionem ac pars maior senatus spectare; extracta tamen auctoritatibus seniorum per paucos dies est res. Postremo vincit sententia plurium, ut iisdem legati qui ad consulem Romanum ierant ad Hannibalem mitterentur. Quo priusquam ieretur certumque defectionis consilium esset, Romam legatos missos a Campanis in quibusdam annalibus invenio, postulantes ut alter consul Campanus fieret, si rem Romanam adivueri vellent; indignatione orta summoveri a curia iussos esse, missumque iussor qui ex urbe educeret eos atque eo die manere extra finis Romanos iuberet. Quia umis compar Latinorum quondam postulatio erat, Coeliusque et alii id haud sine causa praetermiserant scriptores, ponere pro certo sum veritus.

VII. Legati ad Hannibalem venerunt pacemque cum eo his condicionibus fecerunt, ne quis imperator magistratusve Poenorum ius ullum in civem Campanum haberet, neve eivis Campanus invitus militaret munusve faceret; ut suae leges, sui magistratus Capuae essent; ut trecentos ex Romanis captivis Poenus daret Campanis, quos ipsi elegissent, eum quibus equitum Campanorum, qui in Sicilia stipendia

1 id haud Aldus: haud Av: sit aut P(4): ita ut CzDA.
3 his z: om. P(1).

1 Not so to Calavius' son; viii. 3 and 11.
2 Cicero mentions this demand of Capua; Leg. Agr. II. 95.
made such a report of their embassy that the Roman name seemed to all to have been blotted out.\textsuperscript{1} At once the populace and most of the senate were aiming to revolt. But action was postponed for a few days by the weighty advice of the older men. Finally the view of the majority prevailed, that the same legates who had gone to the Roman consul should be sent to Hannibal. Before they went to him and before the plan to revolt was settled upon, I find in some of the annals that legates were sent to Rome by the Campanians with the demand that, if they wished them to aid the Roman state, one of the consuls should be a Campanian;\textsuperscript{2} that resentment was aroused and the legates were ordered to be removed from the Senate House, and that a lictor was sent to lead them out of the city and bid them lodge that night outside of Roman territory. Because there was once a suspiciously similar demand made by the Latins,\textsuperscript{3} and Caelius and other historians had not without reason omitted the matter, I have been afraid to set this down as established.

VII. The legates came to Hannibal and made an alliance with him on these terms: that no general or magistrate of the Carthaginians should have any authority over a Campanian citizen, and that no Campanian citizen should be a soldier or perform any service against his will; that Capua should have its own laws, its own magistrates; that the Carthaginian should give the Campanians three hundred of the Roman captives of their own choosing, with whom there should be an exchange of the Campanian

\textsuperscript{3} That one of the consuls should be from Latium, 340 B.C., VIII. v. 5 and 7 (the threat of Manlius mentioned below, xxii. 7).
facercnt, permutatlo fieret. Hace pacta; illa in-
super quam quae pacta erant facinora Campani
ediderunt: nam praefectos socium civisque Romanos
alios, partim aliq'uo militiae munere occupatos,
partim privatis negotiis implicitos, plebs repente
omnis comprehensos velit custodiae causa baleuis
includi iussit, ubi fervore atque aestu anima interclusa
foedum in modum exspirarent.¹

Ea ne fierent neu legatio mittetur ad Poenum,
summa ope Decius Majius, vir cui ad summam
auctoritatem nihil praeter sanam civium mentem
defuit, restiterat. Ut vero praesidium mitti ab
Hannibale andivit, Pyrrhi superbam dominationem
miserabilemque Tarentinorum servitutem exempla
referens, primo ne recipieretur praesidium palam
vociferatus est, deinde ut receptum aut ciceretur aut,
si malum facinus quod a vetustissimis sociis consan-
guincisque defeceisset forti ac memorabili facinore
purgare vellent, ut interfecto Punico praesidio
restituerent Romanis se. Hace—nee enim occulta
agebantur—cum relata Hannibali essent, primo
misit qui vocarent Magium ad sese in castra; deinde,
cum is ferociter negasset se iturum, nee enim Hanni-
bali ius esse in civem Campanum, concitatus ira
Poenus comprehendit hominem vinctumque adtrahi
ad sese iussit. Veritus deinde ne quid inter vim
 tumultus atque ex concitacione animorum ineonsulti
certaminis oreretur, ipse praemisso nuntio ad
Marium Blossium, praetorem Campanum, postero

¹ ex(s)pirarent P(1): exspirarunt Heusinger.
horsemen who were serving in Sicily. Such were the B.C. 216 terms. In addition to what was agreed upon the Campanians perpetrated these misdeeds: the populace suddenly seized prefects of the allies and other Roman citizens, some of them employed in a military duty, some engaged in private business, and with the pretence of guarding them ordered them all to be confined in the baths, that there they might die a terrible death, being suffocated by the extreme heat.

Such conduct and the sending of an embassy to the Carthaginian had been opposed to the utmost by Decius Magius, a man who lacked nothing for the attainment of the highest authority except sanity on the part of the citizens. But when he heard that a garrison was being sent by Hannibal, recalling the haughty rule of Pyrrhus and the wretched servitude of the Tarentines as warning examples, he at first openly protested that the garrison should not be admitted; then, after it had been admitted, either that it should be driven out, or, if they wished to atone for their evil action in having revolted from their oldest allies and men of the same blood by a brave and notable act, that they should slay the Punic garrison and return to their Roman allegiance. When this was reported to Hannibal (for it was not done in secret), he first sent men to summon Magius to him at the camp. Then when the latter replied with spirit that he would not go, for Hannibal had no authority over a Campanian citizen, the Carthaginian was enraged and ordered the man to be seized and brought before him in chains. Later, fearing that in the use of force some commotion, and in view of the excitement some unpremeditated conflict, might occur, he first sent word to Marius Blossius, the
die se Capuae futurum, proficiscitur e castris eum modice praesidio. Marius contione advocata edicit ut frequentes cum coningibus ac liberis obviam irent Hannibali. Ab universis id non oboedienter modo sed enixe, favore etiam volgi et studio visendi tot iam victoriiis clarum imperatorem, factum est. 10Decius Magius nee obviam egressus est nee, quo timorem aliquem ex conscientia significare posset, privatim¹ se tenuit; in foro cum filio clientibusque paucis otiose inambulavit trepidante tota civitate ad 11excipiendum Poenum visendumque. Hannibal ingressus urbem senatum extemplo postulat, precantibusque inde primoribus Campanorum ne quid eo die seriae rei gereret diemque ut² ipse adventu suo 12festum lactus ac libens celebraret, quamquam praeceps ingenio in iram erat, tamen, ne quid in principio negaret, visenda urbe magnam partem dici consumpsit.

VIII. Deversatus est apud Ximnius Celeres, Sthenium Pacuviumque, inclitos nobilitate ac divitiis.

2Eo Pacuvius Calavius, de quo ante dictum est, princeps factionis eius quae traxerat rem ad Poenos, filium iuvenem adduxit abstractum a Deci Magi 3latere, cum quo ferocissime pro Romana societate adversus Punicum foedus steterat, nee eum aut inclinata in partem alteram civitas aut patria maiestas 4sententia depulcerat. Huic tum pater iuveni Hanni-

¹ privatim P(1): privato Gronovius.
² ut P(1): et Gruter.

¹ Chapters ii–iv.
BOOK XXIII. vii. 8–viii. 4

Campanian magistrate, that he would be in Capua the next day, and then he set out from the camp with a small escort. Marius, calling an assembly, ordered them to go out to meet Hannibal _en masse_ with wives and children. This was done by all not only obediently but also eagerly, owing to the enthusiasm of the crowd as well and the desire to go and see a general already famous for so many victories. Decius Magius neither went out to meet him nor remained in seclusion, by doing which he might show some fear due to conscience. He strolled idly in the market-place with his son and a few clients, although the whole city was astir to welcome and to see the Carthaginian. Hannibal entered the city and at once demanded a session of the senate, and then when the leading Campanians begged him not to do any serious business that day, and that he should himself cheerfully and willingly honour the day gladened by his coming, though he was naturally hot-tempered, still in order not to deny them anything at the start, he spent a large part of the day in seeing the city.

VIII. He lodged at the house of the Ninnii Celeres, the brothers Sthenius and Pacuvius, men distinguished for their rank and wealth. To that house Pacuvius Calavius, of whom mention has been made above, leader of the party which had drawn the state to the side of the Carthaginians, came bringing his young son. He had got him away from the company of Decius Magius, with whom the son in the most confident spirit had stood up for the Roman alliance against a treaty with Carthage. And neither the decision of the state for the other side nor his father's high position had dislodged him from his opinion. Such was the young man to whom his father, rather
balem deprecando magis quam purgando placavit, victusque patris precibus laerimisque etiam ad 5 cenam cum cum patre vocari iussit, cui convivio neminem Campanum praeterquam hospites Vibelliunque Tauream, insignem bello virum, adhibiturus 6 erat. Epulari coeperunt de die, et convivium non ex more Punico aut militari disciplina esse sed, ut in civitate atque etiam domo diti ac 1 luxuriosa, 2 omnibus voluptatum inlecebris instructum. Unus nec dominorum invitatione nec ipsius interdum Hannibalis Calavius filius perlici ad 3 vinum potuit, ipse valetudinem excusans, patre animi quoque eius 8 haud mirabilem perturbationem causante. Solis ferme occasu patrem Calavium ex convivio egressum secutus filius, ubi in secretum—hortus erat postieis 9 aedium partibus—pervenerunt, “Consilium” inquit “adfero, pater, quo non veniam solum peccati, quod defecimus ad Hannibalem, impetraturi 4 ab Romanis, sed in multo maiore dignitate et gratia simus Cam- 10 pani quam umquam fuimus futuri.” 5 Cum mirabundus pater quidnam id esset consilii quaereret, toga reiecta ab umero latus succinctum gladio nudat. 11 “Iam ego” inquit “sanguine Hannibalis sanciam Romanum foedus. Te id prius scire volui, si forte abesse, dum facinus patratur, malles.”

IX. Quae ubi vidit audivitque senex, velut si iam 2 agendis quae audiebat interesse, amens metu “Per

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1 diti ae Kreyssig: divad P(1).
2 luxuriosa Gronorius: variosa P(4).
3 perlici ad Heerwagen: perhola P: perholla P2(4).
5 futuri Madrig: om. P(1).
by pleading than by excusing, reconciled Hannibal, b.c. 216
and he, prevailed upon by the father's prayers and
ears, even ordered that the son should be invited
with the father to a dinner at which he was to have
the company of no Campanian except his hosts and
Vibellius Taurea, a distinguished soldier. They
began feasting by daylight, and the banquet was
not according to Carthaginian custom or military
regimen, but provided with all that tempts in-
dulgence, as it was to be expected in a city, and a
house as well, of wealth and luxury. Calavius the
son was the only one who could not be prevailed upon
to drink either by the invitation of the owners or
even, now and then, of Hannibal. He himself
pleaded ill health as an excuse, while his father
alleged distress of mind also, at which one could not
wonder. About sunset the son followed the elder
Calavius coming out from the feast, and when they
had reached a secluded spot—it was a garden in the
rear of the house—he said: "I propose a plan, father,
by which we may not only gain pardon from the
Romans for our offence in having revolted to Hanni-
bal, but as Campanians may be in a position of much
greater respect and favour than we should ever have
been otherwise." When the astonished father asked
what that plan was, the son throwing his toga off
his shoulder bared his side girt with a sword.
"Presently," he said, "I will ratify a treaty with the
Romans by the blood of Hannibal. I wished you to
know that in advance, in case you should prefer not
to be there when the deed is being done."

IX. When the old man saw and heard that, he was
beside himself with fear, as if he were already
present at the execution of the plan of which he was
being told, and said: "I pray and implore you, my son, by all the rights which link children to their parents, not to do and suffer all that is unutterable before the eyes of your father. It is but a few hours since, with an oath by all the gods that exist and joining our right hands to his, we pledged our honour. Was it with the intention, as soon as we left the conference, to arm against him the hands hallowed by our plighted faith? From the hospitable board, to which you were invited by Hannibal with but two other Campanians, do you rise with the intention of staining that very board with the blood of a guest? Was I able as a father to reconcile Hannibal with my son, and can not reconcile my son with Hannibal? But assuming that there is nothing hallowed, no honour, no scruple, no filial devotion, dare to do unspeakable things, if they do not bring destruction to us as well as guilt. Single-handed will you attack Hannibal? What of that crowd, so many free men and slaves? What of all men's eyes fixed upon one man? What of so many sword-hands? Will they be paralysed in the moment of that mad deed? Will you withstand Hannibal's own countenance, which armed forces have been unable to withstand, which the Roman people dreads? Supposing that help from others is lacking, will you bring yourself to strike me, when I interpose my body in place of Hannibal's? And yet it is through my breast that you will have to attack him and run him through. But allow yourself to be dissuaded here, rather than overpowered there. Let my prayers prove effectual with you, as they have proved this day for you." Seeing the young man in tears he threw his arms about his waist, and repeatedly kissing him he did
ante precibus abstitit quam pervicit ut gladium poneret fide&mque daret nihil facturum tale. Tum iuvenis "Ego quidem" inquit "quam patriae debeo pietatem exsolvam patri. Tuam dolce vicem, cui ter proeditae patriae sustinendum est crimen, semel cum defectionem inisti ab Romanis, iterum cum pacis cum Hannibale fuisti auctor, tertio Hodie, cum restituendae Romanis Capuae mora atque impedi-
mentum es. Tu, patria, ferrum, quo pro te armatus hanc arem hostium inii, quoniam parens extorquet, recipe." Hace cum dixisset, gladium in publicum trans maeriam horti abiecit et, quo minus res suspeeta esset, se ipse convivio reddidit.

X. Postero die senatus frequens datus Hannibali. Ubi prima eius oratio perbanda ac benigna fuit, qua gratias egit Campanis quod amicitiam suam Romanae societati praeposuissent, et inter ecter magna magnifica promissa pollicitus est brevi caput Italiae omni Capuam fore iuraque inde eum ecteris populis Romanum etiam petiturum. Unum esse exsortem Punicae amicitiae foederisque secum facti, quem neque esse Campanum neque diei debere, Magium Decium; cum postulare ut sibi dedatur ac se praecente de eo referatur senatusque consultum fiat.

Omnes in eam sententiam ierunt, quamquam magnae parti et vir indignus ea calamitate et haud parvo initio

1 defectionem DxAz: defectione P(2)AŻ: defectionis x Gronovius.
2 inisti : inissa P: missa P²: imissa RM: in(or im)missa CM¹? DA.
3 est Weissenborn: om. P(1).
not desist from entreaties until he had prevailed upon b.c. 216
him to put down his sword and give his pledge that he
would do no such crime. Then the young man said:
"As for me, I will pay my father the debt of devotion
which I owe to my country. For you I am sorry, for
you will have to meet the charge of thrice betraying
your country, once when you took part in the revolt
from the Romans, a second time when you advised
peace with Hannibal, a third time today when you
are an obstacle and a hindrance to restoring Capua
to the Romans. Do you, my country, take back the
sword with which I had armed myself in your defence
and entered this stronghold of the enemy; for my
father wrests it from me." Having thus spoken, he
threw the sword over the garden wall into a street,
and, that his conduct might not be open to suspicion,
himself returned to the banquet.

X. On the following day a full session of the senate
was given to Hannibal. There his speech was at the
outset very genial and kindly, thanking the Cam-
panians for having preferred his friendship to a
Roman alliance. And among his other magnificent
assurances he promised them that Capua should
soon be the capital of all Italy, and that from it
the Roman people along with the rest of the nations
should derive its law. He said that one man had no
part in friendship with Carthage and the treaty made
with himself, namely Magius Decius, a man who
ought neither to be a Campanian nor to be so called;
he demanded that the man be surrendered to him,
and that in his own presence his case be brought up
and a decree of the senate framed. All voted for
that proposal, although it seemed to many of them
that the man did not deserve that misfortune; also
5 minui videbatur ins libertatis. Egressus curia in
templo magistratum consedit comprehendique De-
cium Magium atque ante pedes destitutum causam
6 dicer iussit. Qui cum manente ferocia animi
negaret lege foederis id cogi posse, tum iniectae
catenae, ducique ante lietorem in castra est iussus.
7 Quoad capite aperto est ductus, contentionabundus
incessit ad circumfusam undique multitudinem
vociferans: "Habetis libertatem, Campani, quam
petistis; foro medio, luce clara, videntibus vobis nulli
Campanorum secundus vinctus ad mortem rapior.
8 Quid violentius capta Capua fieret? Ite obviam
Hannibali, exornate urbem diemque adventus eius
consecrate, ut hunc triumphum de cive vestro spec-
tetis."
9 Hace vociferanti, cum moveri volgus videretur,
obvolutum caput est, ociusque rapi extra portam
iussus. Ita in castra perducitur extemploque in-
10 positus in navem ex Carthaginem missus, ne
motu aliquo Capuae ex indignitate rei orto senatum
quoque paeniteret dediti principis et, legatione missa
ad repetendum cum, aut negando rem quam primam
peterent offendendi sibi novi socii, aut tribuendo
habendus Capuae esset seditionis ac turbarum auctor.
11 Navem Cyrenas detulit tempestas, quae tum in
dicione regum erant. Ibi cum Magius ad statuam

\[1 \text{ vociferanti } x : -te \text{ P(1).}\]

\[1 \text{ I.e. of Egypt. Ptolemy IV Philopator was then reigning; XXIV. xxvi. 1.}\]
that the right of liberty was being infringed by a first act that was not insignificant. Leaving the Senate House Hannibal took his seat on the tribune of the magistrates and ordered the arrest of Decius Magius, and that he be placed at his feet and make his defence. While with undaunted spirit Magius was saying that by the terms of the treaty he could not be compelled to do that, chains were put upon him and he was ordered to be led to the camp with a lictor following. So long as they led him with bare head, he kept haranguing as he went, shouting to the crowd all about him: "You have the freedom you wanted, Campanians. Through the middle of the market-place, in broad daylight, before your eyes, I, who am second to no one of the Campanians, am being hurried away in chains to my death. What deed of greater violence could be done if Capua had been taken? Go to meet Hannibal, decorate your city and make the day of his coming a holiday,—that you may witness this triumph over your fellow-citizen."

As he was thus shouting and the populace seemed to be aroused, his head was covered and they were ordered to drag him more swiftly outside the gate. Thus he was led into the camp, at once put on shipboard and consigned to Carthage, for fear, if there should be some outbreak at Capua in consequence of the shameful act, the senate also might regret having surrendered a leading man, and, when an embassy was sent to demand his return, Hannibal either must offend his new allies by refusing their first request, or by granting it be obliged to keep at Capua a fomenter of insurrection and riots. A storm carried the ship to Cyrenae, which was then subject to kings. On fleeing for refuge to the statue of
Ptolomei regis confugisset, deportatus a custodibus
Alexandream ad Ptolomaecum, cum cum docuisset
contra ius foederis vinetum se ab Hannibale esse,
vinelis liberatur, permissumque ut rediret, sen Romam
sen Capuam mallet. Nee Magius Capuam sibi tutam
dierec et Romam eo tempore quo inter Romanos
Campanosque bellum sit trans fugae magis quam
hospitis fore domicilium; nusquam malle quam in
regno eius vivere quem vindicem atque auctorem
habeat libertatis.

XI. Dum hacte geruntur, Q. Fabius Pictor legatus
a Delphis Romam rediit responsunque ex scripto
reeditavit. Divi divaeque in eo erant quibus
quoque modo suppli cateur; tum “Si ita faxitis,
Romani, vestrae res meliores faciioresque erunt,
magisque ex sententia res publica vestra vobis
procedet, victoriaque duelli populi Romani erit.
Pythio Apollini re publica vestra bene gesta servata-
que et 1 lheris meritis donum mittitote deque praeda,
manubiiis spoliisque honorem habetote; lasciviam a
vobis prohibitote.” Hace ubi ex Graeco earnine
interpretata recitavit, tum dixit se oraculo egressum
extemplo iis omnibus divis rem divinam ture ae vino
fecisse; inssumque a templi antistite, siue coronatus
laurea corona et oraculum adisset et rem divinam
fecisset, ita coronatum navem ascendere nec ante

1 e Crévier, Madvig; de Weissenborn: om. P(1) Walters.
King Ptolemy there, Magius was carried under guard b.c. 216 to Ptolemy at Alexandria. And having informed him that he had been bound by Hannibal contrary to his treaty rights, he was freed from his chains and allowed to return to Rome or to Capua, as he might prefer. Magius said that Capua was unsafe for him, and on the other hand, at a time when there was a war between the Romans and the Campanians, Rome would be the abode of a deserter rather than of a guest; that he had no wish to live elsewhere than in the land of a king in whom he found the giver and defender of his freedom.

XI. While these things were going on, Quintus Fabius Pictor \(^1\) returned to Rome from his embassy to Delphi and read from a manuscript the response of the oracle. In it were indicated the gods and goddesses to whom offerings should be made, and in what manner. It continued: "If you do thus, Romans, your situation will be better and easier, and your state will go on more in accordance with your desire, and the Roman people will have the victory in the war. When you have successfully administered and preserved your state, from the gains made you shall send a gift to Pythian Apollo and do honour to him out of the booty, the profits and the spoils. You shall keep yourselves from exulting." After reading these words translated from the Greek verses, he went on to say that, on coming out of the oracle, he had at once made offerings to all those divinities with incense and wine; also that he had been bidden by the high-priest of the temple, just as he had come to the oracle and also conducted the rite while wearing a garland of laurel, so also to wear the garland when he boarded the ship, and not to lay

\(^1\) Quintus Fabius Pictor is a Roman poet and historian who was a contemporary of Polybius.
6 deponere eam quam Romam pervenisset; se, quae-
cumque imperata sint, cum summa religione ac dili-
gentia exsecutum coronam Romae in aram Apollinis
deposuisse. Senatus decrevit ut eae res divinae
supplicationesque primo quoque tempore cum cura
fierent.

7 Dum haec Romae atque in Italia geruntur, num-
tius victoriae ad Cannas Carthaginem venerat Mago
Hamilcaris filius, non ex ipsa acie a fratre missus sed
retentus aliquot dies in recipiendis civitatibus
8 Bruttiorum, quae 1 deficiebant. Is, cum ei senatus
datus esset, res gestas in Italia a fratre exponit:
cum sex imperatoribus eum, quorum quattuor con-
sules, duo dictator ae magister equitum fuerint, cum
9 sex consularibus exercitibus acie confluxisse; occidisse
supra ducenta milia hostium, supra quinquaginta
milia cepisse. Ex quattuor consulibus duos occi-
disse: ex duobus saeculm alterum, alterum toto
amisso exercitu vix cum quinquaginta hominibus
10 effugisse. Magistrum equitum, quae consularis
potestas sit, fuscum fugatum; dictatorem, quia se in
aciem numquam commiserit, unicum haberi impera-
torem. Bruttios Apulosque, partem Samnitium ac
Lucanorum defectisse ad Poenos. Capuam, quod

1 quae A²: quaeq. P(1): Apulorum Lucanorumque quae
Conway (one line).

1 Livy possibly mentioned others besides the Bruttii.
In i. 4 Mago is in Samnium for the same purpose.
2 Five consuls had been defeated by Hannibal: Scipio
(Ticinus), Sempronius (Trebia), Flaminius (Trasumennus)
Paulus and Varro (Cannae). As Scipio was the wounded
consul of § 9, it must be Sempronius who is here omitted.
Yet elsewhere much is made of the battle of the Trebia (xviii. 7;
xlv. 6). A copyist may have written viimperatoribus instead
BOOK XXIII. XI. 5-11

it aside until he should reach Rome. Further, that B.C. 216 he had carried out with the utmost scrupulosity and care all the instructions given him, and had then laid the wreath upon the altar of Apollo at Rome. The senate decreed that at the first opportunity those rites should be duly observed with prayers.

While these things were happening at Rome and in Italy, Mago, the son of Hamilcar, had come to Carthage to report the victory at Cannae. He had not been sent by his brother directly from the battle, but had been detained for some time in taking over the Bruttian states which were revolting. Accused a hearing in the senate, he set forth the achievements of his brother in Italy: that he had fought pitched battles with six high commanders, of whom four were consuls, and two a dictator and a master of the horse, in all with six consular armies; that he had slain over 200,000 of the enemy and captured over 50,000; that of the four consuls he had slain two; of the other two one had fled wounded, the other with barely fifty men, after losing his entire army; that the master of the horse, whose power is that of a consul, had been routed and put to flight; that the dictator was accounted an extraordinary general because he never ventured into battle-line; that the Bruttians and Apulians and some of the Samnites and Lucanians had revolted to the Carthaginians; that of viiim'peratoribus. That done, the change of v to iv (same line and § 9) would be an effort to make the figures tally.

3 Fabius Maximus, the Cunctator, and Minucius Rufus. Both are included among the defeated generals in spite of what is said in regard to the dictator in § 10.
4 Exaggerated figures in both cases.
5 Flamininus and Aemilius Paulus.
6 Scipio at the Ticinus.
7 Terentius Varro.
caput non Campaniae modo sed post adflictam rem Romanam Cannensi pugna Italiae sit, Hannibali se tradidisse. Pro his tantis totque victoriis verum esse grates deis immortalibus agi haberique.

XII. Ad fidem deinde tam lactarum rerum effundi in vestibulo curiae iussit anulos aureos, qui tantus acervus fuit ut metientibus dimidium supra modios explesse sint quidam auctores; fama tenuit, quae propior vero est, haud plus fuisse modo. Adiecit deinde verbis, quo maioris cladis indicium esset, neminem nisi equitem, atque corum ipsorum primores, id gerere insigne. Summa fuit orationis, quo propius spem belli persiciendi sit, eo magis omni ope iuvandum Hannibalem esse; procul enim ab domo militiam esse, in media hostium terra; magnam vim frumenti pecuniae absuini, et tot acies, ut hostium exercitus delesse, ita victoris etiam copias parte aliqua minuisse: mittendum igitur supplementum esse, mittendum in stipendium pecuniam frumentumque tam bene meritis de nomine Punico militibus.

Secundum hae dicta Magonis laetis omnibus Himileo, vir factionis Barcinae, locum Hannonis increpandi esse ratus, "Quid est, Hanno? " inquit," etiam nune paenitet belli suscepti adversus Romanos?

Iube dedi Hannibalem; veta in tam prosperis rebus

1 se $M^4$ (after sit in $A^2$): om. $P(1)$.
2 supra Madvig (rejecting dimidium $P(1)$): super $P M^3(5)$. 

36
Capua, which was the capital not only of Campania, B.C. 216 but, since the blow inflicted upon the Roman state by the battle of Cannae, of Italy also, had surrendered to Hannibal. For these victories, so many and so great, it was proper, he said, that gratitude be expressed and felt toward the immortal gods.

XII. Then in evidence of such successes he ordered the golden rings to be poured out at the entrance of the Senate House. And so great was the heap of them that, when measured, they filled, as some historians assert, three pecks and a half. The prevailing report, and nearer the truth, is that there was not more than one peek. Then, that it might be proof of a greater calamity, he added in explanation that no one but a knight, and even of the knights only those of the higher class, wore that token. The main point of his speech was that the nearer Hannibal came to realizing his hope of ending the war, the more necessary it was to help him by every means. For his campaigning was far from home, in the midst of the enemy's country. A large amount of grain and money was being consumed, he said, and though so many battles had destroyed the enemy's armies, still they had considerably diminished the forces of the victor as well. Therefore they must send reinforcements, they must send money to pay them and grain to soldiers who had deserved so well of the Carthaginian nation.

After these words of Mago, while all were rejoicing, Himilco, a man of the Barca party, thought it an opportunity to rebuke Hanno. "Tell me, Hanno," he said, "is it still to be regretted that we undertook a war against the Romans? Order the surrender of Hannibal! In the midst of such successes forbid the
grates deis immortalibus agi; audiamus Romanum 
senatorem in Carthaginensium curia." Tum Hanno:
"Tacuissem Hodie, patres conscripti, ne quid in 
communi omnium gaudio minus laetum quod esset 
vobis loquerer; nune interroganti senatori, paeni-
teatne 1 adhuc suscepti adversus Romanos belli, si 
retieam, aut superbus aut obnoxius videar, quorum 
alterum est hominis alienae libertatis oblii, alterum 
suae. Respondeam 2 " inquit " Himilconi, non desisse 
paenitere me belli neque desitum ante invictum 
vestrum imperatorem incusare quam finitum ali-
quam tolerabili condicione bellum videro; nee mihi 
pacis antiquae desiderium nulla alia res quam pax 
nova finiet. Itaque ista quae modo Mago iactavit 
Himilconi æterisque Hannibalis satellitibus iam 
lacta sunt: mihi possunt laeta esse, quia res bello 
bene gestae, si volumus fortuna uti, pacem nobis 
aequiorum dabunt; nam si praetermittimus hoc 
tempus quo magis dare quam accipere possimus 
videri pacem, vercor ne habe quoque laetitia luxuriet 
nobis ac vana evadat. Quae tamen nunc quoque 
qualis est? 'Occidi exercitus hostium; mittite 
milites mihi.' Quid aliud rogares, si esses victus?
'Hostium cepi bina castra,' praedae videlicet plena 
et commeatum; 'frumentum et pecuniam date.' 
Quid aliud, si spoliatus, si exutus castris esses, 
peteres? Et ne omnia ipse mirer—mihi quoque

1 paeniteatne Alschefski: paeniteat me P(1).
2 respondeam P2(5),M1: -cad P: -ebo x: -co Madvig 
(or -ebo).

1 As in the last years of the 1st Punic War.
rendering of thanks to the immortal gods! Let us b.c. 216
listen to a Roman senator in the Carthaginian Senate House.” Thereupon Hanno said: “I should have remained silent to-day, members of the senate, for fear of saying something which in the universal rejoicing would bring less joy to you. As it is, when a senator asks me whether it is still a matter of regret that we entered upon a war against the Romans, if I were to remain silent I should be thought either haughty or subservient, of which the one marks a man forgetful of another’s independence, the other a man who forgets his own. I should like to say in reply to Himilco,” he said, “that I have not ceased to regret the war, and will not cease to accuse your invincible commander until I shall see the war ended on some sufferable terms; nor will anything else than a new peace end my longing for the old peace. And so those facts which Mago has just boastfully reported already give joy to Himilco and the other minions of Hannibal, and may give joy to me, since successes in war, if we are willing to make use of our good fortune, will give us a more favourable peace. I mean that if we let slip this moment, when we may be considered as giving, rather than receiving, a peace, I fear that this joy also of ours may run to excess and come to nothing. But even now what is it worth? ‘I have slain armies of the enemy. Send me soldiers!’ What else would you ask for if you had been defeated? ‘I have captured two camps of the enemy,’ full of booty and supplies, of course. ‘Give me grain and money!’ What else would you beg if you had been despoiled, if you had lost your camp? And, not to have all the amazement to myself—for it is right and proper for me too, having
enim, quoniam respondi Himilco ni, interrogare ius fasque est—velim sen Himilico seu Mago respondeat, eum ad internicionem Romani imperii pugnatum ad Cannas sit constetque in defectione totam Italiam esse, primum, ecquis Latini nominis populus defecerit ad nos, deinde, ecquis homo ex quinque et triginta tribubus ad Hannibalem transfugerit?" Cum utrumque Mago negasset, "Hostium quidem ergo" inquit "adhuc nimis multum superest. Sed multitudo ea quid animorum quidve spei habeat seire velim." XIII. Cum id nescire Mago diceret, "Nihil facilium situ est" inquit. "Ecquos legatos ad Hannibalem Romani miserunt de pace? Ecquam denique mentionem pacis Romae factam esse adlatum ad vos est?" Cum id quoque negasset, "Bellum igitur" inquit "tam integrum habemus quam habuimus qua die Hannibal in Italiam est transgressus. Quam varia victoria priore Punico bello fuerit plerique qui meminerimus supersumus. Numquam terra marique magis prosperae res nostrae visae sunt quam ante consules C. Lutatium et A. Postumium fuerunt: Lutatio et Postumio consulibus devicti ad Aegatis insulas sumus. Quod si, id quod di omen avertant, nunc quoque fortuna aliquid variaverit, tum pacem speratis cum vincemur, quam nunc eum vincimus dat nemo? Ego, si quis de pace consulet seu deferenda hostibus seu accipienda, habeo quid sententiae dicam; si de iis quae Mago postulat refertis,

1 Punico P(I): bracketed Gronovius.

1 "Roman War" would seem to us better suited to a speaker addressing Carthaginians. Livy here prefers the Roman standpoint.

2 It was this defeat which brought the previous war to an end, 241 B.C.
answered Himileo, to turn questioner. — I should like B.C. 216
either Himileo or Mago to answer, in the first place, 
whether any state among the Latins has revolted to 
us, although the battle of Cannae meant the utter 
destruction of the Roman power, and it is known that 
all Italy is in revolt; in the second place, whether 
any man out of the thirty-five tribes has deserted to 
Hannibal." On Mago's negative answer to both 
Hanno said: "Accordingly there remains, to be sure, 
a very great number of the enemy. But what spirit, 
what hope that multitude has, I should like to 
know." XIII. As Mago said he did not know, 
"Nothing is easier to know," said Hanno. "Have 
the Romans sent any emissaries to Hannibal suing 
for peace? Has it been reported to you that even 
any mention of peace has been made at Rome?" 
The answer to this also being negative, "Therefore," he said, "we have the war intact, as truly 
as we had on the day on which Hannibal crossed 
into Italy. How often victory shifted in the previous 
Punic War 1 very many of us are alive to remember. 
Never have our fortunes seemed more favourable 
on land and sea than they were before the consulship 
of Gaius Lutatius and Aulus Postumius. But in the 
consulship of Lutatius and Postumius we were 
utterly defeated off the Aegates Islands. 2 And if 
now also—may the gods avert the omen!—fortune 
shall shift to any extent, do you hope that at the 
time of our defeat we shall have a peace which no one 
gives us now when we are victorious? For myself, if 
some one is about to bring up the question either of 
offering peace to the enemy or of accepting it, I know 
what opinion to express. But if you are raising the 
question of Mago's demands, I do not think it to the
Livy

A.D.C.

538

nee victoribus mitti attinere puto et frustrantibus nos falsa atque inani spe\(^1\) multo minus censeo mittenda esse."

6 Haud multos movit Hannonis oratio; nam et simulatas cum familia Barcina leviorem auctorem faciebat et occupati animi praesenti laetitia nihil quo vanius fieret gaudium suum auribus admittebant, debellatumque mox fore, si adniti paulum voluissent, rebantur. Itaque ingenti consensu fit senatus consulum ut Hannibali quattuor milia Numidarum in supplementum mitterentur et quadraginta elephanti et argenti talenta . . . que\(^2\) cnum Magone in Hispaniam praemissus est ad conducenda viginti milia peditum, quattuor milia equitum, quibus exercitus qui in Italia quique in Hispania erant supplerentur.

XIV. Ceterum haece, ut in secundis rebus, segniter otioseque gesta; Romanos praeter insitam industriam animis fortuna etiam cunctari prohibebat. Nam nee consul ulli rei quae per eum agenda esset decret, et dictator M. Iunius Pera rebus divinis perfectis latoque, ut solet, ad populum ut equum escendere licet, praeter duas urbanas legiones, quae principio anni a consulibus conscriptae fuerant, et servorum dilectum cohortesque ex agro Piceno et Gallico

\(^1\) spe Gronorius: que P(8): quae C\(^4\)R: om. A.
\(^2\) A lost numeral (D?) and a general's name (Carthalo Madvig) have been corrupted into dictator(que) P(1).

1 Infantry are not mentioned as to be sent from Carthage. Mercenaries were to be engaged in Spain and sent thence to Hannibal.

2 In fact Mago is still at Carthage in xxxii. 5.
point to send those things to victors, and I think it B.C. 216 much less necessary to send them to men who are deluding us with a hope unfounded and empty."

Not many were moved by Hanno's speech. For the feud with the Barea family made his advice less weighty, and then minds filled with the joy of the moment would not listen to anything which made their rejoicing less well-founded. And they thought that, if they were willing to add a little to their efforts, the war would soon be finished. Accordingly the senate with great unanimity decreed that four thousand Numidians should be sent to Hannibal as a reinforcement; also forty elephants and ... silver talents. And ... was sent in advance to Spain with Mago, for the purpose of hiring twenty thousand infantry and four thousand horse, to reinforce the armies that were in Italy and those in Spain.

XIV. But, as usual in prosperous times, these measures were carried out without spirit and in leisurely fashion, while the Romans, in addition to their inborn activity, were prevented by misfortune also from delaying. That is, the consul was not found wanting in anything which it was his to do, and the dictator, Marcus Junius Pera, after performing the religious rites, proposed to the people according to custom a bill allowing him to be mounted. And then, in addition to the two city legions which had been enrolled by the consuls at the beginning of the year, and the levy of slaves, also the cohorts raised from the Picene and Gallic districts, he stooped

3 The dictator, as commander of the infantry, was by tradition unmounted. Special permission could be obtained from the people, as here, or from the senate, as Plutarch has it in Fabius IV.
collectas, ad ultimum prope desperatae rei publicae 3 auxilium, cum honesta utilibus cedunt, descendit edicitque qui capitalem fraudem ausi quique pecuniae indicati in vinculis essent, qui eorum apud se milites fieren, eos noxa pecuniaque sese exsolvi iussurum. Ea sex milia hominum Gallicis spoliis, quae triumpho C. Flamini tralata erant, armavit, itaque cum viginti quinque milibus armatorum ab urbe proficiscitur.

5 Hannibal Capua recepta cum iterum Neapolitanaorum annos partim spe, partim metu nequiquam temptasset, in agrum Nolamum exercitum traducit, ut non hostiliter statim, quia non desperabat voluntarium deditionem, ita, si morarentur spem, nihil eorum quae pati aut timere possent praetermissurus.

6 Senatus ac maxime primores eius in societate Romana cum fide perstare; plebs novarum, ut solet, rerum atque Hannibalis tota esse metumque agro- rum populationis et patienda in obsidione multa graviora indignaque proponere animo; neque auctores defectionis deecrant. Itaque ubi senatum metus cepit, si propalam tendarent, resisti multitudini concitatae non posse, secunda simulando dilatationem mali inveniunt. Placere enim sibi defectionem ad Hannibalem simulant; quibus autem condicionibus in foedus amicitiamque novam transeant, parum constare. Ita spatio sumpto legatos propere ad praetorem Romanum Marcellum Claudium, qui

1 pecuniae z: pecunia P(1).
2 secunda simulando C.M]: secunda simulanda simulando P(12); obscecundando Gronovius.
to that last defence of a state almost despaired of, b.c. 216
when honour yields to necessity: namely, he issued an edict that, if any men who had committed a capital offence, or were in chains as judgment debtors, should become soldiers under him, he would order their release from punishment or debt. Six thousand such men he armed with Gallic spoils which had been carried in the triumph of Gaius Flaminius, and thus set out from the city with twenty-five thousand armed men.

Hannibal, after gaining possession of Capua and vainly trying, partly by hope, partly by fear, to work for the second time upon the feelings of the Neapolitans, led his army over into the territory of Nola. Though this was not at first with hostile intent, since he did not despair of a voluntary surrender, still he was ready, if they baulked his hope, to omit none of the things which they might suffer or fear to suffer. The senate and especially its leading members stood loyally by the alliance with Rome. But the common people, as usual, were all for a change of government and for Hannibal; and they called to mind the fear of devastation of their lands and the many hardships and indignities they must suffer in case of a siege. And men were not lacking to propose revolt. Accordingly the senators, now obsessed by the fear that, if they should move openly, there could be no resisting the excited crowd, found a way to postpone the evil by pretending agreement. For they pretend that they favour revolt to Hannibal, but that there is no agreement as to the terms on which they may go over to a new alliance and friendship. Thus gaining time, they send emissaries in haste to the Roman praetor, Marcellus Claudius, who

45
Casilini cum exercitu erat, mittunt docentque quanto in discrimine sit Nolana res: agrum Hannibalis esse et Poenorum, urbem extemplo futuram n
subveniatur: corcedendo plebei senatum ubi velit defecturos se, ne deficere praefestinarent effecisse.

12 Marcellus conlaudatis Nolanis eadem simulatione extrahi rem in suum adventum iussit; interim celari quae secum acta essent spemque omnem auxilii

13 Romani. Ipse a Casilino Caiatiam petit atque inde Volturno anni traiecto per agrum Saticulanum Trebianumque super Suessulam per montis Nolam pervenit.

XV. Sub adventum praetoris Romani Poenus agro Nolano excessit et ad mare proxime Neapolim descendit, cupidus maritimi oppidi potiundi, quo
2 cursus navibus tutus ex Africa esset. Ceterum postquam Neapolim a praefecto Romano teneri accept—M. Iunius Silanus erat, ab ipsis Neapolitanis accitus—, Neapoli quaquo, sicut Nola, omissa

3 petit Nuceriam. Eam cum aliquamdiu circumsequisset, saepe vi saepe sollicitandis nequiquam nunc plebe, nunc principibus, fame demum in deditionem accept, pactus ut inermes cum singulis abirent
4 vestimentis. Deinde ut qui a principio mitis omnibusItalicis praeter Romanos videri vellet, præmia atque honores qui remanserint ac militare secum voluis-

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1 per Otto: perque P(1).
2 remanserint x: remanserant PC1(10).

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1 Marcellus had been sent to Cannium directly after the battle of Cannae to take command (XXII. lvi. 1), and is now near Capua.
2 This wide detour into mountain country was in order to avoid meeting Hannibal.
was at Casilinum\(^1\) with his army, and inform him in B.C. 216 what danger the Nolan state is placed; that its territory is in the hands of Hannibal and the Carthaginians, and that the city will be so at once, if help be not given; that the senate, by conceding to the common people that they would revolt whenever the people wished, had prevented their making haste to revolt. Marcellus, after warmly praising the men of Nola, bade them postpone matters by the same pretence until his arrival; in the meantime to conceal the dealings they had had with him and all hope of Roman aid. He himself went from Casilinum to Caiatia, and thence, after crossing the river Volturnus, made his way to Nola through the territory of Saticula and that of Trebia, above Sus-sula and through the mountains.\(^2\)

XV. Upon the arrival of the Roman praetor the Carthaginian left the territory of Nola and came down to the sea near Neapolis, desiring to gain possession of a coast town to which ships might have a safe passage from Africa. But on learning that Neapolis was held by a Roman prefect—it was Marcus Junius Silanus, who had been called in by the Neapolitans themselves—he turned aside from Neapolis also, as he had from Nola, and made for Nuceria. He had besieged that city for some time, often attacking, often attempting in vain to win over the populace, and at another time the leading citizens, when at last by starving them he gained their surrender, stipulating that they leave unarmed and with one garment only. And then, as from the beginning he had wished to be thought merciful to all Italians except the Romans, he promised rewards and honours to any who remained and would serve under
sent proposuit. Nee ea spe quemquam tenuit; dilapsi omnes, quocumque hospitia aut fortuitus animi impetus tulit, per Campaniae urbes, maxime
Nolam Neapolimque. Cum ferme triginta senatores, ac forte primus quisque, Capuam petissent, exclusi inde, quod portas Hannibali clausissent, Cumas se contulerunt. Nuceriae praeda militi data est, urbs direpta atque incensa.

Nolam Marcellus non sui magis fiducia praesidii quam voluntate principum habebat; plebs timebatur et ante omnis L. Bantius, quem conscientia temptatae defectionis ac metus a praetore Romano nune ad pro- 
ditionem patriae, nune, si ad id fortuna defuisset, ad
transfugiendum stimulabat. Erat iunenis acer et sociorum ea tempestate prope nobilissimus eques. Seminecem eum ad Cannas in accervo caesorum corporum inventum curatumque beneigne etiam eum
donis Hannibal domum remiserat. Ob eius gratiam meriti rem Nolanam in ins dicionemque dare voluerat Poeno, anxiumque eum et sollicitum cura novandi
res praetor cernebat. Ceterum eum aut poena cohi-
bendus esset aut beneficio conciliandum, sibi adsump-
sisse quam hostiademisse fortem ac strenuum maluit
socium, accitumque ad se beneigne appellat: multos
eum invidos inter popularis habere inde existimatu 
facile esse quod nemo civis Nolanus sibi indicaverit
And yet he did not hold anyone by that hope. B.C. 216

They all dispersed, wherever hospitality or impulse happened to carry them, among the cities of Campania, especially Nola and Neapolis. About three hundred senators, and as it chanced all the most prominent, came to Capua, and being refused admission because they had closed their gates to Hannibal, went to Cumae. At Nuceria the booty was given to the soldiers, the city sacked and burned.

As for Nola, Marcellus held it not more by confidence in his force than by the good-will of the leading citizens. He was apprehensive of the common people and above all of Lucius Bantius, who was impelled by the consciousness of an attempted revolt and by fear of the Roman praetor, now to betray his native city, now, if fortune should not favour him in that, to desert. He was a young man of spirit and at that time almost the best-known horseman among the allies. He had been found half-dead at Campae in a pile of the slain; and Hannibal, after nursing him kindly, had sent him home, even adding gifts. Out of gratitude for that service Bantius had wished to put the state of Nola under the authority and rule of the Carthaginian. And the praetor saw that he was troubled and tormented by his desire for a revolution. But since he had either to be restrained by punishment or else won over by kindness, Marcellus preferred rather to gain for himself a brave and energetic ally than merely to take such a man away from the enemy, and summoning him addressed him kindly. It was easy, he said, to judge that he had among his countrymen many who envied him, and this from the fact that no citizen of Nola had told the speaker how many were his
quam multa eius egregia facinora militaria essent;  
12 sed qui in Romanis militaverit castris, non posse  
obscuram eius virtutem esse. Multos sibi, qui cum  
eo stipendia fecerint, referre qui vir esset ille, quae-  
que et quotiens pericula pro salute ac dignitate populi  
13 Romani adisset, utique Cannensi proelio non prius  
pugna abstiterit quam prope exsanguis ruina super-  
incidentium virorum, equorum armorumque sit  
14 oppressus. "Itaque macte virtute esto" inquit;  
"apud me tibi omnis honos atque omne praemium  
erit, et quo frequentior mecum fueris, senties eam  
15 rem tibi dignitati atque emolumento esse." Laeto-  
que iuveni promissis equum eximium dono dat,  
bigatosque quingentos quaestorem numerare iubet;  
liectoribus imperat ut cum se adire quotiens velit  
patiantur. XVI. Hae comitate Marcelli ferocis  
iuvenis animus adeo est mollitus ut nemo inde  
sociorum rem Romanam fortius ac fidelius iuverit.  
2 Cum Hannibal ad portas esset—Nolam enim  
rursus a Nuceria movit castra—plebesque Nolana  
3 de integro ad defectionem spectaret, Marcellus sub  
adventum hostium intra muros se recepit, non castris  
metuens sed ne prodendae urbis occasionem nimis  
4 multis in eam inminentibus daret. Instrui deinde  
utrimque acies coeptae, Romanorum pro moenibus  
Nolae, Poenorum ante castra sua. Proelia hinc  
parva inter urbem castraque et vario eventu siebant,

1 These silver coins at that time bore the image of Diana  
(of Victory not long after) driving a two-horse chariot (biga).
brilliant feats of arms. But to a man who had served in the Roman camp his bravery could not be unknown. Many who had been in the service with Bantius were telling the speaker what a man he was, and what dangers he had incurred for the safety and honour of the Roman people, and how often; also how at the battle of Cannae he had not ceased fighting until, almost lifeless, he had been overwhelmed by the mass of men, horses and arms that fell upon him. "And so," he said, "all honour to your courage! Under me you will have every advancement and every reward, and the more constantly you are with me, the more you will feel that it is a distinction and an advantage to you." The youth was delighted with the promises, and Marcellus gave him a fine horse and ordered the quaestor to pay him five hundred denarii. ¹. The lictors were bidden to allow him access to the commander whenever he wished. XVI. By this kindliness on the part of Marcellus the high spirit of the young man was so tempered that thereafter none of the allies more bravely and loyally aided the Roman cause.

While Hannibal was at the gates—for he again moved his camp from Nuceria to Nola—and the common people of Nola were making fresh plans to revolt, Marcellus, upon the arrival of the enemy, withdrew within the walls, not fearing for his camp, but lest he give the great number who were impatient for it an opportunity to betray the city. Then on both sides they began to form their battle-lines, the Romans before the walls of Nola, the Carthaginians in front of their camp. Thereupon there were small engagements with varying results in the space between the city and the camp, since the commanders
quia duces nee prohibere paucos temere provocantis\(^1\) nee dare signum universae pugnae volebant. In hac cotidiana duorum exercituum statione principes Nolorum nuntiant Marcello nocturna conloquia inter plebem ae Poenos fieri statutumque esse ut, cum Romana acies egressa portis foret,\(^2\) impedimenta eorum ac sarcinas diriperent, clauderent deinde portas murosque occuparent, ut potentes rerum suarum atque urbis Poenum inde pro Romano acciperent.


10 Hannibali sub signis, id quod per aliquot dies fecerat, ad multum diei in acie stanti primo miraculo esse quod nec exercitus Romanus porta egrederetur nec armatus quisquam in muris esset. Ratus deinde

\(^{1}\) provocantis \(M^{1}\),\(^{2}\): procantis \(P CR^{2} M\) : procursantis Luchi.

\(^{2}\) foret Gronovius : iret \(P(1)\) : staret Weissenborn.
wished neither to forbid small numbers who rashly challenged the enemy, nor to give the signal for a general engagement. During this daily guard-duty of the two armies leading citizens of Nola reported to Marcellus that conferences between the common people and the Carthaginians were taking place by night; and that it had been settled that, when the Roman force should be outside the gates and in line, they would plunder their baggage-train and their packs, then close the gates and take possession of the walls, so that, having the control of their affairs and the city in their own hands, they would then admit the Carthaginian instead of the Roman. This being reported to Marcellus, he warmly praised the senators of Nola and resolved to try the fortune of battle before there should be any movement in the city. At the three gates facing the enemy he drew up his army in three sections. He ordered the baggage to bring up the rear, the camp-servants and sutlers and incapacitated soldiers to carry stakes. At the middle gate he posted the pick of the legionaries with the Roman cavalry, at the two gates to right and left the recruits, light-armed and cavalry of the allies. The men of Nola were forbidden to approach the walls and gates, and the forces to be used as reserves were assigned to the baggage, in order to prevent an attack upon it while the legions were fighting. In this formation they were standing inside the gates.

Hannibal, who remained in battle-line under the standards until late in the day, as he had done for several days, at first wondered that the Roman army did not come out of the gate and that there was not one armed man on the walls. Then, supposing
prodita conloquia esse metuque resides factos, partem militum in castra remittit iussos propere adparatum omnem oppugnandae urbis in primum aciem adferre, satis fidens, si cunctantibus instaret, tumultum aliquem in urbe plebem moturam. Dum in sua quisque ministeria discursu trepidat ad prima signa succeditque ad muros acies, patet facta repente porta Marcellus signa canere clamoremque tolli ac pedites primum, deinde equites, quanto maximo possent impetu in hostem erumpere iubet. Satis terroris tumultusque in aciem mediam intulerant, cum duabus circa portis P. Valerius Flaccus et C. Aurelius legati in cornua hostium erupere. Addidere clamorem lixae calonesque et alia turba custodiae impedimentorum adposita, ut paucitatem maxime spernentibus Poenis ingenti repente exercitus speciem fecerit. Vix equidem ausim adfirmare, quod quidam auctores sunt, duo milia et octingentos hostium caesos non plus quingentis Romanorum amissis; sed sive tanta sive minor victoria fuit, ingens eo die res ac nescio an maxima illo bello gesta est: non vinci enim ab Hannibale difficilius fuit quam postea vincere.

XVII. Hannibal spe potiundae Nolae adempta cum Acerras recessisset, Marcellus extemplo clausis portis custodibusque dispositis, ne quis egredderetur,

1 amissis; sed Alschefski: amisisset PMD2 Rv: amissae CM2: amissse sed A.
2 est Freinsheim: sit P(1).
3 After Hannibale P(1) have vinctibus (with tum or tunc x): vinci timentibus Weissenborn, Conway.
the conferences to have been betrayed, and that inaction was the result of fear, he sent part of his soldiers back to the camp, with orders to bring up in haste to the front line all the equipment for besieging the city. He was quite confident that, if he should press the hesitating, the common people would stir up some outbreak in the city. While they were scattering to their several duties and hastening to the first standards, and the line was advancing to the walls, the gate suddenly opened and Marcellus ordered the trumpets to be sounded and a shout raised; that infantry at first, and then cavalry should sally out against the enemy with all the dash possible. They had carried sufficient panic and confusion into the centre, when Publius Valerius Flaccus and Gains Aurelius, his lieutenants, sallied out of the two gates on this side and that, to attack the enemy’s wings. Sutlers and camp-servants raised another shout, as did the rest of the crowd stationed to guard the baggage so that the shouting gave the sudden impression of a very large army to the Carthaginians, who particularly despised their small numbers. I should hardly venture to assert, what some have affirmed, that 2800 of the enemy were slain, while not more than 500 of the Romans were lost. But whether the victory was on such a scale or less, a very great thing, I rather think the greatest in that war, was accomplished that day. For not to be defeated by Hannibal was a more difficult thing than it was later to defeat him.

XVII. Now that Hannibal had lost hope of gaining Nola and had retired to Acerrae, Marcellus at once closed the gates, stationed guards to prevent anyone from leaving, and carried on in the forum an
quaestionem in foro de iis qui clam in conloquis hostium fuerant habuit. Supra septuaginta damnatos proditionis securi percussit bonaque corum iussit publica populi Romani esse, et summa rerum senatui tradita cum exercitu omni profectus supra Suessulam castris positis consedit. Poenus Acerras primum ad voluntariam deditionem conatus perlicere, inde postquam obstinatos videt, obsidere atque oppugnare parat. Ceterum Acerranis plus animi quam virium erat; itaque desperata tutela urbis, ut circumvallari moenia viderunt, priusquam continuarentur hostium opera, per intermissa munimenta neglectasque custodias silentio noctis dilapsi, per vias inviaque qua quemque aut consilium aut error tulit, in urbes Campaniae, quas satis certum erat non mutasse fidem, perfugerunt.

7 Hannibal Acerris direptis atque incensis, cum a Casilino dictatorem Romanum legionesque novas acciri muniassent, ne quid tam propinquis hostium castris Capuae quoque moveretur, exercitum ad Casilinum ducit. Casilinum eo tempore quingenti Praenestini habebant cum paucis Romanis Latinique nominis, quos eodem audita Cannensis clades contulerat. Hi, non confecto Praeneste ad diem dilectu, serius profecti domo cum Casilinum ante famam adversae pugnae venissent, et, aliis adgregantibus sese Romanis sociisque, profecti a Casilino cum satis

1 inde P(1), but after obstinatos; before postquam Walters.
2 Casilino A² Valla: Casino P(1).
4 ne quid Lipsius: ne quis P(1): ne quid novi Walters.
in\textbf{vestigation} of those who had been in secret confer-
\textbf{ences} with the enemy. Over seventy having been con-
demned as traitors, he beheaded them and ordered that their possessions should be public property of the
\textbf{Roman people.} And setting out with his whole army,
after turning over the government to the senate, he
pitched camp and established himself above Suessula.
The \textbf{Carthaginian first tried to entice Acerrae into a}
voluntary surrender; then, seeing them steadfast,
prepared to blockade and attack them. But the
\textbf{men of Acerrae had more courage than resources.}
Accordingly they gave up hope of defending the
city, and when they saw that their walls were being
circled, before the enemy's works should be made
continuous, they slipped away in the dead of night
through the gaps in the earthworks and through
neglected guard-posts. Making their way along the
roads and where there were none, just as prudence
or chance guided the wanderer, they fled for refuge
to those cities of Campania of which it was known
that they had not changed sides.

After plundering and burning Acerrae, when word
had come from Casilinum that the Roman dictator
and fresh legions were being summoned, Hannibal
led his army to Casilinum, in order to prevent any
uprising at Capua also, while the enemy's camp was
so near. Casilinum was at that time held by five
hundred Praenestines, with a few Romans and Latins,
whom the news of the disaster at Cannae had brought
thither. As the levy at Praeneste was not completed
at the proper date, they had been late in setting out
from home, and had reached Casilinum before the
news of the defeat. And joined by others, Romans
and allies, they set out from Casilinum and, as
Livy

magno agmine iurent, avertit eos retro Casilinum
10 mutius Cannensis pugnae. Ibi cum dies aliquot, suspecti Campanis timentesque, cavendis ac struendis
in vicem insidiis traduxissent, ut de Capuae defec-
tione agi accipique Hannibalem satis pro certo
habuere, interfectis nocte oppidanis partem urbis,
quae eis Volturnum est—co enim dividitur amnii—
occupavere, idque præsidii Casilini habebant Ro-
11 mani. Additur et Perusina cohors, homines quad-
ringenti sexaginta, codem munito quo Praenestini
12 paucos ante dies, Casilinum compulsi. Et satis
ferme armatorum ad tam exigua moenia et flumine
altera parte cineta tuenda erat: penuria frumenti
nimium etiam ut videretur hominum efficiebat.

XVIII. Hannibal cum iam inde haud procul esset,
Gaetulos cum praefecto nomine Isalca praemittit ac
primo, si fiat conloquii copia, verbis benignis ad
portas aperiundas praesidiumque accipiendum perli-
cere iubet: si in pertinacia perstent, vi rem gerere
ae temptare si qua parte invadere urbem possit.
2 Ubi ad moenia adcesseret, quia silentium erat, solitudo
visa; metuque concessum barbarus ratus moliri
3 portas et claustra refringere parat, cum patefactis
repente portis cohortes duae, ad id ipsum instructae
intus, ingenti eum tumultu erumpunt stragemque
4 hostium faciunt. Ita primis repulsis Maharbal cum

1 The right (north) bank of the river.
they were proceeding in a fairly large column, the b.c. 216
report of the battle of Cannae turned them back again to Casilinum. There, being suspected by the
Campanians and apprehensive, they spent some days
in alternately guarding against plots and hatching
them. When credibly informed that the revolt of
Capua and Hannibal's entry were being negotiated,
they slew townspeople in the night and seized that
part of the city which is on this side of the Vol-
turnus—for it is divided by that river; and this
was the garrison the Romans had at Casilinum. It
was joined by a cohort from Perusia, four hundred and
sixty men, who had been driven to Casilinum by the
same news as the Praenestines a few days before.
And there were quite enough men to defend so small
a walled city, bounded on one side by the river.
But the lack of grain made it seem that there were
even too many men.

XVIII. Hannibal, being now not far away, sent
his Gaetulians ahead under a prefect named Isalea.
And he ordered him, if there should be an opportunity
for a conference, at first by kind words to entice them
to open the gates and admit a garrison; but if they
persisted in their obstinacy, to use force and see
if at some point he could make his way into the city.
When they approached the walls, because of the
stillness they thought them deserted. And the
barbarian, supposing the garrison had withdrawn in
alarm, was preparing to force the gates and break
open the bars, when suddenly the gates were opened
and the two cohorts, drawn up inside for that very
purpose, sallied out with a mighty uproar, and
wrought havoc among the enemy. The first troops
being thus beaten back, Maharbal, who had been
Livy

5 maiore robore virorum missus nec ipse eruptionem cohortium sustimuit. Postremo Hannibal castris ante ipsa moenia oppositis\(^1\) parvam urbem parvumque praesidium summa vi atque omnibus copiis oppugnare parat, ac dum instat lacescitque, corona undique circumdatae moenibus, aliquot milites et promptissimum quemque e muro turribusque iectos amisit. Semel ultrdrosumentes agmine elephanto\(^2\)m opposito prope interchusit tremidosque conpulit in urbem satis mult\(^3\)s ut ex tanta paucitate interfectis, Plures e\(^4\)c
cidissent ni nox proelio intervenisset.

6 Postero die omnium animi ad oppugnandum accenduntur, utique postquam corona aurea muralis proposita est, atque ipse dux castelli plano loco positi sequens oppugnationem Sagunti expugnatoribus exprobrabat, Cannarum Trasumennique et Trebiae singulos admonens universosque. Inde vineae quoque coeplae agi cuniculique; nee ad varios conatus hostium aut vis u\(^5\)lla aut ars deerat sociis Romanor\(^6\)um. Propugnacula adversus vineas statuere, transversis cuniculis hostium cuniculos excipere, et palam et clam coeptis obviam ire, donec pudor etiam Hannibalem ab incepto avertit, castrisque communitis ac praesidio modico imposito, ne omissa res videretur, in hiberna Capuam concessit.

10 Ibi partem maiorem hiemis exercitum in tectis

\(^1\) oppositis \(P(1): \) positis \(x \) \(M\)advig.

\(^2\) The elephants sent by order of the Carthaginian senate (xiii. 7) must have arrived. Of those he had brought from Spain only one reached Central Italy (XXII. ii. 10).

\(^3\) Awarded to the first man to scale the wall of a city; Polybius VI. xxxix. 5; Livy XXVI. xlviii. 5; Gellius V. vi. 16 and 19.

\(^4\) Cf. XXI. xv.
sent with a larger number of picked men, was like-wise unable to withstand the sally of the cohorts. Finally Hannibal pitched his camp directly before the walls and prepared to assault the small city and small garrison with the greatest violence and with all his forces. And while he was pressing the attack, the walls being completely encircled by his men, he lost a considerable number, the most active at that, being hit by missiles from the wall and the towers. When they actually sallied out once, he almost cut off their retreat by sending a column of elephants against them, and drove them in alarm into the city, after a good number, for so small a force, had been slain. More would have fallen if night had not interrupted the battle. On the next day all were fired to make the assault, especially after a mural crown of gold was displayed to them, and the general himself kept making their spiritless attack upon a fort on level ground a reproach to the captors of Saguntum, reminding them singly and collectively of Cannae and Trasumennus and Trebia. Then they began to push forward their sheds also and mines. And to meet the different attempts made by the enemy no kind of activity, no ingenuity, proved lacking to the allies of the Romans. They set up defences to meet the sheds; by transverse mines they intercepted the enemy’s mines; they forestalled his attempts both visible and invisible, until shame helped to divert Hannibal from his undertaking. And after fortifying his camp and posting a small garrison, that the attempt might not appear to have been abandoned, he retired into winter-quarters at Capua.

There he kept under roofs for the greater part of
LIVY

habuit, adversus omnia humana mala saepe ac din
duratum, bonis inexpertum atque insuetum. Itaque,
quos nulla mali vicerat vis, perdidere minia bona ac
voluptates inmodicae, et co impensius quo avidius ex
insolentia in cas se mererant. Somnus enim et
vinum et epulae et scorta balineaque et otium con-
suetudine in dies blandius ita enervaverunt corpora
animosque ut magis deinde praeteritae victoriae eos
quam praesentes tutarentur vires, maioseque id
peceatum dueis apud peritos artium militarium
haberetur quam quod non ex Cannensi acie protinus
ad urbe Romanam duissset: illa enim cunctatio
distulisse modo victoriam videri potuit, hic error
vires ademisse ad vincendum. Itaque hercule, velut
si cum alio exercitu a Capua exiret, nihil usquam
pristinae disciplinae tenuit. Nam et redierunt
plerique scortis impliciti, et, ubi primum sub pellibus
haberi coepti sunt, viaque et alius militaris labor
exceptit, tironum modo corporibus animisque deficie-
bant, et deinde per omne aestivorum tempus magna
pars sine communitibus ab signis dilabebantur, neque
aliae latebrae quam Capua desertoribus erant.

XIX. Ceterum mitescente iam hieme ducto ex
hibernis militae Casilimum rehit. ubi, quamquam ab
oppugnatione cessatum erat, obsidio tamen continua

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1 For the effect of wintering at Capua cf. Xiv. 4 (the famous
epigram, as if from the lips of Marcellus), and ib. 6 (Hannibal's
words, as Livy imagined them). Strabo confirms, Polybius
denies (V. iv. 13; XI. xix. 3 respectively).
the winter troops that had been hardened long and repeatedly against all human hardships, but had no experience or familiarity with comforts. And so those whom no severe hardship had conquered were ruined by excess of comfort and immoderate pleasures and the more completely ruined the more eagerly they in their inexperience had plunged into them. For sleep and wine, and feasts and harlots, and baths and idleness, which habit made daily more seductive, so weakened their bodies and spirits that it was their past victories rather than their present strength which thereafter protected them; and this was regarded among the military experts as a more serious failure in their commander than that he had not led his men from the field of Cannae forthwith to the city of Rome. For that delay could be regarded as having merely retarded the victory, this mistake as having robbed him of the power to win. And so in fact, just as if he were setting out from Capua with a different army, not a trace of the old-time morale survived. For they came back most of them ensnared by harlots, and also as soon as they began to be quartered in tents, and the march and other tasks of the soldier followed, they would give out both in body and in spirit after the manner of recruits. And afterwards through the whole season of summer camps a great many kept slipping away from their standards without furloughs; and deserters had no hiding-places other than Capua.¹

XIX. But when winter was now growing mild, Hannibal led his troops out of winter quarters and returned to Casilinum. There, although they had been making no more attacks, an uninterrupted
oppidanos praesidiumque ad ultimum inopiae adduxerat. Castris Romanis Ti. Sempronius praecrat dictatore auspiciorum repetendorum causa profecto Romam. Marcellum et ipsum euptientem ferre auxilium obsessis et Volturnus annis inflatus aquis et preces Nolanorum Acerranorumque tenebant, Campanos timentium si praesidium Romanum abscessisset. Gracchus adsidens tantum Casilino, quia praedictum erat dictatoris ne quid absente eo rei gereret, nihil movebat, quamquam quae facile omnem patientiam vincerent nuntabantur a Casilino: nam et praecepitasse se quosdam non tolerantes famem constabat, et stare inermes in muris, nuda corpora ad missilium telorum ictus praebentes. Ea aegre patiens Gracchus, cum neque pugnam conserere dictatoris iniussu auderet—pugnandum autem esse, si palam frumentum importaret, videbat—neque clam importandis spes esset, farre ex agris circa undique convecto cum conplura dolia complessset, nuntium ad magistratum Casilinum misit ut exciperent dolia quae annis deferret. Insequentis nocte intentis omnibus in flumen ac spem ab nuntio Romano factam dolia medio missa amni defluxerunt; aequaliterque inter omnes frumentum divisum. Id postero quoque die ac tertio factum est; nocte et mittebant et perveniebant; eo custodias hostium fallabant. Imbribus deinde continuils citatior solito amnis transverso

1 If the auspices were alleged to be defective, the commander returned to Rome to take them again: VIII. xxx. 2.
2 The city had not been entirely destroyed (xvii. 7), and part of the population must have returned.
blockade had nevertheless brought townspeople and garrison to extreme want. The Roman camp was commanded by Tiberius Sempronius, since the dictator had gone to Rome to take new auspices. Marcellus, who was likewise eager to bring aid to the besieged, was held back both by a flood of the river Voltumna and by entreaties of the men of Nola and Acerrae, who feared the Campanians if the Roman garrison should withdraw. Gracchus, merely remaining near Casilinum, because it was the dictator's order that he take no action in his absence, made no move, although facts which would easily pass all endurance were being reported from Casilinum. For it was established that some, unable to endure hunger, had thrown themselves from the wall, and that men stood unarmed on the walls exposing unprotected bodies to wounds from missile weapons. Gracchus, though indignant at this, did not dare to engage the enemy without the dictator's order, and saw that, if he should try openly to carry in grain, he must fight. As there was also no hope of carrying it in secretly, he filled many huge jars with spelt brought from the farms all around, and sent word to the magistrate at Casilinum that they should catch up the jars which the river was bringing down. In the following night, while all were intent upon the river and the hope aroused by the Roman messenger, the jars set adrift in midstream floated down, and the grain was evenly divided among them all. This was done the next day also and the third day. It was night when they were set adrift and when they arrived. In that way they escaped the notice of the enemy's guards. After that the stream, now swifter than usual because of incessant rains, forced
vertice doliā impulit ad ripam quam hostes servabant. Ibi haerentia inter obnata ripis salieta conspiciuntur, nuntiatumque Hannibali est, et deinde intentiore custodia cautum ne quid falleret Volturno ad urbem missum. Nucces tamen fusae ab Romanis castris, cum medio amni ad Casiliunm deflurent, cratibus excipiebantur.

12 Postremo ad id ventum inopiae est ut lora detractasque seutis pelles, ubi fervida mollissent aqua, mandere conarentur nec muribus aliove animali abstinerent et omne herbarum radicumque genus aggeribus infinis muri eruerent. Et cum hostes obarassent quidquid herbidi terreni extra murum erat, raporum semen iniecerunt, ut Hannibal "Eone usque dum ea nascuntur ad Casilium sessurus sum?"

13 exclamaret; et quinullam ante pactionem auribus admiserat, tum demum agi secum est passus de redemptione liherorum capitum. Septunces auri in singulos pretium convenit. Fide accepta tradiderunt sese. Donec omne aurum persolutum est, in vineulis habitī; tum remissi summa cum fide. Id verius est quam ab equite in abeuntis inmisso interfecitos. Praenestini maxima pars fuere. Ex quingentis septuaginta qui in praesidio fuerunt minus dimidium ferrum famesque absumpsit: eeteri incolumes Praeneste cum praetore suo M. Anicio—scriba is antea

1 minus P(1); haud minus x Madvig.
the jars by a cross current to the bank guarded by the enemy. There, caught among the willows growing on the banks, they were seen and it was reported to Hannibal. And thereafter by a closer watch they saw to it that nothing sent down the Volturnus to the city should escape notice. However nuts which were poured out from the Roman camp, as they floated down the middle of the river to Casilinum, were caught by crates.

Finally they reached such a pitch of distress that they tried, after softening them by hot water, to chew thongs and the hides stripped off of shields; and they did not abstain from rats and other animals, and dug out every kind of plant and root from the bank beneath the wall. And when the enemy had ploughed up all the grassy ground outside the wall, the garrison sowed turnips, so that Hannibal exclaimed "Am I to sit before Casilinum until those seeds come up?" And the man who had never before listened to any terms now at last allowed them to treat with him in regard to ransoming the free men. Seven-twelfths of a pound of gold was agreed upon as the price per man. On receiving his promise they surrendered. They were kept in chains until all the gold was paid, then with strict regard for his promise they were released. This is the more correct version than that they were slain by a charge of cavalry as they departed. The majority were Praenestines. Of the five hundred and seventy who were in the garrison sword and starvation carried off less than half. The rest returned safe to Praeneste with their commander Marcus Anicius, who had

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3 Nearly four times the ransom demanded for an ally (200 denarii) after the battle of Cannae; XXII. lii. 2.
Statua eis indicio fuit Praeneste in foro statuta, loricata, amieta toga, velato capite, cum titulo lamnæ ac neæ inscripto, M. Anicium promilitibus qui Casilini in praesidio fuerint votum solvisse. Idem titulus tribus signis in aede Fortunae positis fuit subiectus. XX. Casilinum oppidum reddidit Campanis est, firmatum septingentorùm militum de exercitu Hannibalis praesidio, ne, ubi Pocnus inde abscessisset, Romani oppugnarent.

2 Praenestinis militibus senatus Romanus duplex stipendium et quinquennii militiae vacationem decrevit; civitate cum donarentur ob virtutem, non mutaverunt. Perusinorum casus obscurior fama est, quia nec ipsorum monumentoullo est inlustratus nec decreto Romanorum.

4 Eodem tempore Petelinos, qui uni ex Bruttis manserant in amicitia Romana, non Carthaginienses modo qui regionem obtinebant, sed Bruttii quoque ceteri ob separatæ ab se consilia oppugnabant.

5 Quibus cum obsistere malis nequirent Petelini, legatos Romam ad praesidium petendum miserunt. Quorum preces lacrimaeque—in questus enim flebiles, cum sibimet ipsi consulere iussi sunt, sese in vestibulo curiae profuderunt—ingentem misericordiam patri-bus ac populo moverunt; consultique iterum a M. Aemilio praetore patres circumspectis omnibus

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1 *I.e.* they did not accept.

2 Petelia, not far north of Croton, was an exception to the statement that all the Bruttians had gone over to the Carthaginians; XXII. lxi. 12.

3 Probably elected in place of Postumius, who fell in Gaul (xxiv. 11).
formerly been a clerk. As evidence there formerly stood in the forum of Praeneste a statue of the man, wearing a cuirass and draped in a toga, with his head covered. It had an inscription on a bronze plate, stating that Marcus Anicius had paid his vow on behalf of the soldiers who were in the garrison at Casilinum. The same inscription was placed beneath three images of gods set up in the Temple of Fortune. XX. The town of Casilinum was restored to the Campanians and defended by a garrison of seven hundred men from the army of Hannibal, that the Romans might not attack it when the Carthaginian should withdraw. To the Praenestine soldiers the Roman senate voted double pay and exemption from service for five years. Though rewarded for their courage with the gift of Roman citizenship, they made no change. As to the fate of the Perusians the report is less clear, since no light has been thrown upon it either by any record of their own or by a decree of the Romans.

At the same time the Petelini, who alone among the Bruttians had remained in the friendship of Rome, were being attacked not only by the Carthaginians, who were holding the region, but also by the rest of the Bruttians for not making common cause with them. Unable to withstand these dangers, the Petelini sent legates to Rome to ask for a garrison. The prayers of the legates and their tears—for when ordered to shift for themselves they gave way to tearful complaints before the entrance of the Senate House—stirred great compassion among senators and people. And when consulted a second time by Marcus Aemilius, a praetor, the senators, after surveying all the resources of the empire, were
imperii viribus fateri coacti nihil iam longinquis sociis in se praesidiis esse, redire domum fideque ad ultimum expleta consulere sibimet ipsos in reliquam pro
d pro 1 praesenti fortuna iussertur. Hace postquam renuntiata legatio Petelinis est, tantus repente maeror pavorque senatum eorum cepit ut pars pro-
8 fugiendi qua quisque posset ac deserendae urbis auctores essent, pars, quando deserti a veteribus sociis essent, adiungendi se ecteris Bruttiiis ac per eos
dedendi Hannibali. Vicit tamen ea pars quae nihil raptim nec temere agendum consulendumque de
9 integro censuit. Relata postero die per minorem trepidationem re tenuerunt optimates ut conveneatis omnibus ex agris urbem ac muros firmarent.

XXI. Per idem fere tempus litterae ex Sicilia
2 Sardiniaque Romam allatae. Priores ex Sicilia T. Otacilii propraetoris in senatu recitatae sunt: P. Furium praetorem eum classe ex Africa Lily-
baeum venisse; ipsum graviter saeclum in discrimine ultimo vitae esse; militi ac navalibus sociis neque stipendium neque frumentum ad diem dari neque
3 unde detur esse; magnopere suadere ut quem primum ea mittatur, sibique, si ita videatur, ex
4 novis praetoribus successorem mittant. Eademque ferme de stipendio frumentoque ab A. Cornelio Mam-
mula propraetore ex Sardinia scripta. Responsum

1 pro Madrig: in z: om. P(1).

1 The siege lasted eleven months, and at the last they were subsisting on hides, bark, twigs, etc.; xxx. 1 ff.; Polybius VII. i. 3.
compelled to admit that they themselves no longer had any means to protect distant allies. They ordered them to return home, and having fulfilled their obligation to the last, to shift for themselves for the future as best the situation permitted. When this outcome of the embassy was reported at Petelia, such dejection and fear unexpectedly seized their senate that some proposed to flee, each taking any possible road, and to abandon the city, while others, since they had been deserted by their old allies, proposed to join the rest of the Bruttians and through them to surrender to Hannibal. But those who thought nothing should be done hastily or rashly, and that they should deliberate again, prevailed. When the matter was brought up in less excitement the following day, the optimates carried their point, that they should bring in everything from the farms and strengthen the city and the walls. ¹

XXI. About the same time letters from Sicily and Sardinia were brought to Rome. First to be read in the senate were those from Sicily and Titus Otacilus, the propraetor, reporting that Publius Furius, the praetor, had come with his fleet from Africa to Lilybaeum: that Furius himself had been seriously wounded and his life was in the utmost danger; that neither pay nor grain was being furnished to the soldiers and the crews at the proper date, and they had no means of doing so; that he strongly urged that both be sent as soon as possible, and that they send a successor chosen, if they saw fit, from the number of the new praetors. Much the same facts in regard to pay and grain were reported from Sardinia by Aulus Cornelius Mammula, the propraetor. To each the reply was that there
utrique non esse unde mitteretur, iussique ipsi classibus atque exercitibus suis consulere. T. Otacilius ad unicum subsidium populi Romani, Hieronem, legatos cum misisset, in stipendium quanti argenti opus fuit et sex mensum frumentum aeccepit; Cornelio in Sardinia civilitae sociae benigni contulerunt. Et Romae quoque propter penuriam argenti triumviri mensarii rogatione M. Minucius tribuni plebis facti, L. Aemilius Papus, qui consul censorque fuerat, et M. Atilius Regulus, qui bis consul fuerat, et L. Scribonius Libo, qui tum tribunus plebis erat. Et duumviri creati M. et C. Atili aedem Concordiae, quam L. Manlius praetor voverat, dedicaverunt; et tres pontifices creati, Q. Caccilius Metellus et Q. Fabius Maximus et Q. Fulvius Flaccus, in locum P. Scantini demortui et L. Aemili Pauli consulis et Q. Aeli Pacti, qui ceciderant pugna Cannensi.

XXII. Cum euctera quae continuis cladibus fortuna minuerat, quantum consiliis humanis adsequi poterant, patres explessent, tandem se quoque et solitudinem curiae paucitatemque convenientium ad publicum consilium respexerunt. Neque enim post L. Aemilium et C. Flaminium censurens senatus lectus fuerat, cum tantum senatum adversae pugnae, ad

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1 Hiero II had ruled Syracuse 270–215 B.C.; a faithful ally of the Romans from 263 to his death. For his sympathy and aid, including the gift of a golden Victory, after the battle of the Trasumennus, cf. XXII. xxxvii.

2 In the citadel, begun in 217 B.C.; XXII. xxxii. 7 f.
was nothing on hand to send, and they were ordered to provide for their own fleets and armies. Titus Otacilius sent legates to Hiero, the mainstay of the Roman people, and received what money was needed for pay, and grain for six months. In Sardinia the allied states made generous contributions to Cornelius. And at Rome besides, on account of the lack of money, three bank-commissioners were named in accordance with a bill of Marcus Minucius, a tribune of the plebs, namely, Lucius Aemilius Papus, who had been consul and censor, and Marcus Atilius Regulus, who had been consul twice, and Lucius Scribonius Libo, who was at that time a tribune of the plebs. And Marcus Atilius and Gaius Atilius, elected duumvirs, dedicated a temple of Concord, which Lucius Manlius had vowed in his praetorship. And three pontiffs, Quintus Cæcilius Metellus and Quintus Fabius Maximus and Quintus Fulvius Flaccus, were elected in place of Publius Scantinius, deceased, and of Lucius Aemilius Paulus, the consul, and Quintus Aelianus Pactus, both of whom had fallen in the battle of Cannae.

XXII. After making good, in so far as they could accomplish it by human wisdom, the other losses fortune had caused by a series of disasters, the fathers at last had regard for themselves as well and for the desolate Senate House and the small number that came to the council of state. For since the censorship of Lucius Aemilius and Gaius Flamininus the list of the senate had not been revised, although the defeats and in addition the fate of individuals

3 *I.e.* by the college of pontiffs. Fabius is the Delayer, dictator in 217 B.C. Fulvius was consul twice before this war, and twice again during the war, 212 and 209.
hoc sui quemque casus per quinquennium absump-
sissent. Cum de ea re M. Aemilius praetor, dictatore
post Casilinum amissum profecto iam 1 ad exercitum,
exposcentibus cunctis rettulisset, tum Sp. Carvilius,
cum longa oratione non patrum 2 solum inopiam sed
paucitatem etiam civium ex quibus in patres legeren-
tur conquestus esset, explendi senatus causa et
iungendi artius Latini nominis cum populo Romano
magnopere se suadere dixit ut ex singulis populis
Latinorum binis senatoribus, quibus 3 patres Romani
censuissent, civitas dare tur atque inde in 4 demor-
tuorum locum in senatum legerentur. Eam sen-
tentiam haud acquirioribus animis quam ipsorum quon-
dam postulatum Latinorum patres audierunt; et
cum fremitus indignantium tota curia esset, et prac-
cipue T. Manlius esse etiam nunc eius stirpis virum
diceret ex qua quondam in Capitolio consul minatus
esse quem Latinum in curia vidisset cum sua manu
se interfecturum. Q. Fabius Maximus numquam rei
ullius alieniore tempore mentionem factam in senatu
dicit quam inter tam suspensos sociorum animos
incertanque fidem id iactum quod insuper sollici-
taret eos. Eam unius hominis temeriam vocem
silentio omnium exstinguendam esse et, si quid
unquam arcani sanetive ad silendum in curia fuerit,

1 iam A\textsuperscript{y}Valla: tam P(1): tandem Luchs: om. x\textsuperscript{Cz}.
2 patrum H. J. M\textsuperscript{u}ller (\textit{this order}): senatus x: senatorum
3 quibus J. H. Voss: quos A\textsuperscript{y}: si x: om. P(1).
4 inde in x Frigell: in P(1): ei in Madvig.

1 Cf. above, vi. 8 and note.
had in the five years carried off so large a number B.C. 216 of senators. Marcus Aemilius, the praetor, raised that question, as all demanded that he should, since the dictator had already gone to the army after the loss of Casilinum. Thereupon Spurius Carvilius, after complaining in a long speech, not of the lack of senators only, but also of the small number of citizens from whom men might be chosen into the senate, said that for the sake of recruiting the senate and of linking the Latins more closely with the Roman people, he strongly urged that citizenship be bestowed upon two senators from each of the Latin states, to be selected by the Roman fathers; and that from this number men be chosen into the senate in place of the deceased members. The fathers gave no more favourable hearing to this proposal than they had given to a former demand of the Latins themselves.\(^1\)

There was a murmur of indignation everywhere in the hall, and in particular Titus Manlius said that there still lived a man of the family to which belonged the consul who on the Capitol had once threatened that he would slay with his own hand any Latin he should see in the Senate House.\(^2\) Upon that Quintus Fabius Maximus said that never had anything been mentioned in the senate at a more unfavourable moment than this had been broached, in the midst of such unsettled feeling and wavering loyalty among the allies, only to stir them up the more; that that rash utterance of a single man should be drowned by silence on the part of them all; and that, if there was ever any hallowed secret to be left unmentioned

\(^2\) The threat was recorded in VIII. v. 7. The present Manlius had opposed ransoming the captives at Cannae; XXII. lx. 5 ff.
id omnium maxime tegendum, occulendum, obliviscendum, pro non dicto habendum esse. Ita eius rei oppressa mentio est.

Dictatorem, qui censor ante fuisset vetustissimusque ex iis qui viverent censoriiis esset, creari placuit qui senatum legeret, accirique C. Terentium consulem ad dictatorem dieendum iusserunt. Qui ex Apulia relieto ibi praesidio cum magnis itineribus Romam redisset, nocte proxima, ut mos erat, M. Fabium Butecenem ex senatus consulto sine magistro equitum dictatorem in sex menses dixit. XXIII. Is ubi cum lictoribus in rostra escendit, neque duos dictatoris tempore uno, quod nunquam antea factum esset, probare se dixit. Neque dictatorem sine magistro equitum, nec censoriam vim uni permissam et eidem iterum, nec dictatoris nisi rei gerendae causa creata, in sex menses datum imperium. Quae immoderata forsan tempus ae necessitas fecerit, iis se modum impositurum: nam neque senatu quemquam moturum ex iis quos C. Flaminius L. Aemilius censores in senatum legissent; transcribi tantum recitarique eos iussurum, ne penes unum hominem iudicium arbitriumque de fama ac moribus senatoris fuerit; et ita in demortuorum locum sublecturum ut ordi ordinii, non homo homini praefatus videretur.

Recitato vetere senatu, inde primos in demortuorum locum legit qui post L. Aemilium C. Flaminium cen-

2 forsan Madrig: fors P(1).

1 I.e. Varro, defeated at Cannae.
2 Minucius, master of the horse, had finally been given by the people equal authority with Fabius, but that did not make him legally a dictator; XXII. xxvi. 7; xxvii. 3.
in the senate, this above all others must be covered, B.c. 216 concealed, forgotten, considered unsaid. So mention of the matter was suppressed.

It was decided that as dictator, to draw up the list of the senate, a man should be appointed who had previously been censor and was senior to all the other living ex-censors. And they ordered that Gaius Terentius, the consul, be summoned that he might name a dictator. He returned to Rome by long stages from Apulia, leaving a garrison there; and that night, as was the custom, in accordance with the decree of the senate he named Marcus Fabius Buteo dictator for six months without master of the horse. XXIII.

Fabius mounted the Rostra with his lictors and said that he did not approve of two dictators at the same time, an unprecedented thing, nor of a dictator without master of the horse, nor of conferring a censor’s power upon one man, and in fact to the same man a second time, nor of giving the full military authority for six months to a dictator not appointed for the conduct of affairs. He said that he would set a limit to such possible irregularities as the crisis and necessity had occasioned. For he would not eject from the senate any of those whom Gaius Flaminius and Lucius Aemilius as censors had chosen into the senate, but would order their names merely to be copied and read out, that judgment and decision in regard to the reputation and character of a senator might not rest with one man. And in place of the deceased he would make his choice in such a way that rank should obviously have been preferred to rank, not man to man. After reading the list of the old senate, he chose in place of the deceased first those who since the censorship of Lucius Aemilius
sores curulem magistratum cepissent necdum in senatum lecti essent, ut quisque corum primus creatus erat; tum legit, qui aediles, tribuni plebis, quaestoresve fuerant; tum ex iis qui magistratus non cepissent, qui spolia ex hoste fixa domi haberent aut civicam coronam accepissent. Ita centum septuaginta septem cum ingenti adprobatione hominum in senatum lectis, extemplo se magistratu abdicavit privatusque de rostris descendit licitoribus abire iussis, turbaeque se immiscuit privas agentium res, tempus hoc sedulo terens, ne deducendi sui causa populum de foro abduceret. Neque tamen elanguit cura hominum ca mora, frequentesque cum domum deduxerunt. Consul nocte insequenti ad exercitum redit non facto certiore senatu, ne comitiorum causa in urbe retincretur.

XXIV. Postero die consultus a M. Pomponio praetore senatus decrevit dictatori scribendum uti, si e re publica censeret esse, ad consules subrogandos veniret cum magistro equitum et praetore M. Marcello, ut ex iis praesentibus nosecere patres possent quo statu res publica esset, consiliaque ex rebus eaperent. Qui acciti erant, omnes venerunt reliquis legatis qui legionibus praecessent. Dictator de se pauea ac

1 non Sigonius: om. P(1); non (magistratus) Conway: minorcs (magistratus) Stroth.

1 In 220 a.c.; Periocha 20.
2 Pending the revision of the list by the censors, once in five years in the normal course of things.
and Gaius Flamininus had held a curule office and had not yet been chosen into the senate, in each case in the order of his election. Then he chose those who had been aediles, tribunes of the people or quaestors; then, from the number of those who had not held offices, the men who had spoils of the enemy affixed to their houses or had received the civic wreath. Having thus chosen a hundred and seventy-seven into the senate with great approval, he at once abdicated his office and came down from the Rostra a private citizen, after ordering his lictors to leave him. And he mingled with the crowd of those engaged in private business, deliberately killing time, in order not to draw the people away from the forum for the purpose of escorting him. Yet men’s attention was not relaxed by that delay, and so in large numbers they escorted him home. The consul returned that night to the army without informing the senate, for fear of being detained in the city to conduct the elections.

XXIV. On the next day the senate, presided over by Marcus Pomponius, the praetor, decreed that the dictator should be informed by letter that, if he thought it to the public interest, he should come with the master of the horse and the praetor, Marcus Marcellus, for the election of consuls, in order that from them in person the fathers could learn what was the condition of the state and make their plans in accordance with the facts. All of those summoned came, leaving their lieutenants to command the legions. The dictator spoke briefly and

3 *I.e.* plebeian aediles.
4 The reward of a soldier who had saved the life of a fellow-citizen.

 Cum eae res maxime agerentur, nova clades muntiata, alias super aliam cumulante in eum annum fortuna, L. Postumium consulem designatum in Gallia ipsum atque exercitum deletos. Silva erat vasta—Litanam Galli vocabant—qua exercitum traducturus erat. Eius silvae dextra laevaque circa viam Galli arbores ita inciderunt ut inmotae starent, momento levi impulsae occiderent. Legiones duas Romanas habebat Postumius, sociumque ab supero mari tantum conscripserat ut viginti quinque milia armatorum in agros hostium induxerit. Galli oram extremae silvae cum circumscidissent, ubi intravit

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1 What were the special achievements of M. Junius Pera we are not told. Probably "glory" is only conventional for "credit." The consul is absent with the army.

