POLYBIUS (born c. 268 B.C.) of Megalopolis in the Peloponnese (Morea), son of Lycortas, served the Achaean League in arms and diplomacy for many years, favouring alliance with Rome. From 168 to 151 he was hostage in Rome where he became a friend of Aemilius Paulus and his two sons, especially adopted Scipio Aemilianus whose campaigns he attended later. In late life he was trusted mediator between Greece and the Romans whom he admired; helped in the discussions which preceded the final war with Carthage; and, after 146 B.C., was entrusted by the Romans with details of administration in Greece. He died at the age of 82 after a fall from his horse. The main part of his famous historical work covers the years 264–146 B.C. With two introductory books, it described the rise of Rome to the destruction of Carthage and the domination of Greece by Rome. It is a great work; accurate, thoughtful, largely impartial, based on research, full of insight into customs, institutions, geography, causes of events and character of people; it is a vital and most interesting achievement of first rate importance, despite the incomplete state in which all but the first five of the forty books have reached us. Polybius’ overall theme is how and why the Romans spread their power as they did.
The New York Public Library

THE LOEB CLASSICAL LIBRARY

FOUNDED BY JAMES LOEB, LL. D.

EDITED BY

G. P. GOOLD, PH. D.

FORMER EDITORS

†T. E. PAGE, C.H., LITT.D. †E. CAPPS, PH.D., LL.D.
†W. H. D. ROUSE, LITT.D. †L. A. POST, L.H.D.

E. H. WARMINGTON, M.A., F.R.HIST.SOC.

POLYBIUS

II

137
# CONTENTS OF VOLUME II

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BOOK</th>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BOOK III</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BOOK IV</td>
<td>296</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
THE HISTORIES OF
POLYBIUS
ΠΟΛΥΒΙΟΥ
ΙΣΤΟΡΙΩΝ ΤΡΙΤΗ

1 "Ότι μὲν ἀρχὰς ὑποτιθέμεθα τῆς αὐτῶν πραγματείας τὸν τε συμμαχικὸν καὶ τὸν Ἀννηβιακὸν, πρὸς δὲ τούτως τὸν περὶ Κολλῆς Συρίας πόλεμον, ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ μὲν τῆς ὅλης συντάξεως, τρίτῃ δὲ ταύτης ἀνώτερον βιβλίων δεδηλώκαμεν· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὰς αἰτίας, δι' ἀς ἀναδραμόντες τοὺς χρόνους πρὸ τούτων τῶν καρών συνεταιγματίκα τὰς πρὸ ταύτης βιβλίους, ἐν αὐτῇ 'κείνῃ διεσαφήσαμεν. νῦν δὲ πειρασόμεθα τοὺς προειρημένους πολέμους, καὶ τὰς αἰτίας ἔξ ὧν ἐγένοντο καὶ δι' ἀς ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἦχομητον, μετ' ἀποδείξεως ἔξαγγέλλειν, βραχεὰ προειπότετον ὑπὲρ τῆς αὐτῶν πραγματείας.

4 "Οντος γὰρ ἔνος ἐργοῦ καὶ θέαματος ἔνος τοῦ σύμπαντος, ὑπὲρ οὗ γράφεως ἐπικεχειρήκαμεν, τοῦ πώς καὶ πότε καὶ διὰ τί πάντα τὰ γνωριζόμενα μέρη τῆς οἰκουμένης ὑπὸ τὴν Ῥωμαιῶν δυναστείαν ἐγένοτο, τούτου δὲ ἐχοντος καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς γνωριζόμενης καὶ τῶν χρόνων ὁρισμένου καὶ τῆς συντελειῶν ὁμολογομείνης, χρῆσιμον ἡγούμεθ' εἶναι καὶ τὸ περὶ τῶν μεγίστων ἐν αὐτῶ μερῶν, ὡς μεταξὺ κεῖται τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ τοῦ τέλους, κεφαλαίων ἐπιμνησθῆναι καὶ προεκθέσθαι. μάλιστα γὰρ οὕτως 2
1. In my first Book, the third, that is, from this counting backwards, I explained that I fixed as the starting-points of my work, the Social war, the Hannibalic war, and the war for Coele-Syria. I likewise set forth in the same place the reasons why I wrote the two preceding Books dealing with events of an earlier date. I will now attempt to give a well attested account of the above wars, their first causes and the reasons why they attained such magnitude; but in the first place I have a few words to say regarding my work as a whole.

The subject I have undertaken to treat, the how, when, and wherefore of the subjection of the known parts of the world to the dominion of Rome, should be viewed as a single whole, with a recognized beginning, a fixed duration, and an end which is not a matter of dispute; and I think it will be advantageous to give a brief prefatory survey of the chief parts of this whole from the beginning to the end.
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

υπολαμβάνομεν τοῖς φιλομαθοῦσι παρασκευάσεων
7 ἢκανήν ἔννοιαν τῆς ὀλῆς ἐπιβολῆς. πολλὰ μὲν γὰρ
προλαμβανούσης τῆς ψυχῆς ἐκ τῶν ὅλων πρὸς τὴν
κατὰ μέρος τῶν πραγμάτων γνώσιν, πολλὰ δὲ ἐκ τῶν
κατὰ μέρος πρὸς τὴν τῶν ὅλων ἐπιστήμην, ἀρίστην
ήγομενοι τὴν ἕξ ἀμφοῖν ἐπίστασαι καὶ θέαν, ἀκό-
λουθον τοῖς εἰρήμενοις πουησόμεθα τὴν προέκεισιν
8 τῆς αὐτῶν πραγματείας. τὴν μὲν οὖν καθόλου τῆς
ὑποθέσεως ἐμφασιν καὶ τὴν περιγραφὴν ἡδὴ δεδηλώ-
9 καμεν. τῶν δὲ κατὰ μέρος ἐν αὐτῇ γεγονότων
ἀρχῶς μὲν εἶναι συμβαίνει τοὺς προερμημένους
πολέμους, καταστροφὴν δὲ καὶ συντέλειαν τὴν
κατάλυσιν τῆς ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ βασιλείας, χρόνου δὲ
τῶν μεταξὺ τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ τοῦ τέλους ἐτη πεντήκοντα
10 τρία, περιέχεσθαι δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τηλικοῦτας καὶ
τοιαύτας πράξεις, ὅσα οὐδεὶς τῶν προγεγονότων
11 καρφῶν ἐν ἱσοὶ περιέλαβε διαστήματι. περὶ δὲν ἀπὸ
tῆς ἐκατοστῆσας καὶ τετταρακοστῆσας ὀλυμπίας
ἀρξάμενοι τοιάνδε τινα πουησόμεθα τὴν ἐφοδιον τῆς
ἐξεγήγησεως.

2 Ὑποδείξαντες γὰρ τὰς αἰτίας, δι’ ἂν ὁ προδεδηλω-
μένος συνεστῇ Καρχηδόνιοι καὶ Ἄρμαίοις πόλεμος,
ὁ προσαγορευθεὶς Ἀλκιβιάδος, ἔρρυμεν ως εἰς
2 Ἰταλίαν ἐμβαλόντες Καρχηδόνιοι καὶ καταλύσαντες
tῆς Ἄρμαίων δυναστείαν εἰς μεγαν μὲν φόβον
ἐκεῖνον ἦγαγον περὶ σφῶν καὶ τοῦ τῆς πατρίδος
ἐδάφους, μεγάλας δὲ ἐσχον αὐτοὶ καὶ παραδόξους
ἐλπίδας, ως καὶ τῆς Ἄρμης αὐτῆς ἐξ ἐφόδου
3 κρατήσαντες, ἐξῆς δὲ τούτοις πειρασόμεθα διασα-
φεῖν ὡς κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς καρφῶς Φιλίππος μὲν ὁ
Μακεδών διαπολεμήσας Αἰτωλοῖς καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα
συντησάμενος τὰ κατὰ τοὺς Ἑλλήνας, ἐπεβάλετο
4
BOOK III. 1.6-2.3

For I believe this will be the best means of giving students an adequate idea of my whole plan. Since a previous general view is of great assistance to the mind in acquiring a knowledge of details, and at the same time a previous notion of the details helps us to knowledge of the whole, I regard a preliminary survey based on both as best and will draw up these prefatory remarks to my history on this principle. I have already indicated the general scope and limits of this history. The particular events comprised in it begin with the above-mentioned wars and culminate and end in the destruction of the Macedonian monarchy. Between the beginning and end lies a space of fifty-three years, comprising a greater number of grave and momentous events than any period of equal length in the past. Starting from the 140th Olympiad I shall adopt the following order in my exposition of them.

2. First I shall indicate the causes of the above war between Rome and Carthage, known as the Hannibalic war, and tell how the Carthaginians invaded Italy, broke up the dominion of Rome, and cast the Romans into great fear for their safety and even for their native soil, while great was their own hope, such as they had never dared to entertain, of capturing Rome itself. Next I shall attempt to describe how at the same period Philip of Macedon, after finishing his war with the Aetolians and settling the affairs of Greece, conceived the project of an
4 κοινωνεῖν Καρχηδονίους τῶν αυτῶν ἐλπίδων, Ἀντίοχος δὲ καὶ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Φιλοπάτωρ ἡμιφυσῆ-τοιν, τέλος δ᾿ ἐπολέμησαν ὑπὲρ Κοίλης Συρίας πρὸς
5 ἀλλήλους, 'Ρόδιοι δὲ καὶ Προουσίας ἀναλαβόντες πρὸς Βυζαντίους πόλεμον ὑνάγκασαν αὐτοὺς ἀπο-στῆναι τοῦ παραγωγιᾷν τοὺς πλέοντας εἰς τὸν
6 Πόντον. στήσαντες δ᾿ ἐπὶ τούτων τὴν διήγησιν τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς Ῥωμαίων πολιτείας συστησάμεθα λόγον, ὥς κατὰ τὸ συνεχὲς ὑποδείξομεν ὅτι μέγιστα συνεβάλετ’ αὐτοῖς ἡ τοῦ πολιτεύματος ἱδιότης πρὸς τὸ μὴ μόνον ἀνακτήσασθαι τὴν Ἰταλιωτῶν καὶ Σικελίωτῶν δυναστείαν, ἔτι δὲ τὴν Ἰβηρίων προσλα-βεῖν καὶ Κελτῶν ἀρχήν, ἀλλὰ τὸ τελευταῖον καὶ πρὸς τὸ κρατήσαντας τῷ πολέμῳ Καρχηδονίων ἐννοιαν
7 σχεῖν τῆς τῶν ὅλων ἐπιβολῆς. ἀμα δὲ τούτοις κατὰ παρέκβασιν δηλώσομεν τὴν κατάλυσιν τῆς Ἰέρωνος
8 τοῦ Συρακοσίου δυναστείας. οἳς ἐπισυνάψομεν τὰς περὶ τὴν Ἀἰγυπτον ταραχὰς καὶ τίνα τρόπον Πτο-λεμαῖοι τοῦ βασιλέως μεταλάξαντος τὸν βίον συμφρονήσαντες Ἀντίοχος καὶ Φιλίππος ἐπὶ διατέρει τῆς τοῦ καταλελειμμένου παιδὸς ἀρχῆς ἡρξαντο κα-κοπραγμονεῖς καὶ τὰς χειρὰς ἐπιβάλλον Φιλίππος μὲν τοῖς κατ’ Αἴγαυον καὶ Καρίαν καὶ Σάμον, Ἀν-τίοχος δὲ τοῖς κατὰ Κοίλην Συρίαν καὶ Φοινίκην.
3 μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα συγκεφαλαιωσάμενοι τὰς ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ καὶ Διβύν καὶ Σικελία πράξεις Ῥωμαίων καὶ Καρ-χηδονίων μεταβιβάσομεν τὴν διήγησιν ὀλοσχερῶς εἰς τοὺς κατὰ τὴν Ἐλλάδα τόπους ἀμα ταῖς τῶν
2 πραγμάτων μεταβολαῖς. ἐξηγησάμενοι δὲ τὰς Ἀττάλοι καὶ Ῥωμαίων ναυμαχίας πρὸς Φιλίππον, ἔτι δὲ τὸν Ῥωμαίων καὶ Φιλίππον πόλεμον, ὡς ἐπράχθη
3 καὶ διὰ τίνων καὶ τὶ τὸ τέλος ἐσχε, τούτων συν-
6
alliance with Carthage; how Antiochus and Ptolemy Philopator first quarrelled and at length went to war with each other for the possession of Coele-Syria, and how the Rhodians and Prusias, declaring war on the Byzantines, compelled them to stop levying toil on ships bound for the Euxine. Interrupting my narrative at this point, I shall draw up my account of the Roman Constitution, as a sequel to which I shall point out how the peculiar qualities of the Constitution conduced very largely not only to their subjection of the Italians and Sicilians, and subsequently of the Spaniards and Celts, but finally to their victory over Carthage and their conceiving the project of universal empire. Simultaneously in a digression I shall narrate how the dominion of Hiero of Syracuse fell and after this I shall deal with the troubles in Egypt, and tell how, o.1 the death of Ptolemy, Antiochus and Philip, conspiring to partition the dominions of his son, a helpless infant, began to be guilty of acts of unjust aggression, Philip laying hands on the islands of the Aegean, and on Caria and Samos, while Antiochus seized on Coele-Syria and Phoenicia.