2 The northernmost town in Campania was Teamum Sidicinum, an important road centre in a strong position.
modestly of himself, and then diverted a large share of the glory to the master of the horse, Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus; and he ordered the elections at which these consuls were named: Lucius Postumius for the third time, then absent with Gaul as his sphere of action, and Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, who was at that time master of the horse and curule aedile. Then the following men were elected as praetors: Marcus Valerius Laevinus for the second time, Appius Claudius Pulcher, Quintus Fulvius Flaccus, Quintus Mucius Scaevola. The dictator, after the election of magistrates, returned to the army and the winter quarters at Teanum, leaving the master of the horse at Rome, in order that he, inasmuch as he was to enter upon office a few days later, might advise with the fathers in regard to enrolling and providing armies for the year.

Just as these measures were being taken, a fresh disaster was reported—for fortune was piling one upon another for that year—namely, that the consul designate, Lucius Postumius, had perished, himself and his army, in Gaul. There was a huge forest, called Litana by the Gauls, by way of which he was about to lead his army. In that forest the Gauls hacked the trees to right and left of the road in such a way that, if not disturbed, they stood, but fell if pushed slightly. Postumius had two Roman legions, and had enlisted from the coast of the Upper Sea such numbers of allies that he led twenty-five thousand armed men into the enemy's territory. The Gauls had surrounded the very edge of the forest,

3 Near Mutina (Modena), and northwest of Bononia (Bologna).
4 Cf. xxxvii. 1; contrast i. 5.
agmen saltum, tum extremas arborum succisarum impellunt. Quae alia in aliam, instabilem per se ac male haerentem, incidentes ancipiti strage arma, viros, equos obruerunt, ut vix decem homines effugerent. Nam cum examinati plerique essent arborum truncis fragmentisque ramorum, ceteram multitudinem inopinato malo trepidam Galli saltum omnem armati circumsedentes interfecerunt, paucis e tanto numero captis, qui pontem fluminis petentes, obsesso ante ab hostibus ponte, interclusi sunt. Ibi Postumius omni vi ne capetur dimicans occubuit. Spolia corporis caputque praecisum ductis Boii ovantes templo quod sanctissimum est apud eos intulere. Purgato inde capite, ut mos iis est, calvam auro caelavere, idque sacrum vas iis erat quo sollemnibus libarent poculumque idem sacerdotibus 1 esset ac templi antistitibus. Praeda quoque haud minor Gallis quam victoria fuit; nam et si magna pars animalium strage silvae oppressa erat, tamen ceterae res, quia nihil dissipatum fuga est, stratae per omnem iacentis agminis ordinem inventae sunt.

XXV. Hac nuntiata clade cum per dies multos in tanto pavore fuisset civitas ut tabernis clausis velut

1 sacerdotibus Alshefski: sacerdotis P(1): sacerdoti x Sigonius.

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1 The particular spot chosen for the trap. Although saltus often = silva, the hacking of trees must have been confined to some stretch of the road offering special advantages to the enemy, and near the point where the road emerged into open country. Cf. xxxiii. 8.

2 Here also it is difficult to believe that saltus is used as another word for "forest," since the whole silva vasta (§ 7) could hardly be surrounded by the Gauls. Cf. Frontinus I. vi. 4.
and when the column entered a defile \(^1\) they pushed B.C. 216 against the outermost of the trees that had been hacked near the ground. As these fell, each upon the next tree, which was in itself unsteady and had only a slight hold, piling up from both sides they overwhelmed arms, men and horses, so that hardly ten men escaped. For after very many had been killed by tree-trunks and broken branches, and the rest of the troops were alarmed by the unforeseen calamity, the Gauls under arms, surrounding the whole defile \(^2\) slew them, while but few out of so many were captured,—the men who were making their way to a bridge over a river, but were cut off, since the bridge had by that time been occupied by the enemy. There Postumius fell fighting with all his might to avoid capture. Spoils taken from his body and the severed head of the general were carried in triumph by the Boians to the temple which is most revered in their land. Then after cleaning the head they adorned the skull with gold according to their custom. And it served them as a sacred vessel from which to pour libations at festivals and at the same time as a drinking cup for the priests and keepers of the temple. The booty also meant no less to the Gauls than the victory. For although a large part of the cattle had been crushed by fallen trees, still everything else was found strewn the whole length of the column of the slain, since nothing was scattered by flight.

XXV. When this disaster was reported, the city was for many days in such alarm that, in view of the stillness, like that of night, produced

Even in 43 B.C. there were still remnants of forest along the Aemilian Way; \textit{ib.} II. v. 39.
nocturna solitudine per urbem acta senatus aedilibus
2 negotium daret ut urbem circumirent aperirique
tabernas et maestitiae publicae speciem urbi demii
inuerent, tum Ti. Sempronius senatum habuit
3 consolatusque patres est. et adhortatus ne qui
Cammensi ruinae non succubuissent ad minores calami-
tates animos summitterent. Quod ad Carthagi-
nienses hostes Hannibalemque attineret, prospera
modo essent, sicut speraret, futura, Gallicum bellum
et omitti tuto et differri posse, ultionemque eam
fraudis in deorum ac populi Romani potestate fore.
De hoste Poeno exercitibusque, per quos id bellum
5 gereretur, consultandum atque agitandum. Ipse
primum quid peditum equitumque, quid civium, quid
sociorum in exercitu esset dictatoris, disseruit; tum
Marcellus suarum copiarum summam exposuit.
6 Quid in Apulia cum C. Terentio consule esset a
peritis quaesitum est; nec unde consulares exercitus
satis firmi ad tantum bellum efficerentur imbatur
ratio. Itaque Galliam, quamquam stimulabat justa
ira, omitti co anno placuit. Exercitus dictatoris con-
suli decretus est. De exercitu M. Marcelli, qui
corum ex fuga Cannensi essent, in Sicilian eos
traduci atque ibi militare donee in Italia bellum esset
8 placuit; codem ex dictoris legionibus reiei militem
minimi quemque roboris, nullo praestituto militiae
tempore nisi quod stipendiorum legitimorum esset.

1 nec unde Gronorius: necundo P: nec secundo P²R²(14):
nec secundo C: nec unde duo Madrig.

1 This he did as magister equitum. His consulship would
begin at the Ides of March; xxx. 17.
throughout the city by the closing of the shops, the B.C. 216
senate charged the aediles with the duty of going
about the city and ordering that shops be opened
and the appearance of public mourning removed
from the city. And then Tiberius Sempronius held
a session of the senate; and he comforted the fathers,
and urged that men who had not given way to the
catastrophe at Cannae should not lose heart in the
face of lesser disasters. So far as concerned the
Carthaginian enemy and Hannibal, he said that, if
only coming events should prove favourable, as he
hoped, a Gallic war could be both safely neglected
and postponed, and punishment for that treachery
would be in the power of the gods and of the Roman
people. It was in regard to the Carthaginian enemy
and the armies with which to carry on that war that
they must deliberate and debate. He himself first
stated what number of infantry and cavalry, of
citizens and allies, were in the dictator’s army. Then
Marcellus set forth the total of his forces. What
troops were in Apulia with the consul Gaius Terentius
was a question asked of those who knew; and no
method of making up consular armies strong enough
for so great a war was found. And so, although
righteous indignation goaded them, it was decided
that Gaul should be left out of account that year.
The dictator’s army was assigned to the consul. As
for the army of Marcus Marcellus, it was voted that
those of them who were survivors of the rout at Cannae
should be transported to Sicily and serve there so
long as there should be war in Italy; also that from
the dictator’s legions all the least efficient soldiers
should be sent away to the same province, with no
definite term of service except that of the campaigns
Duae legiones urbanae alteri consuli, qui in locum L. Postumi suffectus esset, decretae sunt, cumque, cum primum salvis auspiciis posset, creari placuit; legiones praeterea duas primo quoque tempore ex Sicilia acciri, atque inde consulem, cui legiones urbanae evenissent, militum sumere quantum opus esset: C. Terentio consuli propagari in annum imperium, neque de eo exercitu quem ad praesidium Apuliae haberet quicquam minui.

XXVI. Dum haec in Italia geruntur apparanturque, nihilo segnius in Hispania bellum erat, sed ad eam diem magis prosperum Romanis. P. et Cn. Scipionibus inter se partitis copias, ut Gnacus terra, Publius navibus rem gereret, Hasdrubal Poenorum imperator, neutri parti virium satis fidens, procul ab hoste intervallo ac locis tutus tenebat se, quoad multum ac diu obtestantibus quattuor milia peditum et quingenti

equites in supplementum missi ex Africa sunt. Tum refecta tandem spe castra propius hostem movit, classemque et ipse instructi pararique iubet ad insulas maritimamque oram tutandam. In ipso impetu movendarum de integro rerum perculit eum praefectorum navium transitio, qui post classem ad Hiberum per pavorem desertam graviter incerpitu numquam

1 propagari P(1): prorogari A^Madvig.
2 et quingenti (i.e. d) A^2: et P(4): mille Alschefski (the numeral D2 is often omitted in P).

1 The usual word would be prorogari. But Cicero has provinciae propagator, Att. VIII. iii. 3, and uses the verb in the sense of “prolong” in Cat. iii. 26; so Suetonius Aug. 23.
2 I.e. than in Italy.
3 As voted by the Carthaginian senate, xiii. 7.
4 Cf. XXII. xix. 11 f. Their desertion now consisted in going over to native tribes which sided with the Romans,
fixed by law. The two city legions were assigned to B.C. 216
the other consul, to be elected in place of Lucius
Postumius; and it was voted that he be elected
as soon as possible with due regard to the auspices;
further, that two legions be summoned as soon as
might be from Sicily, and that from them the consul
to whom the city legions fell should take as many
soldiers as he needed; also that the command of
Gaius Terentius, the consul, should be extended 1
for one year and no reduction made in the army which
he had for the defence of Apulia.

XXVI. During these operations and these prepara-
tions in Italy the war in Spain was no less active,
but up to that time more successful 2 for the Romans.
Publius and Gnaeus Scipio had divided the forces
between them, so that Gnaeus should carry on the
war on land, Publius with the fleet; and Hasdrubal,
commander-in-chief of the Carthaginians, since he
could not fully depend upon either arm of his forces,
remained far from the enemy, being protected by
distance and position, until, in answer to pleas urgent
and long-continued, four thousand infantry and five
hundred cavalry were sent from Africa to reinforce
him. 3 Then, with hopes at last renewed, he moved
his camp nearer to the enemy, and he too ordered
that a fleet should be built and equipped, in order
to protect the islands and the sea-coast. In the very
flush of renewed operations he met a blow in the
desertion of the commanders of his ships, who,
being severely reprimanded after their abandonment
of the fleet at the Hiberus in their fright, 4 had never

especially to the Tartsii (Turdetani), on the lower Baetis
(Guadalquivir).
deinde satis fidi aut duci aut Carthaginienium rebus fuerant. Fecerant hi transfugae motum in Tar-tesiorum gente, desciverantque iis auctoribus urbes aliquot; una etiam ab ipsis vi capta fuerat.

5 In eam gentem versum ab Romanis bellum est, infestoque exercitu Hasdrubal ingressus agrum hostium pro captae ante dies paucos urbis moenibus Chalbump, nobilem Tarcesiorum ducem, cum valido exercitu castris se tenentem, adgre did statuit.

6 Praemissa igitur levii armatura quae eliceret hostis ad certamen, equitum partem ad populandum per agros passim dimisit et 1 ut palantis exepirent. Simul et ad castra tumultus erat et per agros fugaque et caedes; deinde undique diversis itineribus cum in castra se recepissent, adeo repente decessit animis pavor ut non ad munimenta modo defendenda satis animorum esset sed etiam ad laecessendum proelio hostem. Erumpunt igitur agmine et castris tripu-diantes more suo, repentinaque corum audacia terrem hosti paulo ante ultro laecessenti incussit.

7 Itaque et ipse Hasdrubal in collem satis arduum, flumine etiam obiecto tutum, 2 copias subdeuit et praemissam levem armaturam equitesque palatos codem recipit, nee aut colli aut flumini satis fidens, castra vallo permunit. In hoc alterno pavore certamina aliquot sunt contracta; nee Numida Hispano

1 et Hensinger: om. P(1).
2 tutum Heerwagen: tum P(1), with tutum before flumine.
since been entirely loyal either to the general or to B.C. 216
the cause of Carthage. These deserters had made
trouble in the tribe of the Tartesii, and at their
instigation a number of cities had rebelled. One
city had even been storm by them.
It was against this tribe that the war was now
diverted from the Romans, and Hasdrubal, having
entered the territory of the enemy with a hostile
army, resolved to attack a noble in command of the
Tartesii, Chalbus, who with a strong army was keeping
to his camp before the walls of a city captured a
few days before. Therefore Hasdrubal, sending the
light-armed in advance, to draw out the enemy to
battle, scattered part of his cavalry over the farms
to ravage them and to capture stragglers. There
was confusion at the camp and at the same time
flight and slaughter in the country around. Then,
after they had made their way from all sides back
to the camp by different roads, fear was so suddenly
banished from their hearts that they had sufficient
spirit not only to defend the fortifications but also
to attack the enemy. Accordingly they sallied out
of the camp in a column, dancing, as is their custom;
and their sudden boldness inspired alarm in the enemy,
who a little before had been the aggressor. And so
Hasdrubal likewise led his forces up a very steep hill,
further defended by a river in front. Also he got
back the light-armed who had been sent ahead and
the scattered cavalry to the same position. Unable
to put sufficient confidence in either the hill or the
river, he strongly fortified his camp with an earth-
work. While fear was shifting thus from one side
to the other, a number of engagements took place,
and the Numidian horseman was no match for the
LIVY

...equies par fuit nec iaculator Maurus caetrato, velocitate pari, robore animi viriumque aliquantum praestanti.

XXVII. Postquam neque elicere Poenum ad certamen obversati castris poterant neque castrorum oppugnatio facilis erat, urbem Ascuam, quo finis hostium ingrediens Hasdrubal frumentum commenatusque alios convixerat, vi capiunt omnique circa agro potiuntur; nec iam aut in agmine aut in castris ullo imperio contineri. Quam ubi neglegentiam ex re, ut fit, bene gesta oriri senserat Hasdrubal, cohortatus milites ut palatos sine signis hostes adgrederentur, degressus colle pergit ire acie instructa ad castra.

Quem ut adesse tumultuose nuntii refugientes ex speculis stationibusque attulere, ad arma conclamatum est. Ut quisque arma ceperat, sine imperio, sine signo, incompositi, inordinati in proelium ruunt. Iam primi conseruerant manus, cum alii catervatim currerent, alii nondum e castris exissent. Tamen primo ipsa audacia terruere hostem; deinde rari in confertos inlati, cum paucitas parum tuta esset, respiciere alii alios et undique pulsi coire in orbem, et dum corpora corporibus applicant armaque armis iungunt, in artum compulsi, cum vix movendis armis satis spatii esset, corona hostium cineti ad

1 nuntii refugientes A²z: nuntiares fugientes PC²(11) (with nuntiare M¹?A).
2 corpora x: om. P(1).
Spaniard, nor the Moorish dart-thrower for the man B.C. 216
with the wicker shield, the Spaniard in both cases
being an equal in speed and quite superior in spirit
and strength.

XXVII. After the Tartesii had repeatedly failed
to draw the Carthaginian out to battle by facing his
camp, and it was also not easy to assault the camp,
they took by storm the city of Ascua, to which
Hasdrubal, on entering the land of the enemy, had
brought grain and other supplies; and they gained
possession of all the country around. And they
could no longer be restrained by any authority
either on the march or in camp. Hasdrubal, per-
ceiving that this carelessness came, as usually happens,
from success, exhorted his soldiers to attack the
enemy while dispersed and in no formation, and com-
ing down from the hill he proceeded to their camp in
battle order. When his approach was reported by
messengers fleeing wildly from the watch-towers and
guard-posts, they shouted "To arms!" Snatching
up arms, each man for himself, without commanders,
without orders, in no units or formations, they dashed
into battle. Already the first men had engaged,
while some charged in separate masses and others had
not yet left the camp. Nevertheless they at first
frightened the enemy by sheer audacity. Then, as
stragglers advancing against dense ranks, finding no
safety in small numbers, they looked to one another
for help; and, beaten back from every side, they
formed a circle. And as they crowded bodies against
bodies and touched arms to arms, they were forced
into close quarters. Having hardly room enough to
move their weapons, they were encircled by the
enemy, and the slaughter continued until late in the
Livy

8 multum diei caeduntur: exigua pars eruptione facta silvas ac montis petit. Parique terrore et castra sunt deserta et universa gens postero die in deditionem venit.

9 Nec diu in pacto mansit: nam subinde ab Carthagine allatum est ut Hasdrubal primo quoque tempore in Italian exercitum duceret, quae volgata res per Hispaniam omnium ferme animos ad Romanos avertit.

10 Itaque Hasdrubal extemplo litteras Carthaginem mittit, indicans quanta fama profectionis suae damno fuisset: si vero inde pergeret, prinsquam Hiberum transiret Romanorum Hispaniam fore; nam praeterquam quod nec praesidium nec ducem habet quem reliquaret pro se, eos imperatores esse Romanos quibus vix aequis viribus resisti possit.2

11 Itaque si ulla Hispaniae cura esset, successorem sibi eum valido exercitu mitterent: cui ut3 omnia prospere evenirent, non tamen otiosam provinciam fore.

XXVIII. Eae litterae quamquam primo admodum moverunt senatum, tamen, quia Italiae cura prior potiorque erat, nihil de Hasdrubale neque de copiis eius mutatum est: Himilco eum exercitu iusto et aucta classe ad retinendam terra marique ac tuen- dam Hispaniam est missus. Qui ut pedestris navalisque copias traiecit, castris communitis navibus- que subductis et vallo circumdatis, eum equitibus delectis ipse, quantum maxime accelerate poterat,

1 pacto Stroth: pacato P(1).
2 possit P(1) Walters: posset Forchhammer, Madvig.

1 Evidently exaggerated, as in xxix. 16 and xxxii. 6. A prosperous city near the Hiberus is mentioned in xxviii. 10 as still loyal to the Carthaginians.
day. A very small part of them sallied out and made B.C. 216 for the woods and the mountains. In no less alarm the camp was abandoned, and on the next day the whole tribe surrendered.

Yet not for long did the tribe abide by the agreement. For soon came the order from Carthage that Hasdrubal should at the first opportunity lead his army into Italy. And the spreading of this news throughout Spain made nearly all incline to the side of the Romans. Accordingly Hasdrubal at once sent a letter to Carthage, showing what a loss the mere report of his departure had caused; that if he were actually to leave the country, Spain would belong to the Romans before he should cross the Hiberus. For besides the lack of both an army and a general to leave in his place, so able were the Roman generals that they could scarcely be resisted if the forces were evenly matched. And so, if they had any regard for Spain, they should send him a successor with a strong army. Even if all should go well, that man would still find it no peaceful province.

XXVIII. Though this letter at first greatly stirred the senate, nevertheless, since concern for Italy was older and stronger, no change was made either in regard to Hasdrubal or to his forces. But Himilco was sent with a complete army and an enlarged fleet to hold and defend Spain by land and sea. After transporting his land and naval forces, Himilco fortified a camp, beached his ships and surrounded them with an earthwork. Then he himself with picked horsemen, making his way with all possible speed, and with equal alertness through the

2 The Ebro was the treaty boundary; XXI. ii. 7.
per dubios infestosque populos iuxta intentus ad
Hasdrubalem pervenit. Cum decreta senatus manda-
dataque exposuisset atque edoctus esset¹ ipse in
vicem quem ad modum tractandum bellum in
Hispania foret, retro in sua castra redit ² nulla re
quam celeritate tutior, quod nudique abierat ante-
quam consentirent. Hasdrubal priusquam moveret
castra pecunias imperat populis omnibus suae
dicionis, satis gnarus Hannibalem transitus quosdam
pretio mercatum nec auxilia Gallica aliter quam
conducita habuisse: inopem tantum iter ingressum
vix penetraturum ad Alpis suisse. Pecuniis igitur
raptim exactis ad Hiberum descendit.

7-Decreta Carthaginensium et Hasdrubalis iter ubi
ad Romanos sunt perlata, omnibus omissis rebus
ambo duces iunctis copiis ire obviam coeptis atque
obsistere parant, rati, si Hannibali, vix per se ipsi
tolerando Italiae hosti, Hasdrubal dux atque His-
paniensis exercitus esset iunctus, illum finem Ro-
mani imperii fore. His anxii curis ad Hiberum
contrahunt copias, et transito amne cum diu con-
sultassent utrum castra castris conferrent an satis³
haberent sociis Carthaginiensium oppugnandis mo-
ları ab itinere proposito hostem, urbem a propinquo
flumine Hiberam appellatam, opulentissimam ca
tempestate regionis eius, oppugnare parant. Quod
ubi sensit Hasdrubal, pro ope ferenda sociis pergit
ire ipse ad urbem deditam nuper in fidem Romanorum

¹ edoctus esset A² Valla: edocuisset P²(1): -uisse P.
² redit P: rediit P³(1).
³ an satis A³ Valla: antis PR: an iis C: tantis (14).
wavering and the hostile tribes, reached Hasdrubal. B.c. 216
After setting forth the decrees and instructions of the
senate, and being himself informed in turn how the
war in Spain must be conducted, he went back to his
own camp, being protected by his quickness more
than anything else, since he had left each place
before the enemy could agree upon action. Has-
Drubal, before breaking camp, exacted money from
all the tribes under his rule, knowing well that
Hannibal had repeatedly bought the right of passage,
and that he had Gallic auxiliaries only by hiring them;
but that if he had set out on so long a march without
funds, he would scarcely have made his way to the
Alps. Therefore he exacted money in haste and came
down to the Hiberus.

When news of the decrees of the Carthaginians
and Hasdrubal’s expedition reached the Roman
commanders, both dropped everything, and uniting
their forces prepared to meet and resist his efforts,
thinking that if Hannibal, who was himself an enemy
Italy could scarcely endure, should be joined by
Hasdrubal as a general and by an army from Spain,
that would be the end of the Roman power. Troubled
by these apprehensions, they concentrated their
troops at the Hiberus, crossed the river, and after
protracted deliberation, whether to pitch camp near
that of the enemy or to be satisfied with keeping
him from his projected march by attacking allies of
the Carthaginians, they prepared to attack a city
which had its name Hibera from the river near by,
the richest city of the region at that time. On
learning this Hasdrubal, instead of bringing aid to his
allies, proceeded likewise to attack a city which had
recently surrendered to the Romans. Thus the siege
LIVY

A.D.C. 538

12 oppugnandam. Ita iam coepta obsidio omissa ab Romanis est et in ipsum Hasdrubalem versum bellum.

XXIX. Quinque milium intervallo castra distantia habuere paucos dies, nec sine levibus proelis nec ut in aciem exirent; tandem uno cedentique die velut ex composito utrimque signum pugnae propositum est atque omnibus copiis in campum descendunt.

1 Triplex stetit Romana acies: velitum pars inter antesignanos locata, pars post signa accepta; equites cornua cinxere. Hasdrubal medium aciem Hispanis firmat; in cornibus, dextro Poenos locat, laevo Afros mercemariorumque auxilia; equitum Numidiae Poenorum peditibus, ceteros Afris pro cornibus apponit.

5 Nee omnes Numidae in dextro locati cornu, sed quibus desalutorum in modum binos trahentibus equos inter acerrimam saepe pugnam in recentem equum ex fesso armatis transultere mos erat; tanta velocitas ipsis tamque docile equorum genus est.

6 Cum hoc modo instructi starent, imperatorum utriusque partis baud ferme dispares spes erant; nam ne multum quidem aut numero aut genere militum hi aut illi praestabant; militibus longe dispar animus erat. Romanis enim, quamquam procul a patria pugnarent, facile persuaserant duces pro Italia atque urbe Romana eos pugnare; itaque, velut quibus redivus in patriam in eo discrimine pugnae verteretur, obstinaverant animis vincere aut

3 in Madvig: om. P(1).

1 Cf. XXXV. xxvii. 8.
already begun was abandoned by the Romans and B.C. 216
the war directed against Hasdrubal himself.

XXIX. They had their camps five miles apart for
a few days, not without skirmishes, but without
drawing up lines of battle. Finally on one and the
same day, as though by agreement, the signal for
battle was raised on both sides and with all their
forces they went down into the plain. The Roman
line stood in triple ranks. Some of the light-armed
were posted in the intervals between the maniples
in advance of the standards, some placed behind the
standards. Cavalry covered the wings. Hasdrubal
made a strong centre of Spanish troops; on the right
wing he placed Carthaginians, on the left Africans
and mercenary auxiliaries. Of the cavalry he
stationed the Numidians on the wing of the Cartha-
ginian infantry, the rest on that of the Africans.
And not all of his Numidians were placed on the right
wing, but only those who, taking two horses apiece
after the manner of performers, had the custom of
leaping armed from the tired horse to the fresh, often
in the very heat of battle; such was the agility of the
men, and so well-trained their breed of horses.
While they were standing in this array, the hopes of
the generals on the two sides were fairly balanced;
for there was also not much superiority for the one
army or the other either in the number or the type
of its soldiers. But the spirit of the soldiers was
far from being matched. For the Romans, although
fighting far from their country, had been easily
persuaded by their generals that they were fighting
in defence of Italy and the city of Rome. And so, as
men whose return to their native land would depend
upon the issue of that battle, they had made up their
8 mori. Minus pertinaces viros habebat altera acies; nam maxima pars Hispani erant, qui vinci in Hispania
9 quam victores in Italiam trahi malebant. Primo igitur concursu, cum vix pila coniceta essent, rettulit
pedem media acies, inferentibusque se magno impetu
10 Romanis verlit terga. Nihilo sequins in\textsuperscript{1} cornibus
proelium fuit. Hinc Pocmus, hinc Afer urguet, et
11 velut in circumventos proelio ancipiti pugnavit; sed
12 cum in medium tota iam coisset Romana acies, satis
13 virium ad dimovenda hostium cornua habuit. Ita
duo diversa proelia erant. Utroque Romani, ut qui
pulsis iam ante medius et numero et robore virorum
13 praestarent, haud dubie superant. Magna vis
14 hominum ibi occisa, et nisi Hispani vixdum conserto
proelio tam effusae fugissent, perpauci ex tota super-
14 fuissent acie. Equestris pugna nulla admodum fuit,
quia, simul inclinantam medium aciem Mauri Numi-
daque videre,\textsuperscript{2} extemplo fuga effusa nuda cornua
15 elephantis quoque prae se actis deseruere. Hasdru-
bal usque ad ultimum eventum pugnae moratus e
media caede cum paucis effugit. Castra Romani
16 cepere atque diripuere. Ea pugna si qua dubia in
Hispania erat Romanis adiumxit, Hasdrubalique
non modo in Italiam traducendi exercitus sed ne
manendi quidem satis tuto in Hispania spes\textsuperscript{3} reliqua

\textsuperscript{1} in A\textsuperscript{1} : om. P(1) Frigell.
\textsuperscript{2} videre Riemann, Luchs: viderent P: viderunt P\textsuperscript{3}(1).
\textsuperscript{3} spes C\textsuperscript{1} Gronovius: spe P(4): spem M\textsuperscript{2} D.

\textsuperscript{1} As many as 25,000 according to Eutropius III. 11.
minds to win or die. The other battle-line had men b.c. 216 less firmly resolved. For the majority were Spaniards, who preferred to be vanquished in Spain, rather than as victors to be dragged to Italy. Therefore at the first clash, when they had barely hurled their javelins, the centre fell back, and, as the Romans advanced with a great charge, retreated. On the wings, however, there was more spirited fighting. On the one hand the Carthaginians pressed them hard, on the other hand the Africans; and it was a double conflict against men presumed to have been surrounded. But, although the whole Roman line had by this time crowded into the centre, it had sufficient strength to force apart the wings of the enemy. Thus there were two battles in opposite directions. In both the Romans were unquestionably victorious, since, once the centre had been routed, they were superior both in the numbers and in the strength of their men. A great number of men¹ were slain there, and if the Spaniards had not fled in such confusion when the battle had scarcely begun, very few out of that entire line would have survived. The cavalry were not engaged at all, since, as soon as the Mauri and the Numidians saw the centre giving way, they at once abandoned the wings, exposed by their wild flight as they drove the elephants also before them. Hasdrubal, after waiting for the final outcome of the battle, escaped with a few men out of the midst of the slaughter. His camp the Romans captured and plundered. That battle brought to the Roman side all that still wavered in Spain, and Hasdrubal had left to him no hope, not only of leading his army over into Italy, but not even of remaining with any safety in Spain. When these facts were generally known

99
LIVY

A.U.C. 538

17 erat. ¹ Quae posteaquam litteris Scipionum Romae volgata sunt, non tam victoria quam prohibito Hasdrubalis in Italiam transitum lactabantur.

XXX. Dum haece in Hispania geruntur, Petelia in Bruttiiis aliquot post mensibus quam coepta oppugnati erat ab Himileone praefecto Hannibalis expugnata est. Multo sanguine ae volneribus ea Poenis victoria stetit, nec ulla magis vis obsessos quam fames expugnavit. Absumptis enim frugum alimentis carnisque omnis generis quadrupedum suetae insuetaeque,² postremo coris herbisque et radieibus et corticibus teneris strictisque foliis vexere, nec ante quam vires ad standum in muris ferendaque arma decreant expugnati sunt. Recepta Petelia Poenus ad Consentiam copias traducit, quam minus pertinaciter defensam intra paucos dies in editionem aeeepit. Isdem ferme diebus et Bruttiorum exercitus Crotonem, Graecam urbem, circumsedit, opulentam quondam armis virisque, tum iam adeo multis magnisque cladibus adflectam ut omnis actatis minus duo milia civium superessent. Itaque urbe a defensoribus vasta ³ facile potiti hostes sunt; arx tantum retenta, in quam inter tumultum captae urbis e media caede quidam effugere. Et Locrenses descivere ad Bruttios Poenosque prodita multitudine a principibus. Regini tantummodo regionis eius et in fide erga Romanos et potestatis suae ad ultimo

² insuetae Fabri: om. P(1).
³ vasta P: vastata P²(1).

¹ Hasdrubal's invasion of Italy was carried out nine years later to a fatal conclusion at the Metaurus, XXVII. xlix. 4.
² For the long siege of Petelia cf. the note on xx. 10.
at Rome through the letter of the Scipios, people B.C. 216 rejoiced, not so much over the victory, as that Hasdrubal's crossing into Italy had been prevented.  

XXX. While these things were going on in Spain, Petelia, in the land of the Bruttii, was taken by Himilco, Hannibal's prefect, some months after the siege began. That victory cost the Carthaginians much blood and many wounds, and starvation more than any assault overpowered the besieged. For after they had consumed their food-supply in cereals and flesh, the familiar and the unfamiliar, of four-footed beasts of every kind, they finally lived on hides and grasses and roots and tender bark and leaves stripped off. And they were not overpowered until they had no strength left to stand on the walls and bear arms. Having taken Petelia, the Carthaginian led his troops across to Consentia, and as it was less obstinately defended, he received its surrender within a few days. About the same time an army of the Bruttians also besieged Croton, a Greek city formerly rich in arms and men, but even then so crushed by many great disasters that, including all ages, less than two thousand citizens remained. And so the enemy easily gained possession of the city bereft of its defenders. Only the citadel was still held, and to it some, in the uproar of a captured city, made their escape out of the midst of slaughter. And Locri went over to the Bruttians and Carthaginians, the populace having been betrayed by the leading men. Regium alone in that region remained loyal to the Romans and to the very last independent.

3 Polybius also (VII. i. 3) gave such details as follow.
4 The story of the siege and capture of Croton, on the Gulf of Tarentum, is told in some detail in XXIV. ii f.

Exitu anni Q. Fabius Maximus a senatu postulavit ut aedem Veneris Erycinae, quam dictator vovisset, dedicare liceret. Senatus deerevit ut Ti. Sempronius consul designatus, cum primum 1 magistratum 2 inisset, ad populum ferret ut Q. Fabium duumvirum esse iuberent aedis dedicandae causa. Et M. Aemilio Lepido, qui bis 3 consul augurque fuerat, filii tres, Lucius, Marcus, Quintus, ludos funebres per triduum et gladiatorum paria duo et viginti in foro dederunt. Aediles eurules C. Laetorius et Ti. Sempronius Gracchus, consul designatus, qui in aedilitate magister equitum fuerat, ludos Romanos fecerunt, qui per triduum instaurati sunt. Plebei ludi aedilium M. Aurelii Cottae et M. Claudii Mareelli ter instaurati.

1 primum z : om. P(1) Madvig.
2 magistratum xz : honorem C4'x Madvig : ibo P : ibono P12(3) ; bono D.
3 qui bis C4'M4'DA9 Valla : quib. (quibus) P(3).

1 Polybius makes him a model of filial devotion (VII. viii. 9). Coins prove that he was king with his father.
2 This brief résumé covers the events narrated from XXII. xxxviii up to this point. An eventful year.
The same trend of feeling reached Sicily also, and B.C. 216 even the house of Hiero did not hold aloof entirely from the revolt. For Gelo, the eldest son, scorning both the old age of his father and the Roman alliance since the disaster at Cannae, went over to the Carthaginians. And he would have caused an uprising in Sicily, had not death, so timely as to besmirch even his father with suspicion, carried him off as he was arming the populace and trying to gain allies. Such were the checkered events of that year in Italy, in Africa, in Sicily, in Spain.

At the end of the year Quintus Fabius Maximus requested of the senate that he be permitted to dedicate the Temple of Venus of Eryx which he had vowed in his dictatorship. The senate decreed that Tiberius Sempronius, consul designate, as soon as he entered upon his office should propose to the people that they order that Quintus Fabius should be a duumvir for the purpose of dedicating the temple. And in honour of Marcus Aemilius Lepidus, who had been consul twice and augur, his three sons, Lucius, Marcus, Quintus, gave funeral games for three days and showed twenty-two pairs of gladiators in the Forum. The curule aediles, Gaius Laetorius and Tiberius Sempronius Gracebus, consul designate, who in his aedileship had been master of the horse, celebrated the Roman Games, and on three of the days they were repeated. The Plebeian Games of the aediles, Marcus Aurelius Cotta and Marcus Claudius Marcellus, were repeated three times.

3 Where the temple was we learn presently, xxxi. 9. Her chief temple was on the western headland of Sicily, Mt. Eryx.
4 The earliest known example of a gladiatorial combat at Rome was in 264 B.C. That also was on the occasion of a funeral, and the gift of sons.


Taciti primo expectaverant homines uti consul

1 eo Cz: quo eo P(5): quod eo Ay: quo die eo M.

1 In fact twice, 237 and 224 B.C.
2 Named after Marcellus; cf. xvii. 3.
The third year of the Punic War being at an end, B.C. 215 Tiberius Sempronius entered upon office as consul on the Ides of March. Of the praetors Quintus Fulvius Flaccus, who had previously been consul and censor, had by lot his assignment as judge between citizens, Marcus Valerius Laevinus had his as judge in the cases of strangers, while to Appius Claudius Pulcher Sicily was allotted, and Sardinia to Quintus Mucius Scaevola. That Marcus Marcellus should have full military authority as proconsul was ordered by the people, because he alone of the Roman commanders since the disaster at Cannae had met with success in Italy.

XXXI. The senate on the first day on which it was in session on the Capitol, decreed that a double tax should be imposed that year and the normal tax collected at once; that from it pay should be given in cash to all the soldiers except those who had been soldiers at Cannae. As for the armies, they decreed that Tiberius Sempronius, the consul, should set for the two city legions a date for mobilization at Cales; that these legions should be led thence to the Claudian Camp above Suessa Alba; that the legions already there—it was chiefly the army of Cannae—should be taken over into Sicily by Appius Claudius Pulcher, the praetor, and that those which were in Sicily should be brought to Rome. Marcus Claudius Marcellus was sent to the army for which a date of mobilization at Cales had been set; and he was ordered to conduct the city legions to the Claudian Camp. To take over the old army and conduct it thence to Sicily, Appius Claudius sent his lieutenant, Tiberius Maecilius Croto.

At first men had been waiting in silence for the
comitia collegae creando haberet: deinde ubi ablegatum velut de industria M. Marcellum viderunt, quem maxime consulem in eum annum ob egregie in præitura res gestas creari volebant, fremitus in 8 curia ortus. Quod ubi sensit consul, "Utrumque" inquit "e re publica fuit, patres conscripti, et M. Claudium ad permutandos exercitus in Campaniam proficisci et comitia non prius edici quam is inde confercto quod mandatum est negotio revertisset, ut vos consulem, quem tempus rei publicae postularet, 9 quem maxime voltis, haberetis." Ita de comitiis donee redidit Marcellus silentium fuit. Interea duumviri creati sunt Q. Fabius Maximus et T. Otacilius Crassus aedibus dedicandis, Menti Otacilius, Fabius Veneri Erucinae; utraque in Capitolio est, canali uno discretae. Et de trecentis equitibus Campanis qui in Sicilia cum fide stipendiisemeritis Romam venerant latum ad populum ut eives Romani essent; item uti municipes Cumani essent pridie quam populus Campanus a populo Romano defecisset. 11 Maxime ut hoc ferretur moverat quod quorum hominum essent scire se ipsi negabant, vetere patria relicta, in eam in quam redierant nondum adsciti. 12 Postquam Marcellus ab exercitu redidit, comitia consuli uni rogando in locum L. Postumii edicuntur.

1 uni P(1): sub- Madrig.

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1 Exact situation of the temples is unknown; cf. xxxii. 20; XXII. ix. 10; x. 10.
2 Mentioned in iv. 8 and vii. 2.
3 The Roman citizenship which they had lost with the revolt of Capua was restored, while their municipal rights and privileges were transferred to loyal Cumae and made to antedate the Campanian secession.
consul to preside over an election for the naming of B.C. 215 his colleague. Then, when they saw that Marcus Marcellus, whom they particularly desired to have elected consul for that year, on account of remarkable successes in his praetorship, had been sent away, apparently on purpose, murmurs began to be heard in the Senate House. Noting this the consul said: “Both acts were to the advantage of the state, fellow-senators, that Marcus Claudius should be sent to Campania to make the change of armies, and that the coming election should not be proclaimed until he, after accomplishing the task which was assigned him, should return thence, so that you might have the consul whom the critical situation in the state requires and whom you particularly desire.” So until Marcellus returned, nothing was said about an election. Meanwhile Quintus Fabius Maximus and Titus Otacilius Crassus were made duumvirs for the dedication of temples, Otacilius for that of Mens, Fabius for that of Venus of Eryx. Both are on the Capitol,1 separated by a single water-channel. And in regard to the three hundred Campanian knights2 who, after loyally serving their terms in Sicily, had come to Rome, a bill was brought before the people that they should be Roman citizens; further, that they should be townsmen of Cumae from the day before that on which the Campanian people had revolted from the Roman people.3 What had chiefly prompted the making of this proposal was that they said they did not themselves know with whom they belonged, having given up their old home-city, and not being enrolled as yet in the city to which they had returned. After Marcellus returned from the army, an election to name one consul in place of Lucius
13 Creatur ingenti consensu Marcellus, qui extemplo magistratum occiperet. Cui incuncti consulatum cum tonuisset, vocati augures vitio creatum videri pronuntiaverunt; volgoque patres ita fama ferebant, quod tum primum duo plebeii consules facti essent, id deis cordi non esse. In locum Marcelli, ubi is se magistratu abdicavit, suffectus Q. Fabius Maximus tertium.

15 Mare arsit eo anno; ad Sinucessam bos eeuleum peperit; signa Lanuvii ad Imonis Sospitae eruere manavere, lapidibusque circa id templum pluit. Ob quem imbram novemdiale, ut adsolet, sacrum fuit, ceteraque prodigia eum cura expiata.

XXXII. Consules exercitus inter sese diviserunt. Fabio exercitus Teani, cui M. Iunius dictator praefuerat, evenit; Sempronio volones qui ibi erant 1 et sociorum viginti quinque milia. M. Valerio praetori legiones quae ex Sicilia redissent decretae; M. Claudius pro consule ad eum exercitum qui supra Suessu lam Nolae praesideret missus; praetores in Siciliam ac Sardiniam profecti. Consules edixerunt, quotiens in senatum vocassent, uti senatores quibusque in senatu dicere sententiam liceret ad portam

1 qui ibi erant *Maelig*: que fierent P(1): qui fierent (forent) x.

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1 A very short list of portents and expiations, compared with those in XXI. lxii, XXII. i. and elsewhere.
2 *I.e.* the slaves who, after the battle of Cannae, volunteered and were purchased by the state. By good service as soldiers they earned their freedom; xxxv. 6; XXII. lvii. 11; XXIV. x. 3; xiv. 4 f., etc.
Postumius was ordered by edict. With great unanimity Marcellus was elected, to assume office at once. Just as he was entering upon his consulship it thundered, and thereupon the augurs, being summoned, declared that there seemed to be a defect in his election. And the fathers widely circulated the statement that it did not meet the approval of the gods that two plebeians had then for the first time been elected consuls. In place of Marcellus, after he had abdicated, Quintus Fabius Maximus was substituted as consul for the third time.

The sea was aflame in the course of that year. At Sinuessa a cow gave birth to a colt. At the Temple of Juno Sospita at Lanuvium images of the gods dripped blood, and it rained stones around the temple—a shower on account of which there were ceremonies, as usual, for nine days. And the rest of the portents were duly expiated.¹

XXXII. The consuls divided the armies between them. To Fabius fell the army at Teanum, formerly commanded by Marcus Junius, the dictator; to Sempronius the slave volunteers² who were at that place and twenty-five thousand of the allies. To Marcus Valerius, the praetor, were assigned the legions which had returned from Sicily. Marcus Claudius was sent as proconsul to the army which was above Suessula, in order to guard Nola. The praetors set out for Sicily and Sardinia. The consuls issued an edict that, whenever they might call a meeting of the senate, the senators and any who had the right to give an opinion in the senate³ should assemble at the

¹ In the present case the persons meant can only be the newly-elected magistrates, since the list has just been revised, and none can be waiting for a new lectio senatus. Cf. xxiii. 5.
Capenam convenirent. Praetores quorum inris dictio erat tribunalia ad Piscinam publicam posuerunt; eo vadimonia fieri insserunt, ibique eo anno ius dictum est.

Interim Carthaginem, unde Mago, frater Hannibalis, duodecim milia peditum et mille quingentos equites, viginti elephantes, mille argenti talenta in Italiam transmissurus erat cum praesidio sexaginta navium longarum, nuntius adfertur in Hispania rem male gestam omnesque ferme eius provinciae populos ad Romanos defecisse. Erant, qui Magonem cum classe ca copiisque omissa Italia in Hispaniam averterent, cum Sardiniae recipiendae repentina spec adfulsit: parvum ibi exercitum Romanum esse; veterem praetorem inde A. Cornelium provinciae peritum decedere, novum exspectari; ad hoc fessos iam animos Sardorum esse diurnitate imperii Romani, et proximo iis anno acerbe atque avare imperatum; gravi tributo et conlatione iniqua frumenti pressos; nihil deesse aliud quam auctorem rem ad quem deficerent. Hac clandestina legatio per principes missa erat, maxime cam rem moliente Hampsicora, qui tum auctoritate atque opibus longe primus erat. His nuntiiis prope uno tempore turbati

1 mille A' Ablus: om. P(1).
2 Romani Luchs: r P; om. P2(1).

1 By this gate in the "Servian Wall" the Via Appia left the city, near the east end of the Circus Maximus. Meeting probably in the nearby Temple of Honos, the senate could confer with returning generals outside the city.
2 This swimming-pool of uncertain location was also outside the gate.
Porta Capena. The praetors who had judicial duties B.C. 216 set up their tribunals at the Piscina Publica. That place should be named—so they ordered—in recognizances, and there justice was rendered that year.

Meanwhile Carthage, from which Mago, Hannibal's brother, was on the point of transporting into Italy twelve thousand infantry and fifteen hundred cavalry, twenty elephants and a thousand talents of silver, with a convoy of sixty warships, received the news that in Spain operations had failed and nearly all the tribes in that province had revolted to the Romans. There were some who, neglecting Italy, were ready to divert Mago to Spain with that fleet and those forces, when there suddenly appeared a ray of hope of recovering Sardinia. It was reported that the Roman army there was small; that the old praetor, Aulus Cornelius, who was well acquainted with the province, was retiring, and a new praetor expected; further, that the Sardinians were now weary of the long continuance of Roman rule, and in the previous year had been ruled with harshness and greed; that they were burdened by a heavy tribute and an unfair requisition of grain; that nothing was lacking but a leader to whom they might go over. Such was the report of a secret embassy sent by the leading men at the special instigation of Hampsicora, who at that time was far above the rest in prestige and wealth. By such news they were almost at the

3 The defendant was bound to give assurances (in one of the various forms prescribed by the praetor's edict) that he would appear on the day and at the place named—here at the Piscina instead of in the Forum.

4 He had not yet gone to Spain, as was intended in xiii. 8.
erectique Magonem eum classe sua copiisque in
Hispaniam mittunt, in Sardiniam Hasdrubalem
diligunt ducem et tantum ferme copiarum quantum
Magoni decernunt.

Et Romae consules transactis rebus quae in urbe
agendae erant movebant iam sese ad bellum. Ti.
Sempronius militibus Sinuessam diem ad convenien-
dum edixit, et Q. Fabius, consulto prius senatu, ut
frumenta omnes ex agris ante kal. Iunias primas in
urbes munitas convenhent; qui non invexisset eius
se agrum populaturum, servos sub hasta venditurum,
villas incensurum. Ne praetoribus quidem qui ad
ius dicendum creati erant vacatio a belli administra-
tione data est. Valerium praeorem in Apuliarm ire
placuit ad exercitum a Terentio accipiendum; cum
ex Sicilia legiones venissent, iis potissimum uti ad
regionis eius praesidium, Terentianum exercitum
Tarentum 1 mitti cum aliquo legatorum; et viginti
quinque naves datae quibus oram maritimam inter
Brundisium ac Tarentum tutari posset. Par navium
numerus Q. Fulvio praetori urbano decretus ad
suburbana litora tutanda. C. Terentio proconsuli
negotium datum ut in Piceno agro conquisitionem
militum haberet locisque iis praesidio esset. Et
T. Otacilius Crassus, postquam acedem Mentis in
Capitolio dedicavit, in Siciliam eum imperio qui
classi praesidio missus.

1 exercitum Tarentum Malvig: om. P(1)F.

1 Either ripe or ripening, to be threshed in towns of such
regions as were named in the order.
2 In normal times short absences only from the city were
permissible for the urbanus and the peregrinus.
same moment dejected and encouraged, and sent B.C. 215 Mago with his fleet and his forces to Spain. For Sardinia they chose Hasdrubal as general, and voted him about the same number of troops as to Mago.

And at Rome the consuls did what had to be done in the city, and were now bestirring themselves for the war. Tiberius Sempronius set his soldiers a date for mobilization at Sinuessa, and Quintus Fabius, after first consulting the senate, gave orders that all should bring their grain crops from the farms into fortified cities before the next Kalends of June; that if any man should fail to do so, he would lay waste his farm, sell his slaves at auction and burn the farm buildings. Not even those praetors who had been appointed to administer justice were granted exemption from the conduct of the war. It was decided that Valerius, the praetor, should go to Apulia, to take over the army from Terentius; that when the legions should arrive from Sicily, he should chiefly use these troops for the defence of that region; that Terentius’ army should be sent to Tarentum under some one of the lieutenants. And twenty-five ships were given him, that with them he might be able to defend the coast between Brundisium and Tarentum. An equal number of ships was assigned by decree to Quintus Fulvius, the city praetor, for the defence of the shore near the city. Gaius Terentius as proconsul was given the task of conducting a levy of troops in the Picene territory and defending that region. And Titus Otacilius Crassus, after dedicating the Temple of Mens on the Capitol, was sent with full authority to Sicily, where he was to command the fleet.
XXXIII. In hanc dimicationem duorum opulentissimorum in terris populorum omnes reges gentes-que animos intenderant, inter quos Philippus Macedonum rex ce magis quod 1 proprior Italiae ac mari tantum Ionio discretus erat. Is ubi primum fama acceptit Hannibalem Alpis transgressum, ut bello inter Romanum Poenumque orto lactatus erat, ita utrius populi mallet victoriam esse incertis adhuc viribus fluctuatus animo fuerat. Postquam tertia iam pugna, tertia 2 victoria eum Poenis erat, ad fortunam inclinavit legatosque ad Hannibalem misit; qui vitantes portus Brundisium Tarentinumque quia custodiiis navium Romanarum tenebantur, ad Laciniae Iunonis templum in terram egressi sunt. 5 Inde per Apuliam petentes Capuam media in praesidia Romana inlati sunt deductique ad Valerium Laevinum praetorem, circa Luceriam castra habentem. Ibi intrepide Xenophanes legationis princeps a Philippo rege se missum ait ad amicitiam societatemque iungendam cum populo Romano; mandata habere ad consules ac senatum populumque Romanum. Praetor 3 inter defectiones veterum sociorum nova sociate tam elari regis laetus admodum hostes pro hospitibus commiter accipit; dat qui prosequantur, itinera eum cura demonstrant, 4 quae loca quosque saltus aut Romanus aut hostes teneant. 9 Xenophanes per praesidia Romana in Campaniam,
XXXIII. To this conflict of the two richest peoples B.C. 215 in the world all kings and nations had turned their attention, among them Philip, king of the Macedonians, all the more since he was nearer to Italy and separated from it only by the Ionian Sea. On first learning by report that Hannibal had crossed the Alps, although he had rejoiced at the outbreak of war between the Romans and the Carthaginians, still, as their resources were not yet known, he had wavered, uncertain which of the two peoples he wished to have the victory. Now that a third battle, a third victory, favoured the Carthaginians, he inclined to the side of success and sent ambassadors to Hannibal. These avoided the ports of Brundisium and Tarentum, because they were kept guarded by Roman ships, and landed at the Temple of Lacinian Juno. Making their way thence toward Capua by way of Apulia, they encountered the centre of the Roman forces and were brought before Valerius Laevinus, the praetor, whose camp was near Luceria. There Xenophanes, the leader of the embassy, boldly said that he had been sent by King Philip to negotiate a friendly alliance with the Roman people; that he had communications for the consuls and for the senate and the Roman people. The praetor, who in the midst of the revolts of old allies was greatly delighted by a new alliance with so famous a king, hospitably received enemies as guests. He furnished men to escort them, to indicate the roads carefully, and what positions and what passes were held either by the Romans or by the enemy. Xenophanes made his way through the Roman forces into

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1 A famous temple on a promontory near Croton; cf. XXIV. iii. 3 ff.; XLII. iii. 2 ff.; Strabo VI. i. 11.
inde qua proximum fuit in castra Hannibalis pervenit
foedusque cum eo atque amicitiam iungit legibus
his: ut Philippus rex quam maxima classe—ducentas
autom naves videbatur effecturus—in Italiana tra-
iceret et vastaret maritimam oram, bellum pro parte
sua terra marique gereret; ubi debellatum esset,
Italia omnis cum ipsa urbe Roma Carthaginensiue
atque Hannibalis esset praedaeque omnis Hannibali
cederet; perdomita Italia navigarent in Graeciam
bellumque cum quibus regi\textsuperscript{1} placet gererent\textsuperscript{2};
quae civitates continetis quaeque insulae ad
Macedoniam vergunt, eae Philippi regnique eius
essent.

XXXIV. In has ferme leges inter Poenum dueem
2 legatosque Macedonum iectum foedus; missique cum
iis ad regis ipsius firmandam fidem legati, Gisgo et
Bostar et Mago, codem, ad Iunonis Laciniae, ubi
3 navis occult\textsuperscript{3} in statione erat, perveni\textsuperscript{3}unt. Inde
profecti cum altum tenerent, conspecti a\textsuperscript{3} classe
Romana sunt quae praesidio erat Calabriae litoribus;
4 Valeriusque Flaccus cercuros ad perseuquandam retra-
hendamque navem cum misisset, primo fugere regii
conati; deinde, ubi celeritate vinci sensorunt,
tradunt se Romanis et ad praefectum classis addueti,
5 cum quaereret qui et unde et quo tenderent cursum,
Xenophanes primo satis iam semel felix mendacium
struere, a Philippo se ad Romanos missum ad M.

\textsuperscript{1} regi Gronovius: regibus P(1)F.
\textsuperscript{2} placet gererent A\textsuperscript{2}; placet P\textsuperscript{C}\textsuperscript{1}RM: placet
CM\textsuperscript{1}\textsuperscript{2}DAF.
\textsuperscript{3} a M\textsuperscript{1}A\textsuperscript{2}: om. P(1).

116
Campania and thence by the shortest road to the B.C. 215

camp of Hannibal, and arranged a treaty of friendship

with him on the following terms: that King Philip

with the largest possible fleet—and it was thought

that he would make it two hundred ships—should
cross to Italy and ravage the coast, and should carry

on the war on land and sea with all his might: that

after the war was over all Italy with the city of Rome
itself should belong to the Carthaginians and Hanni-
bal, and all the booty fall to Hannibal: that after the
complete subjugation of Italy they should sail to
Greece and wage war with such enemies as the king
might choose; and that such states on the mainland
and such islands as face Macedonia should belong
to Philip and be a part of his kingdom.

XXXIV. On terms such as these a treaty was made
between the Carthaginian general and the ambassa-
dors of the Macedonians. And Gisgo and Bostar
and Mago, who were sent with them as ambassadors,
to reassure the king himself, reached the same place,
the Temple of Juno Lacinia, where a ship lay in a
hidden anchorage. Setting out thence and making
for the open sea, they were sighted by the Roman
fleet which was defending the coasts of Calabria.
And Valerius Flaccus sent light craft to pursue the
ship and bring her back; whereupon the king’s
ambassadors at first attempted to flee. Then, when
they saw that they were being outstripped in speed,
they surrendered to the Romans and were brought
before the admiral of the fleet. When he asked who
they were and whence, and whither they were bound,
Xenophanes at first set up the false pretense which
had been quite successful once before: that, being
sent by Philip to the Romans, he had made his way

117
Valerium, ad quem unum iter tumut fuerit, perseverisse, Campaniam superare nequissse, saeptam hostium praesidiis. Deinde, ut Punicus cultus habitu tusque suspectos legatos fecit Hannibalis inter- rogatosque sermo prodidit, tum comitibus eorum seductis ae metu territis, litterae quoque ab Hannibale ad Philippum inventae et pacta inter regem Macedonum Poenunque duce. Quibus satis cognitis optimum visum est captivos comitesque eorum Romam ad senatum aut ad consules, ubicunque essent, quam primum deportare. Ad id ecclerrimaee quinque naves delectae ae L. Valerius Antias, qui praeesset, missus, eique mandatum ut in omnis navis legatos separatim custodiendos divideret daretque operam ne quod iis conloquium inter se neve quae communicatio consilii esset.

Per idem tempus Romae cum A. Cornelius Mammula, ex Sardinia provincia decedens, ret tulisset qui status rerum in insula esset: bellum ae defectionem omnis spectare; Q. Mucium, qui successisset sibi, gravitate caeli aquarumque advenientem exceptum, non tam in periculosum quam longum morbum implicitum, diu ad belli munia sustinenda inutilem forae, exercitumque ibi ut satis firmum pacatae provinciae praesidem esse, ita param bello quod motum iri videretur, decreverunt patres ut Q. Fulvius Flaccus quinque milia peditum, quad-

1 param P(1)F: parvum M2; Ayx: imparem Madevig: parum aptum H. J. Müller.

2 quinque milia (= ⊕) z: vel PRMF (cf. xxxvii. 13; xlvi. 4): vi C4: mille DA2.
to Marcus Valerius, the one man to whom there was B.C. 215 a safe road; that he had been unable to get across Campania, which was blocked by the enemy's forces. Then, when Carthaginian dress and appearance cast suspicion on Hannibal's ambassadors, and, being questioned, they were betrayed by their speech. Thereupon their attendants were led aside and frightened by threats; and a letter also from Hannibal to Philip was found, along with agreements between the king of the Macedonians and the Carthaginian general. So much being established, it seemed best to send the captured men and their attendants as soon as possible to the senate at Rome, or else to the consuls, wherever they might be. For that purpose five very swift ships were selected and Lucius Valerius Antias was sent to command them. And instructions were given him to distribute the ambassadors among all his ships, to be separately guarded; and he was to see to it that there should be no conversation among them or any interchange of plans.

About the same time at Rome Aulus Cornelius Mammula, on retiring from his province of Sardinia, reported what was the condition of affairs in the island: that all were aiming at war and rebellion; that Quintus Mucius, his successor, upon arriving was affected by the unwholesome climate and bad water, and having contracted an illness not so dangerous as protracted, would for a long time be useless for the performance of war duties; also that the army there, while strong enough to garrison a peacefull province, was not so for the war which seemed on the point of breaking out. The senate thereupon decreed that Quintus Fulvius Flaccus should enlist five thousand
ringentos equites scriberet camque legionem primo quoque tempore in Sardiniam traiiciendam curaret, 14 mitteretque cum imperio quem ipsi videretur, qui 15 rem gereret quoad Mucius convaluiisset. Ad eam rem missus est T. Manlius Torquatus, qui bis consul et censor fuerat subegeratque in consulatu Sardos. 16 Sub idem fere tempus et a Carthagine in Sardiniam classis missa duce Hasdrubale, cui Calvo cognomen erat, foeda tempestate vexata ad Balearis insulas 17 deicitur, ibique—adeo non armamenta modo sed etiam alvei navium quassati erant—subductae naves dum reficiumtur aliquantum temporis triverunt.

XXXV. In Italia cum post Cannensem pugnam, fractis partis alterius viribus, alterius mollitis animis, 2 segnius bellum esset, Campani per se adorti sunt rem Cumanam suae diciomis faeere, primo sollicitantes ut ab Romanis deficerent; ubi id parum processit, dolum ad eapiendos eos comparant. 3 Campanis omnibus statum sacrificium ad Hamas erat.1 Eo senatum Campanum venturum certiores Cumanos fecerunt petieruntque ut et Cumanus eo senatus veniret ad consultandum communiter, ut eosdem uterque populus socios hostesque haberet; 4 praesidium ibi armatum se habituros, ne quid ab Romano Poenove periculi esset. Cumani, quamquam suspeeta fiaus erat, nihil abnuere, ita tegi fallax consilium posse rati.

1 erat Madvig (before Campanis Weissenborn): om. P(1).
infantry and four hundred cavalry, and should see B.C. 215 to it that that legion should be transported to Sardinia at the first opportunity; also that he should send whomever he thought best with full authority, to carry on the war until Mucius should recover. For that duty Titus Manlius Torquatus was sent, a man who had been consul twice and censor, and in his consulship had conquered the Sardinians. 1 About the same time a fleet which had been sent from Carthage also to Sardinia, under command of the Hasdrubal who was surnamed Calvus, was damaged by a terrible storm and driven to the Balearic Islands. And there the ships were beached, to such an extent had not only the rigging but also the hulls been injured; and while undergoing repairs they caused a considerable loss of time.

XXXV. In Italy, while the war was less active after the battle of Cannae, since the resources of one side had been broken and the spirit of the other sapped, the Campanians attempted without assistance to reduce the state of Cumae to subjection, at first tempting them to revolt from the Romans. When that failed, they contrived a ruse to entrap them. All the Campanians had a regular sacrifice at Hamae. 2 To it they informed the men of Cumae that the Campanian senate would come, and requested that the senate of Cumae should come thither to deliberate together, so that both peoples might have the same allies and enemies. They said they would have an armed guard there, lest there be any danger from the Roman or the Carthaginian. The Cumaeans, though they had suspected guile, made no objections, thinking that a ruse of their own 3 to outwit them could thus be concealed.
LIVY

A.U.C. 539

5 Interim Ti. Sempronius consul Romanus Sinuessae, quo ad convenientium diem edixerat, exercitu lustrato transgressus Volturnum flumen circa Liter-num posuit castra. Ibi quia otiosa stativa erant, crebro decurrere milites cogebat, ut tirones—ea maxima pars volonum erant—adsuececerent signa sequi et in acie agnoscere ordines suos. Inter quae maxima erat cura duci, itaque legatis tribunisque praeceperat, ne qua exprobratio eiqquam veteris fortunae discordiam inter ordines sereret; vetus miles tironi, liber voloni sese exaequari sinceret; omnis satis honestos generososque ducerent quibus arma sua signaque populus Romanus commisisset; quae fortuna coegisset ita fieri, eandem cogere tueri factum. Ea non maiore cura pracecepta ab ducibus sunt quam a militibus observata, brevique tanta concordia coahuerant omnium animi ut prope in oblivionem veniret qua ex condicione quisque esset miles factus.

10 Haec agenti Graccho legati Cumani nuntiarunt quae a Campanis legatio paucos ante dies venisset et quid iis ipsi respondissent: triduo post cum diem festum esse; non senatum solum omnem ibi futurum sed castra etiam et exercitum Campanum. Gracchus iussis Cumanis omnia ex agris in urbem convehere
Meanwhile Tiberius Sempronius, the Roman consul, b.c. 215 after reviewing his army at Sinuessa, at which place he had announced a date for mobilization, crossed the river Volturnus and pitched camp near Liternum. There, since the permanent camp lacked occupation, he required the soldiers to manoeuvre frequently, that the recruits—they were most of the slave-volunteers—might learn to follow the standards and to recognize their own ranks in the battle-line. In this it was the commander's greatest care, and he had instructed the lieutenants and tribunes to the same effect, that no reproach of any man's previous lot should sow strife between the different classes of soldiers; that the old soldier should allow himself to be rated with the recruit, the freeman with the slave-volunteer; that they should consider all to whom the Roman people had entrusted its arms and standards as sufficiently honoured and well-born. He said that the same fortune which had compelled them to do so now compelled them to defend what had been done. These injunctions were not given with greater care by the commanders than that with which they were followed by the soldiers. And soon they were all united in a harmony so great that it was almost forgotten from what status each man had been made a soldier.

While Gracchus was thus employed, legates from Cumae reported to him on what mission an embassy had come a few days before from the Campanians, and what answer they had themselves given them; that the festival was to be three days later, and not only would the whole senate be there, but a camp also and a Campanian army. Gracchus, having ordered the Cumaeans to bring everything from the
et inanere intra muros, ipse pridie quam statum sacrificium Campanis esset Cumas movet castra.

13 Hamae inde tria milia passuum absunt. Iam Campani eo frequentes ex composito convenerant, nce procul inde in occulto Marius Alfius medix tuti-
cus—is¹ summus magistratus erat Campanis—cum quattuordecim milibus armatorum habebat castra, sacrificio adparando et inter id instruendae fraudi aliquanto intetitior quam nuniendis castris aut ulli militari operi.² Nocturnum erat saefum, ita ut ante mediwm noetem compleretur. Huic Gracchus insidi-
andum tempori tus, custodibus ad portas positis, ne quis enuntiari posset coepta, et ab decuma diei hora coactis militibus corpora curare sommoque operam dare, ut primis tenebris convenire ad signum possent, vigilia ferme prima tolli iussit signa, silenti-
que prefectus agmine cum ad Hamas media nocte pervenisset, castra Campana ut in pervigilio negleeta simul omnibus portis invadit; alios somno stratos, alios perpetrato sacro inermis redeuntis obturcat.

19 Hominum eo tumultu nocturno caesa plus duo milia cum ipso duce Mario Alfio, capta . . . et³ signa militaria quattuor et triginta.

¹ is Fabri: om. P(1).
² operi, here P(1) add triduum sacrificatum ad Hamas (gloss on § 117)
³ capta . . . et Weissenborn: capta est PCR: capta sunt R¹(14); capti * et Madvig.

¹ For this Oscan term cf. XXIV. xix. 2.
farms into the city and to remain inside the walls, B.C. 215 moved his own camp to Cumae the day before the Campanians had their regular sacrifice. Hamae is three miles distant. Already the Campanians in large numbers had gathered there according to agreement. And in concealment, not far from there, Marius Alfius, the medix tuticus,¹ that is, the chief magistrate of the Campanians, had his camp, with fourteen thousand armed men, he being decidedly more intent upon preparing the sacrifice and contriving treachery during the same than upon fortifying his camp or upon any task of the soldier. The sacrifice took place at night, but it was to be finished before midnight. Gracchus, thinking he must be in waiting for that moment, placed guards at the gates, that no one might be able to carry away news of his undertaking. And having assembled his soldiers as early as the tenth hour of the day, he ordered them to get themselves in condition and take care to sleep, so that, as soon as it was dark, they might come together at the signal; and at about the first watch he ordered that the standards be taken up. And setting out with a silent column, he reached Hamae at midnight and entered the Campanian camp by all its gates at once; for, as was to be expected in view of the vigil, it was carelessly guarded. Some they slew as they lay asleep, others as they were returning unarmed after the rite had been completed. More than two thousand men were slain in that affray by night, including Marius Alfius, the commander himself. Captured were . . . thousand men² and thirty-four military standards.

¹ The large number makes the correctness of capta (sc. milia) doubtful; cf. xxxvii. 11.
Livy

XXXVI. Gracchus minus centum militum iactura castris hostium potitus Cumas se propere recepit, ab Hannibale metuens, qui super Capuam in Tifatis habebat castra. Nee eum provida futuri defeellit opinio. Nam simul Capuam ea clades est nuntiata, ratus Hannibal ab re bene gesta insolenter laetum exercitum tironum, magna ex parte servorum, spoliante victos praedasque agentem ad Hamas se inventurum, citatum agmen praeter Capuam rapit, obviosque ex fuga Campanorum dato praesidio Capuam duci, saucios vehieulis portari iubet. Ipse Hamis vacua ab hostibus castra nee quicquam praeter recentis vestigia caedis strataque passim corpora sociorum inventit. Auctores erant quidam ut pro-tinus inde Cumasduceret urbemque oppugnaret. Id quamquam haud modice Hannibal cupiebat, ut, quia Neapolim non potuerat, Cumas saltem maritimam urbem haberet, tamen, quia praeter arma nihil secum miles raptim acto agmine extulerat, retro in castra super Tifata se recepit. Inde fatigatus Campanorum precibus sequenti die eum omni apparatu oppugnandae urbis Cumas redit, perpopulatoque agro Cumano mille passus ab urbe castra locat, cum Gracchus magis verecundia in tali necessitate deserendi socios implorantis fidem suam populi-que Romani substitisset quam satis fidens exercitui. Nee alter consul Fabius, qui ad Cales castra habebat, Volturnum flumen traducere audebat exercitum, 126
XXXVI. Gracchus, having captured the camp of b.c. 215
the enemy with the loss of less than a hundred
soldiers, hastily withdrew to Cumae in fear of Hannibal,
who had his camp on Mount Tifata above Capua.
And he was not mistaken in his forecast. For as soon
as the defeat was reported at Capua, Hannibal,
thinking he would find the army of recruits, largely
slaves, at Hamae gloating for once over a success,
spoiling the defeated and driving off the booty,
rushed his column with all speed past Capua, and
ordered that those of the fleeing Campanians whom
he met should be furnished with an escort and led
to Capua, and the wounded carried on wagons.
As for himself, he found at Hamae a camp deserted
by the enemy, and nothing except the traces of recent
slaughter and corpses of his allies scattered every-
where. Some advised him to lead his troops away
forthwith to Cumae and to attack the city. Although
Hannibal was very eager to do so, in order that he
might have Cumae at least as a seaport, since he had
been unable to gain one at Neapolis, nevertheless, as
his soldiers in their rapidly moving column had
brought out nothing but their arms with them, he
withdrew again to his camp on Tifata. Moved by the
importunities of the Campanians, he returned thence
on the following day to Cumae with all the equipment
for besieging the city, and after ravaging the territory
of Cumae, pitched his camp a mile from the city.
Meanwhile Gracchus, ashamed to desert allies in such
straits and begging for his help and that of the Roman
people, rather than because he had full confidence in
his army, had remained there. Nor did the other
consul, Fabius, who had his camp at Cales, venture
to lead his army across the river Volturnus, being

127
LIVY

XXXVII. Eae causae cum Fabium tenerent, Sempronius in obsidione erat et iam operibus oppugnabatur. Adversus ligneam ingentem admotam urbi turrem aliam ex ipso muro excitavit consul Romanus, aliquanto altiore, quia muro satis per se alto subiectis validis sublicis pro solo usus erat. Inde primum saxis sudibusque et ceteris missilibus propugnatores moenia atque urbem tuebantur; postremo, ubi promovendo adiunctam muro viderunt turrem, facibus ardentibus plurimum simul ignem coniecerunt. Quo incendio trepida armatorum multitudo cum de turre sese praecipitaret, ruptio ex oppido simul duabus portis stationes hostium fudit fugavitque in castra, ut eo die obsesso quam obsidenti similior esset Poenus. Ad mille trecenti Carthaginensium caesi et undesexaginta vivi capti, qui circa muros et in stationibus solute ac neglegenter agentes, cum nihil minus quam eruptem timuerant, ex improviso oppressi fuerant. Gracchus, priusquam se hostes ab repentino pavore colligerent, receptui signum dedit ac suos intra muros recepit.

Postero die Hannibal, laetum secunda re consulem insto proelio ratus certaturum, aciem inter castra.

1 turrem aliam Madvig: aliam turrem P(1).
2 lactum Gronovius: etiam P(1): clatum Aldus (after re A2x): tum P3CxD : cum A.
employed at first in taking new auspices and then with the portents which were being reported one after another. And as he was making expiation, the soothsayers kept repeating their opinion that it was not easy to obtain favourable omens.

XXXVII. While these reasons detained Fabius, Sempronius was blockaded and already beset by siege-works. As a defence against a great wooden tower which was moved up to the city, the Roman consul reared from the wall itself another tower considerably higher. For he had used the wall, which in itself was quite high, as a base, shoring it up with stout timbers. From that tower the defenders first held the wall and the city by hurling stones and stakes and every other missile. Finally, seeing that the enemy's tower had been pushed close against the wall, they hurled a vast amount of fire all at once from their blazing torches. While great numbers of armed men, alarmed by the fire, were leaping down from the tower, a sally out of two gates of the town at the same time routed the enemy's guards and sent them in flight to the camp, so that on that day the Carthaginian resembled a besieged army more than a besieger. About one thousand and three hundred were slain and fifty-nine captured alive of the Carthaginians, who were relaxing and idling along the walls and at guard-posts, and, having feared anything rather than a sally, had unexpectedly been overpowered. Gracchus, before the enemy could recover from their sudden fright, gave the signal for the recall and withdrew his men inside the walls. On the next day Hannibal, supposing that the consul, elated by success, would engage in a regular battle, drew up his line between the camp and the city.
9 atque urbem instruxit; ceterum postquam neminem moveri ab solita custodia urbis vidit nec committi quique tam temerariae spei, ad Tifata reedit infecta re.
10 Quibus diebus Cumae liberatae sunt obsidione, iisdem diebus et in Lucanis ad Grumentum Ti. Sempronius, cui Longo cognomen erat, cum Hannone Poeno prospere pugnat. Supra duo milia hominum occidit, et ducentos octoginta milites, signa militaria ad quadraginta unum cepit. Pulsus finibus Lucanis Hannone retro in Bruttios sese recepit.
12 Et ex Hirpinis oppida tria, quae a populo Romano deecerat, vi recepta per M. Valerium praetorem, Vercellium, Veseellium, Sicilinum, et auctores defec- tionis securi percussi. Supra quinque milia captivorum sub hasta venierunt; praeda alia militi concessa, exercitusque Luceriam reductus.

XXXVIII. Dum haec in Lucanis atque in Hirpinis geruntur, quinque naves, quae Macedonum atque Poenorum captos legatos Romam portabant, ab supero mari ad inferum circumvectae prope omnes Italiae oram, cum praeter Cumas velis ferrentur neque hostium an sociorum essent satis seiretur, Graecus obviam ex classe sua naves misit. Cum percunctando in vicem cognitum esset consulem Cumis esse, naves Cumas adpulsae captivique ad consulem deducti et litterae datae. Consul litteris Philippi atque Hannibalis perlectis consignata omnia ad senatum itinere terrestri misit, navibus devehī

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1 milites, here P(1) add amīsit.
2 quinque milia Alschefski: vel (for ë) P(2); cf. xxxiv. 13.

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1 This Sempronius was consul with P. Scipio in 218 B.C., and defeated by Hannibal at the Trebia; XXI. vi. 3 and liv ff.
2 I.e. from the Adriatic to the Mare Tuscum; cf. i. 5; xxiv. 8.
But on seeing that no one stirred from the usual defence of the city and that nothing was entrusted to a rash hope, he returned with nothing accomplished to Tifata.

At the same time that the siege of Cumae was raised, Tiberius Sempronius, surnamed Longus, also fought successfully in Lucania, near Grumentum, with Hanno the Carthaginian. He slew above two thousand men, and captured two hundred and eighty soldiers and some forty-one military standards. Driven out of Lucanian territory, Hanno withdrew into the land of the Bruttians. And three towns of the Hirpini, Vercellium, Vescellium and Sicilinum, which had revolted from the Roman people, were forcibly recovered by Marcus Valerius, the praetor, and those who had advised revolt were beheaded. Over five thousand captives were sold at auction; the rest of the booty was given over to the soldiers, and the army led back to Luceria.

XXXVIII. While these things were going on in Lucania and among the Hirpini, the five ships which were carrying to Rome the captured ambassadors of the Macedonians and the Carthaginians cruised along nearly the whole coast of Italy from the Upper Sea to the Lower. And when they were passing Cumae under sail, and it was uncertain whether they belonged to enemies or friends, Gracchus sent ships from his fleet to meet them. When in the course of questioning on both sides it was learned that the consul was at Cumae, the ships put in at Cumae and the prisoners were brought before the consul and the letters handed over to him. The consul, after reading the letters of Philip and Hannibal, sent everything under seal by land to the senate, and ordered the
A.u.c. 539

5 legatos iussit. Cum codem fere die litterae legatique Romam venissent et punctatione facta dicta cum scriptis congruerent, primo gravis cura patres inessit, cernentes quanta vix tolerantibus Punicum bellum Macedonicum belli moles instaret. Cui tamen adeo non succubuerunt ut extemplo agitaretur quem ad modum ulterius inferendo bello averterent ab Italia hostem. Captivis in vincula conditissimi comitibusque eorum sub hastinge venditi, ad naves viginti quinque, quibus P. Valerius Flaccus praefectus praerat, viginti quinque parari^2 alias decernunt. His comparatis deductisque et additis quinque navibus, quae ad vexerant captivos legatos, triginta naves ab Ostia Tarentum profectae, inssusque P. Valerius militibus Varronianis, quibus L. Apustius legatus Tarenti praerat, in naves impositis quinque navium classe non tueri modo Italiae oram sed explorare de Macedonico bello; si congruentia litteris legatorumque indicis Philippi consilia essent, ut M. Valerium praetorem litteris eertiorem faceret, isque L. Apustio legato exercitui praeposito Tarentum ad classem profectus primo quoque tempore in Macedoniam transmitteret dareoque operam ut Philippum in regno contineret. Pecunia ad classem tuendam bellumque Macedonicum ca decreta est quae Ap. Claudio in Siciliam missa erat, ut redderetur

2 parari M² Gronovius: paratis P(1).

1 The total should be fifty; the five which carried the captives are counted twice; cf. xxxiv. 9.
ambassadors to be carried on the ships. Letters B.C. 215 and ambassadors arrived at Rome on about the same day, and upon enquiry their words and the texts were in agreement. Thereupon the senators were at first gravely concerned, seeing how serious a war with Macedonia threatened, at a time when they could scarcely endure that with the Carthaginians. However, they were so far from giving way to that concern that they at once discussed how by actual aggressive warfare they might keep the enemy away from Italy. The prisoners were ordered put in chains, their attendants were sold at auction, and it was decreed that, in addition to the twenty-five ships which Publius Valerius Flaccus commanded as admiral, twenty-five others should be made ready. The latter being now ready and launched, with the addition of the five ships which had brought the ambassadors as captives, thirty ships sailed from Ostia for Tarentum. And Publius Valerius was ordered to put on board the soldiers who had been Varro's, and at Tarentum were commanded by Lucius Apustius, the lieutenant, and then with a fleet of fifty-five 1 ships not merely to defend the coast of Italy, but to get information in regard to the Macedonian war. If the designs of Philip should agree with the letters and with the statements of the ambassadors, then he was to inform Marcus Valerius, the praetor, by letter; and Valerius, after placing his lieutenant, Lucius Apustius, in command of the army, was to proceed to the fleet at Tarentum, and as soon as possible to cross into Macedonia and take steps to keep Philip within his kingdom. For the maintenance of the fleet and for the Macedonian war there was voted the money which had been sent to Appius Claudius in Sicily, to

133
Hieroni regi: ea per L. Antistium legatum Tarentum est dejecta. Simul ab Hierone missa ducenta milia modium tritici et hordei centum.

XXXIX. Dum haec Romani parant aguntque, ad Philippum captiva navis una, ex iis quae Romam missae erant, ex cursu refugit; inde scitum legatos eum litteris captos. Itaque ignarus rex quae eum Hannibale legatis suis convenissent quaeque legati eius ad se adlaturi fuissent, legationem aliam cum eisdem mandatis mittit. Legati ad Hannibalem missi Heraclitus, cui Scotino cognomen erat, et Crito Boeotus et Sosithenus Magnes. Hi prospere tulerunt ac rettulerunt mandata; sed prius se aestas circum- egit quam movere ac moliri quicquam rex posset: tantum navis una capta cum legatis momenti fecit ad dilationem imminentis Romanis belli.

Et circa Capum, transgresso Volturum Fabio post expiata tandem prodigia, ambo consules rem gerebant. Combulteriam et Trebulam et Auscicum urbes, quae ad Poenum defeecerant, Fabius vi cepit: praesidiaque in his Hannibalis Campanique permulti capti. Et Nolae, sicut priore anno, senatus Romanorum, plebs Hannibalis erat, consiliaque

1 eui . . . erat spurious according to Gronovius.

1 Pay for the soldiers had been lent by him in the previous year; cf. xxi. 5. His successor presently took the Carthaginian side: XXIV. vi f.
2 Cf. xxxiv. 8 f.
3 This term ("The Obscure") had been applied to the early philosopher of Ephesus of the same name, ca. 500 B.C. A pointless marginal note may have got into the text here, displacing the adjective of place which would be expected with this unknown Heraclitus.
be repaid to king Hiero. This money was carried B.C. 215 to Tarentum by Lucius Antistius, the lieutenant. At the same time two hundred thousand pecks of wheat and a hundred thousand of barley were sent by Hiero.

XXXIX. While the Romans were engaged in these preparations and activities, the one captured ship escaped while under weigh from those which had been sent to Rome, and returned to Philip. Thus it became known that the ambassadors had been captured with the letter. And so the king, not knowing what had been agreed upon between his ambassadors and Hannibal, and what message the latter's ambassadors were to have brought to him, sent another embassy with the same instructions. As ambassadors to Hannibal there were sent Heraclitus, surnamed Scotinus, and Crito, the Bocotian, and Sositheus, of Magnesia. These succeeded in carrying and in bringing back instructions; but the summer was over before the king could make any active preparations. So effectual was the capture of a single ship and ambassadors in postponing a war which threatened the Romans.

Also in the vicinity of Capua both consuls were carrying on the war, now that Fabius, after finally making atonement for the prodigies, had crossed the Volturnus. The cities of Combalteria and Trebula and Austieula, which had revolted to the Carthaginian, were forcibly taken by Fabius, and in them Hannibal's garrisons and very many Campanians were captured. And at Nola, just as in the previous year, the senate sided with the Romans, the common people with Hannibal, and secret plans were being formed for the

4 Mentioned in xxxi. 15.
occulta de caede principum et proditione urbis inibantur. Quibus ne incepta procederent, inter Capuam castraque Hannibalis, quae in Tifatis erant, traducto exercitu Fabius super Suessulum in castris Claudianis consedit; inde M. Marcellum propraetorem cum iis copiis quas habebat Nolam in praeсидium misit.

XL. Et in Sardinia res per T. Manlium praetorem administrari coeptae, quae omissae erant postquam Q. Mucius praetor gravi morbo est implicitus.  
2 Manlius navibus longis ad Carales subductis navali-busque sociis armatis, ut terra rem gereret, et a praetore exercitu accepto duo et viginti milia peditum, milie ducentos equites consecit. Cum his equitum peditumque copiis profectus in agrum hostium haud procul ab Hampsicorae castris castra posuit. Hampsicora tum forte profectus erat in Pellitos Sardos ad inventutem armandam, qua copias augeret; filius nomine Hostus castris praeerat.  
4 Is adulescentia ferox temere proelio inito fusus fugatusque. Ad tria milia Sardorum eo proelio crese, octingenti ferme vivi capti; alius exercitus primo per agros silvasque fuga palatus, dein, quo ducem fugisse fama erat, ad urbem nomine Cornum, caput eius regionis, confugit; debellatumque eo p. lio in Sardinia esset, ni classis Punica cum duce

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1 Cf. xxxi. 3 and 5; xlvi. 9.  
2 Really proconsul; cf. xxx. 18; xxxii. 2; xlviij. 2.  
3 Acting in place of the regular praetor; cf. xxxiv. 15.  
4 Regularly called socii navales, from the time when seamen and oarsmen were allies, while the soldiers on board were Romans.
murder of the leading men and the betrayal of the city. That their undertaking should go no farther, Fabius led his army between Capua and the camp of Hannibal, which was on Tifata, and established himself above Suessula in the Claudian Camp. From there he sent Marcus Marcellus, the pro-praetor, with the forces which he had to Nola, to serve as a garrison.

XL. And in Sardinia under the direction of Titus Manlius, the praetor, the operations which had been neglected ever since Quintus Mucius, the praetor, was attacked by a serious malady, were resumed. Manlius, after beaching his warships at Carales and arming their crews, in order to wage war on land, and receiving an army from the praetor, made up a total of twenty-two thousand infantry and twelve hundred cavalry. With these cavalry and infantry forces he set out for the enemy's territory and pitched camp not far from the camp of Hampsicora. At that time Hampsicora, as it happened, had gone to the region of the Skin-clad Sardinians, to arm their young men, in order to enlarge his forces. His son named Hostus was in command of the camp. He with the over-confidence of youth rashly went into battle, was routed and put to flight. About three thousand Sardinians were slain in that battle, some eight hundred taken alive. The rest of the army, at first wandering in flight through the farms and woods, then fled to the place to which it was reported that the commander had fled, a city named Cornus, the capital of that region. And the war in Sardinia would have been ended by that battle, had not the

5 An earlier population living in the mountainous interior of the island and wearing goat-skins.
Hasdrubale, quae tempestate deiecta ad Bariaris erat, in tempore ad spem rebellandi advenisset. Manlius post famam adpulsae Punicae classis Carales se recepit: ea occasio Hampsicorae data est Poeno se iungendi. Hasdrubal, copiis in terram expositis et classe remissa Carthaginem, duce Hampsicora ad sociorum populi Romani agrum populandum propectus Carales perventurus erat, ni Manlius obvio exercitu ab effusa cum populatione continuisset.

Primo castra castris modico intervallo sunt obiecta; deinde per procursationes levia certamina vario eventu inita; postremo descensum in aciem. Signis conlatis insto proclio per quattuor horas pugnatum.


Ante omnia claram et memorabilem pugnam fecit Hasdrubal imperator captus et Hanno et Mago, nobilis Carthaginienses. Mago ex gente Bercina, propinqua cognatione Hannibali iunctus, Hanno
Carthaginian fleet commanded by Hasdrubal, which B.C. 215 had been carried by a storm to the Balearic Islands, arrived at the right moment to revive hopes for the rebellion. Manlius, when the arrival of the Punic fleet was reported, withdrew to Carales. By so doing he gave Hampsicora the opportunity to unite with the Carthaginian. Hasdrubal, after landing his forces and sending the fleet back to Carthage, set out with Hampsicora as his guide to lay waste the lands of allies of the Roman people. And he would have reached Carales, had not Manlius by confronting him with an army restrained him from his widespread devastation. At first camp faced camp at no great distance. Then charges led to skirmishes with varying results. Finally they went into line of battle. With standards against standards they fought a regular engagement for four hours. For a long time the Carthaginians made the issue uncertain, while the Sardinians were used to being easily defeated. Finally, when the slain and the fleeing Sardinians had covered the whole field, the Carthaginians also were routed. But when they tried to flee, the Roman general hemmed them in by a flank movement of the wing with which he had beaten back the Sardinians. It was a slaughter after that, rather than a battle. Twelve thousand of the enemy were slain, Sardinians and Carthaginians reckoned together. About three thousand seven hundred were captured, and twenty-seven military standards.

XLI. What more than all made it a famous and memorable battle was the capture of Hasdrubal, the commander, and Hanno and Mago, Carthaginian nobles, Mago being of the Barca family and nearly related to Hannibal, while Hanno had advised the
LIVY

Auctor rebellionis Sardis bellique eius haud dubie
3 concitor. Nee Sardorum duces minus nobilem cam
pugnarn cladibus suis fecerunt: nam et filius Hamp-
sicorae Hostus in acie cecidit, et Hampsicora cum
paucis equitibus fugiens, ut super adfectas res necem
quaeque filii audivit, nocte, ne euis interventus
5 cocepta impeditet, mortem sibi conscivit. Ceteris
urbs Cornus eadem quae ante fugae receptaculum
fuit: quam Manlius victore exercitu adgressus intra
dies paucos recepit. Deinde aliae quoque civitates,
quae ad Hampsicoram Pocosque defecerant, ob-
sidibus datis dediderunt sese; quibus stipendio
frumentoque imperato pro euisque aut viribus aut
7 delicto Carales exercitum reduxit. Ibi navibus longis
deductis inpositoque quem secum advexerat milite
Romam navigat Sardiniamque perdomitam nuntiat
patribus: et stipendium quaestoribus, frumentum
aedilibus, captivos Q. Fulvio praetori tradit.
8 Per idem tempus T. Otacilius praetor ab Lillybaco
classi in Africam transvectus depopulatusque agrum
9 Carthaginiensem, cum Sardiniam inde peteret, quo
fama erat Hasdrubalem a Balearibus mper traiceisse,
classi Africam repetenti occurrit, levide certamine
in alto comnssco septem inde naves cum sociis
navalibus cepit. Ceteras metus haud secus quam
tempestas passim disiecit.

Sardinians to rebel and had undoubtedly fomented B.C. 215 that war. And the Sardinians' generals made the battle no less notable by their deaths. For Hostus, the son of Hampsicora, fell in battle, and also Hampsicora as he fled with a few horsemen, on hearing, not of the defeat only, but also of the death of his son, took his own life, doing this at night, that no one might come upon him and interfere with his attempt. For all the rest the same city of Cornus was a place of refuge, as before. Manlius with his victorious army attacked it and took it within a few days. Then other cities also which had revolted to Hampsicora and the Carthaginians gave hostages and surrendered. From these cities Manlius exacted tribute and grain in proportion to the resources of each or its guilt, and led his army back to Carales. There he launched his warships, took on board the soldiers he had brought with him, sailed for Rome, and reported to the senate the complete subjugation of Sardinia. He also turned over the tribute to the quaestors, the grain to the aediles, the captives to Quintus Fulvius, the praetor.

About the same time Titus Otacilius, the praetor, sailed with his fleet from Lilybaeum across to Africa, and after laying waste the country about Carthage, was steering thence toward Sardinia, to which it was reported that Hasdrubal had recently crossed from the Balearic Islands, when he encountered the fleet returning to Africa; and in a slight engagement fought in open water he captured seven of their ships together with their crews. The rest were widely scattered by their fear quite as much as they had been by the storm.

1 Here = praefectus, commander of the fleet.
Livy


13 Eadem aestival Marcellus ab Nola, quam praesidio obtinebat, crebras excursiones in agrum Hirpinum et Samnites Caudinos fecit adeoque omnia ferro atque igni vastavit ut antiquarum cladium Samnio memoriam renovaret. XLI. Itaque extemplo legati ad Hannibalem missi simul ex utraque gente ita Pœnenum adlocuti sunt: "Hostes populi Romani, Hannibal, fuimus primum per nos ipsi quoad nostra arma, nostrae vires nos tutari poterant. Postquam his parum fidebamus, Pyrrho regi nos adiunximus; a quo relictis pacem necessariam accepimus, fuimusque in ea per annos prope quinquaginta ad id tempus quo tu in Italian venisti. Tua nos non magis virtus fortunaque quam unica comitas ac benignitas erga eives nostros, quos captos nobis remisisti, ita con ciliavit tibi ut salvo atque incolae amico non modo populum Romanum sed ne deos quidem iratos, si fas est dici, timeremus. At hercule non solum

1 vento aestuque suo Weissenborn: aestuque suo PR: aestuque suo R12(7).

1 In the Samnite Wars, as narrated in books VII to X, especially their defeats at Suessula, 343 B.C., and at Sentinum, 295.

2 The speech is, of course, that of their leader.
About the same time, moreover, as it happened, B.C. 215 Bomilcar arrived at Locri with the soldiers sent as reinforcements from Carthage and with elephants and supplies. In order to take him unawares Appius Claudius, with the pretence of making the round of his province, led his army in haste to Messana, and with wind and current in his favour crossed over to Locri. Already Bomilcar had left that place, to join Hanno among the Bruttii, and the Locrians closed their gates against the Romans. Appius, having accomplished nothing by his great effort, returned to Messana.

The same summer Marcellus from Nola, which he held with a garrison, made frequent raids into the country of the Hirpini and the Samnites about Caudium and laid waste the whole region with fire and sword so completely that he revived the Samnites' memory of their old disasters. Accordingly ambassadors were sent at once to Hannibal from both tribes, and they addressed the Carthaginian thus: "We were enemies of the Roman people, Hannibal, at first by ourselves, so long as our arms and our resources were able to defend us. When we had lost confidence in these, we attached ourselves to Pyrrhus, the king. Abandoned by him we accepted an inevitable peace, and have remained in that peace for about fifty years, down to the time when you came to Italy. It is not more your courage and success than your singular kindness and consideration toward our citizens, whom you captured and then sent back to us, that so won us over to you that, so long as you were a friend safe and sound, we not only did not fear the Roman people, but not even the anger of the gods, if it is right to say so. But in fact,
incolumi et victore sed praesente te, cum ploratum prope coniugum ac liberorum nostrorum exaudire et flagrantia tecta posses conspiciere, ita sumus aliquotiens haec aestate devastati ut M. Marcellus, non Hannibal, viciisse ad Cannas videatur, glorienturque Romani te, ad unum modo iictum vigentem, velut aculeo emisso torpere. Per annos centum cum populo Romano bellum gessimus, nullo externo adiuti nec duce nec exercitu, nisi quod per biennium Pyrrhus nostro magis militis suas auxit vires quam suis viribus nos defendit. Non ego secundis rebus nostris gloriarbor, duos consules ac duos consulares exercitus ab nobis sub iugum missos, et si qua alia aut laeta aut gloriosa nobis evenerunt. Quae aspera adversaque tune acciderunt minore indignatione referre possimus quam quae hodie eveniunt. Magni dictatores cum magistris equitum, bini consules cum binis consularibus exercitibus ingrediebantur finis nostros; ante explorato et subsidiiis positis et sub signis ad populandum ducebant; nunc propraetoris minus et parvi ad tuendam Nolam praesidii praeda sumus: iam ne manipulatim quidem sed latronum modo percursant totis finibus nostris neglegentius quam si in Romano vagarentur agro. Causa autem hace est quod neque tu defendis et nostra iuventus, quae si domi esset tutaretur, omnis sub signis militat tuis. Nee te nec exercitum tumur norum nisi, a quo

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1 centum x: prope centum A²x: om. P(1).

1 E.g. Papirius Cursor, VIII. xxix ff.; again IX. xxviii; five times consul.
2 In disparagement of Marcellus, a proconsul; cf. xliii. 12.
while you are not merely safe and victorious, but also B.c. 215 here present, although you could almost hear the wailing of our wives and children and could see the blazing houses, we have been so ravaged several times this summer that Marcus Marcellus, not Hannibal, appears to have been the victor at Cannae, and the Romans are boasting that you, having strength for but a single stroke, are inactive, as if you had spent your sting. For a hundred years we waged war with the Roman people, unaided either by commander or army from abroad, except that for two years Pyrrhus did not so much defend us with his resources as enlarge these by adding our soldiers. I shall not boast of our successes, that two consuls and two consular armies were sent under the yoke by us, nor of any other events which have brought us either joy or fame. But the hardships and defeats which then befell us we can relate with less indignation than the things that are happening today. Great dictators¹ and masters of the horse, two consuls and two consular armies, used each time to enter our territory. After first reconnoitring and posting reserves, and in regular array they would lead out for a raid. But now we are the prey of a single propraetor² and a small garrison assigned to the defence of Nola. Already they roam over our whole territory, not even in maniples, but after the manner of brigands, with less caution than if they were wandering in the country around Rome. The reason moreover is this: that you are not defending us, and at the same time our young men, who would be protecting us if they were at home, are all serving under your standards. I should be unacquainted both with you and your army if I were not to hold

BOOK XXIII. XLII. 5–12
tot acies Romanas fusas stratasque esse seiam, ei facile esse duceam 1 opprimere populatores nostros vagos, sine signis palatos quo quemque trahit quamvis 13 vana praedae spec. Numidarum paucorum illi quidem praeda crunt praesidiumque miseris simul 2 nobis et Nolae ademeris, si modo, quos ut socios haberes dignos duxisti, haud 3 indignos iudicas quos in fidem receptos duxisti."

XLIII. Ad ea Hannibal respondit, omnia simul facere Hirpinos Samnitesque, et indicare clades suas et petere praesidium et queri indefensos se neglectos-que. Indicandum autem primum fuisse, dein petendum praesidium, postremo ni inpetraretur, tum denique querendum frustra opem inploratam.

Exercitum sese non in agrum Hirpinum Samnitemve, ne et ipsa oneri esset, sed in proxima loca sociorum populi Romani adducturum. Iis populandis et militem suum repleturum se et metu jirocul ab his 4 summotorum hostis. Quod ad bellum Romanum attineret, si Trasumenni quam Trebiae, si Cannarum quam Trasumenni pugna nobilior esset, Cannarum quoque se 5 memoriam obscuram maiore et clariore victoria facturum.

Cum hoc responso muneribusque amplis legatos dimisit; ipse praesidio modico relictio in Tifatis pro-fectus cetero exercitu ire Nolam pergit. Eodem Hanno ex Bruttiis cum supplemento Carthagine advecto atque elephantis venit. Castris haud procul

1 ducam z: dicam P(1).
2 miseris simul Madvig: misul P: misum P3?R: missum
3 haud Ay Valla : at it PR : ad id C : at id R(14).
4 his P Walters, without comment : iis vulgare.
5 quoque se Sisbye : se quoque P(1).

146
it easy for one who, I know, has routed and laid low B.C. 215 so many Roman battle-lines to surprise our scattered plunderers, roaming without their standards wherever a man is drawn by even the vain hope of booty. To a few Numidians they will in any case fall a prey, and you will have sent us troops and at the same time will have rid Nola of its garrison, if only men whom you have considered worthy to be your allies are not judged by you unworthy to be taken under your protection and defended."

XLIII. To this Hannibal replied that the Hirpini and Samnites were doing everything at once, reporting their losses, and asking for troops, and complaining that they were undefended and neglected. But they ought first to have reported, then asked for protection, finally, if this was not obtained, they should then, and not sooner, have complained that help had been besought in vain. He would lead his army, not into the territory of the Hirpini or the Samnites, in order not to be another burden, but into the nearest lands of allies of the Roman people. By devastating these he would satisfy his own army and drive the frightened enemy to a distance from them. As for the Roman war, if the battle of the Trasumennus was more celebrated than that of the Trebia, if Cannae than Trasumennus, he would overshadow the memory even of Cannae by a greater and more famous victory.

With this answer and also with ample gifts he sent the ambassadors away. He himself set out, leaving a moderate force on Tifata, and proceeded with the rest of his army to Nola. Hanno also came thither from the land of the Bruttii with reinforcements brought from Carthage and with the elephants.
Livy

A.U.C. 539

positis longe alia omnia inquirenti conferta sunt quam quae a legatis sociorum audierat. Nihil enim Marcellus ita egerat ut aut fortuna aut temere hosti commissum dici posset. Explorato cum firmisque praesidiis tuto receptu praedatum ierat, omniaque velut adversus praesentem Hannibalem cauta provisaque fuerant. Tum, ubi sensit hostem advenire, copias intra moenia tenuit; per muros inambulare senatores Nolanos iussit et omnia circa explorare quae apud hostes fient. Ex his Hanno, cum ad murum successisset, Herennium Bassum et Herium Pettium ad conloquium evocatos permissuque Marcelli egressos per interpretem adloquitur. Hannibalis virtutem fortunamque extollit: populi Romani obterit senescentem cum viribus maiestatem. Quae si paria essent, ut quondam fuissent, tamen expertis quam grave Romanum imperium sociis, quanta indulgentia Hannibalis etiam in captivos omnis Italici nominis fuisset, Punicam Romanae societatem atque amicitiam praecoptandam esse. Si ambo consules cum suis exercitibus ad Nolam essent, tamen non magis pares Hannibali futuros quam ad Cannas fuissent, nendum praetor unus cum paucis et novis militibus Nolam tutari possit. Ipsorum quam Hannibalis magis1 interesse capta an tradita Nola poteretur; potiturum enim, ut Capna Nuceriaque

1 magis Harant (after ipsorum in Az): om. P(1).

148
Having pitched his camp not far away, Hannibal b.c. 215 found on enquiry that everything was very different from what he had heard from the legates of his allies. For Marcellus had not done anything in such a way that it could be said to have been left to fortune or rashly left to the enemy. After reconnoitring, having strong forces and a safe refuge, he had gone out to forage, and every possible precaution had been taken, as though against Hannibal in person. Then on learning of the approach of the enemy, he kept his troops inside the walls. He ordered the senators of Nola to walk up and down on the walls, and to observe everything that went on among the enemy all around. Hanno, having come close to the wall, called out from their number Herennius Bassus and Herius Pettius to a conference, and when they came out with Marcellus’ permission, he addressed them through an interpreter. He lauded Hannibal’s courage and success. He belittled the majesty of the Roman people, as wasting away along with their resources. And if these qualities were evenly matched, he said, as once they had been, nevertheless those who had found out how burdensome was Roman rule to the allies, how great had been Hannibal’s indulgence even to all captives who called themselves Italians, these were bound to prefer Carthaginian alliance and friendship to Roman. If both consuls were at Nola with their armies, still they would be no more a match for Hannibal than they had been at Cannae; much less could one praetor with a few raw soldiers defend Nola. It was their own concern more than Hannibal’s whether he took Nola by capture or by surrender. For he would take it, as he had taken Capua and Nueeria. But what a difference
potitus esset; sed quid inter Capuac ae Nucciacae fortunam interesset ipsos prope in medio sitos
14 Nolanos seire. Nolle ominari quae captae urbi casura1 forent, et potius spondeire, si Marcellum cum praesidio ae Nolan tradidissent, neminem alium quam ipsos legem qua in societatem amicitiamque Hannibalis venirent dicturum.

XLIV. Ad ea Herennius Bassus respondit multos annos iam inter Romanum Nolanumque populum amicitiam esse, cuius neutros ad eam diem paenitere, et sibi, si cum fortuna mutanda fides fuerit, sero
2 iam esse mutare. An dedituris se Hannibali fuisse accersendum Romanorum praesidium? Cum iis qui ad sese tuendos venissent omnia sibi et esse consociata et ad ultimum fore.

3 Hoc conloquium abstulit spem Hannibali per proditionem recipiendae Nolanæ. Itaque corona oppidum circumindedit, ut simul ab omni parte moenia adgrede-
4 retur. Quem ut sucessisse muris Marcellus vidit, instructa intra portam acie cum magno tumultu erupit. Aliquot primo impetu percussi caesique sunt; dein concursu ad pugnantis facto acuatusque viribus atrox esse coepit pugna, memorabilisque inter paucas fuisset, ni ingentibus procellis effusus
5 imber diremisset pugnantis. Eo die commisso modico certamine atque irritatis animis in urbe Romani. Poeni in castra reciperunt sese; nam2

1 casura Nipperley : cessura P(11)Ae.
there was between the lot of Capua and that of Nuceria the men of Nola themselves knew, being situated about half-way between them. He did not wish to forecast what would happen to the city if captured, but assured them instead that if they surrendered Marcellus and Nola with the garrison, no one but themselves should name the terms on which they might enter alliance and friendship with Hannibal.

XLIV. To this Herennius Bassus replied that for many years there had been friendship between the Roman people and that of Nola; that down to that time neither party regretted it, and for themselves, if with altered fortune they ought to have changed their loyalty, it was now too late to change. If they were going to surrender to Hannibal, had they needed to send for a Roman garrison? With the men who had come to defend them they had allied themselves in everything, and it would be so to the end.

This conference deprived Hannibal of the hope of getting Nola by treachery. And so he completely invested the town, in order to attack the walls from all sides at once. Marcellus, on seeing that Hannibal had approached the walls, drew up his line inside the gate and sallied out with a great uproar. Not a few were terrified by the first attack and slain. Then, when they had charged the attacking force and brought up equal numbers, the battle began to be a fierce one, and would have been among the most memorable, if a downpour of rain in heavy squalls had not separated the combatants. That day, after beginning an engagement of no importance and merely inflaming their passions, they withdrew, the Romans into the city, the Carthaginians to the camp. For of
Poenorum prima erupitione percussi ecciderunt haud plus quam triginta,\(^1\) Romani quinquaginta,\(^2\) Imber\(^3\) continens per noctem totam usque ad horam tertiam dici inequentis tenuit. Itaque, quamquam utraque pars avidi certaminis erant, eo die tenerunt sese tamen munimentis.

Tertio die Hannibal partem copiarum praedatum in agrum Nolanum misit. Quod ubi animadvertit Marcellus, extemplo in aciem copias eduxit; neque Hannibal detractavit. Mille fere passuum inter urbem erant castraque; eo spatio—et sunt omnia campi circa Nolan—concurrerunt. Clamor ex parte utraque sublatus proximos ex cohotibus iis quae in agros praedatum exierant ad proelium iam commissum revocavit. Et Nolani aciem Romanam auxerunt, quos conludatos Marcellus in subsidis stare et saecios ex acie efferre iussit. pugna abstinere, ni ab se signum accipisset. XLV. Proelium erat aniceps; summa vi et duces hortabantur et milites pugnabant. Marcellus victis ante diem tertium, fugatis ante paucos dies a Cumis, pulsis priore anno ab Nola ab eodem se ducit. milite alio, instare iussit. pugna abstinere, ni ab se signum accipissent. XLV. Proelium erat aniceps; summa vi et duces hortabantur et milites pugnabant. Marcellus victis ante diem tertium, fugatis ante paucos dies a Cumis, pulsis priore anno ab Nola ab eodem se ducit. milite alio, instare iussit. pugna abstinere, ni ab se signum accipissent. XLV. Proelium erat aniceps; summa vi et duces hortabantur et milites pugnabant. Marcellus victis ante diem tertium, fugatis ante paucos dies a Cumis, pulsis priore anno ab Nola ab eodem se ducit. milite alio, instare iussit. pugna abstinere, ni ab se signum accipissent.

Non omnis esse in acie; praedantis vagari in agro; et\(^4\) qui pugnet, marcere Campania luxuria, vino et scortis omnibusque laistris per totam hiemem confectos. Abisse illam vim vigoremque, dilapsa\(^5\) esse robora corporum animorumque quibus Pyrenaei Alpiumque superata sint inga. Reliquias illorum

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1. The small number is probably an error of the copyists.
the Carthaginians not more than thirty, 1 who were b.c. 215 terrified by the first sally, fell, of the Romans fifty. The rain continued incessantly throughout the night to the third hour of the next day. And so, although both sides were eager for the fray, they nevertheless kept within their fortifications that day.

On the third day Hannibal sent a part of his forces into the country about Nola to plunder. On observing this Marcellus at once drew up his troops in line. And Hannibal did not refuse battle. There was about a mile between the city and the camp. In that space—and there is only a plain around Nola—they met each other. A shout raised on both sides recalled to a battle already begun the nearest men of the cohorts which had gone out to the farms for booty. And the men of Nola reinforced the Roman line. Marcellus praised them and ordered them to keep their place among the reserves and to carry off the wounded from the field; to refrain from fighting unless they should receive a signal from him.  XLV. The battle was doubtful. The generals were doing their utmost in cheering on their men, the soldiers in fighting. Marcellus bids them attack men defeated two days before, driven from Cumae in flight a few days earlier, beaten back from Nola the previous year by himself, the same commander, and other soldiers. Not all of the enemy, he said, were in the line of battle; the booty-hunters were roaming about the country, and those who were fighting were weakened by Campanian luxury, exhausted by wine and harlots and every kind of dissipation the whole winter through. Gone was that force and energy, lost the strength of body and spirit with which they had crossed the ranges of the Pyrenees and the Alps.
virorum vix arma membraque sustinentis pugnare.
4 Capuam Hannibali Cannas fuisse: ibi virtutem belli-
cam, ibi militarem disciplinam, ibi praeteriti temporis
5 famam, ibi spem futuri extinctam. Cum haec
exprobrando hosti Marcellus suorum militum animos
erigeret, Hannibal multo gravioribus probris increpa-
bat: arma signaque eadem se noscere quae ad
Trebiam Trasumenumque, postremo ad Cannas
viderit habueritque: militem alium profecto se in
hiberna Capuam duxisse, alium inde eduxisse.
7 "Legatumne Romanum et legionis unius atque alae
magni certamine vix toleratis pugnam, quos binae
8 acies consulares numquam sustinuerunt? Marcellus
tirone milite ae Nolanis subsidiiis inultus nos iam
iterum lacessit! Ubi ille miles meus est qui derepto
ex equo C. Flaminio consuli caput abstulit? Ubi,
9 qui L. Paulum ad Cannas occidit? Ferrum nunc
hebet? an dextrae torpent? an quid prodigii est
aliud? Quae pauci plures vincere soliti estis, nunc
paucis plures vix restatis? Romam vos expugna-
turos, si quis duceret, fortes lingua iactabatis: en,1
in minore re 2 hic experiri vim virtutemque volo.
Expugnate Nolan, campestrem urbem, non flumine,
non mari saepam. Hinc vos ex tam opulenta urbe

1 en A Valla, Madvig: enim P(10).

1 Again disparagement of Marcellus, as in xlii. 10.
2 A somewhat different account in XXII. vi. 4.
3 Cf. XXII. xlix. 12.
Remnants only of those men were fighting, scarcely B.C. 215 able to hold up their weapons and their limbs. Capua had been Hannibal's Cannae. It was there that warlike courage had been extinguished, there the discipline of the soldier, there the past reputation, there the hope for the future. While by thus reviling the enemy Marcellus was raising the spirits of his soldiers, Hannibal was uttering much more serious reproaches; he recognized the same arms and standards which he had seen and had at the Trebia and Trasumennus, finally at Cannae; but as for the soldier, he had certainly led one man into winter quarters at Capua, and out of them a different man. "Are you," he said, "hardly able with great effort to hold out against a mere Roman lieutenant, and an engagement with a single legion and its auxiliaries—you, whom two consular armies combined have never withstood? Marcellus with recruits and with reserves from Nola is now attacking us for the second time with impunity! Where is that soldier of mine who pulled Gaius Flaminius, the consul, down from his horse and carried away his head? Where the man who slew Lucius Paulus at Cannae? Is the sword now blunted? Or are your right hands numbed? Or is it some other portent? You who, though few, were wont to defeat larger numbers, now in larger numbers with difficulty resist the few? You used to boast, brave men in speech, that if some one led you, you would take Rome by storm. Look you, in a less difficult situation, here and now I wish to test your might and courage. Take Nola by storm, a city of the plain, not fenced by a river nor by the sea. From this place, a city of such wealth, I will either lead you, laden with booty and
praeda spoliisque omnibus vel duceam quo voletis vel sequar."'

XLVI. Nee bene nee male dicta profuerunt ad 2 confirmandos animos. Cum omni parte pellerentur, Romanisque crescerent animi, non duce solum adhortante sed Nolanis etiam per clamorem favoris indicem accendentibus ardorem pugnae, terga Poeni dederunt 3 atque in castra compulsi sunt. Quae oppugnare capientis milites Romanos Marcellus Nolan reduxit cum magno gaudio et gratulatione etiam plebis, quae ante inclinatior ad Poenos fucerat. Hostium plus quinque milia 1 caesa co die, vivi capti sescenti et signa militaria undeviginti et duo elephanti, quattuor in acie occisi; Romanorum minus mille interfecti. 4 Posterum diem indutiis tacitis sepeliendo utrimque caesos in acie consumpserunt. Spolia hostium 5 Marcellus Volcano votum cremavit. Tertio post die, ob iram, credo, aliquam aut spem liberalioris militiae, ducenti septuaginta duo equites, mixti Numidae et Hispani, ad Marcellum transfugerunt. Eorum forti fidelique opera in eo bello usi sunt saepe Romani. 6 Ager Hispanis in Hispania et Numidis in Africa post bellum virtutis causa datus est.

Hannibal, ab Nola remisso in Bruttios Hannone 7 cum quibus venerat copiis, ipse Apuliae hiberna petit circaque Arpos consedit. Q. Fabius ut profectum in

1 quinque milia Gronovius: vel P(1); cf. xxxiv. 13.
spoils, or I will follow you whithersoever you shall desire."

XLVI. Neither encouragement nor reproaches had any effect in steadying their spirits. Since they were everywhere beaten back, while the Romans' courage rose, as not only the general exhorted them, but the men of Nola also kindled their ardour for battle by shouting as evidence of their support, the Carthaginians retreated and were forced back into the camp. The Roman soldiers were eager to assault the camp, but Marcellus led them back to Nola, in the midst of great rejoicing and congratulation on the part of the common people as well, who had previously been more inclined to the Carthaginians. Of the enemy more than five thousand were slain that day, six hundred captured alive, and nineteen military standards and two elephants were taken, four killed in battle. Of the Romans less than a thousand were slain. The next day they spent under a tacit armistice, burying those slain in the battle on both sides. Marcellus burned the spoils of the enemy, paying a vow to Vulcan. Two days later in anger on some account, I suppose, or in the hope of a more generous service, two hundred and seventy-two horsemen, partly Numidians, partly Spaniards, deserted to Marcellus. Their brave and loyal services were repeatedly employed by the Romans in that war. As a reward for their courage farm land was given after the war to the Spaniards in Spain, to the Numidians in Africa.

Hannibal, sending Hanno back from Nola into the country of the Bruttii with the forces with which he had come, himself sought winter quarters in Apulia and established himself near Arpi. Quintus Fabius,
Apuliam Hannibalem audivit, frumento ab Nola Neapolique in ea castra convecto quae super Suessulam erant, munimentisque firmatis et, praeidio quod per hiberna ad obtainendum\(^1\) locum satis esset relecto, ipse Capuam propius movit castra agrumque Campa-num ferro ignique est depopulatus, donec coacti sunt Campani, nihil admodum viribus suis fidentes, egressi portis et castra ante urbem in aperto commune. Sex milia armatorum habeabant, peditem inbellem, equitatu plus poterant; itaque equestribus proeliis lacessebant hostem.

12 Inter multos nobiles equites Campanos Cerrinus Vibellius erat, cognomine Taurca. Civis indidem erat, longe omnium Campanorum fortissimus eques, adeo ut, cum apud Romanos militaret, unus eum Romanus Claudius Asellus gloria equestri acquaret.

13 Tunc\(^2\) Taurca, cum diu perlustrans oculis obequit at hostium turmis, tandem silentio facto, ubi esset Claudius Asellus quaesivit et, quoniam verbis secum de virtute ambigere solitus esset, cur non ferro decerneret dare quae spolia victus aut victor caperet.

XLVII. Hace ubi Asello sunt nuntiata in castra, id modo moratus ut consulem percunctaretur liceretne extra ordinem in provocantem hostem pugnare,

\(^1\) obtainendum \textit{Madrig}; tenendum \textit{x Gronovius}; petendum \textit{P(1)}.
\(^2\) tune \textit{Walch}; tunc \textit{P(4)}; hic \textit{D.A.}

158
on hearing that Hannibal had gone into Apulia, B.C. 215
brought in grain from Nola and Neapolis to the camp
above Suessula, strengthened the fortifications, and
left a garrison which was strong enough to hold the
place through the winter season. He then moved his
camp nearer to Capua and ravaged the Campanian
territory with fire and sword, until the Campanians,
who had no confidence at all in their own resources,
were compelled to come out of the gates and fortify
a camp in the open before the city. They had six
thousand armed men, infantry unfit for war; but in
cavalry they were more effective. Accordingly they
kept harassing the enemy by cavalry battles.

Among the many distinguished Campanian
horsemen was Cerrinus Vibellius, surnamed Taurea.
A citizen of that state, he was far the bravest horse-
man of all the Campanians, so much so that while he
served with the Romans only one Roman, Claudius
Asellus, rivalled him in reputation as a cavalryman.
At this time Taurea, looking all around again and
again, rode up to the squadrons of the enemy’s
cavalry and, when silence was at last obtained, asked
where Claudius Asellus was, and why, since he had
been in the habit of disputing with him about their
courage, did he not settle the matter with the sword
and, if vanquished, give, or if victorious, take, the
splendid spoils.¹

XLVII. When this was reported to Asellus in the
camp, he waited only to ask the consul whether he
might fight out of the ranks against an enemy who

¹ Strictly speaking the opima spolia were those taken by a
Roman general in command from the general of the enemy
after a single combat; I. x. 4–7 (Romulus); IV. xx. 2 and
5–6 (Cossus); Periocha 20 (Marcellus).
A.D.C. 2
permissu eius arma extemplo cepit, provectusque ante stationes equo Tauream nomine compellavit.
congredeique ubi vellet iussit. Iam Romani ad
spectaculum pugnae eius frequentes exierant, et
campani non vallum modo castrorum sed moenia
etiam urbis prospectantes repleverant. Cum iam
ante ferocibus dictis rem nobilitassent, infestis hastis
concitarunt equos: dein libero spatio inter se ludi-
sificantes sine vulnere pugnam extrahebant. Tum
Campanus Romano "Equorum" inquit "hoc non
equitum eit certamen, nisi e campo in cavam hane
viam demittimus equos. Ibi nullo ad evagandum
spatio comminus consensur manus." Diito prope
citius equum in viam Claudius deiecit. Taurea verbis
ferocior quam re "Minime sis" inquit "cantherium
in fossam"; quae vox in rusticum inde proverbium
prodita est. Claudius, cum ea via longe perequ-
itaset, nullo obvio hoste in campum rursus evecet,
inerepans ignaviam hostis, cum magno gaudio et
gratulationone victor in castra redit. Huie pugnae
equestri rem—quam vera sit, communis existimatio
est—mirabilem certe adiciunt quidam annales: cum
refugientem ad urbem Tauream Claudius sequeretur,
patenti hostium porta inventum per alteram, stupentibus miraeulo hostibus, intactum evasisse.

1 iam (13): hine O4 M1: in PCM F. 
2 repleverant Avez Madrig: -erunt P(1) F. 
4 deiecit A2 Madrig: delegit P1? (2) F: egit A3x Aldus. 
5 ea via Perizonius, Madrig: exva P: ex via P2 ?(1) F: 
eva Madrig (later). 
6 perequitaset, P (1) F add quia, P 1? via. 
7 quam vera sit Gronovius: quam vetatis P(4) F: quam
etatis DA. 
8 porta Ingerslev: portae P(1) F.
challenged him. With the consul’s permission he at B.C. 215 once took up his arms, and riding out in front of the guard-posts he addressed Taurea by name and bade him engage wherever he pleased. Already the Romans had gone out in crowds to that spectacle of a combat, and the Campanians who looked on had filled not only the earthwork of the camp but also the walls of the city. First calling attention to the affair by high-spirited words, they levelled spears and spurred their horses. Then, eluding each other in the open space, they prolonged the bloodless fray. Then the Campanian said to the Roman: “This will be a contest of horses, not of horsemen, unless we let our horses go down from the open field into this deep-cut road. There, with no room to avoid each other, we shall fight hand to hand.” Almost sooner than said Claudius put his horse into the road. Taurea, more spirited in words than in action, said: “Never a nag, please, into a ditch!”—words which have come down from that time as a farmer’s parable. Claudius rode a long way on that road, and then riding back to the field without meeting any enemy, returned as victor to the camp, reviling the cowardice of his enemy in the midst of great rejoicing and congratulations. To this combat of horsemen some annals add what is certainly marvellous—how true, it is for everyone to judge—that, as Claudius was pursuing Taurea fleeing to the city, he rode in through the enemy's open gate and, while they were spellbound in amazement, escaped unharmed by the opposite gate.

1 To be supplied is a verb, probably demiseris. Colloquial sis (= si vis, an insistent “please”) merely strengthens the prohibition.
XLVIII. Quieta inde stativa fuere, ac retro etiam consul movit castra, ut sementem Campani facerent, uce ante violavit agrum Campanum quam iam altae in segetibus herbae pabulum praebere poterant. Id convexit in Claudiana castra super Suessulum ibique hiberna acedicavit. M. Claudio proconsuli imperavit ut. retento Nolae necessario ad tuendum urbem praesidio, ceteros milites dimitteret Roman, ne oneri sociis et sumptui rei publicae essent. Et Ti. Gracchus, a Cumis Luceriam in Apuliam legiones cum duxisset, M. Valerium inde praetorem Brundisium cum eo quem Luceriae habuerat exercitum misit tuerique oram agri Sallentini et providere quod ad Philippum bellumque Macedonicum attineret iussit.

Exitu aestatis cius qua haec gesta perscrivimus litterae a P. et Cn. Scipionibus venerunt, quantas quamque prosperas in Hispania res gessissent; sed pecuniam in stipendium vestimentaque et frumentum exercitui et sociis navalis omnia deesse. Quod ad stipendium attineat, si aerasium inops sit, se aliquam rationem inituros quomodo ab Hispanis sumatur; cetera utique ab Roma mittenda esse, nce aliter aut exercitum aut provinciam teneri posse. Litteris recitatis nemo omnium erat quin et vera scribi et postulari acqua fateretur; sed occurrebat animis quantos exercitus terrestris navalisque tuerentur, quantaque nova classis mox paranda esset, si bellum

1 sumatur (sumat') P1? Alscheński, Walters: summat'q. P: sumant' P2' R157(7)F.

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1 The time is early autumn.
2 In the extreme south of Calabria; XXIV. xx. 16; XXV. i. 1.
3 As told in XXII. xxii. and XXIII. xxvi ff.
4 I.e. the senators present.
XLVIII. Thereafter the winter quarters were B.C. 215 undisturbed, and the consul moved his camp back again, that the Campanians might do their sowing. And he did not ravage the Campanian country until the growing grain in the fields was tall enough to furnish fodder. This he transported to the Claudian Camp above Suessula and there built winter barracks. He ordered Marcus Claudius, the proconsul, to keep at Nola only the garrison needed to defend the city, and to send away the rest of the soldiers to Rome, lest they be a burden to the allies and an expense to the state. And Tiberius Gracchus, after leading his legions from Cumae to Luceria in Apulia, sent thence Marcus Valerius, the praetor, to Brundisium with the army which he had had at Luceria, and ordered him to defend the coast of the Sallentine region and to take measures concerning Philip and the Macedonian war.

At the end of the summer in which occurred the events I have described, there came a letter from Publius and Gnaeus Scipio, reporting how great and how successful had been their operations in Spain; but that money for pay, also clothing and grain, were lacking for the army, and for the crews everything. So far as pay was concerned, if the treasury was empty, they would find some method of getting it from the Spaniards. Everything else, they said, must in any case be sent from Rome, and in no other way could either the army or the province be kept. After the reading of the letter, there was no one among them all who did not admit that the statements were true and the demands fair. But they reflected what great forces on land and sea they were maintaining, and how large a new fleet must soon be made ready.
A.U.C. 539

7 Macedonicum moveretur: Siciliam ac Sardiniam, quae ante bellum vectigales fuissent, vix praesides provinciarum exercitus alere; tributo sumptus suppeditari; ipsum tributum conferentium numerum tantis exercituinum stragibus et ad Trasumenum lacum et ad Cannas immittum; qui superessent pauci, si multiplici gravarentur stipendio, alia perituros peste. Itaque nisi fide staretur,—rem publicam opibus non staturam. Prodeundum in contionem Fulvius praetori esse, indicandas populo publicas necessitates cohorlandoque, qui redempturis auxissent patrimonii, ut rei publicae, ex qua crevissent, tempus commodarent conducerentque ea lege praebenda quae ad exercitum Hispaniensem opus essent, ut, cum pecunia in aerario esset, iis primis solveretur. Hace praetor in contione; edixitque diem quo vestimenta frumentum Hispaniensi exercitu praebenda quaeque alia opus essent navaliibus sociis esset locaturus. XLIX. Ubi ea dies venit, ad conduceendum tres societates aderant hominum undeviginti, quorum duo postulata fuere:

2 unum ut militia vacarent, dum in eo publico essent, alterum ut quae in naves inposuissent ab hostium tempestatisque vt publico periculo essent. Utroque impetrato conduxerunt, privataque pecunia res publica administrata est. Li mores eaque caritas patriae per omnes ordines velut tenore uno pertine-

1 ipsum, P(1)F have eum ipsum.
2 staretur (staret) P Walters: staret (1)F vulgate.
3 rem publicam P(2)F: res publica Az.
4 ea Sigonius: ex P(1)F.
5 -que diem Riemann: om. P(1).
6 ut militia vacarent dum Gronovius: hopeless confusion in P(1)F.

A direct tax paid by Roman citizens.

164
if a Macedonian war should begin; that Sicily and Sar- 

b.c. 215
dinia, which before the war had paid taxes in kind, 
were hardly feeding the armies that garrisoned those 
provinces; that necessary expenses were met only 
by the property tax; 1 that the number of those who 
paid that particular tax had been diminished by such 
great losses of troops at Lake Trasumennus and also 
at Cannae; that if the few who survived should be 
burdened by a much greater levy, they would perish 
by another malady. And so they thought that, unless 
support should be found in credit, the state would not 
be sustained by its assets; that Fulvius, the praetor; 
must go before the assembly, inform the people of the 
public needs and exhort those who by contracts 
had increased their property to allow the state, the 
source of their wealth, time for payment, and to 
contract for furnishing what was needed for the 
army in Spain, on the condition that they should be 
the first to be paid, as soon as there was money in the 
treasury. To this effect the praetor addressed the 
people, and named a date on which he would let 
the contracts for furnishing clothing and grain to the 
army in Spain and whatever else was needed for the 
crews. XLIX. When that day came, three companys 
of nineteen members presented themselves to take 
the contracts. And their demands were two: one, 
that they should be exempt from military duty so 
long as they were in that public service, the other, 
that the cargoes which they shipped should be at 
the risk of the state, so far as concerned the violence 
of enemies and of storms. Both demands being 
obtained, they contracted, and the state was carried 
on by private funds. Such character and such love 
of country pervaded all the classes virtually without
Livy

4 bat. Quemadmodum conducta omnia magno animo sunt, sic summa fide praebita, nee quiequam parcius militibus quam 1 si ex opulento aerario, ut quondam, alentur.

5 Cum hi commeatus venerunt, Illiturgi oppidum ab Hasdrubale ac Magone et Hannibale Bomilearis filio ob defectionem ad Romanos oppugnabatur. Inter haec trina castra hostium Scipiones cum in urbem sociorum magno certamine ac strage obsistentium pervenissent, frumentum, cuin inopia erat, advezerunt, cohortatique oppidanos ut codem animo moenia tutaarentur quo pro se pugnante Romam exercitum vidissent, ad castra maxima oppugnanda.

6 quibus Hasdrubal praeerat, ducunt. Eodem et duo duces et duo exercitus Carthaginiciensium, ibi rem summam agi cernentes, convenerunt. Itaque eruptione e castris pugnatum est. Sexaginta hostium milia eo die in pugna fuerunt, sedecim circa 10 a Romanis. Tamen adeo haud dubia victoria fuit ut plures numero quam ipsi erant Romani hostium occiderint, ceperint amplius tria milia hominum, paulo minus mille equorum, undesexaginta militaria signa, septem elephantos, quinque in proelio occisis, 12 trinisque eo die castris potiti sint. Illiturgi obsidione liberato ad Intibili oppugnandum Punici exercitus traducti suppletis copiis ex provincia, ut quae maxime

1 parcius militibus quam Madrig (one line), but he added datum (before quam) with Weissenborn: om. P(1)F.

1 In southern Spain, on the upper course of the Baetis (Guadalquivir), destroyed by Scipio Africanus in 206 B.C.; XXVIII, xx.

166
exception. As all the supplies were magnanimously contracted for, so they were delivered with great fidelity, and nothing was furnished to the soldiers less generously than if they were being maintained, as formerly, out of an ample treasury.

When these supplies arrived, the town of Ilturgi, because of its revolt to the Romans, was being besieged by Hasdrubal and Mago and Hannibal, the son of Bomilcar. Between these three camps of the enemy the Scipios made their way into a city of their allies with great effort and great loss to those that opposed them. And they brought grain, of which it had no supply, and encouraged the townspeople to defend their walls with the same spirit with which they had seen the Roman army fighting for them. Then they led their troops to an attack upon the largest camp, which Hasdrubal commanded. To it also came the other two generals and two armies of the Carthaginians, seeing that the whole issue was at stake there. Accordingly a sally from the camp opened the battle. Sixty thousand of the enemy were in the battle that day, about sixteen thousand on the Roman side. Yet so far was the victory from being uncertain that the Romans slew more than their own number, captured more than three thousand men, a little less than a thousand horses, fifty-nine military standards, seven elephants, five having been slain in battle. And they took the three camps that day. The siege of Ilturgi having been raised, the Carthaginian armies were led over to attack Intibili, while their forces were recruited from a province which, more than any

2 Apparently not far from Ilturgi; cf. Frontinus II. iii. 1. The only town of this name of which we hear elsewhere was on the east coast south of the Hiberus (Ebro).
omnium belli avida, modo praedia aut merces esset, 13 et tum inuentute abundante. Iterum signis conlatis cadem fortuna utriusque partis pugnatum. Supra tredecim milia hostium caesa, supra duo capta cum signis duobus et quadraginta et novem elephantis. 14 Tum vero omnes prope Hispaniae populi ad Romanos defecerunt, multoque maiiores ea aestate in Hispania quam in Italia res gestae.
other, was eager for war, if only there was booty or B.C. 215 pay, and at that time was well supplied with young men. A second time there was a battle in regular line, with the same result for each side. Over thirteen thousand of the enemy were slain, over two thousand captured, with forty-two standards and nine elephants. Then indeed nearly all the peoples of Spain revolted to the Romans, and there were much greater achievements that summer in Spain than in Italy.
LIBRI XXIII PERIOCHAE


2 The words Cn. . . . a, omitted in MSS., were added by O. Jahn.
SUMMARY OF BOOK XXIII

The Campanians revolted to Hannibal. Mago, who was sent to Carthage to report the victory at Cannae, poured out before the entrance of the Senate House golden rings taken from bodies of the slain; and the tradition is that there were more than a peck of them. After that report Hanno, one of the Carthaginian nobles, tried to persuade the Carthaginian senate to sue for peace from the Roman people. And he did not carry it through, since the Barca faction protested loudly. Claudius Marcellus, a praetor, fought with success at Nola, making a sally from the city against Hannibal. Casilinum, beset by the Carthaginians, suffered so much from starvation that the besieged ate thongs, hides stripped off from shields, and rats. They lived on nuts sent down the river Volturnus by the Romans. The senate was recruited by one hundred and ninety-seven men from the equestrian order. Lucius Postumius, the praetor, was slain with his army by the Gauls. Gnaeus and Publius Scipio defeated Hasdrubal in Spain and made Spain their own. The remnant of the army of Cannae was relegated to Sicily, not to leave it except after the end of the war. Sempronius Gracchus, the consul, utterly defeated the Campanians. Claudius Marcellus, a praetor, routed and worsted Hannibal’s army in battle at Nola, and was the first to give the Romans, exhausted by so many disasters, a better hope for the war. An alliance was formed between Philip, king of Macedonia, and Hannibal. The book also contains the successes gained over the Carthaginians by Publius and Gnaeus Scipio in Spain and by Titus Manlius, the praetor, in Sardinia. Hasdrubal, the general, and Mago and Hanno were captured by them. The army of Hannibal lived in such indulgence in winter quarters as to be weakened in body and spirit.
LIBER XXIV

1. Ut ex Campania in Bruttios reditum est, Hanno adiutoribus et ducibus Bruttios Graecas urbes temptavit, eo facilius in societate manentes Romana quod Bruttios, quos et oderant et metuebant, Carthaginiense partis factos cernebant. Regium primum temptatum est diesque aliquot ibi nequiquam absunt. Interim Locrenses frumentum lignaque et eetera necessaria usibus ex agris in urbe raper, etiam ne quid relictum praedae hostibus esset, et in dies maius omnibus portis multitudo effundi; postremo sescenti modo relieti in urbe erant, qui reficere muros ac portas, telaque in propugnaeclla congerere cogeantur. In permixtam omnium actatium ordinumque multitudinem et vagantem in agris magna ex parte inerme Hamilcar Poenus equites emisit, qui violare quemquam vetiti, tantum ut ab urbe excluderent fugit dissi- patos, turmas obiecere. Dux ipse loco superiori capto, unde agros urbemque posset conspicer, Bruttiorum cohortem adire muros atque evocare

1 sescenti (pc) W. Herenius: ob P: oe P\\textsuperscript{12}: hoc (1): hi x: itz.
2 ac x: om. P(1).
3 Poenus P(1): Poenos P\\textsuperscript{12}.

1 He had been with Hannibal around Nola, and was sent back to the country of the Bruttii; XXIII, xlvi. 8.

174
BOOK XXIV

I. Having returned from Campania to the land of the Bruttii, Hanno,\(^1\) with the Bruttii as supporters and guides, attacked the Greek cities,\(^2\) which were all the more ready to remain in alliance with Rome because they saw that the Bruttii, whom they both hated and feared, had gone over to the side of the Carthaginians. Regium was the first city to be attacked, and some days were spent there to no purpose. Meantime the Locrians hastily brought grain and wood and the other things needed to supply their wants from the farms into the city, also that no booty might be left for the enemy. And every day a larger crowd poured out of all the gates. Finally there were left in the city only six hundred men, who were made to repair walls and gates and to carry arms to the battlements. Against the multitude made up of all ages and classes, wandering about the country, many of the unarmed, Hamilcar the Carthaginian sent out his cavalry. Forbidden to injure anyone, they interposed their squadrons merely to shut off from the city those who had scattered in flight. The commander himself, after capturing higher ground from which he could see the country and the city, ordered a cohort of Bruttii

\(^2\) Operations against Regium, Locri and Croton, Barely mentioned in XXIII. xxx. 6 ff., are given here in greater detail. It is late autumn, 215 B.C.
principes Locrensium ad conloquium iussit et pollicentes amicitiam Hannibalis adhortari ad urbem tradendam. Bruttii in conloquio nullius rei primo fides est; deinde, ut Poenus apparuit in collibus et refugientes pauci aliam omnem multitudinem in potestate hostium esse adferebant, tum metu victi consulturos se populum responderunt. Advocataque extemplo contione, cum et levissimus quisque novas res novamque societatem mallet et, quorum propinqui extra urbem interclusi ab hostibus erant, velut obsidibus datis pigneratos haberent animos, pauci magis taciti probarent constantem fidem quam prolatam \(^1\) iucri auderent, haud dubio in speciem consensu fit ad Poenos deditio. L. Atilio praefecto praesidii quiue cum eo milites Romani erant clam in portum deductis atque impositis in navis, ut Regium devehentur, Hamilcarem Poenosque ea condicione ut foedus extemplo acquis legibus fieret in urbem acceperunt. Cuius rei prope non servata fides deditis est, cum Poenus dolo dimissum Romanum incusaret, Locrensenses profugisse ipsum causarentur. Insecuri etiam equites sunt, si quo casu in freto aestus morari aut deferre naves in terram posset. Et eos quidem quos sequabantur non sunt adepti; alias a Messana traiciantur freto Regium naves conspexerunt. Milites erant Romani a

\(^1\) prolatam \(P(4)\) Conway; probatam \(D.1\); propalam Walch.

\(^1\) Not directly opposite Messana, but about seven miles to the southeast.

176
to go up to the walls and call out the chief men of B.c. 215
the Locrians to a conference, and with a promise of
Hannibal’s friendship to encourage them to sur-
render the city. In the conference the Bruttians
at first were not believed at all. Then, when the
Carthaginians were seen on the hills, and a few
returning fugitives repeatedly asserted that all the
rest of the multitude were in the power of the
enemy, overcome by fear, they answered that they
would consult the people. An assembly being at
once called, all the fickle preferred political change
and a new alliance; also those whose relations had
been shut off outside the city by the enemy had mort-
gaged their affections, having virtually given hostages.
And the few silently approved of steadfast loyalty, rather than dared to declare and defend it. Hence
surrender to the Carthaginians was voted with appar-
etly unquestioned unanimity. After Lucius Atilius,
commander of the garrison, and the Roman soldiers
who were with him had been secretly led down to
the harbour and put on ships to be carried to Regium,
they admitted Hamilcar and the Carthaginians into
the city on condition that a treaty be made at once
on fair terms. The promise of such a treaty was
almost broken after they surrendered, when the
Carthaginian charged that the Roman had been
allowed by trickery to go away, while the Locrians
pleaded that he had escaped unaided. Also the
cavalry pursued him in the hope that possibly the
current in the strait might delay the ships or bring
them to shore. They did not indeed overtake the
men they were pursuing, but they sighted other
ships crossing the strait from Messana to Regium.¹
It was the Roman soldiers sent by Claudius, the
LIVY

Claudio praetore missi ad obtinendam urbem praesidio. Itaque Regio extemplo abscessum est. Locrensisibus issu Hannibalis data pax ut liberi suis legibus viverent, urbs pateret Poenis, portus in potestate Locrensium esset, societas eo iure staret ut Poenus Locrensem Locrensisque Poenum pace ac bello invaret.

II. Sic a freto Poeni reducti frementibus Bruttiiis, quod Regium ac Loeros, quas urbes direpturos se destinaverant, intactas reliquissent. Itaque per se ipsi conscriptis armatisque inventutis suae quindeicim milibus ad Crotonem oppugnandum pergunt ire, Graecam et ipsam urbem et maritimam, plurimum accessurum opibus, si in ora maris urbem ac portum1 moenibus validam tenuissent, credentes. Ea cura angebat quod neque non accersere ad auxilium Poenos satis audebant, ne quid non pro sociis egisse viderentur et, si Poenus rursus magis arbiter pacis quam adiutor belli fuisse, ne in libertatem Crotonis, sient ante Locrorum, frustra pugnaretur. Itaque optimum visum est ad Hannibalem mitti legatos caverique ab eo ut receptus Croto Bruttiorum esset. Hannibal cum praesentium eam consultationem esse respondisset et ad Hamnonem eos recieisset, ab Hamnone nihil certi ablatum. Nee2 diripi volebat nobilem atque opulentam urbem et sperabat, cum Bruttius oppugnaret, Poenos nec

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1 ac portum P(1): portu ac x.
2 nec Riemann: nec eo P(1): nec enim A³.
praetor, to garrison and hold the city. And so the B.C. 215
siege of Regium was at once raised. Peace was
granted the Loerians by Hannibal's order: they
were, namely, to live in freedom under their own
laws, the city to be open to the Carthaginians, the
harbour in the power of the Loerians, the alliance to
rest upon this basis: that the Carthaginian should
help the Loerian, the Loerian the Carthaginian, in
peace and in war.

II. Thus the Carthaginians were withdrawn from
the strait, though the Bruttians were indignant
because they had left Regium and Loeri untouched,
the cities which they had counted upon plundering.
And so without aid they enlisted and armed 15,000
of their young men and set out to besiege Croton,
another Greek city and on the sea, believing that it
would be a great addition to their resources if they
should hold a fortified city and harbour on the sea-
coast. It troubled them that they did not quite
dare not to call the Carthaginians to their aid, for
fear they might seem to have failed to act as became
allies. At the same time they feared that, if the
Carthaginian should again be rather an arbiter of
peace than a helper in war, fighting to secure free-
dom for Croton might be profitless, as previously for
Loeri. And thus it seemed best to send legates to
Hannibal and gain assurance from him that Croton
when captured should belong to the Bruttians.
Hannibal having replied that decision in the matter
lay with those on the ground, thus referring them
to Hanno, they obtained no definite answer from
Hanno. He did not wish a city well-known and rich
to be plundered, and he was hoping that, while the
Bruttian was besieging them and the Carthaginians

n 2
probare nec iuvare cum oppugnationem appareret, eodem maturius ad se defecturos. Crotone nec consilium unum inter populares nec voluntas erat. Unus velut morbus invaserat omnes Italicæ civitates ut plebes ab optimatibus dissentirent, senatus Romanis favori, plebs ad Poenos rem traheret. Eam dissensionem in urbe perfuga nuntiat Bruttii: Aristomachum esse principem plebis tradendaeque auctorem urbis, et in vasta urbe lateque moenibus disiectis\(^1\) raras stationes custodiasque senatum esse; quacumque custodiunt plebis homines, ea patere aditum. Auctore ac duce perfuga Bruttii corona exitur urbem acceptique ab plebe primo impetu omnum praebet aream cepere. Aream optimates tenebant praeparato iam ante ad talem casum perfugio. Eodem Aristomachus perfugit, tamquam Poenis, non Bruttii auctor urbis tradendae fuisset.

III. Urbs Croto murum in circuitu patentem duodecim milia passuum habuit ante Pyrrhi in Italian adventum. Post vastitatem eo bello factam vix pars dimidia habitatatur; flumen, quod medio oppido fluxerat, extra frequentia teetis loca praeterfluebat, et arx proeul eis erat\(^2\) quae habitatabantur. Sex milia aberat ab\(^3\) urbe nobili\(^1\) templum ipsa urbe

\(^1\) moenibus disiectis Jacobs: omnibus disiectis moenibus

\(^2\) erat H. J. Müller (after arx Weissenborn; before et Walters): om. \(P(1)\).

\(^3\) ab z: in \(P(1)\); inde Gronovius.

\(^4\) nobili \(WM^3,1^2\): nobile \(P^2(1)\).
obviously neither approving nor helping the siege, b.c. 215
they would all the more promptly come over to his side.
At Croton there was among the citizens no one policy
or common preference. One malady, so to speak, had
attacked all the city-states of Italy, that the common
people were at odds with the upper class, the senate
inclining to the Romans, the common people drawing
the state to the side of the Carthaginians. This
disagreement in the city was reported to the Bruttians
by a deserter: that Aristomachus was the leader of
the plebeians and advised surrender of the city; also
that in the sparsely inhabited city, with its walls at a
great distance, there were only scattered posts and
guards of the senators; that wherever plebeians were
on guard there was free access to the city. With
the deserter as adviser and leader the Bruttians
completely encircled the city, and being admitted
by the plebeians, they took the whole city by assault,
with the exception of the citadel. The optimates
held the citadel, having previously prepared a place
of refuge for such an emergency. To it Aristomachus
also fled, as though he had advised surrendering the city to the Carthaginians, not to the
Bruttians.

III. The city of Croton had a wall with a circuit of
twelve miles before the coming of Pyrrhus to Italy.
Since the desolation caused by that war scarcely
half of the city was inhabited.1 The river which
had flowed through the middle of the city now flowed
past, outside the quarters which had numerous houses,
and the citadel was far from the inhabited portions.
Six miles from the famous city was a temple more

1 According to XXIII. xxx. 6 the city now had less than
2000 inhabitants.
nobilis 1 Laciniae lunonis, sanctum omnibus circa
populis. Lucens ibi frequenti silva et proceris abietis
arboribus saepultus lacta in medio pasqua habituit, ubi
omnis generis sacrum deae pecus pascabatur sine
ullo pastore, separatimque greges sui cuisique
generis nocte remeabant ad stabula, numquam
insulae ferarum, non fraude violati hominum. Magni
igitur fructus ex eo pecore capiti, columnaque inde
aurca solida facta et sacrata est; inelitumque
templum divitias etiam, non tantum sanctitate fuit.

7 Ac miracula aliqua adstringunt, ut plerumque tam
insignibus locis: fama est aram esse in vestibulo
templi, cuis cinerem nullo 2 umquam moveri 3
vento. Sed 4 arx Crotonis una parte imminens mari,
altera vergente in agrum, situ tantum naturali
quondam munita, postea et muro cineta est qua per
aversas rupes ab Dionysio Siciliae tyranno per dolum
fuerat capta. Ea tum arce satis, ut videbatur, tuta
Crotoniam optimates tenebant se, circumsedente
cum Bruttis eos etiam plebe sua. Postremo Bruttii,
cum suis viribus inexpugnabilem viderent arem,
coacti necessitate Hannonis auxilium implorant. Is
condicionibus ad deditionem compellere Crotoniates

1 nobilis, before this P(1) have erat.
2 nullo P Gronovius: nullus P3(1).
4 vento. Sed Gronovius: ventos et PCR: vento et P3:
ventus et CzMH/D,1.

Cp. XXIII. xxxii. 4. At that temple, the most celebrated
shrine in Magna Graecia, Polybios found and used Hannibal's
own inscription in Punic and Greek, recording his successes
(Polyb. III. xxxii. 18; lvi. 4), a document which Livy barely
mentions (XXVIII. xlvi. 16). A single column of the temple
still stands on the promontory. Livy is correct in regard to
the distance from the city of Croton (ca. 9 km.).
famous than the city itself, that of Lacinian Juno,\(^1\) B.c. 215 revered by all the surrounding peoples. There a sacred grove, which was enclosed by dense woods and tall fir-trees, had in its centre luxuriant pastures, where cattle of all kinds, being sacred to the goddess, used to pasture without any shepherd. And at night the flocks of each kind would return separately to their stalls, being never harmed by wild beasts lying in wait, nor by the dishonesty of men. Therefore great profits were made from the cattle, and out of the profits a massive golden column\(^2\) was wrought and consecrated. And the temple was famous for its wealth also, not merely for its sanctity. They give it some pretended marvels also, as generally in places so noted. It is reported that in the space in front of the temple there is an altar whose ashes are never stirred by any wind. But the citadel of Croton, on one side overhanging the sea, while the other slopes down toward the country, was once protected merely by its natural situation, but later encircled with a wall also, where, along the cliffs on the farther side, it had been captured by Dionysius,\(^3\) the tyrant of Sicily. In that citadel, sufficiently safe, as it seemed, the optimates of Croton were at the time maintaining themselves, besieged even by their own plebs as well as by the Bruttians. Finally the Bruttians, seeing that the citadel was for their resources impregnable, were of necessity constrained to beg aid of Hanno. He attempted to compel the Crotonians to surrender on condition that they

\(^2\) Coelius the historian said that Hannibal, finding it was not merely plated, decided to carry it away, but was deterred by a dream; Cicero de Div. I. 48.

\(^3\) Who captured Croton about 389 B.c. and is said to have held it twelve years.
conatus ut coloniam Bruttiorum eo deduci antiquamque frequenteriam recipere vastam ac desertam bellis urbem paterentur, omnium neminem praeter 12 Aristomachum movit. Morituros se adfirmabant citius quam immixti Bruttii in alienos ritus mores legesque ac mox linguam etiam verterentur. Aristomachus unus, quando nee suadendo ad deditionem satis valebat nee, sicut urbem prodiderat, locum prodendae arcis inveniebat, transfigit ad Hannonem. 14 Locrenses brevi post legati, eum permessu Hannonis aream intrassent, persuasent ut traduci se in Locros paterentur nee ultima experirivellent. 1am hoc ut sibi liceret imptetraverant et ab Hannibale missis ad id ipsum legatis. Ita Crotone excessum est deductique Crotoniatae ad mare naves conscendunt. Locros omnis multitudo abeunt.

In Apulia ne hiems quidem quieta inter Romanos atque Hannibalem erat. Luceriae Sempronius consul, Hannibal haud procul Arpis hibernabat. Inter eos levia proelia ex occasione aut opportunitate huius aut illius partis oriebantur, meliorque eis Romanus et in dies cautior tutiorque ab insidiis fiebat. IV. In Sicilia Romanis omnia mutaverat mors Hieronis regnumque ad Hieronymum nepotem eius translatum, puernum vixendum libertatem, nendum dominionem modice laturum. Eam actatem, id inge-

1 The entire population, while "Crotonians" refers primarily to the optimates.
2 For Hiero's family see the table on p. 338.
permit a colony of Bruttians to be established there, B.C. 215 and allow the city, desolate and depopulated by wars, to recover its old-time numbers. But among them all he prevailed upon no one except Aristomachus. They claimed that they would sooner die than mingle with the Bruttians and change to the rites, customs and laws, and presently even the language, of another people. Aristomachus, since he was unable by persuasion to bring them to surrender and could find no opportunity to betray the citadel, as he had betrayed the city, alone went over to Hanno. Soon after that the Locrian legates entered the citadel with Hanno's consent and persuaded them to allow themselves to be transferred to Locri, and not to risk desperate measures. Permission to that effect they had already obtained from Hannibal, having sent legates for that very purpose. So Croton was evacuated, and the Crottonians were led down to the sea and went on shipboard. They went, the whole number of them, to Locri.

In Apulia even the winter was not without conflict between the Romans and Hannibal. Sempronius, the consul, was wintering at Luceria, Hannibal not far from Arpi. Skirmishes between them kept occurring as opportunity offered, or the favourable moment for one side or the other. And in consequence the Romans were better soldiers, daily more cautious and safer from surprise attacks.

IV. In Sicily everything had been changed for the Romans by the death of Hiero 2 and the transfer of the kingdom to his grandson Hieronymus, a boy hardly able to keep his independence under control, much less absolute power. Such was the age, such
Livy

nium tutores atque amici ad praecipitandum in omnia vitia accipierunt. Quae ita futura cernens Hiero ultima senecta voluisse dicitur liberas Syracusas relinquere, ne sub dominatu puerili per ludibrium bonis artibus partum firmatumque interiret regnum.

3 Huic consilio eius summa ope obstitere filiae, nomen regium penes puerum futurum ratae, regimen rerum omnium penes se virosque suos Adranodorum et Zeippum, qui tutorum primi relinquebantur. Non facile erat nonagensimum iam agenti annum, circum-sesso dies noctesque muliebris blanditiis, liberare animum et convertere ad publicam a privata curam.

5 Itaque tutores modo quindecim puero relinquit, quos precatus est moriens ut fidem erga populum Romanum quinquaginta annos ab se cultam inviolatam servarent invenenque suis potissimum vestigiis insistere vellet et disciplinae in qua educetur esset.

6 Hace mandata. Cum expirasset, tutores testamento prolato pueroque in contionem producto—

7 erat antem quindecim tum ferme annorum—paucis, qui per contionem ad excitandos clamores dispositi erant, adprobantibus testamentum, eeteris velut patre amisso in orba civitate omnia timentibus . . .

8 Funus fit regium, magis amore civium et caritate quam cura suorum celebre. Brevi deinde ceteros

1 The loss of a line in 1(1) reduced five words apparently to andranorum; restored by Gronovius from Polybius.

2 The lost words may have covered the transfer of power to Hieronymus (Madvig). Or, more briefly, it may have been merely the assumption of control by the guardians, e.g. munus suscipiunt (i.e. tutores, § 6); then perhaps followed Tum funus, etc. (Weissenborn).
the disposition which guardians and friends took in B.C. 215 hand, to throw him into all the vices. Hiero, seeing that this would happen, is said in his extreme old age to have wished to leave Syracuse free, that kingly power gained and confirmed by good qualities might not come to an end in disgrace under the tyranny of a boy. This his plan was opposed might and main by his daughters, who thought the boy would have the kingly title, but that complete control would be in their hands and those of their husbands, Adranodorus and Zoippus, who were being left as the principal guardians. It was not easy for a man now in his ninetieth year, surrounded day and night by the blandishments of women, to be independent and turn his attention from the personal to the public interest. Accordingly he merely left fifteen guardians for the boy, and dying entreated them to keep inviolate that loyalty to the Roman people which he had maintained for fifty years and to choose above all to have the young man tread in his footsteps and continue the training in which he had been brought up. Such were his instructions. After he had breathed his last the guardians produced the will and brought the boy, at that time about fifteen years old, before an assembly of the people. While a few men, who had been posted in all parts of the assembly to start applause, showed approval of the will, while the rest, as if deprived of a father and in an orphaned city, had only fears, the guardians (took charge). Then came the king’s funeral, honoured rather by the love and regard of the citizens than by the grief of his

1 He lived more than ninety years according to Polybius VII. viii. 7.
2 In fact 48 years (263-215 B.C.).
tutores summovet Adranodorus, iuvenem iam esse dictitans Hieronymum ac regni potentem; depouendoque tutelam ipse, quae cum pluribus communis erat, in se unum omnium vires convertit.

V. Vix quidem ulli vel bono moderatoque regi facilitis erat favor apud Syraecusanos, succedenti tantae caritati Hieronis; verum enim vero Hieronymus, velut sui vitiiis desiderabilem efficiere vellet avnum, primo statim conspectu omnia quam disparia essent ostendit. Nam qui per tot annos Hieronem filiumque eius Gelonem nec vestis habitu nec alio ullo insigni differentes a ceteris civibus vidissent, ei conspexere purpuram ac diademam ac satellites armatos, quadrigisque etiam alborum equorum interdum ex regia procedentem more Dionysi tyranni. Hunc tam superbum apparatum habitumque convenientes sequebantur contemptus omnium hominum, superbae aures, contumeliosa dicta, rari aditus non alienis modo sed tutoribus etiam, libidines novae, inhumana crudelitas. Itaque tantus omnis terror invaserat ut quidam ex tutoribus aut morte voluntaria aut fuga praeverterent metum suppliciorum. Tres ex iis, quibus solis aditus in domum familiarior erat, Adranodorus et Zoippus, generi Hieronis, et Thraso quidam, de aliis quidem rebus haud magnopere audiebantur; tendendo autem duo ad Carthaginienses, Thraso ad societatem Romanam, certamine ac studiis interdum in se convertebant animum adolescens, cum coniun-

1 ulli vel Conway: ulli PC3(11): vel Madvig.
family. Soon afterwards Adranodorus removed the rest of the guardians, saying that Hieronymus was now a young man and capable of ruling. And laying down his own guardianship, which was shared with a number of others, he took to himself alone the powers of them all.

V. It would have been difficult for any king, even a good one and self-controlled, to find favour with the Syracusans as successor to Hiero, so beloved. But certainly Hieronymus at his very first appearance showed how different everything was, just as if he wished by his vices to make them regret his grandfather. For, though through so many years they had seen Hiero and his son Gelo not differing from the rest of the citizens in garb or in any other distinction, they beheld purple and a diadem and armed attendants and a man who came forth from the palace sometimes even in a chariot with four white horses after the manner of Dionysius the tyrant. This haughty state and costume were suitably attended by contempt shown towards everyone, by haughty ears, insulting words, infrequent access, not only for outsiders but even for his guardians, by unheard-of lusts, by inhuman cruelty. Consequently such alarm had laid hold of all that some of the guardians anticipated the dreaded punishments either by suicide or by flight. Three of them, who alone had more intimate access to the palace, Adranodorus and Zoippus, the sons-in-law of Hiero, and a certain Thraso, were not indeed much listened to on other matters; but as two of them were inclining to the Carthaginians, Thraso to alliance with Rome, by their partisan rivalry they were occasionally attracting the young man’s attention, when a conspiracy...
ratio in tyranni caput facta indicatur per Callonem quendam. aequalem Hieronymi et iam inde a puero 10 in omnia familia iura adsuetum. Index unum ex coniuratis Theodotum, a quo ipse appellatus erat, nominare potuit. Qui comprensus extemplo traditusque Adranodoro torquendus, de se ipse haud 11 cunctanter fassus consciose celabat. Postremo, cum omnibus intolerandis patientiae humanae erat laceraretur, victum malis se simulans avertit 12 ab consciis in insontes indicium. Thrasonem esse auctorem consiliis mentitus, nec nisi tam potenti duce 13 confisos rem tantam ansurosuisse; addit socios 1 ab latere tyranni quorum capita vilissima finguienti inter dolores gemitusque occurrere. Maxime animo tyranni credibile indicium Thraso nominatus fecit; itaque extemplo traditur ad supplicium, adiectique 14 poenae ecter iuxta insontes. Conscliorum nemo, cum diu socius consilii torqueretur, aut latuit aut fugit; tantum illis in virtute ac fide Theodoti fuit tantumque ipsi Theodoto virium ad arcana occultanda.

VI. Ita, quod unum vinculum cum Romanis societatis erat, Thrasone sublato e medio extemplo haud 2 dubie ad defectionem res spectabat; legatique ad Hannibalem missi ac remissi ab eo cum Hannibale, nobili adulescente, Hippocrates et Epicydes, nati

1 fuisse; addit socios *Madvig (a line): om. P(1).*

1 Zoippus had been sent about this time to Egypt; xxvi. 1.
2 Livy mentions only Hannibal’s envoys. Polybius gives the names of two sent from Hieronymus’ court, viz. Polyclitus and Philodemos (VII. ii. 2).
3 This Hannibal was only a trierarch; *ibid.* § 3.
formed against the life of the tyrant was revealed B.C. 215 by one Callo, of the same age as Hieronymus and from boyhood accustomed to all the rights of intimacy. The informer was able to name but one of the conspirators, Theodotus, by whom he had himself been approached. And Theodotus, at once seized and handed over for torture to Adranodorus, confessed without hesitation in regard to himself, but did not reveal his accomplices. Finally, racked by all the torments which pass human endurance, pretending to be mastered by his sufferings, he turned informer against the innocent instead of against his accomplices, and falsely stated that Thraso was responsible for the plan: that they would not have ventured upon such an undertaking if they had not relied upon so powerful a leader. He also named attendants of the tyrant as associates, men whose lives, it occurred to him, as he was fabricating between pains and groans, were of the least account. His mentioning Thraso made the information particularly credible to the mind of the tyrant. Accordingly Thraso was forthwith handed over for execution, and the rest, equally innocent, shared his punishment. Not one of the accomplices either hid himself or fled, though their partner in the plot was long under torture. Such confidence was theirs in the courage and loyalty of Theodotus, and such will-power to keep secrets did Theodotus himself possess.

VI. Thus as soon as Thraso, who was the sole link to an alliance with the Romans, had been removed from their midst, matters at once tended unquestionably toward defection. And ambassadors were sent to Hannibal, and he sent back with a young noble named Hannibal also Hippocrates and Epicydes,
A.D.C. 339

Livy

Carthagine sed oriundi ab Syracusis exule avo, Poeni
ipsi materno genere. Per hos iuncta societas
Hannibali ac Syracusano tyranno, nce invito Hanni-
bale apud tyrannum manserunt. Appius Claudius
praetor, eius Sicilia provincia erat, ubi ea accepit
extemplo legatos ad Hieronymum misit. Qui cum
sese ad renovandam societatem quae cum avo fuisset
venisse dicerent, per ludibrium auditi dimissique
sunt ab quaerente per iocum Hieronymo quae
fortuna eis pugnae ad Cannas fuisset; vix credibilis
etiam legatos Hannibalis narrare; velle quid veri sit
seire, ut ex eo utram sequatur consilium capiat.
Romani, cum serio legationes audire coepisset
redituros se ad eum dicentes esse, monito magis eo
quam rogato ne fidem temere mutaret proficiscurnt.
Hieronymus legatos Carthaginem misit ad foedus ex
societate cum Hannibale pacta faciendimi. 
Convenit ut, cum Romanos Sicilia expulissent—id autem brevi
fore, si naves atque exercitum misissent—, Himera
amnis, qui ferme median 1 dividit, finis regni Syracu-
sani ac Punicii imperii esset. Aliam deinde, inflatus
adsentationibus eorum qui cum non Hieronis tantum
sed Pyrrhi etiam regis, materni avi, inebant memi-
nisse, legationem misit, qua acum censebat Sicilia
sibi omni cedi, Italiae imperium proprium quaeri
Carthaginensi populo. Hanc levitatem ac iacta-

1 median Riemann: om. P(1): insulam (after dividit) z
Weissenborn.

1 Pyrrhus seems to have been his mother's grandfather;
see table on p. 338.

192
who were born at Carthage but Syraeans by origin B.C. 215 (their grandfather being an exile), Carthaginians themselves on the mother's side. Through these men an alliance was made between Hannibal and the tyrant of Syracuse, and with Hannibal's consent they remained with the tyrant. Appius Claudius, the praetor, whose province was Sicily, on learning of this, forthwith sent legates to Hieronymus. While they were saying that they had come to renew the alliance which they had had with his grandfather, they were heard with derision and dismissed by Hieronymus, who in jest asked what success they had had in the battle at Cannae; for Hannibal's envoys reported what was scarcely to be believed. He wished to know, he said, what the truth was, that he might accordingly determine from which side he had the more to hope. The Romans departed, saying that they would return to him when he began to give a sober hearing to embassies, and warning rather than asking him not to be rash in changing his loyalty. Hieronymus sent ambassadors to Carthage to make a treaty in accordance with the alliance arranged with Hannibal. The agreement was that, after they had driven the Romans out of Sicily (and this would be shortly done if they would send ships and an army), the river Himera, which nearly divides the island in halves, should be the boundary of the kingdom of Syracuse and the Carthaginian empire. Thereupon, puffed up by the flatteries of those who bade him remember not Hiero only but also King Pyrrhus, his maternal grandfather,1 Hieronymus sent another embassy, through which he declared it was fair for them to yield all Sicily to him, and for the Carthaginian people to seek their own dominion over Italy.
LIVY

A.D.C. 539

tionem animi neque mirabantur in iuvene furioso neque arguebant, dummodo averterent eum ab Romanis.

VII. Sed omnia in co praecepiitia ad exitium fuerunt. Nam cum praemissis Hippocrates atque Epicyde cum binis milibus armatorum ad temptandas urbes quae praesidiis tenebantur Romanis, et ipse in Leontinos cum ecter omni exercitu—erant autem ad quindeceim milia peditum equitumque—profectus erat, liberas aedisconiurati—et omnes forte militabant—inominentes viae angustae, qua descendere ad forum rex solebat, sumpserunt. Ibi eum instructi armatique ceteri transitum expectantes starent, uni ex eis—Dinomeni fuit nomen—, quia custos corporis erat partes datae sunt ut, cum adpropinquaret ianuae rex, per causam aliquam in angustiis sustineret ab tergo agmen. Ita ut convenerat factum est. Tamquam laxaret elatum pedem ab stricto nodo, moratus turbam Dinomenis tantum intervalli fecit ut, eum in praetereuntem sine armatis regem impetus fieret, confoderetur aliquot prius vulneribus quam succurrì posset. Clamore et tumultu audito in Dinomenem iam haud dubie obstantem tela coniciuntur, inter quae tamen duobus acceptis vulneribus evasit.

Fuga satellitum, ut iacentem videre regem, facta est. Interfectores pars in forum ad multitudinem laetam libertate, pars Syracusas pergunt ad praeoccupanda Adranodori regiorumque aliorum consilia. Incerto

1 erat P(1) Conway: esset A2 Walters.

1 Northwest of Syracuse and looking down on a lake and the plain of Catana; captured by Marcellus, xxx. 1.

194
At this trifling and boastful spirit in a madecap youth B.C. 215 they did not wonder, nor find fault either, provided they made him break with the Romans.

VII. But in everything he was on the verge of ruin. For after sending Hippocrates and Epicydes in advance, each with two thousand armed men, to attack the cities which were held by Roman garrisons, he too setting out with all the rest of the army—and they were about fifteen thousand infantry and cavalry—had gone to Leontini. The conspirators, all of whom, as it happened, were in the army, took possession of an empty house looking down upon the narrow street by which the king used to go down to the market-place. There, while the rest, drawn up under arms, were to stand waiting for him to pass, one of them—his name was Dinomenes—, as being a body-guard, was assigned the rôle of halting, on some pretext, the column following the king in the narrow street, when he approached the door of the house. This was carried out as had been arranged. Dinomenes, raising one foot and pretending to loosen a knot drawn too tight, delayed the crowd and caused such a gap that, when the attack on the king was made as he passed without guards, he was stabbed with several thrusts before help could reach him. On hearing the shouting and uproar they hurled their weapons at Dinomenes, who was now obviously blocking the way. In the midst of these, however, he escaped with only two wounds. The guards fled as soon as they saw the king lying there. Of the assassins some proceeded to the market-place and into a crowd which rejoiced in its freedom, some to Syracuse to forestall the designs of Adranodorus and the other supporters of the king. In the unsettled
rerum statu Ap. Claudius bellum oriens ex propinquo cum cerneret, senatum litteris certiorum fecit Siciliam Carthaginensi populo et Hannibali conciliari; ipse adversus Syraeasana consilia ad provinciae regni fines omnia convertit praesidia.

Exitu anni eum Q. Fabius ex auctoritate senatus Puteolos, per bellum coeptum frequentari emporium, communiit praesidiumque imposuit. Inde Romam comitiorum causa veniens in curn quem primum diem comitialem habuit comitia edixit atque ex itinere praeter urbem in campum descendit. Eo die cum sors praerogativae Aniensium juniorem exisset caque T. Otacilium M. Aemiliun Regillum consules diceret, tum Q. Fabius silentio facto tali oratione est usus:

VIII. "Si aut pacem in Italia aut id bellum cum-que hostem haberemus in quo negligentiae laxior locus esset, qui vestris studiis, quae in campum ad mandandos quibus velitis honores adfertis, morum ullam offerret, is mihi parum meninisse videtur vestrae libertatis; sed eum in hoc bello, in hoc hoste numquam ab ullo duce sine ingenti nostra clade erratum sit, eadem vos eura qua in aciem armati descenditis inire suffragium ad creandos consules decet et sibi sic quemque dicere: 'Hannibali imperatoris parem consulem nomino.'

1 In 241 B.C. Hiero as a faithful ally for 22 years was allowed to keep the eastern end of the island (about one-fourth, and not including Messana).

2 The Delayer, consul this year and the next (five times in all), dictator in 217 B.C.

3 Thus he retains full military authority, which would not be the case if he had entered the city; cp. ix. 2.
The state of affairs Appius Claudius, seeing a war beginning near at hand, informed the senate by letter that Sicily was being won over to the Carthaginian people and Hannibal. For his own part, to meet the schemes of the Syracusans, he concentrated all his garrisons on the frontier between the province and the kingdom.¹

At the end of that year Quintus Fabius ² by the authority of the senate fortified and garrisoned Puteoli, which as a commercial centre had grown in population during the war. Then, while on his way to Rome to hold the elections, he proclaimed them for the first date available for an election, and without stopping passed the city and came down to the Campus.³ On the day set the right to vote first fell to the century of the younger men of the Aniensis tribe, and it named Titus Otacilius and Marcus Aemilius Regillus as consuls. Thereupon Quintus Fabius, after silence had been made, spoke somewhat as follows:

VIII. "If we had either peace in Italy or such a war and such an enemy that there was ample room for carelessness, should someone interpose any delay to the enthusiasm which you bring to the Campus in order to entrust magistracies to the men of your choice, such a man would seem to me, forgetful of your freedom. But since in this war, in dealing with this enemy, never has a mistake been made by any commander without huge losses to us, you ought in electing consuls to enter the polls with the same seriousness with which you go into battle-line under arms, and each man should say to himself: 'I name as consul a man who is a match for Hannibal the general.' This year at Capua, when Vibellius
ad Capuam Vibellio Taureae. Campano summo equiti, provocanti summus Romanus eques Asellus
Claudius est oppositus. Adversus Gallum quondam provocantem in ponte Anienis T. Manlius fidentem
et animo et viribus misere maiores nostri. Eandem causam haud multiis annis post fuisse non negaverim
eur M. Valerio non diffideretur adversus similiter provocantem arma capienti Gallum ad certamen.
Quem ad modum pedites equitesque optamus ut validiores, si minus, ut pares hosti habeamus, ita duei
hostium parem imperatorem quaearamus. Cum qui est summus in civitate dux eum legerimus, tamen
repente lectus, in annum creatus adversus veterem ac perpetuum imperatorem comparabitur, nullis neque
temporis nec iuris inclusum angustiis quo minus ita omnia gerat administretque ut temporae postulabunt
belli; nobis autem in apparatu ipso ac tantum inco-
hantibus res annus circumagitur. Quoniam quales
viros creare vos consules deecat satis est dictum,
restat ut pauca de eis in quos praerogativae favor
inclinavit dican. M. Aemilius Regillus flamen est
Quirinalis, quem neque mittere a sacris neque reti-
nere possamus ut non deum aut belli deseramus
euram. T. Otacilius sororis meae filiam uxorern
atque ex ea liberos habit; ceterum non ea vestra in
me maiioresque meos merita sunt ut non potiorem
privatis necessitudinibus rem publicam habeam.

1 Cf. XXIII. xlvii.
2 Cf. VII. x. 2 ff.
3 Also in Book VII (xxvi. 2 ff.).
Taurea, a distinguished Campanian knight, challenged, Asellus Claudius, a distinguished Roman knight, was matched against him. Against the Gaul who once challenged at the bridge over the Anio our ancestors sent Titus Manlius, who relied upon his courage and his strength. There was the same reason, I am inclined to admit, why not many years later Marcus Valerius found no lack of confidence in him when he took up arms for the fray against a Gaul who made a like challenge. Just as we desire to have foot and horse stronger than those of the enemy, if not, then a match for him, so let us seek a general who is a match for the commander of the enemy. When we shall have chosen the man who is the greatest commander in the state, nevertheless, although suddenly chosen, elected for a single year, he will be pitted against an experienced permanent general, hampered by no restrictions of time or authority to prevent him from doing and directing everything as the phases of the war shall require. But with us the year rolls round in mere preparation and while we are just beginning. Having sufficiently stated what kind of men you ought to elect as consuls, it remains for me to say a few words in regard to those to whom the favour of the first century to vote has inclined. Marcus Aemilius Regillus is the flamen of Quirinus, and we can neither send him away from the sacred rites nor keep him at home without abandoning our responsibility for the gods or else for the war. Titus Oticilius has my sister's daughter as his wife and children by her. But not so slight are your favours to my ancestors and myself that I can fail to hold the state of more account than personal ties. Any one of the
Quilibet nautarum vectorumque tranquillo mari gubernare potest; ubi saeva orta tempestas est ac turbato mari rapitur vento navis, tum viro et gubernatore opus est. Non tranquillo navigamus, sed iam aliquot procellis submersi paene sumus; itaque quis ad gubernaculum sedeat summa cura providendum ac praecependum nobis est. In minore te experti, T. Otacili, re sumus; haud sane cur ad maiora tibi fidem documenti quicquam dedisti. Classem hoc anno, cui tu praefuisti, trium rerum causa paravimus, ut Africam oram popularetur, ut tuta nobis Italiae litora essent, ante omnia ne supplementum cum stipendio commeatunque ab Carthagine Hannibali transportaretur. Create consulem T. Otacilium, non dico si omnia habeas, sed si aliquid corum rei publicae praestitit. Sin autem te classem obtinente, etiam velut pacato mari quibus non erat opus Hannibali tuta atque integra ab domo venire, si ora Italicae infestior hoc anno quam Africae fuit, quid dieere potes eur te potissimum ducescere?

Hannibali hosti opponamus? Si consul esses, dictatorem diceremus exemplo maiorum nostrum censeremus, nec tu id indignari posses, aliquem in civitate Romana meliorem bello haberis quam te. Magis nullius interest quam tua, T. Otacili, non imponi cervicibus tuis onus sub quo concedes. Ego magnopere oro suadeoque, eodem animo quo si

1 obtinente C²M³BD₄: obtinentes P⁴₄.²
3 non erat opus Riemann (after H. J. M.): om. P(1); various emendations.
4 opponamus Salmasius: -pugnabant P⁴₄RM: -ponant D₄Walters (inserting hi).
sailors and passengers can steer when the sea is calm. When a savage storm comes and the ship is swept over a rough sea by the wind, then there is need of a man and a pilot. We are not sailing a calm sea, but have been almost sunk already by a number of squalls. And so who is to sit at the helm is for you to decide with the greatest seriousness and foresight. In a lesser affair we have tested you, Titus Otacilius. Certainly you have not shown any reason why we should trust you for greater things. This year we equipped the fleet which you commanded for three purposes: to ravage the coast of Africa, to make our Italian shores safe, but above all to prevent reinforcements with pay and supplies from being brought over from Carthage for Hannibal. Citizens, elect Titus Otacilius consul, if he has performed, I do not say all of these things, but some part of them, for the state. But if, while you, Titus Otacilius, commanded the fleet, even the things he did not need came to Hannibal from home safe and intact, as though he had conquered the sea, if the coast of Italy has been more unsafe this year than that of Africa, what reason can you give why we are to match you by preference as commander against such an enemy as Hannibal? If you were consul we should propose the appointment of a dictator, following the precedent of our ancestors, and you could not be incensed that some one in the Roman state was considered a better man in war than you. It is to no one’s interest more than yours, Titus Otacilius, that no such burden be placed on your shoulders that you may fall beneath it. I earnestly entreat and urge you, citizens, that the same spirit which you

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6 suadeoque P(4): suadeo BDA.
stantibus vobis in acie armatis repente deligendi duo
imperatores essent quorum ductu atque auspicio
dimicaretis. Hodie quoque consules erectis quibus
sacramento liberi vestri dieant, ad quorum edietum
conveniant, sub quorum tutela atque eura militent.
Laeus Trasmennus et Caunae tristia ad recorda-
tionem exempla, sed ad praecavendas\(^1\) similis\(^2\)
elades\(^3\) documento sunt. Praeco, Aniensem junio-
rum in suffragium revoca.''

IX. Cum T. Otacilius ferociter cum continuare
consulatum velle vociferaretur atque obstreperet,
lictores ad eum accedere consul insit et, quia in
urbem non inserat potinum in campum ex itinere
profectus, admonuit eum securibus sibi fasces pra-
ferri. Interim praerogativa suffragium inic et creatique
in ea consules Q. Fabius Maximus quartum M.
Marcellus tertium. Eosdem consules ceterae
centuriae sine variatione ulla dixerunt. Et praetor
unus refectus Q. Fulvius Flaccus, novi alii creati,
T. Otacilius Crassus iterum, Q. Fabius consulis filius,
qui tum aedilis curulis erat, P. Cornelius Lentulus.
Comitiis praetorum perfectis senatus consultum
factum, ut Q. Fulvio extra ordinem urbana provincia
esset isque potissimum consulibus ad bellum profectis
urbi praesset. Aquae magnae bis co anno fuerunt

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\(^1\) praeccavendas Stroth: -enda P(2) Conway: -endum Axz.

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\(^1\) Removed when a magistrate entered the city, as an
indication that there his sentence was subject to appeal.
\(^2\) His first praetorship was in 217 B.C.; XXII. x. 10.
would show if, while standing armed in battle-line, B.C. 215
you had suddenly to choose two generals under
whose command and auspices you should fight, be
yours today also in electing consuls to whom your
sons shall repeat the oath, in response to whose
edict they shall assemble, under whose guardian
care they shall serve. The Lake of Trasumenum
and Cannae are sad examples to recall, but to guard
against like disasters they are a warning. Herald,
summon the Aniensis century of the younger men
to vote again!"

IX. While Titus Otacilius was fiercely and noisily
shouting that Fabius wanted to have his consulship
prolonged, the consul ordered the lictors to go up to
him, and, as he had not entered the city, having gone
without a halt directly to the Campus, he warned
Otacilius that the fases carried before the consul
had their axes.¹ Meanwhile the leading century pro-
cceeded to vote, and in it were elected consuls Quintus
Fabius Maximus for the fourth time and Marcus
Marcellus for the third time. The rest of the cen-
turies without exception named the same men as
consuls. And of the praetors one, Quintus Fulvius
Flaccus, was re-elected, the others newly created,
Titus Otacilius Crassus for the second time,² Quintus
Fabius, son of the consul and at the time curule aedile,
and Publius Cornelius Lentulus. The election of
praetors being now completed, the senate decreed³
that Quintus Fulvius by special designation should
have the duties of city praetor, and that he, and no
one else, should be in charge of the city when the
consuls took the field. There were great floods twice

¹ Ordinarily praetors received their particular assignment
of duty by casting lots or by agreement.
Tiberisque agros inundavit cum magna strage tectorum pecorumque et hominum pernicie.

7 Quinto anno secundi Punicī belli Q. Fabius Maximus quartum M. Claudius Marcellus tertium consulatum incunctes plus solito converterant in se civitatis animos; multis enim annis tale consulum par non fuerat. Referebant senes sic Maximum Rullum cum P. Decio ad bellum Gallicum, sic postea Papirium Carviliumque adversus Samnites Bruttiosque et Lucanum cum Tarentino populum consules declaratos. Absens Marcellus consul creatus, cum ad exercitum esset; praesenti Fabio atque ipso comitia habente consulatus continuatus. Tempus ac necessitas belli ac discrimen summae rerum faciebant ne quis aut in cam rem ex exemplum exquireret aut suspicium cupiditatis imperii consulem haberet; quin laudabant potius magnitudinem animi quod, cum summo imperatore esse opus rei publicae seiret seque cum haud dubie esse, minoris invidiam suam, si qua ex ea re oreretur, quam utilitatem rei publicae fecisset.

X. Quo die magistratum inierunt consules, senatus in Capitolio est habitus decretumque omnium primum ut consules sortirentur compararentvs inter se uter censoribus creandis comitia haberet, priusquam ad exercitum profici-seceretur. Prorogatum

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1 cam rem M. Müller: om. P(1).
2 -ve z : -quæ or -que P(1).
that year and the Tiber overflowed the farms with great destruction of buildings and cattle and much loss of life.

In the fifth year of the Second Punic War, Quintus Fabius Maximus entering his fourth consulship and Marcus Claudius Marcellus his third attracted the attention of the citizens more than was usual. For many years there had been no such pair of consuls. Old men recalled that thus Maximus Rullus had been declared consul with Publius Decius for the Gallic war, thus, later on, Papirius and Carvilius against the Samnites and Bruttians and the people of Lucania and of Tarentum. Marcellus was made consul in his absence, being with the army; for Fabius, who was present and himself conducted the election, his consulship was continued. The times and the straits of war and danger to the existence of the state deterred any one from searching for a precedent for that, and from suspecting the consul of greed for power. On the contrary they praised his high-mindedness, in that, knowing the state had need of a great commander, and that he was himself undoubtedly that man, he counted his own unpopularity, should any be the consequence, as of less moment than the advantage of the state.

X. On the day on which the consuls entered upon office the senate met on the Capitol, and it was decreed first of all that the consuls should decide by lot or by mutual arrangement which of them should hold the election for naming the censors before leaving for the army. Then for all who were with

3 *I.e.*, immediate re-election, which a plebiscite of 217 B.C. had made legal for the duration of the war in Italy; cf. XXVII. vi. 7 f.
deinde imperium omnibus qui ad exercitus erant iussique in provinciis manere. Ti. Gracchus Luceriae, ubi cum volonum exercitu erat. C. Terentius Varro in agro Piceno, M. Pomponius in Gallico; et praetores prioris anni pro praetoribus, Q. Mucius obtineret Sardiniam, M. Valerius ad Brundisium orae maritimae, intentus adversus omnes motus Philippi Macedonum regis, praeesset. P. Cornelio Lentulo praetori Sicilia decreta provincia, T. Otacilio classis cadem quam adversus Carthaginienses priore anno habuisset.

6 Prodigia eo anno multa nuntiata sunt, quae quo magis crediebant simplices ac religiosi homines, eo plura nuntiabantur: Lanuvi in aede intus Sospitae lunonis corvos nidum fecisse; in Apulia palmam viridem arsisse; Mantuae stagnum effusum Mincio anni cruentum visum; et Calibus creta et Romae in foro bovario sanguine pluvisse; et in vico Insteio fontem sub terra tanta vi aquarum fluxisse ut serias doliaque quae in eo loco erant provoluta velut impetus torrentis tulerit; tacta de caelo atrium publicum in Capitolio, aedem in campo Volcani, Vacunae in Sabinis publicamque viam, murum ac portam Gabiis. Iam alia vulgata miracula erant:

1 praetores Gronovius: praetorum Drakenborch: P(2).
2 impetus P(1): impetu x Gronovius.

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1 Cf. XXIII. xxxii. 1.
2 Cf. XXIII. xxxi. 15; XXIV. xliiv. 8.
3 A street leading up to the Collis Latiaris (part of the Quirinal), not far from the Curia.
the army their commands were continued, and they were ordered to remain in their assignments, Tiberius Gracchus at Luceria, where he was with the army of slave-volunteers,¹ Gainius Terentius Varro in the Picene district, Marcus Pomponius in the Gallic; and that of the praetors of the previous year, now as propraetors, Quintus Mucius should govern Sardinia and Marcus Valerius should be in command of the sea-coast at Brundisium, watchful against all movements of Philip, King of the Macedonians. Sicily was assigned as his province to Publius Cornelius Lentulus, the praetor, and to Titus Otacilius the same fleet which he had had against the Carthaginians the previous year.