3. Next, after summing up the doings of the Roman and Carthaginians in Spain, Africa, and Sicily I shall shift the scene of my story definitely, as the scene of action shifted, to Greece and its neighbourhood. I shall describe the sea-battles in which Attalus and the Rhodians met Philip, and after this deal with the war between the Romans and Philip, its course, its reason, and its result. Following on this I shall
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

ἀποντες τὸ συνεχὲς μνησθησόμεθα τῆς Αἰτωλῶν ὀργῆς, καθ' ἦν 'Αντίοχον ἐπισπασάμενοι τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀσίας Ἀχαιός καὶ 'Ρωμαίοις ἐξέκαυσαν πόλεμον.
4 οὐ δηλώσαντες τὰς αἰτίας καὶ τὴν 'Αντιόχου διάβασιν εἰς τὴν Εὐρώπην, διασαφήσησαν πρῶτον μὲν τίνα τρόπον ἐκ τῆς Ἐλλάδος ἐφυγε, δεύτερον δὲ πῶς ἦτ- τηθεὶς τῆς ἐπὶ τάδε τοῦ Ταύρου πάσης ἐξεχώρησε,
5 τὸ δὲ τρίτον τίνα τρόπον Ἄρωμαιοι καταλύσαντες τὴν Γαλατῶν ὑβριν ἀδήριτον μὲν σφίσι παρεσκεύασαν τὴν τῆς Ἀσίας ἄρχην, ἀπέλυσαν δὲ τοὺς ἐπὶ τάδε τοῦ Ταύρου κατουκούντας βαρβαρικῶν φόβων καὶ
6 τῆς Γαλατῶν παρανομίας. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα θέντες ὑπὸ τὴν ὁμιν τὰς Αἰτωλῶν καὶ Κεφαλήνων ἀτυ- χίας ἐπιβαλοῦμεν τοὺς Εὐµένειν συνάντας πρὸς τε Προυσίαν καὶ Γαλάτας πολέμους, ὀμοίως δὲ καὶ τὸν
7 μετ' Ἀριαράθου πρὸς Φαρνάκαν. οἷς ἔξις ἐπιμη- σθέντες τῆς παρὰ Πελοποννησίων ὀμονοίας καὶ καταστάσεως, ἔτι δὲ τῆς αὐξήσεως τοῦ Ῥωδίων πολιτεύματος, συγκεφαλαιωσόμεθα τὴν ὅλην διή-
8 γην ἅμα καὶ τὰς πράξεις, ἐπὶ πάσιν ἐξηγη- σάμενοι τὴν Ἀντιόχου στρατεύαν εἰς Αἰγύπτων τοῦ κληθέντος Ἐπιφανοὺς καὶ τὸν Περσικὸν πόλεμον καὶ τὴν κατάλυσιν τῆς ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ βασιλείας.
9 δὲ ὅν ἅμα θέωρηθήσεται πῶς ἕκαστα ἄρισσαντες Ἄρωμαιοι πάσαν ἐποιήσαντο τὴν οἰκουμένη ὑπῆκοον αὐτοῖς.
4 Εἰ μὲν οὖν ἔξ αὐτῶν τῶν κατορθωμάτων ἦ καὶ τῶν ἐλαττωμάτων ἴκανην ἐνεδέχετο ποιήσασθαι τὴν διάληψιν ὑπὲρ τῶν ψεκτῶν ἦ τούναντι ἐπανετῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ πολιτευμάτων, ἐνθάδε που λήγειν ἄν ἡμᾶς ἔδει καὶ καταστρέφειν ἅμα τὴν διήγησιν καὶ τὴν πραγματείαν ἐπὶ τὰς τελευταίας ῥηθείσας
8
make mention of the angry spirit of the Aetolians yielding to which they invited Antiochus over, and thus set ablaze the war from Asia against the Achaean and Romans. After narrating the causes of this war, and how Antiochus crossed to Europe, I shall describe in the first place how he fled from Greece; secondly how on his defeat after this he abandoned all Asia up to the Taurus; and thirdly, how the Romans, suppressing the insolence of the Galatian Gauls, established their undisputed supremacy in Asia and freed its inhabitants on this side of the Taurus from the fear of barbarians and the lawless violence of these Gauls. Next I shall bring before the reader's eyes the misfortune that befell the Aetolians and Cephalenians, and then make mention of the war of Eumenes with Prusias and the Gauls and of that between Ariarathes and Pharnaces. Subsequently, after some notice of the unification and pacification of the Peloponnese and of the growth of the Rhodian State, I shall bring the whole narrative of events to a conclusion, narrating finally the expedition of Antiochus Epiphanes against Egypt, the war with Perseus, and the abolition of the Macedonian monarchy. All the above events will enable us to perceive how the Romans dealt with each contingency and thus subjected the whole world to their rule.

4. Now if from their success or failure alone we could form an adequate judgement of how far states and individuals are worthy of praise or blame, I could here lay down my pen, bringing my narrative and this whole work to a close with the last-mentioned
2 πράξεις κατὰ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς πρόθεσιν. ὃ τε γὰρ
χρόνος ὁ πεντηκοντακαττριτής εἰς ταῦτ’ ἔληγεν ἡ
τ’ αὐξήσις καὶ προκοπή τῆς Ῥωμαίων δυναστείας.
3 ἐτετελείωτο· πρὸς δὲ τούτους ὁμολογούμενον ἑδόκει
ταῦτ’ εἶναι καὶ κατηγοριαμένον ἀπασιν ὅτι λοιπὸν
ἐστὶ Ῥωμαίων ἄκοινεν καὶ τούτοις πειθαρχεῖν ὑπὲρ
4 τῶν παραγγελλομένων. ἔπει δ’ οὐκ αὐτοτελεῖς εἰσὶν
οὔτε περὶ τῶν κρατησάντων οὔτε περὶ τῶν ἐλαττω-
θέντων αἱ συλλογὲς ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν ἀγωνισμάτων δια-
5 λήψεις, διὰ τὸ πολλοὶς μὲν τὰ μέγιστα δοκοῦντ’
eῖναι τῶν κατορθωμάτων, ὅταν μὴ δεόντως αὐτοῖς
χρήσωντα, τόσο μεγίστας ἐπεννοοῦντα συμφοράς,
οὐκ ὀλίγοις δὲ τὰς ἐκπληκτικωτάτας περιπετείας,
ὅταν εὐγενῶς αὐτὰς ἀναδέξωνται, πολλάκις εἰς τὴν
6 τοὺς συμφέροντος περιπεπτωκέναι μερίδα, προσθε-
τέον ἂν εἶ ὑπ’ αὐτῶς προειρημέναις πράξεις τὴν τε τῶν
κρατοῦντων αἴρεσιν, ποία τις ἦν μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ πῶς
προετάτει τῶν ὀλίγων, τὰς τε τῶν ἄλλων ἀποδοχας
καί διαλήψεις, πόσαι καὶ τίνες ὑπήρχον περὶ τῶν
ἀγωγιμένων, πρὸς δὲ τούτους τὰς ὀρμὰς καὶ τοὺς
ζῆλους ἐξηγητέον, τίνες παρ’ ἐκάστους ἐπεκράτουν
καί κατάχυνον περὶ τε τοὺς κατ’ ἱδίαν βίους καὶ
7 τὰς κοινὰς πολιτείας. δῆλον γὰρ ὡς ἐκ τούτων
φανερὸν ἔσται τοῖς μὲν νῦν οὖσι πότερα φευκτῆν
ἢ τοῦναντίον αἴρετην εἶναι συμβαίνει τὴν Ῥωμαίων
δυναστείαν, τοῖς δ’ ἐπιγυνομένοις πότερον ἐπαινετὴν
καὶ ξηλωτὴν ἡ θεικὶς γεγονέναι νομιστέον τὴν
8 ἀρχὴν αὐτῶν. τὸ γὰρ ὕφελμον τῆς ἡμιστέρας ἱστο-
ρίας πρὸς τε τὸ παρὸν καὶ πρὸς τὸ μέλλον ἐν τούτῳ
9 πλείστον κέισεται τῷ μέρει. οὖ γὰρ δὴ τοῦτ’ εἶναι
τέλος ὑποληπτέον ἐν πράγμασιν οὔτε τοῖς ἔγονομε-
νοις οὔτε τοῖς ἀποφαίλομένοις ὑπὲρ τούτων, τὸ νω-
events, as was my original intention. For the period of fifty-three years finished here, and the growth and advance of Roman power was now complete. Besides which it was now universally accepted as a necessary fact that henceforth all must submit to the Romans and obey their orders. But since judgements regarding either the conquerors or the conquered based purely on performance are by no means final—what is thought to be the greatest success having brought the greatest calamities on many, if they do not make proper use of it, and the most dreadful catastrophes often turning out to the advantage of those who support them bravely—I must append to the history of the above period an account of the subsequent policy of the conquerors and their method of universal rule, as well as of the various opinions and appreciations of their rulers entertained by the subjects, and finally I must describe what were the prevailing and dominant tendencies and ambitions of the various peoples in their private and public life. For it is evident that contemporaries will thus be able to see clearly whether the Roman rule is acceptable or the reverse, and future generations whether their government should be considered to have been worthy of praise and admiration or rather of blame. And indeed it is just in this that the chief usefulness of this work for the present and the future will lie. For neither rulers themselves nor their critics should regard the end of action as being merely conquest.
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

10 κῆσαι καὶ ποιήσασθαι πάντας ύφ’ εαυτούς. οὕτε γαρ πολεμεῖ τοῖς πέλας ουδεὶς νοῦν ἐχὼν ἐνέκεν αὐτοῦ τοῦ καταγωγίασθαι τούς ἀντιταττομένους, οὕτε πλεῖ τὰ πελάγη χάριν τοῦ περαιωθῆναι μόνον, καὶ μήν οὐδὲ τὰς ἐμπειρίας καὶ τέχνας αὐτῆς

11 ἔνεκα τῆς ἐπιστήμης ἀναλαμβάνει· πάντες δὲ πράττουσι πάντα χάριν τῶν ἐπιγινόμενων τοῖς ἑργοῖς

12 ἢδέων ἢ καλῶν ἢ συμφερόντων. διὸ καὶ τῆς πραγματείας ταύτης τούτ’ ἐσται τελεσιουργία, τὸ γνώναι τὴν κατάστασιν παρ’ ἐκάστους, ποία τις ἢ μετὰ τὸ καταγωγίασθαι τὰ ὅλα καὶ πεσεῖν εἰς τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐξουσίαν, ἐως τῆς μετὰ ταύτα πάλιν ἐπι-

13 γενομένης ταραχῆς καὶ κινήσεως. ύπέρ ἢς διά τὸ μέγεθος τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ πράξεων καὶ τὸ παράδοξον τῶν συμβαίνοντων, τὸ δὲ μέγιστον διὰ τὸ τῶν πλείστων μὴ μόνον αὐτόπτης, ἀλλ’ ὄν μὲν συνεργός, ὃν δὲ καὶ χειριστῆς γεγονέναι, προήχθην οἶνον ἀρχήν

5 ποιησάμενος ἄλλην γράφειν. ἢν δ’ ἡ προειρημένη κύνης, ἐν ἢ Ῥωμαίοι μὲν πρὸς Κελτίβηρας καὶ Οὐακκαίους ἐξήνεγκαν πόλεμον, Καρχηδόνιοι δὲ τὸν πρὸς Μασσανάσσαν βασιλέα τῶν Λιβύων.