Prodigies² in large numbers—and the more they were believed by men simple and devout, the more of them used to be reported—were reported that year: that at Lanuvium ravens had made a nest inside the temple of Juno Sospita; that in Apulia a green palm took fire; that at Mantua a lake, the overflow of the river Mincius, appeared bloody; and at Cales it rained chalk, and at Rome in the Cattle Market blood; and that on the Viens Insteius³ an underground spring flowed with such a volume of water that the force of a torrent, as it were, overturned the jars, great and small, that were there and carried them along; that the Atrium Publicum on the Capitol, the temple of Vulcan in the Campus, that of Vaeuna⁴ and a public street in the Sabine country, the wall and a gate at Gabii were struck by lightning. Moreover other marvels were widely

¹ Honoured especially by the Sabines, and known to modern readers chiefly in Horace's post fanum putre Vacuna; Epist. I. x. 49.
hastam Martis Praeneste sua sponte promotam; bovem in Sicilia locutum; infantem in utero matris in Marrucinis "Io triumphe" clamasse; ex muliere Spoleti virum factum: Hadriae aram in caelo species-que hominum circum cam cum candida veste visas esse. Quin Romae quoque in ipsa urbe, secundum apum examen in foro visum—quod mirabile est, quia rarum—adfirmantes quidam legiones se armatas in Ianiculò videre concitaverunt civitatem ad arma, cum qui in Ianiculo essent negarent quemquam ibi praeter adsuctos collis eius cultores adparuisse. Hace prodigia hostiis maioribus procurata sunt ex haruspicis response, et supplicatio omnibus deis quorum pulvinaria Romae essent indicta est.

XI. Perpetratis quae ad pacem deum pertinebant, de re publica belloque gerendo et quantum copiarum et ubi quaeque essent consules ad senatum rettulerunt. Duodeviginti legionibus bellum geri placuit: binas consules sibi sumere, binis Galliam Sicilianamque ac Sardiniam obtineri; duabus Q. Fabium praetorem Apuliae, duabus volonum Ti. Gracchum circa Luceriam præesse; singulas C. Terentio proconsuli ad Picenum et M. Valerio ad classem circa Brundisium relinquii: duas urbi praesidio esse. Hie ut numerus legionum expleretur, sex novae legiones

1 _I.e._, draped _lecti_ with their cushions, kept in the temples of such gods as received the special honour of a _lectisternium_, a feast at which images of gods reclined in pairs; XXII. x. 9.

2 Not including those in Spain. Similarly in § 5 no mention is made of a fleet for Spain.
circulated: that the spear of Mars at Praeneste moved b.c. 214 of itself; that an ox in Sicily spoke; that among the Marrucini an infant in its mother's womb shouted "Hail, triumph!"; that at Spoletium a woman was changed into a man; that at Hadria an altar was seen in the sky, and about it the forms of men in white garments. In fact at Rome also, actually in the city, directly after the appearance of a swarm of bees in the Forum—a wonder because it is rare—certain men, asserting that they saw armed legions on the Janiculum, aroused the city to arms, whereas those who were on the Janiculum denied that anyone had been seen there except the usual dwellers on that hill. Atonement was made for these prodigies with full-grown victims on the advice of the soothsayers, and a season of prayer to all the gods who had festal couches ¹ at Rome was proclaimed.

XI. The rites which concerned peace with the gods being now completed, the consuls laid before the senate the condition of the state and the conduct of the war, and what forces there were and where severally stationed. It was voted to carry on the war with eighteen legions; ² that each consul should take two; that with two legions in each case Gaul and Sicily and Sardinia should be held; that with two legions Quintus Fabius, a praetor, should be in charge of Apulia, and that with two legions of slave-volunteers Tiberius Gracchus should be in command in the region of Luceria; that one legion each should be left for Gaius Terentius, the proconsul, in the Picene district and for Marcus Valerius for service with the fleet near Brundisium; that two should form the garrison of the city. To make up this number of legions six new legions had to be enrolled.

¹

²
LIVY

A.U.C. 340
5 erant scribendae. Eas primo quoque tempore consules scribere iussi et classem parare, ut cum eis navibus quae pro Calabriae litoribus in statione essent, centum quinquaginta longarum classis navium eo anno expleretur. Dilectu habitu et centum navibus novis deductis Q. Fabius comitia censoribus creandis habuit; creati M. Atilius Regulus et P. Furius Philus.

Cum increbreseretur rumor bellum in Sicilia esse, 7 T. Otacilius eo cum classe proficisci iussus est. Cum deessent nautae, consules ex senatus consulto edixerunt ut, qui L. Aemilio C. Flaminio censoribus milibus aeras quinquaginta ipse aut pater eius eensus fuisset usque ad centum milia, aut cui postea tanta resesseret facta, nautam unum cum sex mensum stipedio daret; qui supra centum milia usque ad trecenta milia, tris nautas cum stipedio annuo; qui supra trecenta milia usque ad deciens aeras, quinque nautas; qui supra deciens, septem; senatores octo nautas cum annuo stipedio darent. Ex hoc edicto dati nautae, armati instructique ab dominis, cum triginta dierum coctis cibariis naves conscenderunt. Tum primum est factum ut classis Romana sociis navalibus privata inpensa paratis conpleretur.

XII. Hie maior solito adparatus praecipue conterruit Campanos, ne ab obsidione Capuae bellum eius anni Romani inciperent. Itaque legatos ad Hannibalem oratum miserunt ut Capuam exercitum admoveret: ad eam oppugnandam novos exercitus

1 tanta res Weissenborn: res tanta z: tanta P(l).

1 Meaning chiefly *remiges*, who pulled the long oars and were in general slaves; cf. XXVI. xxxv.
The consuls were ordered to enroll them as soon as B.C. 214 possible, and to furnish a fleet, so that, including the ships at anchor defending the coast of Calabria, the fleet should amount that year to a hundred and fifty warships. After conducting the levy and launching a hundred new ships, Quintus Fabius held an election for the choosing of censors. Marcus Atilius Regulus and Publius Furius Philus were elected.

As the rumour that there was a war in Sicily spread more widely, Titus Otacilius was ordered to set sail thither with his fleet. Owing to the lack of sailors the consuls in accordance with a decree of the senate issued an edict that a man who in the censorship of Lucius Aemilius and Gaius Flamininus had been rated—either he or his father—at from 50,000 to 100,000 asses, or if his property had since increased to that amount, should furnish one sailor provided with six months' pay; that one who had more than 100,000 and up to 300,000 should furnish three sailors and a year's pay; he who had over 300,000 and up to a million asses, five sailors; he who had over a million, seven; that senators should furnish eight sailors and a year's pay. The sailors furnished in accordance with this edict went on board armed and equipped by their masters, and with cooked rations for thirty days. It was the first time that a Roman fleet was manned with crews secured at private expense.

XII. This extraordinary preparation particularly alarmed the Campanians, for fear the Romans might begin that year's war with a siege of Capua. Accordingly they sent legates to Hannibal to beg him to bring his army to Capua. New armies, they said,

2 I.e. 220 B.C.; XXIII. xxii. 5.
scribi Romae, nec ullius urbis defectioni magis infensos corum animos esse. Id quia tam trepide nuntiabant, maturandum Hannibal ratus, ne praevinirent Romani, profectus Arpis ad Tifata in veteribus castris super Capuam consedit. Inde Numidis Hispanisque ad praesidium simul castrorum simul Capuae relictis cum eetero exercitu ad lacum Avernii per speciem sacrificandi, re ipsa ut temptaret Puticolos quodque ibi praesidium erat, descendit. Maximus, postquam Hannibalem Arpis profectum et regredi in Campaniam adlatum est, nec die nec noxte intermisso itinere ad exercitum redit, et Ti. Gracchum ab Luceeria Beneventum copias admovevit. Q. Fabium praetorem—is filius consulis erat—ad Luceerinam Gracco succedere iubet.

In Siciliam codem tempore duo praetores profecti, P. Cornelius ad exercitum, T. Otacilius qui maritimae orae reique navali praecesset. Et ceteri in suas quisque provincias profecti, et quibus prorogatum imperium erat casdem quas priori anno regiones obtinerunt.

XIII. Ad Hannibalem, cum ad lacum Avernii esset, quinque nobiles invenes ab Tarento venerunt, partim ad Trasumenenum lacum, partim ad Cannas capiti dismissi domos cum cadem comitate qua usus ad-versus omnem Romanorum socios Poenus fuerat. Ei memores beneficiorum eius perpulisse magnam partem se inventutis Tarentinae referunt ut Hannibalis

1 Probably in connection with the necromancy practised at Avernus.
were being enrolled at Rome for besieging it, and the defection of no city had more embittered the Romans. Since they reported this with such excitement, Hannibal, thinking he must make haste, lest he be anticipated by the Romans, set out from Arpi and established himself by Tifata in his old camp above Capua. Then leaving Numidians and Spaniards to defend the camp and Capua at the same time, he came down with the rest of his army to the Lake of Avernus, with the pretext of sacrificing,\(^1\) in reality to attack Puteoli and the garrison which was there. Maximus, on being informed that Hannibal had left Arpi and was returning to Campania, without interrupting his journey by day or night returned to the army. And he ordered Tiberius Gracchus to bring his troops from Luceria to Beneventum, and Quintus Fabius, the praetor—he was the consul's son—, to relieve Gracchus at Luceria.

Two praetors set out at the same time for Sicily, Publius Cornelius to the army, and Titus Otacilius to take command of the sea-coast and of naval operations. And the others set out for their several assignments, and those whose commands had been prolonged held the same regions as in the previous year.

XIII. While Hannibal was at the Lake of Avernus five noble young men came to him from Tarentum, some of whom had been captured at the Lake of Trasumennus, others at Cannae, and sent to their homes with that same courtesy which the Carthaginian had shown toward all allies of the Romans. Mindful of his favours, they reported that they had induced a large part of the young men of Tarentum to prefer the friendship and alliance of Hannibal to
amicitiam ac societatem quam populi Romani mallem, legatosque ab suis missos rogare Hannibal ut exercitum propius Tarentum admoveat: si signa eius, si castra conspecta a Tarento sint, haud ullam interessemur moram quin in deditionem veniat\(^1\) urbs; in potestate iuniorum plebem, in manu plebis rem Tarentinam esse. Hannibal conlandatos eos oneratosque ingentibus promissis domum ad coepta maturanda redire iubet: se in tempore adfuturum esse. Hae cum spe dimissi Tarentini. Ipsum ingens cupidus inesset Tarenti potiundi. Urbem esse videbat cum opulentam nobilemque, tum maritimam et in Macedoniam opportune versam, regemque Philippum hunc portum, si transiret in Italiani, quoniam\(^2\) Brundisium Romani haberent, petitum. Sacro inde perpetrato ad quod venerat et, dum ibi moratur, pervastato agro Cumano usque ad Miseni promunturium Puteolos repente agmen convertit ad opprimendum praesidium Romanum. Sex milia hominum erant et locus munimento quoque, non natura modo tutus. Triduum ibi moratus Poenus ab omni parte temptato praesidio, deinde, ut nihil procedebat, ad populandum agrum Neapolitanum magis ira quam potius urbis spe processit.

Adventu eius in propinicum agrum mota Nolana est plebs, iam diu aversa ab Romanis et infesta senatui suo. Itaque legati ad arcessendum Hannibal cum haud dubio promisso tradendae urbis

\(^1\) in deditionem veniat (\textit{a line}) Conway: om. \textit{P}(1); (\textit{after urbs}) dedatur \textit{A}^2; \textit{ei} tradatur Madvig; in potestatem \textit{eius} tradatur Weissenborn.

\(^2\) quoniam Madvig, Conway: om. \textit{P}(1).
those of the Roman people; and that, as legates B.C. 214 sent by their people, they asked Hannibal to bring his army nearer to Tarentum. If his standards, if his camp should be seen from Tarentum there would be no delay in the surrender of the city; that the common people were in the power of the younger men, the Tarentine state in the hands of the common people. Hannibal praised them and overwhelmed them with great promises, and bade them return home to carry out their undertaking promptly; that he would be there at the right moment. With this hope the Tarentines were sent away. He himself had conceived a great desire to gain possession of Tarentum. He saw that the city was not only rich and famous but also a seaport, and favourably placed in the direction of Macedonia, and that accordingly King Philip, if he should cross into Italy, would make for this port, since the Romans held Brundisium. Then, after accomplishing the rite for which he had come, and devastating the territory of Cumae as far as the promontory of Misenum, while he lingered there, he suddenly headed his column toward Puteoli, to surprise the Roman garrison. There were six thousand men and the place was defended by a wall also, not merely by nature. There the Carthaginian tarried three days, attacking the garrison from every side; and then, when he met with no success, he set out to ravage the territory of Neapolis, rather in anger than with the hope of taking the city.

His coming into a neighbouring region aroused the common people of Nola, who had long been estranged from the Romans and hostile to their own senate. Consequently legates came to invite Hannibal, bringing a definitive promise to surrender the city.
Livy

A.D.C. 549

9 venerunt. Praeventit inceptum eorum Marcellus consul a primoribus accitus. Die uno Suessulam a Calibus, cum Volturnus amnis traiciarentem moratus esset, contenderat; inde proxima nocte sex milia peditum, equites trecentos, qui praesidio senatu essent, Nolam intromisit. Et uti a consule omnia impigre facta sunt ad praeoccupandam Nolam, ita Hannibal tempus terebat, bis iam ante nequiquam temptata re segni ad credendum Nolaniis factus.

XIV. Isdem diebus et Q. Fabius consul ad Casilinum temptandum, quod praesidio Punico tenebatur, venit et ad Beneventum velut ex composito parte altera Hannoe ex Bruttis eum magna peditum equitumque manu, altera Ti. Gracehus ab Luceeria accessit. Qui primo oppidum intravit, deinde, ut Haunonem, tria milia ferme ab urbe ad Calorem fluvium castra posuisse et inde agrum populari audivit, et ipse egressus in mcnibus mille ferme passus ab hoste castra locat. Ibi contionem militum habuit. Legiones magna ex parte volonum habebat, qui iam alterum annum libertatem tacite mereri quam postulare palam maluerant. Senserat tamen hibernis egrediens murmur in agmine esse quaerentium, en unquam liberi militaturi essent, scripsaratque senatu non tam quid desiderarent quam quid meuisissent: bona fortique opera eorum se ad eam diem trecentos, qui A.x: quingenos, qui Weissenborn: om. P(1).

1 Since Hannibal had captured the city; XXIII. xix. 15 f.; xx. 1.

216
Marcellus, the consul, was called in by the leading men and forestalled their undertaking. From Cales he had hastened in one day to Suessula, though the river Volturnus had delayed his crossing. Thence he sent six thousand infantry and three hundred horsemen that night into Nola, to defend the senate. And whereas the consul did everything with energy, in order to anticipate him in occupying Nola, Hannibal was wasting time, having twice already made the vain attempt, and being now less inclined to believe the men of Nola.

XIV. At the same time not only did Quintus Fabius, the consul, come to Casilinum, to attack the city, held by a Carthaginian garrison, but also, as if by prearrangement, Hanno, with a large force of infantry and cavalry, from the land of the Bruttii, came to Beneventum from one side, while on the other side Tiberius Gracchus came to it from Luceria. The latter at first entered the town, and then, on hearing that Hanno had pitched his camp about three miles from the city by the river Calor, and from that point was ravaging the country, he likewise left the city and pitched camp about a mile from the enemy. There he held an assembly of the soldiers. The legions he had were largely made up of slave-volunteers, who now for two years had preferred silently to earn their freedom rather than openly to demand it. Yet as he came out of winter quarters he had been aware that there was murmuring in the column, as they asked whether they were ever at all to serve as free men. And he had written to the senate, not so much what they wanted as what they had deserved; that he had had good and brave service from them up to that time, and that they lacked
usum, neque ad exemplum iusti militis quicquam eis praeter libertatem deesse. De eo permissum ipsi erat faceret quod e re publica duceret esse. Itaque prinsquam cum hoste manum consereret, pronuntiat tempus venisse eis libertatis quam din sperassent potiundae; postero die signis conlatis dimicaturum puro ac patenti campo, ubi sineulloinsidiarum metu vera virtute geri res posset. Quicaput hostis rettulisset, cum se extemplo liberum iussurum esse; qui loco cessisset, in eum servili supplicio animadversurum; suam cuiquefortunam in manu esse. Libertatis auctorem eis non se fore solum, sed consulem M. Marcellum, sed universos patres, quos consultos ab se de libertate eorum sibi permisisse. Litteras inde consulis ac senatus consultum recitavit; ad quae clamor cum ingenti adsensu est sublatus. Pugnam poscebant signumque ut daret extemploferociter instabant. Gracchus proelio in posterum diem pronuntiato contionem dimisit. Milites laeti, praecipue quibus merces navatae in unum diem operae libertasutura erat, armis expediendis diei relicum consumunt.

XV. Postero die ubi signa coeperunt canere, primi omnium parati instructique ad praetorium conveniunt. Sole orto Gracchus in aciem copias educit; nec hostes moram dimicandi fecerunt. 2 Decem se septem milia peditum erant, maxima ex parte Bruttii ac Lucani, equites mille dueinti, inter quos pauci admodum Italici, ceteri Numidae fere 1

218
nothing toward the standard of the real soldier except their freedom. In this matter he had been given permission to do whatever he thought to be for the good of the state. And so, before engaging the enemy, he announced that the time had come for them to gain the freedom for which they so long had hoped; that the next day he would fight, standards against standards, in a clear and open field, where without any fear of ambush the battle could be fought with pure courage. Whoever should bring back the head of an enemy would by his order be a free man at once. Whoever retreated from his post would meet the punishment of a slave. Each man’s fortune was in his own hand. The giver of their freedom would be not merely himself, but the consul Marcus Marcellus, but the whole senate, for they had been consulted by him and had given him permission in the matter of their freedom. He then read the letter of the consul and the decree of the senate. Upon that a shout was raised with great applause. They clamoured for battle and with high spirit insisted that he give the signal at once. Gracchus announced a battle for the morrow and dismissed the assembly. The soldiers were happy, especially those for whom freedom was to be the reward of a single day’s service, and spent the rest of the day in putting their arms in order.

XV. On the next day, when the signals began to sound, these soldiers were the first of all to assemble at headquarters, ready and in formation. After sunrise Gracchus led his troops out into line, and the enemy did not delay the battle. They had seventeen thousand infantry, mostly Bruttians and Lucaniaus, twelve hundred cavalry, among them very few
omnes Maurique. Pugnatum est et acriter et diu; quattuor horis neutro inclinata est pugna. Nee alia magis Romanum impediebat res quam capita hostium preitia libertatis facta; nam ut quique hostem inpigre occiderat, primum capite aegre inter turbam tumultumque abseidendo terebat tempus; deinde occupata dextra tenendo caput fortissimus quique pugnator esse desicerat, segnibus ac timidis tradita pugna erat. Quod ubi tribuni militum Graccho nuntiaverunt, neminem stantem iam vulnerari hostem, carnificari iacentes, et in dextris militum pro gladiis humana capita esse, signum dari propere iussit, pro-6ieerent capita invaderentque hostem: claram satis et insignem virtutem esse nce dubiam libertatem futuram strenuis viris. Tum redintegrata pugna est, et eques etiam in hostes emissus. Quibus cum inpigre Numidae occurrissent, nce segnior equitum quam peditum pugna esset, iterum in dubium adducta res. Cum utrimque duces, Romanus Bruttium Lucanunque totiens a maioribus suis vietos subactosque, Poenus mancipia Romana et ex ergasto-8tulo militem verbis obteteret, postremo pronuntiat Gracchus esse nihil quod de libertate sperarent, nisi eo die fusi fugatique hostes essent. XVI. Ea demum vox ita animos accendit ut renovato clamore, velut alii repente facti, tanta vi se in hostem intule-
Italians, nearly all the rest Numidians and Mauri. b.c. 214
The battle was fierce and long; for four hours it did not incline either way. And nothing hampered the Romans more than that enemies' heads were made the price of freedom. For when a man had boldly slain an enemy, in the first place he was wasting time in cutting off the head with difficulty in the confusion and turmoil; and then, as his right hand was occupied in holding the head, the bravest had ceased to be fighters, while the battle was turned over to the spiritless and the fearful. When the tribunes of the soldiers reported this to Gracchus: that they were not wounding a single enemy standing, but butchering the fallen; and that in the soldier's right hands there were human heads instead of swords, he ordered the command at once given that they should throw away the heads and attack the enemy. Their courage, he said, was sufficiently clear and conspicuous, and for active men freedom would be beyond a doubt. Thereupon the battle was renewed, and the cavalry also charged the enemy. Since the Numidians met this charge gallantly and the cavalry battle was no less spirited than that of the infantry, the issue was for the second time made doubtful. While the commanders on both sides heaped abuse, the Roman on the Bruttians and Lucanians, so many times defeated and subdued by their ancestors, the Carthaginian on the Roman slaves and prison-house soldiers, Gracchus finally declared that they had no reason to hope for freedom, unless on that day the enemy should be routed and put to flight. XVI. Those words at last so fired their courage that, as though they were suddenly different men, they raised a shout again and charged the enemy
2 rint ut sustineri ultra non possent. Primo antesignani Poenorum, dein signa perturbata, postremo tota impulsa acies; inde haud dubie terga data, ruuntque fugientes in castra adeo pavidì trepidique ut ne in portis quidem aut vallo quisquam restiterit, ae prope continentì agmine Romani insecuti novum de integro proelium inclusì hostium vallo ediderint.

3 Ibi sicut pugna impeditior in angustiis, ita caedes atrocior fuit. Et adiuvere captivi, qui rapto inter tumultum ferro conglobati et ab tergo ecciderunt.

4 Poenos et fugam impedierunt. Itaque minus duo milia hominum ex tanto exercitu, et ea maior pars equitum, cum ipso duce effugerunt; alii omnes caesi aut capti; capta et signa duodequadraginta.

5 Ex victoribus duo milia ferme eccidere. Praeda omnis praeterquam hominum captorum militi concessa est; et pecus exceptum est quod intra dies triginta domini cognovissent.

6 Cum praeda onusti in castra redissent, quattuor milia ferme volonum militum, quae pugnaverant segnius nee in castra inruperant simul, metu poenae collem haud procul castris ceperunt. Postero die per tribunos militum inde deducti contione militum advocata a Graccho superveniunt. Ubi cum proconsul veteres milites primum, prout cuiusque virtus atque opera in ea pugna fuerat, militaribus donis donasset, tune quod ad volones attineret, omnes ait

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1 Livy often applies Roman military terms to the enemy's army. Here signa suggests a second line somewhat like the Roman principes. Cf. XXII. v. 7 for antesignani.
with such force that they could no longer be withstood. At first the front line of the Carthaginians, then the second was in confusion; finally the whole line was forced back. Then it was unmistakable flight, and fleeing they dashed into their camp in such fright and excitement that no one halted even at the gates or on the wall. And the Romans, pursuing in almost unbroken column, fought an entirely new battle while hemmed in by the enemies' wall. There the battle was indeed more hampered in a confined space, but the slaughter was more savage. And they were aided by the captives, who, seizing weapons during the confusion and advancing in a mass, slashed the Carthaginians from the rear and also hindered their flight. And so out of that great army less than two thousand men, mainly cavalry at that, escaped along with the general himself. All the rest were slain or captured. Captured were also thirty-eight standards. Of the victors about two thousand fell. All the booty except the captives was given to the soldiers. Cattle also were excepted, if the owners should identify them within thirty days.

When they had returned to camp laden with booty, about four thousand of the slave-volunteers, who had fought with less spirit and had not dashed into the camp with the others, for fear of punishment occupied a hill not far from the camp. The next day they were brought down by military tribunes and arrived after an assembly of the soldiers had been called by Gracchus. There the proconsul first presented military decorations to the old soldiers, to each according to his valour and his part in that battle; and then he said that, so far as the slave-volunteers
malle laudatos a se, dignos indignosque, quam quem- quam eo die castigatum esse. Quod bonum faustum felixque rei publicae ipsisque esset, omnes eos 10 liberos esse iubere. Ad quam voceem cum clamor ingenti alacritate sublatus esset, ac nunc complexi inter se gratulantesque, nunc manus ad caelum tollentes bona omnia populo Romano Graechoque ipsi precarentur, tum Gracchus "Priusquam omnes iure libertatis acquassem" inquit, "neminem nota 12 strenui aut ignavi militia notasse volui; nunc exsoluta iam fide publica, ne discerem omne virtutis ignaviacque pereat, nondum aliquos qui detractatae pugnae memores secessionem paulo ante fecerunt referri ad me iubebo, citatosque singulos iure iurando adigam, nisi quibus 1 morbus causa erit, non aliter quam stantes cibum potionemque, quoad stipendia facient, capturos esse. Hane multam ita acque animo feretis, si reputabitis nulla ignaviae nota leviore vos designari potuisse." Signum deinde colligendi vasa dedit; militesque praedam portantes agentesque per laseiviam ac iocum ita ludibundi Beneventum 15 rediere ut ab epulis per celebrem festumque diem 16 actis, non ex acie reverti viderentur. Beneventani omnes turba effusa cum obviam ad portas exissent, complecti milites, gratulari, vocare in hospitium. 17 Adparata convivia omnibus in propatulo aedium


1 Thus the good things could be seen through the open door, as in XXV. xii. 15: apertis ianuis in propatulo epulati sunt.
were concerned, he preferred to have all of them, the b.c. 214.
worthy and the unworthy, praised by himself, rather
than to have any one of them punished that day; that, with the prayer that it might be good and
happy and fortunate for the state and for the men
themselves, he ordered them all to be free. At
these words they raised a shout with great enthusiasm,
and now embracing and congratulating each other,
now raising their hands to heaven, they prayed for
every blessing for the Roman people and for Gracchus
himself. Thereupon Gracchus said: "Before making
you all equals by the right of freedom, I wished to
stamp not one man of you with the mark of a brave
or of a cowardly soldier. But now, the promise made
in the name of the state being already fulfilled, to
prevent the loss of every distinction between valour
and cowardice, I shall order the names of those who,
remembering their refusal to fight, left us a while
ago to be reported to me; and summoning them one
by one I shall make them swear that, excepting men
who shall have illness as an excuse, they will take
food and drink standing only, so long as they shall
be in the service. This penalty you will bear with
patience, if you will reflect that you could not have
been marked with any slighter sign of cowardice." He
then gave the signal to pack baggage, and the
soldiers carrying and driving their booty returned
with sport and mirth so gaily to Beneventum that
they seemed to be returning from a feast on a day
of general festivity, not from a battle. All the
people of Beneventum, having come out en masse to
the gates to meet them, embraced the soldiers,
congratulated them, invited them into their houses.
Feasts had been made ready by all in the aatria\(^{1}\) of
fuerant; ad ea invitant Graecumque orabant ut epulari possissent militibus: et Graecus ita permisit, si\(^1\) in publico epularentur omnes ante suas quisque fores. Prolata omnia. Pilleati aut lana alba velatis capitibus volones sunt, alii accubantes, alii stantes, qui simul ministrabant vesce-banturque. Digna res visa ut simulacrum celebrati eius dies Graecus, postquam Romam rediit, pingi iuberet in aede Libertatis quam pater eius in Aventino ex multatia pecunia faciendam curavit dedicavitque.

XVII. Dum haec ad Beneventum geruntur, Hannibal depopulatus agrum Neapolitanum ad Nolam castra movet. Quem ubi adventare consul sensit, Pomponio propraetore cum eo exercitu qui super Suessulam in castris erat accito ire obviam hosti parat nec moram dimicandi facere. C. Claudium Neronem cum robore equitum silentio noctis per aversam maxime ab hoste portam emittit circumvectumque occulte subsequi sensim agmen hostium iubet et, cum coortum proelium videret, ab tergo se obicere.

Id errore viarum an exiguitate temporis Nero exsequi non potuerit incertum est. Absente eo cum proelium commissum esset, superior quidem hanc dubie Romanus erat: sed quia equites non adfuere in

\(^1\) si Sigonius; ut x: om. F(1).

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\(^1\) The *pilleus* was evidence of freedom, as was the *lana alba*.

\(^2\) The closing words are possibly copied from an inscription on the temple. The father was consul in 238 B.C.
their houses. To these they invited the soldiers and implored Gracchus to allow the soldiers to feast. And Gracchus did permit them, provided they all feasted in the open, each before the door of his house. Everything was brought out. Wearing caps or white woollen headbands the volunteers feasted, some reclining, and some standing served and ate at the same time. This seemed to deserve the order Gracchus gave on his return to Rome for a representation of that day of festivity to be painted in the Temple of Liberty which his father, with money yielded by fines, caused to be built on the Aventine and dedicated.  

XVII. While these things were going on about Beneventum, Hannibal, after ravaging the territory of Neapolis, removed his camp to Nola. When the consul learned of his approach, summoning Pomponius, the propractor, with the army which was in camp above Suessula, he prepared to advance to meet the enemy and to engage without delay. He sent Gaius Claudius Nero with the best of the cavalry out by the gate farthest from the enemy in the silence of the night, and commanded him to ride around unseen and follow the enemy's column slowly, and when he saw that the battle had begun, to throw himself upon their rear. Whether it was by losing the way that Nero was unable to carry this out, or from the shortness of the time, is uncertain. After the battle had begun in his absence, the Roman indeed unquestionably had the upper hand; but since the cavalry were not there at the right moment, the

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3 Cnstra Claudia; XXIII. xxxi. 3 and elsewhere. Pomponius must have been relieved of his duties in the North (x. 3).
tempore, ratio compositae rei turbata est. Non ausus inequi cedentes Marcellus vincentibus suis signum receptui dedit. Plus tamen duo milia hostium eo die caesa traduntur. Romani minus quadringsenti. Solis fere occasu Nero diem noctem-que nequiquam fatigatis equis hominibusque, ne viso quidem poste rediens, adeo graviter est ab consule increpitus ut per eum stetisse dicercet 1 quo minus accepta ad Cannas redderetur hosti clades. Postero die Romanus in aiciem deseendit, Poenus, tacita etiam confessione victus castris se tenuit. Tertio die silentio noctis omissa spe Nolae potiundae, rei numquam prospere temptatae, Tarentum ad certiorem spem prodictionis proficiscitur.

XVIII. Nee minore animo res Romana domi quam militiae gerebatur. Censores, vaeci ab operum locandorum cura propter inopiam aerarii, ad mores hominum regendos animum adverterunt castiganda-que vitia quae, velut diutinis morbis aegra corpora ex sese gignunt, eo nata bello erant. Primum eos citaverunt qui post Cannensem pugnam rem publi- cam deseruisse 3 dicebantur. Princeps corum M. Caecilius Metellus quaestor tum forte erat. Iusso deinde eo ceterisque eiusdem noxae reis causam

1 dicercet z : diceyetur P(l).
3 pugnam rem publicam deseruisse .12x : om. P(1) : the gap indicated in PA, probably a single line, is variously sup- plied, e.g. eladem a re publica defectisse Walters.

1 Cannae was avenged by this Nero and his colleague Livius at the Metaurus, 207 B.C.; XXVII. xlviii f.; xlix. 5.
prearranged plan for the battle was ruined. Marcellus, B.C. 214 not venturing to pursue the retreating, gave his men, victorious though they were, the signal to retire. More than two thousand of the enemy, however, are said to have been slain that day, of the Romans less than four hundred. About sunset Nero, returning with his horses and men exhausted to no purpose by their efforts for a day and a night, without even seeing the enemy, was sternly rebuked by the consul, who went so far as to say that it was his fault that the disaster suffered at Cannae was not paid back to the enemy.\(^1\) On the next day the Roman went into line of battle, while the Carthaginian, beaten, as he tacitly admitted also, remained in camp. The third day, giving up hope of capturing Nola, an undertaking which had never prospered, he set out in the dead of night for Tarentum, led by a surer hope of its betrayal.

XVIII. And it was with no less spirit that the Roman state was administered at home than in the field. The censors, freed from the charge of contracting for public works on account of the emptiness of the treasury, turned their attention to the control of morals and the punishment of vices which had sprung from that war, just as bodies suffering from long illnesses of themselves produce defects. First they summoned those who after the battle of Cannae were said to have abandoned the state. The foremost among them, Marcus Caecilius Metellus,\(^2\) happened at this time to be quaestor. Inasmuch as he and the rest of those guilty of the same offence, on being ordered to plead their cases, proved unable

\(^2\) For his plan to leave Italy cf. XXII. liii. 5, where his praenomen is Lucius.
dicere, cum purgari nequissent, pronuntiarunt verba orationemque eos adversus rem publicam habuisse, quo coniuratio deserendae Italiae causa fieret.

5 Secundum eos citati nimis callidi exsolvendi iuris iurandi interpretes, qui captivorum ex itinere regressi clam in castra Hannibalis solutum quod iuraverunt, aliquando adversum publicam rem liabuisse, quo coniuratio deserendae Italiae causa fieret.

6 verunt redituros rebantur. His superioribusque illis equi adempti qui publicum equom habebant, tribuque moti aerarii omnes facti. Neque senatu modo aut equestri ordine regendo cura se censorum tenuit; nomina omnium ex iuniorum tabulis excepserunt qui quadriennio non militassent, quibus neque vacatio insta militiae neque morbus causa fuerit. Et ca supra duo milia nominum in aerarios relata tribuque omnes moti; additumque tam truci censoriae notae triste senatus consultum, ut ei omnes quos censusores notassent pedibus mererent mitterentque in Sicilian ad Cannensis exercitus reliquias, cui militum generi non prius quam pulsus Italia hostis esset finitum stipendiorum tempus erat.

10 Cum censores ob inopiam aerarii se iam locationibus abstinerent aedium sacrarum tuendarum curuliumque eorum praebendorum ac similium his

1 nominum P(1) Aldus: hominum et Madvig.

1 So ten of them pretended to think, XXII. Ixxi. 8. Another version (ib. 4 and Iviii. 8) had only a single perjuror.

2 Transfer to one of the four city tribes was a degradation, but, since the reform of 312 B.C., aerarii ("taxpayers only") were allowed to vote and serve in the army.
to clear themselves, the censors gave their verdict B.C. 214 that in conversation and formal speeches they had attacked the state, in order to form a conspiracy to desert Italy. Next after them were summoned those who had been too crafty in interpreting the discharge of an oath,—those of the captives who, after setting out and then returning secretly to Hannibal's camp, thought the oath they had sworn, that they would return, had been discharged. From these men and those mentioned above their horses, if they had such from the state, were taken away, and all were ejected from their tribes and made aerarii. And the diligence of the censors did not confine itself to regulating the senate and the order of the knights. From the lists of the younger men they culled the names of all who during four years had not served, without having had a legitimate exemption from the service or ill health as an excuse. And of these above two thousand names were placed on the list of the aerarii, and they all were ejected from their tribes. And to this relentless stigma of the censors was added a severe decree of the senate that all of those whom the censors had stigmatised should serve on foot and be sent to Sicily, to the remnant of the army of Cannae. For this class of soldiers the term of service was not at an end until the enemy should be driven out of Italy.

Since the censors on account of the emptiness of the treasury now refrained from letting contracts for the maintenance of temples and the furnishing of horses used in religious processions and for similar

3 The two-wheeled vehicles (tensae) which carried attributes of the Capitoline deities in procession to the Circus were usually drawn by four horses.
LIVY

A.D.C. 540

11 rerum, convenire\(^1\) ad eos frequentes qui hastae huius generis adsueverant, hortarique\(^2\) censores ut omnia perinde agerent locarent ac si pecunia in aerario esset: neminem nisi bello confecto pecuniam ab aerario petiturum esse. Convenere deinde domini eorum quos Ti. Sempronius ad Beneventum manum emiserat arcessitosque se ab triumviris mensariis esse dixerunt ut pretia servorum accepserent; ecterum non ante quam bello confecto accepturos esse.

12 Cum haec inclinatio animorum plebis ad sustinendam inopiam aerarii fieret, pecuniae quoque pupillares primo, deinde viduarum coeptae conferri, nasquam eas tutius sanctiusque deponere credentibus qui deferebant quam in publica fide; inde si quid emptum paratumque pupillis ae viduis foret, a quaestore perscriberetur. Manavit ea privatorum benignitas ex urbe etiam in castra, ut non eques, non centurio stipendium accepseret, mercennariumque increpantes vocarent qui aecipisset.

XIX. Q. Fabius consul ad Casilinum castra habebat, quod duum milium Campanorum et septingen- torum militum Hannibalis tenebatur praesidio.

2 Praeclarat Statius Metius, missus ab Cn. Magio Atellano, qui eo anno medix tutieus erat, servitiaque

\(^1\) convenire H. J. Müller: convenere P(1).
\(^2\) hortarique F(1): hortatique z Madvig, adding sunt after censores.

1 At sales and the letting of contracts a spear (\textit{hasta}) symbolised the authority of the state, and gave its name to the proceedings.

232
matters, those who had been in the habit of such bidding \(^1\) came in large numbers to the censors, and urged them to take action and let contracts at once for everything, just as if there were money in the treasury; that no one would claim his money from the treasury until the war was over. Then came the owners of the slaves Tiberius Sempronius had manumitted at Beneventum, and said they had been summoned by the bank commissioners \(^2\) to receive the price of their slaves; but that they would not receive it until the war was over. Such being now the tendency of the people to relieve the poverty of the treasury, funds, first of wards, and then of widows and single women, began also to be turned in; for those who brought in the sums believed that nowhere could they deposit them with a sense of greater safety and honesty than under the guarantee of the state. Thereafter when anything was purchased or provided for wards and widows and single women, it was paid for by an order of a quaestor. This generosity of private citizens spread from the city also even to the camps, so that no knight, no centurion accepted pay, and the man who did accept was reproachfully called a hireling.

XIX. Quintus Fabius, the consul, had his camp near Casilinum, which was held by a garrison of two thousand Campanians and seven hundred of Hannibal's soldiers. In command was Statius Metius, who had been sent by Gnaeus Magius, of Atella (who was the medix tuticus \(^3\) that year), and Metius had armed slaves and plebeians without distinction, in order to

\(^1\) Cf. XXIII. xxi. 6. These emergency officials (\textit{triumviri mensarii}) evidently served for some years; cf. XXVI. xxxvi. 8.

\(^2\) Cf. XXIII. xxxv. 13; XXVI. vi. 13.

\(^3\) Cf. XXIII. xxxv. 13; XXVI. vi. 13.
et plebeum promiscue armarat, ut castra Romana invaderet intento consule ad Casilinum oppugnante.

3 Nihil corum Fabium fefellit. Itaque Nolam ad collegam mittit: altero exercitu, dum Casilinum oppugnatur, opus esse qui Campanis opponatur; vel ipse relieto Nolae praesidio modico veniret, vel, si cum Nola teneret needum securae res ab Hannibale essent, se Ti. Gracchum proconsulem a Benevento acciturum. Hoc nuntio Marcellus duobus militum milibus Nolae in praesidio relietis eum cetero exercitu Casilinum venit, adventuque eius Campani iam moventes sese quieverunt. Ita ab duobus consulibus Casilinum oppugnari coepit. Ubi cum multa sucedentes temere moenibus Romani milites acciperent vulnera neque satis inceptu succederet, Fabius omittendam rem parvam ac iuxta magnis difficilem abscedendumque inde eensebat, cum res maiores instarent: Marcellus multa magnis dueibus sicut non adgredienda, ita semel adgressis non dimittenda esse dicendo, quia magna famae momenta in utramque partem fierent, tenuit ne inrito incepto abiretur. Vineae inde omniaque alia operum machinationumque genera cum admoventur, Campanique Fabium orarent ut abire Capuam tuto liceret, paucis egressis Marcellus portam qua egrediebatis tur occupavit, caedesque promiscue omnium circa portam primo, deinde inruptione facta etiam in urbe

1 inceptu (dative) F(6): -tus M: -tis A: -tum \text{Gronovius}: -to \text{Luchs}.

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1 Catapults, towers, rams, etc. Movable sheds protected the besiegers.
2 Livy touches lightly upon Marcellus’ apparent ruthlessness; cf. xxxix. 7.
make an attack upon the Roman camp while the consul was occupied with the siege of Casilinum. Of all this nothing escaped Fabius. So he sends word to his colleague at Nola that he needs the other army, to face the Campanians while Casilinum was being besieged; either Marcellus should leave a suitable garrison at Nola and come in person, or if Nola held him back and there was still danger from Hannibal, he would himself summon Tiberius Gracchus, the proconsul, from Beneventum. On receiving this message Marcellus left two thousand soldiers as a garrison at Nola, and with the rest of his army came to Casilinum; and upon his arrival the Campanians, who were already bestirring themselves, became inactive. So began the siege of Casilinum by the two consuls. Since in this operation the Roman soldiers rashly approaching the walls were receiving many wounds and the undertaking was not successful, Fabius thought that they should give up a small affair which was as difficult as great ventures, and that they must leave the place, since greater matters were impending. Marcellus, saying that, while there were many places which great generals ought not to attack, yet, once the attack has begun, they should not give them up, since reputation has great influence in both directions, carried his point, not to depart while their attempt was unsuccessful. Then while sheds and all other kinds of siege-works and apparatus were being brought up, and the Campanians were begging Fabius for permission to go to Capua in safety, after a few had left the city, Marcellus occupied the gate by which they were leaving. And a general slaughter began, first around the gate, and then, as the troops burst in,
fieri coepta est. Quinquaginta fere primo egressi Campanorum, cum ad Fabium confugissent, praecsidio eius Capuam pervenerunt. Casilinum inter conloquia cunctationemque petentium fidem per occasionem captum est, captivique Campanorum quive Hannibalis militum erant Romam missi atque ibi in carcere inclusi sunt; oppidanorum turba per finitimos populos in custodiam divisa.

XX. Quibus diebus a Casilino re bene gesta recessum est, eis Gracchus in Lucanis aliquot cohortes in ea regione conscriptas cum praefecto socium in agros hostium praedatum misit. Eos effuse palates Hanno adortus haud multo minorem quam ad Beneventum aceperat reddidit hosti cladem atque in Bruttios raptim, ne Gracchus adsequeretur, concessit.

3 Consules Marcellus retro unde venerat Nolam rediit, Fabius in Samnites ad populandos agros recipiendasque armis quae defecerant urbes processit. Caudinus Samnis gravius devastatus: perusti late agri, praedae pecudum hominumque actae; oppida vi capta Conpulteria, Telesia, Compsa inde, Fugifulae et Orbitanum ex Lucanis, Blanda et Apulorum Aecae oppugnatae. Milia hostium in his urbibus viginti quinque capta aut occisa, et recepti perfugae trecenti septuaginta; quos cum Romam misisset consul, virgis in comitio caesi omnes ac de saxo

1 quive P(1) Conway: quique z.
even inside the city. About fifty Campanians who b.c. 241 had left the city first sought refuge with Fabius and, escorted by his men, reached Capua. Casilinum was captured, as opportunity offered during the conversations and the delay due to those who begged a promise of protection. And the captives, whether Campanians or of Hannibal's soldiers, were sent to Rome and there imprisoned. The mass of the townspeople were distributed among the neighbouring communities to be guarded.

XX. At the same time that they left Casilinum after their success, Gracchus in Lucania sent a number of cohorts which had been enlisted in that region, under the command of a prefect of the allies, into the enemy's farm lands to plunder. Hanno attacked them as they were widely scattered and gave the enemy in return a defeat not much less serious than that which he had received near Beneventum, and withdrew hastily into the land of the Bruttians, that Gracchus might not overtake him. Of the consuls, Marcellus returned to Nola, whence he had come, Fabius advanced into Samnium, to lay waste their farms and to recover by force the cities which had revolted. Samnium around the Caudine Pass was more thoroughly laid waste. Farms were burned over far and wide, cattle and men carried off as booty. Conculteria, Telesia and Compsa, towns of that region, were taken by storm, also Fugifulae and Orbitanium in Lucania. Blanda and, in Apulia, Aecae were taken after a siege. In these cities twenty-five thousand of the enemy were captured or slain, and three hundred and seventy deserters recovered. These were all sent to Rome by the consul, scourged in the Comitium and hurled from
A.D.C. 540

7 deiecti. Hace a Q. Fabio intra paucos dies gesta. Marcellum ab gerundis rebus valetudo adversa Nolae tennuit. Et a praetore Q. Fabio, cui circa Luceriam provincia erat. Acuca oppidum per eos dies vi captum stativaque ad Ardaneas communita.

8 Dum hace in aliis locis ab Romanis geruntur, iam Tarentum pervenerat Hannibal cum maxima omnium quacunque ierat clade; in Tarentino demum agro pacatum incedere agmen coepit. Nihil ibi violatum neque usquam via excessum est; apparebatque non id modestia militum sed ducis iussu ad conciliandos animos Tarentinorum fieri. Ceterum cum prope moenibus successisset, nullo ad conspicuum primum agminis, ut rebatur, motu facto castra ab urbe ferme passus mille locat. Tarenti triduo ante quam Hannibal ad moenia accederet a M. Valerio propraetore, qui classi ad Brundisium praecerat, missus M. Livius impigre conscripta inventute dispositisque ad omnes portas circaque muros qua res postulabat stationibus die ac nocte iuxta intentus neque hostibus neque dubiis sociis loci quicquam praebuit ad temptandum. Diebus aliquot frustra ibi absuntis Hannibal, eum corum nemo qui ad lacum Averni se adissent aut ipsi venirent aut nuntium litterasve mitterent, vana promissa se temere secutum eernens castra inde

1 in aliis Madvig, Emend.: maliis P; aliis \( P^2(1) \) Madvig.

2 sed ducis inssu Wölfelin: aut ducis nisi \( P(2) \): aut ducis sed x Sigonius, Madvig: aut ducis nisi Ax Walters: aut ducis inssu sed \( M^3 \).

3 successisset Gronovius: accessisset \( P(1) \).

4 impigre Weissenborn: inpriore \( P(1) \).

5 temptandum, \( P.M \) add q. (-que CBB1): quare \( M^2 \) Gronovius.

6 se Madvig: om. \( P(1) \).
the Rock. Such were the acts of Fabius within a B.C. 214 few days, while Marcellus was kept out of employment by illness at Nola. And the praetor Quintus Fabius, whose field of duty was around Luceria, stormed the town of Acuca about that time and fortified a permanent camp at Ardaneae.

While the Romans were thus employed elsewhere, Hannibal had now reached Tarentum, leaving the most complete devastation wherever he had passed. Not until it had entered the territory of Tarentum did his column begin to advance peaceably. There they did no damage, and nowhere did they leave the road. And it was plain that this was not due to the self-restraint of the soldiers, but to the commander's orders, for the purpose of winning over the Tarentines. But when he had come quite close to the walls, and there was no movement at the first sight of his column, as he supposed there would be, he pitched camp about a mile from the city. In Tarentum three days before Hannibal approached the walls, Marcus Livius, who had been sent by Marcus Valerius, the propraetor in command of the fleet at Brundisium, actively enlisted young men, posted guards at all the gates and along the walls, wherever required, and alert by night as well as by day, he left neither the enemy nor wavering allies any opening for an attack. After spending some days there to no purpose, Hannibal, since none of the men who had come before him at the Lake of Avernus either came in person or sent a messenger or letter, saw that he had rashly followed empty promises and moved his camp away. Even then he left the

1 The Tarpeian Rock of the Capitol (site still disputed).
2 The same as Herdonea, XXV. xxi. 1; XXVII. i. 3.
Livy

A.U.O. 540

15 movit, tum quoque intacto agro Tarentino, quamquam simulata lenitas nihilum profuerat, tamen spe labefactandae fidei haud absistens. Salapiam ut venit, frumentum ex agris Metapontino atque Heraeleensi—iam cuim aestas exacta erat et hibernis placebat locus—conportat. Praedatum inde Numidae Maurique per Sallentinum agrum proximosque Apuliae saltus dimisso; unde ceterae praedae haud multum, equorum greges maxime abacti, e quibus ad quattuor milia domanda equitibus divisa.

XXI. Romani, cum bellum nequaquam contemnendum in Sicilia oreretur morsque tyranni duces magis inpigros dedisset Syracusanis quam causam aut animos mutasset, M. Marcellus alteri consulum 2 cam provinciam decernunt. Secundum Hieronymi caedem primo tumultuatun in Leontinis apud milites fuerat vociferatumque feroxiter parentandum 3 regi sanguine coniuratorum esse. Deinde libertatis restitutae dulce auditu nomen crebro usurpatum et spes 1 facta ex pecunia regia largitionis militiaeque fungendae potioribus ducibus et relata tyranni foeda scelera foedioresque libidines adeo mutavere animos ut insepultum iacere corpus paulo ante 4 desiderati regis paterentur. Cum ceteri ex coniuratis ad exercitum obtinendum remansissent, Theodotus et Sosis regius equis quanto maximo


1 (cf. XXIII. xlviii. 3.)

240
territory of Tarentum unharmed, as he did not give b.c. 214 up his hope of weakening their loyalty, although his pretended clemency had had no effect as yet. Arrived at Salapia, he brought in grain from the districts of Metapontum and Heraclea; for the summer was now over, and he thought well of the place for winter quarters. From it Numidians and Mauri were sent out to plunder in the Sallentine territory and the nearest forests of Apulia. From these places not many other cattle were driven off as booty, but chiefly herds of horses, about four thousand of which were distributed among the cavalry to be broken.

XXI. The Romans, inasmuch as a war that was by no means to be despised was breaking out in Sicily, and the death of the tyrant had given energetic commanders to the Syracusans, and had not changed the situation or their feelings, assigned that country to Marcus Marcellus, one of the consuls, as his province. Directly after the assassination of Hieronymus there was at first an uproar among the soldiers at Leontini, and a fierce outcry that they must offer sacrificial vengeance to the dead king in the blood of the conspirators. Later the frequent mention of restored freedom—a word sweet to the ears—and the hope of a largess out of the king’s money, and of serving under better generals, also the enumeration of the shameful crimes and still more shameful lusts of the tyrant, so changed their feelings that they allowed the body of the king, whose loss they had just been regretting, to lie unburied. Although the rest of the conspirators had remained, in order to keep their hold on the army, Theodotus and Sosis hastened to

\[2\] Cf. v. 10 ff.
cursu poterant, ut ignaros omnium regios opprimere-5 rent. Syraeas contendunt. Ceterum praevenerat non fama solum, qua nihil in talibus rebus est celerius, 6 sed nuntius etiam ex regiiis servis. Itaque Adran- 7 dorus et Insulam et arem et alia quae poterat quaque opportuna erant praesidiis firmarat. Hexa- 8 pylo Theodotus ac Sosis post solis occasum iam obscura luce invecti, cum cruentam regiam vestem atque insignis capitis ostentarent, travecti per Tycham simul ad libertatem simul ad arma vocantes, 9 in Achradinam convenire inbent. Multitudo pars procurrit in vias, pars in vestibulis stat, pars ex tectis fenestrisque prospectant et quid rei sit rogi- 10 tant. Omnia luminibus conluent strepituque vario conplentur. Armati locis patentibus congregantur; inermes ex Olympii Iovis templo spolia Gallorum Illyriorumque, dono data Hieroni a populo Romano fixaque ab eo, detrahunt, precantes Iovem ut volens propitius praebat sacra arma pro patria, pro deum delubris, pro libertate sese armantibus. Haec quo- 11 que multitudo stationibus per principes regionum urbis dispositis adiungitur. In Insula inter cetera Adranodorum praesidiis firmarat horrea publica. 12 Locus saxo quadrato saeptus atque arcis in modum emunitus capitur ab iuventute quae praesidio eius 1^1 The oldest quarter of Syracuse, Ortygia. Cf. Cicero’s description of the city, Verr. IV. 117 ff. 2^2 The great northern gate of the Wall of Dionysius; xxxii. 4 ff.; XXV. xxiv. 2f., etc.; v. Appendix. 3^3 A quarter that included a level tract, in which lay the market-place (xxii. 12), but not the rocky heights to the northward facing the sea; frequently mentioned below; v. Appendix.

242
Syracuse on the king's horses at the greatest possible speed, to surprise his supporters while they were in complete ignorance. However, not only rumour, than which nothing is swifter in such cases, but also a messenger, one of the royal slaves, had anticipated them. And so Adranodorus had garrisoned the Island and the citadel and such other places as were possible and of advantage. By the Hexapylon after sunset Theodotus and Sosis rode into the city in the twilight, showing the bloody garment of the king and his diadem. Then riding across the quarter of Tycha, and calling people to freedom and at the same time to arms, they bid them assemble in Achradina. Of the populace some dash into the streets, some stand before the entrance to their houses, some look out from roofs and windows and keep asking what it means. Everywhere there are bright lights, every place filled with mingled noises. The armed gather in open spaces; those without arms take down from the Temple of Olympian Jupiter the spoils of Gauls and Illyrians, presented by the Roman people to Hiero and hung up there by him. And this they did with a prayer to Jupiter that he graciously consent to furnish consecrated arms to men arming themselves for their native city, for the temples of the gods, for liberty. This crowd also was added to the guard stationed by the leading citizens of the quarters. On the Island Adranodorus had garrisoned, among other positions, the public granaries. This place, which was walled about with squared stone and made strong like a citadel, was captured by the young

4 On the market-place; built by Hiero; not to be confused with the much older and larger temple west of the Great Harbour; xxxiii. 3; cf. Cicero op. cit. 119.
loci adtributa erat. mittuntque nuntios in Achradinam horrea frumentumque in senatus potestate esse.

XXII. Luce prima populus omnis, armatus inermisque, in Achradinam ad euriam convenit. Ibi pro Concordiae ara, quae in eo sita loco erat, ex principibus unus nomine Polyaeus contionem et liberam et moderatam habuit. Servitutis formidines\(^1\) indignitatesque homines expertos adversus notum malum irritatos esse: discordia civilis quas importet elades, audisse magis a patribus Syracusanos quam ipsos vidisse. Arma quod inpigre ceperint, laudare; magis laudaturum, si non utantur nisi ultima necessitate coacti. In praesentia legatos ad Adranodorum mitti placere qui denuntient ut in potestate senatus ac populi sit, portas Insulae aperiat, reddat praesidium. Si tutelam alieni regni suum regnum velit facere, eundem se censere multo acris ab Adranodoro quam ab Hieronymo repeti libertatem. Ab hae contione legati missi sunt. Senatus inde haberii coeptus est, quod sicut regnante Hierone manserat publicum consilium, ita post mortem eius ante eam diem nulla de re neque convocati neque consulti fuerant. Ut ventum ad Adranodorum est, ipsum

\(^1\) servitutis formidines Weissenborn; servitudinis \(P(4)\); servitutis \(M^3D.1^2\); servitu omnes \(A\); servitii omnes Walters.

\(^1\) A council, rather than a senate in the Roman sense.
men who had been assigned to its defence; and they B.C. 214
sent messengers into Achradina to say that the
granaries and the grain were under the authority of
the senate.¹

XXII. At daybreak all the people, armed and
unarmed, gathered at the Senate House in Achradina.
There, standing on the altar of Concord,² which had
been erected on that spot, one of the leading men,
Polyaenus by name, delivered a speech at once
outspoken and restrained. He said that men who
had experienced the terrors of slavery and its
humiliations had been inflamed against an evil
which they knew. As for civil strife, the Syracusans
had heard from their fathers, rather than seen for
themselves, what disasters it brings. He praised
them for having taken up arms readily, and would
praise them the more willingly if they did not use
them except when compelled by absolute necessity.
For the present he approved of sending representa-
tives to Adranodorus, to instruct him to put himself
under the authority of the senate and people, open
the gates of the Island and surrender the citadel.
At the same time, if Adranodorus should try to turn
a regency into a kingship of his own, he favoured
reclaiming their freedom from Adranodorus much
more fiercely than from Hieronymus. After this
speech representatives were sent directly. Then
began a session of the senate, which in the reign of
Hiero had indeed continued to be the council of
state, yet since his death had not been called together
nor consulted about anything until that day. When
the legates reached Adranodorus, he for his part was

² This altar and the Senate House were in the market-place;
12 f.
quidem movebat et civium consensus et eum aliae occupatae urbis partes, tum pars Insulae vel muni-
tissima prodita atque alienata. Sed evocatum eum
ab legatis Damarata uxor, filia Hieronis, inflata
adhuc regiis animis ac muliebri spiritu, admonet
saepe usurpatae Dionysi tyranni vocis, qua pedibus
tractum, non insidentem equo relinquere tyrannidem
dixerit debere. Facile esse momento quo quis
velit cedere possessione magnae fortunae; facere
et parare eam difficile atque ardum esse. Spatium
sumeret ad consultandum ab legatis; eo uteretur ad
arcessendos ex Leontinis milités, quibus si pecuniam
regiam pollicitus esset, omnìa in potestate eius
futura. Hace muliebria consilia Adranodorus neque
tota aspernatus est neque extemplo accepit, tuti-
orem ad opes adfectandas ratus esse viam, si in
praesentia tempori cessisset. Itaque legatos re-
muntiare iussit futurum se in senatus ac populi
potestate.

Postero die luce prima patefactis Insulae portis in
forum Aehradinae venit. Ibi in aram Concordiae,
ex qua pridie Polyaenus continentus erat, escendit
orationemque cam orsus est qua primum cuncta-
tionis suae veniam petivit: se enim clausas habuisse
portas, non separatem suas res a publicis, sed
strictis semel gladiis timentem qui finis caedibus
eset futurus, utrum, quod satis libertati foret,
contenti nece tyranni essent, an quicumque aut

246
moved by the agreement of the citizens, also by the occupation of other quarters of the city, and especially by the betrayal and loss of the most strongly fortified part of the Island. But his wife Damarata, daughter of Hiero and still puffed up with princely pride and a woman’s boldness, called him aside from the legates and reminded him of the oft-repeated utterance of Dionysius the tyrant, that one should leave a tyranny, not on horseback, but dragged by the feet. It was easy, she said, to give up the possession of an exalted station at any moment one wished; to create and achieve it was difficult and all but impossible. He should gain time for deliberation from the legates. He should use it to summon the soldiers from Leontini, and if he should promise them money from the royal treasury everything would be in his power. These feminine counsels Adranodorus neither wholly rejected nor at once adopted, thinking it a safer way to gain power if for the moment he should yield to the crisis. And so he bade the legates report that he would be under the authority of the senate and people.

On the following day at dawn he opened the gates of the Island and came to the market-place of Achradina. There he mounted the altar of Concord, from which Polyaeenus had addressed the people the day before, and began a speech in which he first begged pardon for his hesitation. For he had kept the gates closed, he said, not that he wished to separate his cause from that of the people, but because he feared what limit there would be to slaughter, when swords should once be drawn; whether they would be content with the death of the tyrant, which would be sufficient to secure freedom,
propinquitate aut adfinitate aut aliquis ministeriis regiam contigissent alienae culpae rei trucidarentur.  

15 Postquam animadverterit eos qui liberassent patriam servare etiam liberatam velle atque undique consuli in medium, non dubitasse quin et corpus suum et cetera omnia quae suae fidei tutelaeque essent, quoniam eum qui mandasset suus furor absumpsisset, patriae restitueret. Conversus deinde ad interfectores tyranni ac nomine appellans Theodotum ac  

17 Sosin, "Facinus" inquit "memorabile fecistis; sed mihi credite, incohata vestra gloria, nondum perfecta est periculumque ingens manet, nisi paci et concordiae consulitis, ne libera efferatur res publica."

XXIII. Post hane orationem claves portarum pecuniaeque regiae ante pedes eorum posuit. Atque illo quidem die dimissi ex contione laeti circa fana omnia deum supplicaverunt eum ongingibus ac liberis; postero die comitia praetoribus creandis habit.

2 Creatus in primis Adranodorus, ceteri magna ex parte interfectores tyranni; duos etiam absentes,  

3 Sopatrum ac Dinomenen, fecerunt. Qui auditis quae Syracusis acta erant pecuniam regiam quae in Leontinis erat Syracusas devectam quaestoribus ad id ipsum creatis tradiderunt. Et ea quae in Insula erat Achradinam tralata est; murique ea pars quae ab cetera urbe nimis firmo munimento intersaepeiebat Insulam consensu omnium deiecta est. Secutae

1 auditis Gronovius: -tis P: -tis iis P1?(3) Madvig: -tis his D.

248
or on the other hand every one who either by blood or marriage or certain duties was connected with the palace would be slain, as being chargeable with another's guilt. After he observed that those who had freed their native city wished also to keep her free, and that the common good was the aim of all, he had not hesitated to surrender to the city his own person and in addition all that had been confided to his honour and protection, since the man who had given that charge had been destroyed by his own madness. Turning then to the assassins of the tyrant and addressing Theodotus and Sosis by name, he said:

"It is a memorable deed that you have done. But believe me, your glory is but begun, not yet finished, and unless you provide for peace and harmony there remains a very great danger that this may be the funeral of the liberated state."

XXIII. After this speech he laid the keys of the gates and those of the royal treasure at their feet. And they, dismissed from the assembly and happy that day at least, with their wives and children gave thanks at all the temples of the gods. On the next day elections for the naming of magistrates were held. Among the first so named was Adranodorus, the rest largely assassins of the tyrant. Two who were not even present, Sopater and Dinomenes, were elected. These, hearing what had been done at Syracuse, brought the royal treasure that was at Leontini to Syracuse and turned it over to treasurers elected for that very purpose. The money that was on the Island was also transferred to Achradina. And that part of the wall which shut off the Island from the rest of the city by a needlessly strong fortification was thrown down by common consent. The other
et ceterae res hanc inclinationem animorum ad libertatem.¹

5 Hippocrates atque Epicydes audita morte tyranni, quam Hippocrates etiam nuntio interfecto celare volucerat, deserti a militibus, quia id tutissimum ex praesentibus videbatur, Syracusas rediere. Ubi ne suspecti obversarentur tamquam novandi res alienam occasionem quaerentes, praetores primum, dein per eos senatum adeunt. Ab Hannibale se missos praedieant ad Hieronymum tamquam amicum ac socium paruisse imperio eius cuius imperator suus voluerit. Velle ad Hannibalem redire; eeterum, cum iter tutum non sit vagantibus passim per totam Sicilian Romanis, petere ut praesidii dent aliquid quo Locros in Italian perducantur; gratiam magnam eos parva opera apud Hannibalem inituros. Faeile res impetrata; abire enim duces regios eum peritos militiae, tum egentes eosdem atque audaces cupiebant; sed quod volebant non quam maturate opus erat naviter expediebant. Interim iuvenes militares et adsueti militibus, nune apud eos ipsos, nune apud transfugas, quorum maxima pars ex navalibus sociis Romanorum erat, nune etiam apud infimas plebis homines crimina serebant in senatum optilatesque: illud² moliri clam eos atque struere ut Syraeae per speciem reconciliatae societatis in

¹ libertatem, PCR.M add -que.

¹ For their service under Hieronymus, cf. vii. 1.
measures also were in keeping with this trend toward freedom.

Hippocrates and Epicydes, on hearing of the tyrant's death, which Hippocrates had wished to keep secret even by slaying the messenger, were deserted by the soldiers and returned to Syracuse, since that course seemed safest in the circumstances. There, to avoid going about under suspicion as seeking some opportunity for a revolution, they first came before the magistrates, and then through them before the senate. They stated that, having been sent by Hannibal to Hieronymus as his friend and ally, they had obeyed the orders of the man to whom their own commander wished them to be obedient. They wished to return to Hannibal; but since the way was unsafe while the Romans were at large everywhere in Sicily, they asked the senators to give them some escort to conduct them to Locri in Italy. The senate, they said, would gain great favour with Hannibal by a small service. This request was readily granted; for the senate greatly desired the departure of the king's generals, as men skilled in military art, and, what was more, needy also and daring. But they took no active steps to carry out their wish with the required promptness. Meanwhile the generals, as young men of military training and familiar with soldiers, at one time in the presence of these, at another among the deserters, the majority of whom were from the crews of the Romans, at another even among the lowest of the people, made charges against the senate and the aristocrats: that they were secretly working and contriving that Syracuse under the guise of a reëstablished alliance should be subject to the

\[2\] Cf. i. 2 ff.
dicione Romanorum sint, dein factio ac paeci auctores foederis renovati dominentur.

XXIV. His audiendis eredendisque opportuna multitudo maior in dies Syracusas confluebat, nec Epicydi solum spem novandarum rerum, sed Adrano-
doro etiam praebebat. Qui fessus tandem uxoris vocibus monentis nunc illud esse tempus occupandis, dum turbata omnia nova atque incondita libertate essent, dum regiis stipendiis pastus obversaretur miles, dum ab Hannibale missi duces adsuetti militibus invare possent incepta, cum Themisto, cui Gelonis filia nupta erat, rem consociatum paucos post dies Aristoni cuidam tragoico actori, cui et alia arcane com-
imtere adsuerat, incaute aperit. Huic et genus et fortuna honesta erant, nec ars, quia nihil tale apud Graecos pudori est, ea deformabat. Itaque fidem potiorem\(^1\) ratus quam patriae debebat, indicium ad praetores defert. Qui ubi rem haud vanam esse certis indiciis conpererunt, consultis senioribus et\(^2\) auctoritate eorum praesidio ad fores posito ingressos curiam Themistum atque Adranodorum interfece-
runt. Et cum tumultus ab re in speciem atrociore causam aliiis ignorantibus ortus esset, silentio tandem facto indicem in curiam introduxerunt. Qui cum ordine omnia edocuisset: principium coniurationis factum ab Harmoniae Gelonis filiae nuptiis, quibus

Themisto iuneta esset; Afrorum Hispanorumque auxiliares instructos ad caedem praetorum princi-

\(^1\) potiorem, \textit{PGRM add -que}: priorem potioremque Alschofski.
\(^2\) et \textit{F(1)}: ex \textit{Luchs}: et ex \textit{Walters}. 

252
Romans, and that then a faction, that is, a few who b.c.214 supported the renewal of the treaty, should rule.

XXIV. Ready to hear and believe these charges, a daily larger multitude was flocking to Syracuse and giving not Epicydes only, but also Adranodorus, the hope of a revolution. The latter was at length wearied by admonitions of his wife: that it was now the time to seize the power, while everything was confused by the new freedom not yet organized; while the soldiers one met were fattened on the king's pay; while generals sent by Hannibal and familiar with the soldiers could aid the undertaking. Accordingly he formed a plot with Themistus, whose wife was Gelo's daughter, and after a few days rashly revealed it to one Ariston, a tragic actor, to whom he had been in the habit of confiding other secrets. This man's family and station were respectable and not tarnished by his artistic profession, since among the Greeks nothing of the sort brings discredit. And so thinking that the loyalty he owed to his native city took precedence, he reports the matter to the magistrates. They, finding from trustworthy information that this was not unfounded, conferred with the older men, placed a guard at the doors on their advice, and when Themistus and Adranodorus had entered the senate, slew them. And after the confusion resulting from an act even more terrible in appearance than in reality, since others were unaware of the reason, they at length secured silence and brought the informer into the Senate House. He first told everything in order: that the conspiracy had taken its start from the marriage of Gelo's daughter Harmonia, uniting her with Themistus; that African and Spanish auxiliaries had been made ready for the
pumque aliorum, bonaque corum praedae futura
interfectoribus pronuntiatum; iam mercenariorum
manum, adsuetam imperiis Adranodori, paratam
fuisse ad Insulam rursus occupandam; singula
deinde quae per quosque agerentur, totamque viris
armisque instructam confiurationem ante oculos
posuit. Et senatui quidem tam iure caesi quam
Hieronymus videbantur: ante curiam variae atque
incertae rerum multitudinis clamor erat. Quam
ferociter minitantem in vestibulo curiae corpora
coniuratorum eo metu compresserunt ut silentes inte-
gram plebem in contionem sequerentur. Sopatro
mandatum ab senatu et a collegis ut verba faceret.

XXV. Is, tamquam reos ageret, ab ante acta vita
orsus, quaecumque post Hieronis mortem seeleste
atque impie facta essent, Adranodorum ac Themis-
2 stum arguit fecisse: quid enim sua sponte Hiero-
nymum, puerum ac vixdum pubescentem facere
potuisse? Tutores ac magistros eius sub aliena
invidia regnasse; itaque aut ante Hieronymum aut
3 certe eum Hieronymo perire eos debuisse. At illos
debitos iam morti destinatosque, alia nova scelera
post mortem tyranni molitos, palam primo, eum
eclusis Adranodorus Insulae portis hereditatem regni
creverit et quae procurator tenuerat pro domino
4 possederit; proditus deinde ab eis qui in Insula

1 ab rz: om. P(1).
2 sponte. P(1) add fecisse.
slaughter of the magistrates and other leading B.C. 214 citizens, and the announcement made that their property would be spoil for the assassins; moreover that a force of mercenaries accustomed to the orders of Adranodorus had been provided, to occupy the Island again. He then set forth in detail what was to be done, and by whom, and pictured the whole conspiracy manned and armed. And to the senators indeed they appeared to have been slain with as much justice as Hieronymus. But in front of the Senate House there was shouting by the mixed crowd unacquainted with the situation. Uttering wild threats, they were checked by the corpses of the conspirators before the entrance to the Senate House, in such fear that they silently followed the orderly populace to the assembly. Sopater was instructed by the senate and his colleagues to speak.

XXV. Beginning with their previous life, just as if he were prosecuting them, he charged that every act of violence or impiety committed since the death of Hiero had been done by Adranodorus and Themistus. For what could Hieronymus, a boy who had hardly reached puberty, have done of his own motion? His guardians and teachers, shielded by the embitterment directed against another, had been the real kings. Accordingly they ought to have perished either before Hieronymus or at least with Hieronymus. But though doomed already and marked for death, they had contrived fresh crimes since the death of the tyrant, at first openly, when Adranodorus, closing the gates of the Island, took over the kingdom as his own inheritance and as owner entered into possession of what he had held as agent: again when, betrayed by those who were on the Island, beset by the whole
AUC. 540

erant, circumssessus ab universa civitate quae Achra-
dinam tenuerit, nequiquam palam atque aperte
petitum regnum clam et dolo affectare conatus sit,
et ne beneficio quidem atque honore potuerit vinci,
cum inter liberatores patriae insidiator ipse libertatis
creatus esset praetor. Sed animos cis regios regias
coniuges fecisse, alteri Hieronis, alteri Gelonis filias
nuptas. Sub hanc vocem ex omnibus partibus
contionis clamor oritur nullam carum vivere debere
nec quemquam suprresse tyrannorum stirpis. Ea
natura multitudinis est: aut servit humiliter aut
superbe dominatur; libertatem, quae media est, nec
suscipere modice nec habere seint; et non ferme
desunt irarum indulgentes ministri, qui avidos atque
intemperantes suppliciorum animos ad sanguinem
et caedes inficte; sicut tum extemplo praetores
rogationem promulgarunt, acceptaque paene prius
quam promulgata est, ut omnnes regiae stirpis inter-
ficereantur; missique a prætoribus Damaratam
Hieronis et Harmoniam Gelonis filiam, coniuges
Adranodori et Themisti, interfecerunt.

XXVI. Heraclia erat filia Hieronis, uxor Zoippi,
qui legatus ab Hieronymo ad regem Ptolomaeum
missus voluntarium consciverat exilium. Ea cum
ad se quoque veniri praescisset, in sacarium ad
penates confugit eum duabus filiis virginitibus,
resolutis crinium miserabilique alio habitu, et ad ea

1 suscipere x; cupere x: stupere P(2): struere Conway:
sibi parare Müller.
2 veniri x Gronovius: venire P(1).
3 filiis Weissenborn conj. (cf. XXXVIII. lvii. 2): filiabus P(1).

1 Cf. v. 7.
2 Ptolemy IV Philopator, XXIII. x. 11.
body of citizens holding Achradina, he attempted secretly and craftily to win the kingdom which he had sought in vain openly and above board, and could not be won over even by the bestowal of public office. For among those who gained liberty for the state, he, a plotter against liberty himself, had been elected a magistrate. But their autocratic temper was due to their royal consorts, Hiero's daughter married to the one, Gelo's daughter to the other. Following this statement there arose in all parts of the assembly a shout that none of those women ought to live, nor any one of the family of the tyrants to survive. This is the nature of the mass: either it is a humble slave or a haughty master. As for freedom, which is the mean, they know no moderation either in assuming or in keeping it. And angry passions usually do not lack complaisant helpers, to provoke to bloodshed those who are immoderately eager for punishment; as in this case the magistrates forthwith proposed a bill—and it was adopted almost before it was proposed—that all members of the royal family should be put to death. And by order of the magistrates men were sent who put to death Damarata the daughter of Hiero and Harmonia the daughter of Gelo, being the wives of Adranodorus and Themistus.

XXVI. Heraclia was the daughter of Hiero and wife of Zoippus,¹ who was sent as ambassador to King Ptolemy ² by Hieronymus and had accepted voluntary exile. She, having learned in advance that they were coming to her house also, fled into the chapel of the household gods with her two maiden daughters, her hair dishevelled and her general appearance moving to pity. And in addition were

¹
²
addidit preces, nunc per deos, nunc 1 per memoriam Hieronis patris Gelonisque fratris, ne se innoxiam invidia Hieronymi conflagrare sinerent: nihil se ex regno illius praeter exilium viri habere; neque fortunam suam eandem vivo Hierynomo fuisse quam sororis, neque interfecto eo causam eandem esse. 

5 Quid quod si Adranodoro consilia processissent, illa cum viro fuerit regnatura, sibi cum ceteris servient-

6 dum? Si quis Zoippo nuntiet interfectum Hieronymum ac liberatas Syracusas, eui dubium esse quin extemplo conscensurus sit navem atque in patriam rediturus? Quantum spes hominum falli! in liberata patria coniugem eius ac liberos de vita dimicare, quid obstantes libertati aut legibus? Quod ab se cui-quam periculum, a sola ac prope vidua et puellis in orbitate degentibus esse? At enim periculi quidem nihil ab se timeri, invisiam tamen stirpem regiam esse.

9 Ablegarent ergo procul ab Syracusis Siciliaque et asportari Alexandriam iuberent, ad virum uxorem, ad patrem filias. Aversis auribus animisque cum conclamassent 2 ne tempus tereretur 3 ferrum quosdam expedientes cernebat: tum ommissis pro se precibus, puellis ut saltem parcerent orare institit, a qua actate etiam hostes iratos abstinere; ne tyrannos ulciscendo quae odissent scelera ipsi imitarentur. Inter haece abstractam a penetralibus ingulant: in virgines

1 per deos, nunc Ruperti: om. P(1).
her prayers, now by the gods, now by the memory of b.c. 214
her father Hiero and her brother Gelo, that they
should not allow her innocent self to perish by the
fire of resentment against Hieronymus. Nothing
had she gained by his reign except the exile of her
husband; and while Hieronymus lived, her station
had not been so high as her sister's, nor was their
situation the same after his death. What of it that,
if Adranodorus' plans had succeeded, the sister would
have reigned with her husband, while she herself
and all the rest must be slaves? If someone should
inform Zoippus that Hieronymus had been slain and
Syraeuse set free, who would have any doubt that
he would forthwith board ship and return to his
native city? How the hopes of men were disap-
pointed! In his native city, now set free, his wife
and children were fighting for their lives, offering
what obstacle to freedom and laws? What danger
to anyone was there from herself, a lone woman,
virtually a widow, and from maidens living as orphans?
But they might say that no danger was indeed feared
from her, that nevertheless the royal family was
hated. Therefore they should send them far from
Syraeuse and Sicily and bid them to be carried away
to Alexandria, the wife to her husband, the daughters
to their father. When they paid no attention
whatever and shouted not to waste time, she could see
some men drawing swords. Then ceasing entreaties
for herself, she urgently begged them at least to spare
the girls—an age on which even enraged enemies do
not lay hands; that in taking vengeance on the
tyrrants they should not themselves imitate the
erimes which they hated. While still speaking, they
dragged her away from the altar and cut her throat,
deinde respersas matris cruore impetum faciunt. Quae alienata mente simul luctu metuque velut captae furore eo cursu se ex sacrario proripuerunt ut, si effugium patuisset in publicum, impeturae urbem tumultu fuerint. Tum quoque haud magno aedium spatio inter medios tot armatos aliquotiens integro corpore evaserunt tenentibusque, cum tot ac tam validae eluctandae manus essent, sese eripuerunt. 

Tandem vulneribus confectae, cum omnia replessent sanguine, examines corrurerunt. Caedemque per se miserabilem miserabiliorem casus fecit, quod paulo post nuntius venit, mutatis repente ad misericordiam animis, ne interficerentur. Ira deinde ex misericordia orta, quod adeo festinatum ad supplicium neque locus paenitendi aut regressus ab ira relictus esset. Itaque fremere multitudo et in locum Adriandori ac Themisti—nam ambo praetores fuerant—comitia poscere, quae nequaquam ex sententia praetorum futura essent.

XXVII. Statutus est comitiis dies; quo necopinantibus omnibus unus ex ultima turba Epicyden nominavit, tum inde alius Hippocratem; crebriores deinde hae voces et cum haud dubio adsensu multitudinis esse. Et erat confusa contio non populari modo sed militari quoque turba, magna ex parte etiam perfugis, qui omnia novare cupiebant, permixtis. Praetores dissimulare primo et trahenda re morae esse; postremo, victi consensu et sedi-

1 ad P(1): id Madvig, Emend.
2 morae M. Müller: om. P(1).
3 esse, for et trahenda re esse (PRD: et -dam rem esse C^MBA) Madvig and Walters read extrahenda re; sed.
then turned their attack upon the girls spattered with their mother's blood. Beside themselves for grief and fear, as though insane, they dashed out of the chapel with such speed that, if there had been any escape to the street, they would have caused a riot throughout the city. Even as it was, in the limited space of the house, amidst so many armed men, they several times escaped unharmed and tore themselves away from those who tried to hold them, although they had to fight off hands so many and so strong. At last exhausted by wounds, after staining everything with their blood, they fell lifeless. The slaughter, in itself pitiful, was made still more pitiful by the coincidence that shortly after came the word that they were not to be put to death, for animosity had suddenly changed to pity. From pity then came anger, that such haste to punish had been made, and no chance left for a change of mind or a cooling of anger. And so the multitude complained, and to replace Adranodorus andThemistus—for both had been magistrates—they clamoured for an election, which would not prove at all to the liking of the magistrates.

XXVII. A day was set for the election, and on that day, to the surprise of everybody, one man on the outskirts of the crowd nominated Epicydes, then after him another named Hippocrates, whereupon these shouts were repeated and with evident approval of the multitude. And the assembly was disturbed by the crowd not only of citizens but also of soldiers, even deserters in large part mingling with them and eager for any change. The magistrates at first ignored them and by postponing delayed matters. Finally, compelled by the general
tionem metuentes, pronuntiant eos praetores. Nec illi primo statim creati nudare quid vellent, quamquam aegre ferebant et de indutiis dierum decem legatos isse ad Appium Claudium et inpetratis eis alios qui de foedere antiquo renovando agerent missos. Ad Murgantiam tum classem navium centum Romanus habebat, quonam evaderent motus ex caedibus tyrannorum orti Syracusis quove eos ageret nova atque insolita libertas opperiens.

Per eosdem dies cum ad Marcellum venientem in Siciliam legati Syracusani missi ab Appio essent, auditis condicionibus pacis Marcellus, posse rem convenire ratus, et ipse legatos Syracusas qui coram cum praetoribus de renovando foedere agerent misit.

Et iam ibi nequaquam cadem quies ac tranquillitas erat. Postquam Punicam classem accessisse Pachynum adlatum est, dempto timore Hippocrates et Epicydes nunc apud mercennarios milites, nunc apud transfugas prodi Romano Syracusas criminabantur.

Ut vero Appius naves ad ostium portus, quo 1 aliae 2 partis hominibus animus accederet, in statione hабere coepit, ingens in speciem criminibus vanis accesserat fides; ac primo etiam tumultuose decurrerat multitudo ad prohibendos, si in terram egredieruntur.

1 quo x Gronovius: quid P(1).

Now a legatus of Marcellus; praetor in Sicily the previous year; vi. 4; vii. 8.
agreement and fearing an uprising, they declared B.C. 214
Epicydes and Hippocrates magistrates. And at
first the newly elected did not reveal their intentions,
although they were indignant that legates had gone
to Appius Claudius to sue for a ten days' truce,
and that, this being secured, others had been sent to
negotiate the renewal of the old treaty. At that time
the Roman commander had a fleet of a hundred
ships off Murgantia, waiting to see what would be
the outcome of the disturbances at Syracuse due to
the massacre of the tyrant's family, and to what the
new and unwonted freedom would prompt them.

About the same time Marcellus was just arriving
in Sicily, and the Syracusan ambassadors were sent
to him by Appius. After hearing the peace terms,
Marcellus thought agreement could be reached, and
himself sent ambassadors to Syracuse to treat in
person with the magistrates for a renewal of the
treaty. And by this time the situation there was by
no means so orderly and peaceful. When word was
received that a Carthaginian fleet had reached the
promontory of Pachynum, Hippocrates and Epicydes,
relieved of their fear, kept making the charge, now
before the mercenaries, now among the deserters,
that Syracuse was being betrayed to the Roman.
But from the time Appius began to keep ships at
anchor at the harbour mouth in order to encourage
the men of the other party, the false charges ap-
parently had received strong confirmation. And at
first the crowd had even rushed down in disorder
to keep them off in case they should be landing.

2 A seaport of unknown situation. Another town of the
same name was in the interior, to the east of Henna.
3 Little more than thirty miles south of Syracuse.
XXVIII. In hac turbatione rerum in contionem vocari placuit. Ubi cum aliī alio tenderent nec procul seditione res esset, Apollonides, principum unus, orationem salutarem ut in tali tempore habuit:
2 nec spem salutis nec perniciem proprium umquam civitati ulli fuisse. Si enim uno animo omnes vel ad Romanos vel ad Carthaginienses inclinent, nullius
civitatis statum fortunatiorem ac beatior fore; si aliī alio trahant res, non inter Poenos Romanosque bellum atrocius fore quam inter ipsos Syracusanos, cum intra eosdem muros pars utraque suos exercitus, 5 sua arma, suos habitura sit duces. Itaque ut idem omnes sentiant summa vi agendum esse. Utra 
societas sit utilior, eam longe minorem ac levioris
4 momenti consultationem esse; sed tamen Hieronis potius quam Hieronymi auctoritatem sequendam in sociis legendis, vel quinquaginta annis feliciter expertam amicitiam nunc incognitae, quondam
7 infidel præferendam. Esse etiam momenti aliquid ad consilium quod Carthaginiensibus ita pax negari possit, ut non utique in praesentia bellum cum eis geratur: cum Romanis extemplo aut pacem aut
8 bellum habendum. Quo minus cupiditatis ac studii visa est oratio habere, eo plus auctoritatis habuit. Adiectum est praetoribus ac delectis senatorum militare etiam consilium; iussi et duces ordinum
9 praefectique auxiliarum simul consulere. Cum saepe aeta res esset magnis certaminibus, postremo, quia
264
XXVIII. In this confused state of affairs it was decided to summon the people to an assembly. There while some inclined in one direction, some in another, and an uprising was not far away, Apollonides, one of the leading citizens, made a speech which was well-advised, considering the crisis. He said that neither the prospect of safety nor that of destruction had ever been nearer to any state. For if with one mind they should all incline, whether to the Romans or to the Carthaginians, no state would be in a more highly favoured and happier condition. If they pulled in different directions, war between Carthaginians and Romans would not be more cruel than that among the Syraeansans themselves, since within the same walls each side would have its own armies, its own weapons, its own generals. Accordingly they must make the greatest effort to reach agreement. Which alliance was the more advantageous was a question decidedly subordinate and of far less weight. Yet Hiero's authority ought to be followed in choosing allies rather than that of Hieronymus; in other words, a friendship which had proved happy for fifty years should be preferred to one unknown at present and formerly faithless. For their decision it was also of considerable importance that they could decline the Carthaginians' offer of peace without necessarily waging war with them at once. With the Romans they must straightway have either peace or war. The less of party passion the speech seemed to have, the greater was its influence. To the magistrates and picked senators they added a military council also. Commanders of units and prefects of auxiliaries as well were ordered to take part in the deliberations. After the question had been repeatedly debated with
belli eum Romanis gerendi ratio nulla apparebat, pacem fieri placuit mittique legatos ad rem eum eis ¹ confirmandam.

XXIX. Dies haud ita multi intercesserunt, cum ex Leontinis legati praesidium finibus suis orantes venerunt; quae legatio peropportuna visa ad multitudo inconditam ae tumultuosam exonerandum ducesque eius ablegandos. Hippocrates praetor ducere eo transfugas iussus; seuti multi ex mereennariis auxiliis quattuor milia armatorum effeereerunt.

3 Et mittentibus et missis ea laeta expeditio fuit; nam et illis, quod iam diu cupiebant, novandi res occasio data est, et hi sentinam quandam urbis rati exhaustam laetabantur. Ceterum levaverunt modo in praesentia velut corpus aegrum, quo mox in graviorem morbum recideret. Hippocrates enim finitima provinciae Romanae primo furtivis excursionibus vastare coepit; deinde, cum ad tuendos sociorum agros missum ab Appio praesidium esset, omnibus copiis impetum in oppositam stationem cum caede multorum fecit. Quae cum essent nuntiata Marcello, legatos extemplo Syraecus misit qui pacis fidem ruptam esse dicerent nec bellii defuturam umquam causam, nisi Hippocrates atque Epicydes non ab Syraecusis modo, sed tota procul Sicilia ablegaren-

tur. Epicydes, ne aut reus criminis absentis fratris praesens esset, aut deesset pro parte sua concitando bello, profectus et ipse in Leontinos, quia satis cos

¹ cum eis P(1), but after mittique: after rem Gronovius.
great contention, finally, as they evidently had no means of carrying on a war with the Romans, it was decided to make an alliance with them, and to send ambassadors for the ratification.

XXIX. Not many days had elapsed, when ambassadors from Leontini arrived, pleading for a force to defend their territory. The request of this embassy seemed very timely for the purpose of relieving the city of a disorderly and turbulent multitude and of sending away its leaders. Hippocrates as magistrate was ordered to lead the deserters thither. Many of the mercenary auxiliaries followed, making four thousand armed men. That enterprise gave joy both to the senders and the sent; for the one party were given a long-desired opportunity for revolution, and the other rejoiced also to think that the dregs of the city had been drained off. But they relieved the diseased body, so to speak, merely for the moment, only to have it relapse presently into a more serious ailment. For Hippocrates began, at first with stealthy raids, to ravage lands on the border of the Roman province. Later, when Appius had sent troops to protect the farms of the allies, he made an attack with all his forces upon the unit on guard-duty facing him, and many were slain. Marcellus, being informed of this, at once sent legates to Syracuse, to say that the promised peace had been broken, and that a reason for war would never be wanting unless Hippocrates and Epicydes should be sent far away, not merely from Syracuse, but from all Sicily. Epicydes, to avoid being present under an accusation brought against his absent brother, or else failing to do his part in provoking war, went likewise to Leontini; and seeing that its citizens were sufficiently
adversus populum Romanum concitatos cernebat, 7 avertere etiam ab Syracusanis coept: nam ita eos paeem pepigisse cum Romanis ut quicumque populi sub regibus fuissent 1 suae dicionis essent, nce iam libertate contentos esse nisi etiam regnent ac domi- 
8 nentur. Renuntiandum igitur eis esse Leontinos quoque accquam censere liberos 2 esse, vel quod in solo urbis suae tyrannus ceciderit, vel quod ibi primum conelamatum ad libertatem relictisque 9 regii ducibus Syraecusas concursum sit. 3 Itaque aut eximendum id de foedere esse, aut legem eam 10 foederis non accipiandam. Facile multitudini pers- suasum; legatisque Syraecusanorum et de caede stationis Romanae querentibus et Hippocratem atque Epicydem abire seu Loceros seu quo alio mallent, dummodo Sicilia eederent, inuentibus feroeiter responsum est neque mandasse sese Syrae-
11 sanis ut paeem pro se cum Romanis facerent, neque 12 teneri alienis foederibus. Hace ad Romanos Syra-
cusani detulerunt, abnuentes Leontinos in sua potestate esse: itaque integro sceum foedere bellum Romanos cum iis gesturos, neque sese defuturos ei bello, ita ut in potestatem redacti suae rursus dicionis essent, sicut pax convenissset.

XXX. Marcellus cum omni exercitu prefectus in

1 fuissent Madvig; fuissent et P(1) Conway; fuissent ei Riemann.
2 liberos P(1) Conway; liberos se Madvig.
3 sit Weissenborn (before concursum z); om. P(1).
aroused against the Roman people, began also to b.c. 214
estrange them from the Syracusans. For, he explained,
the Syracusans had made an alliance with the Romans
with the provision that all the states which had been
subject to the kings should be under their rule;
that now they were not satisfied with freedom,
without also being lords and masters. They must
therefore report to them that the Leontinians like-
wise thought it right that they should be free, either
because it was on the soil of their city that the
tyrant fell, or because there for the first time men
shouted the summons to liberty, and deserting the
king's generals flocked to Syracuse. Accordingly
either that clause, he said, must be removed from the
treaty, or else an alliance on such terms was not to
be accepted. The multitude was easily persuaded,
and when the legates of the Syracusans complained
of the slaughter of the Roman guard-post and also
bade Hippocrates and Epicydes go away to Locri or
wherever they preferred, provided they withdrew from
Sicily, the people replied with spirit that they had
not instructed the Syracusans to make a treaty for
them with the Romans, and that they were not
bound by treaties not of their own making. This
was reported to the Romans by the Syracusans
who stated that the men of Leontini were not subject
to their authority; and that consequently the Romans
would make war upon them without violating the
treaty made with Syracuse; also that they would them-
selves not refuse to give help in the war, on condition
that, when reduced to subjection, the Leontini should
again be under their authority, as had been settled
in the treaty.