2 περὶ δὲ τὴν Ἀσίαν Ἀττάλος μὲν καὶ Προυσίας πρὸς ἄλληλους ἐπολέμησαν, δ’ δὲ τῶν Καππαδοκῶν βασιλεύς Ἀρμαράθης, ἐκπέσαν ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς ὑπ’ Ὄροφέρνου διὰ Δημητρίου τὸν βασιλέας, αὐθίς ἀνεκτήσατο δ’ Ἀττάλου τὴν πατρίων ἀρχήν.

3 ὁ δὲ Σελεύκου Λημίτριος κύριος γενόμενος ἐπὶ δωδεκὰ τῆς ἐν Συρίᾳ βασιλείας ἀμα τοῦ βίου καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐστερῆθη, συστραφέντων επὶ αὐτῶν τῶν ἄλλων βασιλέων. ἀποκατέστησαν δὲ καὶ Ῥωμαίοι τοὺς Ἕλληνας εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ Περσικοῦ πολέμου καταυιδέντας, ἀπολύσαντες τῆς ἑπενεχ-
and the subjection of all to their rule; since no man of sound sense goes to war with his neighbours simply for the sake of crushing an adversary, just as no one sails on the open sea just for the sake of crossing it. Indeed no one even takes up the study of arts and crafts merely for the sake of knowledge, but all men do all they do for the resulting pleasure, good, or utility. So the final end achieved by this work will be, to gain knowledge of what was the condition of each people after all had been crushed and had come under the dominion of Rome, until the disturbed and troubled time that afterwards ensued. About this latter, owing to the importance of the actions and the unexpected character of the events, and chiefly because I not only witnessed most but took part and even directed some, I was induced to write as if starting on a fresh work. 5. This period of disturbance comprises, firstly the war waged by Rome against the Celtiberians and Vaccaei, that between Carthage and Massinissa the King of the Libyans and that between Attalus and Prusias in Asia. Next, Ariarathes, King of Cappadocia was expelled from his kingdom by Orophernes through the agency of King Demetrius and recovered his ancestral throne by the help of Attalus. Then Demetrius, son of Seleucus, after reigning in Syria for twelve years lost both his kingdom and his life, the other kings combining against him. Next the Romans restored to their homes the Greeks who had been accused in consequence of the war with Perseus, acquitting them of the charges brought against them.
5 θείσης αὐτοῖς διαβολῆς. οἳ δ' αὐτοῖ μετ' οὐ πολὺ Καρχηδονίους ἐπέβαλον τὰς χεῖρας, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον μεταναστῆσαι, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πάλιν ἀρδὴν αὐτοὺς ἐξαναστῆσαι προθέμενοι διὰ τὰς ἐν τοῖς ἐξῆς ῥήθη-

6 σομένας αἰτίας. οἳς κατάλληλα Μακεδόνων μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥωμαίων φιλίας, Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ τῆς τῶν Ἀχαιῶν συμπολιτείας ἀποστάτων, ἀμα τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ τὸ τέλος ἐσχέ τὸ κοινὸν ἀτύχημα πάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος.

7 Τὰ μὲν οὖν τῆς ἐπιβολῆς ἡμῶν τοιαῦτα· προσδεί δ' ἐτὶ τῆς τύχης, ἵνα συνδράμῃ τὰ τοῦ βίου πρὸς τὸ τὴν πρόθεσιν ἐπὶ τέλος ἀγαγεῖν. πέπεισμαι μὲν γάρ, κἂν τι συμβῇ περὶ ἡμᾶς ἀνθρώπινον, οὐκ ἀργήσειν τὴν ὑπόθεσιν οὐδ' ἀπορήσειν ἀνθρῶν ἀξιόχρεων, διὰ τὸ κάλλους πολλοὺς κατεγνυθήσεθαι καὶ σπουδάσειν ἐπὶ τέλος ἀγαγεῖν αὐτὴν.

8 Ἐπεὶ δ' ἂν εἰς εὐφανεστάτας τῶν πράξεων ἐπὶ κεφαλαίους διεληλύθαμεν, βουλόμενοι καὶ καθόλου καὶ κατὰ μέρος εἰς ἐννοιὰν ἀγαγεῖν τῆς ὅλης ἱστορίας τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας, ὥρα μνημονεύοντας τῆς προθέσεως ἐπαναγαγεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς αὐτῶν ὑπόθεσεως.

9 "Εννοι ό δ' τῶν συγγεγραφότων τὰς κατ' Ἀννίβαν πράξεως, βουλόμενοι τὰς αἰτίας ἡμῶν ὑποδεικνύναι, δι' ὅς Ῥωμαίοις καὶ Καρχηδονίοις ὁ προειρημένος ἐνέστη πόλεμος, πρῶτην μὲν ἀποβαίνουσι τῇ Ζα-

2 κάνθης πολιορκίαν ὑπὸ Καρχηδονίων, δευτέραν δὲ τὴν διάβασιν αὐτῶν παρὰ τὰς συνθήκας τοῦ προσαγορευμένου παρὰ τοῖς ἐγχυρώσιος Ἰβηροὺς ποταμοῖ. Ἑνώ δ' ταῦτα ἀρχὰς μὲν εἶναι τοῦ πολέμου φή-

3 σαμί ἄν, αἰτίας γε μὴν οὐδαμῶς ἀν συγχωρήσαμι. πολλοῦ γε δεῖν, εἰ μὴ καὶ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου διά-
A little later the Romans attacked Carthage, having resolved in the first place on changing its site and subsequently on its utter destruction for the reasons that I shall state in due course. Close upon this followed the withdrawal of the Macedonians from their alliance with Rome and that of the Lacedaemonians from the Achaean League, and hereupon the beginning and the end of the general calamity that overtook Greece.

Such is the plan I propose, but all depends on Fortune's granting me a life long enough to execute it. However I am convinced that in the event of my death, the project will not fall to the ground for want of men competent to carry it on, since there are many others who will set their hands to the task and labour to complete it.

Now having given a summary of the most important events, with the object of conveying to my readers a notion of this work as a whole and its contents in detail, it is time for me to call to mind my original plan and return to the starting-point of my history.

6. Some of those authors who have dealt with Hannibal and his times, wishing to indicate the causes that led to the above war between Rome and Carthage, allege as its first cause the siege of Saguntum by the Carthaginians and as its second their crossing, contrary to treaty, the river whose native name is the Iber. I should agree in stating that these were the beginnings of the war, but I can by no means allow that they were its causes, unless we call Alexander's crossing to Asia the cause
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

βοσών εἰς τὴν 'Ασίαν αὑτίαν εἶναι τις φήσει τοῦ πρὸς τοὺς Πέρσας πολέμου καὶ τὸν 'Αντιόχον καταπλούν εἰς Δῆμητριάδα τοῦ πρὸς 'Ρωμαίους· ὁν 5 οὔτε εἰκὸς οὔτε ἀληθὲς ἔστιν οὐδέτερον. τις γὰρ ἄν νομίσει ταύτας αὑτίας υπάρχειν, ὁν πολλὰ μὲν Ἀλέξανδρος πρότερον, οὐκ ὀλίγα δὲ Φίλιππος ἔτι ζῶν ἐνήργησε καὶ παρασκευάσατο πρὸς τὸν κατὰ τῶν Περσῶν πόλεμον, ὁμοίως δὲ πάλιν Αἰτωλοὶ πρὸ τῆς 'Αντιόχου παρουσίας πρὸς τὸν κατὰ 'Ρω- 6 μαίων; ἀλλ' ἕστιν ἀνθρώπων τὰ τοιαῦτα μὴ δι- ειληφότων ἄρχῃ τί διαφέρει καὶ πόσον διέστηκεν αὑτίας καὶ προφάσεως, καὶ διότι τὰ μὲν ἐστὶ πρῶτα τῶν ἀπάντων, ἢ δ' ἄρχῃ τελευταῖον τῶν εὑρημένων. 7 ἐγὼ δὲ παντὸς ἄρχας μὲν εἶναι φημὶ τὰς πρῶτας ἐπιβολὰς καὶ πράξεις τῶν ἡδη κεκριμένων, αὑτίας δὲ τὰς προκαθηγουμένας τῶν κρίσεων καὶ διαλέ- ψεως· λέγω δ' ἐπινοίας καὶ διαθέσεως καὶ τοὺς περὶ ταύτα συλλογισμοὺς καὶ δι' ὅν ἐπὶ τὸ κρίναι τι 8 καὶ προθέσθαι παραγωγόμεθα. δὴ λοιπὸν τὸ 9 προειρημένον ἐκ τῶν ἐπιφερομένων. τίνες γὰρ ἀληθῶς ἦσαν αὑτίαι καὶ πόθεν φύναι συνεβῆ τὸν πρὸς τοὺς Πέρσας πόλεμον, εὑμαρές καὶ τῷ τυχόντι συν- 10 ιδεῖν. ἢν δὲ πρώτη μὲν ἢ τῶν μετὰ Ξενοφῶντος 'Ελλήνων ἐκ τῶν ἀνω σατραπεῖων ἐπάνωδος, ἐν ἡ πάσαν τὴν 'Ασίαν διαπερνομένων αὐτῶν πολεμίαν υπάρχουσαν οὐδεὶς ἐτόλμα μένει κατὰ πρόσωπον 11 τῶν βαρβάρων· δεύτερα δ' ἢ τοῦ Δακεδαμικῶν βασιλέως 'Αγησιλάου διάβασις εἰς τὴν 'Ασίαν, ἐν ἡ 'κείνων οὐδὲν ἀξιώμενον οὐδ' ἀντίπαλον εὑρὼν ταῖς σφετέραις ἐπιβολαῖς ἀπρακτός ἤγαγκάζεθη μεταξὺ 12 διὰ τὰς περὶ τὴν 'Ελλάδα ταραχὰς ἐπανελθεῖν. ἐξ ὅν Φίλιππος κατανοήσας καὶ συλλογισάμενος τὴν
of his war against Persia and Antiochus' landing at Demetrias the cause of his war against Rome, neither of which assertions is either reasonable or true. For who could consider these to be causes of wars, plans and preparations for which, in the case of the Persian war, had been made earlier, many by Alexander and even some by Philip during his life, and in the case of the war against Rome by the Aetolians long before Antiochus arrived? These are pronouncements of men who are unable to see the great and essential distinction between a beginning and a cause or purpose, these being the first origin of all, and the beginning coming last. By the beginning of anything I mean the first attempt to execute and put in action plans on which we have decided, by its causes what is most initiatory in our judgements and opinions, that is to say our notions of things, our state of mind, our reasoning about these, and everything through which we reach decisions and projects. The nature of these is evident from the instances adduced above; it is easy for anyone to see the real causes and origin of the war against Persia. The first was the retreat of the Greeks under Xenophon from the upper Satrapies, in which, though they traversed the whole of Asia, a hostile country, none of the barbarians ventured to face them. The second was the crossing of Agesilaus, King of Sparta, to Asia, where he found no opposition of any moment to his projects, and was only compelled to return without effecting anything owing to the disturbances in Greece. From both of these facts Philip perceived and reckoned on the
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

Περσῶν ἀνανδρίαν καὶ ὑθυμίαν καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ Μακεδόνων εὔηξιαν ἐν τοῖς πολέμικοῖς, ἐτὶ δὲ καὶ τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὸ κάλλος τῶν ἐσομενῶν ἀθλῶν

13 ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν θέμενος, ἀμα τῷ περιπούσασθαι τὴν ἐκ τῶν Ἑλλήνων εὕνοιαν ὁμολογουμένην, εὐθέως προφάσει χρώμενος ὅτι οπεύ- 

14 δεὶ μετελθείν τὴν Περσῶν παρανομὰς εἰς τοὺς Ἑλ-

7 Ἀλεξάνδρου διάβασιν εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν. καὶ μὴν τοῦ κατ’ Ἀντίοχον καὶ Ῥωμαίοις δῆλον ὡς αἰτίας μὲν

2 τὴν Αἰτωλῶν ὄργην θετέον. ἔκεινοι γὰρ δόξαντες ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ὀλιγωρήθαι κατὰ πολλὰ περί τὴν ἐκβασιν τὴν ἐκ τοῦ Φιλίππου πολέμου, καθάπερ ἐπάνω προείπον, οὐ μόνον Ἀντίοχον ἐπεσπάσαντο, πάν δὲ καὶ πρᾶξαι καὶ παθεῖν ὑπεστησαν διὰ τὴν ἐπιγενομένην ὄργην ἐκ τῶν προειρημένων καυρῶν.