XXX. Marcellus, proceeding with his whole army
Livy
LIVY
A.U.C. 540
Leontinos, Appio quoque accito ut altera parte ad-
grederetur, tanto ardore militum est usus ab ira inter
condiciones pacis interfectae stationis ut primo impe-
tu urbem expugnarent. Hippoerates atque Epieydes,
postquam capi muros refringique portas videre, in
arem sese cum paucis recepere; inde clam noce
Herbesum per fugiant. Syracusanis octo milium
armatorum agmine profectis domo ad Mylan flumen
nuntius occurrit captam urbem esse, cetera falsa
mixta veris ferens: caedem promiscuam militum
atque oppidanorum factam, nec quicquam puberum
arbitrari superesse; direptam urbem, bona locuple-
tium donata. Ad nuntium tam atrocem constitit
agmen, concitatisque omnibus duces—erant autem
Sosis ac Dinomenes—quid agerent consultabant.
Terroris speciem haud vanam mendacio praebuerant
verberati ac securi percussi transfugae ad duo milia
hominum; ceterum Leontinorum militumque alio-
rum nemo post captam urbem violatus fuerat, suaque
omnia eis, nisi quae primus tumultus captae urbis
absumpserat, restituebantur. Nec ut Leontinos
irent, proditos ad caedem commilitones querentes,
perpelli potuere, nec ut codem loco certiorem nun-
tium expectarent. Cum ad defectionem inclinatos
animos cernerent praetores, sed eum motum haud
diuturnum fore, si duces amentiae sublati essent,
exercitum dueunt Megara, ipsi cum paucis equitibus

1 Probably between Syracuse and Leontini, perhaps on the
Mylas.
2 Leontini.
3 The praetores, having taken the field, are now generals,
as repeatedly below.
4 On the coast north of Syracuse; destroyed by Marcellus,
xxxv. 2.

270
to Leontini and summoning Appius also to make an attack from the other side, found such enthusiasm in his soldiers, due to anger aroused by the slaughter of men of the guard while negotiations were pending, that they took the city at the first assault. Hippocrates and Epicydes, on seeing that the walls were being taken and gates forced, sought refuge with a few men in the citadel. Thence they fled secretly by night to Herbesus. The Syracusans, who had set out from home in a column of eight thousand men, were met at the river Mylas by a messenger, reporting that the city had been captured, but for the rest mingling the false with the true: that a general massacre of soldiers and townspeople had occurred, and no adults, he thought, had survived; that the city had been plundered, the property of the wealthy given away. On hearing news so terrible the column halted, and in the general excitement the commanders—and they were Sosis and Dinomenes—considered what they should do. The appearance of well-founded alarm had been lent to the falsehood by the scourging and beheading of deserters, about two thousand men. But not one of the Leontiniens or of the other soldiers had been injured after the capture of the city; and, except what had been lost in the first confusion of the capture of the city, all their property was being restored to them. And the soldiers, complaining that their comrades had been betrayed to their death, could neither be induced to go to Leontini nor to wait at the same spot for more trustworthy news. The generals, seeing them inclined to mutiny, but that the outbreak would not last long if the leaders in folly should be removed, led the army to Megara; and then with a few
Herbesum proficiscuntur spe territis omnibus per 11 proditionem urbis potiundae. Quod ubi frustra eis fuit inceptum, vi agendum rati postero die Megaris castra movent, ut Herbesum omnibus copiis oppugnarent. Hippocrates et Epicydes non tam tutum prima specie quam unum spe undique absidia consilium esse rati, ut se militibus permetterent et adsuetis magna ex parte sibi et tum fama caedis commilitonum accensis, obviam agmini procedunt. 12 Prima forte signa seseentorum Cretensium erant, qui apud Hieronymum meruerant sub eis et Hannibalis beneficium habebant, capti ad Trasumennunm inter Romanorum auxilia dimissique. Quos ubi ex signis armorumque habitu cognoveres, Hippocrates atque Epicydes ramos oleae ac velamenta alia supplicium porrigentes orare ut reciperent sese, receptos tutarentur, neu proderent Syracusanis, a quibus ipsi mox trucidandi populo Romano dedentur. XXXI. Enimvero conclamant bonum ut animum haberent; omnem se cum illis fortunam 2 subituros. Inter hoe conloquium signa constiterant tenebaturque agmen, needum quae morae causa foret pervenerat ad duces. Postquam Hippocraten atque Epicyden adesse pervasit rumor, fremitusque toto agmine erat baud dubie adprobantium adventum 1 adesse z Madrig: esse A^{2}x: om. P(1): adesse ordines Weissenborn.

1 They were archers.
horsemen they went themselves to Herbesus, in the B.C. 214 hope of getting possession of the city by treachery, owing to the general alarm. When this undertaking disappointed them, they thought they must use force, and moved their camp from Megara the next day, to attack Herbesus with all their troops. Hippocrates and Epicydes, thinking that their plan to put themselves at the mercy of the soldiers, who were in large part used to them and also at that time inflamed by the report of the slaughter of their comrades, was not so much one which at first sight promised safety, as it was the only possible plan in a desperate situation, went out to meet the column. The first unit happened to be that of six hundred Cretans, who had served under them in the army of Hieronymus and were under obligations to Hannibal, as they had been captured among the Roman auxiliaries at the Trasumennus and allowed to go free. Recognizing them from their standards and the character of their weapons, Hippocrates and Epicydes, holding out olive branches and in addition the woollen bands of suppliants, implored them to admit them and, having done so, to protect and not betray them to the Syracusans, to be themselves presently surrendered by the same to the Roman people for slaughter. XXXI. And in fact the Cretans shouted to them to take courage, saying they would share every lot with them. During this conversation the standards had halted and the column was being held up. And word had not yet reached the generals as to what was the cause of the delay. When the report that Hippocrates and Epicydes were there did reach them, and down the whole length of the column there was a shout of evident joy over their coming, at once the
corum, extemplo praetores citatis equis ad prima
signa perrexerunt. Qui mos ille, quae licentia
Cretensium esset rogitantes, conloquia serendi cum
hoste iniussuque praetorum miscendi eos agmini
suо, comprehendи inicique catenas iussерunt Hippo-
cрати. Ad quam vocem tantus extemplo primum a
Cretensibus clamor est ortus, deinde exceptus ab
aliis, ut facile, si ultra tenderent, appareret eis ti-
mendum esse. Solliciti incertique rerum suarum
Megara, unde profecti erant, referri signа iubент
nuntiosque de statu praesenti Syracusas mittunt.
Fraudem quoque Hippocrates addit inclinatis ad
omnem suspicionem animis et Cretensium quibusdam
ad itinera insidenda missis velut interceptas litteras
quas ipse composuerat, recitat: “Praetores Syra-
cusani consulì Marcellо.” Secundum salutem, ut
adsolet, scriptum erat recte eum atque ordine fecisse,
quod in Leontinis nulli pepercisset. Sed omnium
mercennariorum militum eandem esse causam, nec
umquam Syracusas quieturas donec quicquam ex-
ternorum auxiliorum aut in urbe aut in exercitu suo
esset. Itaque daret operam ut eos qui cum suis
praetoribus castra ad Megara haberent in suam
potestatem redigeret ac supplicio eorum liberaret
tandem Syracusas. Hаeс cum recitata essent, eum
tanto clamore ad arma discursum est ut praetores
inter tumultum pавidi abequitaverint Syracusas. Et
ne fuga quidem eorum seditio compressa est, impetus-
que in Syracusanos milites fiebant; nec ab ullo
generals made their way at a gallop to the head b.c. 214 of the column. Asking what a practice, what a breach of discipline, it was on the part of the Cretans to join in conversation with an enemy and to admit the men to their own column without orders from the generals, they ordered them to be arrested and Hippocrates to be put in chains. Upon that command such an outcry was first raised by the Cretans, and then caught up by others, that it was easy to see that if they took any further steps they would have to fear for themselves. Troubled and uncertain as to their own situation, they ordered a retreat to Megara, from which they had set out, and sent messengers to Syracuse to report how matters stood.

While men were inclined to suspect everything, Hippocrates also resorted to a ruse. After sending some of the Cretans to lie in wait by the roads, with the pretence that it had been intercepted, he publicly read a letter written by himself: "The magistrates of Syracuse to the Consul Marcellus." Following the customary greeting it was stated that he had been entirely right in sparing no one at Leontini; but that the situation of all the mercenary soldiers was the same, and Syracuse would never have peace so long as there were any foreign auxiliaries in either the city or its army. Therefore he should take measures to reduce to submission the men who were encamped at Megara under the command of their own generals, and by their punishment to set Syracuse free at last. After this had been read, they rushed to arms with such shouting that during the confusion the generals rode away in alarm to Syracuse. And the mutiny was not quelled even by their flight; but attacks were repeatedly made on the Syracusan soldiers.
temperatum forct, ni Epicydes atque Hippocrates
12 irae multitudinis obviam issent, non a misericordia
aut humano consilio, sed ne spem reditus praece-
derent sibi et, cum ipsos simul milites fidos haberent
13 simul obsides, tum cognatos quoque eorum atque
amicos tanto merito primum, dein pignore sibi
14 conciliarent. Expertique quam vana aut levi aura
mobile volgus esset, militem nancti ex eo numero qui
in Leontinis circumcessi erant, subornant, ut Syra-
cusas perferret nuntium convenientem eis quae ad
15 Mylan falso nuntiata erant, auctoremque se exhi-
bendo ae velut visa quae dubia erant narrando
concitaret iras hominum.

XXXII. Huic non apud volgum modo fides fuit,
sed senatum quoque in curiam introduetus movit.
Haud vani quidam homines palam ferre perfec
detectam in Leontinis esse avaritiam et crudelitatem
Romanorum. Eadem, si intrassent Syracusas, aut
foediora etiam, quo maius ibi avaritiae praemium
2 esset, facturosuisse. Itaque claudendas cuneti
portas et custodiendam urbem eensere. Sed non
ab iisdem omnes timere nec eosdem odisse: ad
militare genus omne partemque magnum plebis
3 invisum esse nomen Romanum; praetores optim-
tiumque pauci, quamquam inflati vano nuntio erant,
tamen ad propius praesentiusque malum cautiores
4 esse. Et iam ad Hexapylum erant Hippocrates

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1 Since the soldiers would virtually be hostages, to ensure
the support of many friends and relatives in the city.

276
Nor would they have spared any of them, had not B.C. 214 Epicydes and Hippocrates opposed the enraged multitude, not out of pity and a humane intent, but in order not to cut off the hope of their own return, and that they might not only keep the men themselves as loyal soldiers and at the same time hostages, but also win over their relatives and friends, first by so great a service, and then by the personal security. And having learned how empty or faint a breath moves the crowd, they took a soldier from among those who had been besieged at Leontini and bribed him to carry to Syracuse a message in agreement with what had been falsely reported at the Mylas, and by showing himself to vouch for it and by relating the doubtful as things that he had seen, to inflame men's anger.

XXXII. This man was not only believed by the common people, but on being admitted to the Senate House, he stirred the senate as well. Some men of consequence openly declared it was very well that the avarice and cruelty of the Romans had been revealed at Leontini; that if they had entered Syracuse they would have done the same things or even more terrible, in proportion to the greater prize for avarice there. Accordingly, they all voted that the gates should be closed and the city guarded. But not all were afraid of the same persons or hated the same men. Among the whole military class and a large part of the common people the Roman name was hated. As for the generals and a few of the best citizens, although they had been misled by the false news, they were nevertheless more circumspect in the face of a danger more immediately impending. And already Hippocrates
atque Epicydes, serebanturque conloquia per propinquos popularium qui in exercitu erant, ut portas aperiere sine rerentque communem patriam defendi ab impetu Romanorum. Iam unis foribus Hexapyli apertis coepti erant recipi, cum praetores intervenrivunt. Et primo imperio minisque, deinde auctoritate deterrendo, postremo, ut omnia vana erant, obliti maiestatis precibus agebant ne proderent patriam tyranni ante sattellitibus et tum corruptoribus exercitus. Sed surdae ad ea omnia\(^1\) aures concitatae multitudinis erant, nee minore intus vi quam foris portae effringebantur, efferactisque omnibus toto Hexapylo agmen receptum est. Praetores in Achradinam cum iuventute popularium confugiunt. Mercennarii milites perfugaeque et quidquid regimen militum Syracusis erat agmen hostium augent.

Ita Achradina quoque primo impetu capitur, praetorumque nisi qui inter tumultum effugerunt omnes interficiuntur. Nox caedibus finem fecit. Postero die servi ad pilleum vocati et earecre veneti emissi; confusaque haec omnis multitud Hippocraten atque Epicyden creant praetores; Syracusaeque, cum breve tempus libertas adfulsisset, in antiquam servitutem reciderant.

XXXIII. Haece nuntiatacum essent Romanis, ex Leontinis mota sunt extemplo castra ad Syracusas.

\(^1\) ad ea omnia Böttcher: ad omnia Madvig: aditomnium P: adeo omnium P\(^2\)?(1).

\(^1\) Cf. xvi. 18.
and Epicydes were at the Hexapylon, and there were b.c. 214 communications through intermediaries who were relatives of citizens in the army: that they should open the gates and allow the defence of the city, their common home, against attack by the Romans. By this time one of the gates of the Hexapylon had been opened, and by it they had begun to be admitted, when the generals intervened. And at first by their military authority and by threats, then by using their personal influence to restrain them, finally, when all was without affect, disregarding dignity they prayed them not to betray their native city to former minions of the tyrant and present seducers of the army. But the ears of the excited crowd were deaf to all that; and the gates were being forced with no less violence from within than from without, and when all had been forced, the column was admitted through the whole breadth of the Hexapylon. The generals with the younger citizens flee for refuge to Aehradina. The mercenary soldiers and deserters and such royal troops as were at Syræuse swell the column of the enemy. Thus Aehradina also is taken by assault, and all the magistrates, except those who escaped in the midst of the uproar, are slain. Night put an end to the slaughter. On the next day slaves were called to wear the cap of freedom\(^1\) and criminals in chains released from prison; and all this assorted multitude elected Hippocrates and Epicydes generals. And Syræuse, after the light of liberty had shone upon it for a short time, had fallen back into its old-time servitude.

XXXIII. When these facts were reported to the Romans, the camp was at once removed from Leontini
2 Et ab Appio legati per portum missi forte in quinque-
remi erant. Praemissa quadríremsis cum intrasset
3 fauces portus, capitūr; legati aegre effugerunt. Et
iam non modo pacis sed ne belli quidem iura relieta
erant, cum Romanus exercitus ad Olympium—Iovis
id templum est—mille et quīngentos passus ab urbe
4 cæstra posuit. Inde quoque legatos praemitti pla-
cuit; quibus, ne intrarent urbem, extra portam
Hippocrates atque Epicydes obviām cum suis pro-
5 cesserunt. Romanus orator non bellum se Syra-
cusanis sed opem auxiliūmque adferre ait, et eis qui
ex media caede clæpsi perfugerint ad se, et eis qui
metu oppressi foediorem non exilio solum sed etiam
6 morte servitutem patiāntur; nec caedem nefandam
sociorum inultam Romanos passuros. Itaque, si eis
qui ad se perfugerint tutus in patriam reditus pa-
teat,1 caedis auctores dedantur, et libertas legesque
Syracusanis restituantur, nihil armis opus esse; si
ea non sīant, quicūmque in mora sit bello perse-
7 cuturos. Ad eā Epicydes, si qua ad se mandata
haberent, responsum eis ait se daturos fuisse; eum
in eorum ad quos venerint manu res Syracusanæ esset,
8 tum reverentur. Si bello lacesserent, ipsa re
intellecturos nequaquam idem esse Syracusas ac

1 pateat Crivier: pateat et Walters: pateret P(1).

1 Westward of the Great Harbou, plainly visible from the
Island and from part of Achradina. Near this great temple
the Athenians had encamped, as also the Carthaginians, in
other sieges. Two columns still stand.
to Syracuse. And, as it happened, legates had been sent by Appius by way of the harbour on a five-banker. The four-banker sent in advance was captured on entering the narrows. The legates barely escaped. And now there remained no longer any rights even of war, not to say of peace, when the Roman army pitched camp at the Olympium, that is, the Temple of Jupiter,1 a mile and a half from the city. From this place also it was decided to send legates in advance. To prevent their entering the city, Hippocrates and Epicydes and their retinue advanced beyond the gate to meet them. The speaker for the Romans said he was not bringing war, but aid and comfort to the Syracusans, both to those who, escaping from the midst of the slaughter, had sought refuge with the Romans, and to those who, subdued by their fear, were enduring a slavery more shameful, not only than exile, but even than death; and that the Romans would not leave the atrocious slaughter of their allies unavenged. Accordingly, if a safe return to their native city should be open to those who had sought refuge with the Romans, if those responsible for the slaughter should be surrendered and their freedom and laws restored to the Syracusans, there was no need of arms. If those conditions should not be met, the Romans would wage war against every man who caused delay. In reply Epicydes said that, if their message had been addressed to his colleague and himself, they would have given them an answer. When the Syracusan state should be under the control of the men to whom they came, then let them return. Should they make war, they would find from actual experience that to attack Syracuse was by no means the same as
Leontinos oppugnare. Ita legatis relictis portas clausit.

9 Inde terra marique simul coeptae oppugnari Syracusae, terra ab Hexapylo, mari ab Achradina, cuius murus fluctu adluitur. Et quia, siue Leontinos terrore ac primo impetu ceperant, non diffidebant vastam disiectamque spatio urbem parte aliqua se invasuros, omnem apparatum oppugnandarum urbiurn muris admoveverunt. XXXIV. Et habuisset tanto impetu coepta res fortunam, nisi unus homo Syracusis ea tempestate fuisset. Archimedes is erat, unicus spectator caeli siderumque, mirabilior tamen inventor ac machinator bellicorum tormentorum operumque quibus quicquid hostes ingenti mole agerent ipse perlevi momento ludificaretur. Muros per inaequalis ductos colles, pleraque alta et difficilia aditu, submissa quaedam et quae planis vallibus adiri possent, ut cuique aptum visum est loco, ita genere omni tormentorum instruxit. Achradinæ murum, qui, ut ante dictum est, mari adluitur, segaginta quinqueremibus Marcellus oppugnabat. 5 Ex ceteris navibus sagittarii fundoirosque et velites etiam, quorum telum ad remittendum inhabile imperitis est, vix quemquam sine vulnere consistere in muro patiebantur; hi, quia spatio missilibus opus est, procul muro tenebant naves: iunetae aliae binae

1 quicquid Madvig : om. P(1) : si quid Weissenborn.
2 muros . . . ductos Weissenborn : murus . . . ductus P(1) : murum . . . ductum z Madvig.
3 sexaginta Böllicher : ex (for LX or ex LX) P(1).

1 Livy does not mention Archimedes' celebrity as a mathematician.
2 The number sixty agrees with Polybius VIII. 4(6). 1.
to attack Leontini. So he left the ambassadors and b.c. 214 closed the gates.

Thereupon began the siege of Syracuse at the same time by land and by sea, by land from the side of the Hexapylon, by sea from that of Achradina, the wall of which is washed by the waves. And because, having taken Leontini by a panic and the first assault, the Romans did not doubt that at some point they would make their way into a city immense and widely scattered, they brought all their equipment for besieging cities up to the walls. XXXIV. And an undertaking begun with so vigorous an assault would have met with success if one man had not been at Syracuse at that time. It was Archimedes, an unrivalled observer of the heavens and the stars, more remarkable, however, as inventor and contriver of artillery and engines of war, by which with the least pains he frustrated whatever the enemy undertook with vast efforts.\(^1\) The walls, carried along uneven hills, mainly high positions and difficult to approach, but some of them low and accessible from level ground, were equipped by him with every kind of artillery, as seemed suited to each place. The wall of Achradina, which, as has been said already, is washed by the sea, was attacked by Mareellus with sixty five-bankers.\(^2\) From most\(^3\) of the ships archers and slingers, also light-armed troops, whose weapon is difficult for the inexpert to return,\(^4\) allowed hardly anyone to stand on the wall without being wounded; and these men kept their ships at a distance from the wall, since range is needed for missile weapons.

\(^1\) "Most," since ceterae is contrasted with aliae in § 6 (eight in Polybius).

\(^2\) Owing to the skill required in using the thong (amentum).
A.V.C. 540

quinqueremes emptied interioribus remis, ut latus
lateri adplicaretur. cum exterior ordine remorum
velut una navis agerentur. turres contubulatas
machinamentaque alia quatiendis muris portabant.

Adversus hunc navalem apparatum Archimedes
variae magnitudinis tormenta in muris disposuit.
In eas quae procul erant navis saxa ingenti pondere
emittebat, propiores levioribus coque magis crebris
petebat telis; postremo, ut sui volnere intacti tela
in hostem ingererent, murum ab imo ad summum
crebris cubitalibus fere eavis aperuit, per quae eava
pars sagittis, pars scorpionibus modicis ex occulto
petebant hostem. Quae proptet naves, quo interiores
ictibus tormentorum essent, in eas
tollenone super murum eminente ferrea manus,
firmae catenae inligata, cum iniecta prorae esset
gravique libramento plumbi recelleret ad solum,
suspensa prora navem in puppim statuebat: dein re-
messa subito velut ex muro cadetem navem eum in-
genti trepidatione nautarum ita undae adfligebat
ut, etiamsi recta reciderat, aliquantum aquae acci-
peret. Ita maritima oppugnatio est elusa omnisque
spes eo versa ut totis viribus terra adgrederentur.

2 proptes P(1), adding quaedam (retained by Madvig,
Walters: om. x Crérier).
4 adfligebat Sigonius: -bant P(1) Walters.
5 reciderat Gronovius: reciderant PCR: reciderant M:
evet BA2 Madvig: -rent DA.
6 eo Böttcher: ea P2: est C: ad(versa) P(10).

1 Livy seems to mean the width on the inside, while Polybius
gives a palm (three inches) as the width of a loophole on the
outside (VIII. 7. 6).
Other five-bankers, paired together, with the inner B.C. 214 oars removed, so that side was brought close to side, were propelled by the outer banks of oars like a single ship, and carried towers of several stories and in addition engines for battering walls. To meet this naval equipment Archimedes disposed artillery of different sizes on the walls. Against ships at a distance he kept discharging stones of great weight; nearer vessels he would attack with lighter and all the more numerous missile weapons. Finally, that his own men might discharge their bolts at the enemy without exposure to wounds, he opened the wall from bottom to top with numerous loopholes about a cubit wide, and through these some, without being seen, shot at the enemy with arrows, others from small scorpions. As for the ships which came closer, in order to be inside the range of his artillery, against these an iron grapnel, fastened to a stout chain, would be thrown on to the bow by means of a swing-beam projecting over the wall. When this sprung backward to the ground owing to the shifting of a heavy leaden weight, it would set the ship on its stern, bow in air. Then, suddenly released, it would dash the ship, falling, as it were, from the wall, into the sea, to the great alarm of the sailors, and with the result that, even if she fell upright, she would take considerable water. Thus the assault from the sea was baffled, and all hope shifted to a plan to attack from the land with all their forces. But that

2 Literally the grappling hook; but here, as if the ferrea manus might serve as a name for the entire crane, the reference is in fact to another part, viz. the beam, the after end of which sank to the ground inside the wall when the leaden weight was shifted. Polybius, VIII. 6(8). 1–4, gives a more detailed account.
A.U.C. 510

13 Sed ea quoque pars codem omni apparatu tormentorum instructa erat Hieronis in pensis curaque per multos annos, Archimedis unica arte. Natura etiam adiuvabat loci, quod saxum, cui inposita muri fundamenta sunt, magna parte ita proelive est ut non solum missa tormento, sed etiam quae pondere suo provoluta essent, graviter in hostem inciderent.

14 Eadem causa ad subeundum arduum aditum instabilemque ingressum praebat. Ita consilio habito, quoniam 1 omnis conatus ludibrio esset, absistere oppugnatione atque obsidendo tantum arce terra marique commeatibus hostem plaeuit.

XXXV. Interim Marcellus cum tertia fere parte exercitus ad recipiendas urbes profectus quae in motu rerum ad Carthaginienses defecerant, Helorum atque Herbesum dedentibus ipsis recipit, Megara vi capta diruit ae diripuit ad reliquorum ae maxime Syracusorum terrorem. Per idem fere tempus et Himileo, qui ad Pachyni promunturium classem din tenuerat, ad Heracleam, quam vocant Minoam, quinque et viginti milia peditum, tria equitum, duodecim elephatos exposuit, nequaquam cum quantis copiis ante tenue-rat ad Pachynum classem: sed, postquam ab Hippocrates occupatae Syracusae erant, profectus Carthaginem adiutusque ibi et ab legatis Hippocratis et litteris Hannibalis, qui venisse tempus aiebat Siciliae per summum decus repetendae, et ipse haud vanus

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1 quoniam Alscheski: quo (for quom?) P(1): quod A²x: quando Luchs.

286
side also had been provided with the same complete B.C. 214 equipment of artillery, at the expense and the pains of Hiero during many years, by the unrivalled art of Archimedes. The nature of the place also helped, in that the rock on which the foundations of the wall were laid is generally so steep that not only missiles from a machine, but also whatever rolled down of its own weight fell heavily upon the enemy. The same circumstance made approach to the wall difficult and footing unsteady. So, after a war council, since every attempt was being balked, it was decided to give up the assault and merely by a blockade to cut off the enemy by land and sea from their supplies.

XXXV. Meanwhile Marcellus set out with about a third of his army to recover the cities which in the unsettled state of affairs had gone over to the Carthaginians. Helorus and Herbesus he did recover by their own surrender; Megara he took by assault, destroyed and plundered, to terrify the others and especially the Syracusans. About the same time also Himileo, who had long kept his fleet off the promontory of Pachynum, landed at Heraclea, called Minoa, 25,000 infantry, 3,000 cavalry and twelve elephants, a very much larger force than that with which he had previously kept his fleet off Pachynum. But after Syracuse had been seized by Hippocrates, Himileo went to Carthage and was aided there both by the legates of Hippocrates and by a letter from Hannibal, who said the time had come to recover Sicily in the most honourable manner. Himileo

1 Evidently meaning the northern face of Epipolae, the great triangle at whose western apex stood the fortress of Euryalus; cf. XXV. xxiv. 4; xxv. 2; v. Appendix.
2 West of Agrigentum, on the south coast.
praesens monitor facile perpulerat ut quantae maxime\(^1\) possent peditum equitumque copiae in Siciliam traicerentur. Adveniens Heracleam, intra paucoos inde dies Agrigentum recept; aliarumque civistatium, quae partis Carthaginiensis erant, adeo accensae sunt spes ad pellendos Sicilia Romanos ut postremo etiam qui obsidebantur Syracusis animos sustulerint.

6 Et parte copiarum satis defendi urbem posse rati, ita inter se munera belli partiti sunt ut Epicydes prae- esset custodiae urbis, Hippoerates Himilconi coniun- cetus bellum adversus consulem Romanum gereret.

7 Cum decem milibus peditum, quingentis equitibus nocte per intermissa custodiis loca profectus castra circa Acrillas urbem ponebat. Munientibus super- venit Marcellus ab Agrigento iam occupato, cum frustra eo praevenire hostem festinans tetendisset, rediens, nihil minus ratus quam illo tempore ac loco

9 circa Syracusanum sibi exercitum obvium fore; sed tamen metu Himilconis Poenorumque, ut quibus nequaquam eis copiis quas habebat par esset, quam poterat maxime intentus atque agmine ad omnes easus com- positus ibat. XXXVI. Forte ea cura quae adversus Poe- nos praeprarata erat\(^2\) adversus Siculos usui fuit. Cas- tris ponendis incompositos ac dispersos nancteus eos et plerosque inermes quod peditum fuit circumvenit; eques levi certamine inito cum Hippoerate Acras perfugit.

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1 maxime PBDA: maximae CRM Madvig.
2 erat \(x\): om. P(1) Walters, who rejects quae (or q. P(7)).

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\(^1\) To the west of Syracuse, as was Acras, xxxvi. 1.

288
himself, being an influential adviser, present in B.C. 214 person, had easily prevailed upon them to send across to Sicily the largest possible forces of infantry and cavalry. Arrived at Heraclea, he recovered Agrigentum within a few days. And the hopes of the other city-states which were on the side of the Carthaginians were so fired to drive the Romans out of Sicily that finally even those who were besieged at Syracuse took courage. And thinking the city could be sufficiently defended by a part of the forces, they so divided the military duties that Epicydes should be in charge of the defence of the city, and Hippocrates, together with Himilco, should carry on the war against the Roman consul. With 10,000 infantry and five hundred horse he set out by night through places unguarded and pitched camp near the city of Acrilae. As they were fortifying, Marcellus arrived, returning from Agrigentum, which was already occupied, since it was in vain that he had endeavoured to anticipate the enemy by hastening thither. Nothing was farther from his thoughts than that a Syracusan army should meet him there at that time. Nevertheless, from fear of Himilco and the Carthaginians, being no match for them with the forces he had, he was advancing with all possible alertness and with a column so formed as to meet any emergency. XXXVI. The precaution which had been taken against Carthaginians served him, as it happened, against Sicilians. Coming upon them after they had broken ranks and were scattered in the act of pitching camp and mostly unarmed, he overwhelmed all the infantry. The cavalry, after a slight engagement, fled with Hippocrates to Acrae.
LIVY

A.U.C. 540

2 Ea pugna deficientes ab Romanis cum cohibuisset Siculos, Marcellus Syracusas redit; et post paueos dies Himilco adiuncto Hippocrate ad flumen Anapum, octo 3 ferme inde milia, castra posuit. Sub idem forte 1 tempus et naves longae quinque et quinquaginta Carthaginiensium cum Bomilcare 2 in magnum portum Syracusas ex alto decurrere, et Romana item classis, triginta quinqueremes, legionem primam Panormi exposuere; versumque ab Italia bellum—adeo uterque populus in Siciliam intentus fuit 3—videri poterat. Legionem Romanam quae exposita Panormi erat venientem Syracusas praedae haud dubie sibi futuram Himilco ratus via decipitur. Mediterraneo namque Poenus itinere duxit; legio maritimis locis classe prosequente ad Appium Claudium Pachynum cum parte copiarum obviam progressum pervenit.

5 Nec diutius Poeni ad Syracusas morati sunt: et Bomilear simul parum fidens navibus suis duplici facile numero classem habentibus Romanis, simul inutili mora cernens nihil alium ab suis quam inopiam adgravari sociorum, velis in altum datae in Africam transmisit, et Himilco, secutus nequiquam Marcellum Syracusas, si qua priusquam maioribus copiis immergeatur occasio pugnandi esset, postquam ea nulla

1 idem forte P²(4) Madvig: item for P: idem fere A Walters.
2 Bomilcare P(1), adding classis (to which A²x add praefecto), rejected by Kästner.
3 fuit Bekker, Madvig: fuisse P(1), joined with videri.

1 The small river of Syræuse, emptying into the Great Harbour. Near its mouth was a Roman camp; xxxiii. 3.
2 Now Palermo: the chief city of Carthaginian Sicily, until taken by the Romans in 254 B.C.; Polybius I. xxxviii. fin.
Marcellus, by that battle having restrained the Sicilians inclined to revolt from the Romans, returned to Syracuse. And a few days later Himilco was joined by Hippocrates and pitched camp by the river Anapus, about eight miles away. About the same time it so happened that fifty-five warships of the Carthaginians under Bomilcar sailed from the open sea into the Great Harbour of Syracuse, and also a Roman fleet of thirty quinqueremes debarked the first legion at Panormus. And the war could be considered as now diverted from Italy, so intent were both nations upon Sicily. Himilco, thinking that the legion which had been landed at Panormus would certainly fall a prey to him on its way to Syracuse, was baffled by its route. For the Carthaginian led his troops along an inland road, while the legion, escorted by the fleet, made its way along the coast to Appius Claudius, who with a part of his forces had advanced as far as Pachynum to meet it. And so the Carthaginians did not tarry longer near Syracuse. On the one hand Bomilcar, lacking confidence in his own ships, since the Romans had a fleet of fully double the number, and at the same time seeing that by useless delay the lack of supplies for the allies was only intensified by his forces, put out to sea and crossed over to Africa. On the other hand Himilco first followed Marcellus to Syracuse to no purpose, in the hope that there might be some opportunity for an engagement before he should unite with larger forces. Then, when no such opportunity fell to him, and he

3 Probably an error for Pelorum, the north-eastern promontory of Sicily, since, with Agrigentum in the hands of the Carthaginians, the route via the western and southern coasts (much longer in any case) would have been impracticable.
contigerat tutunque ad Syracusas et munimento
et viribus hostem cernebat, ne frustra adsidendo spec-
tandoque obsidionem sociorum tempus tereret, castra
inde movit, ut quocumque vocasset defectionis ab
Romano spes ad moveret exercitum ac praesens suas
res foventibus adderet animos. Murgantiam primum
proudio ab ipsis praesidio Romano recipit, ubi frumenti
magnavis commenatusque omnis generis convecti erant
Romanis.

XXXVII. Ad hanc defectionem erecti sunt et alia-
rum civitatum animi, praesidiaeque Romana aut pelle-
bantur arcibus aut prodita per fraudem opprimeban-
tur. Henna, excelso loco ac praerupto undique sita,
cum loco inexpugnabilis erat, tum praesidium in arce
validum praefectumque praesidii haud sane oppor-
tumum insidiantibus habebat. L. Pinarius erat, vir
acer et qui plus in eo ne posset decipi quam in fide
Siculorum reponeret. Et tum intenderant eum ad
cavendi omnia curam tot auditae prodigiones defec-
tionis et urbium et clades praesidiorum. Itaque
nocte dieque iuxta parata instructaque omnia custo-
diis ac vigiliis erant, nec ab armis aut loco suo miles
absedebat. Quod ubi Hemmensium principes, iam
pacti cum Himilcone de proditione praesidii, animad-
verterunt, nulli occasioni fraudis Romanum patere,

palam erat 1 agendum. Urbem arcemque suae
potestatis aiunt debere esse, si liberi in societatem,
palam erat Lipsius: patuerat P: plaerat P²(1): per
vum erat Salmasius.

1 Cf. xxvii. 5.
2 The most commanding city-site in Sicily, with its citadel
3200 ft. above the sea. Described by Cicerò in Verr. IV. 107.
Henna was the centre of the worship of Demeter and Perse-
phone; cf. xxxix. 8.
saw the enemy safe near Syracuse thanks to his B.C. 214
fortifications and military strength, fearing to waste
time in besieging him in vain and watching the
blockade of the allies, he moved his camp away.
His purpose was to bring up his army to any point
to which the hope of revolting from the Romans
might call him, and by his presence to give encoura-
gement to those who inclined to support his cause.
Murgantia \(^1\) was first recovered, after the inhabitants
had betrayed the Roman garrison. There a great
quantity of grain and supplies of every kind had
been accumulated for the Romans.

XXXVII. Upon this revolt, feeling was aroused in
other city-states, and Roman garrisons were being
either driven out of citadels or betrayed by treachery
and slain. Henna,\(^2\) perched on a lofty site with cliffs
on every side, was not only impregnable from its
position, but also had a strong garrison in its citadel
and a garrison commander who was certainly no easy
prey to plotters. This was Lucius Pinarius, a man of
high spirit and one who gave more weight to pre-
cautions against possible deception than to the honour
of Sicilians. And at this time the news of so many
cities betrayed and in revolt and of so many garrisons
destroyed had made him more intent upon guarding
against every danger. Accordingly every position
had been prepared and provided with guards and
sentinels night and day; and the soldier did not leave
his arms and his post. When this was noticed by the
leading men of Henna, who had already made an agree-
ment with Himilco to betray the garrison, namely, that
the Roman left no opportunity for treachery, they were
forced to act openly. They said that city and citadel
ought to be under their own control, if as free men

293
non servi in custodiam traditi essent Romanis.
7 Itaque claves portarum reddi sibi aequom censent: bonis sociis fidem suam maximum vinculum esse, et ita sibi populum Romanum senatumque gratias habiturum, si volentes ac non coacti mansissent in amicitia. Ad ea Romanus se in praesidio impositum esse dicere ab imperatore suo clavesque portarum et custodiam arcis ab eo accepisse, quae nee suo nee Hemensium arbitrio haberet, sed eius qui commisisset. Praesidio decedere apud Romanos capital esse, et nece liberorum etiam suorum eam noxiam 1 parentes sanxisse. Consulem Marcellum haud procul esse: ad eum mitterent legatos cujus iuris atque arbitrii res 2 esset. Se vero negare illi missuros testarique, si verbis nihil agerent, vindietam aliquam libertatis suae quaesituros. Tum Pinarius: at illi, si ad consulem gravarentur mittere, sibi saltem darent populi concilium, ut seiretur, utrum paucorum ea denuntiatio an universae civitatis esset. Consensa in posterum diem contio.

XXXVIII. Postquam ab eo conloquio in arcem sese recepit, convocatis militibus 3 "Credo ego vos audisse, milites" inquit, "quem ad modum praesidia Romana ab Siculis circumventa et oppressa sint per hos dies. Eam vos fraudem deum primo benignitate, dein vestra ipsi virtute dies noctesque perstando ac pervigilando

1 noxiam Weissenborn: om. P(1).
3 militibus A²x: quibus P(2)A?: aliquibus C⁴: sociis x: suis Gronovius.
they had entered into alliance with the Romans, B.C. 214
and had not been consigned to custody as slaves.
Consequently they said they thought it right that the
keys of the gates should be restored to them. For
good allies their loyalty was the strongest bond, and
the Roman people and senate would be grateful to
them only in case they remained in their friendship
willingly and not under compulsion. In reply to this
the Roman commandant said that he had been
placed at his post by his general and had received
from him both the keys to the gates and the guarding
of the citadel, to keep them, not at his own discretion
nor that of the people of Henna, but of the man who
had confided them to him. To leave one's post was
among the Romans a capital offence, and fathers had
punished that crime with the death even of their own
sons. The consul Marcellus was not far away; they
should send legates to him who had the right to
decide the matter. But they said that they would
not send them, and asserted that if they accomplished
nothing by words, they would seek some means of
recovering their freedom. Upon that Pinarius said
that, if they objected to sending to the consul, very
well, let them at least give him an assembly of the
people, that it might be known whether their demand
was that of a few men or of the whole city. They
agreed to an assembly on the next day.

XXXVIII. Returning from that conference to the
citadel, he called his men together and said: "I
believe you have heard, soldiers, how in these days
Roman garrisons have been beset and overwhelmed
by Sicilians. Such treachery you have escaped,
thanks first to the favour of the gods, and then to
your own courage, by standing guard day and night
in armis vitastis. Utinam relucem tempus nec patien-
do infanda nec faciendo traduci posset! 1 Haec oc-
culta in fraude cautio est qua usi adhue sumus; cui
quoniam parum succedit, aperte ac propalam claves
portarum reposeunt: quas simul tradiderimus, Car-
thaginiensium extemplo Henna crit, foediusque hie
trucidabimur quam Murgantiae praesidium inter-
fectum est. Noetem unam aegre ad consultandum
sumpi, qua vos certiores periculi instantis facerem.
Orta luce contionem habituri sunt ad eriminandum
me concitandumque in vos populum. Itaque erastino
die aut vestro aut Hennensium sanguine Henna
inundabitur. Nee praecoccupati spem ullam nec
occupantes periculi quicquam habebitis: qui prior
strinxerit ferrum, eius victoria crit. Intenti ergo
omnes armatique signum expectabitis. Ego in
contione ero et tempus, quoad omnia instructa sint,
loquendo altercandoque traham. Cum toga signum
dedero, tum mihi undique clamore sublato turbam
invadite ac sternite omnia ferro; et cavete quicquam 2
supersit cuius 3 aut vis aut fraudi timeri possit. Vos,
Ceres mater ac Proserpina, precor, ceteri superi
inferni que di, qui hane urbem, hos sacratos laeus
lucosque colitis, ut ita nobis volentes propitii adsitis,
si vitandae, non inferendae fraudis causa hoc consilio
capimus. Pluribus vos, milites, hortarer, si cum
armatis dimicatio futura esset; inermes, incautos ad

1 posset A2z: possit Valla: potest P(1).
2 quicquam P(1) Conway: quisquam C2x Madvig.
3 cuius Alschefski: quiusa P: a quibus P2(1).
under arms. Would that the remaining time B.C. 211 could be passed without either suffering or committing atrocities! In covert trickery the method of defence is that which we have so far employed. Since the trick does not succeed, they demand back the keys of the gates openly and above board. And the moment we surrender them, Henna will be in the hands of the Carthaginians, and we shall be more cruelly slaughtered here than was the garrison slain at Murgantia. With difficulty I have gained for deliberation one night in which to inform you of the impending danger. At daybreak they are to hold an assembly for the purpose of accusing me and arousing the people against you. And so tomorrow Henna will be deluged either with your blood or with that of the Hennensians. If forestalled, you will have no hope, nor any danger if you forestall them. Who first draws the sword will have the victory. Therefore, alert and armed, you will all await the signal. I shall be in the assembly, and I will kill time in speaking and disputing, until everything is ready. When I give the signal with my toga, then do you from all sides raise a shout, attack the crowd, and strike down everyone with the sword; and see to it that no one survives whose violence or treachery can be feared. Mother Ceres and Proserpina, and all the other gods, above and below, who inhabit this city, these hallowed lakes and groves, I pray that ye attend us with your favour and support, if so be that we are taking this step for the purpose of guarding against treachery, not of practising it. I should exhort you, soldiers, at greater length if your battle were to be with armed men. Unarmed and off their guard, you will massacre them to your hearts' content.
LIVY

A.U.C. 540

satietatem trucidabitis; et consulis castra in propinquo sunt, ne quid ab Himileone et Carthaginiensibus timeri possit.”

XXXIX. Ab haec adhortatione dimissi corpora curant. Postero die alii aliis locis ad obsidenda itinera claudendosque oppositi
et consulis castra in propinquo sunt, ne qxiid ab Himilcone et Carthaginiensibus timeri possit.”

Productus ad populum a magistratibus praefectus Romanus cum consulis de ea re ius ac potestatem esse, non suam, et pleraque eadem quae pridie dixisset, et primo sensim ac pauci, mox plures reddere claves, dein iam una voce id omnes iuberent cunctantique et differenti ferociter minitarentur nec viderentur ultra vim ultimam dilaturi, tum praefectus toga signum, ut convenerat, dedit, militesque intenti dudum ac parati alii superne in aversam contionem clamore sublato decurrunt, alii ad exitus theatri conferti obsistunt. Caeduntur Hennenses cavea inclusi coacervanturque non caede solum sed etiam fuga, cum super aliorum alii capita ruerent, et integri

sauciis, vivi mortuis incidentes cumularentur. Inde passim discurritur et urbis captae modo fugaque et caedes omnia tenet nihil remissore militum ira quod

1 oppositi A² Valla: opsi A: -positis M²: -ponitis P(2).
3 et Madvig: om. P(1).
And the consul's camp is near; I tell you this that B.C. 214 you may have no possible fear from Himilco and the Carthaginians."

XXXIX. Dismissed immediately after this exhortation, they took food and rest. On the following day they were posted in different places, to occupy the roads and close the ways of escape. The majority took their positions above and around the theatre, being already familiar with the sight of an assembly. The Roman commandant, being brought before the people by the magistrates, said that right and authority in the matter belonged to the consul, not to himself, and in general the same things he had said the day before. And at first insensibility and only a few, presently a larger number, then all, now with one voice kept bidding him to deliver the keys; and when he delayed and postponed, they repeated savage threats and apparently would not further postpone violence, their last resort. Thereupon the prefect gave the signal with his toga, as had been agreed, and the soldiers, alert and ready long before, dashed down, some of them from above, upon the rear of the assembly with a shout, while others, massed at the exits of the theatre, blocked the way. The men of Henna, shut up in the cavea, were slain and piled together not only owing to the slaughter, but also by the panic, since they rushed down over each others' heads, and as the unharmed fell upon the wounded, the living upon the dead, they were lying in heaps. Thence the soldiers scattered in every direction, and, just as in a captured city, flight and slaughter were in complete possession, while the wrath of the soldiers was not a whit less intense because they were slaying an unarmed
turbam inermem caedeabant quam si periculum par et
ardor certaminis eos irritaret. Ita Henna aut malo
aut necessario facinore retenta.

Marcellus nec factum inprobavit et praedam Hen-
nensium militibus concessit, ratus timore deterritos
proditionibus praesidiorum Siculos. Atque ea clades,
at urbis in media Sicilia sitae claraeque vel ob in-
signem munimento naturali locum vel ob sacraa om-
nia vestigiis raptae quondam Proserpinae, prope uno
die omnem Siciliam pervasit; et quia caede infanda
rebantur non hominum tantum sed etiam deorum
sedem violatam esse, tum vero etiam qui ante dubii
fuerant defecer e ad Poenos. Hippocrates inde
Murgantiam. Himileo Agrigentum sese
et acciti a proditoris nequiquam ad Hennam exercitum
admovissent. Marcellus retro in Leontinos redit
frumentoque et commeatibus aliiis in castra convectis,
praesidio modo ibi relieto ad Syracusas obsidendas
venit. Inde Appio Claudio Romam ad consulatum
petendum misso T. Quinctium Crispinum in eius
locum classi castrisque praeficit veteribus; ipse
hibernacula quinque milia passuum ab Hexapylo—
Leonta vocant locum—communiit aedificavitque.
Hace in Sicilia usque ad principium hiemis gesta.

XL. Eadem aestate et cum Philippo rege quod
iam ante suspicatum fuerat motum bellum est. Legati

1 etiam qui Madvig: qui etiam P(1).

1 As in Cicero in Verr. IV. 107 the very place reminds one
how Pluto carried off Proserpina from the meadows below
Henna.
crowd, than if equal danger and ardour for the fray were spurring them on. So by an act, it may have been criminal, it may have been unavoidable, Henna was held.

Marcellus, without reproving the act, allowed the soldiers to plunder the Hennensians, thinking the frightened Sicilians had been deterred from betraying their garrisons. And as was natural in the case of a city in the heart of Sicily and famous, whether for the remarkable natural defences of its site, or as hallowed everywhere by the footprints of Proserpina, long ago carried away, news of the massacre made its way over the whole of Sicily almost in a single day. And then in truth, since they thought that the abode, not of men only but also of gods, had been desecrated by an atrocious massacre, even those who till then had wavered went over to the Carthaginians. Hippocrates thereupon went back to Murgantia, Himileo to Agrigentum, after bringing up their army to Henna to no purpose at the summons of the traitors. Marcellus returned to Leontini, had grain and other supplies brought into the camp, left a suitable garrison there and came to Syracuse to carry on the siege. He then relieved Appius Claudius, to sue for the consulship at Rome, and in his place put Titus Quinctius Crispinus in command of the fleet and the old camp. As for himself, he fortified and built winter quarters five miles from the Hexapylon—Leon they call the place. Such were the events in Sicily up to the beginning of the winter.

XL. The same summer the war with King Philip also that for some time had been foreshadowed broke

2 Cf. xxxiii. 3; XXV. xxvi. 4. The new winter camp was northwest of Syracuse.
ab Orico ad M. Valerium praetorem venerunt, praesidentem classi Brundisio Calabriaeque circa litoribus, nuntiantes Philippum primum Apolloniam temptasse lembis biremibus centum viginti flumine adverso subvectum; deinde, ut ea res tardior spe fuerit, ad Oricum clam nocte exercitum admovisse; eamque urbem, sitam in plano neque moenibus neque viris atque armis validam, primo impetu oppressam esse.

Haec nuntiantes orabant ut opem ferret hostemque haud dubium Romanis mari ac terra a maritimis urbis arceret, quae ob nullam aliam causam nisi quod imminerent Italiae, peterentur. M. Valerius duorum milium praesidio relieto praepositoque¹ eis P. Valerio legato cum classe instructa parataque et, quod longae naves militum capere non poterant in onerarias inpositis altero die Oricum pervenit; urbemque eam levi tenente praesidio quod rex² recessens inde reliquerat haud magno certamine recepit. Legati eo ab Apollonia venerunt, nuntiantes in obsidione sese, quod defiere ab Romanis nollent, esse neque sustinere ultra vim Macedonum possit, nisi praesidium mittatur Romanum. Facturum se quae vellent pollicitus, duo milia delectorum milit-

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¹ praepositoque Crétier: q. or que only P(1).
² rex Fabri (before reliquerat Gronovius): om. P(1).
³ ni Riemann: nil P: nisi P²?(1).

¹ In southern Illyria (Albania), at the south end of the bay behind the Acroceraunian Mountains, almost directly opposite Brundisium.
out. Legates came from Oricum to Marcus b.c. 214 Valerius, the praetor, who with his fleet was guarding Brundisium and the neighbouring coast of Calabria. They reported that Philip had first sailed up the river with a hundred and twenty small vessels having two banks of oars and attacked Apollonia; and that then, when the undertaking proved slower than he anticipated, had secretly moved his army to Oricum by night; also that that city, situated in a plain and not strong either in walls or armed men, had been taken by assault. Making this report, they begged him to lend aid and by land and sea to keep an undoubted enemy of the Romans away from the coast cities, which were being attacked for no other reason than that they faced Italy. Marcus Valerius, after leaving a garrison of two thousand soldiers and placing Publius Valerius, his lieutenant, in command of them, with his fleet drawn up and in readiness, while such soldiers as the warships could not accommodate had been placed on transports, came on the second day to Oricum; and as only a small garrison which the king had left when he withdrew held the city, he recaptured it after slight resistance. To it came legates from Apollonia, reporting that they were being besieged because they refused to revolt from the Romans and could no longer withstand the attack of the Macedonians, unless a Roman force should be sent. Valerius promised to do as they desired, and sent two thousand picked soldiers in

2 Strictly propraetor; x. 4; xx. 12.
3 The city, in southern Illyria, and allied with Rome since 229 b.c., lay near the river Aoös and about seven miles inland, about thirty miles north of Oricum. Later it attracted young Romans pursuing their studies, e.g. Octavian.
LIVY

tum navibus longis mittit ad ostium fluminis cum praefecto socium Q. Naevio Crista, viro inpigro et perito militiae. Is expositis in terram militibus navi-busque Oricum retro, unde venerat, ad ecteram classem remissis, milites procul a flumine per viam minime ab regis obsessam duxit et nocte, ita ut nemo hostium sentiret, urbe est ingressus. Diem insequentem quievere, dum praefectus inventutem Apolloniatium armaque et urbis vires inspiceret. Ubi ea visa inspectaque satis animorum feecere, simulque ab exploratoribus conperit quanta socordia ac negle-
gentia apud hostes esset, silentio noctis ab urbe sine ullo tumultu egressus castra hostium adeo neglecta atque aperta intravit ut satis constaret prius mille hominum vallum intrasse quam quisquam sentiret, ac, si caede abstinuissent, pervenire ad tabernaculum regium potuisse. Caedes proximorum portae excita-
vit hostes. Inde tantus terror pavorque omnis occupavit ut non modo alius quisquam arma caperet aut castris pellere hostem conaretur, sed etiam ipse rex, sicut somno excitus erat, prope seminudus fugiens militi quoque, nedum regi, vix decoro habitu, ad flumen navisque perfugerit. Eodem et alia turba effusa est. Paulo minus tria milia militum in castris aut capta aut occisa; plus tamen hominum aliquanto captum quam caesum est. Castris direptis Apolloniatae catapultas, ballistas tormentaque alia quae

1 I.e. the Aoûs.
warships to the mouth of the river \(^1\) under the B.C. 214 command of a prefect of the allies, Quintus Naevius Crista, a man of action and an experienced soldier. He landed his men, sent the ships back to the rest of the fleet at Oricum, his starting-point, led his soldiers at a distance from the river along the road least beset by the king's troops and entered the city by night, so that no one of the enemy was aware of it. The following day they rested, that the prefect might inspect the young men of Apollonia and the arms and resources of the city. The result of that inspection gave him sufficient encouragement, and he learned also from scouts what carelessness and indifference there was among the enemy. Thereupon in the silence of the night and without making any noise he went out of the city and entered the enemy's camp, so neglected and open that a thousand men had entered the wall before anyone was aware of it, so it was generally asserted; also, that if they had refrained from slaughter, they could have reached the king's tent. The slaughter of the men nearest to the gate aroused the enemy. Then such alarm and panic took possession of them all that not only did no one else seize his arms and attempt to drive the enemy out of the camp, but even the king himself, fleeing almost half-naked, just as he was when awakened, fled to the river and his ships in a garb scarcely seemly even for a common soldier, much less a king. Thither the rest of the disorderly crowd also poured out. Little fewer than three thousand soldiers were either captured or slain in the camp; a considerably larger number of men were captured than slain. After plundering the camp the Apollonians carried away the catapults, ballistae and other
oppugnandae urbi conparata erant ad tuenda moenia, si quando similis fortuna venisset, Apolloniam devexere; cetera omnis praeda castrorum Romanis concessa est. Haeccum Orcium essent nuntiata, M. Valerius classem extemplo ad ostium fluminis duxit, ne navibus capessere fugam rex posset. Itaque Philippus, neque terrestri neque navali certamina satis fore parem se fidens, subductis navibus atque incensis terra Macedonia petiit magna ex parte inermi exercitu spoliatoque. Romana classis cum M. Valerio Orii hibernavit.

XLI. Eodem anno in Hispania varie res gestae. Nam priusquam Romani annum Hiberum transirent, ingentes copias Hispanorum Mago et Hasdrubal furunt; defeceissetque ab Romanis ulterior Hispania, ni P. Cornelius raptim traducto exercitu Hiberum dubiis sociorum animis in tempore advenisset. Primo ad Castrum Album—locus est insignis caede magni Hamilearis—castra Romani habuere. Arx erat munita et convexerant ante frumentum; tamen, quia omnia circa hostium plena erant, agmenque Romanum inpune incursatum ab equitibus hostium fuerat et ad duo milia aut moratorum aut palantium per agros interfecit, cessere inde Romani propius pacata loca et ad montem Victoriae castra communivere. Eo Cn. Scipio eum omnibus copiis et Hasdrubal Gisgonis filius, tertius Carthaginiensium dux, cum exercitu iusto

1 Probably modern Alicante, on the coast and northeast of Carthago Nova; built by Hamilcar Barca, who fell in battle there 229–8 B.C.

2 Situation unknown.
engines which had been provided for a siege of the B.C. 214 city to Apollonia, in order to defend their walls, if ever a similar situation should arise. All the remaining booty of the camp was left to the Romans. When this news reached Oricum, Marcus Valerius at once led his fleet to the mouth of the river, to prevent the king from escaping by ship. And so Philip, believing he would not be quite equal to a battle either on land or sea, stranded his ships, set fire to them, and started for Macedonia with an army in large part disarmed and despoiled. The Roman fleet wintered at Oricum under the command of Marcus Valerius.

XLI. In the same year operations in Spain were chequered. For Mago and Hasdrubal, before the Romans should cross the Ebro, routed immense forces of Spaniards. And Farther Spain would have revolted from the Romans if Publius Cornelius had not hastily led his army across the Ebro and arrived in the nick of time, while the allies were still wavering. At first the Romans had their camp at Castrum Album,¹ noted as the place where the great Hamilcar fell. The citadel had been fortified and they had previously brought in grain. Yet the country all around was filled with the enemy, and the Roman column had been attacked with impunity by the enemy's cavalry and about two thousand men, either straggling or scattered over the farms, had been slain. The Romans therefore retired from the place to a position nearer peaceful regions and fortified a camp at Victory Mountain.² Thither came Gnaeus Scipio with all his troops, and Hasdrubal the son of Gisgo, making three Carthaginian generals and a complete army; and all three established themselves across

XLII. Ad Mundam exinde castra Punica mota et Romani eo confestim securi sunt. Ibi signis conlatis pugnatum per quattuor ferme horas; egregieque vincentibus Romanis signum receptui est datum, quod Cn. Scipionis femur tragula confixum erat.

1 socii Hertz; socie P: socia P²(1) Walters.
2 hi P Hertz; hec or haec P²(1) Walters.
3 erant PCR²M: erat C²(13).

1 In the upper valley of the Baeitis (Guadalquivir), on the main road from the Pyrenees to Gades.
2 Imilce, if Silius Italicus (III. 97 and 106) is correct.
3 On the left bank of the Baeitis, southwest of Castulo; cf. XXIII. xlix. 5, where the form was Ilturgi.
the river, opposite the Roman camp. Publius B.C. 214 Scipio, who set out secretly to reconnoitre with unencumbered troops, did not escape the notice of the enemy, and they would have overwhelmed him in the open meadows if he had not captured a hill near by. Even there he was beset, but by the arrival of his brother he escaped a siege. Castulo 1 revolted to the Romans, a strong and famous city of Spain, so closely joined to the Carthaginians by alliance that Hannibal's wife 2 was from that place. The Carthaginians attempted to capture Iliturgis, 3 because there was a Roman garrison there, and it seemed that they would take the town mainly by starvation. Gnaeus Scipio, to lend aid to the allies and the garrison, set out with an unencumbered legion, passing between their two camps, and after slaying many of the enemy entered the city, and on the following day engaged them in an equally successful sally. Over twelve thousand men were slain in the two battles, more than a thousand men captured, with thirty-six military standards. So they withdrew from Iliturgis. Then began the siege of Bigerra 4 —these also were allies of the Romans—by the Carthaginians. Gnaeus Scipio on his arrival raised the siege without an engagement.

XLII. Thereupon the Carthaginian camp was removed to Munda, 5 and the Romans promptly followed them thither. There they fought in pitched battle for about four hours, and though the Romans were winning a brilliant victory, the signal for recall was given, because Gnaeus Scipio's thigh had been

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1 Site unknown.
2 Near Corduba. This is the first mention of Caesar's Munda; probably Montilla.
pavorque circa eum eeperat milites, ne mortiferum
3 esset vulner. Ceterum haud dubium fuit quin,
nisi ea mora intervenisset, eastra eo die Punicae capi
potuerint. Iam non milites solum sed elephanti
etiam usque ad vallum acti erant, superque ipsas
fossas novem et triginta elephanti pilis confixi.
4 Hoc quoque proelio ad duodecim milia hominum
dicuntur caesa, prope tria capta eum signis militari-
bus septem et quinquaginta. Ad Auringem inde
urbem Poeni recessere et, ut territis instaret, secutus
Romanus. Ibi iterum Scipio lecticula in aciem in-
latus conflixit, nec dubia victoria fuit; minus tamen
dimidio hostiam quam antea, quia pauciores super-
6 fuerant qui pugnarent, occisum. Sed gens nata
instaurandis reparandisque bellis, Magone ad con-
quisionem militum a fratre misso, brevi replevit
exercitum animosque ad temptandum de integró
certamen fecit; Galli plerique milites, iique pro
parte totiens intra paucos dies victa, iisdem
animis quibus priores eodemque eventu pugnavere.
8 Plus octo milia hominum caesa, et haud multo minus
quam mille captum et signa militaria quinquaginta
octo. Et spolia plurima Gallica fuere, aurei torques
armillaeque, magnus numerus. Duo etiam insignés
reguli Gallorum—Moeniacépto et Vismaro nomina

1 iam \( P(1) \): nam Madvig.
2 ipsas fossas Riemann: ipsas \( P(2) \): ipsos \( Ax \): ipsum \( x \):
fossas Madvig.
3 Galli \( A \) l’alla : alii \( P(1) \) Madvig.
4 iique \( A \) l’alla : sique \( P(1) \) : quippe Madvig.
5 priores l’alla : pr. orta \( P(11) \)A² : prius \( x \).
6 et haud \( P(2) \) Conway : et non A : haud z Madvig.
pierced by a light javelin, and fear that the wound b.c. 214 might prove fatal had seized the soldiers around him. But there was no doubt that, if this delay had not occurred, the Carthaginian camp could have been captured that day. Already not only soldiers but the elephants also had been driven even up to the wall, and just as they crossed the trenches thirty-nine elephants were struck down by heavy javelins. In this battle also about twelve thousand men are said to have been slain, about three thousand captured, with fifty-seven military standards. The Carthaginians then retired to the city of Aurinx,¹ and the Roman followed, to threaten them while terrified. There Seipio again engaged, being carried into battle-line in a litter, and the victory was not to be questioned. Less than half as many of the enemy as before, however, were slain, because fewer men had survived to fight. But, as Mago was sent by his brother to recruit soldiers, a race adapted by nature to renew wars and to make fresh preparations for them soon refilled the army and gave them the spirit to essay another conflict. The soldiers were mostly Gauls,² and they fought with the same spirit as their predecessors for the side which had been beaten so many times within a few days, and with the same result. More than eight thousand men were slain, and not much less than a thousand captured, also fifty-eight military standards. And the spoils were largely Gallic, golden collars and armbands—a great number of them. Also two conspicuous princes of the Gauls—Moeniacoepetus and Vismarus were their names

¹ Perhaps the same as Orongis, XXVIII. iii. 2.
² From Celtic tribes already established in Spain, even in the southwest.
erant—co proelio ecciderunt. Octo elephanti capti, tres occisi.

9 Cum tam prosperae res in Hispania essent, vere-
cundia Romanos tandem ceput, Saguntum oppi-
dum, quae causa belli esset, octavum iam annum sub
10 hostium potestate esse. Itaque id oppidum vi pulso
praesidio Punico reecperunt cultoribusque antiquis,
11 quos ex iis vis reliquerat belli, restituerunt: et Tur-
detanos, qui contraxerant eis eum Carthagimiensibus
bellum, in potestatem redactos sub corona vendiderunt
urbemque eorum delerunt.

XLIII. Haec in Hispania Q. Fabio M. Claudio
2 consulis gesta. Romae cum tribuni plebis novi magi-
stratum inissent, extemplo censoribus P. Furio et M.
Atilio a M. Metello tribuno plebis dies dicta ad popu-
3 lum est—quaestorem eum proximo anno adempto
equo tribu moverant atque aerarium fecerant propter
coniurationem deserendae Italiae ad Cannas factam
—sed novem tribunorum auxilio vetiti causam in
4 magistratu dicere dimissique fuerunt.\textsuperscript{1} Ne lustrum
perficierunt, mors prohibuit P. Furi; M. Atilius
magistratu se abdicavit.
5 Comitia consularia habita ab Q. Fabio Maximo
consule. Creati consules ambo absentes Q. Fabius
Maximus, consulis filius, et Ti. Sempronius Gracchus

\textsuperscript{1} fuerunt \textit{C\'revier} : fuerant \textit{P(1)} : \textit{om. Ussing, Walters}.

\textsuperscript{1} Livy's own chronology would make it four complete years; \textit{XXI. vii. ff. ; xv. 5; XXIV. ix. 7.}
\textsuperscript{2} Cf. \textit{XXI. vi. 1. Better known is the tribe of the same
name in southern Baetica.}
\textsuperscript{3} Cf. \textit{xviii. 3 and 6; XXVII. xi. 12. The scene was Canu-
sium, after Cannae.}
—fell in that battle. Eight elephants were captured, b.c. 214.

three slain.

The situation in Spain being so favourable, the Romans came at last to be ashamed that the town of Saguntum, which was the cause of the war, had been by that time seven years in the power of the enemy. Accordingly the Carthaginian garrison was driven out by force, and recovering the town the Romans restored it to its former inhabitants—such of them as the violence of war had spared. And as for the Turdetani, who had brought on the war between Saguntum and the Carthaginians, they reduced them to subjection, sold them under the garland and destroyed their city.

XLIII. Such were the events in Spain in the consulship of Quintus Fabius and Marcus Claudius. At Rome, immediately after the newly elected tribunes of the plebs had entered upon office, a day was set by Marcus Metellus, a tribune of the plebs, for the censors Publius Furius and Marcus Atilius to appear at the bar of the people. In his quaestorship the year before they had taken away his horse, removed him from his tribe and made him an aerarian on account of the conspiracy formed at Cannae to desert Italy. But by the aid of nine tribunes they were forbidden to plead their cause while in office and were released. From completing the ceremony of purification they were prevented by the death of Publius Furius. Marcus Atilius abdicated his office.

For the consulship the election was conducted by Quintus Fabius Maximus, the consul. Elected consuls, both in absence, were Quintus Fabius Maximus, the consul's son, and Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, the latter for the second time. Two men
iterum. Praetores fiunt duo qui tum aediles curules erant, P. Sempronius Tuditanus et Cn. Fulvius Centumalus, et cum illis\textsuperscript{1} M. Atilius et \textsuperscript{2} M. Aemilius Lepidus. Ludos scenicos per quadriduum eo anno primum factos ab eurulibus aedilibus memoriae proditur. Aedilis Tuditanus hic erat\textsuperscript{3} qui ad Cannas praeessent consulerunt; (XLIV) itaque provinciae atque exercitus divisi: bellum cum Hannibale consulibus mandatum et exercituum unus quem ipse Sempronius habuerat, alter quem Fabius consul; eae binae erant legiones. M. Aemilius praetor, cuius peregrina sors erat, iuris dictione M. Atilio collegae, praetori urbano, mandata, Luceriam provinciam haberet legionesque duas quibus Q. Fabius, qui tum consul erat, praetor praefuerat. P. Sempronio provincia Ariminum, Cn. Fulvio Suessula cum binis item legionibus evenerunt, ut Fulvius urbanas legiones duceret, Tuditanus a M. Pomponio acciperet. Prorogata imperia provinciaeque, M. Claudio Sicilia

\textsuperscript{1} cum illis Walters: cum iis M. Müller: om. \textit{P}(1).
\textsuperscript{2} M. Atilius et Madvig: om. \textit{P}(1).
\textsuperscript{3} erat C\textsuperscript{2}.M\textsuperscript{2}.A\textsuperscript{2}: erit \textit{P}(1) Walters.
\textsuperscript{4} duxit. His Madvig\textsuperscript{1} (his Weissenborn): auxiliis \textit{P}(1).

\textsuperscript{1} Cf. XXII. 1. 6 ff.
\textsuperscript{2} Gallia was the more recent name of this "province," \textit{ager Gallicus} in x. 3.
\textsuperscript{3} With the important Roman camp near it, the \textit{castra Claudiana}; xvii. 2; xlvii. 12; XXIII. xxxi. 3.
who were at the time curule aediles, Publius Sempronius Tuditanus and Gnaeus Fulvius Centumalus, were made praetors, and with them M. Atilius and Marcus Aemilius Lepidus. Tradition has it that at the festival given that year by the curule aediles four days had dramatic performances for the first time. The aedile Tuditanus was the man who at Cannae, when others were paralyzed by fear in such a disaster, led his men through the midst of the enemy.¹

These elections being completed, the consuls designate were summoned to Rome, as proposed by Quintus Fabius, the consul, entered upon office and consulted the senate in regard to the war and the provinces, their own and those of the praetors, and as to the armies which they should respectively command; (XLIV) and the provinces and armies were divided as follows: the war with Hannibal was assigned to the consuls, and two armies, one which Sempronius himself, and the other which Fabius had commanded as consul. These were of two legions each. Marcus Aemilius, the praetor to whom fell jurisdiction in cases involving foreigners, was to assign his judicial function to his colleague Marcus Atilius, the city praetor, and have Luceria as his province, and two legions which Quintus Fabius, who was now consul, had commanded as praetor. To Publius Sempronius Ariminum fell as his assignment,² to Gnaeus Fulvius, Suessula,³ likewise with two legions in each case, so assigned that Fulvius should take with him the legions at the city, and Tuditanus take over from Marcus Pomponius his legions. Commands and assignments were continued as follows: for Marcus Claudius Sicily, with the

315
Livy

A.u.c. 511

finibus cis quibus regnum Hieronis fuisset, P. Lentulo propraetori provincia vetus, T. Otacilio classis—
exercitus nulli additi novi—, M. Valerio Graecia Macedoniamque cum legione et classe quam haberet,
Q. Mucio cum vetere exercitu—duae autem legiones erant—Sardinia, C. Terentio legio una cui iam
praeerat ae 2 Picenum. Scribi praeterea duae urbanac legiones iussae et viginti milia sociorum. His
ducibus, his copiis adversus multa simul aut mota aut suspecta bella muniverunt Romanum imperium.

1 Consules duabus urbanis legionibus scriptis supplementoque in alias lecto, priusquam ab urbe moverent,

2 prodigia procurarunt quae nuntiata erant. Murus ae portae . . . ; et Ariciam ctiam Iovis aedes de caelo
tacta fuerat. Et alia ludibria oculorum auriumque
credita pro veris: navium longarum species in flumine
Tarracinae quae nullae erant visas, ct in Iovis Vicelli
ini templo, quod in Compsano agro est, arma con-
crepuisse, et flumen Amiterni eruentum fluxisse.

His procuratis ex decreto pontificum profecti consules,

Sempronius in Lucanos, in Apuliam Fabius. Pater

filio legatus ad Suessulam in castra venit. Cum

obviam filius progredetur lictoresque vereundia
maiestatis eius taciti antirent, praeter undecim faseses
equo praevectus senex, ut consul animadvertere
proximo lictorem iussit et is ut descenderet ex

1 legio una P(1): cum legione una Aldus.

2 ae Weissenborn: et x Gronovius: om. P(1).

3 portae (or -te) P(1), followed by tactae (or -te), into which a
town name has been corrupted: porta Caietae Luterbacher,
Walters.

1 Cf. XXIII. i. 1. In that southern part of Samnium
Jupiter had the rare epithet Vicellinus.
boundaries which Hiero's kingdom had had; for B.C. 213 Publius Lentulus, as propraetor, the old province; for Titus Otacilius the fleet; and for them new armies were not added. So also for Marcus Valerius Greece and Macedonia, with the legion and the fleet which he had; for Quintus Mucius Sardinia, with its old army—there were two legions; for Gaius Terentius one legion which he already commanded, and Picenum. It was further ordered that two city legions should be enrolled, also twenty thousand allies. With these generals, these forces, they defended the Roman empire at the same time against many wars, either already begun or foreshadowed.

The consuls, after enrolling two legions for the city and enlisting recruits to reinforce the others, before setting out from the city made expiation for the prodigies which had been reported. The wall and gates at ... and at Aricia even the temple of Jupiter had been struck by lightning. And for eyes and ears there were other illusions, accepted as real: that in the river at Tarracina forms of warships which had no existence had been seen; and that in the temple of Jupiter Vicilinus, in the territory of Compsa, there was a sound of clashing arms; and that the river at Amiternum ran with blood. These portents being expiated according to a decree of the pontiffs, the consuls set out, Sempronius for Lucania, Fabius for Apulia. The father came as his son's lieutenant to the camp at Suessula. While the son was advancing to meet him and the lietors out of respect for the father's dignity were silent as they preceded the consul, the old man rode past eleven fasces. And not until the consul had ordered the last lietor to take notice and the latter had called

317
equo inclamavit, tum demum desiliens "Experiri" inquit "volui, fili, sati' scires consulem te esse."

XLV. In ea castra Dasius Altinius Arpinus elam nocte cum tribus servis venit promittens, si sibi prae-
2 mio foret, se Arpos proditurum esse. Eam rem ad
consilium cum ret tulisset Fabius, aliis pro transfuga
verberandus necandusque videri ancipitis animi com-
munis hostis, qui post Cannensem cladem, tamquam
cum fortuna fidem stare oporteret, ad Hannibalem de-
3 scisset traxissetque ad defectionem Arpos; tum, quon-
iam 1 res Romana contra spem votaque eius velut
resurgere ab stirpibus videatur, novam referre pro-
ditionem proditis polliceatur, aliunde stet 2 semper,
aliunde sentiat, infidus socius, vanus hostis; id 3 ad
Fal er ior um Pyrrhique pro ditorem tertium transfugis
documentum esset. Contra ea consul is pater Fabius
temporum oblitos homines in medio ardore belli,
tamquam in pace, libera de quoque arbitria agere
5 aiebat, ut, 4 cum illud potius agendum atque cogitan-
dum sit, si quo modo fieri possit, ne qui socii a populo
Romano desciscant, id non cogitent, 5 documentum
autem dicant 6 statui oportere, si quis resipiscat et

1 quoniam C4x : quia M2,A2 : quam P(11).
2 aliunde stet Gronovius : aliunde ipse stet Conway:
aliudicio estet P(10)C?.
3 id Madvig : om. P(1).
4 ut Weissenborn : et P(1) : qui Gronovius.
5 id non cogitent Gronovius : et non vocitent P(1):
et ut novos concilient Madvig.
6 dicant Valla : dicatur P(1).

1 A famous story. Gellius (II. ii. 13) gives the brief version
of Claudius Quadrigarius.

318
out the order to dismount, did the father leap to the ground and say: "I wished to find out, son, whether you were quite aware that you are consul."  

XLV. To that camp came Dasius Altinius of Arpi secretly by night with three slaves, promising that if rewarded he would betray Arpi. When Fabius brought the matter before the council, the others thought that as a deserter he should be scourged and put to death, a waverer and an enemy to both sides, who after the disaster at Cannae, as if loyalty should side with success, had gone over to Hannibal and dragged Arpi into revolt, and then, because, contrary to his expectation and his wishes, the Roman state seemed to be springing up again, as it were from the roots, he was promising to present the betrayed with a new betrayal, and always taking part with one side, but with the other in heart, faithless as an ally, inconstant as an enemy. To the betrayers of Falerii and of Pyrrhus he should be added as a third example to deserters. On the contrary the consul's father Fabius said that men were forgetting the situation, when they exercised free judgment in each individual case in the midst of the heat of war, as though in peace, with the result that, although the thing to be done and to be borne in mind was rather to prevent any allies—if this was somehow possible—from abandoning the Roman people, they were not bearing that in mind and, further, they were saying that, if a man came to his senses and turned his eyes to the previous alliance, he ought to be made a warn-

2 In northern Apulia, east of Luceria and not far from the Adriatic; cf. iii. 16; xii. 3, 5; XXIII. xlvi. 8.
3 Cf. V. xxvii. 2 ff.
4 This story was told in the lost XIIIth book (cf. Epit.).
LIVY

A.U.C. 511

6 antiquam societatem respiciat. Quod si abire ab Romanis licet, redire ad eos non licet, cui dubium esse quin brevi desperata\(^1\) ab sociis Romana res foederibus Punicis omnia in Italia iuneta visura sit?\(^2\) Se tamen non eum esse qui Altinio fidei quicquam censeat habendum, sed medium secuturum consilii viam. Neque enim\(^3\) pro hoste neque pro socio in praesentia habitum libera custodia haud procul a castris placere in aliqua fida civitate eum\(^4\) servari per belli tempus; perpetrato bello tum consultandum utrum prior defectio plus merita sit poenae, an hic reditus veniae. Fabio adsensum est, Calenisque legatis traditus et ipse et comites; et auris satis magnum pondus, quod secum tum attulerat, ci servari iussum. Calibus eum interidu solutum custodes sequebantur, noete clausum ad-servabant. Arpis domi primum desiderari quarerique est coeptus; dein fama per totem urbem volgata tumultum, ut princepe amisso, fecit, metuque rerum novarum extemplo nuntii missi. Quibus nequaquam offensus Poenus, quia et ipsum ut ambiguae fidei virum suspectum iam pridem habebat et causam nactus erat tam ditis hominis bona possidendi vendendique; ceterum, ut irae magis quam avaritiae datum crederent homines, crudelitatem quoque aviditati\(^5\) addidit, coningemque eis ac liberos in castra aceitos, quaestione prius habita

\(^1\) desperata Madvig: desiderata P(1): deserta z.
\(^2\) res . . . visura sit P(1): re . . . visuri sint Madvig.
\(^3\) enim Weissenborn: eum P(1) Madvig.
\(^5\) aviditati Stroth: gravitatem P(1).

1 I.e. to Hannibal.

320
ing example. If then it was permissible to leave the Romans, but not to return to them, who could doubt that soon the Roman state, despaired of by the allies, would see the whole of Italy joined together by Carthaginian treaties? For himself, however, he was not the man to think that any trust should be placed in Altinius, but would follow a middle course. He thought it best, namely, that Altinius should not be treated as either enemy or ally for the present, that under qualified arrest he should be guarded for the duration of the war in some loyal city-state not far from the camp. When the war was over they should then deliberate whether his previous defection deserved punishment more than his present return merited pardon. They agreed with Fabius, and the man was turned over to representatives of Cales, himself and his companions. And it was ordered that the gold—and the weight of it was considerable—which he had then brought with him should be kept for him. At Cales he was free to go about by day followed by guards, at night confined and watched by them. At Arpi it was in his house that he was first missed and search for him began. Then the report spreading through the city caused the usual commotion when a leading man is missing, and for fear of a rebellion they at once sent messengers. The Carthaginian was by no means displeased at this news, since he had long regarded the man himself with suspicion, as unsettled in his loyalty, and also he now had an excuse for taking possession of the property of a man of such wealth and selling it. But that men might believe he was yielding to anger rather than greed, he added cruelty also to avarice, that is, he summoned the wife and children to the camp, and,
primum de fuga Altini, dein quantum auri argentique domi relictum esset, satis cognitis omnibus vivos combussit.

XLVI. Fabius ab Suessula profectus Arpos primum institit oppugnare. Ubi cum a quingentis fere passibus castra posuisset, contemplatus ex propinquo situm urbis moeniaque, quae pars tutissima moenibus erat, quia maxime neglectam custodia vidit, ea potissimum adgredi statuit. Comparatis omnibus quae ad urbes oppugnandas usui sunt centurionum robora ex toto exercitu delegit tribunosque eis praefecit, et milites seseantos, quantum satis visum est, attribuit eosque, ubi quartae vigiliae signum eceisset, ad eum locum scalas iussit ferre. Porta ibi humilis et angusta erat infrequenti via per desertam partem urbis. Eam portam scalis prius transgressos murum aperire ex interiore parte aut claustra refringere iubet et tenentes partem urbis cornu signum dare ut eeterae copiae admoveantur: parata omnia atque instructa sese habiturum. Ea inpigre facta, et quod impedimentum agentibus fore videbatur, id maxime ad fallendum adivit. Imber ab nocte media coortus custodes vigilesque dilapsos e stationibus subfugere in tecta coegit, sonitusque primo largioris procellae strepitum molientium portam exaudiri prohibuit, lentior deinde aequaliorque accidens auribus magnam

1 a quingentis Gronovius: ad (= a d) P(4).
2 murum aperire Crévéri: aperire Madvig: amurumperire P (-pergere P^2(4)): ad murum pergere C^2BD.A.

322
after investigating first the flight of Altinius, then B.C. 213 how much gold and silver had been left in his house, now fully informed, he burned them alive.

XLVI. Fabius setting out from Suessula first pressed the siege of Arpi. There he pitched his camp at a distance of about five hundred paces, and after observing the situation of the city and the walls at close range, he decided to attack just at that part of the city which was best defended by walls, because he saw that that was the most carelessly guarded. He assembled everything useful for siege operations, selected from the entire army the pick of the centurions, and placed tribunes who were brave men in command of them. And he assigned them six hundred soldiers—all that seemed necessary—and ordered them to carry ladders to that place, when the trumpet should sound for the fourth watch. There was a low, narrow gate there, as the street, leading through a deserted part of the city, was not much frequented. He ordered them first to climb over the wall by means of their ladders, and then to open that gate from the inside, or else break down the bars, and then, holding a part of the city, to give the signal on a trumpet for the rest of the troops to move up. He would have everything ready and in order. These commands were carried out with spirit, and a circumstance which seemed likely to hamper action proved of the greatest help to secrecy. Heavy rain beginning at midnight forced the guards and sentries to slip away from their posts and run to cover. And the sound, at first of a heavier shower, prevented the noise they made in forcing the gate from being heard clearly, and then, gentler and more monotonous as they listened, it lulled a great many
6 partem hominum sopivit. Postquam portam tenebant, cornicines, in via paribus intervallis dispositos, canere iubent, ut consulem excirent. Id ubi factum ex composito est, signa efferri consul iubet ac paulo ante lucem per effractam portam urbem ingreditur.

XLVII. Tum demum hostes excitati sunt iam et
2 imbre conquiescente et propinqua luce. Praesidium in urbe erat Hannibalis, quinque milia ferme armatorum, et ipsi Arpini tria milia hominum armarant. Eos primos Poeni, ne quid ab tergo fraudis esset, hosti opposuerunt. Pugnatum primo in tenebris angustisque viis est. Cum Romani non vias tantum sed tecta etiam proxima portam occupassent, ne peti superne ac volnerari possent, cogniti inter se quidam Arpinique et Romani atque inde eonloquia coepta fieri, percunctantibus Romanis quid sibi vellent
3 Arpini, quam ob noxam Romanorum aut quod meritum Poenorum pro alienigenis ac barbaris Italiei adversus veteres socios Romanos bellum gererent et vectigalem ac stipendiariam Italiam Africae facerent,
4 Arpinis purgantibus ignaros omnium se venum a principibus datos Poeno, captos oppressosque a paucis esse. Initio orto plures cum pluribus conloqui; postremo praetor Arpinus ab suis ad consulem deduc-tus, fideque data inter signa aciesque Arpini repente

1 portam Drakenborsch: portae C²M³A²: porta P(2)A².
of the men to sleep. Once in possession of the gate, they ordered the trumpeters, posted at equal intervals along the road, to sound, in order to summon the consul. This done according to agreement, the consul orders the standards to be carried out of the camp, and a little before daylight enters the city through the gate they had forced.

XLVII. Not until then were the enemy aroused, as the noise of the rain was now lessening and daylight approaching. In the city there was a garrison of Hannibal's, about five thousand armed men, and the citizens of Arpi also had armed three thousand men. These were the first troops with which the Carthaginians, to prevent any treachery in the rear, confronted the enemy. They fought at first in darkness and in narrow streets. The Romans gained possession not only of the streets but also of the houses nearest to the gate, that they might not be attacked and wounded from above. Thereupon some Arpini and Romans recognized each other and then began conversations. The Romans asked what the Arpini meant, for what offence on the part of the Romans, or for what service on the part of the Carthaginians they, although Italians, were waging war for foreigners and barbarians against their old allies the Romans, and making Italy a tributary and a tax-payer to Africa. The Arpini pleaded as excuse that in complete ignorance they had been sold by their leading citizens to the Carthaginian and captured and overpowered by a few men. With that beginning larger groups conversed with larger. Finally the magistrate of Arpi was escorted by fellow-citizens to the consul, and after promises had been given in the midst of standards and battle-lines, the

12 Cum consul alter in Apulia, alter in Lucanis esset, equites centum duodecim nobiles Campani per speciem praedandi ex hostium agro permisso magistratum ab Capua profecti ad castra Romana, quae super Suessulam erant, venerunt; stationi militum qui essent dixerunt: conloqui sese cum praetore velle.

13 Cn. Fulvius castris praerat; cui ubi nuntiatum est, decem ex eo numero iussis inermibus deduci ad se, ubi quae postularent audivit—nihil autem aliud petebant quam ut Capua recepta bona sibi restituerent—, in fidem omnes accepti. Et ab altero praetore Sempronio Tuditano oppidum Atrinum expugnatum. Amplius septem milia hominum capta et aeris argentique signati aliquantum. Romae foedum incendium per duas noctes ac diem unum tenit. Solo acquata omnia inter Salinas ac portam Carmen-

1 septem milia \( P(4) in \text{numerals} (\text{lxx x x}) : \text{lxx } A. \)

1 \textit{i.e.} Gracchus; xliv. 9.
2 Situation unknown.
Arpini suddenly fought for the Romans, turning their weapons against the Carthaginians. The Spanish troops also, hardly fewer than a thousand men, after making no other terms with the consul than that the Punic garrison be allowed to go without injury, brought their standards over to the consul. The gates were opened for the Carthaginians, they were allowed to leave, as promised, and came unharmed to Hannibal at Salapia. Arpi, with the loss of no man but a single veteran traitor and recent deserter, was restored to the Romans. To the Spaniards double rations were ordered to be issued, and the state repeatedly availed itself of their brave and faithful service.

While one consul was in Apulia, the other in Lucania, a hundred and twelve noble Campanian horsemen, setting out from Capua, with permission of the magistrates, under pretext of plundering the enemy's country, came to the Roman camp above Suessula. They told the guards outside who they were; that they wished to speak with the praetor. Gnaeus Fulvius was in command of the camp, and on being informed, he ordered that ten of their number be disarmed and brought to him. After he had heard their demands—and they made no other request than that upon the recovery of Capua their property should be restored to them, they were all taken under his protection. And the other praetor, Sempronius Tuditanus, took the town of Atrinum by storm. More than seven thousand men were captured and a considerable amount of coined copper and silver. At Rome a terrible fire lasted two nights and a day. Everything between the Salinae and Porta Carmentalis was levelled to the ground,
talem cum Aequimaelio lugarioque vico et templis Fortunae ac matris Matutae. Et extra portam late vagatus ignis sacra profanaque multa absumpsit.

XLVIII. Eodem anno P. et Cn. Cornelii, cum in Hispania res prosperae essent multosque et veteres recipierent socios et novos adicerent, in Africam quaque spem extenderunt. Syphax erat rex Numidarum subito Carthaginiensibus hostis factus; ad eum centuriones tres legatos miserunt qui cum eo amicitiam societatemque facerent et pollicerentur, si perseveraret urgnere bello Carthaginensi, gratam eam rem fore senatui populoque Romano et adnısıuros ut in tempore et bene cumulatam gratiam referant.

Grata ea legatio barbaro fuit; conlocutusque cum legatis de ratione belli gerundi, ut veterum militum verba audivit, quam multarum rerum ipse ignarus esset, ex comparatione tam ordinatae disciplinae animum advertit. Tum id primum ut pro bonis ac fidelibus sociis facerent oravit, ut duo legationem referrent ad imperatores suos, unus apud sese magister rei militaris remaneret; rudem ad pedestria bella Numidarum gentem esse, equis tantum habilem; ita iam inde a principiis gentis maiores suos bella

1 The devastated area was that along the river from the Aventine to the Capitoline, including part of the southeast slope (Aequimaelium) of the latter, and the street (Vicus Lugarius) leading to the Forum. The temples mentioned were near the Tiber and close together; cf. XXXIII. xxvii. 4.
including the Aequimaelium and Vicus Iugarius, \(^1\) B.C. 213
also the Temples of Fortune and Mater Matuta.
Outside the gate also the fire spread to a distance
and destroyed many buildings sacred \(^2\) and profane.

XLVIII. The same year Publius and Gnaeus
Cornelius, in consequence of their success in Spain
and their recovery of many old allies and the addition
of new allies, enlarged their hopes in the direction of
Africa as well. There was Syphax, king of the
Numidians, \(^3\) who had suddenly become an enemy of
the Carthaginians. To him they sent three cen-
turions as legates, to establish friendship and alliance
with him, and to promise that if he should continue
to embarrass the Carthaginians by war, it would be
acceptable to the senate and the Roman people, and
they would endeavour to return the favour at the
right moment and with generous interest. This
embassy pleased the barbarian, and he conferred with
the ambassadors on the conduct of the war; and
hearing what was said by experienced soldiers, he
noted, from comparison with so well-ordered a
system, how many things he did not know himself.
Then, as the first act befitting good and faithful
allies, he begged that two of the legates might
report to their generals, and one remain with him as
instructor in tactics. He said the Numidian nation
was inexpert in infantry warfare, of service only as
horsemen. This was the way their ancestors from
their earliest history had waged war, thus they had

\(^2\) Among these was the Temple of Spes, one of three in the
Forum Holitorium, outside the wall; XXI. lxii. 4; XXV.
vii. 6.

\(^3\) I.e. of the western Numidians, the Masaesulians, in Algeria
and Oran; XXVIII. xvii. 5.
gessisse, ita se a pueros insuetos. Sed habere hostem pedestri fidentem Marte, cui si acquiri robore virium velit, et sibi pedites comparandos esse. Et ad id multitudine hominum regnum abundare, sed ar-mandi ornandique et instruendi eos artem ignorare. Omnia, velut forte congregata turba, vasta 1 ae-temeraria esse. Facturos se in praesentia quod vellet legati respondent, fide accepta ut remitteret extem-plo eum, si imperatores sui non comprobassent 9 factum. Q. Statorio nomen fuit, qui ad regem remansit. Cum duobus Romanis rex tres a 2 Numidis 3 legatos in Hispaniam misit ad accipiendam fidem ab imperatoribus Romanis. Isdem mandavit ut protinus Numidas qui intra praesidia Carthaginiensium auxili-ares essent 4 ad transitionem perlicerent. Et Sta-torius ex multa inuentate regi pedites conscripsit ordinatosque proxime morem Romanum instruendo et decurrendo signa sequi et servare ordines docuit, 12 et operi aliisque iustis militaribus ita adsuefecit ut brevi rex non equiti magis fideret quam pediti con-latisque acquo campo signis iusto proelio Carthagi-niensem hostem superaret. Romanis quoque in Hispania legatorum regis adventus magno emolu-menuto fuit; namque ad fanam eorum transitiones erebrae ab Numidis coeptae fieri.