3 πρόφασιν δ’ ἡγητέων τὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐλευ-

1 ἰθέρωσιν, ὡς ἔκεινοι περιπορεύμενοι μετ’ Ἀντι-

2 οχοὺ τὰς πόλεις ἀλόγως καὶ ψευδῶς κατήγγελλον, ἄρχην δὲ τοῦ πολέμου τὸν Ἀντίοχον κατάπλουν εἰς Δημητριάδα.

4 Ἐγὼ δὲ τὴν ἑπὶ πλείον διαστολὴν πεποίημαι περὶ 

5 τοῦτων οὐχ ένεκα τῆς τῶν συγγραφέων ἐπιτιμη-

6 σεως, χάριν δὲ τῆς τῶν φιλομαθοῦντων ἐπανορθόσεως. τί γὰρ ὁφελοῦ ἵπτρου κάμνουσιν ἀγνοοῦν-

7 τος τὰς αἰτίας τῶν περὶ τὰ σῶματα διαθέσεων; τί 

8 δ’ ἀνδρός πραγματικοῦ μὴ δυναμένου συλλογιζεῖσθαι πῶς καὶ διὰ τί καὶ πόθεν ἡκαστὰ τῶν πραγμάτων
cowardice and indolence of the Persians as compared with the military efficiency of himself and his Macedonians, and further fixing his eyes on the splendour of the great prize which the war promised, he lost no time, once he had secured the avowed good-will of the Greeks, but seizing on the pretext that it was his urgent duty to take vengeance on the Persians for their injurious treatment of the Greeks, he bestirred himself and decided to go to war, beginning to make every preparation for this purpose. We must therefore look on the first considerations I have mentioned as the causes of the war against Persia, the second as its pretext and Alexander’s crossing to Asia as its beginning. 7. Similarly it is evident that the cause of the war between Antiochus and the Romans was the anger of the Aetolians, who (as I above stated) looking upon themselves as having been slighted in many ways by the Romans as regards their share in bringing the war with Philip to an end, not only invited Antiochus over, but were ready to do and suffer anything owing to the anger they conceived under the above circumstances. But the liberation of Greece, which they announced in defiance of reason and truth going round with Antiochus from city to city, we must consider to be a pretext of this war, and its beginning the landing of Antiochus at Demetrias.

In speaking at such length on this matter, my object has not been to censure previous writers, but to rectify the ideas of students. For of what use to the sick is a physician who is ignorant of the causes of certain conditions of the body? And of what use is a statesman who cannot reckon how, why, and whence each event has originated? The
ποτε δεόντως συστήσασθαι τάς τῶν σωμάτων θεραπείας οὔτε τῶν πραγματικῶν οὔδέν οἶον τε κατὰ τρόπον χειρίσασθαι τῶν προσπαθήσεων ἄνευ τῆς τῶν 7 προερημένων ἐπιγνώσεως. διόπερ οὔδέν οὔτω φυλακτέον καὶ ζητητέον ὡς τάς αἰτίας ἐκάστου τῶν συμβαινόντων, ἐπειδῆ φύεται μὲν ἐκ τῶν τυχόντων πολλάκις τά μέγιστα τῶν πραγμάτων, ίδοθαί δὲ βάστον ἐστὶ παντὸς τὰς πρῶτας ἐπιβολὰς καὶ διαλήψεις.

8 Φάβιος δὲ φησιν ὁ Ῥωμαιῖκος συγγραφέως ἀμα τῷ κατὰ Ζακανθαῖοις ἀδικήματι καὶ τῇ 'Ασδρούβου πλεονεξίαν καὶ φιλαρχίαν αἰτίαν γενέσθαι τοῦ 2 κατ' Ἀννίβαν πολέμου. ἐκεῖνον γάρ μεγάλην ἀνεληφότα τὴν δυναστείαν ἐν τοῖς κατ' Ἰβηρίαν τόποις, μετὰ ταῦτα παραγενόμενον ἐπὶ Λιβύην ἐπιβαλέσθαι καταλύσασθαι τοὺς νόμους εἰς μοναρχίαν 3 περιστήσαι τὸ πολίτευμα τῶν Καρχηδονίων· τοὺς δὲ πρῶτους ἀνδρας ἐπὶ τοῦ πολιτεύματος προϊδομένους αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐπιβολὴν συμφρονήσαι καὶ δια-

4 στήναι πρὸς αὐτὸν· τὸν δ' Ἀσδρούβαν ὑπιδόμενον, ἀναχωρήσατ' ἐκ τῆς Λιβύης, τὸ λοιπὸν ἠδὴ τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν χειρίζειν κατὰ τὴν αὐτὸν προαιρέσιν, 5 οὐ προσέχοντα τῷ συνεδρίῳ τῶν Καρχηδονίων. Ἀν
νίβαν δὲ κοινώνοι καὶ ἐμπιστῶθην ἐκ μειρακίων γεγο:
νότα τῆς ἐκείνου προαιρέσεως, καὶ τότε διαδεξάμε
νον τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν, τὴν αὐτὴν ἀγωγὴν 'Ασ-
6 δρούβα ποιεῖσθαι τῶν πραγμάτων. διὸ καὶ νῦν τὸν πόλεμον τοῦτον ἐξεννυχεῖν κατὰ τὴν αὐτὸν προ-
αιρέσιν 'Ρωμαιῶς παρά τὴν Καρχηδονίων γνώμην. 7 οὔδένα γάρ εὐδοκεῖν τῶν ἀξιολόγων ἀνδρῶν ἐν Καρ-
χηδόν τοῖς ὑπ' Ἀννίβου περὶ τὴν Ζακανθαίων πό-
8 λιν πραχθείσι. ταῦτα δ' εἰπὼν φησι μετὰ τὴν τῆς 20
former will scarcely be likely to recommend proper treatment for the body and it will be impossible for the latter without such knowledge to deal properly with circumstances. Nothing, therefore, should be more carefully guarded against and more diligently sought out than the first causes of each event, since matters of the greatest moment often originate from trifles, and it is the initial impulses and conceptions in every matter which are most easily remedied.

8. Fabius, the Roman annalist, says that besides the outrage on the Saguntines, a cause of the war was Hasdrubal's ambition and love of power. He tells us how, having acquired a great dominion in Spain, he arrived in Africa and attempted to abolish the constitution of Carthage and change the form of government to a monarchy. The leading statesmen, however, got wind of his project and united to oppose him, upon which Hasdrubal, suspicious of their intentions, left Africa and in future governed Iberia as he chose, without paying any attention to the Carthaginian Senate. Hannibal from boyhood had shared and admired Hasdrubal's principles; and on succeeding to the governor-generalship of Iberia, he had employed the same method as Hasdrubal. Consequently, he now began this war against Rome on his own initiative and in defiance of Carthaginian opinion, not a single one of the notables in Carthage approving his conduct towards Saguntum. After telling us this, Fabius says that on the capture of
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

προειρημένης πόλεως ἀλλοις παραγενέσθαι τοὺς Ἡρωμαίους, οἷομένους δεῖν ἢ τὸν Ἀννίβαν ἐκδιδόναι σφίσι τοὺς Καρχηδονίους ἢ τὸν πόλεμον ἀναλαμβάνειν. εἰ δὲ τις ἐρωτεῖ τὸν συγγραφέα ποίος ἤν καὶ ῥός οἰκείοτέρος τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις ἢ ποιον πράγμα τούτου δικαιότερον ἢ συμφωνώτερον, ἐπείπερ ἐξ ἀρχῆς δυσηχερευόντο, καθάπερ οὗτός φησι, τοῖς ὑπ’ Ἀννίβου πραττομένοις, τού πεισθέντας τότε τοῖς ὑπὸ Ἡρωμαίων παρακαλομένοις ἐκδοῦναι μὲν τὸν αἰτίον τῶν ἀδικημάτων, ἐπανελεύσθαι δ’ εὐλόγως δ’ ἐτέρων τὸν κοινὸν ἐχθρὸν τῆς πόλεως, περιποιῆσάσθαι δὲ τῇ χώρᾳ τὴν ἀσφάλειαν, ἀποτρυφαμένους τὸν ἐπιφερόμενον πόλεμον, δόγματι μόνον τὴν ἐκδίκησιν ποιησάμενος, τίν’ ἂν εἶπεῖν ἤχοι πρὸς αὐτά; δήλου γὰρ ὡς οὐδέν. οἱ γε τοσοῦτον ἀπέσχον τοῦ πραξαί τι τῶν προειρημένων, ὡς ἐπτακαίδεκ’ ἔτη συνεχῶς πολεμήσαντες κατὰ τὴν Ἀννίβου προσίρεσιν οὐ πρότερον κατελύσαντο τὸν πόλεμον ἐως οὗ πᾶσας ἐξελεγξαντες τὰς ἔλπιδας τελευταῖον εἰς τὸν περὶ τῆς πατρίδος καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ σωμάτων παρεγένοντο κίνδυνον.

9 Τίνος δὴ χάριν ἐμνήσθην Φαβίου καὶ τῶν ὑπ’ ἐκείνου γεγραμμένων; οὐχ ἐνεκα τῆς πιθανότητος τῶν εἰρημένων, ἀγνώσιν ἢ πιστευθῆναι τισιν εἰ μὲν γὰρ παρὰ τούτων ἀλογία καὶ χωρίς τῆς ἐμῆς ἐξήγησεως αὐτῇ δὴ αὐτῆς δύναται ὑποτελεῖσθαι παρὰ τοῖς ἐντυγχάνονσιν. ἀλλὰ τῆς τῶν ἀναλαμβανόντων τὰς ἐκείνου βύβλους ὑπομνήσεως, ἢν μὴ πρὸς τὴν ἐπιγραφήν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὰ πράγματα βλέπωσιν. ἐνιοῦ γὰρ οὐκ ἐπὶ τὰ λεγόμενα συνεπιστῆσαντες, ἀλλ’ ἐπ’ αὐτῶν τὸν λέγοντα, καὶ λαβόντες ἐν νῷ διότι κατὰ τοὺς κατοικοῦσ᾽ ὁ γράφων γέγονε καὶ τοῦ συνεδρίου 22
this city the Romans came forward demanding that the Carthaginians should either deliver Hannibal into their hands or accept war. Now if anyone were to pose the following question to this writer—how opportunity could have better favoured the Carthaginians’ wishes or what could have been a juster act and more in their interest (since, as he says, they had disapproved Hannibal’s action from the outset) than to yield to the Roman demand, and by giving up the man who had caused the offence, with some show of reason to destroy by the hands of others the common enemy of their state and secure the safety of their territory, ridding themselves of the war that menaced them and accomplishing their vengeance by a simple resolution—if anyone, I say, were to ask him this, what would he have to say? Evidently nothing; for so far were they from doing any of the above things that after carrying on the war, in obedience to Hannibal’s decision, for seventeen years, they did not abandon the struggle, until finally, every resource on which they relied being now exhausted, their native city and her inhabitants stood in deadly peril.

9. One may ask why I make any mention of Fabius and his statement. It is not from apprehension lest it may find acceptance from some owing to its plausibility; for its inherent unreasonableness, even without my comment, is self-evident to anyone who reads it. But what I wish is to warn those who consult his book not to pay attention to the title, but to facts. For there are some people who pay regard not to what he writes but to the writer himself and, taking into consideration that he was a contemporary and a Roman senator, at once accept
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

μετείχε τῶν Ἦρωμαίων, πάν εὐθέως ἦγορντα τὸ λε-
5 γόμενον ὑπὸ τούτου πιστῶν. ἔγω δὲ φημὶ μὲν δεῖν
οὐκ ἐν μικρῷ προσλαμβάνοντα τὴν τοῦ συγγρα-
φέως πίστιν, οὐκ αὐτοτελῆ δὲ κρίνειν, τὸ δὲ πλεῖον
ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν πραγμάτων ποιεῖσθαι τοὺς ἀναγι-
νώσκοντας τὰς δοκιμασίας.

6 Οὐ μὴν ἄλλα καὶ τοῦ γε Ἦρωμαίων καὶ Καρχηδο-
νίων πολέμου, τὴν γὰρ παρέκβασιν ἐντεῦθεν ἐποιη-
σάμεθα, νομιστέον πρῶτον μὲν αὐτίον γεγονέναι τὸν
Ἀμιλκό τυμόν τοῦ Βάρκα μὲν ἐπικαλομένου, πα-
7 τρὸς δὲ κατὰ φύσιν Ἀννίβου γεγονότος. ἐκείνος γὰρ
οὐχ ἠττηθεὶς τῷ περὶ Σικελίας πολέμῳ τῇ ψυχῇ, τῷ
dοκεῖν αὐτὸς μὲν ἀκέραια διατετηρήκεναι τὰ περὶ
tὸν Ἐρυκα στρατόπεδα ταῖς ὀρμαῖς ἐφ’ ὅν αὑτὸς
ἡν, διὰ δὲ τὴν εἰς τὴν ναυμαχία τῶν Καρχηδονίων
ἡτταν τοῖς καιροῖς εἰκών πεποίησθαι τὰς συνθήκας,
ἐμενεν ἐπὶ τῆς ὀρμῆς, τηρῶν ἀεὶ πρὸς ἐπίθεσιν.

8 εἰ μὲν οὖν μὴ τὸ περὶ τοὺς ξένους ἐγένετο κίνημα
toῖς Καρχηδονίοις, εὐθέως αὐτῇ ἀρχῇ ἐποιεῖτο
9 καὶ παρασκευὴν πραγμάτων, ὅσον ἐπ’ ἐκεῖνως. προ-
katalhθείς δὲ ταῖς ἐμφυλίοις ταραχαῖς ἐν τούτωι
10 καὶ περὶ ταύτας διέτριβε τὰ πράξεις. Ἦρωμαίων δὲ
μετὰ τὸ καταλύσασθαι Καρχηδονίους τὴν προειρη-
mένην ταραχήν ἀπαγγειλάντων αὐτοῖς πόλεμον, τὸ
μὲν πρῶτον εἰς πάν συγκατέβαινον, ὑπολαμβάνοντες
αὐτοὺς νικήσειν τοῖς δικαίοις, καθάπερ ἐν ταῖς πρὸ
2 ταύτης βύβλοις περὶ τούτων δεδηλώκαμεν, διὸν χωρίς
οὐχ οἷον τ’ ἦν συμπεριενεχθῆναι δεόντως οὕτε τοῖς
νῦν λεγομένοις οὕτε τοῖς μετὰ ταύτα ῥήθησομένοις
3 ὑπ’ ἡμῶν. πλὴν οὖκ ἐντρεπόμενων τῶν Ἦρωμαίων,
eξαντες τῇ περιστάσει, καὶ βαρυνμένουι μὲν, οὖκ
ἐχοντες δὲ ποιεῖν οὐδὲν, εξεχώρησαν Σαρδόνος, συν-
24
BOOK III. 9.4 – 10.3

all he says as worthy of credit. But my own opinion is that while not treating his authority as negligible we should not regard it as final, but that readers should in most cases test his statements by reference to the actual facts.

To return to the war between Rome and Carthage, from which this digression has carried us away, we must regard its first cause as being the indignation of Hamilcar surnamed Barcas, the actual father of Hannibal. Unvanquished in spirit by the war for Sicily, since he felt that he had kept the army at Eryx under his command combative and resolute until the end, and had only agreed to peace yielding to circumstances after the defeat of the Carthaginians in the naval battle, he maintained his resolve and waited for an opportunity to strike. Had not the mutinous outbreak among the mercenaries occurred, he would very soon, as far as it lay in his power, have created some other means and other resources for resuming the contest, but he was hampered by these civil disturbances which occupied all his time and attention. 10. When, on the suppression of this disturbance by the Carthaginians, the Romans announced their intention of making war on Carthage, the latter at first was ready to negotiate on all points, thinking that, justice being on her side, she would prevail (about this I have spoken in the preceding Books, without a perusal of which it is impossible to follow properly what I am now saying and what I am about to say); but as the Romans refused to negotiate, the Carthaginians had to yield to circumstances, and though deeply aggrieved they were powerless, and evacuated
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

eχώρησαν δ' εἰσοίσεν ἄλλα χίλια καὶ διακόσια τά-
λαντα πρὸς τοὺς πρότερον, ἐφ' ὡ ὡ μὴ τὸν πόλεμον
4 ἐκεῖνοις ἀναδέξασθαι τοῖς καρωῖς. διὸ καὶ δευτέ-
ραν, μεγίστην δὲ, ταῦτην θετέων αἰτίαν τοῦ μετὰ
5 ταῦτα συνστάντος πολέμου. Ἀμίλκας γὰρ προσ-
λαβῶν τοῖς ὁδίοις θυμοῖς τὴν ἐπὶ τούτους ὅργην τῶν
πολιτῶν, ὡς θάττων τοὺς ἀποστάντας τῶν μισθο-
φόρων καταπολεμήσας ἐβεβαιώσε τῇ πατρίδι τὴν
ἀσφάλειαν, εὐθέως ἐποιεῖτο τὴν ὀμῆν ἐπὶ τὰ κατὰ
tὴν Ἰβηρίαν πράγματα, σπουδάζων ταῦτη χρήσα-
θαι παρασκευῆ πρὸς τὸν κατὰ Ῥωμαίων πόλεμον.
6 ἦν δ' ὡς καὶ τρίτην αἰτίαν νομιστῶν, λέγω δὲ τὴν
ἐγροιαν τῶν κατ' Ἰβηρίαν πραγμάτων Καρχηδο-
νίοις. ταῦτας γὰρ ταῖς χερσὶ πιστεύσαντες εὐ-
θαρσῶς ἐνέβησαν εἰς τὸν προερημένον πόλεμον.
7 Ὅστι δ' Ἀμίλκας πλείστα μὲν συνεβάλετο πρὸς
τὴν σύστασιν τοῦ δευτέρου πολέμου, καῖπερ τετε-
λευτηκὼς ἔτεσι δέκα πρότερον τῆς καταρχῆς αὐτοῦ,
πολλὰ μὲν ἂν εὐροὶ τις εἰς τοῦτο. σχεδὸν δὲ πρὸς
11 πίστιν ἀρκοῦν ἔσται τὸ λέγεσθαι μέλλων. καθ' ὥσ-
γὰρ καρωῖς καταπολεμήθηεις Ἀννίβας ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων
tέλος ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος ἔσχωρήσει καὶ παρ' Ἀντιόχῳ
dιέτριβε, τότε Ῥωμαίοι συνθεωροῦντες ἢδη τὴν
Αἰτωλῶν ἐπιβολὴν ἐξαπέστειλαν προσβεβτὰς πρὸς
Ἀντίοχον, βουλόμενοι μὴ λανθάνειν σφᾶς τὴν τοῦ
2 βασιλέως προαίρεσιν. οἱ δὲ πρέσβεις, ὀρώντες τὸν
Ἀντίοχον προσέχοντα τοῖς Αἰτωλοῖς καὶ πρόθυμον
ὅντα πολεμεῖν Ῥωμαίοις, ἔθεράτευον τὸν Ἀννίβαν,
σπουδάζοντες εἰς ὑποψίαν ἐμβαλεῖν πρὸς τὸν Ἀν-
3 τίοχον. δ' καὶ συνεβῇ γενέσθαι. προβαίνοντος γὰρ
τοῦ χρόνου, καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως ὑπόπτως ἔχοντος ἀεὶ
καὶ μᾶλλον πρὸς τὸν Ἀννίβαν, ἐγένετό τις καιρὸς
26
Sardinia, agreeing also to pay twelve hundred talents in addition to the sum previously exacted, in order not to be forced to accept war at that time. This, then, we must take to be the second and principal cause of the subsequent war; for Hamilcar, with the anger felt by all his compatriots at this last outrage added to his old indignation, as soon as he had finally crushed the mutiny of the mercenaries and secured the safety of his country, at once threw all his efforts into the conquest of Spain, with the object of using the resources thus obtained for the war against Rome. This success of the Carthaginian project in Spain must be held to be the third cause of the war, for relying on this increase of strength, they entered upon it with confidence.

Of the fact that Hamilcar, although he died ten years before the beginning of the Second Punic War, contributed much to its origin many evidences can be found; but the anecdote I am about to relate suffices, I think, to confirm this. 11. At the time when Hannibal on his final defeat by the Romans had left his native land and was staying at the court of Antiochus, the Romans, who saw through the project of the Aetolians, sent an embassy to Antiochus, wishing to be fully aware what the king's purpose was. The legates, as they saw that Antiochus was lending an ear to the Aetolians and was disposed to go to war with Rome, paid many attentions to Hannibal, wishing to make Antiochus suspicious of him, as in fact they succeeded in doing. For as time went on, the king's mistrust of Hannibal grew ever more strong; and it fell out on one occasion that
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