Ita cum Syphace Romanis coepta amicitia est. Quod ubi Carthaginienses acceperunt, extemplo

1 vasta Rubens: suasa PR: suaisca P^2(12).
4 essent z: criant A^2x: om. P(1).
themselves been trained from boyhood. But he had an enemy who relied upon infantry battles, and if he wished to be a match for him in military strength he too must acquire infantry. And for that purpose his kingdom was supplied with men in great numbers, but they did not understand the art of arming and equipping them and placing them in battle-line. Everything was formless and unmethodical, as if a mob had been gathered by chance. The legates replied that for the present they would do as he desired, after receiving his pledge to send back the man at once, if their generals should not approve of their action. Quintus Statorius was the name of the one who remained with the king. With the two Romans the king sent three legates from the Numidians to Spain, to receive confirmation from the Roman generals. He further instructed them at once to persuade Numidians who were auxiliaries in the forces of the Carthaginians to desert them. And Statorius out of the mass of young men enrolled infantry for the king, organized them almost in the Roman manner, taught them in formation and evolution to follow standards and keep their ranks, and to such an extent accustomed them to fortifying and other regular duties of the soldier that in a short time the king had as much confidence in his infantry as in his cavalry, and in a regular engagement in formal array on level ground he defeated the Carthaginian enemy. The Romans also in Spain profited greatly by the coming of the king’s representatives. For upon the news of their arrival desertions by the Numidians began to be frequent.

Thus began the friendship of the Romans with Syphax. When the Carthaginians learned of the

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1 coniunctus Madvig: -iiis P: -i P²: -is (1).

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1 The eastern part, adjoining Carthaginian territory. Cirta (Constantine) was Syphax’s capital, until it fell to Masinissa in 203 B.C.; XXX. xii.
matter they at once sent legates to Gala, who reigned B.C. 213 in the other part of Numidia, his people being called the Maesulians. XLIX. Gala had a son Masinissa, seventeen years old, but a young man of such promise that even then it was evident that he would make the kingdom larger and richer than what he had received. The legates stated that, inasmuch as Syphax had attached himself to the Romans, in order, through alliance with them, to be more powerful against the kings and peoples of Africa, it would be well for Gala too to attach himself as soon as possible to the Carthaginians, before Syphax should cross into Spain or the Romans into Africa. Syphax could be surprised, they said, while he had as yet no advantage from his treaty with the Romans except the name. They easily persuaded Gala to send an army, as his son was begging for the command; and reinforced by the Carthaginian legions, Masinissa defeated Syphax in a great battle. Thirty thousand men are said to have been slain in that battle. Syphax with a few horsemen fled from the field to the Maurusian Numidians, who live far away, near the Ocean opposite Gades. And as the barbarians on hearing of him flocked together from all sides, he soon armed immense forces with which to cross into Spain, separated only by a narrow strait. But Masinissa came with his victorious army, and there by himself, without any help from the Carthaginians, he carried on war against Syphax with great distinction.

2 Who fought against the Romans in Spain down to the time of Gala's death in 206 B.C., and then became an ally of Rome, and a friend of Scipio. At present he must have been nearer twenty-seven, since he died in 149 B.C. at 92 (Epit. 48 fin.; cf. 50).
7 In Hispania nihil memorabile gestum praeterquam quod Celtiberum iuventutem cadem mercede qua pacta cum Carthaginiensibus erat imperatores Romani ad se perduxerunt, et nobilissimos Hispanos supra trecentos in Italiam ad sollicitandos populares qui inter auxilia Hannibalis erant miserunt. Id modo eius anni in Hispania ad memoriam insigne est, quod mercenarium militem in castris neminem ante quam tum Celtiberos Romani habuerunt.

1 Id modo . . . habuerunt P(1): spurious Geyer.
2 eius (or eris) anni in Hispania P(1): spurious Conway.
In Spain nothing notable occurred except that the Roman commanders attracted to their side the young men of the Celtiberians at the same pay at which these had made an agreement with the Carthaginians, and more than three hundred Spaniards of the highest rank were sent to Italy to win over their fellow-countrymen who were among Hannibal's auxiliaries. This is the only occurrence of that year in Spain that is worthy of record, since the Romans had no mercenary soldiers in their camps previous to the Celtiberians whom they had at that time.

1 The following lines (to the end) appear to be a later addition. Zangemeister, Wolflin.
SUMMARY OF BOOK XXIV

Hieronymus, king of the Syraeans, whose father Hiero had been a friend of the Roman people, revolted to the Carthaginians and on account of his cruelty and haughtiness was slain by his own men. Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus as proconsul fought with success against the Carthaginians and Hanno their general near Beneventum, chiefly by the help of the slaves, whom he ordered to be free men. Claudius Marcellus, the consul, in Sicily, which had almost entirely revolted to the Carthaginians, besieged Syracuse. War was declared against Philip, king of the Macedonians, and he, surprised at Apollonia in a battle at night and put to flight, fled with an army almost disarmed into Macedonia. Marcus Valerius, a praetor, was sent to conduct that war. Furthermore the book contains what was accomplished against the Carthaginians in Spain by Publius and Gnaeus Scipio, by whom Syphax, king of Numidia, was won over to friendship. Syphax, defeated by Masinissa, king of the Massylans, who was fighting for the Carthaginians, crossed over with a large force to Scipio in Spain, from a point opposite Gades, where Africa and Spain are parted by a narrow strait. The Celtiberians also were admitted to friendship, and by their enrollment as auxiliaries Roman camps then for the first time had mercenary soldiers.

1 An error for grandfather.
2 I.e. the Maesulians.
3 The statement that Syphax actually crossed over to Spain conflicts with the text (xlix. 6).
Hiero II—Philistis
† 215

Gelo—Nereis
† before his father

Adranodorus—Damarata

Zoippus—Heraclea

Harmonia—Themistus

Hieronymus
† 214
daughter daughter

1 A grand-daughter, rather than daughter, of Pyrrhus.
LIBER XXV

I. Dum haece in Africa atque in Hispania geruntur, Hannibal in agro Sallentino aestatem consumpsit spe per prodigionem urbis Tarentinorum potiundae. Ipsorum interim Sallentinorum ignobiles urbes ad 2 cum defecerunt. Eodem tempore in Bruttiiis ex duodecim populis qui anno priore ad Poenos descive- rant Consentini et Tauriani in fidem populi Romani 3 redierunt; et plures redissent, ni T. Pomponius Veientanus, praefectus socium, prosperis aliquot populationibus in agro Bruttio iusti ducis speciem nactus tumultuario exercitu coacto cum Hannone 4 confluxisset. Magna ibi vis hominum, sed inconditae turbae agrestium servorumque, caesa aut capta est. Minimum iacturae fuit quod praefectus inter ceteros est captus, et tum temerariae pugnae auctor et ante publicanus omnibus malis artibus et rei publicae et 5 societatibus infidus damnosusque. Sempronius consul in Lucanis multa proelia parva, haud ullum dignum memoratu fecit et ignobilia oppida Lucanorum aliquot expugnavit.

1 Hannibal is now in the southern part of Calabria, three days' march from Tarentum; cf. viii. 12. He had previously been near Arpi, in Apulia; XXIV. xlv. 11 ff.
BOOK XXV

I. While these things were being done in Africa B.C. 213 and Spain, Hannibal spent the summer in the Sallentine region, in the hope of getting possession of the city of Tarentum through treachery. Meanwhile, however, Sallentine cities of no importance went over to his side. At the same time among the Bruttians, out of twelve states which in the previous year had revolted to the Carthaginians, Consentia and Taurianum returned to their allegiance to the Roman people; and more would have returned if a prefect of the allies, Titus Pomponius Veientanus, who by successfully ravaging Bruttian territory a number of times gained the appearance of a regularly appointed general, had not gathered a hastily mustered army and engaged Hanno. A great many men were slain or captured there, an ill-organized mass, however, of rusties and slaves. It was the smallest part of the loss that, along with the rest, the prefect was captured, who was responsible at that time for a reckless battle, and had previously been a tax-farmer possessed of all the dishonest devices, faithless and ruinous both to the state and to the companies. Sempronius, the consul, fought many small engagements in Lucania, not one worthy of record, and took by storm a number of unimportant Lucanian towns.
Quo diutius trahebatur bellum et variabant secundae adversaeque res non fortunam magis quam animos hominum. Tanta religio, et ea maijna ex parte externa, civitatem incessit ut aut homines aut dei repente alii viderentur facti. Nee iam in secreto modo atque intra parietes abolebantur Romani ritus, sed in publico etiam ac foro Capitolioque mulierum turba erat nee sacrificantium nee precantium deos patrio more. Sacrificuli ac vates ceperant hominum mentes, quorum numerum auxit rustica plebs, ex incultis diutino bello infestisque agris egestate et metu in urbem compulsa, et quaecus ex alieno errore facilis, quem velut concessae artis usu exercisebant.

Primo secretae bonorum indignationes exaudiebantur; deinde ad patres et iam ad publicam querimoniam excessit res. Incusati graviter ab senatu aediles triumvirique capitales quod non prohiberent, cum emovere cam multitudinem e foro ac disicere adparatus sacrorum conati essent, haud procul afuit quin violarentur. Ubi potentius iam esse id malum apparuit quam ut minores per magistratus sedaretur, M. Aemilio praetori urbano 2 negotium ab senatu datum est ut eis religionibus populum liberaret. Is et in contione senatus consultum recitavit et edixit ut quicumque libros vaticinos precationesve aut artem sacrificandi con-

1 et iam ad Alschefski: etiamad P(1): etiam ac Weissenborn.
2 urbano (i.e. urb.) P(1): om. as gloss Walters.

1 Forsaken, as they felt, by their own gods, the populace were turning to foreign divinities and strange cults.
2 An error of Livy for Marcus Atilius; XXIV. xlv. 2, where Aemilius, praetor peregrinus, assigns his duties to Atilius,
The longer the war dragged on and success and b.c. 213 failure altered the situation, and quite as much so the attitude of men, superstitious fears, in large part foreign at that, invaded the state to such a degree that either men or else gods suddenly seemed changed. And now not only in secret and within the walls of houses were Roman rites abandoned, but in public places also and in the Forum and on the Capitol there was a crowd of women who were following the custom of the fathers neither in their sacrifices nor in prayers to the gods.\(^1\) Petty priests and also prophets had taken hold on men's minds. And the number of these was increased by the mass of rustics forced by want and fear into the city from their farms neglected and endangered because of the long war, and by easy profit from the delusion of others—a trade which they plied as though it were sanctioned. At first good men's indignation was voiced in private; then the matter reached the senate and now even official complaints. The aediles and the three police magistrates were roundly censured by the senate because they did not stop it; and after they had attempted to drive that crowd out of the Forum and to scatter the properties required for the rites, they narrowly escaped violence. Now that the disorder appeared to be too strong to be quelled by the lower magistrates, the senate assigned to Marcus Aemilius,\(^2\) the city praetor, the task of freeing the people from such superstitions. He read the decree of the senate in an assembly, and also issued an edict that whoever had books of prophecies or prayers or a ritual of sacrifice set down in writing should bring all such praetor urbanus, and takes a command in Apulia. The error is repeated in iii. 12 and xii. 3.

343
A.u.c. 344

scriptam haberet, cos libros omnis litterasque ad se ante kal. Apriles deferret, nesc quis in publico sacro loco novo aut externo ritu sacrificaret.


1 bello P1: a bello P(10).

1 Exact compliance with written directions being essential, as in the Roman religion, to seize the texts was in effect to suppress the cults.
2 Cf. xii. 10 f.
3 Scipio was probably only 22, but the famous law fixing statutory ages for the different offices (Lex Villia annalis) was not passed until 180 B.C.; XL. xliv. 1.
books and writings to him before the first of April, B.C. 213 and that no one should sacrifice in a public or consecrated place according to a strange or foreign rite.

II. A number of priests of the state died that year: Lucius Cornelius Lentulus, pontifex maximus, and Gaius Papirius Masso, son of Gaius, a pontifex, and Publius Furius Philus, an augur, and Gaius Papirius Masso, son of Lucius, a decemvir in charge of rites. In place of Lentulus they made Marcus Cornelius Cethegus a pontiff and Gnaeus Servilius Caepio in that of Papirius; Lucius Quinctius Flamininus was named augur. Lucius Cornelius Lentulus, decemvir in charge of rites.

For the consular elections the time was now approaching, but because the consuls were occupied with the war, and it was not thought advisable to call them away/ Tiberius Sempronius, the consul, named Gaius Claudius Cento dictator to hold the elections. He in turn named Quintus Fulvius Flaccus master of the horse. On the first day available for elections the dictator announced the choice as consuls of Quintus Fulvius Flaccus, master of the horse, and Appius Claudius Pulcher, who as praetor had had Sicily as his province. Then the following were elected praetors: Gnaeus Fulvius Flaccus, Gaius Claudius Nero, Marcus Junius Silanus, Publius Cornelius Sulla. Having finished the elections, the dictator laid down his office. Curule aedile that year, together with Marcus Cornelius Cethegus, was Publius Cornelius Scipio, who was later called Africanus. When he was a candidate for the aedileship, and the tribunes of the plebs tried to oppose him, saying that he ought not to be considered because he did
nondum ad petendum legitima actas esset, "Si me" inquit "omnes Quirites aedilem facere volunt, satis annorum habeo." Tanto inde favore ad suffragium ferendum in tribus discursum est ut tribuni

repente incepto destiterint. Aedilicia largitio hactenus fuit: ludi Romani pro tempore illius copivs magnifice facti et diem unum instaurati, et congiii oeci in vicos singulos dati . . . 1 L. Villius Tappulus et M. Fundanius Fundulus aediles plebei aliquot matronas apud populum probri accusarunt; quasdam ex eis damnatas in exilium egerunt. Ludi plebei per biduum instaurati et Iovis epulum fuit ludorum causa.

III. Q. Fulvius Flaccus tertium Appius Claudius consulatum inuent. Et practores provincias sortiti sunt, P. Cornelius Sulla urbanam et peregrinam, quae duorum ante sors fuerat, Cn. Fulvius Flaccus Apuliam, C. Claudius Nero Suessulam, M. Iunius Silanus Tuseos. Consulibus bellum cum Hannibale et binac legiones decretae; alter a Q. Fabio superioris anni consule, alter a Fulvio Centumalo acciperet; praetorum Fulvi Flacci quae Luceriae sub Aemilio praetore, Neronis Claudii quae in Piceno sub C. Terentio fuissent legiones essent; supplementum in eas ipsi seriberent sibi. M. Iunio in Tuseos

1 Numeral missing, perhaps L preceding L. (Engelmann) at end of line in P.

1 The ludi Romani or maximi occurred in mid-September and lasted four days. For repetition cf. XXIII. xxx. 16.
2 A congius held about three quarts.
3 As in wartime cases to be heard by the praetor peregrinus would be much reduced in number, he could be spared for service at the front; XXIV. xiv. 2.
4 A military base in Campania, southeast of Capua, half-way to Nola. Its Castra Claudiana lay near the entrance to the Caudine Pass. Cf. XXIII. xxxi. 3; XXIV. xvii. 2; xlv. 3.
not have the legal age for candidacy, he said, "If all the citizens want to make me aedile I have years enough." Thereupon with such enthusiasm they separated to form by tribes in order to cast their votes, that the tribunes suddenly gave up their attempt. The generosity of the aediles consisted in celebrating the Roman Games splendidly, for the resources of that time, and in repeating them for one day; also in giving... measures of oil for each precinct. Lucius Villius Tappulus and Marcus Fundanius Fundulus as plebeian aediles brought before the people charges of immorality against a number of matrons. Some of these being convicted, they drove them into exile. The Plebeian Games were repeated for two days, and on account of the festival a banquet for Jupiter was held.

III. Quintus Fulvius Flaccus and Appius Claudius entered upon their consulship, the former for the third time. And the praetors received by lot the following assignments: Publius Cornelius Sulla, the duties of praetor urbanus and praetor peregrinus, previously two separate offices; Gnaeus Fulvius Flaccus, Apulia, Gaius Claudius Nero, Suessula, Marcus Junius Silanus, Etruria. To the consuls were assigned by decree the war with Hannibal and two legions each. The one was to take over his troops from Quintus Fabius, consul in the previous year, the other from Fulvius Centumalus. Of the praetors, Fulvius Flaccus was to have the legions which had been at Luceria under the praetor Aemilius, Nero Claudius the one which had been in the Picene district under Gaius Terentius. They were themselves to enlist more recruits for the same. To Marcus Junius the Terentius Varro had had only one legion; XXIV. xlv. 5.
A.D.C. 512

5 legiones urbanae prioris anni datae. Ti. Sempronio Graccho et P. Sempronio Tuditano imperium provinciaeque Lucani et Gallia cum suis exercitibus prorogatae; item P. Lentulo qua vetus provincia in Sicilia esset, M. Marcello Syracusae et qua Hieronis regnum fuisset; T. Otacilio classis, Graccia M. Valerio, Sardinia Q. Mucio Scævolae, Hispaniae P. et Cn. Cornelii. Ad veteres exercitus duae urbanæ legiones a consulibus scriptae, summaque trium et viginti legionum eo anno effecta est.

8 Dilectum consulum M. Postumii Pyrgensis cum magno prope motu rerum factum impediti. Publicanus erat Postumius, qui multis annis parem fraude avaritiaque neminem in civitate habuerat praeter T. Pomponium Veientanum, quem popularitem temere agros in Lucanis ductu Hannonis priore anno ceperant Carthaginenses. Hi, quia publicum periculum erat a vi tempestatis in iis quae portarentur ad exercitus et ementiti erant falsa naufragia et ea ipsa quae vera renuntiaverant fraude ipsorum facta erant, non casu. In veteres quassasque naves paucis et parvi pretii rebus impositis, cum mersissent eas in alto exceptis in praeparatas scaphas nautis, multiplices fuisse merces ementiebantur. Ea fraus indicata M. Aemilio praetori priore anno fuerat ac per eum ad senatum delata nec tamen ullo senatus

1 Cf. XXIV. xlv. 4; vii. 9.
2 Cf. i. 3 f.
city legions of the previous year were given for B.C. 212 Etruria. For Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus and Publius Sempronius Tuditanus their commands and provinces, Lucania and Gaul, with their armies, were continued. And the same was done for Publius Lentulus, within the limits of the old province in Sicily, and for Marcellus, whose province was Syracuse and up to the former boundaries of Hiero's kingdom.¹ The fleet was assigned to Titus Otacilius, Greece to Marcus Valerius, Sardinia to Quintus Mucius Seaevola, the Spanish provinces to Publius and Gnaeus Cornelius. In addition to the old armies two city legions were enrolled by the consuls, and the total that year amounted to twenty-three legions.

The consular levy was hampered by the conduct of Marcus Postumius of Pyrgi, which almost occasioned a serious insurrection. Postumius was a tax-farmer, who in many years had had no equal in dishonesty and avarice in the state, except Titus Pomponius Veientanus, whom the Carthaginians under Hanno's command had captured in the preceding year, while he was rashly ravaging the country in Lucania.² These men, since the state assumed the risk from violent storms in the case of shipments to the armies, had falsely reported imaginary shipwrecks, and even those which they had correctly reported had been brought about by their own trickery, not by accident. They would put small cargoes of little value on old, battered vessels, sink them at sea, after taking off the crews in small boats that were in readiness, and then falsely declare that the shipments were far more valuable. This dishonesty had been reported in the previous year to Marcus Aemilius, the praetor, and by him brought before the senate, but it was not branded by

³⁴⁹
consulto notata, quia patres ordinem publicanorum
in tali tempore offensum nolebant. Populus severior
vindex fraudis erat, excitatique tandem duo tribuni
plebis, Spurius et L. Carvilii, cum rem invisam
infamemque cernerent, ducentum milium aeris
multam M. Postumio dixerunt. Cui certandae cum
dies advenisset, conciliumque tam frequens plebis
adesset ut multitudinem area Capitolii vix eaperet,
perorata causa una spes videbatur esse si C. Servilius
Casca tribunus plebis, qui propinquus cognatusque
Postumio erat, prinsquam ad suffragium tribus
vocarentur, interesseisset. Testibus datis tribuni
populum summoverunt, sitellaque est, ut sorti-
rentur ubi Latini suffragium ferrent. Interim
publicani Cascae instare ut concilio diem eximeret;
populus reclamare; et forte in cornu primus sedebat
Casca, cui simul metus pudorque animum versabat.
Cum in eo parum praesidii esset, turbandae rei causa
publicani per vacuum summoto locum euno inrupe-
runt iurgantes simul cum populo tribunisque. Nec
proeul dimicatione res erat cum Fulvius consul
tribunus "Nonne videtis" inquit "vos in ordinem
coactos esse et rem ad seditionem spectare, ni
propere dimittitis plebis concilium?"

IV. Plebe dimissa senatus vocatur et consules

1 It was left for the people to confirm or remit such a fine;
cf. XXXVII. li. 4 f.; lviii. 1; Cicero, Phil. XI. 18; de Leg.
III. 6.
2 The witnesses were to watch the balloting.
3 I.e. such Latins as were present at Rome. In which of
the tribes they should vote was determined by the tribunes,
who cast lots.
4 Any action interfering with a tribune's duties or privileges
was held equivalent to degrading him from office; cf. XLIll.
16. 9 f.
any decree of the senate, because the senators were unwilling to offend the tax-farmers as a class at such a crisis. The people proved a more unsparing avenger of dishonesty: namely, two tribunes of the plebs, Spurius and Lucius Carvilius, were at length aroused, and seeing that the affair was unpopular and notorious, imposed a fine of two hundred thousand asses upon Marcus Postumius. When the day for his protest against this fine arrived, the assembly of the commons was so large that the open space on the Capitol could scarcely contain the crowd. After the arguments were concluded, there seemed to be but one hope, namely, if Gaius Servilius Casea, a tribune of the plebs who was a blood-relative of Postumius, should interpose his veto before the tribes should be called to vote. The tribunes provided witnesses, cleared the people away, and the urn was brought, that they might determine by lot in which tribe the Latins should vote. Meantime the tax-farmers pressed Casea to adjourn that day’s hearing before the assembly. The people protested; and it so happened that the first seat at the end of the platform was occupied by Casea, whose mind was swayed at once by fear and shame. Finding in him no sufficient protection, the publicans, in order to prevent action, rushed in a wedge through the space cleared by removal of the crowd, while at the same time they reviled the people and the tribunes. And it had almost come to a battle when Fabius, the consul, said to the tribunes, “Do you not see that you are reduced to the ranks, and that this means an insurrection if you do not promptly dismiss the popular assembly?”

IV. The assembly being dismissed, the senate was summoned and the consuls brought up the matter
referunt de concilio plebis turbato vi atque audacia
publicanorum: M. Furium Camillum, cuius exilium
ruina urbis secuturā1 fuerit, damnari se ab iratis
civibus passum esse; decemviros ante eum, quorum
legibus ad eam diem viverent, multos postea principes
civitatis judicium de se populi passos: Postumium
Pyrgensem suffragium populo Romano extorsisse,
concilium plebis sustulisse, tribunos in ordinem
cogisse, contra populum Romanum aciem instruxisse,
locum occupasse, ut tribunos a plebe intercluderet,
tribus in suffragium vocari prohiberet. Nihil aliud a
caedēe ac dimicacione continuisse homines nisi patien-
tiam magistratum, quod cesserint impraesentia furori
atque audaciae paucique se ac
populum
Romanum passi sint et comitia, quae reus vi atque
armis prohibiturus erat, ne causa quaerentibus
dimicationem daretur, voluntate ipsi sua sustulerint.
Hac cum ab optimo quoque pro atrocitate rei
accepta2 essent, vimque eam contra rem publicam
et pernicioso exemplo factam senatus decesset,
confestim Carviliī tribuni plebis omissa multae
certatione rei capitalis diem Postumio dixerunt ac,
ni vades daret, prendi a viatore atque in carcerem
duci iussuerunt. Postumius vadibus datīs non adfuit.

1 secuturā Alschefski: secura P(1).
2 accepta Madvig: acta P(1).

1 Cf. V. xxxii. 9; xxxiii. 1.
of the disturbance in the popular assembly owing to the violence and audacity of the publicans. Marcus Furius Camillus, it was said, a man whose exile would have been followed by the ruin of the city, had allowed himself to be condemned by the angry citizens; that before his time the decemvirs, under whose laws they were then still living, and later many leading men in the state, had submitted to the judgment of the people in their cases; that Postumius of Pyrgi had wrested the vote from the Roman people, had brought to naught an assembly of the plebs, reduced the tribunes to the ranks, drawn up a battle-line against the Roman people, had taken his position, to separate the tribunes from the people and to prevent the tribes from being summoned to vote. Nothing had restrained men from slaughter and battle but the forbearance of the magistrates in yielding for the moment to the mad audacity of a few men, and in allowing themselves and the Roman people to be worsted, also in that, as regards the voting, which the defendant would have prevented by force of arms, they had of their own accord suspended it, to avoid giving excuse to those eager for the fray. These words were interpreted by all the best citizens as deserved by an outrageous occurrence, and the senate declared that this violence had been employed against the state, setting a dangerous precedent. Thereupon the Carvilii, tribunes of the people, in place of the procedure to fix the amount of the fine, at once named a day for Postumius' appearance on a capital charge, and ordered that if he did not furnish sureties he should be seized by an attendant and taken to prison. Postumius furnished sureties, but did not appear.
LIVY

Tribuni plebem rogaverunt plebesque ita seivit, si M. Postumius ante kal. Maias non prodisset cita-
tusque co die non respondisset neque excusatus
esset, videri cum in exilio esse bonaque eius venire,
ipsi aqua et igni placere interdici. Singulis deinde
corum qui turbac ae tumultus concitatores fuerant,
rei capitalis diem dicere ae vades poscere coeperunt.

Primo non dantis, deinde etiam eos qui dare possent
in carcerem coiciebant; cuius rei periculum vitantes
plerique in exilium abierunt.

V. Hunc fraudem publicanorum, deinde fraudem
audacia protegens exitum habuit. Comitia inde
pontifici maximo creando sunt habita; ea comitia
novus pontifex M. Cornelius Cethegus habuit. Tres
ingenti certamine petierunt, Q. Fulvius Flaccus
consul, qui et ante bis consul et censor fuerat, et
T. Manlius Torquatus, et ipse duobus consulatibus
et censura insignis, et P. Licinius Crassus, qui aedili-
tatem curulem petiturus erat. Hic senes honorato-
sque invenis in eo certamine vict. Ante hunc
intra centum annos et viginti nemo praeter P.
Cornelium Calussam pontifex maximus creatus
fuerat qui sella curuli non sedisset.

Consules dilectum cum aegre conficerent, quod
inopia iuniorum non facile in utrumque, ut et novae
urbanae legiones et supplementum veteribus scri-
beretur, sufficiebat, senatus absistere eos incepto
354
The tribunes put the question to the plebs and the plebs ordained that, if Marcus Postumius should not appear before the first of May, and on being summoned on that day should not reply nor be excused, it should be understood that he was in exile, and be decided that his property should be sold and himself refused water and fire. The tribunes then began to name a day for the appearance on a capital charge of each of those who had been instigators of riot and sedition, and to demand sureties from them. At first they threw into prison those who did not give security, and then even those who were able to do so. Avoiding this danger many went into exile.

V. Such was the outcome of dishonesty on the part of the publicans and of audacity seeking to cover dishonesty. Next was held an election for the choice of a pontifex maximus. This election was conducted by a new pontiff, Marcus Cornelius Cethegus. Three men canvassed with great rivalry: Quintus Fulvius Flaccus, the consul, who had been consul twice before and also censor, and Titus Manlius Torquatus, likewise distinguished by two consulships and a censorship, and Publius Licinius Crassus, who was only about to be a candidate for a curule aedileship. This young man defeated in that contest old men who had held high offices. Before him for a hundred and twenty years no one who had not occupied a curule chair had been elected pontifex maximus, except Publius Cornelius Calussa.

The consuls were finding it difficult to complete the levy, since the scant supply of young men was hardly sufficient for the two purposes, enrollment of new legions for the city and replacements for the old ones. The senate accordingly forbade them to give
vetuit et triumviros binos creari iussit, alteros qui citra, alteros qui ultra quinquagensimum lapidem in pagis forisque et conciliabulis omnem copiam ingenuorum inspicerent et, si qui roboris satis ad ferenda arma habere viderentur, etiamsi nondum militari actate essent, milites facerent; tribuni plebis, si iis videretur, ad populum ferrent ut, qui minores septem decem annis sacramento dixissent, iis perinde stipendia procederent ac si septem decem annorum aut maiores milites facti essent. Ex hoc senatus consulto creati triumviri bini conquisitionem ingenuorum per agros habuerunt.

Eodem tempore ex Sicilia litterae Marci Marcelli de postulatis militum qui cum P. Lentulo militabant in senatu recitatae sunt. Cannensis reliquiae cladis hic exercitus erat, relegatus in Siciliam, siue ante dictum est, ne ante Punici belli finem in Italiam reportarentur. VI. Hi permissu Lentuli primores equitum centurionumque et robora ex legionibus peditum legatos in hiberna ad M. Marcellum miserunt, e quibus unus potestate dicendi facta: "Consulem te, M. Marcellle, in Italia^1 adissemus, cum primum de nobis, etsi non iniquum, etsi non iniquum, etsi non iniquum, etsi non iniquum, certe triste senatus consultum factum est, nisi hoc sperassemus,

1 Italia x: italiam P(1).

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1 For fora and conciliabula, cf. xxii. 4; XXXIX. xiv. 7; xviii. 2; XL. xxxvii. 3 f.; XLIII. xiv. 10. A forum was a Roman settlement, usually on an important road (e.g. Forum Appii), but lacking the status of a colonia. A conciliabulum was a petty administrative centre for rural districts (pagi).

2 Cf. XXIII. xxv. 7; XXIV. xviii. 9.
up the attempt and ordered the appointment of two b.c. 212 commissions of three officials each, to inspect in rural districts, market-towns and local centres all possible freeborn men within fifty miles, the other beyond that distance, and any that seemed to them strong enough to bear arms, even if not yet of military age, they were to recruit. The tribunes of the plebs, if they should see fit, were to bring before the people a bill that, in the case of those who had taken the military oath at less than seventeen years, their campaigns should run just as if they had been recruited at seventeen years or older. In accordance with this decree of the senate two commissions of three members each were appointed and they conducted the search for freeborn men in the country.

At the same time a letter from Marcus Marcellus in Sicily was read in the senate concerning demands of the soldiers serving under Publius Lentulus. This army was the remnant of the disaster at Cannae, and, as has been said above, was relegated to Sicily, not to be brought back to Italy before the end of the Punic War. These men with Lentulus' permission sent their leading knights and centurions and picked men from the infantry of the legions to Marcus Marcellus at his winter quarters as their representatives, and one of them, receiving permission to speak, said: "In your consulship, Marcus Marcellus, and in Italy we should have come to you already, directly after the senate made in our case a decree that, if not unjust, was surely severe, had it not been our hope that we were being sent into a province thrown

3 But at the time of the senatus consultum Marcellus was not consul, but praetor, and the men in question were in his own army; cf. XXIII. xxiv. 1; xxv. 7.
in provinciam nos morte regum turbatam ad graveellum adversus Siculos simul Poenosque mitti, et
sanguine nostro vulneribusque nos senatui\(^1\) satisfac-turos esse, sicut patrum memoria qui capti a
Pyrrho ad Heracleam erant adversus Pyrrhun ipsum
pignantès satisfeceerunt. Quamquam quod ob meri-
tum nostrum suscensuestis, patres conscripti, nobis
aut susüssenstis? Ambo mihi consules et universum
senatum intueri videor, cum te, M. Marcelle, intueor,
quam si ad Cannas consulem habuissesmus, melior et
rei publicae et nostra fortuna esset. Sine, quaeque,
priusquam de condicione nostra queror, noxam
cuius arguimur nos purgare. Si non deum ira nec
fato, cuius lege immobile rerum humanarum ordo
seritur, sed culpa periimus ad Cannas, cuius tandem
ea culpa fuit? Militum an imperatorum? Equidem
miles nihil unquam dicam de imperatore meo, cui
praesertim gratias sciam ab senatu actas quod non
desperaverit de re publica, cui post fugam ab Cannis\(^2\)
per omnes annos prorogatum imperium. Ceteros
item ex reliquis cladis eius, quos tribunos militum
habuimus, honores petere et gerere et provincias
obtinere audivimus. An vobis vestrisque liberis
ignoscitis facile, patres conscripti, in haec vilia capita
saevitis?\(^3\) Et consuli primoribusque aliis eivitatis
fugere, cum spes alia nulla esset, turpe non fuit,
milites utique morituros in aciem misistis? Ad

\(^1\) nos senatui Bentley: nostri senatui Crévier: nostratui
\(^2\) ab Cannis Gronovius: actannis P: actannis\(^2\)(1): Cannesem\(^2\)
\(^3\) saevitis A\(^2\): saeviret P.A\(^2\)(11): saevire\(^2\)CM\(^1\): saevire
libet Hertz.

\(^1\) Cf. V. xxxviii.
into confusion by the death of its kings, to carry on B.C. 212 a serious war against Sicilians and Carthaginians combined, and that by our blood and wounds we were to give satisfaction to the senate, just as in the time of our fathers the men who had been captured by Pyrrhus at Heraclea had done by fighting against Pyrrhus himself. And yet for what desert of ours have you been angry at us, conscript fathers, or are now angry? It seems that I am looking at both consuls and the entire senate when I look at you, Marcus Marcellus. If we had had you as consul at Cannae the lot of the state, and of ourselves as well, would be a better one. Before I complain of our plight, permit us, I pray, to clear ourselves of the offence of which we are charged. If it was not by anger of the gods nor by Fate, according to whose law the chain of human events is unalterably linked, but by a fault that we were undone at Cannae, whose fault, pray, was it? Of the soldiers or of the generals? For my part I, a soldier, will never say anything about my general, especially since I know that he was thanked by the senate because he did not lose hope for the state, and that after the flight from Cannae his command was continued year after year. The others too who survived that disaster, the men whom we had as our tribunes of the soldiers, canvass for offices, we have heard, and hold them, and govern provinces. Can it be, conscript fathers, that you readily pardon yourselves and your sons, but are cruel to these creatures of no account? And while it was no disgrace to the consul and other leading men in the state to flee, since there was no other hope, did you send your common soldiers into battle to die inevitably? At the Allia ¹ almost the entire
Alliam prope omnis exercitus fugit; ad Fureulas Caudinas ne expertus quidem certamen arma tradidit hosti, ut alias pudendas elades exercituum taceam; tamen tantum affuit ab eo ut ulla ignominia iis exercitibus quaercretur ut et urbs Roma per eum exercitum qui ab Allia Veiros transfugerat reciperetur, et Caudinas legiones, quae sine armis redierant Romam, armatae remissa in Samnium eundem illum hostem sub iugum miserint qui hae sua ignominia laetatus fuerat. Cannensem vero quisquam exercitum fugae aut pavoris insimulare potest, ubi plus quinquaginta milia hominum ecciderunt, unde consul cum equitibus septuaginta fugit, unde nemo superest nisi quem hostis caedendo fessus reliquit?

14 Cum captivis redemptio negabatur, nos vulgo homines laudabant quod rei publicae nos reservassemus, quod ad consulem Venusiam redissemus et speciem iusti exercitus fecissemus; nunc deteriore condicione sumus quam apud patres nostros fuerunt captivi. Quippe illis arma tantum atque ordo militandi locusque in quo tenderent in castris est mutatus, quae tamen semel navata rei publicae opera et uno felici proelio recuperarunt; nemo corum relegatus in exilium est, nemini spes emergendi stipendia adempta, hostis denique est datus, cum quo dimicantes aut vitam semel aut ignominiam finirent; nos, quibus, nisi quod commisinus ut quisquam ex Cannensi acie miles Romanus superesset, nihil obici potest, non solum a patria procul Italiaque sed ab

1 fuerunt J. H. Voss: fuerant P(1).

1 Cf. IX. iv. The following phrase is exaggerated.

360
army fled; at the Caudine Forks,\textsuperscript{1} without even attempting a battle, the army surrendered its weapons to the enemy, not to mention other shameful defeats of armies. But so far were men from devising any disgrace for those armies that the city of Rome was recovered by the army which had fled from the Allia over to Veii, and the Caudine legions, which had returned to Rome without their arms, were sent back armed into Samnium and sent under the yoke that same enemy who had exulted in a disgrace now their own. But at Cannae can any one accuse the army of panic and fright, where more than fifty thousand men fell, whence the consul fled with seventy horsemen, and of which no one survives except the man whom the enemy, tired of slaying, spared? At the time when ransom was refused to captives, men were everywhere praising us because we had saved ourselves for the state, had returned to the consul at Venusia and had formed the semblance of a regular army. But now we are in a worse situation than in our fathers’ time were captives. For in their case only their arms and their rank and the position of their tents when in camp were changed. These, however, they recovered by a single service rendered to the state and one victory. Not one of them was sent into exile, not one of them was deprived of the hope of serving out his term; in fine they were given an enemy, so that in battle with him they might once for all end either life or disgrace. But we, against whom no charge can be brought except that we are to blame for the survival of any Roman soldier from the battle-line at Cannae, have been sent far away, not only from our native city and Italy, but also from the enemy, that there
18 hoste etiam relegati sumus, ubi senescamus in exilio, ne qua spes, ne qua occasio abolendae ignominiae, ne qua placandae civium irae, ne qua denique bene moriendi sit. Neque ignominiae finem nec virtutis praemium petimus: modo experiri animum et virtutem exercere liceat. Laborem et periculum petimus, ut virorum, ut militum officio fungamur. Bellum in Sicilia iam alterum annum ingenti dimicacione geritur; urbes alias Poenus, alias Romanus expugnat; peditum, equitum acies concurrunt; ad Syracusas terra marique geritur res; clamorem pugnantium crepitumque armorum exaudimus resides ipsi ac segnes, tamquam nec manus nec arma habeamus. Servorum legionibus Ti. Sempronius consul totiens iam cum hoste signis conlatis pugnavit; opera pretium habent libertatem civitatemque. Pro servis saltem ad hoc bellum emptis vobis simus; congregi eum hoste liceat et pugnando quaerere libertatem. Vis tu mari, vis terra, vis acie, vis urbibus oppugnandis experiri virtutem? Asperrima quaeque ad laborem periculumque deposcimus, ut quod ad Cannas faciundum fuit quam primum fiat, quoniam, quidquid postea viximus, id omne destinatum ignominiae est."

VII. Sub haec dicta ad genua Marcelli procubuerunt. Marcellus id nec iuris nec potestatis suae esse dixit; senatui scripturum se omniaque de sententia patrum facturum esse. Eae litterae ad novos consules allatae ac per eos in senatu recitatae sunt, consultusque de iis litteris ita decrevit senatus:

1 viximus P(l): vivimus Luchs: vixerimus Harant.

1 XXIV. xvi. 9.
we may grow old in exile, that we may have no hope, b.c. 212
no opportunity of wiping out disgrace, none of
appeasing the anger of our citizens, none even of
dying bravely. It is neither an end of our disgrace
nor a reward for our courage that we ask. Only let
us prove our spirit and put our courage into practice.
It is for hardship and danger we are asking, that we
may do the duty of men and soldiers. The war in
Sicily has now been carried on with intensity for two
years. Some cities are being stormed by the
Carthaginian, some by the Roman. Infantry and
cavalry clash in battle-line. At Syracuse the war
goes on by land and by sea. The cries of men in
battle and the din of arms can be heard by us, who
are ourselves unemployed and listless, as if we had
neither hands nor weapons. With legions of slaves
Tiberius Sempronius, the consul, has engaged the
enemy again and again in battle formation. As a
reward for their service they have freedom and
citizenship. Reckon us at least slaves purchased for
this war; let us engage the enemy and by fighting
earn freedom. Do you wish, sir, to test our courage
on sea, on land, in battle-line, in besieging cities?
We demand all the worst in hardship and danger, in
order that what should have been done at Cannae
be done as soon as possible, since every day that we
have since lived has been marked for disgrace."

VII. At the close of this speech they fell at Mar-
cellus’ knees. Marcellus said the matter was neither
within his competence nor his authority; he would
write to the senate and do everything according to
the opinion of the fathers. The letter was delivered
to the new consuls and by them read in the senate.
And after discussion of the letter the senate decreed
3 militibus, qui ad Cannas commilitones suos pugnantis deseruissent, senatum nihil videre cur res publica committenda esset. Si M. Claudio proconsuli aliter videretur, faceret quod e re publica fideque sua duceret, dum ne quis eorum munere vacaret nee dono militari virtutis ergo donaretur nee in Italianam reportaretur donec hostis in terra Italia esset.

5 Comitia deinde a practore urbano de senatus sententia plebique seitu sunt habita, quibus creati sunt quinqueviri muris turribus\(^1\) reficiendis, et triumviri bini, uni sacris conquirendis donisque persignandis, alteri reficiendis aedibus Fortunae et matris Matutae\(^2\) intra portam Carmentalem et Spei extra portam, quae prior anno incendio consumptae fuerant.

7 Tempestates foedae fuere; in Albano monte biduum continenter lapidibus pluvit. Tacta de caelo multa, duae in Capitolio aedes, vallum in castris multis locis supra Suessulam, et duo vigiles examinati; murus turresque quaedam Cumis non ictae modo fulminibus sed etiam decussae. Reate saxum ingens visum volitare, sol rubere solito magis sanguineoque similis.

9 Horum prodigiorum causa diem unum supplicatio fuit, et per aliquot dies consules rebus divinis operam dederunt, et per cosdem dies sacrum novemdiale fuit.

10 Cum Tarentinorum defectio iam diu et in spe

\(^1\) turribus P(I): et turribus Weissenborn: turribusque A\(^v\).

\(^2\) Matutae z: om. P(I).

1 Cf. XXIV. xlvi. 15 f.
as follows: that to soldiers who had deserted their b.c. 212 comrades in battle at Cannae the senate saw no reason why the welfare of the state should be entrusted. If Marcus Claudius, the proconsul, should take a different view, he should do what he thought to accord with the interest of the state and his own conscience, provided that no one of them should be exempt from duties, or be decorated for valour, or be brought back to Italy, so long as the enemy should be in the land of Italy.

Elections were then held by the praetor urbanus in accordance with a decision of the senate and a plebiscite, and at these there were elected five commissioners for the restoration of the walls and towers, and two boards of three, one to recover sacred vessels and register temple gifts, the other to rebuild the Temple of Fortune and that of Mater Matuta inside Porta Carmentalis, and that of Hope outside the gate—temples that had been destroyed by fire the preceding year.¹

There were terrible storms; on the Alban Mount it rained stones steadily for two days. Many things were struck by lightning: two temples on the Capitol, the embankment of the camp above Sues-sula in many places, and two sentries were killed. At Cumae the wall and certain towers were not merely struck by the bolts but even thrown down. At Reate a huge stone seemed to fly, the sun to be redder than usual and of a bloody colour. On account of these prodigies there was a single day of prayer, and for several days the consuls devoted themselves to religious rites; and about the same time there was a nine days' observance.

While a revolt of the Tarentines had long been
Hannibali et in suspicione Romanis esset, causa forte extrinsecus maturandae eius intervenit. Phileas Tarentinus diu iam per speciem legationis Romae cum esset, vir inquieti animi et minime otium, quo tum diutino senescere videbatur, patientis, aditum sibi ad obsides Tarentinos et Thurinos invenit. Phileas Tarentimis diu iam per speciem legationis Romae cum esset, vir inquieti animi ut minimotium, quo turn diutino senescere videbatur, patientis, aditum sibi ad obsides Tarentinos et Thurinos invenit. Custodiebantur in atrio Libertatis minore cura, quia nec ipsis nec civitatibus eorum fallere Romanos expediebat. Hos crebris colloquis sollicitatos corruptis acditiis duobus cum primis tenebris custodia eduxisset, ipse comes occulti itineris factus profugit. Luce prima volgata per urbem fuga est, missique qui sequentur ab Tarracina comprensos omnis retraxerunt. Deducti in comitium virgisque adprobante populo caesi de saxo deiciuntur.

VIII. Huius atrocitas poenae duarum nobilissimarum in Italia Graecarum civitatum animos inritavit cum publice, tum etiam singulos privatim, ut quisque tam foede interemptos aut propinquitate aut amicitia contingebat. Ex iis tredecim fere nobiles iuvenes Tarentini coniuraverunt, quorum principes Nico et Philemenus erant. Hi priusquam aliquid moverent, colloquendum cum Hannibale rati, nocte per speciem venandi urbe egressi ad eum proficiscuntur. Et cum haud procul castris abessent, eeteri silva prope viam sese occuluerunt, Nico et

1 Tarentinos et Thurinos Heusinger: Thurinos P (cf. viii. 1): Tarentinos P1?1(1).

1 As in XXIV. xx. 6.

366
hoped for by Hannibal and suspected by the Romans, b.c. 212 a reason for expediting the same happened to come from without. Phileas of Tarentum, a man of restless spirit and quite unable to endure the long inactivity in which he seemed to be losing his powers, had been at Rome for a long time, nominally as an ambassador. Thus he found means of access to the hostages from Tarentum and Thurii. They were kept under guard in the Atrium Libertatis, with less watchfulness because it was to the interest neither of the hostages themselves nor of their states to outwit the Romans. Phileas worked upon them by frequent conferences, and after bribing two temple-wardens brought them out of confinement at night-fall. Then he himself fled, sharing their secret journey. At daybreak their flight was reported everywhere in the city, and the men sent to pursue them arrested and brought them all back from Tarraecina. They were led into the Comitium, scourged with rods with the approval of the people, and thrown down from the Rock.¹

VIII. The relentlessness of this punishment outraged two of the most important Greek cities in Italy, both as states and personally as well, whenever individuals were connected either by relationship or friendship with those who were so cruelly executed. Of those so connected some thirteen noble youths of Tarentum formed a conspiracy, and Nico and Philemenus were the leaders. Thinking that they ought to confer with Hannibal before taking any step, these men left the city by night under pretext of hunting and set out to go to him. And when they were not far from his camp, the rest concealed themselves in the woods near the road; but Nico
Philemenus progressi ad stationes comprehensique, ultrò id petentes, ad Hannibalem deducti sunt. Qui eum et causas consilii sui et quid pararent exposuissent, conlaudati oneratique promissis iubentur, ut fidem popularibus facerent praedandi causa se urbe egressos, pecora Carthaginiensium, quae pastum propulsra essent, ad urbem agere; tuto ac sine certamine id facturos promissum est. Conspecta ea praeda invennum est, minusque iterum ac saepius id eos audere miraculo fuit. Congressi eum Hannibale rursus fide sanxerunt liberos Tarentinos leges suas¹ suaque omnia habituros neque ullum vectigal Pomo pensuros pracsidiumve invitòs recepturos; prodita hospitia Romanorum eum² prae- sidio Carthaginiensium fore. Haec ubi convenerunt, tunc vero Philemenus consuetudinem nocte egressi redeundi et frequenter in urbem frequentiorem facere. Et erat venandi studio insignis, canesque et alius apparatus sequebatur; captumque ferme aliquid aut ab hoste ex praeparato adlatum reportans donabat aut praefecto aut eustodibus portarum. Nocte maxime commare propter metum hostium crede- bant.

Ubi iam eo consuetudinis adducta res est ut, quocumque noctis tempore sibilo dedisset signum, porta aperiretur, tempus agendae rei Hannibali visum est. Tridui viam aberat; ubi, quo minus

¹ suas Wesenberg: om. P(1).
² hospitia Romanorum eum Weissenborn, Conway: om. P(1), a lost line: various emendations.
and Philemenus advanced to the outposts, were seized and at their own request brought before Hannibal. After explaining the reasons for their plan and what they were plotting, they were warmly commended and loaded with promises. In order to make their fellow-citizens believe they had left the city to forage, they were bidden to drive to the city cattle belonging to the Carthaginians which had been turned out to graze. Promise was given that they would do so in safety and without a conflict. The young men’s booty attracted attention, and less astonishment was caused by their making the same venture again and again. On meeting Hannibal again they had his formal assurance that the Tarentines as free men should have their own laws and all their possessions, and pay no tribute to the Carthaginians nor admit a garrison against their own wish; that houses occupied by Romans should be handed over, together with the garrison, and be assigned to the Carthaginians. So much agreed upon, Philemenus thereafter made it his more constant habit to leave the city and return to it by night. In fact he was noted for his devotion to the chase, and his hounds and other equipment would follow him. Usually he carried back something he had taken or that the enemy had brought him by agreement, and he would give it either to the commandant or to the gate-guards. They believed that he came and went preferably by night for fear of the enemy.

When the thing had become so habitual that the gate was opened at whatever hour of the night he gave the signal by a whistle, it seemed to Hannibal to be the time for action. He was at a distance of three days’ march, and there he played the invalid, that his
mirum esset uno eodemque loco stativa eum tam diu habere, aegrum simulabat. Romanis quoque qui in praesidio Tarenti erant suspecta esse tam\(^1\) segnis mora eius desierat. IX. Ceterum postquam Tarentum ire constituit, decem milibus peditum atque equitum, quos in expeditionem velocitate corporum ae levitate armorum aptissimos esse ratus est, electis, quarta vigilia noctis signa movit, praemissisque octoginta fere Numidis equitibus praecipit ut discurrerent circa vias perlustrarentque omnia oculis, ne quis agrestium procul spectator agminis falleret; praegressos retraherent, obvios occiderent, ut praedonum: magis quam exercitus aecolis species esset. Ipse raptim agmine acto quindecim ferme milium spatio castra ab Tarento posuit, et ne ibi quidem denuntiato\(^2\) quo pergerent, tantum convocatos milites monuit via omnes irent nec deverti quemquam aut excedere ordine agminis paterentur, et in primis intenti ad imperia accipienda essent ne quid nisi dueum iussu facerent; se in tempore editurum quae vellet agi. Eadem ferme hora Tarentum fama praevenerat Numidas equites paucos populari agros terroremque late agrestibus inieisse. Ad quem nuntium nihil ultra motus praefectus Romanus quam ut partem equitum postero die luce prima iuberet exire ad arcendum populationibus hostem; in cetera adeo nihil ab eo intenta cura est ut contra

\(^1\) tam \textit{Madvig}: iam \textit{P(2)}: \textit{om. Ax}.
\(^2\) denuntiato \textit{Madvig}: nuntiato \textit{P(!)}. 

370
keeping a fixed camp so long in one and the same place might cause less wonder. The Romans also on garrison duty at Tarentum had ceased to find such prolonged inaction suspicious. IX. Once he had determined, however, to go to Tarentum, he picked ten thousand infantry and cavalry—the men whom he thought best suited to the enterprise on account of swiftness of foot and lightness of arms—and at the fourth watch of the night got in motion. And he ordered some eighty Numidian horsemen, who were sent in advance, to scour the country near the roads and keep an eye in every direction, that no farmer in the distance might observe the column without being noticed. They were to hold up those ahead of them and slay those they met, so that people living near by might have the impression of foragers rather than of an army. He himself, after a forced march, pitched camp at a distance of about fifteen miles from Tarentum. And not even there did he announce whither they were going. He merely summoned the soldiers and bade them all to keep to the road and not allow anyone to turn aside or leave his place in the column; and to be especially alert to hear commands and not to do anything without orders from their officers. He would in due time inform them what he wished to have done. About the same hour a rumour had proceeded him to Tarentum that a few Numidian horsemen were ravaging the farms and had inspired widespread alarm among the rustics. On receiving this news the Roman commandant was only so far aroused as to command part of the cavalry to go out the next day at dawn, in order to prevent depredations of the enemy. For the rest his attention was so little aroused that
pro argumento fuerit illa procursatio Numidarum Hannibalem exercitumque e castris non movisse.

8 Hannibal concubia nocte movit. Dux Philemenus erat eum solito captae venationis onere; e ceteri prodiitores ea quae composita erant expectabant.

9 Convenerat autem ut Philemenus portula adsueta venationem inferens armatos induceret, parte alia portam Temenitida adiret Hannibal. Ea mediterranea regio est orientem spectans; busta\(^1\) aliquantum intra moenia includunt. Cum portae adpropinquaret, editus ex composito ignis ab Hannibale est refusitque idem redditum ab Nicone signum;


\(^1\) spectans; busta Ussing: spectabest P (bast P\(^1\)); spectabat (1).

\(^2\) dicens \(x\): dience (1).

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1 *I.e.* at the time of the first sound sleep, not yet *intempesta nocte* (toward midnight); Cicero *de Div.* 1. 57; Macrobius 1. iii. 15.
on the contrary the raid of the Numidians was to b.c. 212 him a proof that Hannibal and the army had not stirred from their camp.

Hannibal broke camp early in the night. His guide was Philemenus with his usual load of game. The rest of the traitors were waiting for acts previously arranged. It had been agreed, namely, that Philemenus, as he brought in his game by the usual postern, should lead in armed men, while on another side Hannibal should approach the Temenitis Gate. That quarter is toward the inland, facing east; tombs occupy a considerable space inside the walls. As he approached the gate the fire signal was given by Hannibal according to agreement, and in reply from Nico the same signal blazed; then on both sides the flames were extinguished. Hannibal was leading his men silently to the gate. Nico unexpectedly attacks the sleeping sentries in their beds, slays them and opens the gate. Hannibal with his infantry column enters, orders the cavalry to halt, so that they can meet the enemy in the open, in whatever direction the situation may require. And Philemenus on another side of the city was approaching the postern by which he was accustomed to come and go. His well-known voice and the now familiar signal having aroused a sentry, the little gate was opened for Philemenus, just as he was saying they could scarcely carry the weight of a huge beast. While two young men were carrying in the boar, he himself followed them with a huntsman who was unencumbered, and as the sentry, thrown off his guard by its marvellous size, faced the men who were carrying it, Philemenus ran him through with a hunting spear. Then about thirty armed men
refringuntque portam proximam, et agmen sub signis confestim inrupit. Inde cum silentio in forum ducti Hannibali sese coniunxerunt. Tum duo milia Gallorum Poenus in tres divisa partis per urbem dimittit; Tarentinos iis addit duces binos; itinera quam maxume frequentia occupari iubet, tumultu orto Romanos passim caedi, oppidanis parci. Sed ut fieri id posset, praecipit iuvenibus Tarentinis ut, ubi quem suorum procul vidissent, quiescere ac silere ac bono animo esse iuberent.

X. Iam tumultus erat clamorque qualis esse in capta urbe solet; sed quid rei esset nemo satis pro certo seire. Tarentini Romanos ad diripiendam urbem credere coortos; Romanis seditio aliqua cum fraude videri ab oppidanis mota. Praefectus primo excitatus tumultu in portum effugit; inde acceptus scapha in arcem circumvehitur. Errorem et tuba audita ex theatro faciebat; nam et Romana erat, a proditoribus ad hoc ipsum praeparata, et inscienter a Graeco inflata quis aut quibus signum daret incertum efficiebat. Ubi inluxit, et Romanis Punica et Gallica arma cognita dubitationem exemerunt, et Graeci Romanos passim caede stratos cernentes, ab Hannibale captam urbem senserunt. Postquam lux certior erat et Romani qui caedibus superfuerant in arem

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1 iis addit duces binos Böttcher: om. P(1), a lost line restored from Polybius VIII. xxx (xxxii). 1.
entered, cut down the rest of the sentries and broke open the neighbouring gate; and the column with its standards at once rushed in. Thence they were marched in silence to the market-place and joined Hannibal. The Carthaginian then sent two thousand Gauls, divided into three units, through the city, and to each he attached two Tarentines as guides. He ordered them to occupy the most frequented streets, and when the uproar had begun, to slay the Romans everywhere, to spare the townspeople. But to make this possible he instructed the young Tarentines, whenever they saw one of their own people in the distance, to bid him be quiet and say nothing and be of good cheer.

X. Already there was such uproar and shouting as is usual in a captured city, but what it was about no one quite knew for certain. The Tarentines believed the Romans had surprised them, in order to plunder the city; the Romans thought it was some kind of uprising treacherously started by the townspeople. The commandant, aroused by the first uproar, escaped to the harbour; picked up by a skiff, he was rowed around from there to the citadel. Confusion was caused also by the sound of a trumpet from the theatre. For it was a Roman trumpet, furnished by the traitors for this very purpose; and in addition, being unskillfully sounded by a Greek, it left it uncertain who was giving the signal and to whom. When day broke the Punic and Gallic arms, now recognized, relieved the Romans of their uncertainty, and at the same time the Greeks, seeing slain Romans everywhere, were aware that the city had been captured by Hannibal. When it was no longer twilight and the Romans who survived the slaughter
confugcrant conticiscenbatque paulatim tumultus, tum Hannibal Tarentinos sine armis convocare iubet. 7 Convenere omnes, praeterquam qui eedentis in arcem Romanos ad omnem adeundam simul fortunam persecuti fuerant. Ibi Hannibal benigne adlocutus Tarentinos testatusque quae praestitisset civibus eorum quos ad Trasumenum aut ad Cannas cepisset, simul in dominationem superbam Romano-rum inventus, recipere se in domos suas quemque iussit et foribus nomen suum inscribere; se domos eas quae inscriptae non essent signo extemplo dato diripi iussurum: si quis in hospitio civis Romani—vacuas autem tenebant domos—nomen inscripsisset, 10 eum se pro hoste habiturum. Contione dimissa cum titulis notatae fores discrimen pacatae ab hostili domo fecissent, signo dato ad diripienda hospitia Romana passim discursum est; et fuit praedae aliquantum.

XI. Postero die ad oppugnandam arcem ducit; quam eum et a mari, quo in paene insulae modum pars maior circumluitur, praealtis rupibus et ab ipsa urbe muro et fossa ingenti saeptam videret eoque 2 nce vi nec operibus expugnabilem esse, ne aut se ipsum cura tuendi Tarentinos a maioribus rebus moraretur, aut in relictos sine valido praesidio Tarentinos impetum ex arce, cum vellent, Romani facerent, vallo urbein ab arce intersaeipire statuit,

1 According to Polybius the legend was to be simply Ῥαπαρτίνου; VIII. xxxi. 4.

376
had fled to the citadel, and the uproar was gradually being stilled, Hannibal then gave orders to summon the Tarentines without arms. They all assembled, except those who had followed the Romans in their retreat to the citadel, to share with them any outcome. Thereupon Hannibal had kind words for the Tarentines and called to mind what he had done for their fellow-citizens whom he had captured at the Trasumennus or at Cannae. At the same time he inveighed against the haughty rule of the Romans and ordered them to go each to his own house and to write his name on the door. He would order that at a given signal such houses as were not marked should at once be plundered. If any one should write his name on the quarters of a Roman citizen—now they were occupying vacant houses—he would regard such a man as an enemy. After the assembly had been dismissed and the marking of doors had distinguished the house of a citizen from that of an enemy, the signal was given and they scattered in all directions to plunder the Roman dwellings; and the booty was considerable.

XI. On the next day he led his men to an attack upon the citadel. He saw that not only was this defended by very high cliffs on the side towards the sea, which surrounds the larger part of it as a peninsula, but on the side toward the city itself by a wall and a great fosse, and hence could not be taken by assault nor by siege-works. Accordingly, to avoid either keeping himself from larger operations in his effort to protect the Tarentines, or else letting the Romans, whenever they pleased, make an attack from the citadel upon the Tarentines if he left them without a strong garrison, he decided to wall off
A.U.C. 512

LIVY

3 non sine illa etiam spe, cum prohibentibus opus Romanis manum posse conscri et, si ferocius proeurcurrisse, magna caede ita attenuari praesidii vires, ut facile per se ipsi Tarentini urbem ab iis tueri possent. Ubi coeptum opus est, patefacta repente porta impetum in munientis feecerunt Romani pellique se statio passa est quae pro opere erat, ut suecessu cresceret audacia pluresque et longius pulsos persequerentur. Tum signo dato coorti undique Poeni sunt, quos instructos ad hoc Hannibal tenuerat. Nee sustinuere impetum Romani, sed ab effusa fuga loci angustiae eos impeditaque alia opere iam coepto, alia apparatu operis morabantur. Plurimi in fossam praecepitavere, oecisque sunt plures in fuga quam in pugna. Inde et opus nullo prohibente fieri coeptum: fossa ingens ducta, et vallum intra eam erigi tur, modicoque post intervallo murum etiam eadem regione addere parat, ut vel sine praesidio tueri se adversus Romanos possent. Reliquit tamen modicum praesidium, simul ut in perficiendo muro adiuvaret. Ipse profectus cum ceteris copiis ad Galae sum flumen—quinque milia ab urbe abest—posuit castra.

9 Ex his stativis regressus ad inspiciendum, quod opus aliquantum opinione eius celerius creverat,

1 Inde et P(1): inde Madvig.
the city from the citadel by an earthwork. He was B.C. 212 not without the hope also that he could engage the Romans if they tried to prevent the work, and that, if they should make a furious sally, the strength of the garrison would be so reduced by serious losses that the Tarentines by themselves could easily defend the city against them. After fortification began, a gate was suddenly opened and the Romans made an attack upon the men at work. And the outpost stationed in advance of the work allowed itself to be driven back, that boldness might grow with success and a larger number might pursue the repulsed and to a greater distance. Then at a given signal the Carthaginians, whom Hannibal had kept drawn up for this purpose, rose up on all sides. And the Romans did not withstand the attack, but limited space and ground obstructed partly by the work already begun, partly by preparations for the work, kept them from a disorderly flight. Very many leaped into the fosse, and more were slain in flight than in battle. Then even fortification began to proceed, with no one attempting to prevent. A great fosse was carried along, and inside of it an earthwork was raised; and at a short distance he prepared to add a stone wall likewise in the same direction, so that even without a garrison they could protect themselves against the Romans. He did, however, leave a garrison of moderate size, to aid as well in the completion of the wall. He himself set out with the rest of his forces and pitched camp at the river Galaesus, which is five miles from the city.

On returning from this permanent camp to inspect, inasmuch as the work had progressed with considerably more speed than he had anticipated, he
spem eepit etiam arcem expugnari posse. Et est non altitudine, ut ceterae,\textsuperscript{1} tuta, sed loco plano posita et ab urbe muro tantum ac fossa divisa. Cum iam machinationum omni genere et operibus oppugnationem, missum a Metaponto praesidium Romanis fecit animum ut noxte ex improviso opera hostium invaderent. Alia disiecerunt, alia igni corrupperunt, isque finis Hannibali fuit ea parte arcem oppugnandi. Reliqua erat in obsidione spes, nec ea satis efficax, quia arcem tenentes, quae in paene insula posita imminet faucibus portus, mare liberum habebant, urbs contra exclusa maritimis commeatibus propiusque inopiam erant obsidentes quam ossessi. Hannibal convocatis principibus Tarentinis omnes praesentis difficultates exposuit: neque arcis tarn munitae expugnandae eernere viam neque in obsidione quiequam habere spei, donec mari hostes potiantur; quod si naves sint, quibus commatus invehi prohibeat, extemplo aut arce cessuros\textsuperscript{2} aut dedituros se hostis. Adsentiebantur Tarentini; ceterum ei qui consilium adferret opem quoque in eam rem adferendum censebant esse. Punicas enim naves ex Sicilia accitas id posse facere; suas, quae sinu exigno intus inclusae essent, cum claustra portus hostis haberet, quem ad modum inde in apertum mare evasuras?

"Evadent" inquit Hannibal; "multa quae impedita natura sunt consilio expediuntur. Urbem in campo

\textsuperscript{1} ceterae Crévier: cetera P(1).

\textsuperscript{2} arce cessuros Gronovius: arcessuros P(1): abscessuros A\textsuperscript{2}.

\textsuperscript{1} According to Strabo VI. iii. 1 the only elevation of any consequence was the citadel.

\textsuperscript{2} The mouth of the harbour was closed, as Strabo (I.e.) says, by a large bridge.
And it is not defended by height, as other citadels are, but is on level ground and separated from the city merely by a wall and a fosse. While the attack was now in progress with engines of every kind and with siege-works, a garrison sent from Metapontum encouraged the Romans to make a surprise attack by night upon the works of the enemy. Some of these they pulled apart, others they ruined by fire; and this was the end of Hannibal's attack upon the citadel from that side. His remaining hope was in a blockade, and that was not very effectual, because the occupants of the citadel, which is situated on a peninsula and commands the harbour mouth, had the sea at their disposal, while the city on the other hand was shut off from supplies by sea and the besiegers were nearer to starvation than the besieged. Hannibal summoned the leading men of Tarentum and laid before them all the difficulties of the situation, saying that he neither saw a way to take so well fortified a citadel by storm, nor had any hope in a blockade, so long as the enemy had command of the sea. But if he should have ships with which to prevent the bringing in of supplies, the enemy would at once either withdraw from the citadel or surrender. The Tarentines assented, but thought that the giver of advice must give aid also to carry it out. For Carthaginian ships, summoned from Sicily, they said, could do it. As for their own ships, which were shut up inside a very small bay, while the enemy held the key to the harbour, how were they to get out into the open sea? "They will get out", said Hannibal; "many things which are naturally difficult are solved by ingenuity. You have a city
sitam habetis; planae et satis latae viae patent in omnis partis. Via quae e portu per medium urbem ad marc transmissa est plaustris transveham naves haud magna mole, et marc nostrum erit, quo nunc hostes potiuntur, et illinc mari, hinc terra circumsedebimus arcem; immo brevi aut relictam ab hostibus aut cum ipsis hostibus capiamus." Haec oratio non spem modo effectus sed ingentem etiam duce admirationem fecit. Contracta extemplo undique plaustra iunetaque inter se, et machinae ad subducendas naves admotae, munitumque iter, quo faciliti ora plaustra minorque moles in transitu esset. Iumenta inde et homines contracti et opus inpigre coeptum; paucosque post dies classis instructa ac parata circumvehitur arcem et ante os ipsum portus ancoras iacit. Hunc statum rerum Hannibal Tarenti relinquit regressus ipse in hiberna. Ceterum defectio Tarentinorum utrum priore anno an hoc facta sit, in diversum auctores trahunt; plures propioresque aetate memoriae rerum hoc anno factam tradunt.

XII. Romae consules praetoresque usque ad ante diem quintum kal. Maias Latinae tuerunt. Eo die perpetrato sacro in monte in suas quisque provincias profiscieuntur. Religio deinde nova obiecta est ex carminibus Marcianis. Vates hie Marcius indulris fuerat, et cum conquisione priore anno ex senatus con-

1 That 213 B.C. was the correct date for their defection is shown by XXVII. xxv. 4.
2 Mons Albanus (Monte Cavo), where a sacrifice on the fourth day brought the festival to an end.
situated in a plain. Level streets of ample breadth lead in all directions. Along the street that is carried across from the harbour through the centre of the city to the sea I shall transport ships on wagons with no great difficulty, and the sea, which the enemy now possess, will be ours, and we shall besiege the citadel on that side by sea, on this side by land; or rather we shall soon either take it, abandoned by the enemy, or take it enemy and all.” This speech produced not merely the hope of success, but great admiration for the general as well. At once wagons were assembled from everywhere and joined together, and the tackle brought to draw up the ships, and the roadway paved, that the wagons might be easier to move, and the difficulty of transport lessened. Then mules and men were brought together and the work was begun with energy. And so a few days later a fleet furnished and equipped sailed around the citadel and cast anchor at the very mouth of the harbour. Such was the state of things which Hannibal left at Tarentum when he himself returned to his winter quarters. But whether the rebellion of the Tarentines took place in the previous year or in this year, authorities differ. More of them and those nearer in time to men who remembered the events relate that it occurred in this year.

XII. At Rome the consuls and praetors were detained by the Latin festival until the 26th of April. After performing the rites on that day on the Mount, each set out for his assignment. Then fresh religious scruples were aroused by the verses of Marcius. A noted seer had been this Marcius, and when in the preceding year search was being made by decree of the senate for such books, they had come
sulto talium librorum fieret, in M. Aemili praetoris urbani, quem cam rem agebat, manus venerant. Is protinus novo praetori Sullae tradiderat. Ex huius Marci duobus carminibus alterius post rem actam editi comprobata auctoritas eventu alteri quoque, cuius nondum tempus venerat, adferebat fidem.

Priore carmine Cannensis praedicta clades in haece fere verba erat: "Ammem, Troinenga, fuge Cannam, ne te alienigenae cogant in campo Diomedis conserere manus. Sed neque credes tu mihi, donec compleris sanguine campum, multaque milia occisa tua deferet annis in pontum magnum ex terra frugifera; piseibus atque avibus ferisque quae incolunt terras iis fuat esca caro tua. Nam mihi ita Iuppiter fatus est." Et Diomedis Argivi campos et Cannam flumen ii qui militaverant in iiis locis iuxta atque ipsam cladem agnosebant. Tum alterum carmen recitatum, non eo tantum obscurius quia incertiora futura praeteritis sunt, sed perplexius etiam scrip turae genere. "Hostis, Romani, si expellere vultis, vomieam quae gentium venit longe, Apollini vovendos eenseo ludos, qui quotannis comiter Apollini fiant; cum populus dederit ex publico partem, privati uti conferant pro se atque suis; iiis ludis faciendis praecit praetor is qui ius

1 urbani Sigonius: urbem P(4): urb' (or -bis) C4 M1 BDA: rejected by Walters.
4 Troinenga G. Hermann: -nam P(1), adding romanae, probably a gloss.
5 expellere P(1): ex agro expellere Macrobius 1. xvii. 28.
6 vomieam A Macrobius: vomica P(2).
into the hands of Marcus Aemilius, he praetor b.c. 212
city, who was in charge of the matter. He had
immediately turned them over to the new praetor,
Sulla. Of the two prophecies of this Marcius the
authority of one, made known after the event, was
confirmed by the outcome and lent credibility to the
other also, whose time had not yet come. In the
earlier prophecy the disaster at Cannae had been
predicted in such terms as these: "Flee the river
Canna, thou descendant of Troy, that foreigners may
not compel thee to do battle in the Plain of Diomed.
But thou wilt not believe me until thou hast filled
the plain with blood, and many thousands of thy
slain will the river bear from the fruitful land down
to the great sea. To fishes and birds and beasts that
dwell on the land thy flesh shall be meat. For
thus hath Jupiter declared to me." And those who
had fought in that region recognized the plains of
the Argive Diomed and the river Canna no less than
the disaster itself. Then the second prophecy was
read, being not only more obscure because the
future is more uncertain than the past, but more
difficult also in the way it was written. "If you wish,
Romans, to drive out enemies, the sore which has
come from afar, I propose that a festival be vowed
to Apollo, to be observed with good cheer in honour of
Apollo every year. When the people shall have given
a part out of the treasury, private citizens shall con-
tribute on their own behalf and that of their families.
In charge of the conduct of that festival shall be the
praetor who is then chief judge for the people and

1 For the error cf. note on i. 11.
2 The rough hexameters (probably translated from the
Greek) had been reduced to prose.

385
populo plebeique dabit summum; decemviri Graeco ritu hostiis saera faciant. Hoc si recte facietis, gaudebitis semper fidelque res vestra melior; nam is decem \(^1\) extinguet perduellis vestros qui vestros campos pascit placide." Ad id carmen explanandum \(^2\) diem unum sumpserunt; postero die senatus consultum est ut decemviri \(^3\) de ludis Apollini reque divina facienda inspicerent. Ea cum inspecta relataque ad senatum essent, censuerunt patres Apollini ludos vovendos faciendosque et, quando ludi facti essent, duodecim milia aeris praetori ad rem divinam et duas hostias maiores dandas. Alterum senatus consultum factum est ut decemviri sacrum Graeco ritu facerent hisque hostiis, Apollini bove aurato et capris duabus albis auratis, Latonae bove femina aurata. Ludos prætor in circo maximo cum facturus esset, edixit ut populus per eos ludos stipem Apollini, quantam commodum esset, con-
ferret. Hæc est origo ludorum Apollinarium, victoriae, non valetudinis ergo, ut plerique rentur, votorum factorumque. Populus coronatus spectavit, matronæ supplicaverent; vulgo apertis ianuis in propatulo \(^4\) epulati sunt, celeberque dies omni caerimoniarum genere fuit.

XIII. Cum Hannibal circa Tarentum, consules

\(^1\) deum Riemann (or divum): dium \(P(1)\): divus \(x\) Macro-
bius.

\(^2\) explanandum \(P^2(1)\) Madrig: expiandum \(P\) Walters.

\(^3\) decemviri \(P(1)\): decemviri libros \(z\) Macrobius.

\(^4\) propatulo \(A\): -lis \(P(2)\).

\(^1\) I.e. the decemviri saeris faciundis, charged with the over-

\(^2\) sight of sacrifices.

\(^3\) The libri Sibyllini, of which the decemvirs were the custodians and authorized interpreters, but could not refer to them unless empowered by a decree of the senate.

386
BOOK XXV. XII. IO—XIII. I

the commons. The decemvirs \(^1\) shall offer the victims B.C. 212 according to Greek rite. If ye will do this rightly, ye shall forever rejoice, and your state will change for the better. For that god who graciously nurtures your meadows will destroy your enemies." For the interpretation of the prophecy they took one day. On the next day the senate made a decree that in regard to the festival to be held and the sacrifices in honour of Apollo the decemvirs should consult the books.\(^2\) Those passages having been consulted and reported to the senate, the fathers voted that a festival should be vowed and held in honour of Apollo, and after the festival had been held the sum of twelve thousand asses should be given to the praetor for the ceremonies, and two full-grown victims. A second decree of the senate was made, that the decemvirs should offer sacrifice according to Greek rite and with these victims: to Apollo an ox with gilded horns and two white she-goats \(^3\) with gilded horns, to Latona a cow with gilded horns. When the praetor was about to open the festival in the Circus Maximus, he ordered by edict that during that feast the people should make their contribution to Apollo according to their means. Such is the origin of the festival of Apollo, vowed and kept to secure victory, not health, as most think. The people wore garlands at the spectacles, the matrons offered prayers, everybody feasted in the atrium with open doors, and the day was kept with every kind of ceremony.

XIII. While Hannibal was near Tarentum, and

\(^1\) As she-goats would surely be offered to Diana, not to Apollo, there is good reason to believe that her name has been lost from the text, and before Macrobius' time, since he has the same statement; *Saturnalia* I. xvii. 29.
ambo in Samnio essent, sed circumsessuri Capuam viderentur, quod malum diuturnae obsidionis esse solet, iam famem Campani sentiebant, quia sementem 2 facere prohibuerant eos Romani exercitus. Itaque legatos ad Hannibalem miserunt orantes ut, priusquam consules in agros suos educerent legiones viaeque omnes hostium praevidiis insidierentur, frumentum ex propinquis locis conveyi iubert 3 Capuam. Hannibal Hannonem ex Bruttis cum exercitu in Campaniam transire et dare operam ut 4 frumenti copia fieret Campanis iussit. Hanno ex Bruttis profectus cum exercitu, vitabundus castra hostium consulesque, qui in Samnio erant, cum Benevento iam adpropinquaret, tria milia passuum 5 ab ipsa urbe loco edito castra posuit; inde ex sociis circa populis, quo aestate comportatum erat, devethi frumentum in castra iussit praevidiis datis quae 6 commenatus eos prosequerentur. Capuam inde nun- tium misit qua die in castris ad accipiendum frumen tum praesto essent omni undique genere vehiculorum 7 iumentorumque ex agris contracto. Id pro eetera socordia neglegentiaque a Campanis actum: paulo plus quadringenta vehicula missa et pauea praeterea iunta. Ob id castigatis ab Hannone quod ne fames quidem, quae mutas accenderet bestias, euram corum stimulare posset, alia prodicta dies ad frumen- 8 tum maiore apparatu petendum. Ea omnia, sicut acta erant, cum enuntiata Beneventanis essent,
both consuls were in Samnium but seemed about to B.C. 212 invest Capua, already the Campanians were suffering hunger (the usual hardship of a long investment), because the Roman armies had prevented them from sowing. And so they sent legates to Hannibal, praying that, before the consuls should lead the legions into their lands and all the roads should be blocked by forces of the enemy, he should order grain to be brought from neighbouring places to Capua. Hannibal ordered Hanno to march with his army from the land of the Bruttii over into Campania, and to see to it that the Campanians should have a supply of grain. Hanno set out from the land of the Bruttii with his army, avoided camps of the enemy and the consuls, who were in Samnium, and when he was now nearing Beneventum, pitched camp on high ground three miles from the city itself. Then he ordered grain to be brought into camp from allied peoples of the neighbourhood, among whom it had been garnered in the summer; and he furnished troops to escort the supplies. Then he sent word to Capua, naming a day on which they should appear at the camp to get their grain, after bringing together from the farms on all sides every kind of vehicle and beast of burden. This order was carried out by the Campanians with their usual carelessness and indifference. Little more than four hundred vehicles were sent, and a few beasts of burden besides. For this they were censured by Hanno, that not even hunger, which, as he said, inflames even dumb brutes, could spur their diligence; and another day was assigned for getting their grain with ampler means of transport. When all this was reported, just as it happened, to the Beneventans, they at once
LIVY

legatos decem extemplo ad consules—circa Bovianum
castra Romanorum erant—miserunt. Qui cum au-
ditis quae ad Capuam agerentur inter se comparassent
ut alter in Campaniam exercitum duceret, Fulvius,
cui ca provincia obvenerat, profectus nocte Bene-
venti moenia est ingressus. Ex propinquo cognoseit
Hannonem cum exercitum parte profectum frumen-
tatum; per quaestorem Campanis datum frumen-
tum; duo milia plaustrorum, inconditam inermem-
que aliam turbam advenisse; per tumultum ac
trepidationem omniaagi, castrorumque formam et
militarem ordinem inmixitis agrestibus et 1 is ex-
ternis sublatum.

His satis compertis, consul militibus edicit, signa
tantum armaque in proximam noctem expedirent;
castra Punica oppugnanda esse. Quarta vigilia
profecti sarcinis omnibus impedimentisque Beneventi
relictis, paulo ante lucem cum ad castra pervenissent,
tantum pavoris iniecerunt ut, si in plano castra posita
essent, haud dubie primo impetu capi potuerint.
Altitudo loci et munimenta defendere, 2 quae nulla
ex parte adiri nisi arduo ac difficili ascensu poterant.
Luce prima proelium ingens accensum est. Nec val-
hum modo tutantur Poeni, sed, ut quibus locus acquir
esset, deturbant nitentis per ardua hostes. XIV.
Vincit tamen omnia pertinax virtus, et aliquot simul
partibus ad vallum ac fossas perventum est, sed cum
multis vulneribus ac militum pernicie. Itaque

1 et Madvig: om. P(1).
2 defendere Alschefski: -erent PCRMB*: -erunt DA:
erant C3B.

1 I.e. not Campanians.
sent ten legates to the consuls, the camp of the Romans being near Bovianum. The consuls, on hearing what was going on near Capua, mutually arranged that one of them should lead his army into Campania, and Fulvius, to whom that assignment had fallen, set out and entered the walls of Beneventum at night. Being near now, he learned that Hanno had gone with a part of his army to procure grain; that through his quaestor grain had been furnished to the Campanians; that two thousand wagons and in addition a mixed and unarmed multitude had arrived; that everything was being done in confusion and excitement, and that the arrangement of the camp and military routine had been broken down by the influx of rustics, foreigners at that.

These facts being sufficiently established, the consul ordered the soldiers to make ready their standards and arms, and nothing else, for the following night; they must attack the Carthaginian camp. Setting out at the fourth watch, leaving all their packs and baggage at Beneventum, they reached the camp shortly before daylight and inspired such panic that, if the camp had been placed on level ground, it could undoubtedly have been taken by the first assault. The lofty situation protected it, also the fortifications, which could not be approached from any side except by a steep and difficult slope. At daybreak a great battle blazed up. And the Carthaginians not only defended the earthwork but, as they had the more favourable situation, pushed down the enemy struggling up the steep slope. XIV. Nevertheless obstinate courage surmounted everything, and so the earthwork and the trenches were reached in several places at once, but with many wounds and heavy loss of
convocatis legatis\(^1\) tribunisque militum consul absistendum temerario incepto ait; tutius sibi videri reduci eo die exercitum Beneventum, dein postero castra\(^2\) castris hostium iungi, ne exire inde Campani neve Hanni regredi posset; id quo facilius obtineatur, collegam quoque et exercitum eius se acciturus totumque eo versuros bellum. Hace consilia ducis, cum iam receptui caneret, clamor militum asperntium tam segne imperium disiecit. Proxima forte hosti\(^3\) crat cohors Paeligna, cuius praefectus Vibius Accaus arreptum vexillum trans vallum hostium traiecit. Exercatus inde seque et cohortem, si eius vexilli hostes potiti essent, princeps ipse per fossam vallumque in castra inrupit. Iamque intra vallum Paelignai pugnabat, cum altera parte, Valerio Flacco tribuno militum tertiae legionis exprobrante Romanis ignaviam, qui sociis captorum castrorum concederent decus, T. Pedanius princeps primus centurio, eum signifero signum ademisset, "Iam hoc signum et hic centurio" inquit "intra vallum hostium est: sequantur qui capi signum ab hoste prohibituri sunt." Manipulares sui primum transcendentem fossam, dein legio tota secuta est. Iam et consul, ad conspectum transgredientium vallum mutato consilio, ab revocando ad ineitandos hortandosque versus

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\(^1\) legatis Alschefski: om. P(1).
\(^2\) castra Crévier: om. P(1).
\(^3\) forte hosti Madvig, Emend.: portae (-e) hostium P(1).
men. Accordingly the consul called together his lieutenants and tribunes of the soldiers and told them he must give up his rash undertaking; that it seemed to him safer to lead the army back that day to Beneventum, and then on the following day to pitch camp close to that of the enemy, so that the Campanians might not be able to leave it nor Hanno to return. To accomplish that more readily, he would summon his colleague also and his army, and they would focus the entire war upon that point. These plans of the general were disrupted, when he was already sounding the recall, by the shouts of the soldiers rejecting an order so lacking in spirit. Nearest to the enemy happened to be a Paelignian cohort, whose prefect Vibius Accaus seized the banner and threw it over the enemy’s earthwork. Then, with a curse upon himself and the cohort if the enemy should get possession of that banner, he was himself the first to dash over the trench and wall into the camp. And already the Paelignians were fighting inside the wall, when from the other side of the camp, while Valerius Flacus, tribune of the soldiers of the third legion, was reproaching the Romans for their cowardice in yielding to allies the honour of capturing the camp, Titus Pedanius, first centurion of the principes, took a standard away from the standard-bearer and said “This standard and this centurion will in a moment be inside the enemy’s wall. Let those follow who are to prevent the standard from being captured by the enemy.” First the men of his own maniple followed him as he crossed the trench, then the whole legion. And now the consul at the sight of men crossing the wall changed his plan, turned from recalling his soldiers to arousing
milites, ostendere in quanto discrimine ae periculo fortissima cohors sociorum et civium legio esset. 
9 Itaque pro se quisque omnes per aqua atque iniqua loca, cum undique tela conicerentur armaque et corpora hostes obierent, pervadunt inrum-punctuque; multi volnerati etiam quos vires et sanguis desereret, ut intra vallum hostium caderent nitentur. Capta itaque momento temporis velut in plano sita nec permunita castra. Caedes inde, non iam pugna crat omnibus intra vallum permixtis. 
10 Supra sex¹ milia hostium occisa, supra septem milia capitum cum frumentatoribus Campanis omnique plaustrorum et iumentorum apparatu capta; et alia ingens praeda fuit quam Hanno, populabundus passim cum isset, ex sociorum populi Romani agris traxerat. Inde deletis hostium castris Beneventum reditum, praeclamque ibi ambo consules—nam et Ap. Claudius eo post paucos dies venit—vendiderunt diviseruntque. Et donati quorum opera castra hostium capta erant, ante alios Accaus Paelignus et T. Pedanius, princeps tertiae legionis. Hanno ab Cominio Ocrito, quo nuntiata castrorum clades est, cum paucis frumentatoribus quos forte secum habuerat fugae magis quam itineris modo in Bruttios rediit. XV. Et Campani, audita sua pariter sociorumque clade, legatos ad 

¹ sex R²(7); ex PR; x P²; decem vulgate.
and encouraging them, and pointed out to them in B.C. 212 what a critical and perilous situation were the bravest cohort of the allies and a legion of their fellow-citizens. And so, each doing his best, over ground favourable and unfavourable, while javelins were being hurled from every side and the enemy were interposing weapons and their bodies, they made their way and burst in. Many wounded men, even those whose strength and blood were ebbing, strove to fall inside the enemy's wall. And so in a moment's time the camp was captured, just as if pitched on level ground and not strongly fortified. Then came slaughter, no longer mere battle, since everything inside the wall was in confusion.

Over six thousand of the enemy were slain, over seven thousand men captured, including the Campanians who came for grain, and the entire train of wagons and mules. In addition there was the immense booty which Hanno, having set out to plunder far and wide, had taken from farms of allies of the Roman people. Then after destroying the enemy's camp they returned to Beneventum, and there the two consuls—for Appius Claudius came there a few days later—sold and divided the booty. And the men by whose efforts the camp of the enemy had been captured, were rewarded, first of all Accaus the Paelignian and Titus Pedanius, first centurion of the third legion. Hanno, leaving Cominius Ocritus, where he received news of the disaster at the camp, with the few men he happened to have with him to get grain, returned in what resembled a flight rather than a march to the land of the Bruttii. XV. And the Campanians, hearing of what was a disaster as much to themselves as to their allies, sent legates to
Hannibalem miserunt, qui nuntiarent duos consules ad Beneventum esse, diei iter a Capua; tantum non ad portas et muros bellum esse; ni propere subveniat, celerius Capuam quam Arpos in potestate hostium venturam. Ne Tarentum quidem, non modo aream, tanti debere esse ut Capuam, quam Carthaginii acquare sit solitus, desertam inde-fensamque populo Romano tradat. Hannibal, curae sibi fore rem Campanam pollicitus, in praesentia duo milia equitum cum legatis mittit, quo praesidio agros populationibus possent prohibere.

Romanis interim, siue aliarum rerum, arcis Tarentinae praesidiique quod ibi obsideretur eura est. C. Servilius legatus, ex auctoritate patrum a P. Cornelio praetore in Etruriam ad frumentum coemendum missus, cum aliquot navibus onustis in portum Tarentinum inter hostium custodias pervenit. Cuin adventu qui ante in exigua spe vocati saepe ad transitionem ad hostibus per conloquia erant ulito ad transceundum hostis vocabant sollicitabantque. Et erat satis validum praesidium traductis ad aream Tarenti tuendam qui Metaponti erant militibus.

Itaque Metapontini extemplo metu quo tenebantur liberati ad Hannibalem defeecerent.


1 Cf. XXIV. xlvi f.
Hannibal to report that the two consuls were at b.c. 212 Beneventum, a day's march from Capua; that the war was all but at their gates and walls; and that, if he did not come to their aid in haste, Capua would fall into the power of the enemy more promptly than Arpi. They said that not even Tarentum, to say nothing of its citadel, ought to be of such importance that he should hand over to the Roman people the deserted and undefended Capua, which he had usually compared with Carthage. Hannibal, promising that the Campanian cause would be his concern, for the present sent two thousand horsemen with his lieutenants, that with this force they might be able to protect their farms from devastation.

The Romans meantime were concerned among other things for the citadel of Tarentum and the garrison there besieged. Gaius Servilius, who as lieutenant had been sent by Publius Cornelius, the praetor, into Etruria by authority of the senate to purchase grain, made his way through the enemy's blockade into the harbour of Tarentum with a number of shiploads. Thanks to his coming, the men who until then in their faint hope had often been invited by the enemy in parleys to change sides were actually inviting and urging the enemy to change sides. And the garrison was in fact strong enough, now that soldiers who were at Metapontum had been transferred to defend the citadel of Tarentum. Accordingly the Metapontines were at once relieved of the fear by which they were restrained, and went over to Hannibal.

The Thurians also, on the same coast, did the same. What impelled them was not more the
pontinorumque, quibus indidem ex Achaia oriundi etiam cognatione iuneti erant, quam ira in Romanos propter obsides nuper interfectos. Eorum amici cognatique litteras ae nuntios ad Hannonem Magonemque, qui in propinquo in Bruttiiis erant, miserunt, si exercitum ad moenia admovissent, se in potestatem eorum urbem tradituros esse. M. Atinius Thuriis cum modico praesidio praeeerat, quern facile elicri ad certamen temere ineundum rebantur posse, non tam militum, quos perpancos habebat, fiducia quam iuventutis Thurinæ; eam ex industria centuria-verat armaveratque ad talis casus. Divisis copiis inter se duces Poeni cum agrum Thurinum ingressi essent, Hanno cum peditum agmine infestis signis ire ad urbem pergit, Mago cum equitatu tectus collibus apte ad tegendas insidias oppositis subsistit. Atinius peditum tantum ammine per exploratores comperto in aciem copias eduit, et fraudis intestinae et hostium insidiarum ignarus. Pedestre proelium fuit persenque paueis in prima acie pugnantisbus Romanis, Thurinis expectantibus magis quam adiuvantibus eventum; et Carthaginiensium acies de industria pedem referebat, ut ad terga collis ab equite suo insessi hostem ineautum pertraheret. Quo ubi est ventum, coorti cum clamore equites prope inconditam Thurinorum turbam nec satis fido animo unde

1 tam z: om. P(1).

1 Not the brother of Hannibal; xvi. 7 f., 24; xviii. 1; xxi. 4.
2 So in mustering old men into the service in VI. ii. 6, and freedmen in X. xxi. 4.
revolt of the Tarentines and that of the Meta-pontines, with whom they were linked by blood as well, being sprung from the same Achaia, than anger against the Romans on account of the recent execution of the hostages. Friends and relatives of these sent a letter and messengers to Hanno and Mago, who were not far away in the land of the Bruttii, saying that, if they should bring up an army to their walls, they would themselves deliver the city into their power. Marcus Atinius was in command at Thurii with a garrison of moderate size, and they thought that he could easily be tempted to dash rashly into battle, from his confidence not so much in his soldiers, of whom he had very few, as in the young men of Thurii. He had purposely organized them in centuries and armed them with a view to such emergencies. The Carthaginian generals divided their forces between them and, on entering the territory of Thurii, Hanno, with the infantry column ready to attack, proceeded to the city. Mago with the cavalry halted under cover of hills conveniently interposed to conceal an ambuscade. Atinius, informed of the infantry column alone by scouts, led his troops out into line, he being unaware both of the conspiracy within and of the enemy's ambuscade. The infantry battle was very lacking in spirit, for only a few Romans were fighting in the front line, and the men of Thurii were awaiting the outcome, rather than contributing to it. And the Carthaginian line purposely retreated, in order to draw the heedless enemy to the other side of the hill occupied by their own cavalry. When they reached the place, the cavalry, suddenly attacking with a shout, at once put to flight the mass of the Thurians, which was
Pugnabat stantem extemplo in fugam averterunt. 14 Romani, quamquam circumventos hinc pedes, hinc eques urgebat, tamen aliquandiu pugnam traxere; postremo et ipsi terga vertunt atque ad urbem fugiunt. Ibi prodiores conglobati cum popularium agmen patentibus portis accepiisset, ubi Romanos fusos ad urbem ferri viderunt, conclamant instare Poenum, permixtosque et hostis urbem invasuros, ni propere portas claudant. Ita exclusos Romanos praebuere hosti ad caedem; Atinius tamen cum paucis receptus. Seditio inde paulisper tenuit, cum alii cedendum fortunae et tradendum urbem victoribus censerent. Ceterum, ut plerumque, fortuna et consilia mala vicerunt: Atinio cum suis ad mare ac naves deduco, magis quia ipsi ob imperium in se mitis ac iustum consultum volebant quam respectu Romanorum, Carthaginienses in urbem accipiant.

18 Consules a Benevento in Campanum agrum legiones ducunt non ad frumenta modo, quae iam in herbis erant, corrupienda, sed ad Capuam oppugnandum. nobilem se consultatum tam opulentae urbis excidio rati faeturos, simul et ingens flagitium imperio dempturos, quod urbi tam propinquae tertium annum inpunita defectio esset. Ceterum ne Beneventum sine praesidio esset, et ut ad subita

1 cum, P(L) add another inde, variously emended by those who require alii . . . alii.

1 In contrast with those who by admitting Atinius showed their preference for the Romans.
almost undisciplined and not entirely loyal to the side B.C. 212 on which they were fighting. The Romans, though surrounded and hard pressed on one side by the infantry, on the other by the cavalry, nevertheless kept on fighting for some time. Finally they also faced about and fled to the city. There the traitors massed together and admitted the column of their citizens through wide-open gates; but when they saw the routed Romans moving toward the city, they shouted that the Carthaginian was upon them, and unless they hastily closed the gates the enemy also, mingling with them, would make their way into the city. Thus they shut out the Romans and left them to be slain by the enemy. Atinius, however, with a few men was admitted. Then for a short time dissension continued, the other party ¹ being of the opinion that they must yield to destiny and surrender the city to the victors. But, as usual, chance and bad advice prevailed. Atinius and his men were brought down to the sea and ships, more because they wished his personal safety, on account of his mild and just rule over them, than out of regard for the Romans, and then they admitted the Carthaginians to the city.

The consuls led their legions from Beneventum into the Campanian territory, not merely to ruin the grain, which was by now green, but also to besiege Capua. They thought to make theirs a notable consulship by the destruction of so rich a city, and at the same time to remove a great disgrace from the empire, in that the revolt of a city so near had been unpunished for three years.² But, not to leave Beneventum without a garrison, and, with a view to

² It was really over three years, from 216 B.C.
belli, si Hannibal, quod facturum haud dubitabant, 
ad opem ferendum sociis Capuan venisset, equitis 
vim sustinere possent, Ti. Gracchum ex Lucanis 
cum equitatu ac levi armatura Beneventum venire 
ierent; legionibus stativisque ad obtinendas res in 
Lucanis aliquem praeficeret.

XVI. Graccho, prinsquam ex Lucanis moveret, 
sacrificantes triste prodigium factum est: ad exta 
sacrificio perpetrato angues duo ex occulto adlapsi 
adere iocnr conspectique repente ex oculis abierunt. 
Ideo cum haruspicium monitu sacrificium instaurare-
tur atque intentius exta reservarentur, iterum ac 
tertium tradunt adlapsos libatoque iocinere intectos 
angues abisse. Cum haruspices ad imperatorem 
id pertinere prodigium praemonuissent et ab occultis 
cavendum hominibus consultis, nulla tamen 
providentia fatum imminens moveri potuit. Flavus 
Lucanus fuit, caput partis eius Lucanorum, cum pars 
ad Hannibalem defecisset, quae cum Romanis stabat; 
et iam altero anno in magistratu erat, ab iisdem 
ilis creatus praetor. Is mutata repente voluntate 
locum gratiae apud Poenum quaerens neque transire 
ipse neque trahere ad defectionem Lucanos satis 
habuit, nisi imperatoris et eisdem hospitis prodiri 
capite ac sanguine foedus cum hostibus sanxisset.

2 adlapsos Weissenborn: om. P(1). 
3 altero Weissenborn: om. P(1). 
4 anno PR: hano R/MRD:1: anmo Jac. Gronovius: 
altero anno Weissenborn.
emergencies, if Hannibal should come to Capua, as B.C. 212
they had no doubt he would do, to lend aid to his
allies, in order that they might be able to withstand
the attack of his cavalry, they ordered Tiberius
Gracchus to come from Lucania with his cavalry and
light-armed troops to Beneventum. He was to put
some one in command of the legions and permanent
camps, in order to control the situation in
Lucania.

XVI. As Gracchus was sacrificing before leaving
Lucania, an unfavourable portent occurred. After
the slaying of the victim two snakes gliding stealthily
up to the entrails ate part of the liver, and on being
noticed vanished suddenly from sight. When for
that reason the sacrifice was repeated on the advice
of the soothsayers, and while the entrails were being
kept with greater care, they relate that the snakes
for the second and the third time gliding up tasted
the liver and went away unharmed. Although the
soothsayers had warned in advance that that portent
applied to the general, and that he must beware of
men in hiding and of covert plans, still the impending
fate could not be averted by any foresight. There
was a Lucanian, Flavus, head of that party of the
Lucanians which remained on the Roman side,
although the other party had revolted to Hannibal.
And he was now in the second year of his office,
having been elected praetor by that same party.
He suddenly changed his intention and, seeking to
find favour with the Carthaginian, was not satisfied
to change sides himself nor to draw the Lucanians
into revolt without ratifying his agreement with the
enemy by the life-blood of the general, betrayed
though at the same time his guest-friend. He came
7 Ad Magonem, qui in Bruttiis praeerat, clam in collo-
quium venit fideque ab eo accepta, si Romamum iis
imperatorem tradisset, liberos cum suis legibus
venturos in amicitiam Lucanos, dedueit Poenum in
locum quo cum 1 paucis Gracchum adducturum
8 ait: Mago ibi pedites equitesque armatos—et
capere eas latebras ingentem numerum—oculeret.
9 Loco satis inspecto atque undique explorato dies
composita gerendae rei est. Flavus ad Romanum
10 imperatorem venit. Rem se ait magnam incohasse,
ad quam persiciendam ipsius Graeci opera opus
esse: omnium populorum praetoribus qui ad
Poenum in illo communi Italiae motu descissent,
persuasisse ut redirent in amicitiam Romanorum,
11 quando res quoque Romana, quae prope exitium
clade Cannensi venisset, in dies melior atque auctior
fieret, Hannibalis vis senesceret ac prope ad nihilum
12 venisset; veteri delicto haud inplacabilis fore
Romanos; nullam umquam gentem magis exorabilem
promptioremque veniae dandaes fuisse; quotiens re-
13 bellioni etiam maiorum suorum ignotum! Hace ab
sese dicta; ceterum ab ipso Graccho cadem hace
audire malle cos praesentisque contingere dextram
14 et id pignus fidei secum ferre. Locum se concilio
iis dixisse a conspectu amatim, haud proeul eastris
Romanis; ibi paucis verbis transigi rem posse ut


404
to Mago, who was in command in the country of the Bruttii, for a secret conference, and received his promise that, if he should surrender the Roman commander into their hands, the Lucanians as free men with their own laws would be accepted as friends. He then led the Carthaginian to a place to which he said he would bring Gracchus with a few men; there Mago should conceal armed infantry and cavalry; and the hiding-place had room, he said, for a very large number. After they had sufficiently examined the spot and reconnoitred all around, a day was settled upon for the execution of the plan. Flavus came to the Roman commander, saying that he had begun an important business for the completion of which he needed Gracchus' own help; that he had persuaded the magistrates of all the peoples which in that general commotion in Italy had gone over to the Carthaginians, to return to the friendship of the Romans, since the Roman state also, which had been nearly destroyed by the disaster at Cannae, was daily improving and increasing, while Hannibal's power was growing feebler and had been reduced almost to nothing. To their old offence, he said, the Romans would not be implacable; no people had ever been more easily entreated and readier to grant forgiveness. How often had a rebellion even of their own ancestors been pardoned! These things he said he had told them; but that they preferred to hear these same statements from Gracchus himself, and to take hold of his right hand there before them, and to carry with them that pledge of his honour. He had appointed for their council a place out of sight, not far from the Roman camp; there in a few words it could be
omne nomen Lucanum in fide ae societate Romana
sit. Gracchus fraudem et sermoni et rei abesse
ratus ac similitudine veri captus cum lictoribus ac
turna equitum et castris profectus duce hospite in
insidias præcipitat.\(^1\) Hostes subito exorti, et, ne
dubia proditio esset, Flavus iis se adiungit. Tela
undique in Gracchum atque equites coniunctur.
Gracchus ex equo desilit; idem ceteros faere
inbet hortaturque ut, quod unum reliquum fortuna
fecerit, id cohonestent virtute: reliquum autem
quid esse paucis a multitudine in valle silva ac
montibus saepa circumventis praeter mortem?
Id referre, utrum praebentes corpora pecorum modo
inulti trucidentur, an toti a patiendo expectandoque
eventu in impetum atque iram versi, agentes auden-
tesque, perfusi hostium cruore, inter exspirantium
inimicorum cumulata armaque et corpora cadant.
Lucanum proditorem ac transfugam omnes peterent;
qui eam victimam praec se ad inferos misisset, cum
decus eximium, egregium solacium suae morti
inwenturum. Inter haec dicta paludamento circa
laevum brachium intorto—nam ne scuta quidem
secum extulerant—in hostis impetum fecit. Maior
quam pro numero hominum editur pugna. Iaculis
maxine aperta corpora Romanorum, cum\(^2\) undique
ex altioribus locis in cavam vallem conicetus esset,

\(^1\) præcipitat Madrig (possibly P\(^2\)): -tatus P(1): -tatur
B marv, Gronovius.
\(^2\) cum Madrig, Conway: et cum P(1).

406
settled that the whole Lucanian people should be under the protection of the Romans and in alliance with them. Gracchus, thinking that both speech and proposal were free from guile, and misled by the plausibility of it, set out from the camp with his lictors and a troop of cavalry, and with a guest-friend as his guide fell into the ambush. The enemy suddenly came out, and, to leave no doubt about his treachery, Flavus joined them. Javelins assail Gracchus and his horsemen from every side. He springs from his horse, bids the rest to do the same and urges them to ennoble by courage the one thing fortune has left open to them. But to a few men surrounded by a multitude, in a valley hedged about by forest and mountains, what was left, he asked, but death? The one thing that mattered was whether they were to submit themselves like sheep to be slaughtered unavenged, or, far from calmly awaiting the outcome, were to be altogether bent on angry attack, and then, daring and doing, drenched by the blood of the enemy, among the heaps of arms and bodies of their dying foes, were to fall. They must all attack the Lucanian traitor and deserter. The man who sent that victim before him to the lower world would find great distinction and for his own death an extraordinary consolation. While thus speaking he wound his general’s cloak around his left arm—for they had not taken even shields with them—and attacked the enemy. The battle was out of all proportion to the number of men engaged. The bodies of the Romans were especially unprotected against javelins, and were pierced by them, as they could be thrown from higher ground all around into the hollow valley. Gracchus, who
transfiguntur. Gracchum iam nudatum praesidio vivum capere Poeni nituntur; ceterum conspicatus Lucanum hospitem inter hostis, adeo infestus conquerit ut pari ei sine multorum pernicie non posset. Examinem cum Mago extemplo ad Hannibalem misit ponique cum captis simul fæcis ante tribunal imperatoris iussit.

Hace si vera fama est, Gracchus in Lucanis ad campos qui Veteres vocantur perìit. XVII. Sunt qui in agro Beneventano prope Calorem fluvium contendant a castris cum lictoribus ac tribus servis lavandi causa progressum, cum forte inter salieta innata ripis laterent hostes, nudum atque inermem saxisque quae volvit annis propugnantem interfectum. Sunt qui haruspicum monitu quingentos passus a castris progressum, uti loco puro ea quae ante dicta prodigia sunt procuraret, ab insidentibus forte locum duabus turmis Numidarum circumventum scribant. Adeo nec locus nec ratio mortis in viro tam claro et insigni constat. Funeris quoque Gracchi varia est fama. Alii in castris Romanis sepultum ab suis, alii ab Hannibale—et ea vulgator fama est—tradunt in vestibulo Punicorum castrorum rogum extructum esse, armatum exercitum decerurrisse cum tripudiis Hispanorum motibusque armorum et corporum suae cuique genti adsuetis, ipso Hannibale

\[1\] si Madvig: om. P(1).
was by this time stripped of his defenders, the Carthaginians strove to capture alive. But catching sight of his Lucanian guest-friend among the enemy, he dashed into the dense ranks with such animosity that he could not be spared without the loss of many lives. Mago at once sent the corpse to Hannibal and ordered it to be placed before the general's tribune together with the captured fasces.

If this is the true report, Gracchus perished in Lucania, on the Old Plains, as they are called.

XVII. There are some who maintain that in the region of Beneventum, by the river Calor, he had gone out of the camp with his lietors and three slaves to bathe, while enemies, as it happened, were hiding among the willows growing on the banks, and was slain, naked and unarmed and defending himself with stones which the river rolls along. There are some writers who say that on the advice of the soothsayers he had gone five hundred paces from the camp to make atonement on an uncontaminated spot for the prodigies mentioned above, and was overpowered by two troops of Numidians who chanced to be in ambush there. So far are both the place and the manner of his death from being established, in spite of his eminence and distinction. In regard to Gracchus's funeral also reports vary. Some relate that he was buried in the Roman camp by his own men, others—and this is the prevalent report—that by Hannibal's order a pyre was erected directly outside the gate of the Carthaginian camp, and that the army defiled under arms, with dances by the Spanish troops and such movements of weapons and bodies as were customary for each tribe, while Hannibal himself
omnirerum verborumque honore exequias celebrante.

6 Haece tradunt qui in Lucanis rei gestae auctores sunt. Si illis qui ad Calorem fluvium interfectum memorant credere velis, capitis tantum Gracchi hostes potiti sunt; eo delato ad Hannibalem, missus ab eo confestim Carthalo, qui in castra Romana ad Cu. Cornelium quaestorem deferret; is fumus imperatoris in castris celebrantibus cum exercitu Beneventanis fecit.

XVIII. Consules agrum Campanum ingressi cum passim popularentur, eruptione oppidae et Magonis cum equitatu territi et trepidi ad signa milites palatos passim revocarunt, et vix dum instructa acte fusi supra mile et quingentos milites amiserunt. Inde ingens ferocia superbae suopte ingenio genti crevit, multisque proeliis lacessebant Romanos; sed intentiores ad cavendum consules una pugna fecerat ineunte atque inesulte inita.

3 Restituit tamen his animos et illis minuit audaciam parva una res; sed in bello nihil tam leve est quod non magnae interim rei momentum faciat.


1 Is tum Crévier: stu P: tum P²(1).

1 Not to be confused with another man of the same name in xxvi. 4; XXIV. xxxix. 12; and frequently in XXVII.
honoured the obsequies with every tribute in act B.C. 212 and word. These are the statements of those who vouch for its occurrence in Lucania. If you incline to believe those who state that he was slain at the river Calor, the enemy gained possession of Gracchus' head only. This being brought to Hannibal, Carthalo was at once sent by him to bring it to the Roman camp and Gnaeus Cornelius the quaestor. He conducted the funeral of the general in the camp, while the people of Beneventum joined with the army in doing him honour.

XVIII. While the consuls, on entering the Campanian region, were devastating it far and wide, being alarmed and dismayed by a sally of the Capuans and of Mago with his cavalry, they recalled their widely scattered soldiers to the standards, and being routed almost before their line was formed, lost over fifteen hundred men. Upon this the great over-confidence of a people naturally proud was greatly increased, and they sought to provoke the Romans by many battles. But a single engagement incautiously and imprudently begun had made the consuls more careful to be on their guard. One small occurrence, however, restored the courage of one army and lessened the boldness of the other. But in war nothing is so slight as not at times to bring about a great result. Titus Quinctius Crispinus had one Badius, a Campanian, as his guest-friend, linked to him by intimate hospitality. Friendship had grown because in an illness Badius had been generously and kindly nursed at the house of Crispinus at Rome before the rebellion of Campania. This Badius at the time came up to the outposts stationed before the gate and bade them call
Quod ubi est Crispine muniatum, ratus conloquium amicum ac familiar vaqueri, manente memoria etiam in discidio publicorum foederum privati iuris, paulum a ceteris processit. Postquam in conspectum venere, "Provoco te" inquit "ad pugnam, Crispine," Badius; "conseendamus equos summotisque aliis uter bello melior sit decrenamus." Ad ea Crispinus nec sibi nec illi ait hostes deesse in quibus virtutem ostendant; se, etiamsi in acie occurrerit, declinaturum, ne hospitali caede dextram violet; con-versusque abibat. Enimvero ferocius tum Campanus increpare mollitiam ignaviamque et se digna probra in insontem iaecere, hospitalem hostem appellans simulantenque parere cui sciat parem se non esse. Si parum publicis foederibus ruptis dirempta simul et privata iura esse putet, Badium Campanum T. Quinctio Crispino Romano palam duobus exerciti-bus audientibus renuntiare hospitium. Nihil sibi cum eo consociatum, nihil foederatum, hosti cum hoste, euis patriam ac penates publicos privatosque oppugnatum venisset. Si vir esset, congrederetur. Diu cunctantem Crispinum perpulere turmales ne impune insultare Campanum pateretur. Itaque tantum moratus dum imperatores consuleret permitterentne sibi extra ordinem in provocantem.
Crispinus. When this was reported to Crispinus, he B.C. 212 went a little beyond the others, thinking a friendly and intimate conversation was wanted, since the memory of a personal tie lingered in spite of the rupture of public treaties. When they had come in sight of each other, "I challenge you to battle, Crispinus," said Badius. "Let us mount our horses and, with others kept at a distance, decide which is the better warrior." In reply Crispinus said that neither he nor Badius lacked enemies on whom to show his courage. For himself, even if he should meet the other in battle-line, he would avoid him, lest he stain his right hand with the blood of a guest-friend. And he turned and was walking away. Then in truth the Campanian more fiercely reviled the effeminacy and cowardice of Crispinus and hurled reproaches which he himself deserved against an innocent man, calling him a guest-enemy and a man who pretended to spare one to whom he knew he was not equal. If he thought that with the rupture of public treaties private ties had not also been broken, then, he said, Badius the Campanian, openly in the hearing of two armies, renounced the guest-friendship of Titus Quinctius Crispinus the Roman. For himself, an enemy, nothing was hallowed by association, nothing by compact, with him, an enemy, since he had come to attack his native city and the Penates of the state and of the household. If he was a man, let him come on. Crispinus, after long hesitation, was prevailed upon by his comrades not to allow the Campanian to revile him with impunity. And so he delayed only long enough to consult the generals as to whether they permitted him to fight out of ranks against an enemy who challenged him.
hostem pugnare, permissu eorum arma cepit equum-que conscendit et Badium nomine compellans ad

pugnam evocavit. Nulla mora a Campano facta est; infestis equis concurrent. Crispinus supra seutum
sinistrum umerum Badio hasta transfixit, superque
delapsum cum vulnere ex equo desiluit, ut pedes
iacentem conficceret. Badius, priusquam opprimere-
tur, parma atque equo relictum ad suos aufugit;

Crispinus equum armaque capta et eruentam cuspi-
dem insignis spolius ostentans cum magna laude et
gratulatione militum ad consules est deductus
laudatusque ibi magnifice et donis donatus.

XIX. Hannibal ex agro Beneventano castra ad
Capuanum cum movisset, tertio post die quam venit
2 copias in aciem eduxit, haudquaquam dubius, quod
Campanis absente se paucos ante dies secunda
fuisset pugna, quin multo minus se suumque totiens
3 victorem exercitum sustinere Romani possent. Ce-
terum postquam pugnari eoectum est, equitum
maxime incursu, cum iaculis obrueretur, laborabat
Romana acies, donee signum equitibus datum est
4 ut in hostem admitterent equos. Ita equestre
proelium erat, cum proeul visus Sempronianus exerci-
tus, cui Cn. Cornelius quaestor praecerat, utrique
parti parem metum praebuit ne hostes novi adven-
tarent. Velut ex composito utrimque signum re-
ceptui datum, reductique in castra prope aequo
Marte discesserunt; plures tamen ab Romanis primo

1 For the forces Gracchus had commanded cf. xv. 20.
With their permission he took his arms and mounted B.c. 212 his horse, and addressing Badius by name called him out to battle. The Campanian made no delay; riding directly at each other they clashed. Crispinus with his spear pierced Badius' left shoulder above the shield; and after he fell wounded, leaped upon him from his horse, that, now dismounted, he might despatch the fallen. Badius, not to be overpowered, left shield and horse and fled to his own men. Crispinus, decked with spoils and displaying the horse and captured arms and his bloody spear, was conducted with much praise and congratulation on the part of the soldiers to the consuls, and there he was highly praised and rewarded with gifts.

XIX. Hannibal, having moved his camp from the region of Beneventum to the vicinity of Capua, led his troops out into battle-line on the third day after his arrival. Since in his absence the Campanians had had a successful battle a few days before, he had no doubt whatever that the Romans would be much less able to withstand himself and his repeatedly victorious army. But once the battle had begun, the Roman line was hard pressed, especially by the cavalry charge, being overwhelmed by their darts, until the signal was given to the cavalry to urge their horses against the enemy. Thus a cavalry battle was in progress when the distant sight of the Sempronian army, commanded by Gnaeus Cornelius, the quaestor, inspired in both armies the same fear that fresh enemies were approaching. As if by agreement the signal for recall was given on both sides, and marching back to the camp they separated on almost even terms. Yet a larger number fell on the
A.U.C. 542

6 in eis equebus eceiderunt. Inde consules, ut averterent Capua Hannibalem, nocte quae secuta est diversi, Fulvius in agrum Cumanum, Claudius in Lucanos abit. Postero die, cum vacua castra Romanorum esse nuntiatum Hannibali esset et duobus agminibus diversos abisse, incertus primo utrum sequeretur, Appium institit sequi. Ille circumducto hoste qua voluit alio itinere ad Capuanum redit.

Hannibali alia in his locis bene gerendae rei fortuna oblata est. M. Centenius fuit cognomine Paenula, insignis inter primi pili centuriones et magnitudine corporis et animo. ls, perfunetus militia, per P. Cornelium Sullam praetorem in senatum introductus petit a patribus uti sibi quinque milia militum darentur: se peritum et hostis et regionum brevi operae pretium facturum et, quibus artibus ad id locorum nostri et duces et exercitus capti forent, iis adversus inventorem usurum. Id non promissum magis stolide quam stolide creditum, tamquam eadem militares et imperatoriae artes essent. Dati pro quinque octo milia militum, pars dimidia cives, pars socii. Et ipse aliquantum voluntarium in itinere ex agris concivit ae prope duplicato exercitu in Lucanos pervenit, ubi Hannibal nequiquam secutus Claudium substiterat. Haud dubia res

1 ex Madvig: in P(1).

1 A primi pili centurio (or primus pilus) was the ranking centurion of his legion, commanding the first century of the first maniple of the triarii.
Roman side because of the first charge of the horsemen. Thereupon the consuls, in order to draw Hannibal away from Capua, marched off the following night in different directions, Fulvius into the region of Cumae, Claudius into Lucania. The next day Hannibal, on being informed that the Roman camp was empty and that they had marched away in different directions in two columns, was at first uncertain which to follow, but pushed on in pursuit of Appius, who after leading the enemy around wherever he pleased, returned by a different road to Capua.

Hannibal had another opportunity for success presented to him in this region. There was one Marcus Centenius, with the cognomen Paemula, conspicuous among the centurions of the highest rank for his huge body and his courage. Having finished his military service, he was brought into the senate by Publius Cornelius Sulla, a praetor, and begged the fathers to give him five thousand soldiers. He, being well-acquainted, he said, both with the enemy and the country, would soon accomplish something worth while, and as for the arts by which both our generals and our armies had till then been ensnared, he would use them against their inventor. This was not more stupidly promised than stupidly believed, as if the qualities of soldier and general were the same. Instead of five thousand, eight thousand soldiers were given him, half of them citizens, half allies. And he himself on his march raised a considerable number of volunteers from the farms, and with his army nearly doubled reached Lucania, where Hannibal had halted after vainly pursuing Claudius. The result was never in doubt,
erat, quippe inter Hannibalem ducem et centurionem, exercitusque alterum vincendo veteranum, alterum novum toto, magna ex parte etiam tumultuarium ac semerem. Ut conspecta inter se agmina sunt et neutra pars detrectavit pugnam, extemplo instructae acies. Pugnatum tamen ut in nulla parire; duas amplius horas constitit pugna spe citante. donee dux stetit, Romanam aciem. Postquam is non pro vetere fama solum, sed etiam metu futuri dedecoris, si sua temeritate contractae eladi superesset, obiectans se hostium telis eecidit, fusa extemplo est Romana acies; sed adeo ne fugae quidem iter patuit omnibus viis ab equite insessis, ut ex tanta multitudine vix mille evaserint, ceteri passim alii alia peste absumpti sint.

XX. Capua a consulisibus iterum summa vi obsideri ecepta est, quaeque in cim rem opus erant compon- tabantur parabanturque. Casilinum frumentum consectum; ad Volturni ostium, ubi nunc urbs est, castellum communium ibique et Puteolis, quos iam ante Fabius Maximus munierat, praesidium impositum, ut mare proximum et flumen in potestate essent. In ea duo maritima castella frumentum, quod ex Sardinia nuper missum erat quodque M. Iunius praetor ex Etruria coemerat, ab Ostia convectum est, ut exerci- tu per hiemem copia esset. Ceterum super eam cladem quae in Lucanis accepta erat volumum quo-

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1 -stitit pugna spe con- M. Müller: om. P(1), a lost line.
2 concitante Madvig: concitata et P(1); -atae P*?: -ata Sigonius, Walters.
4 ibique . . . iam Conway, a line om. by P(1).

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1 Cf. XXIV. vii. 10.
as between Hannibal as commander and a centurion, b.c. 212
and between armies one of which was a veteran in
victory and the other altogether raw, in large part
also irregular and half-armed. When the columns
were in sight of each other and neither side refused
battle, the lines were immediately drawn up. They
fought, however, as was to be expected where nothing
was fairly matched. For more than two hours the
battle continued, since hope inspired the Roman line
so long as their commander held his ground. Not
only in keeping with his old reputation, but also for
fear of future disgrace, if he should survive a disaster
brought on by his own rashness, he threw himself
upon the weapons of the enemy and fell, whereupon
the Roman line was at once routed. But, as all the
roads were occupied by cavalry, so far were they from
having any route open even for flight that out of
so great a multitude barely a thousand escaped,
while the rest scattering met death in various forms.

XX. The siege of Capua was resumed with intensity
by the consuls, and all that was needed for the
purpose was being brought together and made ready. Casilinum was the depot for grain. At the
mouth of the Volturnus, where there is now a city,
a stronghold was fortified, and there and at Puteoli,1
which Fabius Maximus had previously fortified, a
garrison was placed, that the sea in that neighbour-
hood and the river might be in their power. To
these two strongholds by the sea the grain which
had been sent recently from Sardinia and that which
the praetor Marcus Junius had purchased in Etruria
was transported from Ostia, so that the army might
have a supply through the winter. But in addition
to the disaster incurred in Lucania, the army of slave-
que exercitus, qui vivo Graccho summa fide stipendia fecerat, velut exauctoratus morte ducis ab signis discessit.

5 Hannibal non Capuam neglectam neque in tanto discrimine desertos volebat socios; sed prospero ex temeritate unius Romani ducis successe in alterius ducis exercitusque opprimendi occasionem imminebat. Cn. Fulvium praetorem Apuli legati nuntiabant primo, dum urbes quasdam Apulorum quae ad Hannibalem descivissent oppugnaret, intentius rem egisse: postea nimio successu et ipsum et milites praeda impletos in tantam licentiam socordiamque effusos ut nulla disciplina militiae esset. Cum saepe alias, tum paucis diebus ante expertus qualis sub insicio duce exercitus esset, in Apulum castra movit. XXI. Circa Herdoneam Romanae legiones et praetor Fulvius erat. Quo ubi allatum est hostis adventare, prope est factum ut iniussu praetoris signis convulsi in aciem exirent; nce res magis nulla tenuit quam spes haud dubia suo id arbitrio ubi vellent facturos.

2 Nocte inequenti Hannibal, cum tumultuatum in castris et plerosque ferociter, signum ut daret, 3 institisse duci ad arma vocantis seiret, haud dubius prosperae pugnae occasionem dari, tria milia expeditorum militum in villis circa vepribusque et silvis disponit, qui signo dato simul omnes e latebris

1 Cf. XXIV. xx. 8.
volunteers also, which had served with the utmost loyalty while Gracchus lived, abandoned its standards, as if discharged by the death of the general.

Hannibal did not wish that Capua should be neglected nor his allies abandoned in such a crisis. But in view of a success due to the rashness of one Roman general he was eager for an opportunity to surprise a second general and army. Apulian legates were informing him that the praetor Gnaeus Fulvius had at first been very active while besieging some Apulian cities which had revolted to Hannibal; but that later, owing to unmerited success, both he himself and his soldiers, who were loaded with booty, had gone to such lengths in licence and indifference that there was no military discipline. Hannibal, who frequently at other times, and particularly within a few days, had discovered what an army is under an incompetent general, moved his camp into Apulia. 

XXI. Near Herdonea\(^1\) were Roman legions and the praetor Fulvius. When the news reached them there that the enemy were approaching, they barely refrained from catching up their standards and going out into battle-line without orders from the praetor. And nothing restrained them more than the hope, now beyond question, that they would do so at their own discretion whenever they pleased. The following night Hannibal, knowing that there had been an uproar in the camp and that many, calling to arms, had over-confidently pressed the commander to give the signal, had no doubt that an opportunity for a victory was offered. He accordingly posted three thousand lightly equipped soldiers in farmhouses near by and in the thicketts and the woods, to come out of their hiding-places all at once,
Livy

4 existerent, et Magonem ac duo ferme milia equitum, qua fugam inclinaturam credebat, omnia itinera insidere iubet. His nocte praeparatis, prima luce in aciem copias edueit; nec Fulvius est cunctatus, non tam sua ulla spe quam militum impetu fortuito tractus. Itaque cadem temeritate qua processum in aciem est instruitur ipsa acies ad libidinem milium forte procurrentium consistentiumque quo loco ipsorum tulisset animus, deinde per libidinem aut metum deserentium locum. Prima legio et sinistra ala in primo instructae et in longitudinem porrecta acies. Clamantibus tribunis nihil introrsus roboris ac virium esse et, quaeque impetum fecisset hostis, perrupturos, nihil quod salutare esset non modo ad animum sed ne ad aures quidem admittebat. 8 Et Hannibal haudquaquam similis dux neque simili exercitu neque ita instructo aderat. Ergo ne clamorem atque impetum primum eorum Romani sustinuere. Dux, stultitia et temeritate Centenio par, animo haudquaquam comparandus, ubi rem inclinatam ac trepidantis suos videt, equo arrepto cum ducentis ferme equitibus effugit; cetera a fronte pulsa, inde a 1 tergo atque alis circumventa acies eo usque est caesa ut ex duodeviginti milibus hominum duo milia haud amplius evaserint. Castris hostes potiti sunt.

1 inde a Weissenborn: in P(1).

1 The alae were auxiliaries of the allies, each ala equal in strength to a legion (4200 men). When drawn up as here the second line would be made up of the other legion and the ala dextra. Such a formation was at times employed instead of the usual three lines, hastati, principes, triarii, of the legionaries. Cf. XXVII. i. 8; ii. 6.
when the signal was given. And he ordered Mago and about two thousand horsemen to lie in wait along all the roads in the direction which he believed the flight would take. After making these preparations at night, he led his troops out into line at daybreak. Nor did Fulvius hesitate, dragged into it not so much by any hope of his own as by the haphazard impulse of the soldiers. And so, with the same recklessness with which they went out to form, they drew up even the line of battle according to the whim of soldiers who happened to dash forward and take their stand wherever their own fancy had carried them, and then capriciously or in fear abandoned their positions. The first legion and the left *ala* were placed in front,1 and the line was made very long. Although the tribunes shouted that in depth it had no power to resist, and that wherever the enemy should make their attack they would pierce it, the men in line allowed no advice that was helpful to reach even their ears, not to say their attention. And there was Hannibal, surely not that sort of a general, nor with that sort of an army, drawn up in that fashion. Consequently the Romans did not withstand even their shout and the first onset. The general, a match for Centenius in folly and recklessness, but in courage by no means to be compared with him, seeing that the line was giving way and his own men in confusion, seized a horse and with about two hundred horsemen made his escape. The rest of the line, beaten back in front and then surrounded in the rear and on the wings, was so cut to pieces that out of eighteen thousand men not more than two thousand escaped. The camp was occupied by the enemy.
XXII. Hae clades super aliam alia Romam cum essent nuntiatae, ingens quidem et luctus et pavor civitatem cepit; sed tamen quia consules, ubi summa rerum esset, ad id locorum prospere rem gererent, minus his cladibus commovebantur. Legatos ad consules mittunt C. Lactorium M. Metilium qui nuntiarent ut reliquiæ duorum exercituum cum cura colligerent darentque operam ne per metum ac desperationem hosti se dederent, id quod post Cannensem accidisset cladem, et ut desertores de exercitu volonum conquirent. Idem negotii P. Cornelio datum, cui et dilectus mandatus erat;isque per fora conciliaabulaque edixit ut conquisitio volonum fieret iique ad signa reducerentur. Hae omnia interissima cura acta.

5 Ap. Claudius consul D. Iunio ad ostium Volturni, M. Aurelio Cotta Puteolis praeposito, qui, ut quaeque naves ex Etruria ac Sardinia accessissent, extemplo in castra mitterent frumentum, ipse ad Capuam regressus Q. Fulvium collegam inventit Casilino omnia deportantem molientemque ad oppugnandam Capuam. Tum ambo circumseduerunt urbem et Claudium Neronem praetorem ab Suessula ex Claudianis castris exciverunt. Is quoque modico ibi praesidio ad tenendum locum relietio ceteris omnibus copiis ad Capuam descendit. Ita tria praetoria circa Capuam erecta; tres et 1 exercitus


1 *i.e.* the senate.
2 In XXII. xxv. 3 he was *tribunus plebis*.
3 Cf. above, note on v. 6.

424
XXII. When the news of these disasters one after another had reached Rome, great sorrow and alarm, it is true, took possession of the state. Nevertheless because the consuls, to whom fell the supreme command, were up to that time successful, they were less disturbed by these disasters. They sent Gaius Lacterius and Marcus Metilius as legates to the consuls, to inform them that they should carefully gather up the remnants of the two armies, and see to it that in fear and despair they did not surrender to the enemy, as had happened after the disaster at Cannae; also that they should search for the deserters from the army of slave-volunteers. The same duty was given to Publius Cornelius, to whom the levy also had been assigned. And he issued an edict in the market-towns and local centres, that search should be made for the slave-volunteers, and that they be brought back to their standards. All these things were done with the utmost diligence.

Appius Claudius, the consul, placed Decimus Junius in command at the mouth of the Volturmus and Marcus Aurelius Cotta at Puteoli, in order that, as fast as ships came in from Etruria and Sardinia, they should send the grain at once to the camps. He himself, on returning to Capua, found his colleague Quintus Fulvius transporting everything from Casilinum and making every preparation for the siege of Capua. Then they both invested the city and summoned the praetor, Claudius Nero, from the Claudian camp at Suessula. He, leaving there only a garrison of moderate size to hold the place, likewise came down with all the rest of his forces to Capua. Thus three headquarters were set up around Capua. There were three armies too that,
diversis partibus opus adgressi fossa valloque circum-
dare urbem parant et castella excitant modicis
intervallis multisque simul locis eum prohibentibus
opera Campanis eo eventu pugnant ut postremo
portis muroque se contineret Campanus. Prius
tamen quam haec continuarentur opera, legati ad
Hannibalem missi qui quererentur desertam ab eo
Capuam ac prope redditam Romanis obtestarentur-
que ut tune saltem opem non circumsecessis modo sed
etiam circumvallatis ferret. Consulibus litterae a P.
Cornelio praetore missae ut, priusquam clauderent
Capuam operibus, potestatem Campanis facerent
ut qui eorum vellent exirent a Capua suasque res
secum ferrent: liberos fore suaque omnia habituros
qui ante idus Martias exissent; post eam diem
quique exissent quique ibi mansissent, hostium
futuros numero. Ea pronuntiata Campanis atque
ita spreata ut ultimo contumelias dicerent minaren-
turque.

Hannibal ab Herdonea Tarentum duxerat legiones,
spe aut vi aut dolo areis Tarentinae potiundae;
quod ubi parum processit, ad Brundisium flexit
iter, prodi id oppidum ratus. Ibi quoque eum frustra
tereret tempus, legati Campani ad eum venerunt
querentes simul orantesque; quibus Hannibal
magnifice respondit et antea se solvisse obsidionem
et nunc adventum suum consules non latus.


1 In the name of the senate.
fell to work on different sides, made ready to encircle the city with a ditch and an earthwork, and erected redoubts at moderate intervals; and at many points at the same time they fought with such success against the Campanians who endeavoured to hinder the works that finally the Campanians remained inside the gates and the wall. But before these siege-works could be made continuous, legates were sent to Hannibal, to complain that Capua had been deserted by him and almost given back to the Romans, and to implore him to bring aid, then at least, to men not only besieged but also encircled by entrenchments. The consuls received a letter from Publius Cornelius, the praetor, ordering that, before enclosing Capua with their works, they should permit such of the Campanians as wished to do so to leave Capua and carry their possessions with them. Those who should leave before the fifteenth of March were to be free men and to keep all their property; those who left after that date and those who remained there were to be reckoned enemies. These terms were published to the Campanians, and were received with such contempt by them that they were actually insulting and made threats.

Hannibal had led his legions from Herdonea to Tarentum in the hope of getting possession of the citadel of Tarentum either by force or by ruse. When this did not succeed, he turned aside to Brundisium, thinking that town would certainly be betrayed. While there also he was wasting time, the Campanian legates came to him with complaints and at the same time entreaties. Hannibal replied to them grandly that he had previously raised a siege, and that now also the consuls would not with-
Livy

16 Cum haec spe dimissi legati vix regredi Capuaniam duplici fossa valloque cinetam potuerunt.

XXIII. Cum maxume Capua circumvallaretur, Syracusaram oppugnatio ad finem venit, praeterquam vi ac virtute ducis exercitusque, intestina etiam proditione adiuta. Namque Marcellus initio veris incertus utrum Agrigentum ad Himilconem et Hippocraten vereret bellum an obsidione Syracusas premeret, quamquam nec vi capi videbat posse inexpugnabilem terrestri ac maritimo situ urbem nec fame, ut quam prope liberi a Carthagine com-

meatus alerent, tamen, ne quid inexpertum relinquaret, transfugas Syracusanos—erant autem apud Romanos aliqui nobilissimi viri, inter defectionem ab Romanis, quia ab novis consiliis abhorrebat, pulsi—conloquiis suae partis temptare hominum animos iussit et fidem dare, si traditae forent Syracusae, liberos eos ac suis legibus victuros esse. Non erat conloquii copia, quia multorum animi suspecti omnium curam oculosque eo 1 converterant ne quid falleret tale admissum. Servus unus exulum, pro transfuga intromissus in urbem, conventis paucis initium conloquendi de tali re fecit. Deinde in piscatoria quidam nave retibus operti circumvectique ita ad castra Romana conlocutique eum transfugis,

1 co B Riemann: om. P(l).
2 Deinde in z: dein P(l); deinde A 2.

1 Beyond the northern Wall of Dionysius, not far from the Hexapylon.

428
stand his coming. With this hope the legates were sent away, and it was with difficulty that they were able to return to Capua, now surrounded by two trenches and a double earthwork.

XXIII. Just as Capua was being encircled the siege of Syracuse came to an end, expedited not only by the vigour and valour of the general and the army but also by treachery within. For Marcellus, who at the beginning of the spring had been uncertain whether to shift the war to Agrigentum against Himilco and Hippocrates, or to press the siege of Syracuse, saw indeed that the city, impregnable in its position both on the landward and the seaward side, could not be taken by assault, nor by starvation, inasmuch as it was sustained by almost unhampered supplies from Carthage. Nevertheless, to leave nothing untried, deserters from Syracuse—and there were in the Roman lines some men of highest rank who during the estrangement from the Romans had been driven out because they were averse to a change of policy—were ordered by him to sound men of their faction in conferences, and to give them a pledge that, if Syracuse should be surrendered, they should live as free men and under their own laws. For a conference there was no opportunity, because the suspicious attitude of many men had attracted the attention and the eyes of all, to prevent such an offence from passing unnoticed. A single slave belonging to the exiles was admitted to the city as a deserter and by meeting a few men made a beginning of parleys on a matter of such moment. Then some men were hidden under nets on a fishing vessel, and thus sailed around to the Roman camp and talked with the deserters. And
et iudem saepius eodem modo et alii atque alii; postremo ad octoginta facti. Et cum iam composita omnia ad prodicionem essent, indicio delato ad Epicyden per Attalum quendam, indignantem sibi rem creditam non esse, necati omnes cum cruciatu sunt.

8 Alia subinde spes, postquam haec vana evaserat, exceptit. Damippus quidam Lacedaemonius, missus ab Syracusis ad Philippum regem, captus ab Romanis navibus erat. Huius utique redimendi et Epicydae cura erat ingens, nec abnuit Marcellus, iam tum Aetolorum, quibus socii Lacedaemonii erant, amicitiam adfectantibus Romanis. Ad conloquium de redemp- tione eius missis medius maxime et utrisque opportunus locus ad portum Trogilorum, propter turrim quam vocant Galeagram, est visus. Quo cum saepius commearent, unus ex Romanis ex propinquo murum contemplans, numerando lapides aestimandoque ipsce secum quid in fronte paterent singuli, altitudinem muri, quantum proxime coniectura poterat, permensus humilior emque aliquanto pristina opinione sua et ceterorum omnium ratus esse et vel mediocribus scalis superabilem, ad Marcellum rem desert. Haud spernenda visa; sed cum adiri locus, quia ob id ipsum intentius custodiebatur, non posset, occasion quaerebatur; quam obtulit transfuga nut- tians diem festum Dianae per triduum agi et, quia alia in obsidione desint, vino largius epulas celebrari

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1 Merely a small bay, of no value for large vessels.
2 The tower was probably beyond the wall in the open country.
the same men did this repeatedly in the same way, B.C. 212 also others and again others. Finally they amounted to about eighty. And when now everything had been arranged for the betrayal, information was brought to Epicydes by one Attalus, who was outraged that the matter had not been confided to him, and they were all put to death with torture.

This hope having proved false, another at once took its place. Damippus a Lacedaemonian, who had been sent from Syracuse to King Philip, had been captured by Roman ships. Epicydes was very much concerned to ransom him at any cost, and Marcellus also was not averse, since the Romans were already courting the friendship of the Aetolians, whose allies the Lacedaemonians were. The men sent to confer in regard to the man's ransom thought that the most convenient place for both sides, and just half-way, was at the Trogili Harbour,\(^1\) near the tower called Galeagra.\(^2\) As they came there repeatedly, one of the Romans, observing the wall from near at hand, by counting the courses and making his own estimate of the height of each on its face, measured the height of the wall as nearly as he could by guesswork. And thinking it considerably lower than his own previous estimate of it and that of all the rest, and that it could be scaled by ladders even of moderate length, he reported to Marcellus. It did not seem a matter to be despised. But since the place, being more closely guarded for the very reason mentioned, could not be approached, they cast about for an opportunity. And this was offered by a deserter, reporting that the feast of Diana was being observed for three days, and that, since other things were lacking during the siege, it was with wine that the
et ab Epicyde praeclito universae plebei et per tribus a principibus diviso.

15 Quod ubi accipit Marcellus, cum paucis tribunorum militum conlocutus, electisque per eos ad rem tantam agendam audendamque idoneis centurionibus militibusque et scalis in occulto comparatis, ceteris signum dari inbet ut mature corpora curarent quietique darent: nocte in expeditionem eundum esse. Inde ubi id temporis visum quo de die epulatis iam vini satias principiumque somni esset, signi unius milites ferre scalas iussit; et ad mille fere armati tenui agmine per silentium eo dedueti. Ubi sine strepitu ac tumultu primi evaserunt in murum, seeuti ordine alii, cum priorum audacia dubiis etiam animum faceret. XXIV. Iam mille armatorum muri ceperant partem, cum eeterae admotae sunt copiae pluribusque scalis in murum evadebant signo ab Hexapylo dato, quo per ingentem solitudinem erat perventum, quia magna pars in turribus epulati aut sopiti vino erant aut semigraves potabant; paucos tamen eorum improviso oppressos in cubilibus interfecerunt. Prope Hexapylon est portula; ea magna vi refringi coepta et e muro ex composito tuba datum signum erat et iam undique non furtim, sed vi aperta gerebatur res. Quippe ad Epipolas,

1 quod ubi M1: id ubi A2: dubia P(1).
3 sunt copiae Weissenborn: om. P(1).
5 aperta Gronovius: aperta P(1).

1 l.e. the φολαί, corresponding in a way to the Roman tribes.
2 For this, the most important gate to the north, cf. XXIV. 
xxi. 7; xxxii. 5, etc.
banquets were more lavishly provided, this being b.c. 212
furnished to the entire populace by Epicydes and
distributed among the tribes 1 by leading citizens.

On learning of this, Marcellus conferred with a few
tribunes of the soldiers, and after these had chosen
centurions and soldiers able to dare and do a thing of
such importance, and after ladders had been secretly
made ready, he ordered the signal to be given to the
others to eat early and then rest. In the night, he
said, they must go on a raid. Then, when it seemed
to be late enough for those who had begun their feast
during the day to be sated, he thought, with their wine
and now to be falling asleep, he ordered the soldiers of
one maniple to carry the ladders. And about a thou-
sand armed men were led in a thin column to the place
in silence. When the first men without noise and
confusion had made their way to the top of the wall,
the others followed one after another, since the bold-
ness of those ahead of them gave courage even to the
wavering. XXIV. The thousand armed men had
already taken a part of the wall, when the rest of
the forces were brought up, and on more ladders they
were making their way to the top of the wall, a signal
having been given from the Hexapylon. 2 To that
point they had advanced without encountering a soul,
since many of the enemy, after feasting in the towers,
either had been put to sleep by their wine or, while
half-intoxicated, were still drinking. A few of them,
however, they surprised and slew in their beds.
Near the Hexapylon there is a postern. This they
had begun to break open with great force, and from
the wall the signal had been given by a trumpet,
as agreed; and now the fighting was from every side,
no longer by stealth, but with open violence. For
frequentem custodiis locum, perventum erat, terren-
dique magis hostes erant quam fallendi, sicut territi
sunt. Nam simulac tubarum est auditus cantus
clamorque tenentium muros partemque urbis; omnia
teneri custodes rati\(^1\) alii per murum fugere, alii
salire de muro praecepitarique turba paventium.

5 Magna pars tamen ignara tanti mali erat et gravatis
omnibus vino somnoque et in vastae magnitudinis
urbe partium sensu non satis pertinente in omnia.

6 Sub lucem Hexapylo effracto Marcellus omnibus
copiis urbem ingressus exicitavit convertitque omnes
ad arma eapienda opemque, si quam possent, iam
captae prope urbi ferendam.

7 Epicydes ab Insula, quam ipsi Nason vocant, citato
profectus agmine, haud dubius quin paucos,
per neglectiam custodum transgressos murum,
expulsurus foret, occurrentibus pavidis tumultum
augere eos dictitans et maiora ac terribiliora vero
adferre, postquam conspexit omnia circa Epipolas
armis completa, lacessito tantum hoste paecis missili-
bus retro in Achradinam agmen convertit, non tam
vim multitudinemque hostium metuens quam ne
qua intestina trans per occasionem oreretur clausasque
inter tumultum Achradinac atque Insulae inveniret
portas. Marcellus ut moenia ingressus ex superiori-
bus locis urbem omnium ferme illa tempestate

\(^1\) Doric for Νῆσος, Insula.
\(^2\) Timaeus, the historian of Sicily, had called Syracuse the
greatest of Greek cities, the most beautiful of all cities; Cicero,
de Re Publica III. 43; in Verrem IV. 117.
they had reached Epipolae, a well-guarded region, B.C. 212
and the enemy had rather to be terrified than deceived, as they were in fact terrified. For as soon as they heard the notes of the trumpet and the shouting of the men holding the walls and a part of the city, the guards, thinking the whole city was occupied, fled, some of them along the wall; others leaped from the wall or were pushed over by the panic-stricken crowd. A large part of the people, however, were unaware of the great danger; for all were heavy with wine and sleep, and in a city of immense size knowledge concerning its quarters failed to reach the whole. At daybreak Marcellus burst open the Hexapylon, and entering the city with his entire force awakened everybody and set them to arming themselves and bringing aid, if possible, to a city now all but captured.

Epicydes came out from the Island, which they themselves call Nasos,\(^1\) with a quickly moving column, not doubting that he would drive out a few men who, owing to the carelessness of the guards had got over the wall. When men met him in alarm, he would say that they were adding to the confusion and bringing exaggerated and unduly alarming news. On discovering that in and near Epipolae armed men were everywhere, he merely challenged the enemy by a few missiles and then marched his column back into Achradina. He feared, not so much the attack of the enemy and their great numbers, as that some treachery within the city might have opportunity to break out, and he might find the gates of Achradina and the Island closed during the disturbance. Marcellus, on entering the walls and from the higher ground viewing one of the most beautiful of all cities\(^2\) in

F F 2
pulcherrimam subiecam oculis vidit, inlaerimasse dicitur partim gaudio tantae perpetratae rei, partim vetusta gloria urbis. Atheniensium classes demersae et duo ingentes exercitus cum duobus clarissimis ducibus deleli occurrebant et tot bella cum Cartha-
ginibus tanto cum dixerimine gesta, tot tam opulenti tyranni regesque, praeclerum Hiero cum recentissimae memoriae rex, tum ante omnia quae virtus ei fortunaque sua dederat beneficiis in populum Romanum insignis. Ea cum universa occurrerent animo subiretque cogitatio, iam illa momento horae arsura omnia et ad cineres reditura, priusquam signa Aehradinam admovearet, praemittit Syracusanos qui intra praesidia Romana, ut ante dictum est, fuerant, ut adloquio leni pellecerent\(^1\) hostis ad dedendam urbem.

XXV. Tenebant Aehradinac portas murosque maxume transfugae, quibus nulla erat per conditiones veniae spe; ei nec adire muros nec adloqui quemquam passi. Itaque Marcellus, postquam id inceptum inritum fuit, ad Euryalum signa referri iussit. Tumulus est in extrema parte urbis aversus a mari viaeque imminens ferenti in agros mediterraneaque insulae, percommode situs ad commeatus excipiendos.

Pracerat huic arei Philodemus Argivus ab Epicyde impositus; ad quem missus a Marcelllo Sosis, unus

\(^1\) pellecerent \(M^{12} A^{2}\); pellerent \(P(1)\); im- Weissenborn.

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1. I.e. Nicias and Demosthenes.
2. At the western apex of the triangle; a narrow ridge nearly 500 feet above the sea, with a commanding view.
that age lying before his eyes, is said to have wept, B.C. 212 partly for joy over his great achievement, partly for the ancient glory of the city. The sinking of the fleets of the Athenians and the destruction of two mighty armies along with two very distinguished generals came to his mind, and so many wars waged with so great a risk against the Carthaginians; tyrants and kings, so many and so wealthy, above all Hiero, a king vividly remembered and also, above all that his own merit and success had given him, conspicuous for his favours to the Roman people. Since all that came to mind and the thought suggested itself that now in the course of an hour everything there would be in flames and reduced to ashes, before advancing his standards into Achradina, he sent forward the Syracusans who had been within the Roman lines, as has been said before, in order to entice the enemy by mild words to surrender the city.

XXV. Holding the gates and walls of Achradina were chiefly deserters, who had no hope of pardon if terms were made. They did not allow the men either to approach the walls or to speak to any one. And so Marcellus, now that this attempt was fruitless, ordered the standards to be carried back to Euryalus. This is a hill in the most distant part of the city, facing away from the sea, and commanding the road which leads to the country and the interior of the island, very conveniently placed for receiving supplies. In command of this citadel was Philodemus the Argive, posted there by Epicydes. Sosis, one of the slayers

3 The crowning point of Dionysius' great fortifications, and still accounted the strongest of Greek fortresses, with its three fosses, its towers, and a complicated system of tunnels cut through solid rock.
ex interfectoribus tyranni, cum longo sermone habito dilatus per frustrationem esset, retulit Marcellus tempus eum ad deliberandum sumpsisse.

4 Cum is diem de die deferret, dum Hippocrates atque Himilco admoverent castra legionesque, haud dubius, si in aream aecisperset eos, deleri Romanum exercitum inclusum muris posse. Marcellus, ut Enryalum neque tradi neque capi vidit posse, inter Neapolim et Tycham—nomina ea partium urbis et instar urbium sunt—possit castra, timens ne, si frequentia intrasset loca, contineri ab discursu miles avidus praedae non posset. Legati eo ab Tycha et Neapoli cum infulis et velamentis venerunt, precantes ut a caedibus et ab incendiis parceretur. De quorum precibus quam postulatis magis consilio habito Marcellus ex omnium sententia edixit militibus ne quis liberum corpus violaret: cetera praedae futura. Castra testis parietum pro muro saepta; portis regione platearum patentibus stationes praesidiaque dispositus, ne quis in discursu militum impetus in castra fieri posset. Inde signo dato milites discurrerunt; refractisque foribus cum omnia terrore ac tumultu streperent, a caedibus tamen temperatum est; rapinis nullus ante modus fuit quam omnia diuturna felicitate cumulata bona

1 -que C1,12: om. P(1).

1 Cf. XXIV. xxx. 14.
2 Here the text is very uncertain, but most of the emendations are open to serious objections, as involving Marcellus' use of more or less continuous house-walls—a feeble defence, and not easily to be reconciled with the idea of an open space lying between two built-up quarters of the city.
of the tyrant, was sent to him by Marcellus, and after B.C. 212
being balked and put off by the delivery of a long
speech, he reported to Marcellus that Philodemus
had taken time to consider. Philodemus was post-
poning from day to day, waiting for Hippocrates and
Himileo to move up their camp and legions, and not
doubting that, if he should get them into the citadel,
the Roman army, shut up within the city walls, could
be destroyed. Consequently Marcellus, seeing that
Euryalus could neither be won by surrender nor by
assault, pitched his camp between Neapolis and
Tycha, these being the names of quarters of the
city, virtually cities in themselves. For he feared
that, if he should enter thickly settled parts, the
soldiers in their eagerness for booty could not be
restrained from scattering. To this camp came
legates from Tycha and Neapolis with fillets and
woollen bands,\(^1\) praying that they be spared blood-
shed and fires. Marcellus held a council in regard to
their prayers—such they were rather than demands—
and with the approval of all gave an order to the
soldiers that no one should injure a free person;
everything else would be spoil. The camp was
enclosed by bricks from house-walls\(^2\) to serve as a
wall of defence. At those camp gates which opened
toward the streets outposts and detachments
were stationed by Marcellus, that no attack upon
the camp might occur while the soldiers were
dispersed. Then at a given signal the soldiers
scattered. And although doors were forced and
everywhere were the sounds of panic and uproar, they
nevertheless refrained from bloodshed. To plunder-
ing there was no limit until they had carried away
all the possessions accumulated in a long-continued

\(\text{prosperity}^,\)
egesserunt. Inter hanc et Philodemus, cum spes auxillii nulla esset, fide accepta ut inviolatus ad Epicyden rediret, deducto praesidio tradidit tumulum Romanis. Aversis omnibus ad tumultum ex parte captae urbis Bomilcar noctem cum nactus qua propter vim tempestatis stare ad ancoram in salo Romana classis non posset, cum triginta quinque navibus ex portu Syracusano profectus libero mari vela in altum dedit quinque et quinquaginta navibus Epicydae et Syracusanis relietis; edoctisque Carthaginiensibus in quanto res Syracusana discrimine esset, cum centum navibus post paucos dies redit, multis, ut fama est, donis ex Hieronis gaza ab Epicyde donatus.

XXVI. Marcellus Euryalo recepto praesidioque addito una cura erat liber, ne qua ab tergo vis hostium in aream accepta inclusos impeditosque moelnibus suos turbaret. Achradinam inde trinis castris per idonea dispositis loca spe ad inopiam omnium rerum inclusos redacturum, circumsekit. Cum per aliquot dies quietae stationes utrimque fuissent, repente adventus Hippocrates et Himilconis ut ultimo undique oppugnarentur Romani fecit. Nam et Hippocrates castris ad magnum portum communitis signoque iis dato qui Achradinam tenebant castra vetera Romanorum adortus est, quibus Crispinus praeerat, et Epicydes eruptionem in stationes Marcelli fecit, et classis Punica litori quod inter urbem

\[1\] Cf. XXIV. xxxii. 3; xxxix. 12.
prosperity. Meanwhile even Philodemus, having no hope of assistance and receiving assurance that he might return unharmed to Epicydes, led his garrison out and surrendered the hill to the Romans. While the attention of all was diverted in the direction of the uproar of a city in part captured, Bomilear, favoured by such a night that on account of a violent storm the Roman fleet could not ride at anchor in open water, came out of the harbour of Syracuse with thirty-five ships, and with no enemy to prevent, put to sea, leaving fifty-five ships to Epicydes and the Syracusans. And after informing the Carthaginians how critical was the situation at Syracuse, he returned after a few days with a hundred ships. He was presented with many gifts, it is reported, by Epicydes out of the royal treasures of Hiero.

XXVI. Marcellus, after getting possession of Euryalus and garrisoning it, was relieved of one fear, that some troops of the enemy in the rear might be admitted to the citadel and embarrass his men, hemmed in and hampered by the walls. He thereupon laid siege to Achradina with three camps placed in suitable positions, in the hope of reducing the beleaguered to absolute want. When the outposts on both sides had been inactive for some days, suddenly the arrival of Hippocrates and Himilco had the effect that the Romans were actually besieged on all sides. For Hippocrates, after fortifying a camp by the Great Harbour and giving the signal to the forces occupying Achradina, attacked the old Roman camp, which was commanded by Crispinus, at the same time that Epicydes made a sally against Marcellus' outposts, and just when the Carthaginian fleet put in to the shore lying between the city and

441
et castra Romana crat adpulsa est, ne quid praesidii
5 Crispino submitti a Marcello posset. Tumultum
tamen maiorem hostes praebuerunt quam certamen;
nam et Crispinus Hippocrates non reppulit tantum
munimentis, sed insecutus etiam est trepide fugien-
tem, et Epicyden Marcellus in urbem compulit; satis-
que iam etiam in posterum videbatur provisum ne quid
ab repentinis corum excursionibus periculi foret.
7 Accessit et ab 1 pestilentia commune malum quod
facile utrorumque animos averteret a belli consiliis.
Nam tempore autumni et locis natura gravibus,
multo tamen magis extra urbem quam in urbe, in-
toleranda vis aestus per utraque castra omnium
8 ferme corpora movit. Ae primo temporis ac loci
vitio et aegri erant et moriebantur; postea curatio
ipsa et contactus aegrorum volgabat morbos, ut aut
neglecti desertique qui incidisset morerentur, aut
adsidentis curantisque cadem vi morbi repletos
9 secum traherent, cotidianaque funera et mors ob
oculos esset et undique dies noctesque ploratus
10 audirentur. Postremo ita adsuetudine mali effer-
verant animos ut non modo lacrimis iustoque conplora-
tu prosequerentur mortuos, sed ne efferent quidem
aut sepelirent, iacerentque strata examina corpora
11 inconspexit similem mortem expectantium, mortuique
aegros, aegri validos eum metu, tum tabe ac pestiferi
odore corporum conficerent; et ut ferro potius more-
rentur, quidam invadebant soli hostium stationes.

1 ab Salvinius: ad P(1): ad haece A⁵ Walters: om. C²
Conway.
the Roman camp, to make it impossible for any force to be sent to the aid of Crispinus by Marcellus. However, it was more of an uproar than a battle that the enemy offered. For Crispinus not only drove Hippocrates back from his fortifications, but also pursued him as he fled in disorder, and Marcellus likewise forced Epicydes into the city. And now, even for the future, he seemed to have sufficiently insured that there should be no danger from their sudden raids. And in addition pestilence brought to both sides a calamity which forthwith diverted the attention of the two armies from strategy. For owing to the autumn season and places naturally unhealthy, unendurable heat affected the health of nearly all the men in both camps, but much more outside the city than within. And at first they sickened and died owing to the season and their position. Later the mere care of the ill and contagion spread the disease, so that those who had fallen ill died neglected and abandoned, or else they carried off with them those who sat by them and those who nursed, having caught the same malignant disease. And so every day funerals and death were before their eyes, and wailings were heard on all sides day and night. Finally, from habituation to misery they had so lost their humane feelings that, so far from escorting the dead with tears and the wailing that was their due, they did not even carry them out and bury them; and dead bodies lay strewn about before the eyes of men awaiting a like death, and the dead seriously affected the ill, the ill the sound, not only through fear, but also by putrefaction and the pestilent odour of corpses. And some, to die by the sword instead, would dash into the outposts of
LIVY

AUC. 542

12 Multo tamen vis maior pestis Poenorum castra quam Romana invaserat; nam Romani 1 diu circumseendo
13 Syracusas caelo aqueisque adsuerant magis. Ex hostium exercitu Siculi, ut primum videre ex gravitate loci volgari morbos, in suas quisque propinquas urbes dilapsi sunt: et Carthaginienses, quibus nusquam receptus erat, eun ipsis ducibus Hippocrates atque Himilcone ad internecionem omnes perierunt. Marcellus, ut tanta vis ingruerat mali, traduxerat in urbem suos infirmaque corpora tecta et umbrae recreaverant; multi tamen ex Romano exercitu cadem peste absorpti sunt.

XXVII. Deleto terrestri Punico exercitu Siculi qui Hippocrates milites fuerant . . . 2 haud magna oppida, ceterum et situ et munimentis tuta; tria milia alterum ab Syracusis, alterum quindecem abest; eo et commatus e civitatibus suis comportabant et auxilia acersebant. Interea Bomilcar iterum cum classe profectus Carthaginem, ita exposita fortuna sociorum ut spem faceret non ipsis modo salutarem opem ferri posse, sed Romanos quoque in capta quodam modo urbe capi, perpulit ut onerarias naves quam plurimas omni copia rerum onustas 3 eum mitterent classemque suam augmenterent. Igitur centum triginta navibus longis, septingentis oncariis proiectus a Carthagine satis prosperos

1 invaserat; nam Romani H. J. Müller: om. P(1), a lost line.
2 Missing are two town names and perhaps eucerant, in an omitted line.

1 One of the two omitted towns was perhaps Bidis, mentioned by Cicero in Terrem II. 53. Rossbach and Conway thought that the other might be Dascon (Thucydidus and Diodorus).
the enemy single-handed. A much more violent B.C. 212 epidemic, however, had attacked the Carthaginian camp than the Roman. For the Romans in their long blockade of Syracuse had grown more accustomed to the climate and the water. Of the enemy's army, the Sicilians scattered, each to his own neighbouring city, as soon as they saw that the disease was spreading owing to the unwholesomeness of the place, while the Carthaginians, who had no refuge anywhere, with even their generals, Hippocrates and Himileo, perished to the last man. Marcellus, as soon as the pestilence began to be so serious, had transferred his soldiers into the city, and shelter and shade had revived the invalids. Nevertheless many in the Roman army were carried off by the same pestilence.

XXVII. The Carthaginian land-army having been destroyed, the Sicilians who had been Hippocrates' soldiers had occupied . . .,¹ not large towns, but defended both by situation and fortifications. One of them is three miles from Syracuse, the other fifteen miles. To these they were bringing supplies from their own communities and also summoning auxiliaries. Meanwhile Bomilcar left for Carthage a second time with his fleet, and he set forth the situation of their allies in such terms as to inspire hope, not only that effectual aid could be lent to them, but also that the Romans could be captured in the virtually captured city. He thus prevailed upon them to send with him as many transports as possible, laden with all kinds of supplies, and to enlarge his fleet. Accordingly, setting out from Carthage with a hundred and thirty warships and seven hundred transports, he had winds quite favourable for the
ventos ad traiciendum in Siciliam habuit; sed iadem venti superare cum Pachynum prohibebant. Bomilcaris adventus saepe primo, dein praeter spem mora cum gaudium et metum in vicem Romanis Syracusanisque praebuisset, Epicydes metuens ne, si pergerent iadem qui tum tenebant ab ortu solis flare per dies plures venti, classis Punica Africam repetere, tradita Achradina mercenariorum militum duebus ad Bomilcarem navigat. Classem in statione versa in Africam habentem atque timentem navale proelium, non tam quod impar viribus aut numero navium esset—quippe etiam plures habebat—quam quod venti aptiores Romanae quam suae classi flarent, perpulit tamen ut fortunam navalis certaminis experiri vellet. Et Marcellus, cum et Siculum exercitum ex tota insula concirri videret et eum ingenti commeatu classem Punicam adventare, ne simul terra marique inclusus urbe hostium urgereetur, quamquam impar numero navium erat, prohibere aditu Syracusarum Bomilcarem constituit. Duae classes infestae circa promunturium Pachynum stabant, ubi prima tranquillitas maris in altum evexisset, concursurae. Itaque cadente iam Euro, qui per dies aliquot saevierat, prior Bomilcar movit; cuius primo classis petere altum visa est, quo facilius superaret promunturium; ceterum postquam tendere ad se Romanas naves vidit, incertum qua subita
BOOK XXV. XXVII. 4–12

crossing to Sicily. But the same winds did not allow B.C. 212 him to round Pachynum. The report at first of Bomilcar's coming, and then its unexpected delay, brought rejoicing and fear by turns to Romans and Syracusans. Upon that Epicydes, fearing that, if the same winds which were then holding should continue to blow from the east for several days, the Carthaginian fleet would make for Africa again, turned over Achradina to the commanders of the mercenaries and sailed to meet Bomilcar, who was keeping his fleet in a roadstead facing Africa. He feared a naval battle, not so much because he was inferior in his forces and the number of his ships—in fact he had even more—as because the winds then blowing were more favourable to the Roman fleet than to his own. Nevertheless Epicydes gained his consent to try the fortune of a naval engagement. And Marcellus too, seeing that a Sicilian army was being brought together from the entire island and at the same time a Carthaginian fleet was approaching with unlimited supplies, and fearing that he might be hard pressed by land and sea, being shut up within the enemies' city, decided, although he was inferior in the number of his ships, to prevent Bomilcar from reaching Syracuse. The two opposing fleets lay on this side and that of the promontory of Pachynum, ready to engage as soon as calm weather should enable them to put to sea. And so, as the southeast wind, which had been blowing hard for some days, was now dropping, Bomilcar was the first to get under weigh. And at first his fleet appeared to be heading out to sea, the more readily to round the promontory. But on seeing that the Roman ships were steering towards
A. U. C. 512

Livy

territus re, Bomilear vela in altum dedit missisque
untuis Heracleam qui onerarias retro inde Africam
repetere iuberent, ipse Siciliam praetervectus Taren-
tum petit. Epicydes, a tanta repente destitutus
spe, ne in obsidionem magna ex parte captae urbis
redit, Agrigentum navigat, expectaturus magis
eventum quam inde quiequam moturus.

XXVIII. Quae ubi in castra Siculorum sunt
nuntiata, Epicyden Syracusis excessisse, a Carthagin-
sibus relietam insulam et prope iterum traditam
2 Romanis, legatos de condicionibus dedendae urbis
explorata prius per conloquia voluntate eorum qui
3 obsidebantur ad Mareellum mittunt. Cuiern hand
ferme discreparet quin quae ubique regum fuissent
Romanorun essent, Siculis eetera eum libertate ac
legibus suis servarentur, evocatis ad conloquium iis
4 quibus ab Epicyde ereditae res erant, missos se simul
ad Mareellum, simul ad eos ab exercitu Siculorum
aiunt, ut una omnium qui obsiderentur quique extra
obsidionem fuissent fortuna esset neve alteri proprie
5 sibi paciscerentur quiequam. Recepti deinde ab iis,
nt neecessarios hospitesque adloquerentur, expositis
quae paeta iam eum Marcello haberent, oblata spe
salutis perpulere eos ut secum praefectos Epicydis
Polyelitum et Philistionem et Epicyden, cui Sindon
6 cognomen erat, adgrederentur. Interfectis iis et

1 Cf. XXIV. xxxv. 3.

448
him, Bonilcar, alarmed by something unforeseen, b.c. 212 made sail for open water, and after sending messengers to Heraelea to command the transports to return thence to Africa, he himself sailed along the coast of Sicily and made for Tarentum. Epicydes, suddenly bereft of a hope so high, in order not to return, only to share the siege of a city in large part captured, sailed to Agrigentum, intending to await the outcome, rather than to set anything in motion from there.

XXVIII. When these things were reported to the camp of the Sicilians, that Epicydes had left Syracuse, that the island had been abandoned by the Carthaginians and almost handed over a second time to the Romans, after first ascertaining by conferences the wish of the besieged, they sent legates to Marcellus to make terms for the surrender of the city. It was virtually agreed that all that had anywhere belonged to the kings should belong to the Romans, that everything else should be secured to the Sicilians along with freedom and their own laws. Accordingly the legates summoned to a conference the men to whom power had been entrusted by Epicydes, and said that they had been sent by the army of the Sicilians at the same time to Marcellus and to them, in order that all, the besieged and those who had been outside of the operations, might share the same lot and neither party make any special terms for itself. And then, being admitted by them, that they might speak with their relatives and guest-friends, they explained the terms which they had already settled with Marcellus, and by holding out assurances of safety prevailed upon them to join with themselves in an attack upon Epicydes' prefects, Polycleitus and Philistion and an Epicydes surnamed Sindon. After slaying them and
multitudine ad contionem vocata, inopiam quaeque
ipsi inter se fremere occulti soliti erant conquesti,
quamquam tot mala urgerent, negarunt fortunam
accusandam esse, quod in ipsorum esset potestate
quamdiu ea paterentur. Romanis causam oppug-
nandi Syracusas fuisse caritatem Syracusanorum,
non odium; nam ut occupatas res ab satellitibus
Hannibalis, deinde Hieronymi, Hippoerate atque
Epicyde, audierint, tum bellum movisse et obsidere
urbem coepisse, ut erudelis tyrannos eius, non ut
ipsam urbem expugnarent. Hippoerate vero inter-
empto, Epicyde intereluso ab Syracusis et praefec-
tis eius occesis, Carthaginiensis omni possessione
Siciliae terra marique pulsis, quam superesse causam
Romanis cur non, perinde ac si Hiero ipse viveret,
unius Romanae amicitiae cultor, incolumis Syracusas
esse velint? Itaque nee urbi nee hominibus aliud
periculum quam ab semet ipsis esse, si occasionem
reconciliandi se Romanis praetermisissent; eam
autem, qualis illo momento horae sit, nullam deinde
fore, si simul liberatas ab impotentibus tyrannis ..
apparisset.

XXIX. Omnium ingenti adsensu audita ea oratio
est. Praetores tamen prius erenari quam legatos
nominari placuit; ex ipsorum deinde praetorum

1 occulti P(2): occulte A.
2 A lacuna variously supplied, e.g. Syracusas esse et appli-
care se Romanis Madvig (two lines): accipere noluissent
Walters (one line after apparisset).

1 Madvig's restoration is based upon the idea of an immedi-
ate return to their former friendship ("and was taking the
Roman side”). Walters supplied the thought that the
Romans might even reject such advances.
calling the populace to an assembly, they complained of privation and other things at which among themselves they had been in the habit of murmuring in secret. And they said that, although so many hardships were a burden to them, they ought not to blame fortune, because it was in their own power to say how long they would endure them. The Romans, they said, had had as their ground for besieging Syracuse their love, not hatred, of the Syracusans. For on learning that the power had been seized by Hippocrates and Epicydes, minions of Hannibal and later of Hieronymus, it was then that they had made war and had begun to besiege the city, in order to capture, not the city itself, but its cruel tyrants. But now that Hippocrates had perished, that Epicydes had been cut off from Syracuse and his prefects slain, now that the Carthaginians had everywhere been driven by land and sea from their occupation of Sicily, what reason remained for the Romans not to wish Syracuse to be preserved, just as if Hiero himself, who was unrivalled in maintaining friendship with Rome, were still alive? Accordingly both for the city and for individuals there was no other danger than from themselves, if they should let slip the opportunity of a reconciliation with the Romans. Moreover so favourable an opportunity as there was at that moment, if it should be evident that Syracuse, once it had been freed from insolent tyrants, . . . ,1 would never come again.

XXIX. The speech was heard with great and unanimous approval. It was decided, however, to elect magistrates before naming legates. Then out of the number of these magistrates' representatives
numero missi oratores ad Marcellum, quorum princeps "Neque primo" inquit "Syracusani a vobis defeceimus, sed Hieronymus, nequaquam tam in vos impius quam in nos, nee postea pacem tyranni caede compositam Syracusanus quisquam, sed satellites regii Hippocrates atque Epicydes oppressis nobis hine metu, hine fraude turbaverunt. Nee quisquam dieere potest aliquando nobis libertatis tempus fuisse quod paeis vobiscum non fuerit. Nunc eerte caede eorum qui oppressas tenebant Syracusas cum primum nostri arbitrii esse coepimus, extemplo venimus ad tradenda arma, dedendos nos, urbem, moenia, nullam recusandam fortunam quae imposita a vobis fuerit. Gloriam captae nobilissimae pulcherrimaeque urbis Graecarum dei tibi dederunt, Marcellis. Quidquid umquam terra mari-que memorandum gessimus, id tui triumphi titulo accedit. Famae eredi velis quanta urbs a te capta sit, quam posteris quoque eam spectaculo esse, quo quisquis terra, quisquis mari venerit, nune nostra de Atheniensibus Carthaginiensibusque tropaea, nune tua de nobis ostendat, incolumesque Syracusas familiae vestrae sub clientela nominis Marellorum tutelaque habendas tradas? Ne plus apud vos Hieronymi quam Hieronis memoria momenti faciat. Diutius ille multo amicus fuit quam hie hostis, et
were sent to Marcellus. The foremost of these said: B.C. 212, "In the beginning it was not we Syracusans who forsook your friendship, but Hieronymus, who was by no means so conscienceless toward you as toward us. And later the peace concluded on the assassination of the tyrant was broken, not by any Syracusan, but by the king's minions, Hippocrates and Epicydes, after they had subdued us, now by terrorizing, now by treason. Nor can any man say that there has ever been any time of freedom for us that was not a time of peace with you. Certain it is that now, when through the slaying of those who were holding Syracuse in subjection we have begun for the first time to be our own masters, we have come forthwith to give up our arms, to surrender ourselves, the city, the walls, to reject no lot which shall be imposed by you Romans. The glory of capturing the most notable and most beautiful of Greek cities the gods have given to you, Marcellus. All that we have ever accomplished on land and sea that is worthy of record is added to the distinction of your triumph. Would you wish men merely to believe tradition as to the greatness of the city you have captured, rather than that it be a sight even to posterity, a city which shall show to every man who comes by land or by sea, at one spot our trophies won from the Athenians and the Carthaginians, at another your trophies won from us, and that you hand over Syracuse intact to your house, to be kept under the clientship and tutelage of those who bear the name Marcellus? Let not the memory of Hieronymus have more weight with you Romans than that of Hiero. The latter was much longer your friend than the former your enemy; and you
illius benefacta etiam re\textsuperscript{1} sensistis, huius amentia
ad perniciem tantum ipsius valuit." Omnia et
impetrabilia et tuta erant apud Romanos: inter
ipsos plus bellii ac periculi erat. Namque trans-
fugae, tradi se Romanis rati, mercenariorum quoque
militum auxilia in eundem compilere metum;
arreptisque armis praetores primum obtruncant, inde
ad caedem Syracusanorum discurrunt quoque fors
obtulit irati interfecere atque omnia quae in promptu
erant diripuerunt. Tum, ne sine ducibus essent, sex
praefectos creavere, ut terni Achradinae ac Naso
praessent. Sedato tandem tumultu exequentibus
sciseitando quae acta cum Romanis essent, dilucere
id quod erat coepit, aliam suam ac perfugarum
causam esse.

XXX. In tempore legati a Marcello redierunt,
falsa eos suspicione incitatos memorantes nec causam
expetendae poenae eorum ullam Romanis esse.
\textsuperscript{2}Erat e tribus Achradinae praefectis Hispalus,
Moericus nomine. Ad eum inter comites legatorum
de industria unus ex Hispanorum auxiliaribus est
missus, qui sine arbitris Moericum nanctus primum
quo in statu reliquisset Hispaniam—et nuper inde
venerat—exponit: omnia Romanis ibi obtineri armis.
\textsuperscript{3}Posse eum, si operae pretium faciat, principem
popularem esse, seu militare cum Romanis seu in
patriam reverti libeat; contra, si malle obsideri

\textsuperscript{1} re PC: pre \textsuperscript{2}\textsuperscript{(10)}: recentia M. Müller: rebus adversis
\textit{Luchs}.

\textsuperscript{1} \textit{i.e.} the mercenaries.
\textsuperscript{2} We learn from XXVI. xxi. 13 that his name was Belligenes.
have had positive experience of the good deeds of B.C. 212
the one, while the other's folly resulted only in his
own destruction." Everything could be obtained
from the Romans and was already assured. It
was among the Sicilians themselves that war and
danger chiefly lay. For the deserters, thinking
that they would surely be handed over to the Romans,
aroused the mercenary auxiliaries also to the same
fear. And seizing arms they first slew the magis-
trates and then dispersed to massacre the Syracusans,
and in anger they slew all whom chance threw in
their way and carried off everything on which they
could lay hands. Then, not to be without com-
mmanders, they chose six prefects, three to be in
charge of Achradina and three of Nasus. When
the uproar was at last stilled and they were diligently
enquiring what terms had been made with the
Romans, the truth began to dawn upon them, that
their case was different from that of the deserters.

XXX. Just at the right moment the legates re-
turned from Marcellus, stating that the mercenaries
had been aroused by an unfounded suspicion, and
that the Romans had no reason for demanding their
punishment. One of the three prefects of Achradina
was a Spaniard, Moericus by name. To him, among
the retinue of the legates, one of the Spanish
auxiliaries was sent on purpose. Finding Moericus
alone, he first explained the condition in which he
had left Spain, from which he had recently come.
The whole of that country, he said, was held by Roman
arms. If he should do something worth while, he
could be a chief among his own people, whether
he preferred to serve on the Roman side or to
return to his native town. On the other hand, if he
pergat, quam spem esse terra marique clauso?

4 Motus his Moericus, cum legatos ad Marcellum mitti placuisset, fratrem inter eos mittit, qui per eundem illum Hispanum secretus ab alis ad Marcellum deductus, cum fidem accepiisset composuissetque agendae ordinem rei. Achradinam redit. Tum Moericus, ut ab suspiciione proditionis averteret omnium animos, negat sibi placere legatos emmeare ulter citroque: neque recipiendum quemquam neque mittendum et, quo intentius custodiae serventur, opportuna dividenda praecfectis esse, ut suae quisque partis tutanda reus sit. Omnes adsensi sunt. Partibus dividendis ipsi regio evenit ab Arethusa fonte usque ad ostium magni portus; id ut scirent Romani fecit. Itaque Marcellus nocte navem onerariam cum armatis remulco quadrirremis trahi ad Achradinam iussit exponique milites regione portae quae prope fontem Arethusam est. Hoc cum quarta vigilia factum esset expositosque milites porta, ut convenerat, reccepisset Moericus, luce prima Marcellus omnibus copiis moenia Achradinæ adgreditur, ita ut non eos solum qui Achradinam tenebant in se converteret, sed ab Naso etiam agmina armatorum concurrenter relictis stationibus suis ad vim et impetum Romanorum arecendum. In hoc tumultu actuariae naves instructæ iam ante circumvectaeque ad Nasum armatos exponunt, qui improviso adorti


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1 An evident error for the Island (Nasus), due possibly to Livy’s attempt to combine several different accounts. There is further confusion in the passage which follows.
continued to prefer to be besieged, what hope was b.c. 212 there for a man shut in by land and sea? Moericus was impressed by these words, and when it was decided to send legates to Marcellus, sent his brother as one of them. He was escorted separately from the rest to Marcellus by that same Spaniard, and after receiving a promise and arranging the steps to be taken, returned to Achradina. Then Moericus, to divert the attention of everybody from the suspicion of treason, said he did not approve of having legates going back and forth; that none should be admitted or sent; and that, in order to keep a closer guard, suitable positions should be divided among the prefects, so that each should be responsible for the defence of his own section. All agreed. In the assignment of sections the region extending from the Fountain of Arethusa to the entrance of the Great Harbour fell to Moericus himself. He saw to it that the Romans knew that. Accordingly Marcellus ordered a transport with armed men to be towed at night by a four-banker to Achradina, and the soldiers to be landed near the gate which is by the Fountain of Arethusa. This done at the fourth watch, and the soldiers landed there having been admitted according to agreement by Moericus through the gate, Marcellus at daybreak with all his forces assailed the walls of Achradina. The result was that not only did he turn the attention of the defenders of Achradina to himself, but from Nasus also columns of armed men, leaving their posts, united in haste, to ward off the violent attack of the Romans. During this confusion light vessels, previously equipped, sailed around to Nasus and landed their troops. These made an unexpected attack upon
semiplenas stationes et adapertas fores portae, qua paulo ante excurrerant armati, haud magno certaminie Nasum cepere desertam trepidatione et fuga custodum. Neque in ullis minus praesidii aut pertinaciae ad manendum quam in transfugis fuit, quia ne suis quidem satis credentes e medio certaminie effugerunt. Marcellus, ut captam esse Nasum comperit et Achradinae regionem unam teneri Moericumque cum praesidio suis adiunctum, receptui eecinit, ne regiae opes, quarum fama maior quam res erat, diriperentur.

XXXI. Suppresso impetu militum ut iis qui in Achradina erant transfugis spatium locusque fugae datus est, Syracusani tandem liberi metu portis Achradinae apertis oratores ad Marcellum mittunt, nihil petentis aliud quam incolumitatem sibi liberisque suis. Marcellus consilio advoeato et adhibitis etiam Syracusanis qui per seditiones pulsi ab domo intra praesidia Romana fuerant, respondit non plura per annos quinquaginta benefacta Hieronis quam paucis his annis maleficia eorum qui Syracusas tenuerint erga populum Romanum esse; sed pleraque eorum quo debuerint recedisse, foederumque ruptorum ipsos ab se graviores multo quam populus Romanus voluerit poenas exegisse. Se quidem tertium annum circumsedere Syracusas, non ut populus Romanus servam civitatem haberet, sed

2 Romanus (i.e. R.) servam x Sigonius: reservatam P(10): -ta C.
the half-manned outposts and the open doors of the gate through which the armed men had dashed out a little while before, and with no great resistance captured Nasus, deserted by the excitement and flight of the guards. And no others showed less capacity to defend or determination to hold out than the deserters, since they did not quite trust even their own men and fled out of the midst of the conflict. Marcellus, on learning that Nasus had been captured and one section of Achradina occupied, also that Moericus with his force had joined the Romans, sounded the recall, to prevent the royal treasures, which were reported to be larger than they really were, from being plundered.

XXXI. The onslaught of the soldiers being checked and time and place for their flight given to the deserters who were in Achradina, the Syracusans, at last relieved of their fear, open the gates of Achradina and send representatives to Marcellus, asking nothing else than their own lives and those of their children. Marcellus, calling a council and admitting also those Syracusans who, after being driven from home during the uprisings, had been inside the Roman lines, replied that the good acts of Hiero toward the Roman people during fifty years had not been more numerous than the evil deeds done in the last few years by those who held Syracuse. But most of the misdeeds, he said, had reacted just as they should, and the men had exacted from themselves much more serious penalties for the broken treaties than the Roman people wished. For his part, he was besieging Syracuse for the third year, not that the Roman people might keep the city enslaved, but to prevent the commanders of deserters
ne transfugarum alienigenarumque duces captam et oppressam tenerent. Quid potuerint Syracusani facere, exemplo vel cos esse Syracusanorum qui intra praesidia Romana fuerint, vel Hispanum ducem Moericum, qui praesidium tradiderit, vel ipsorum Syracusanorum postremo serum quidem, sed forte consilium. Sibi omnium laborum periculorumque circa moenia Syracusana terra marique tam diu exhaustorum nequaquam tanti eum fructum esse quod capere Syracusas potuisset. Inde quaestor cum praesidio ab Naso ad accipiendam pecuniam regiam custodiendamque missus. Urbs diriendi militi data est custodibus divisis per domos eorum qui intra praesidia Romana fuerant. Cum multa irae, multa avaritiae foeda exempla ederentur, Archimeden memoriae proditum est in tanto tumultu, quantum captae terror urbis in discursu diripientium militum ciere poterat, intentum formis quas in pulvere descripsisset, ab ignaro milité quis esset interfectum; aegre id Marcellum tulisse sepulchraeque curam habitam, et propinquiquis etiam inquisitis honori praesidioque nomen ac memoriam eius sustituisse. Hoc maxume modo Syracusae captae; in quibus praedae tantum fuit, quantum vix capta

1 alienigenarum Hertz; mereennariorum Gerlach: om. P(1) Walters (also the -que of PC).
2 tanti eum Harant (without assuming a lacuna below): tantum P(1) Madrig, Conway.
3 Here Madrig inserted potuerit, quantum, si servare: Conway (after capere), sibi continget, quantum si servare (two lines): Honorius conj. quam si parcere Syracusis for quod capere Syracusas.
4 ab Naso ad Geyer: ab nassium et P(4): ad nassium et CHPBDA: ad Nassum ad z Walters.
and foreigners from holding it in captivity and subjection. What the Syracusans could have done was shown by the example either of those Syracusans inside the Roman lines, or of the Spanish commander Moericus, who surrendered his post, or finally of the belated but courageous resolution of the Syracusans themselves. To his mind it was by no means a sufficient reward for all the hardships and dangers, so long endured on land and sea about the Syracusan walls, that he had been able to capture Syracuse. Thereupon the quaestor was sent from Nasus with a force to receive and guard the royal funds. The city was given over to the soldiers to plunder, guards being first assigned to the houses of the men who had been inside the Roman lines. While many shameful examples of anger and many of greed were being given, the tradition is that Archimedes, in all the uproar which the alarm of a captured city could produce in the midst of plundering soldiers dashing about, was intent upon the figures which he had traced in the dust and was slain by a soldier, not knowing who he was;¹ that Marcellus was grieved at this, and his burial duly provided for; and that his name and memory were an honour and a protection to his relatives, search even being made for them. Such in the main was the capture of Syracuse,² in which there was booty in such quantity as there would scarcely have been

¹ Cf. Plutarch’s account, Marcellus 19; Valerius Maximus VIII. 7. Ext. 7; Cicero de Finibus V. 50.
² Actually the fall of Syracuse appears to have taken place in the following year, 211 B.C.