ὁς ἐπὶ λόγον ἀχθήναι τὴν ὑποικουρομένην ἄτομον ἐν αὐτοῖς. ἐν ᾧ καὶ πλείους ἀπολογισμοὺς ποιησάμενος Ἀννίβας τέλος ἐπὶ τοιοῦτο κατήμεν τῆς, δυσχρηστοῦμενος τοῖς λόγοις. ἔφη γάρ, καθ’ ὄν καθά, τὸ πατήρ αὐτοῦ τὴν εἰς Ἰβηρίαν ἔξοδον μέλλοι στρατεύεσθαι μετὰ τῶν δυνάμεων, ἐτη μὲν ἔχεω ἐννέα, θύοντος δ’ αὐτοῦ τῷ Δίῳ παρεστάναι παρὰ τὸν βωμὸν. ἐπεὶ δὲ καλλιερήσας καταστεῖσαι τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ ποιῆσαι τὰ νομίζόμενα, τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους τοὺς περί τὴν θυσίαν ἀποστήναι κελεύσαι μικρόν, αὐτὸν δὲ προσκαλεσάμενον ἐρέσθαι φιλοφρόνως εἰ βούλεται συνεξορμᾶν ἐπὶ τὴν στρατείαν. ἀσμένως δὲ κατανεύσαντος αὐτοῦ, καὶ τῷ καὶ προσαξιώσαντος παιδικῶς, λαβόμενον τῆς δεξιᾶς προσαγαγεῖν αὐτὸν πρὸς τὸν βωμὸν καὶ κελεύειν ἀφανεμον ὑδρῶν ὑμῖν μηδέποτε Ῥωμαίοις εὐνοήσειν. ταῦτ’ οὖν εἰδοτα σαφῶς ἥξιον τὸν Ἀντίόχον, ἔως μὲν ἄν τῇ δυσχερῇ βουλεύσῃ κατὰ Ῥωμαίων, θαρρεῖν καὶ πιστεύειν, αὐτὸν συνεργοῦν ἐξει νομίζοντ’ ἀληθινῶτατον. ἐπάν δὲ διαλύσειν ἵνα προτίθηται πρὸς αὐτοὺς, τότε μὴ προσδείσθαι διαβολής, ἀλλ’ ἀπιστεῖν καὶ φυλάττεσθαι: πάν γάρ τι πράξα τῇ αὐτῶν δ’ δυνατός εἶν. ὅ μὲν οὖν Ἀντίόχως ἀκούσας, καὶ δόξας αὐτοπαθῶς, ἄμα δ’ ἀληθινῶς εἰρήσθαι, πάσης τῆς προοπαρχοῦ 2 σης υποψίας ἀπέστη. τῆς μέντοι γε δυσμενείας τῆς Ἀμῖλκου καὶ τῆς ὀλίγης προθέσεως ὁμολογούμενον θετέον εἶναι τούτο μαρτύριον, ὡς καὶ δ’ αὐτῶν 3 φανερὸν ἐγένετο τῶν πραγμάτων. τοιούτους γάρ ἐχθροὺς παρεσκεύασε Ῥωμαίοις Ἀσδρούβαν τε τὸν
they came to have a talk about the alienation which had been secretly growing up between them. In the course of the conversation Hannibal defended himself on various grounds, and at length, being at a loss for further arguments, resorted to the following. He said that at the time when his father was about to start with his army on his expedition to Spain, he himself, then nine years of age, was standing by the altar, while Hamilcar was sacrificing to Zeus. When, on the omens being favourable, Hamilcar had poured a libation to the gods and performed all the customary rites, he ordered the others who were attending the sacrifice to withdraw to a slight distance and calling Hannibal to him asked him kindly if he wished to accompany him on the expedition. On his accepting with delight, and, like a boy, even begging to do it besides, his father took him by the hand, led him up to the altar, and bade him lay his hand on the victim and swear never to be the friend of the Romans. He begged Antiochus, then, now he knew this for a fact, as long as his intentions were hostile to Rome, to rely on him confidently and believe that he would have in him his sincerest supporter, but from the moment he made peace and alliance with her he had no need to wait for accusations but should mistrust and beware of him; for there was nothing he would not do against the Romans. 12. Antiochus, listening to this, thought he spoke genuinely and sincerely and in consequence abandoned all his former mistrust. However, we should consider this as an unquestionable proof of Hamilcar's hostility and general purpose, and it is confirmed by the facts. For he made of his daughter's husband Hasdrubal and his own
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

τῆς θυγατρὸς ἀνδρὰ καὶ τὸν αὐτοῦ κατὰ φύσιν ὦδν
'Αννίβαν ὡστε μὴ καταλιπεῖν ὑπερβολὴν δυσμενεῖας.

4 Ἀσδρούβας μὲν οὖν προαποβανόν όπ πάσαν ἐκδή-
λον ἐποίησε τὴν αὐτοῦ πρόθεσιν, 'Αννίβα δὲ παρέ-
δωκαν οἱ καροὶ καὶ λίαν ἐναποδείξασθαι τὴν πα-

5 τρίαν ἔχθραν εἰς 'Ῥωμαίους. διὸ καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ
πραγμάτων ταττομένους χρή τῶν τοιούτων οὐδενὸς
μᾶλλον φροντίζειν ὡς τοῦ μὴ λανθάνειν τὰς προ-
αιρέσεις τῶν διαλυμένων τὰς ἔχθρας ἡ συντιθε-
μένων τὰς φιλίας, πότε τοῖς καροῖς εἰκοντες καὶ
πότε ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἤττώμενοι ποιοῦνται τὰς συνθῆ-

6 κας, ἢν τοὺς μὲν ἐφέδρους νομίζοντες εἰναὶ τῶν
καρὸν ἀεὶ φιλάττωνται, τοῖς δὲ πιστεύοντες, ὡς
ὑπηκοόν ς ἡ φίλος ἀληθινως, πάν τὸ παραπτίπτον
ἐξ ἔτοίμου παραγγέλλωσιν.

7 Αἵτιας μὲν οὖν τοῦ κατ᾽ 'Αννίβαν πολέμου τὰς
προερημένας ἡγητέον, ἀρχὰς δὲ τὰς μελλούσας λέ-

13 γεσθαι. Καρχηδόνιοι γὰρ βαρέως μὲν ἐφερον καὶ
τὴν ὑπὲρ Σικελίας ἤτταν, συνεπέτευε δὲ αὐτῶν
τὴν ὀργὴν, καθάπερ ἐπάνω προεύπορ, τὰ κατὰ Σαρ-
δόνα καὶ τὸ τῶν τελευταίων συντεθέντων χρημάτων

2 πλῆθος. διόπερ ἀμα τῷ τὰ πλείστα κατ᾽ Ἰβηρίαν
ὑφ’ αὐτοῦ ποιήσασθαι πρὸς πᾶν ἔτοιμως διέκειτο

3 τὸ κατὰ Ῥωμαίων ὑποδεικνύμενον. προσπεσούσης
οὖν τῆς Ἀσδρούβου τελευτῆς, ὃ μετὰ τῶν Ἀμίλκου
θάνατον ἐνεχείρισαν τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν, τὸ μὲν

4 πρῶτον ἐκαραδόκουν τὰς τῶν δυνάμεων ὀρμᾶς· ἀφ-
ικομένης δὲ τῆς ἀγγελίας ἐκ τῶν στρατοπεδῶν ὁτι
συμβαίνει τὰς δυνάμεις ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἤρθοθαι στρα-

τηγὸν Ἀννίβαν, παρατύκα συναθροίσαντες τὸν δή-

30
son Hannibal such enemies of Rome that none could be more bitter. As Hasdrubal died before putting his purpose into execution, it was not in his case fully evident, but circumstances put it in the power of Hannibal to give only too manifest proof of his inherited hatred of Rome. Therefore, statesmen should above all take care that the true motives of the reconciliation of enmities and the formation of friendships do not escape them. They should observe when it is that men come to terms under pressure of circumstances and when owing to their spirit being broken, so that in the former case they may regard them as reserving themselves for a favourable opportunity and be constantly on their guard, and in the latter they may trust them as true friends and subjects and not hesitate to command their services when required.

We must consider, then, the causes of the Hannibalic War to have been those I have stated, while its beginnings were as follows. 13. The Carthaginians could ill bear their defeat in the war for Sicily, and, as I said above, they were additionally exasperated by the matter of Sardinia and the exorbitancy of the sum they had been last obliged to agree to pay. Therefore, when they had subjugated the greater part of Iberia, they were quite ready to adopt any measures against Rome which suggested themselves. On the death of Hasdrubal, to whom after that of Hamilcar they had entrusted the government of Iberia, they at first waited for a pronouncement on the part of the troops, and when news reached them from their armies that the soldiers had unanimously chosen Hannibal as their commander, they hastened to summon a general assembly

31
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

μυν μιᾷ γνώμη κυρίαιν ἐποίησαν τὴν τῶν στρατο-
5 πέδων αἵρεσιν. Ἦλπίδας δὲ παραλαβὼν τὴν ἀρχὴν
eυθέως ὁμοίηρησεν ὡς καταστρεφόμενος τὸ τῶν Ὀλκά-
dων ἔθνος· ἄφυκόμενος δὲ πρὸς Ἀλχαίαν τὴν βα-
6 ρυτάτην αὐτῶν πόλιν κατεστρατοπέδευσε. μετὰ δὲ
tαύτα κρησάμενος ἐνεργοῖς ἀμα και καταπληκτικαῖς
προσβολαῖς ταχέως ἐκράτησε τῆς πόλεως. οἱ συμ-
βάντος οἱ λοιποὶ γενόμενοι καταπλαγεῖς ἐνέδωκαν
7 αὐτοὺς τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις. ἀργυρολογήσας δὲ τὰς
πόλεις, καὶ κυρεύσας πολλῶν χρημάτων, ἥκε παρα-
8 χειμάσων εἰς Καυνῆν πόλιν. μεγαλοψύχως δὲ κρη-
σάμενος τοῖς ὑποταττομένους, καὶ τὰ μὲν δοὺς τῶν
ὀφωνίων τοῖς συστρατευμένοις, τὰ δ' ὑπισχυού-
μενος, πολλὴν εὐνοιαν καὶ μεγάλας ἐλπίδας ἐνειρ-
14 γάσατο ταῖς δυνάμεις. τῷ δ' ἐπιγυμνόμενοι θέρει
πόλιν ὀρμήσας ἐπὶ τοὺς Οὐακκαίους Ἑλμαντικήν
μὲν εὖ ἐφόδου ποιησάμενος προσβολάς κατέσχεν
Ἀρβουκάλην δὲ διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς πόλεως καὶ τὸ
πλῆθος, ἐτὶ δὲ τὴν γενναιότητα τῶν οἰκητῶν,
μετὰ πολλῆς ταλαιπωρίας πολυρκήσας κατὰ κράτος
2 εἶλε. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα παραδόξως εἰς τοὺς μεγίστους
ἡλθε κυνίυνος ἐπανάγων, συνδραμοῦντων ἐπ' αὐτῶν
τῶν Καρπησίων, ὡς σχεδὸν ἱσχυρότατον ἔστιν ἔθνος
3 τῶν κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς τόπους, ὄμοιως δὲ καὶ τῶν
ἀστυνειτῶν ἀθροισθέντων ἀμα τοῦτοι, οὕς ἤρε-
θισαν μάλιστα μὲν οἱ τῶν Ὀλκάδων φυγάδες, συν-
exέκασαν δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἑλμαντικῆς οἱ διασω-
4 θέντες. πρὸς οὖς εἰ μὲν ἐκ παρατάξεως ἡμαγκά-
σθησαν οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι διακυνδυνεύειν, ὀμολογού-
5 μένως ἂν ἴπτθήσασι. νῦν δὲ πραγματικῶς καὶ
νουνεχῶς εὖ ὑποστροφῆς ἀναχωρήσαντος Ἀννίβου,
καὶ πρόβλημα ποιησαμένου τὸν Τάγον καλούμενον
32
of the commons, which unanimously ratified the choice of the soldiers. Hannibal on assuming the command, at once set forth with the view of subduing a tribe called the Olcades, and arriving before their most powerful city Althaea,\(^a\) encamped there and soon made himself master of it by a series of vigorous and formidable assaults, upon which the rest of the tribe were overawed and submitted to the Carthaginians. After exacting tribute from the towns and possessing himself of a considerable sum, he retired to winter quarters at New Carthage. By the generosity he now displayed to the troops under his command, paying them in part and promising further payment, he inspired in them great good-will to himself and high hopes of the future.

14. Next 220 B.C. summer he made a fresh attack on the Vaccaei, assaulted and took Hermannica at the first onset, but Arbacala being a very large city with a numerous and brave population, he had to lay siege to it and only took it by assault after much pains. Subsequently on his return he unexpectedly found himself in great peril, the Carpetani, the strongest tribe in the district gathering to attack him and being joined by the neighbouring tribes, all incited to this by the fugitive Olcades, and also by those who had escaped from Hermannica. Had the Carthaginians been obliged to meet all this host in a pitched battle, they would assuredly have suffered defeat; but, as it was, Hannibal very wisely and skilfully faced about and retreated so as to place the river Tagus in his front,

\(^a\) Livy calls it Castala.
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

ποταμόν, καὶ περὶ τὴν τοῦ ποταμοῦ διάβασιν συ-
στησαμένου τὸν κίνδυνον, ἀμα δὲ συγχρησαμένου 
συναγωνιστῇ τῷ ποταμῷ καὶ τοῖς θηρίοις οἷς ἔξε 
περὶ τετταράκοντα τὸν ἄριθμόν, συνέβη τὰ ὅλα 
6 παραδόξως καὶ κατὰ λόγον αὐτῷ χωρῆσαι. τῶν γὰρ 
βαρβάρων ἐπιβαλομένων κατὰ πλείους τόπους βιά-
ζοντας ἐπὶ διερχόντας τὸν ποταμὸν, τὸ μὲν πλεῖ-
στον αὐτῶν μέρος διεθάρη περὶ τὰς ἐκβάσεις, 
παραπορευομένων τῶν θηρίων παρὰ τὸ χεῖλος καὶ 
7 τοὺς ἐκβαίνοντας οἷς προκαταλαμβανόντων· πολλοὶ 
δὲ κατ' αὐτόν τὸν ποταμὸν ὑπὸ τῶν ἱππέων ἀπ-
ώλοντο, διὰ τὸ κρατεῖν μὲν μᾶλλον τοῦ δεύματος 
τοὺς ἵππους, εὖ ὑπερδέξετο δὲ ποιεῖσθαι τὴν μάχην 
8 τοὺς ἱππεὰς πρὸς τοὺς πεζοὺς. τέλος δὲ τούμπαλω 
ἐπιδιαβάντες οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀννίβαν ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρ-
βάρους ἐτρέψαντο πλείους ἡ δέκα μυρίάδας ἀνδρῶ-
9 πων. διὸ ἡττηθέντων οὐδεὶς ἐτι τῶν ἐντὸς Ἱβηρο-
ποταμοῦ ῥαδίως πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀντοφθαλμεῖν ἐτόλμα 
10 πλὴν Ζακανθαίων. ταύτης δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἐπειρᾶτο 
κατὰ δύναμιν ἀπέχεσθαι, βουλόμενος μηδεμίαν 
ἀφορμήν ὁμολογουμένην δοῦναι τοῦ πολέμου Ρω-
μαίοις, ἐως τάλλα πάντα βεβαίως ὑφ' αὐτὸν ποιή-
σαιτο κατὰ τὰς Ἀμῖλκου τοῦ πατρὸς ὑποθήκας καὶ 
παρανέσεις.

15 Οἱ δὲ Ζακανθαίοι συνεχῶς ἐπεμπὸν εἰς τὴν 
Ῥώμην, ἀμα μὲν ἀγωνιώντες περὶ σφῶν καὶ προ-
ορώμενοι τὸ μέλλον, ἀμα δὲ βουλόμενοι μὴ λαν-
θάνειν Ῥωμαίοις τὴν γνωμένην εὐροιαν Καρχηδο-

2 νὸις τῶν κατ' Ἰβηρίαν πραγμάτων. Ῥωμαίοι δὲ, 
πλεονάκις αὐτῶν παρακηκοτές, τότε προσβεβαῦς 
ἐξαπέστειλαν τοὺς ἐπισκεφομένους ὑπὲρ τῶν προσ-

3 πιπτόντων. Ἀννίβας δὲ κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς καὶ
and remained there to dispute the crossing, availing himself of the aid both of the river and of his elephants, of which he had about forty, so that everything went as he had calculated and as no one else would have dared to expect. For when the barbarians tried to force a crossing at various points, the greater mass of them perished in coming out of the river, the elephants following its bank and being upon them as soon as they landed. Many also were cut down in the stream itself by the cavalry, as the horses could bear up better against the current, and the mounted men in fighting had the advantage of being higher than the unmounted enemy. Finally, Hannibal in his turn crossed the river and attacked the barbarians, putting to flight a force of more than one hundred thousand. After their defeat none of the peoples on that side of the Ebro ventured lightly to face the Carthaginians, with the exception of the Saguntines. Hannibal tried as far as he could to keep his hands off this city, wishing to give the Romans no avowed pretext for war, until he had secured his possession of all the rest of the country, following in this his father Hamilcar's suggestions and advice.

15. But the Saguntines sent repeated messages to Rome, as on the one hand they were alarmed for their own safety and foresaw what was coming, and at the same time they wished to keep the Romans informed how well things went with the Carthaginians in Spain. The Romans, who had more than once paid little attention to them, sent on this occasion legates to report on the situation. Hannibal at the same time, having reduced the tribes he
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

rous pepouménos υφ' αὐτὸν οὖς προέθετο, παρὴν αὐθις μετὰ τῶν δυνάμεων παραχειμάσων εἰς Καὶ-
νὴν πόλιν, ἤτοι ὡς ἂν εἰ πρόσχημα καὶ βασίλειον ἢν Καρχηδονίων ἐν τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν τόποις.
4 καταλαβὼν δὲ τὴν παρὰ τῶν 'Ῥωμαίων προσβείαν,
καὶ δοὺς αὐτὸν εἰς ἑντευξὶν, διήκουε περὶ τῶν ἐν-
5 εστῶτων. 'Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν οὖν διεμαρτύροντο Ζακαν-
θαίων ἀπέχεσθαι, κείσθαι γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ σφε-
tέρα πίστει, καὶ τὸν Ἰβηρα ποταμὸν μὴ διαβαίνειν
6 κατὰ τὰς ἐπ' Ἀσδροῦβου γενομένα ὀμολογίας. ὦ
δὲ Ἀννίβας, ἀτε νέος μὲν ὄν, πλήρης δὲ πολεμικῆς
ὅρμης, ἐπιτυχῆς δὲ ἐν ταῖς ἐπιβολαῖς, πάλαι δὲ παρ-
7 ρημαμένοις πρὸς τὴν κατὰ 'Ῥωμαίων ἔχθραν, πρὸς
μὲν ἑκεῖνους, ὥς κηδομένους Ζακανθαίων, ἑνεκάλει
'Ῥωμαῖοι διότι μικροῖς ἡμπροσθεν χρόνοις, στασια-
ζόντων αὐτῶν, λαβόντες τὴν ἐπιτροπὴν [εἰς τὸ δια-
lύσαι] ἀδίκως ἐπανέλοντο τινὰς τῶν προεστῶτων
ους οὐ περιόψεσθαι παρεσπονδημένους. πάτριον γὰρ
ἐναι Καρχηδονίοις τὸ μηδένα τῶν ἀδικουμένων
8 περιορᾶν· πρὸς δὲ Καρχηδονίους διεπέμπετο, πυν-
θανόμενος τί δει ποιεῖν, ὅτι Ζακανθαίοι πιστεύον-
tες τῇ 'Ῥωμαίων συμμαχίᾳ τινὰς τῶν υφ' αὐτοὺς
9 ταττομένων ἀδικοῦσιν. καθόλου δὲ ἦν πλήρης ἀλο-
γίας καὶ θυμοῦ βιαίου. διὸ καὶ ταῖς μὲν ἀληθινοῖς
αἰτίαις οὐκ ἔχρητο, κατέφευγε δὲ εἰς προφάσεις ἀλό-
γους· ἀπέρ εἰσώθασι ποιεῖν οἱ διὰ τὰς προεγκαθη-
μένας αὐτοῖς ὀρμᾶς ὀλγωροῦντες τοῦ καθήκοντος.
10 πόσῳ γὰρ ἦν ἀμενών οἰσθαί δειν ῥωμαίοις ἀπο-
doύναι φίλου Σαρδόνα καὶ τοὺς ἐπιταχθέντας ἀμα
ταύτη φόρους, οὐς τοῖς καρποῖς συνεπιθέμενοι πρό-
tερον ἀδίκως παρ' αὐτῶν ἔλαβον· ἐν δὲ μὴ, φάναι

36
intended, arrived with his forces to winter at New Carthage, which was in a way the chief ornament and capital of the Carthaginian empire in Spain. Here he found the Roman legates, to whom he gave audience and listened to their present communication. The Romans protested against his attacking Saguntum, which they said was under their protection, or crossing the Ebro, contrary to the treaty engagements entered into in Hasdrubal's time. Hannibal, being young, full of martial ardour, encouraged by the success of his enterprises, and spurred on by his long-standing enmity to Rome, in his answer to the legates affected to be guarding the interests of the Saguntines and accused the Romans of having a short time previously, when there was a party quarrel at Saguntum and they were called in to arbitrate, unjustly put to death some of the leading men. The Carthaginians, he said, would not overlook this violation of good faith for it was from of old the principle of Carthage never to neglect the cause of the victims of injustice. To Carthage, however, he sent, asking for instructions, since the Saguntines, relying on their alliance with Rome, were wronging some of the peoples subject to Carthage. Being wholly under the influence of unreasoning and violent anger, he did not allege the true reasons, but took refuge in groundless pretexts, as men are wont to do who disregard duty because they are prepossessed by passion. How much better would it have been for him to demand from the Romans the restitution of Sardinia, and at the same time of the tribute which they had so unjustly exacted, availing themselves of the misfortunes of Carthage, and to threaten war in
11 πολεμήσεις; νῦν δὲ τὴν μὲν οὖσαν αὐτίαν ἀληθινὴν παρασιωπῶν, τὴν δ' οὖχ ὑπάρχουσαν περὶ Ζακανθαίων πλάττων, οὐ μόνον ἀλόγως, ἐτί δὲ μᾶλλον
12 ἀδίκως κατάρχειν ἐδόκει τοῦ πολέμου. οἱ δὲ τῶν Ἐρωμαίων πρέσβεις, ὦτι μὲν εἰς πολεμητέων σαφῶς εἰδότες, ἀπέπλευσαν εἰς Καρχηδόνα, τὰ παραπλήσια
13 θέλοντες ἐπιμαρτύρασθαι κάκεινος; οὐ μὴν ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ γε πολεμήσεις ἠλπισαν, ἀλλ' ἐν Ἰθηρίᾳ, χρήσεθαι δὲ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ὀρμητηρίῳ τῇ Ζακανθαίων πόλει.
16 Διὸ καὶ πρὸς ταύτην ἀρμοζόμενοι τὴν ὑπόθεσιν ἢ σύγκλητος ἐκρωνεν ἀσφαλίσασθαι τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἰλλυρίδα πράγματα, προορωμένη διότι μέγας ἔσται καὶ πολυχρόνος καὶ μακράν ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκείας ὁ πόλεμος. συνεβαίνε γὰρ κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς καιροὺς Δημήτριον τὸν Φάριον, ἐπιλελημένον μὲν τῶν προγεγονότων εἰς αὐτὸν ἑυεργετημάτων ὑπὸ Ἐρωμαίων, καταπεφρονηκότα δὲ πρότερον μὲν διὰ τὸν ἀπὸ Γαλατῶν, τότε δὲ διὰ τὸν ἀπὸ Καρχηδονίων
2 φόβον περιεστώτα Ἐρωμαίους, πάσας δ' ἔχοντα τὰς ἐλπίδας ἐν τῇ Μακεδόνων οἰκίᾳ διὰ τὸ συμπελεμηκέναι καὶ μετεσχηκέναι τῶν πρὸς Κλεομένη κυνδύων Αντιγόνων, πορθεὶν μὲν καὶ καταστρέφεσθαι τὰς κατὰ τὴν Ἰλλυρίδα πόλεις τὰς ὑπὸ Ἐρωμαίους ταττομένας, πεπλευκέναι δ' ἐξω τοῦ Δίσσου παρὰ τὰς συνθήκας πεντήκοντα λέμβους καὶ πεπορθήκέναι πολλάς τῶν Κυκλάδων νῆσων. εἰς αὖ βλέποντες Ἐρωμαίοι, καὶ θεωροῦντες ἀνθοῦσαν τὴν Μακεδόνων οἰκίαν, ἐσπευδὸν ἀσφαλίσασθαι τὰ πρὸς ἐω τῆς Ἰταλίας, πεπεισμένοι καταταχήσεως διορθωσάμενοι μὲν τὴν Ἰλλυρίων ἄγνοιαν, ἐπιτυμήσαντες δὲ καὶ κολάσαντες τὴν ἄχαριστίαν καὶ
the event of refusal! But as it was, by keeping silent as to the real cause and by inventing a non-existing one about Saguntum, he gave the idea that he was entering on the war not only unsupported by reason but without justice on his side. The Roman legates, seeing clearly that war was inevitable, took ship for Carthage to convey the same protest to the Government there. They never thought, however, that the war would be in Italy, but supposed they would fight in Spain with Saguntum for a base.