Carthaginum tum fuisset, cum qua viribus acquis certabatur.

12 Paucis ante diebus quam Syracusae caperentur, T. Otacilius cum quinquercemibus octoginta Uticam ab Lilybaco transmisit, et cum ante lucem portum intrasset, onerarias frumento onustas cepit, egressusque in terram depopulatus est aliquantum agri circa Uticam praedamque omnis generis retro ad navis egit. Lilybaeum terto die quam inde profectus erat cum centum triginta onerariis navibus frumento praedaque onustis rediit idque frumentum extemplo Syracusas misit; quod ni tam in tempore subvenisset, victoribus vietisque pariter perniciosa fames instabat.

XXXII. Eadem aestate in Hispania, cum biennio ferme nihil admodum memorabile factum esset consiliisque magis quam armis bellum gereretur, Romani imperatores egressi hibernis copias coniunxerunt.

2 Ibi consilium advocatum omniumque in unum congruerunt sententiae, quando ad id locorum id modo actum esset ut Hasdrubalem tendentem in Italian retinerent, tempus esse id iam agi ut bellum in Hispania finiretur. Et satis ad id virium credebant accessisse viginti milia Celtiberorum ea hieme ad arma excita. Hostium tres exercitus erant:

4 Hasdrubal Gisgonis filius et Mago coniunctis castris quinque ferme dierum iter ab Romanis aberant;

5 propior erat Hamilcaris filius Hasdrubal, vetus in Hispania imperator; ad urbem nomine Amtorgim exercitum habebat. Eum volebant prius opprimi

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1 cum qua P(1) : cum (quum) Madvig.
if Carthage, with which the conflict was on even terms, had at that time been captured.

A few days before Syracuse was taken, Titus Otacilius with eighty-five bankers crossed over from Lilybaeum to Utica. And having entered the harbour before daylight, he captured cargo-ships laden with grain, and disembarking ravaged a considerable area around Utica and drove booty of every kind back to the ships. On the third day after he had left Lilybaeum he returned thither with a hundred and thirty cargo-ships laden with grain and booty, and sent the grain at once to Syracuse. Had it not arrived so opportunely, a famine equally destructive to victors and vanquished was impeding.

XXXII. In Spain in the same summer, when for about two years nothing very notable had occurred and the war was being waged more by diplomacy than by arms, the Roman generals, on leaving their winter-quarters, united their forces. Thereupon a council was called and all were of one mind, that, since up to that time they had accomplished nothing except to hold Hasdrubal back from pushing on into Italy, it was time that their task should now be to end the war in Spain. And they believed they had sufficient reinforcements for that purpose in twenty thousand Celtiberians who had been called to arms that winter. The enemy had three armies. Hasdrubal, the son of Gisgo, and Mago with adjoining camps were about five days' march from the Romans. Nearer was Hasdrubal, the son of Hamilcar, a veteran commander in Spain. He had his army near a city called Amtorgis. It was he that the

1 This apparently from a source which placed the defeat and death of the Scipios in 211 B.C.; cf. note on xxxvi. 14.
Livy

ducès Romani; et spes erat satis superque ad id virium esse; illa restabat cura, ne fuso eo perculsi alter Hasdrubal et Mago in avios saltus montesque recipientes sese bellum extraherent. Optimum igitur rati divisis bifariam copiis totius simul Hispianiæ amplecti bellum, ita inter se disserunt ut P. Cornelius duas partes exercitus Romanorum sociorumque adversus Magonem duceret atque Hasdrubalem, Cn. Cornelius cum tertia parte veteris exercitus Celtiberis adiunruit cum Hasdrubale Barcino bellum gereret. Una profecti ambo duces exercitusque Celtiberis praegredientibus ad urbem Amtorgim in conspectu hostium dirimente amni ponunt castra. Ibi Cn. Scipio cum quibus ante dictum est copiis substitit; P. Scipio profectus ad destinatam belli partem.

XXXIII. Hasdrubal postquam animadvertit exiguum Romanum exercitum in castris et spem omnem in Celtiberorum auxiliis esse, peritus omnis barbaricae et praceipue earum¹ gentium in quibus per tot annos militabat perfidiae, facili linguae commerce,² cum utraque castra plena Hispanorum essent, per occulta conloquia paciscitur magna mercede cum Celtiberorum principibus ut copias inde abducant. Nee atrox visum facinus—non enim ut in Romanos verterent arma agebatur—et merces quanta vel

¹ earum Gronovius: omnium earum P(1).
² commercio z Conway: om. P(1).

1 Probably the Baetis, as Iliturgi was not far away; cf. XXVIII. xix. 2.
Roman generals wished first to overpower; and they hoped they had quite ample forces for that end. The one remaining concern was the fear that, if he was defeated, the other Hasdrubal and Mago might in alarm withdraw to pathless forests and mountains and prolong the war. They thought it best therefore to divide their forces into two armies and include the whole of Spain in their plan of operations. And they divided in such manner that Publius Cornelius should lead two-thirds of the army of Romans and allies against Mago and Hasdrubal, and that Gnaeus Cornelius with one-third of the old army and the Celtiberians in addition should carry on the war with Hasdrubal Barca. Setting out together, with the Celtiberians in the van, both generals and armies pitched camp near the city of Amtorgis, in sight of the enemy, but separated by a river. There Gnaeus Scipio remained with the above-mentioned forces, while Publius Scipio set out for his previously appointed share of the war.

XXXIII. Hasdrubal first noted that there was only a small army of Romans in the camp and that all their hope was in the Celtiberian auxiliaries. Then, as he was well acquainted with every form of treachery practised by barbarians and particularly by those tribes among which he had been campaigning for so many years, and as oral communication was easy, since both camps were full of Spaniards, by means of secret conferences he made an agreement with the chief men of the Celtiberians at a high price that they should withdraw their troops. Nor did it seem an outrageous act—for it was not urged that they should turn their arms against the Romans—and a price which would have been ample even for engaging
pro bello satis esset dabatur ne bellum gererent, et
cum quies ipsa, tum reditus domum fructusque
videndi suos suaque grata vulgo erant. Itaque non
dueibus facilius quam multitudini persuasum est.
Simul ne metus quidem ab Romanis erat, quippe
tam paucis, si vi retinerent. Id quidem eavendum
semper Romanis dueibus erit exemplaque haec vere
pro documentis habenda, ne ita externis eredant
auxiliis ut non plus sui roboris suarumque proprie
virium in castris habeant. Signis repente sublatis
Celtiberi abeunt, nihil aliud quaerentibus causam
obtestantibusque ut manerent Romanis respondentes
quam domesticò se avocari bello. Scipio, postquam
socii nee precibus nee vi retineri poterant, nee se aut
parem sine illis hosti esse aut fratri rursus coniungi
vidit posse, nec ullum aliud salutare consilium in
promptu esse, retro quantum posset cedere statuit,
in id omni eura intentus necubi hosti aequo se
committeret loco, qui transgressus flumen prope
vestigiis abeuntium insistebat.

XXXIV. Per eosdem dies P. Scipionem par terror,
periculum maius ab novo hoste urgebatur. Masinissa
erat iuvenis, eo tempore socius Carthaginiensium,
quem deinde clarum potentemque Romana fecit
amicitia. Is tum eum equitatu Numidarum et
advenienti P. Scipioni occurrerit et deinde adsidue
466
in the war was offered them not to wage war. Again, b.c. 212 not only peace itself, but also a return home and the advantage of seeing their families and their property were attractions to the mass of them. Accordingly their leaders were not more easily persuaded than the rank and file. At the same time they had no fear from the Romans either, if they, being so few in number, should try to hold them by force. It will always be a necessary precaution for Roman generals, and these instances must really be accounted warnings, not so to trust their foreign auxiliaries as not to have in camp more of their own strength and of forces that are absolutely their own. The Celtiberians suddenly took up their standards and departed, and when Romans asked the reason and implored them to remain, they gave no other answer than that they were called away by a war at home. Scipio, now that his allies could not be held either by entreaties or by force, saw that he could neither be a match for the enemy without them nor rejoin his brother, and that no other promising plan was available. Thereupon he decided to retire as far as possible, taking every care and being on the alert not to expose himself anywhere on level ground to the enemy, who crossed the river and kept almost at their heels as they withdrew.

XXXIV. About the same time Publius Scipio was beset by a fear no less grave and a danger that was greater from a new enemy. There was the young Masinissa, at that time an ally of the Carthaginians, a man whom friendship with the Romans later made famous and powerful. With his Numidian cavalry he now encountered Publius Scipio on his advance, and also was continually at hand day and night, ready
LIVY

A.U.C. 512

4 dies noctesque infestus aderat, ut non vagos tantum procul a castris lignatum pabulatumque progressos exciperet, sed ipsis obequitaret castris invectusque in medias saepe stationes omnia ingenti tumultu turbaret. Noctibus quoque saepe incursu repentino in portis valloque trepidatum est, nec aut locus aut tempus ullum vacuum a metu ac sollicitudine erat Romanis, compulsisque intra vallum adempto rerum omnium usu. Cum prope iusta obsidio esset futuramque artiorem cam appareret, si se Indibilis, quem eum septem milibus et quingentis Suessetanorum adventare fama erat, Poenis coniunxisset, dux cautus et providens Scipio victus necessitatibus temerarium capiit consilium, ut nocte Indibili obviam iret et, quocumque occurrisset loco, proelium consereret. Relicto igitur modico praesidio in castris praepositoque Ti. Fonteio legato media nocte pro-

9 fectus cum obviis hostibus manus conseruit. Agmina magis quam acies pugnabant; superior tamen, ut in tumultuaria pugna, Romanus erat. Ceterum et equites Numidae repente, quos fefellisse se dux ratus erat, ab lateribus circumfusi magnum terrorem intulere, et contracto adversus Numidas certamine novo tertius insuper advenit hostis, duces Poeni adsecuti ab tergo iam pugnantis; anicepsque proelium Romanos circumsteterat incertos in quem potissimum hostem quamve in partem conferti eruptionem facerent. Pugnanti hortantique impera-

1 et Crévier: om. P(1).
to attack, so that he not only captured soldiers b.c. 212 who had wandered far from the camp in search of wood and fodder, but also rode up to the camp itself, and often dashing into the midst of the outposts threw everything into great confusion. By night also there was often alarm at the gates and on the earthwork owing to a sudden attack, nor was any place or time free from fear and anxiety for the Romans, and they were confined within their earth-work, unable to obtain anything. It was almost a regular blockade, and this would evidently be stricter if Indibilis, who was reported as approaching with seven thousand five hundred Suessetani, should join the Carthaginians. Consequently Scipio, though a general marked by caution and foresight, being forced by his straits, adopted the rash plan of going by night to meet Indibilis and giving battle wherever he should encounter him. Therefore, leaving a moderate garrison at the camp and putting his lieutenant, Tiberius Fonteius, in command of it, he set out at midnight, and on meeting the enemy engaged them. It was a battle of columns rather than lines; yet, so far as could be in an engagement without order, the Roman had the advantage. But the Numidian cavalry, whose notice the general had thought he had escaped, by outflanking them inspired great alarm, and in addition, when they had entered a fresh battle with the Numidians, a third enemy also arrived, the Carthaginian generals, who from the rear overtook them when already engaged. And the Romans found themselves between two battles, uncertain against which enemy and in which direction they should choose to break through in a mass. As the general was fighting and exhorting,
tori et offerenti se ubi plurimus labor erat latus dextrum lancea traicitur; cuneusque is hostium qui in confertos circa ducem impetum fecerat, ut examinem labentem ex equo Scipionem vidit, alacres gaudio cum clamore per totam aciem nuntiantes discurrens imperatorem Romanum cecidisse. Ea pervagata passim vox ut et hostes haud dubie pro victoribus et Romani pro victis essent fecit. Fuga confestim ex acie duce amissus fieri coepta est; ceterum ut ad erumpendum inter Numidas levium-que armorum alia auxilia haud difficilis erat, ita effugere tantum equitum aequantiumque equos velocitate peditum vix poterant, caesique prope plures in fuga quam in pugna sunt; nec superfluisset quisquam, ni praecipiti iam ad vesperum die nox intervenisset.

XXXV. Hand segniter inde duces Poeni fortuna usi confestim et proelio vix necessaria quiete data militibus ad Hasdrubalem Hamilcaris citatum agmen rapiunt non dubia spe, cum se coniunxissent, debellari posse. Quo ubi est ventum, inter exercitus ducesque victoria recenti laetos gratulatio ingens facta, imperatore tanto cum omni exercitu deleto et alteram pro haud dubia parem victoriam expectantes. Ad Romanos nondum quidem fama tanta clavis pervenerat, sed maestum quoddam silentium erat et

1 cum Ax: om. P(2).
2 se x: om. P(1).
BOOK XXV. XXXIV. II-XXXV. 3

and exposing himself where there was most to be done, his right side was pierced by a lance. And those of the enemy who in a wedge had made an attack upon the men pressing close about the general, on seeing the dying Scipio slipping from his horse, dashed everywhere along the line, wild with delight, shouting and announcing that the Roman commander had fallen. The broadcasting of that announcement far and wide made the enemy as good as victors beyond a doubt and the Romans as good as vanquished. Flight directly from the battle-line began, once they had lost their general. But while, so far as bursting through the Numidians and the light-armed auxiliaries as well was concerned, flight was not difficult, yet it was hardly possible for them to escape such numbers of horsemen and infantry who by their speed kept up with the horses. And almost more were slain in flight than in battle, nor would anyone have survived but for the coming on of night, as the day was now rapidly drawing to a close.

XXXV. Then the Carthaginian generals directly after the battle, making no indifferent use of their success, barely allowed their soldiers necessary rest, and rushed their column with all speed in the direction of Hasdrubal, the son of Hamilcar, with the certain hope that, when they should unite with him, the war could be finished. Upon their arrival there was great congratulation between the armies and generals rejoicing in the recent victory, since so great a general and his entire army had been destroyed, and they were looking for just such another victory as beyond question. As for the Romans, not yet indeed had a report of the great disaster reached them, but there was a gloomy silence and an unexpressed foreboding,
tacita divinatio, qualis iam praescagientibus animis inminentis mali esse solet. Imperator ipse, praeterquam quod ab sociis se desertum, hostium tantum auctas copias sentiebat, conjectura etiam et ratione ad suspicionem acceptae cladis quam ad ullam bonam spem pronior erat: quonam modo enim Hasdrubalem ac Magonem, nisi defunctos suo bello, sine certamine adducere exercitum potuisse? Quo modo autem non obstitisse aut ab tergo secutum fratrem, ut, si prohibere quo minus in unum coirent et duces et exercitus hostium non posset, ipse certe cum fratre coniungeret copias? His anxius curis id modo esse salutare in praesens credebat, cedere inde quantum posset; exinde una nocte ignaris hostibus et ob id quietis aliquantum emensus est iter. Luce ut sensorunt profectos, hostes praemissis Numidis quam poterant maxime citato agmine sequi coeperunt. Ante noctem adseculi Numidae, nunc ab tergo, nunc in latera incursantes, consistere coegerunt ac tutari agmen; quantum possent tamen tuto, ut simul pugnarent procederentque Scipio hortabatur, priusquam pedestres copiae adsequerentur. XXXVI. Ceterum nunc agendo, nunc sustinendo agmen eum aliquamdiu haud multum procederetur et nox iam instaret, revocat e proelio suos Scipio et conlectos in tumulum quendam non quidem satis tutum, prae-

such as is usually the forecast of impending misfortune when men already have presentiments. The general himself, in addition to the knowledge that he had been deserted by his allies and that the enemy’s forces had been so greatly increased, was more inclined by logical inference to suspect that a disaster had occurred than to entertain any good hope. For how, he thought, could Hasdrubal and Mago, unless they had quite finished their own war, have been able to bring up their army without an engagement? And how had his brother failed to confront them or to follow in their rear, so that, if unable to prevent the generals and armies of the enemy from uniting, he might himself at least combine his forces with those of his brother? Troubled by these anxieties, he believed that the one safe course at present was to retreat as far away as possible. Then in one night, while the enemy were unaware of it and hence made no move, he marched a considerable distance. In the morning the enemy, on discovering that they had gone, sent the Numidians in advance and began to follow them in a column at its utmost speed. Before night the Numidians had overtaken them, and charging now in the rear, now on the flanks, compelled them to halt and defend their column. Scipio kept encouraging them to fight and advance at the same time, so far, that is, as they could do so with safety, before the infantry forces should overtake them. XXXVI. But while he now urged his column forward, now ordered it to halt, for a long time little progress was being made and night was now at hand. Scipio therefore recalled his men from battle, concentrated them and led them up a hill that was not indeed quite safe, especially
sertim agmini perculso, editorem tamen quam 3 cetera circa erant, subducit. Ibi primo impedimentis et equitatu in medium receptis circumdati pedites haud difficulter impetus incursantium Numidarum areebant; dein, postquam toto agmine tres imperatores cum tribus iustis exercitibus adherant apparebatque parum armis ad tuendum locum sine munimento valituros esse, circumspectare atque agi- tare dux coepit, si quo modo posset vallum circumicere. Sed erat adeo nudus tumulus et asperi soli ut nee virgulta vallo caedendo nec terra caespiti faciendo aut ducendae fossae aliive ulli operi apta inveniri posset; nec natura quiequam satis arduum aut absc- sum erat quod hosti aditum ascensumve difficilem praebet; omnia fastigio leni subvexa. Ut tamen aliquam imaginem valli obicerent, elitellas inligatas oneribus velut struentes ad altitudinem solitam cir- cumdabant, cumulo sarcinarum omnis generis objec- to, ubi ad moliendum elitellae defuerant. 8 Punici exercitus postquam advenere, in tumulum quidem perfacile agmen erexere; munitionis facies nova primo eos velut miraculo quodam tenuit, cum duces undique vociferarentur quid starent et non ludibrium illud, vix feminis puerisve morandis satis validum, distraherent diriperentque? Captum 10 hostem teneri, latentem post sarcinas. Haec con- temptim duces increpabant; eeterum neque transi- lire nec moliri onera obiecta nec caedere stipatas elitellas ipsisque obrutas sarcinis facile erat. At
for a terrified column, but still was higher than the b.c. 21
country around it. There the infantry, surrounding
the baggage and cavalry placed in the centre, at
first kept off the charges of the Numidians without
difficulty. Then, when three generals arrived in
full force with three regular armies, and it was evident
that they would be unable by arms to defend an
unfortified position, the general began to cast about
and consider whether he could in some way surround
it with an earthwork. But the hill was so bare and
rocky that neither could thickets be found for the
cutting of stakes nor ground such that they could get
turf or carry a trench in it or any other earthwork.
And yet no spot was naturally so elevated or rugged as
to make approach or ascent difficult for the enemy.
Everywhere the ground rose at a gentle slope. How-
ever, in order to interpose some semblance of an
earthwork, they laid up, as it were, to the usual height
all around them, pack-saddles still tied to their loads,
while, wherever the pack-saddles failed to make a
barricade, they piled on top lighter baggage of every
kind.

The Carthaginian armies, on arriving, very easily
marched in column up the hill; but the strange
appearance of the defences at first checked them in a
certain amazement, while their commanders kept
shouting from all sides, asking why they stood still
and did not pull apart and scatter that pretence,
hardly strong enough to delay women or children.
The enemy, they said, was held captive, lurking
behind his baggage. Such were the scornful taunts
of the commanders. But it was not easy to leap
over or clear away the baggage in front of them, nor
to cut apart the mass of pack-saddles, buried under
LIVY

trudibus¹ cum amoliti obiecta onera armatis dedissent viam pluribusque idem partibus fieret, capta iam
undique castra erant. Pauci a multis percussique a victoribus passim caedebantur; magna pars tamen militum, cum in propinquas refugisset silvas, in castra P. Scipionis, quibus Ti. Fonteius legatus praec-
erat, perfugerunt. Cn. Scipionem alii in tumulo primo impetu hostium caesum tradunt, alii cum paucis in propinquam castris turrim perfugisse; hanc igni circumdatam atque ita exustis foribus, quas nulla moliri potuerant vi, captam omnisque intus cum ipso imperatore occisos.

Anno octavo postquam in Hispaniam venerat Cn. Scipio, undetricesimo die post fratriis mortem, est interfectus. Luctus ex morte eorum non Romae
maior quam per totam Hispaniam fuit: quin apud euis partem doloris et exercitus amissi et alienata provincia et publica trahebat clades; Hispaniae ipsos hubeant desiderabantique duces, Gnaeum magis, quod diutius praecerat iis priorque et favorem occupaverat et specimen iustitiae temperantiaeque Romanae primus dederat.

XXXVII. Cum deleti exercitus amissaeque Hispa-
2 niae viderentur, vir umas res perditas restituit. Erat in exercitu L. Marcii Septimi filius, eques Romanus,


¹ Correct, though inconsistent with Livy's general chronology, which would make it the seventh year; cf. XXI. xxxii.
3. In xxxvii. 6 also Livy has followed an authority who placed the disasters in Spain in 211 B.C.; cf. note on xxxii. 1.

476
the added loads. But after they had cleared away the baggage in front of them with hooked poles and made a way for the armed men, and the same thing was being done in different places, the camp had by this time been captured from all sides. Everywhere there was slaughter of the few by the many, of the panic-stricken by the victorious. A large part of the soldiers, however, after fleeing into the neighbouring forest, made their escape to Publius Scipio's camp, of which Tiberius Fonteius, his lieutenant, was commander. As for Gnaeus Scipio, some relate that he was slain on the hill in the first onset of the enemy, others that with a few men he made his escape to a tower near the camp; that fire was lighted around this, and so, by burning the doors which they had been unable to force in any way, they captured the tower and all were slain in it along with the commander himself.

In the eighth year after his arrival in Spain Gnaeus Scipio was killed, on the twenty-ninth day after the death of his brother. Grief for their deaths was not greater in Rome than throughout Spain; in fact among the citizens the destruction of armies and the loss of a province and the national disaster claimed a part in their sorrow, while all Spain mourned for the generals themselves and missed them, Gnaeus more than Publius, because he had been longer in command and had earlier won their favour, and had given for the first time an example of Roman justice and self-control.

XXXVII. While it seemed that the armies had been wiped out and all Spain lost, a single man repaired their shattered fortunes. In the army was Lucius Marcius, son of Septimus, a Roman knight, an active
impiger iuvenis animique et ingenii aliquanto quam
3 pro fortuna in qua erat natus maioris. Ad summam
indelem accesserat Cn. Scipionis disciplina, sub qua
4 per tot annos omnis militiae artis edoctus fuerat. Is 1
et ex fuga collectis militibus et quibusdam de praes-
sidiis deductis haud contemnendum exercitum fecerat
iunxeratque cum Ti. Fonteio, P. Scipionis legato.
5 Sed tantum praestitit eques Romanus auctoritate
inter milites atque honor ut, castris extrae Hiberum
communitis, cum ducem exercitus comitiis militari-
6 bus creari placuisset, subeuntes alii alii in eusto-
diam vallii stationesque, donee per omnis suffragium
iret, ad L. Marcium euncti summam imperii detul-
7 rint. Omne inde tempus—exiguum id fuit—mu-
niendis castris convenhendisque commeatibus con-
sumpsit, et omnia imperia milites cum inpigre, tum
8 haudquaquam abieco animo excquebantur. Cete-
rum postquam Hasdrubalem Gisgonis venientem ad
reliquias belli delendas transisse Hiberum et adpro-
pinquare adlatum est, signumque pugnae propositum
9 ab novo duce milites viderunt, recordati quos paulo
ante imperatores habuissest quibusque et ducibus
et copiis freti prodire in pugnam soliti essent, flere
omnes repente et offensacar capita et alii manus ad
caelum tendere deos incusantes, alii strati humi
10 suum quisque nominatim ducem implorare. Neque

young man of much more spirit and talent than was b.c. 212 to be expected in the station in which he had been born. In addition to his high promise he had had the training of Gnaeus Scipio, in which during so many years he had mastered all the arts of the soldier. This man had made an army that was not to be despised out of soldiers gathered up from the flight and in part withdrawn from garrison towns, and he had united it with that of Tiberius Fonteius, the lieutenant of Publius Scipio. But so preëminently was a mere Roman knight in his personal influence with the soldiers and in the respect they paid him that, after they had fortified a camp on this side of the Hiberus and decided that a commander of the army should be chosen in an election by the soldiers, relieving each other as sentries on the wall and in outpost duty until all had cast their votes, they unanimously conferred the high command upon Lucius Marcius. He then spent the whole time—and it was very short—in fortifying the camp and bringing up supplies. And the soldiers carried out all his commands, not only with energy, but also in no dejected spirit. But when the news came that Hasdrubal the son of Gisgo, on his way to wipe out the last remains of the war, had crossed the Hiberus and was approaching, and the soldiers saw the signal for battle raised by a new general, they remembered what commanders they had had a short time before, and upon what generals and forces they had usually relied as they went into battle. Suddenly they all were weeping and dashing their heads against obstacles; and some raised their hands to heaven, blaming the gods, others lying on the ground invoked their respective generals by name. And the wailing
LIVY

sedari lamentatio poterat excitantibus centurioni
bus manipulares et ipso mulecente et increpante Marcio, quod in muliebris et inutiles se proiecssent fletus potius quam ad tutandos semet ipsos et rem publicam secum acercent animos, et ne inmultos

imperatores suos iacere sine rent, cum subito clamor
tubarumque sonus—iam enim prope vallum hostes
erant—exauditur. Inde verso repente in iram luctu
discurrent 1 ad arma ac velut accensirabie discurrunt 2
ad portas et in hostem neglegenter atque incom-

12 posite venientem incurruntr. Extemplo improvisa
res pavorem inentit Poenis, mirabundique unde tot
hostes subito exorti prope deleto exercitu forent,
unde tanta audacia, tanta fiducia sui victis ac fugatis,
quis imperator duobus Scipionibus caesis exstitisset,
quis castris praeesset, quis signum dedisset pugnae—

ad haec tot tam necopinata primo omnium incerti
stupentesque referunt pedem, dein valida impressione

14 pulsi terga vertunt. Et aut fugientium caedes
foeda fuisset aut temerarius periculosusque se-
quentium impetus, ni Marcius propere receptui
dedisset signum obsistensque ad prima signa et
quosdam ipse retinens concitatam repressisset aeiem.
Inde in castra avidos adhuc caedisque et sanguinis

15 reduxit. Carthaginienses trepide primo ab hostium
vallo acti, postquam neminem insequi viderunt, metu

2 discurrunt P(1) Conway: concurrunt Gronovius: Madvig
rejected discurrunt ad portas et.

480
could not be stilled, although the centurions tried to arouse the men of their maniples and Marcius himself to calm them and upbraided them for having given themselves up to womanish and useless weeping, instead of whetting their courage to defend themselves and with them the state, and begged them not to let their commanders lie unavenged, when suddenly—for the enemy were now near the earthwork—a shout and the sound of trumpets were heard. Upon that, their grief instantly changing to anger, they scatter to arms, and as if fired by frenzy, to the different gates, and dash into the enemy coming on carelessly and in disorder. At once the unexpected act inspired alarm among the Carthaginians, and they wondered whence so many enemies had suddenly appeared after the army had been almost wiped out, whence came such boldness and self-confidence so great in men beaten and put to flight, what commander had arisen after the two Scipios had been slain, who was in command of the camp, who had given the signal for battle. In the face of all that—so many things so unexpected—they at first retreated, completely at a loss and dumbfounded; then beaten back by the strength of the attack they took to flight. And there would have been either a terrible slaughter of the fleeing or a reckless and dangerous attack on the part of the pursuers, had not Marcius promptly given the signal for the recall and kept back his own excited line, faceing his men in the front line and laying hold of some with his own hands. He then led them back to camp still thirsting for slaughter and bloodshed. The Carthaginians were at first forced away in confusion from the enemies' earthwork; then, when they saw that no one was pursuing,
I.IVY

substitisse rati, contemptim rursus et sedato gradu in castra abcunt.

16 Par neglegentia in castris eustodiendis fuit; nam etsi propinquus hostis erat, tamen reliquias eum esse duorum exercituum ante paucos dies deletorum suc-
currebat. Ob hoc cum omnia neglecta apud hostis essent, exploratis iis Marcius ad consilium prima specie temerarium magis quam audax animum adie-
cit, ut utro castra hostium oppugnaret, facilius esse ratus unus Hasdrubalis expugnari castra quam, si se rursus tres exercitus ac tres duces inxxissent, sua 19 defendi: simul aut, si successisset coeptis, erectu-
rum se adflietas res aut, si pulsus esset, tamen utro inferendo arma contemptum sui dempturum.

XXXVIII. Ne tamen subita res et nocturnus terror et iam non suae fortunae consilium perturbaret, adloquendos adhortandoque sibi milites ratus,
2 contione advocata ita disseruit: "Vel mea erga imperatores nostros vivos mortuosque pietas vel praesens omnium nostrum, milites, fortuna fidem cuivis facere potest mihi hoc imperium, ut amplum iudicio vestro, ita re ipsa grave ac sollicitum esse.

3 Quo enim tempore, nisi metus maerorem obstupe-
facret, vix ita compos mei essem ut aliqua solacia invenire aegro animo possem, cegor vestram omnium vicem, quod difficillimum in luctu est, unus consulere.

4 Et ne tum quidem, ubi quonam modo has reliquias duorum exercituum patriae conservare possim cogi-
they thought they had halted for fear, and with fresh contempt and at a slow pace they retired to their camp.

There was just as much carelessness in guarding the camp. For, although the enemy was near, still they kept reflecting that it was only a remnant of the two armies wiped out a few days before. Since for this reason every precaution had been omitted on the enemy's side, Marcius, informed of the facts, turned his attention to a plan at first sight reckless rather than bold, actually to attack the camp of the enemy, in the belief that it was easier to storm the camp of Hasdrubal alone than to defend his own, if the three armies and three generals should again unite. At the same time he thought that, if his efforts should prove successful, he would relieve his critical situation or, even if defeated, by venturing to attack he would at least take away their contempt for himself. XXXVIII. But for fear an unexpected action, and alarm in the night and a plan no longer in keeping with his present situation, might bring confusion, he thought he must address his soldiers and encourage them, called an assembly and spoke as follows: "Either my devotion to our commanders, living and dead, or the present situation of us all, soldiers, can convince any one that this high command, though a great honour as your tribute, is yet in fact a burden to me and an anxious care. For at a time when, if fear did not paralyse grief, I should scarcely have such self-control as would enable me to find some comfort for distress of mind, I am compelled —a most difficult thing in sorrow—alone to plan for all of you. And even when I must consider how I may be able to save these remnants of two armies
tandum est, avertere animum ab assiduo maerore licet. Praesto est enim acerba memoria, et Scipiones me ambo dies noetesque curis insomniisque agitant et excitant saepe somno, neu se neu invictos per octo annos in his terris milites suos, commilitones vestros, neu rem publicam patiar inultam, et suam disciplinam suaque instituta sequi iubent et, ut imperis vivorum nemo oboedientior me uno fuerit, ita post mortem suam, quod in quaque re facturos illos fuisset maxime censeam, id optimum ducere. Vos quoque velim, milites, non lamentis lacrimisque tamquam extinctos prosequi—vivunt vigentque fama rerum gestarum—, sed, quotiensecumque occurret memoria illorum, velut si adhortantis signumque dantis videatis eos, ita proelia inire. Nee alia profecto species hesterno die oblata oculis animisque vestris memorabile illud edidit proelium, quo documentum dedistis hostibus non cum Scipionibus extinctum esse nomen Romanum et, eius populi vis atque virtus non obruta sit Cannensi clade, ex omni profecto saevitia fortunae emersurum esse.

"Nunc, quia tantum ausi estis sponte vestra, experiri ibet quantum audeatis duee vestro auctore. Non enim hesterno die, cum signum receptui dedi sequentiibus effuse vobis turbatum hostem, frangere audaciam vestram, sed differre in maiorem gloriam atque

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1 licet Gronovius: libet P(1) Riemann.
2 emersurum zz: -am P(1) Madvig.
for our country, I may not turn my thoughts away from unremitting grief. For a bitter memory is present with me, and both Scipios trouble me all day and all night with anxiety and loss of sleep, and often arouse me from slumber, bidding me not to allow either themselves or their soldiers, your comrades, undefeated in this land for eight years, or the state, to go unavenged. And they command me to follow their teachings and their methods, and, just as while they lived not a man was more obedient to their orders than I, so after their death to hold that to be the best course which in each case I am confident they would have done. As for you, soldiers, I would have you also honour them, not with lamentations and tears as though dead. They live and work by the glory of their achievements. But whenever you shall remember them, just as if you saw them encouraging you and giving the signal,—in that spirit would I have you go into battle. It was surely no other image which presented itself yesterday to your eyes and minds and brought about that notable battle, by which you gave the enemy proof that the Roman name has not been extinguished with the Scipios, and that the people whose might and courage were not overwhelmed by the disaster at Cannae will surely survive any cruelty of Fortune.

"At present, because you have of your own accord shown such daring, I should like to find how much you have when your general gives the command. For yesterday, when I sounded the recall, as you in disorder were pursuing the routed enemy, it was not my wish to crush your boldness, but to reserve it for higher fame and a more favourable situation, that

1 Cf. xxxvi. 14 and note.
LIVY

A.u.c. 512

12 opportunitatem volui, ut postmodo praeparati incautos, armati inermes atque etiam sopitos per occasi- sionem adgredi possetis. Nee huius occasionis spem, milites, forte temere, sed ex re ipsa conceptam

13 habeo. A vobis quoque profecto si quis quaerat quonam modo pauci a multis, victi a victoribus castra tutati sitis, nihil aliud respondeatis quam id ipsum timentis vos omnia et operibus firmata habuisse et
ipsos paratos instructosque fuisse. Et ita se res
habet: ad id quod ne timeatur fortuna facit minime tuti sunt homines, quia quod neglexeris incautum

15 atque apertum habeas. Nihil omnium nunc minus metuunt hostes quam ne, obsessi modo ipsi atque oppugnati, castra sua ultimo oppugnemus. Aurea- mus quod eredi non potest ausuros nos; eo ipso quod

16 difficilimum videtur facilius erit. Tertia vigilia noctis silenti agmine ducam vos. Exploratum habeo non vigiliarum ordinem, non stationes instas

17 esse. Clamor in portis auditus et primus impetus castra ceperit. Tum inter torpidos somno paventis- que ad necopinatum tumultum et inermis in cubilibus suis oppressos illa caedes edatur a qua vos hesterno
die revocatos aegre ferebatis. Scio audax videri consilium: sed in rebus asperis et tenui spe fortissima quaeque consilia tutissima sunt, quia, si in occasionis momento euius praetervolat opportunitas cunctatus paulum fueris, nequiquam mox omissam quaeras.

19 Unus exercitus in propinquuo est, duo haud procul
later, being well prepared and armed, you might be able, as opportunity offered, to attack the unprepared and unarmed, and even the sleeping. And not haphazard or at random do I cherish a hope of this opportunity, soldiers, but from the actual situation. You too, if someone should ask how you, a few men, have defended your camp against many, the vanquished against the victors, would surely give no other answer than that, fearing just that, you had kept everything in a state of defence and also had been in readiness yourselves and in line. And the fact is this: men are least protected against the thing which success leads them not to fear, since what one has made light of remains unguarded and uncovered. There is nothing in the world which the enemy now fear less than that we, who have ourselves just been beset and attacked, may venture to attack their camp. Let us dare what it is incredible that we should dare; for the very reason that it appears most difficult it will be easier. In the third watch of the night I shall lead you in a silent column. I am assured that there is no relieving of sentries, no regular outposts. The sound of a shout at the gate and a first assault will at once capture the camp. Then, among men dazed with sleep and alarmed at the unexpected uproar and surprised unarmed in their beds, let there be the slaughter from which you were recalled yesterday under protest. I know it seems a bold plan. But in dangerous and desperate situations the bravest decisions are always the safest. For if at the opportune moment, whose advantage swiftly passes, one hesitates even a little, it is vain for one to look later for the neglected opportunity. One army is near, two not far away. If we attack now there is
A.U.C. 542

absunt. Nunc adgregiuntibus spes aliqua est, et
iam temptastis vestras atque illorum vires: si diem
proferimus et hesternae eruptionis fama contemni
desierimus, periculum est ne omnes duces, omnes
copiae conveniant. Tres deinde duces, tres exercitus
sustinebimus hostium quos Cn. Scipio incolumi
exercitu non sustinuit? Ut dividendo copias periere
duces nostri, ita separatim ac divisi opprimi possunt
hostes. Alia belli gerendi via nulla est. Proinde
nihil praeter noctis proximae opportunitatem
expectemus. Ite deis bene iuvantibus, corpora
curate, ut integri vigentesque codem animo in castra
hostium inrumpatis quo vestra tutati estis."

Laeti et audiere ab novo duce novum consilium,
et quo audacius erat magis placebat. Reliquum diei
expediendis armis et curatione corporum con-
sumptum et maior pars noctis quieti data est.
Quarta vigilia movere. XXXIX. Erant ultra proxi-
ma castra sex milium intervallo distantes aliae copiae
Poenorum. Valles cava intererat, condensa arbori-
bus; in huius silvae medio ferme spatio eohors
Romana arte Punica abditur et equites. Ita medio
itinere intercepto ceterae copiae silenti agmine ad
proximos hostis ductae et, cum statio nulla pro
portis neque in vallo custodiae essent, velut in sua
eastra nullo usquam obsi stente penetravere. Inde
signa canunt et tollitur clamor. Pars semisomnos
488
no little hope, and already you have tried your strength B.C. 212 and theirs. If we put off the day and owing to the report of yesterday's sally come to be no longer despised, there is danger that all the generals and all the forces may combine. Shall we then withstand the enemy's three generals, three armies, which Gnaeus Scipio with his army still undiminished did not withstand? Just as through dividing their forces our generals perished, so the enemy, if divided and in different places, can be overpowered. There is no other way of conducting the war. Therefore let us wait for nothing beyond the favourable moment to-night. Go with the kind aid of the gods, put yourselves in condition, that, sound and strong, you may burst into the camp of the enemy with the same spirit with which you defended yours."

With joy they heard of the new plan from their new commander, and the bolder it was the more it pleased them. The rest of the day was spent in putting their arms in order and themselves in condition; and the larger part of the night was given to rest. At the fourth watch they started. XXXIX. Beyond the nearest camp and at a distance of six miles from it were other forces of the Carthaginians. Between them there was a deep valley, densely wooded. About the middle of this wood a Roman cohort and cavalry were concealed after the Punic method. The road being thus cut off at the half-way, the rest of the forces were led in a silent column to the nearest enemy. And as there was no outpost before the gates nor sentinels on the earthwork, and no one anywhere opposed them, they made their way into the camp as if it were their own. Then the trumpets sound and a shout is raised. Some slay
hostis caedunt, pars ignes casis stramento arido tectis iniciunt, pars portas occupant, ut fugam intercludant.

4 Hostes simul ignis, clamor, caedes velut alienatos sensibus nee audire nee providere quiequam sinunt.

5 Incidunt inermes inter catervas armatorum. Alii ruunt ad portas, alii obsaepitis itineribus super vallum saliunt; et, ut quisque evaserat, protinus ad castra altera fugiunt, ubi ab cohorte et equitibus ex occulto procurentibus circumventi caesique ad unum omnes sunt; quamquam, etiamsi quis ex ea caede effugisset, adeo raptim a captis propioribus castris in altera transeursum castra ab Romanis est, ut praeventire nuntius eladis non posset. Ibi vero, quo longius ab hoste aberant et quia sub lucem pabulatum signatumque et praedatum quidam dilapsi fuerant, neglecta magis omnia ac soluta invenere, arma tantum in stationibus posita, milites inermes aut humi sedentes accubantesque aut obambulantes ante vallum portasque. Cum his tam securis solutisque Romani calentes adhuc ab recenti pugna feroecesque victoria proelium incunt. Itaque nequaquam resisti in portis potuit; intra portas concursu ex totis castris ad primum clamorem et tumultum facto atrox proelium oritur; diuque tenuisset, ni eruenta seuta Romanorum visa indicium alterius eladis, Poenis atque inde pavorem iniecssent. Hie terror in fugam avertit omnis, effusique qua iter est, nisi quos
the enemy half-asleep, some throw firebrands on the dry, thatched huts, some seize the gates, to block escape. As for the enemy, fire, shouting and slaughter, all at once, make them virtually senseless and do not allow them to hear any orders or to look out for themselves. Unharmed they encounter bodies of armed men. Some rush to the gates, others, since the roads are blocked, leap over the earthwork. And everyone who escaped fled at once in the direction of the other camp; whereupon they were surrounded by the cohort and cavalry dashing out of their hiding-place and were slain to the last man. Yet, even if a man had escaped from that slaughter, so swiftly did the Romans hasten from the captured nearer camp to the other camp that news of the disaster could not anticipate them. But there, the farther it was from their enemy, and since some had scattered just before daylight to bring in fodder and firewood and booty, the more neglect and disorder did they find everywhere; only stacked arms at the outposts, the soldiers unarmed, either sitting and lying on the ground or strolling outside the wall and the gates. Against these men, so care-free and regardless of order, the Romans, who were still fired by their recent battle and made confident by victory, went into battle. And so no resistance whatever could be offered at the gates. Inside the gates there was a rush from every part of the camp at the first shouting and commotion, and a fierce battle began. It would have lasted long too, had not the sight of the Romans’ bloody shields given the Carthaginians evidence of the other disaster and consequently inspired alarm. This terror made them all take to flight, and pouring out wherever a way could be found
caedes oppressit, exuuntur castris. Ita nocte ae die
bina castra hostium expugnata\(^1\) ductu L. Marcii.
12 Ad triginta septem milia hostium caesa auetor est
Claudius, qui annales Acilianos ex Graeco in Latinum
sermonem vertit, captos ad mille octingentos triginta,
praedam ingentem partam; in ea fuisse clipeum
argenteum pondo centum triginta sepem cum
imagine Barcini Hasdrubalis. Valerius Antias una
gastra Magonis capta tradit, septem milia caesa
hostium; altero proelio eruptione pugnatum cum
Hasdrubale, decem milia occisa, quattuor milia
trecentos triginta captos. Piso quinque milia homo-
num, cum Mago cedentis nostros effuse sequeretur,
caesa ex insidiis scribit. Apud omnis magnum
nomen Marcii duces est; et verae gloriae eius etiam
miracula addunt, flamam ei contionanti fusam e
capite sine ipsius sensu cum magni pavore circum-
stantium militum: monimentumque victoriae eius
de Poenis usque ad incensum Capitolium fuisse in
templo clipeum, Marcium appellatum, cum imagine
Hasdrubalis.— Quietae deinde aliquamdiu in Hispa-
nia res fiere, utrisque post tantas in vicem acceptas

\(^1\) expugnata z Conway: oppugnata P(1).

\(^1\) I.e. Q. Claudius Quadrigarius, who wrote in the time of
Sulla. His history, in at least 23 books, began with the
capture of the city by the Gauls. Acilius’ Greek history of
Rome had begun with the founding of the city. In 155 B.C.
Acilius acted as interpreter when the three Greek philosophers,
Carneades among them, appeared before the senate.
\(^2\) Valerius, a contemporary of Claudius, wrote a voluminous
history from the founding of Rome in upwards of 75 books.
Here by exception his figures for the enemy slain are very
moderate.
\(^3\) L. Calpurnius Piso Frugi, the annalist, was consul in 133
B.C. His work, here cited for the last time in the extant Livy,
—except those overtaken by the sword—they lost B.C. 212 possession of the camp. Thus in a night and a day two camps of the enemy were taken by assault under the command of Lucius Marcius. That about thirty-seven thousand of the enemy were slain is the statement of Claudius,¹ who translated Acilius' annals out of Greek into the Latin language; that about one thousand eight hundred and thirty were captured and a vast amount of booty taken. And in this he says that there was a silver shield weighing a hundred and thirty-seven pounds, bearing the likeness of Hasdrubal Barea. Valerius of Antium ² relates that one camp was captured, that of Mago, and seven thousand of the enemy slain; that in a second battle they sallied out and fought with Hasdrubal; that ten thousand were slain, four thousand three hundred and thirty captured. Piso ³ states that five thousand men were slain from an ambush, while Mago was pursuing in disorder our retreating men. In all of them great is the name of Marcius the general. And to his real fame they add even marvels: that as he was speaking a flame burst from his head without his knowledge, causing great alarm among the soldiers who stood around him. They say that as a memorial of his victory over the Carthaginians, down to the burning of the Capitol there was in the temple a shield called the Marcian, bearing a likeness of Hasdrubal.⁴—Thereafter the situation in Spain was quiet for a long time, since both sides, after receiving and inflicting such losses

probably consisted of seven books, beginning with the founding of the city.

⁴ Pliny (N.H. XXXV. 14) says this shield hung above the door of the Capitoline temple until the fire of 84 B.C.
Livy

inlatasque clades cunctantibus periculum summae rerum facere.

XL. Dum haece in Hispania geruntur, Marcellus captis Syracusis, cum cetera in Sicilia tanta fide atque integritate composuisset ut non modo suam gloriam sed ctiam maiestatem populi Romani augeret, ornamenta urbis, signa tabulasque quibus abundabant Syracusae, Romam deexit, hostium quidem illa spolia et parta bellii iure; eeterum inde primum initium mirandi Graecarum artium opera licentiaeque huius 1 saera profanaque omnia vulgo spoliandi factum est, quae postremo in Romanos deos, templum id ipsum primum quod a Marcello eximie ornatum est, vertit. Visebantur enim ab externis ad portam Capenam dedicata a M. Marcello templa propter excellentia eius generis ornamenta, quorum perexigua pars comparat.

4 Legationes omnium ferme civitatum Siciliae ad eum conveniebant. Dispar ut causa carum, ita condicio erat. Qui ante captas Syracusas aut non desciverant aut redierant in amicitiam, ut socii fideles accepti cultique; quos metus post captas Syracusas dediderat, ut victi a victore leges acceperunt. Erant tamen haud parvae reliquiae belli circa Agrigentum Romanis, Epicydes et Hanno, duces reliqui prioris belli, et tertius novus ab Hanni-

1 huius Ussing, Conway: huic P(2): hinc A Walters.
upon each other, hesitated to risk a decisive engagement.

XL. While these things were being done in Spain, it is true that Marcellus, after the capture of Syracuse, had settled matters in general in Sicily with such conscientiousness and honesty that he added not only to his own fame, but also to the dignity of the Roman people. But as regards the adornments of the city, the statues and paintings which Syracuse possessed in abundance, he carried them away to Rome. They were spoils of the enemy, to be sure, and acquired by right of war. Yet from that came the very beginning of enthusiasm for Greek works of art and consequently of this general licence to despoil all kinds of buildings, sacred and profane, a licence which finally turned against Roman gods, and first of all against the very temple which was magnificently adorned by Marcellus. For temples dedicated by Marcus Marcellus near the Porta Capena used to be visited by foreigners on account of their remarkable adornments of that kind; but of these a very small part is still to be seen.

Embassies from nearly all the states in Sicily kept coming to him. As their pleas were different, so was their status. Those who before the capture of Syracuse either had not rebelled or had returned to friendly relations were admitted and honoured as faithful allies. Those whom fear had led to surrender after the capture of Syracuse, as vanquished received terms from the victor. There was left to the Romans, however, no small remainder of the war around Agrigentum, namely, Epicydes and Hanno, the surviving commanders in the previous war, and a third new general sent by Hannibal in place of
bale in locum Hippocratis missus, Libyphoenicum generis Hippacritanus—Muttinen populares vocabant—, vir inpiger et sub Hannibale magistro omnis belli artes edoctus. Huic ab Epiedy et Hannone Numidae dati auxiliares, cum quibus ita pervagatus est hostium agros, ita socios ad retinendos in fide animos corum ferendo in tempore cuique auxilium adiit ut brevi tempore totam Siciliam impleret nominis sui, nce spes alia maior apud faventis rebus Carthaginiensium esset. Itaque inclusi ad id tempus moenibus Agrigenti dux Poenus Syracusanusque, non consilio Muttinis quam fiducia magis ausi egressi extra muros ad Himeram annem posuerunt castra. Quod ubi perlatum ad Marcellum est, extemplo copias movit et ab hoste quattuor ferme milium intervallo consedit, quid agerent pararentve expectaturus. Sed nullum neque locum neque tempus cunctationi consiliov dedit Muttines, transgressus annem ac stationibus hostium cum ingenti terrore ac tumultu invectus. Postero die prope iusto proelio compulit hostis intra munimenta. Inde revocatus seditione Numidarum in castris facta, eum trecenti ferme eorum Heracleam Minoam concessissent, ad mitigandos revocandosque eos profectus magno opere monuisse duces dicitur ne absente se eum hoste manus consererent. Id ambo aegre passi duces, magis Hamo, iam ante anxius gloria eius: Muttinem sibi modum facere, degene-

1 I.e. Hippo Diarrhytus, northwest of Utica, on the coast.
Hippocrates. He was of Libyphoenician race, from B.C. 212 Hippaera,¹ and called Muttines by his countrymen, a man of energy who under Hannibal's teaching had mastered all the arts of war. He was furnished by Epicydes and Hanno with Numidian auxiliaries, with which he so thoroughly scourd the enemy's lands and sought out allies, in order to retain their loyalty by lending aid to each man at the right moment, that in a short time he filled all Sicily with his name and was the highest hope of those supporting the Carthaginian cause. And so, after being confined until then within the walls of Agrigentum, the Carthaginian general and the Syracusan, emboldened not more by the advice of Muttines than by their confidence in him to go outside the walls, pitched their camp by the river Himera. When news of this reached Marcellus, he at once set his troops in motion and established himself at a distance of about four miles from the enemy, to wait and see what they were doing or intending. But Muttines gave no occasion or time for hesitation, or for a plan of action; for he crossed the river and attacked the outposts of the enemy, causing great alarm and confusion. The next day by an engagement almost in regular form he drove the enemy inside their fortifications. Then he was recalled by a mutiny of the Numidians breaking out in the camp, after about three hundred of them had retired to Heraclea Minoa. On leaving, to pacify and recall these men, he is said to have expressly warned the generals not to engage the enemy in his absence. At that both generals were indignant, especially Hanno, already uneasy because of the man's fame. To think that Muttines, a degenerate African, should set a limit
rem Afrum imperatori Carthaginiensi misso ab
13 senatu populoque! Is perpulit cunctantem Epicyden ut transgressi flumen in aciem exirent: nam si Mutthinem opperirentur. et secunda pugnae fortuna evenisset, haud dubie Muttinis gloriam fore.

XLI. Enim vero indignum ratus Marcellus se, qui Hannibalem subnixum victoria Cannensi ab Nola reppulisset, his terra marique victis ab se hostibus cedere, arma propere capere milites et efferri signa 2 iubet. Instruenti ¹ exereitum decem effusis equis advolant ex hostium acie Numidae nuntiantes populares suos, primum ea seditione motos qua 3 trecenti ex numero suo concesserint Heracleam, dein quod praefectum suum ab obtrectantibus dueibus gloriae eius sub ipsam certaminis diem ablegatum 4 videant, quieturos in pugna. Gens fallax promissi fidem praestitit. Itaque et Romanis crevit animus nuntio eeleri per ordines misso, destitutum ab equite 5 hostem esse, quem maxime timuerant, et territi hostes, praeterquam quod maxima parte virium suarum non iuvabantur, timore etiam incusso, ne 6 ab suomet ipsi equite oppugnarentur. Itaque haud magni certaminis res ² fuit; primus elamor atque inpetus rem decrevit. Numidae cum in concursu quieti stetissent in cornibus, ut terga dantis suos viderunt, fugae tantum parumper comites facti,

¹ instruenti Gronovius: -te P(1).

498
for him, a Carthaginian commander, sent by senate B.c. 212 and people! He prevailed upon the hesitating Epicydes to cross the river and form their battle-line. For if they should wait for Muttines and the fortune of battle should favour, the glory, he said, would unquestionably fall to Muttines.

XLI. Marcellus, thinking it was a veritable outrage for him, a man who had driven Hannibal, backed by his victory at Cannae, from Nola, to yield to these enemies whom he had himself defeated on land and sea, ordered his soldiers to take up their arms in haste and the standard-bearers to set out. As he was drawing up his army, ten Numidians rode out of the enemy’s ranks and at full speed up to him, reporting that their countrymen were aroused, first by the mutiny in which three hundred of their number had retired to Heraclea, and then by seeing their commander sent away just on the eve of battle by generals who belittled his reputation, and that in the fight they would remain inactive. A deceitful race kept its promise faithfully. And so the Romans’ spirits rose when the message was sent swiftly through the ranks that the enemy had been deserted by his cavalry, which they had particularly dreaded; at the same time the enemy were terrified not only because they were having no help from the largest part of their forces, but also by the fear thus aroused that they might themselves be attacked by their own cavalry. Accordingly it was no great struggle; the first shout, the first onset, decided the matter. The Numidians, having remained motionless on the wings at the beginning of the battle, seeing their men retreating, shared only the flight with them for a short time. When they saw them all making for
Livy

A.U.C. 542

7 postquam omnes Agrigentum trepido agmine petentes viderunt, ipsi metu obsidionis passim in civitatis proximas dilapsi. Multa milia hominum caesa, capta . . . 1 et octo elephanti. Haec ultima in Sicilia Marcelli pugna fuit; victor inde Syracusas redivit.


1 Perhaps sex milia (i.e. vi) Madvig.
2 Names in this sentence are in part restored by Aldus and Sigonius. P(1) omittit L. Cornelius Lentulus (13 and XXVI. i. 11) and M. (ii. 2), also C. Calpurnius (XXVI. iii. 9).
Agrigentum in a panic-stricken column, they them- selves scattered in every direction to the neighbouring cities, fearing a siege. Many thousand men were slain . . . thousand captured, also eight elephants. This was Marcellus' last battle in Sicily; from it he returned as victor to Syracuse.

By this time the year was nearly at an end. Accordingly the senate at Rome decreed that Publius Cornelius, the praetor, should send a letter to the consuls at Capua, saying that, while Hannibal was far away and there was no decisive action around Capua, one of them, if they thought it best, should come to Rome for the replacement of magistrates. On receiving the letter the consuls arranged between them that Claudius should conduct the elections, and Fulvius remain near Capua. For the consulship Claudius announced the election of Gnaeus Fulvius Centumalus and Publius Sulpicius Galba, son of Servius, although he had previously held no curule office. As praetors the following were then elected: Lucius Cornelius Lentulus, Marcus Cornelius Cethegus, Gaius Sulpicius, Gaius Calpurnius Piso. The duties of the city praetor fell to Piso, 1 Sicily to Sulpicius, Apulia to Cethegus, Sardinia to Lentulus. As for the consuls, their military authority was continued for one year.

1 Evidently the duties of the praetor peregrinus also were assigned to the praetor urbanus, as for the two preceding years; cf. notes on i. 11 and iii. 2.
LIBRI XXV PERIOCHA


1 This should be Xxvi: cf. xxi. 10.
2 In error for Xxvii: cf. xxxix. 12.
3 For ad (Sigonius) the MSS. have ex.
SUMMARY OF BOOK XXV

Publius Cornelius Scipio, later Africanus, was made aedile before the legal age. Hannibal, with the aid of young Tarentines who had pretended that they were going hunting at night, captured the city of Tarentum, except the citadel, to which the Roman garrison had fled. The Ludi Apollinares were established in accordance with the oracles of Marcus, in which the disaster at Cannae had been predicted. A successful battle was fought by Quintus Fulvius and Appius Claudius, the consuls, against Hanno, a general of the Carthaginians. Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, the proconsul, was led into an ambuscade by his Lucanian guest-friend and slain by Mago. Centenius Paenula, who had served as a centurion, after begging the senate to give him an army and promising a victory over Hannibal if he gained his request, received eight thousand soldiers, was made commander, engaged Hannibal in battle-line, and with his army was slain. Capua was besieged by Quintus Fulvius and Appius Claudius, the consuls. Gnaeus Fulvius, a praetor, was defeated in a battle with Hannibal in which twenty thousand men fell. Fulvius himself escaped with two hundred horsemen. Claudius Marcellus took Syracuse after two years and bore himself as a great man. In that uproar of the captured city Archimedes, while intent upon the figures he had traced in the dust, was slain. Publius and Gnaeus Scipio in Spain met with an unhappy end of their many successes, being slain with almost their entire armies in the eighth year after they went to Spain. And possession of that province would have been lost, had not the remnants of the armies been brought together by the bravery and activity of Lucius Marcus, a Roman knight, and with his encouragement two camps of the enemy been taken by storm. About twenty-seven thousand were slain, about one thousand eight hundred men and vast booty captured. Marcus was named commander.
APPENDIX

THE TOPOGRAPHY OF SYRACUSE

Syracuse is the extreme example of a Greek city whose walls for military reasons, and probably for no other reasons, enclosed a vastly larger space than was required by the actual size of the city. Other examples were Priene, Ephesus, Samos, Croton; also a number of small and little-known cities in Aetolia and Acarnania. In such cases the desire to include some commanding height or heights in dangerous proximity to the city led to a conspicuous enlargement of the walled circuit. For Syracuse no other motive accounts for the Wall of Dionysius, enclosing the great triangular plateau to the north and northwest of the city. Military operations on this elevation during the siege by the Athenian army (414-413 B.C.) had only confirmed the obvious, that it was essential to prevent any invader from establishing himself on heights so near the city. Dionysius accordingly extended the city walls so as to enclose the entire triangle, from its apex to the west, at his fortress of Euryalus, all the way to its wide base close to the Ionian Sea, i.e. a distance of 3½ miles.

Thenceforward the entire circuit of the walls of Syracuse amounted to 17 miles (English) or 27 km., about 7 km. (4 1/2 miles) more than the Walls of Aurelian at Rome, or about 9 km. (5 1/2 miles) more than the walls of Alexandria. No one now believes that Syracuse at the height of its prosperity had so immense a population. The tendency of recent estimates is in the opposite direction, due account being taken of the agricultural basis on which that prosperity rested, and of the constant practice of employing mercenaries, so that previous estimates based upon the strength of the army are to be discarded.  

Maps produced at the beginning of the XVIIth century show the entire plateau occupied by streets, houses and other buildings, of which no trace can be found. They make Epipolae, the Heights, an inhabited quarter, though nowhere mentioned as such in our sources. They have Achradina stretching away to the northern Wall of Dionysius, quite three miles from the southern limit of the same quarter on the Porto Grande; and Tyeha just inside the same north wall and near the Hexapylon. In these also they are unsupported by ancient authority. From these highly imaginative sheets of Mirabella and Cluver have descended the maps in all of our atlases, in histories (e.g. Freeman), in special works on Syracuse, in editions of Thucydides, Cicero’s *Verrines* and Livy.

"There is no doubt that the population of Syracuse never filled up anything like the whole space enclosed by the walls of Dionysius." So wrote Haver-  

1 Cf. von Gerkan in *Deutsche Litteraturzeitung*, 1933, Sp. 1403.
APPENDIX

field fifty years ago. Visitors, more and more numerous, have had steadily increasing doubts with regard to the possibility that Epipolae could ever have been more than very sparsely inhabited. No one who stands on the ruins of Euryalus and looks down the length and breadth of that vast isosceles triangle, with its base (two miles long from north to south) almost reaching the sea, will be easily persuaded that even scattered villas occupied so barren and rocky a soil.

This scepticism, shared by such a master as Orsi, has culminated in the studies of the historian, Professor Knud Fabricius, of the University of Copenhagen, published in his Das antike Syrakus (Klio, Beiheft XXVIII. 1932), with illustrations and a map. A model of clear-cut method, this work shows conclusively that Epipolae was never in ancient times reckoned one of the quarters of the city; that the real city lay to the south of the plateau; that the latter was fortified, not for its own sake, but to ensure the city against attack from higher ground dangerously near; that it becomes necessary to revise our maps, to show Tycha and Achradina on the lower level south of the quarries.

Epipolae, frequently mentioned by Thucydides, was to his mind simply a height (e.g. VI. xcvi f.; VII. iv), and his "outer city" (η ξεω, VI. iii) certainly did not extend so far from Ortygia. Livy mentions Epipolae in a single chapter (XXV. xxiv), calling it at first merely a locus (§ 4), then a pars urbis (§ 5); but this does not prove that he classed it with the quarters named, probably after Timaeus, by Cicero in his list of four urbes (Insula, Achradina,

1 Classical Review, 1889, p. 111.
Tyche, Neapolis—*in Verrem* IV. 119). For as the walls belong to Syracuse, any place inside the walls is in a loose sense a *pars urbis.* To be sure, when Marcellus has forced the Hexapylon (xxiv. § 7), we read *omnibus copiis urben ingressus,* but only the outer works can be meant, for it is from the high ground of Epipolae that he has an unobstructed view of the city itself in the distance (§ 11; cf. Plutarch, *Marcellus* 19. 1).

Fabricius's demonstration that the heights were almost unoccupied has been completely approved by such competent authorities as von Gerkan (in *Deutsche Litteraturzeitung,* 1933, Sp. 1404–07) and Ian Richmond (*Classical Review,* 1933, pp. 16 f.), both of whom are experts on city walls in ancient times; also by Libertini (*Il Mondo Classico,* 1934, pp. 29 ff.). If, then, there were no inhabited quarters on the plateau it becomes necessary to remove Tyche from a position near the Hexapylon assigned to it by tradition since the Renaissance. The topographers have thought that that gate admitted one directly to this quarter, and hence placed Tyche just inside the northern Wall of Dionysius, adjoining Achradina, as they believed, on the east and Epipolae on the south and west. If Livy, however, is correct (XXV. xxiv. 4) the six-fold gate did not give entrance to Tyche but to Epipolae, and nothing proves that Tyche

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1 Strabo's *πεντάπολις* (VI. ii. 4) does not necessarily include Epipolae, for he may have listed Temenites in addition to Neapolis. If he did mean Epipolae it does not follow that he really thought of it as a built-up quarter.

2 Cf. XXV. xxv. 2, where Euryalus is *in extrema parte urbis*—too literally interpreted by the mapmakers.
was anywhere near the gate. No archaeological evidence supports the supposition that this quarter (a populous section according to Cicero, l.c., with several temples and a gymnasium) was more than two miles from the centre of the city, or even on the plateau at all. The most that we can be said to know is that those who entered Dionysius' Hexapylon came to Tyche before they could reach the gates of Achradina (XXIV. xxi. 7). No clue is given as to the distance, nor does Thucydides even mention Tyche.

A further consequence of Fabricius's demonstration that no quarters of the city were on the plateau is the necessary reduction—a great reduction—in the area assigned to Achradina. Haverfield seems to have been the first to suggest that Achradina was merely "the lower ground between Ortygia and Epipolae" (l.c.). This view abandoned "upper Achradina" (a modern term), extending northward to the sea near Livy's Portus Trogilorum (Trogilos), and no opinion was expressed as to the situation of a northern wall for the diminished quarter. Probably Haverfield would have looked for such a line of defence just above the series of quarries (Q, Q on our map).

Fabricius accepts this reduction in principle, but brings the northern limit of Achradina still further south. For it is to the north of Achradina, and extending only as far as the quarries, that he finds a place for Tyche, thus made to adjoin Neapolis on the west. Both of these quarters directly adjoined Achradina, which Plutarch describes as "the strongest, most beautiful and largest part," adding that "it had been fortified on the side towards the
outer city, one part of which they call Neapolis, and
another Tyche” (Marcellus, L.C.L., by Perrin, 18. 4).

This wall separating the quarters just named has
been understood to mean the so-called “Wall of
Gelon” (this unwarranted name only since 1839).
But Fabricius (p. 14) has shown that it is not a wall;
that it shows no signs of ever having been prolonged
to north or south of its 700 metres; that it was, in
fact, a quarry. Hence nothing survives to indicate
that Achradiana was vastly larger than the three
other quarters, or that Tycha lay to the west of any
part of it.

The new position assigned by the Danish scholar
to Tycha, i.e. directly north of a much-diminished
Achradiana, has been accepted on our map, not with-
out some hesitation. Difficulties remain in account-
ing for the complete disappearance both of the north
wall of Tycha, perhaps just above the latomie, and
of another more or less parallel wall, still stronger,
which separated these two quarters from each other,
at a distance of perhaps half a mile south of the
quarries. But any other position for Tycha involves
greater difficulties. Further studies will probably
bring confirmation of the main proposition, and it
must be at once granted that a long step in advance
has been taken by Professor Fabricius.

1 Hochholzer’s Zur Geographie des antiken Syrakus (Klio,
1936, pp. 164 ff.) agrees substantially with Fabricius, not
without some confusion, and adds little to our purpose.
INDEX OF NAMES
(The References are to Pages)

ACERRAE, 54, 56 (bis); Acerrani, 56, 61
Achaea, 398
Achradina (Syracuse), 242, 244 (bis),
246, 248, 256, 278 (bis), 282 (bis),
434 (bis), 436 (bis), 440 (bis), 446,
454 (bis), 456 (ter), 458 (ter)
Aeilliani annales, 492
Acalae, 288
Acrilae, 288
Acruca, 238
Adranodoras, 186, 188 (bis), 190, 194,
242 (bis), 244 (ter), 246, 248, 252
(bis), 254 (ter), 256, 258, 260
Accae, 236
Aegates insulae, 40
Aclius Paetus, Q. (pontifex), 72
Aemilius, M. (praetor, 216 B.C.), 68
Aemilius Lepidus, M. (consul, 232 B.C.
and about 220), 102; his sons,
ibid.; Aemilius Lepidus, M. (praetor,
213 B.C.), 314 (bis), 342, 346, 348,
354
Aemilius Papus, L. (consul, 225 B.C.
censor, 220 B.C.), 72
Aemilius Paulus, L. (consul, 219 and
216 B.C.), 72 (bis), 76 (bis), 154, 210
Aemilius Regillus, M., 196, 198
Aequimaelium, 328
Aetoli, 430
Africa, 14, 16 (bis), 46, 70, 86, 102,
140 (bis), 156, 200 (bis), 290, 324,
328, 332 (bis), 340, 446 (bis),
448; Afi, 96 (bis); Afer, 498;
collective, 98; Africanus (Scipio),
344
Agrigentum, 288 (bis), 300, 428, 448,
494, 496, 500
Albanus mons, 364
Alexandria, 32, 258
Alia, 360 (bis)
Alpes, 94, 114, 152
Amietum, 316
Amtorgis, 462, 464
Anapus, 290
Anicus, M., 68
Anio, 198; Aniensis tribus, 196, 202
Antistius, L., 134
Apollo, 384, 386 (ter); Pythius, 32;
ara Apollinis, 34; Iudi Apollinares,
386
Apollonia, 302 (bis), 306; Apolloniates
(tae), 304 (bis)
Apollonides, 264
Apulia, 2, 76, 84, 86, 112, 114, 156,
158, 162, 184, 206, 208, 210, 316,
326, 346, 420, 500; Apuli, 51, 236,
420
Apustius, L., 132 (bis)
Archimedes, 282, 284, 286, 460
Ardaneae, 238
Arethusa fons, 456 (bis)
Argyus, 384, 436
Aricia, 316
Ariminum, 314
Aristo, 252
Aristomachus, 180 (bis), 184 (bis)
Arpi, 156, 184, 212 (bis), 318 (bis), 320,
322, 326, 396; Arpini, 324
(quinquies); praetor Arpinus, 324
Asca, 90
Atellana, 232
Athenienses, 436, 452
Attilius, C., 72; Attilius, L., 176;
Attilius, M., 72
Attilius Regulus, M. (consul, 227 and
217 B.C.; censor 214 B.C.), 72, 210,
312 (bis); Attilius Regulus, M.
(praetor, 213 B.C.), 314 (bis)
Atius, M., 398 (bis), 400 (bis)
Atrium, 326
Attalus, 430
Aurelius, C., 54
Aurelius Cotta, M. (aedile, 216 B.C.),
102, 124

511
INDEX OF NAMES

Aurinx, 310
Austicula, 134
Aventinus, 226
Averni faece, 212 (bis), 238

RADIUS, 410 (ter), 412 (bis), 114 (ter)
Halacres insulae, 120, 138, 140
Bautius, L., 48
Barcinia factio, 36; familia, 42
Barcinus, 464, 492
Beneventum, 212, 216, 221, 226, 232, 234, 388, 390 (bis), 392, 394, 396, 400 (bis), 402; Beneventani, 224, 388, 410; Beneventanus ager, 408, 414
Biggera, 508
Blanda, 236
Biosisius, Marius, 20, 22
Boii, 82
Bomilcar, 142 (bis), 290 (bis), 440, 444, 446 (quater), 448
Bostar, 116
Bovianum, 390
Brundisium, 112, 162, 206, 208, 214, 238, 302, 426; Brundisium portus, 114
Bruttii, 31 (bis), 68, 70, 100 (ter), 130, 142, 146, 156, 171 (quater), 174, 176, 178 (bis), 180 (ter), 182 (bis), 184 (bis), 204, 216, 218, 236, 340, 388, 394, 401; Bruttius (collective), 178, 220; ager Bruttii, 340

CAECILIUS METELLUS, M. (tribune, 214 B.C.), 228, 312; Caecilius Metellus, Q. (consul, 206 B.C.), 72
Caiaia, 46
Caiaeta (possibly), 316
Calabria, 116, 210, 302
Calavius, Pacuvius, 4, 8, 10, 22, 24; bis son, 24
Cales, 104 (bis), 126, 206, 216, 320; Calesi legati, 320
Callo, 190
Calor, 216, 408, 410
Calpurnius Piso, C. (praeator, 211 B.C.), 500; Calpurnius Piso Frugi, L. (historian; consul, 133 B.C.), 492
Campania, 16, 36, 48, 56, 106, 114, 118, 171, 212, 230; Campanii, 6, 12 (et passum); Campanus (collective), 426; ager Campanus, 2, 158, 162, 400, 410; civis, 18, 20; exercitus, 122; populus, 12, 106; praetor, 20; senatus, 120; defectio Campana, 410; luxuria, 152; res, 396; equites Campanii, 106; castra Campana, 121
Canna annius, 384 (bis)
Canna, 14, 31, 40, 48, 60, 104, 144, 146, 148, 154 (ter), 164, 192, 202, 212, 228, 312, 314, 358 (ter), 362, 364, 376; Cannensis aices, 62, 560; clades, 12, 14, 36, 102, 104, 318, 356, 384, 401, 424, 484; exercitus, 104, 230, 350; fuga, 84; pugna, 2, 36, 58, 72, 228; ruina, 54; victoria, 498; Cannense proelium, 50
Camthus, 12
Capena porta, 110, 494
Capitolium, 74, 104, 106, 112, 204, 206, 312, 350, 492
Capua, 4, 6, 18, 22, 28 (bis), 30 (ter), 32 (bis), 34, 44, 48, 56, 68, 60, 62 (bis), 114, 126 (quater), 134, 136, 148, 154 (bis), 158, 195, 210 (bis), 212 (bis), 234, 236, 326 (bis), 388 (ter), 390, 396 (ter), 400, 402, 414, 416 (bis), 418, 420, 424 (quater), 426 (ter), 428 (bis), 500 (ter)
Carales, 136, 158 (bis), 140
Carmentalis porta, 326, 364
Carthago, 16, 50, 34, 92 (bis), 110, 120, 138, 142, 146, 192 (bis), 200, 286, 390, 428, 444 (bis), 462; Carthaginenses, 38, 68, 84, 88, 94 (bis), 116, 128, 166, 171, 188, 206, 264 (bis), 286, 288, 290, 296, 298, 306, 308 (bis), 312, 326, 328 (bis), 330 (bis), 332 (bis), 348, 368 (bis), 398, 400, 436, 440, 444, 448, 450, 452, 466, 480, 496; Carthaginensis (collective), 326; ager Carthaginensis, 140; hostis, 330; imperator, 498; populus, 192, 196; Carthaginensi legiones, 332; nobles, 153
Carthalo, 42 (possibly), 410
Carvilius, L. (tribune, 212 B.C.), 350, 352; Carvilius, Sp. (tribune, 212 B.C.), 550, 532
Carvilius Maximus, Sp. (consul, 293 and 272 B.C.), 201; Carvilius Maximus, Sp. (consul, 234 and 228 B.C.), 74
Casilinum, 46 (bis), 56 (quater), 58 (ter), 62, 64 (ter), 66, 68 (bis), 74, 216, 223, 234 (quater), 236 (bis), 418, 424
Castrum Album, 306
INDEX OF NAMES

Castulo, 308
Caudinae Furculae, 360; Caudinae legiones, 360
Caudini, v. Samnites
Celliberi, 384 (bis), 462, 464 (quater)
Centonius Paenula, M., 416, 422
Ceres, 296
Chalbus, 88
Claudiana Castra, 101 (bis), 136, 162, 428
Claudius Asellus, 158 (ter), 160 (ter).
Claudius Cento, C. (consul, 210 B.C.; censor, 225), 544
Claudius Marcellus, M. (consul, 222, 214, 210, 208 B.C.), 44, 46, 48, 50 (bis), 52 (bis), 54 (bis), 64, 78, 84 (bis), 104 (bis), 106 (quater), 108 (ter), 136, 142, 144, 145 (bis), 218, 228, 234 (ter), 256, 258, 240, 262 (bis), 288, 286, 288, 294, 300 (bis), 312, 314, 348, 350 (bis), 358, 362, 364, 428, 430 (bis), 432, 454 (bis), 436 (bis), 438 (ter), 440 (bis), 442 (bis), 444, 446, 448 (bis), 452 (bis), 454, 456 (quater), 458 (ter), 460, 494 (ter), 498, 500;
Claudius Marcellus, M. (aedile 216 B.C.), 102
Claudius Nero, C. (consul, 207 B.C.; censor, 204), 226 (bis), 228, 344, 346 (bis), 424
Claudius Pulcher, Ap. (consul, 212 B.C.), 6, 50, 104 (bis), 142 (bis), 175, 192, 196, 262 (ter), 286, 270, 280, 290, 300, 344, 346, 394, 416 (ter), 424, 500 (bis)
Claudius Quadragarius, Q. (historian), 492
Coelius Antipater (historian), 18
Combutleria, 134
Compa, 2, 236
Concordia, temple of (Rome, in arce), 72; altar of (Syracuse), 244, 246
Complusia, 236
Consentia, 100; Consentini, 340
Cornelius Calussa, P. (pontifex maximus before 504 B.C.), 354
Cornelius Cethegus, M. (censor, 209 B.C.; consul, 204), 344 (bis), 354, 506
Cornelius Lentulus, Cn. (consul, 201 B.C.), 410, 414; Cornelius Lentulus, L. (pontifex maximus), 344; Cornelius Lentulus, L. praetor, 211 B.C.), 344, 500; Cornelius Lentulus, P. (praetor, 211 B.C.), 202, 206, 212, 316, 348, 556 (bis)
Cornelius Mamelum, A. (praeproctor, 216 B.C.), 70, 72, 110, 118
Cornelius Scipio Calvisus, Cn. (consul, 222 B.C.), 86, 100, 162, 306, 308 (ter), 310, 328, 348, 464 (bis), 466, 472 (bis), 476 (ter), 478, 488
Cornelius Scipio, P. (consul, 215 B.C.), 86, 100, 162, 306, 308, 328, 348, 464 (bis), 466 (bis), 468, 470, 476, 478; Cornelius Scipio (Africanus), P. (consul, 205, 191 B.C.; censor, 199), 344
Cornelius Sulla, P. (praetor, 212 B.C.), 344, 346, 381, 396, 416, 421, 426, 500
Cornus, 136, 140
Cretenses, 272, 274
Crito, 134
Crotot(h), 100, 158 (ter), 180 (bis), 182, 184; Crototani (-eis), 182 (bis), 184
Cumae, 48, 124, 126 (quater), 130 (ter), 152, 162, 364; Cumani, 106, 120 (bis), 122 (bis); ager Cumani, 126, 214, 416; res Cumana, 120; Cumanius senatus, 120
Cyreneae, 50

DAMARATA, 246, 256
Damippus, 439
Dasius Altius, 318, 320, 322
Decius, v. Magius
Decius Mus, P. (consul IV, 295 B.C.), 204
Delphi, 32
Diana, 430
Dionomnesis, 194 (ter), 218, 270
Diomedes campus, 354 (bis)
Dionysius, tyrant of Syracuse, 152, 158, 246

EPICYDES, 190, 194, 250, 252, 260, 262, 266 (bis), 268, 270, 272 (ter), 276, 278 (bis), 280 (bis), 288, 430 (bis), 432, 434, 436, 440 (quater), 442, 446, 448 (quater), 450 (bis), 452, 494, 496; Epicydes Sindo, 448
Eppolae (Syracuse), 432, 434
Erycina, v. Venus
Etruriae, 396, 418, 424; Etruscius, 14

VOL. VI.

L. L. 513
INDEX OF NAMES

Euryn, 416
Euryalus (Syracuse), 436, 438, 440

Fabius Ruteo, M. (consul, 245 B.C.; censor, 241), 76
Fabius Maximus Rullus, Q. (consul v. 295 B.C.), 204
Fabius Maximus Verrucosus, Q. (consul, 233, 228, 215, 214, 209 B.C.; dictator, 217), 72, 71, 102 (bis), 106, 108, 112, 126, 128, 134 (bis), 136; 156, 196 (bis), 202, 201 (bis), 210, 212, 216, 232, 234 (ter), 236 (bis), 238, 312 (bis), 311, 318, 320, 418; his son Q. (consul, 215 B.C.), 202, 208, 212, 238, 312, 314, 316, 318, 322, 346
Fabius Pictor, Q. (historian), 32
Falerii, 318
Flamininus, C. (consul, 223, 217 B.C.; censor, 220), 41, 72, 76 (bis), 154, 210
Flavus, 402, 404, 406
Fonteius, Ti., 468, 476, 478
Fortuna (Praenest te), 68; (Rome), 328, 361
Fugilae, 236
Fulvius Centumalus, Cn. (consul, 211 B.C.), 314 (bis), 326, 346, 500
Fulvius Flaccus, Cn. (prator, 212 B.C.), 341, 346 (bis), 420 (bis), 422
Fulvius Flaccus, Q. (consul, 237, 224, 212, 209 B.C.), 72, 80, 101, 112, 118, 140, 164, 292, 341, 316, 350, 354, 390, 416, 424, 500
Fundanius Fundulus, M. (aedile, 213 B.C.), 316
Furculae Caudinae, 360
Furius Camillus, M. (consul, 403 B.C.; dictator, 396), 552
Furius Philus, P. (consul, 223 B.C.; censor, 214), 70, 210, 312 (bis), 344

Gabi, 206
Gades, 332
Gaetuli, 58
Gala, 322 (quater)
Galateus, 378
Galeagra turris, 430
Galla, 80, 81, 208, 348; Galli, 80 (ter), 82 (bis), 242, 310 (bis), 374
Gallus, 198 (bis); Gallicus ager, 42, 206; Gallicum bellum, 81, 201; Gallica arma, 374; auxilia, 91; spolia, 44, 319

Gelo, 102, 188, 252 (bis) 256 (bis), 258
Gisgo, 116 (v. Hasdrubal)
Graccia, 116, 316, 318; Graccus, 252, 374; Graccus, 374; ritus, 386 (bis); sermo, 492; Graecum carmen, 32; Graeca urbs, 100, 178, 452; Graece artes, 494
Grumentum, 150

Hadria, 208
Hamae, 120, 124 (bis), 126 (bis)
Hamilcar, 174, 176
Hamilcar Barca, 31, 306, 462, 470
Hampsicora, 110, 136, 138 (bis), 140 (ter)
Hannibal, 2 (bis), 4 (et passim); his wife, 503; the son of Bomilcar, 166; another Hannibal, 190
Hanno (opponent of Hannibal), 36, 38, 42; a general, 130 (bis), 138 (bis), 142, 146, 148, 156, 174, 178, 182, 184, 216 (bis), 236, 340, 348, 388 (ter), 390, 392, 394 (bis), 398 (bis); another Hanno, 494, 496 (bis)
Harmonia, 252, 256
Hasdrubal (brother of Hannibal), 86, 88 (bis), 90 (bis), 92 (ter), 94 (quinquies), 96 (bis), 98 (bis), 100, 166 (bis), 306, 462 (bis), 464 (bis), 470, 492 (ter); the son of Gisgo, 306, 462, 464 (bis), 472, 478, 482; Hasdrubal Calvis, 112, 120, 138 (ter), 140
Hegeas, 4
Helorus, 256
Henna, 292, 296 (bis), 300 (bis); Hemenses, 292, 294, 296, 298, 300
Heraclea (Lucania), 358; ager Heraclensis, 210
Heraclea Minoa, 286, 288, 448, 496, 498
Heraclea, 256
Heracleitus, 134
Herbesus, 270, 272 (bis), 286
Herculiscolumnae, 14
Herdonia, 420, 426
Herennius Bassus, 148, 150
Herius, v. Pettius
Hexapylon (Syracuse), 242, 276, 278 (bis), 282, 300, 432 (bis), 434
Hiberna, 94
Hibernus, 86, 92, 94 (bis), 306 (bis), 478 (bis)
Hiero II, king of Syracuse, 72, 102, 134
INDEX OF NAMES

Manlius Torquatus, T. (consul, 317, 344, 340 B.C.), 198; Manlius Torquatus, T. (consul, 255, 221 B.C.; censor, 531), 74, 120, 136 (bis), 138 (bis), 140, 354
Manlius Velso, L. (praetor, 218 B.C.), 72
Marcelia, Sthenius, Metapontini, 46; Numida Metapontina, Syracuse), 46
Marciana populus, Marcius Perusina ager 44, praetor, Picemis
Manlius Maevius, M. (tribune, 271, 226, 228, 231 (quater), 236, 238, 498; Nolani, 46, 62 (ter), 64, 150, 152, 156, 216; ager Nolani, 44, 46, 152; civis, 45; populus, 150; senatores, 148; Nolana res, 46, 48; plebes, 50, 214; subsidia, 154
Ncineth, 46, 45, 50, 148, 150
Numidae, 4, 46, 42, 96 (bis), 98, 146, 156 (bis), 212, 218, 220, 240, 328 (bis), 330 (ter), 332, 370 (bis), 372, 402, 406, 408, 470, 472 (bis), 474, 496 (bis), 498 (bis); Numida eques, 88, 468
Numidia, 332
OCEANUS, 14, 332
Olympium (Syracuse), 250
Orbitantium, 256
Oricum, 302 (ter), 304, 306 (bis)
Ostia, 152, 418
Otocilius Crassus, T. (praetor, 217, 214 B.C.), 70, 72, 106, 112, 140, 156, 198, 200 (ter), 202 (bis), 206, 210, 212, 316, 348, 462
PACHNURN PROMUNTURUM, 262, 286 (bis), 290, 446 (bis)
Pacuvius, v. Calavius
Paeligni, 392; Paelignus, 394; Paenigma cohors, 392
Panormus, 290 (bis)
Papirius Cursor, L. (consul II, 295 B.C.), 204
Papirius Masso, C. (C.f., pontifer), 344 (bis); Papirius Masso, C. (L.f.), 344
Pedanius, T., 382, 394
Perusini, 68; Perusina cohors, 58
Petelia, 100 (bis); Petelini, 68 (bis), 70
Pettius, Herius, 148
Phileas, 366
Philemenus, 566, 568 (bis), 372 (ter)
Philippus, king of Macedonia, 114 (bis), 116 (ter), 118, 150, 132 (bis), 134, 162, 206, 214, 300, 302, 306, 450
Philistia, 448
Philodemus, 436, 440
Picanuus, 208, 316, 346; Picenus ager, 42, 112, 206
Pinarius, L., 292, 294
Piscina publica, 110
Piso (historian), v. Calpurnius

516
INDEX OF NAMES

Servilius Casca, C. (tribune, 212 B.C.), 350 (ter)
Servilius Geminus, C. (consul, 203 B.C.), 396
Sicilia, 12, 70, 84, 86, 102 (ter), 101 (quater), 106, 108 (bis), 112 (bis). 132, 164, 182, 184, 192 (ter), 196, 206, 208 (bis), 210, 212, 230, 240, 250, 258, 262, 266, 268, 286, 288 (bis), 290, 300 (ter), 314, 318, 356 (bis), 362, 416, 418, 450, 494, 496, 500 (bis); Siculi, 288, 290, 292, 294, 300, 358; 411 (bis), 418 (ter); Siculus exercitus, 416; Siculae urbes, 12
Siellium, 130
Sicicinus hostis, 14
Siusessa, 108, 112, 122
Sipater, 248, 251
Sis, 240, 242, 248, 270, 136
Sositheus, 134
Sopita, v. Iuno
Spes, temple of, 364
Spoletium 298
Statius, v. Trebius
Statius Metius, 232
Statorius, Q., 330 (bis)
Sussetani, 468
Sulpicius, C. (praetor, 211 B.C.), 500 (bis)
Sulpicius Galba, P. (consul, 211 and 200 B.C.), 500
Syphax, 328, 330, 332 (quinquies)
Syracusae, 186, 192, 194, 242, 248, 250 (bis), 252, 258 (bis), 262 (ter), 266 (bis), 274 (quater), 276 (bis), 278 (ter), 280, 282 (bis), 286, 288, 290 (quinquies), 300, 318, 362, 428 (ter), 430, 444 (bis), 446, 448, 450 (ter), 452 (bis), 458 (bis), 460 (bis), 462 (bis), 494 (quater), 500; Syracusani, 188, 210, 244, 262, 264, 268 (quater), 270, 272, 274, 280 (bis), 286, 436, 440, 446, 450, 452, 454, 458 (bis), 460 (ter); Syracusani dux, 496; exercitus, 288; portus, 410; tyrannis, 192; Syracusana res, 280, 440; Syracusana regnum, 192; Syracusani milites, 274; praetores, 271; transmigratione, 428; Syracusana consilia, 196; moenia, 460
Tarentum, 112 (bis), 132 (ter), 134, 212, 214 (ter), 228, 238 (bis), 370 (quater), 382, 386, 396 (bis), 426, 441; Tarentini, 29, 214, 238, 340, 361, 366, 368, 374, 376 (quater), 378, 380, 382; Tarentin us ager, 238, 240; populi, 204; portus, 114, 396; Tarentina arx, 396 (bis); iuventus, 212; res, 214; Tarentini duces, 371; iuvenes, 366, 374, 380; obsides, 366; principes, 380
Tarracina, 316, 366
Tartessi, 88 (bis)
Tauriani, 340
Teanum, 80, 108
Telesia, 236
Temenis portis (Tarentum), 372
Terentius Varro, C. (consul, 216 B.C.), 76, 84, 86, 112 (bis), 206, 208, 316, 346; exercitus Terentian us, 112; milites Varronianis, 132
Themistus, 252 (ter), 254, 256, 260
Theodotus, 190 (ter), 240, 242, 248
Thrasea, 188 (bis), 190 (ter)
Thurii, 398, Thurini, 366, 396, 398 (bis); Thurinus ager, 398; Thurina, 398
Tiberis, 204
Tifata, 126 (bis), 130, 136, 146, 212
Trasimennus, 4, 60, 116, 154, 161, 202, 212, 272, 376
Trebia, 60, 146, 154
Trebius ager, 46
Trebius, 2 (ter)
Trebuta, 154
Troglorum portus, 430
Troinga, 383
Turdetani, 312
Tusci, 346
Tyche (Syracuse), 242, 438 (bis)
Utica, 462 (bis)

VACUNA, 206
Valerius Antias (historian), 492; Valerius Antias, L., 118
Valerius Corvus, M. (consul V1, 299 B.C.), 198
Valerius Flaccus, 392; Valerius Flaccus, P., 54, 116, 132 (bis), 302
Veii, 350

518
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Venus Erycina, temple of</td>
<td>102, 106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venusia</td>
<td>12, 360</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vercellum</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vescellium</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Veteres campi</td>
<td>408</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vebellius Taurea, Cerrinus</td>
<td>24, 158 (bis), 160 (ter), 198</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vibius Accaus</td>
<td>392, 394</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vibius Virrius</td>
<td>16 (bis)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Victoriae mons</td>
<td>306</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Villius Tappulus, L. (aedile</td>
<td>213 B.C.), 346</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vismaruns</td>
<td>310</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Volcaus</td>
<td>156, 206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Volturnus</td>
<td>46, 58, 64, 122, 126, 134, 216, 418, 421</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XENOPHANES</td>
<td>114 (bis), 116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zoippus</td>
<td>186, 188, 256, 258</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>