16. Consequently, the Senate, adapting their measures to this supposition, decided to secure their position in Illyria, as they foresaw that the war would be serious and long and the scene of it far away from home. It so happened that at that time in Illyria Demetrius of Pharos, oblivious of the benefits that the Romans had conferred on him, contemptuous of Rome because of the peril to which she was exposed first from the Gauls and now from Carthage, and placing all his hopes in the Royal House of Macedon owing to his having fought by the side of Antigonus in the battles against Cleomenes, was sacking and destroying the Illyrian cities subject to Rome, and, sailing beyond Lissus, contrary to the terms of the treaty, with fifty boats, had pillaged many of the Cyclades. The Romans, in view of those proceedings and of the flourishing fortunes of the Macedonian kingdom, were anxious to secure their position in the lands lying east of Italy, feeling confident that they would have time to correct the errors of the Illyrians and rebuke and
5 προπέτειαν τὴν Δημητρίου. διεψεύδησαν δὲ τοῖς λογισμοῖς· κατετάχθησε γὰρ αὐτοὺς Ἀννίβας,
6 ἐξελὼν τὴν Ζακάνθαινον πόλιν. καὶ παρὰ τοῦτο συνέβη τὸν πόλεμον οὐκ ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ, πρὸς αὐτήν δὲ τῇ Ἡρώμη καὶ κατὰ πᾶσαν γενέσθαι τὴν Ἰταλίαν.
7 οὐ μὴν ἄλλα τούτους χρησάμενοι τοὺς διαλογισμοῖς 'Ρωμαίοι μὲν ὕπο τὴν ὧραν Δεύκτων τὸν Ἀιμίλιον ἐξαπέστειλαν μετὰ δυνάμεως ἐπὶ τὰς κατὰ τὴν Ἰλλυρίδα πράξεις κατὰ τὸ πρῶτον ἔτος τῆς ἑκατοστῆς καὶ τετταρακοστῆς ὀλυμπιάδος.
17 Ἀννίβας δὲ μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως ἀναζεύχας ἐκ τῆς Καυνῆς πόλεως προῆγε, ποιοῦμενος τὴν πορείαν ἐπὶ τὴν Ζάκανθαν. ἢ δὲ πόλις αὐτὴ κεῖται μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ πρὸς θάλατταν καθήκοντι πρὸποδὶ τῆς ὥρεινης τῆς σωπατούσης τὰ πέρατα τῆς Ἰβηρίας καὶ Κελτοβηρίας, ἀπέχει δὲ τῆς θαλάττης ὡς ἐπτὰ στάδια.
3 νέμονται δὲ χώραν οἱ κατοικοῦντες αὐτὴν πάμφορον καὶ διαφέρουσαν ἀρετῇ πάσης τῆς Ἰβηρίας. ἢ τότε παραστρατοπεδεύσας Ἀννίβας ἐνεργός ἐγίνετο περὶ τὴν πολιορκίαν, πολλὰ προορῶμενοι εὐχρηστὰ πρὸς τὸ μέλλον ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ κράτος ἔλειν αὐτήν. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ὑπελαβεὶ παρελέσθαι Ῥωμαίων τὴν ἐλπίδα τοῦ συντήσασθαι τὸν πόλεμον ἐν Ἰβηρίας· δεύτερον δὲ καταπληξάμενος ἀπαντᾷς εὐτακτοτέρους μὲν ἐπέπειστο παρασκευάσειν τοὺς υφ’ αὐτὸν ἠδή ταττομένους, εὐλαβεστέρους δὲ τοὺς ἀκμὴν αὐτοκράτορα.
6 τοράς ὄντας τῶν Ἰβηρῶν, τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, οὐδὲν ἀπολιπὼν ὁπισθεὶς πολέμιον ἀσφαλῶς ποιήσεσθαι τῇ εἰς τούμπροσθεν πορείαν. χωρίς τε τούτων εὐπορίσαν μὲν χορηγοῦν αὐτῶς ὑπελάμβανε πρὸς τὰς ἑπιβολάς, προθυμιάν δ’ ἐνεργάσεσθαι ταῖς δυνάμεσιν ἐκ τῆς ἑσομένης ἑκάστως ὦφελείας, προκαλέσε.
chastise Demetrius for his ingratitude and temerity. But in this calculation they were deceived; for Hannibal forestalled them by taking Saguntum, and, as a consequence, the war was not waged in Spain but at the very gates of Rome and through the whole of Italy. However, the Romans now moved by these considerations dispatched a force under Lucius Aemilius just before summer in the first year of the 140th Olympiad to operate in Illyria.

17. Hannibal at the same time quitted New Carthage with his army and advanced towards Saguntum. This city lies on the seaward foot of the range of hills connecting Iberia and Celtiberia, at a distance of about seven stades from the sea. The territory of the Saguntines yields every kind of crop and is the most fertile in the whole of Iberia. Hannibal, now encamping before the town, set himself to besiege it vigorously, foreseeing that many advantages would result from its capture. First of all he thought that he would thus deprive the Romans of any prospect of a campaign in Iberia, and secondly he was convinced that by this blow he would inspire universal terror, and render the Iberian tribes who had already submitted more orderly and those who were still independent more cautious, while above all he would be enabled to advance safely with no enemy left in his rear. Besides, he would then have abundant funds and supplies for his projected expedition, he would raise the spirit of his troops by the booty distributed
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

σθαὶ δὲ τὴν εὐνοίαν τῶν ἐν οἴκῳ Καρχηδονίων διὰ τῶν ἀποσταλησσομένων αὐτοῖς λαφύρων. τοιοῦτοι δὲ χρώμενοι διαλογισμοῖς, ἐνεργῶς προσέκειτο τῇ πολιορκίᾳ, τοτε μὲν ὑπόδειγμα τῷ πλῆθει ποιῶν αὐτὸν καὶ γινόμενος αὐτουργὸς τῆς ἐν τοίς έργοις ταλαιπωρίας, ἔστι δ' ὅτε παρακάλων τὰ πλήθη καὶ παραβόλως δίδονσ αὐτὸν εἰς τοὺς κινδύνους. πᾶσαι δὲ κακοπάθειαν καὶ μέριμναν ὑπομεινα τέλος ἐν ὅκτῳ μηρὶ κατὰ κράτος εἰς τὴν πόλιν. κύριος δὲ γενόμενοι χρημάτων πολλῶν καὶ σωμάτων καὶ κατασκευῆς, τὰ μὲν χρήματ' εἰς τὰς ἱδίας ἐπιβολὰς παρέδεικτο κατὰ τὴν ἐξ ἄρχης πρόθεσιν, τὰ δὲ σώματα διένειμε κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν ἐκάστοις τῶν συστατευμένων, τὴν δὲ κατασκευὴν παραχρῆμα πᾶσαι ἐξέπεμψε τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις. ταῦτα δὲ πράξας οὐ διεφεύσθη τοῖς λογομοιούσι οὐδ' ἀπέτυχε τῆς ἐξ ἄρχης προθέσεως, ἀλλὰ τοὺς τε στρατιώτας προθυμοτέρους ἑποίησε πρὸς τὸ κινδύνευν, τούς τε Καρχηδονίους ἔτοιμοι παρεσκέυασε πρὸς τὸ παραγγελλόμενον, αὐτὸς τε πολλὰ τῶν χρησίμων μετὰ ταῦτα κατεφράσαστο διὰ τῆς τῶν χορηγῶν παραθέσεως.

18 Κατὰ δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς καίροὺς Δημήτριος ἄμα τῷ συνείναι τὴν ἐπιβολήν τῶν ἸΡωμαίων παρατίκα μὲν εἰς τὴν Διμάλην ἄξιοχρεῶν φρουρὰν εὐεργεσίας καὶ τὰς ἀρμοδίως ταύτης χορηγίας, ἕκ δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν πόλεων τοὺς μὲν ἀντιπολιτευμένους ἐπανείλετο, τοὺς δ' αὐτοῦ φίλοις ἐνεχείρησε τὰς δυναστείας, αὐτὸς δ' ἐκ τῶν ὑποτελεγμένων ἐπιλέξας τοὺς ἀνδρωδεστάτους ἐξακισχιλίους συνέστησε τοὺς τοὺς εἰς τὴν Φάρουν. ὁ δὲ στρατηγὸς τῶν ἸΡωμαίων, ἀφικόμενος εἰς τὴν Ἰλλυρίδα μετὰ τῶν δυνάμεων, καὶ θεωρῶν τοὺς ὑπεναντίους θαρροῦντας ἐπὶ τῇ 42
BOOK III. 17.7–18.3

among them and would conciliate the Carthaginians at home by the spoils he would send them. From all these considerations he actively pursued the siege, now setting an example to the soldiers by sharing personally the fatigue of the battering operations, now cheering on the troops and exposing himself recklessly to danger. At length after eight months of hardship and anxiety he took the city by storm. A great booty of money, slaves, and property fell into his hands. The money, as he had determined, he set aside for his own purposes, the slaves he distributed among his men according to rank, and the miscellaneous property he sent off at once to Carthage. The result did not deceive his expectations, nor did he fail to accomplish his original purpose; but he both made his troops more eager to face danger and the Carthaginians more ready to accede to his demands on them, while he himself, by setting aside these funds, was able to accomplish many things of much service to him.

18. While this was taking place Demetrius, getting wind of the Romans' purpose, at once sent a considerable garrison to Dimale with the supplies requisite for such a force. In the other cities he made away with those who opposed his policy and placed the government in the hands of his friends while he himself, selecting six thousand of his bravest troops, quartered them at Pharos. The Roman Consul, on reaching Illyria with his army and observing that the enemy were very confident in
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

this Διμάλης ὑχυρότητι καὶ ταῖς παρασκευαῖς, ἐτὶ
dὲ τῷ δοκεῖν αὐτὴν ἀνάλωτον ὑπάρχειν, ταύτῃ
πρώτων ἐγχειρεῖν ἐκρω, βουλόμενος καταπληξασθαι
4 τοὺς πολεμίους. παρακαλέσας δὲ τοὺς κατὰ μέρος
ἡγεμόνας, καὶ προσαγαγών ἔργα κατὰ πλείους τό-
5 πους, ἦρξατο πολιορκεῖν. λαβῶν δὲ κατὰ κράτος
ἐν ἡμέραις ἐπτὰ παραχρῆμα πάντας ἤττησε ταῖς
6 ψυχαῖς τοὺς ὑπεναντίους. διόπερ εὐθέως παρῆσαν
ἐκ πασῶν τῶν πόλεων ἐπιτρέποντες καὶ διδόντες
7 αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων πίστιν. ὁ δὲ προσ-
δεξάμενος ἐκάστους ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀρμοξύσαις ὁμολο-
γίαις ἐποιεῖτο τὸν πλοῦν εἰς τὴν Φάρον ἐπ' αὐτὸν
8 τὸν Δημήτριον. πυνθανόμενος δὲ τὴν τε πόλιν
ὑχυρὰν εἶναι καὶ πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων διαφερόντων
εἰς αὐτὴν ἠθροίσθαι, πρὸς δὲ καὶ ταῖς χορηγίαις
ἐξηρτύσασθαι καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις παρασκευαῖς, ὕψωράτο
μὴ δυσχερῆ καὶ πολυχρόνου συμβῆ γενέσθαι τὴν
9 πολιορκίαιν. διὸ προορώμενος ἐκαστὰ τούτων ἔχρη-
σατο παρ' αὐτὸν τὸν καὶρὸν τουῳδέ τωι γένει στρα-
10 τηγήματος. πυνθανόμενος γὰρ τὸν ἐπίπλουν νυκτὸς
ἐπὶ τὴν νῆσον παντὶ τῷ στρατεύματι, τὸ μὲν πλεῖον
μέρος τῆς δυνάμεως ἀπεβίβασεν εἰς τινὰς ὕλῳδεις
11 καὶ κοίλους τόπους, εἶκοσὶ δὲ ναυσὶν ἐπιγενομένης
ἡμέρας ἐπεἰ προδήλας ἐπὶ τὸν ἔγχυστο τῆς πόλεως
12 λιμένα. συνορῶντες δὲ τὰς ναῦς οἱ περὶ τὸν Δημή-
τριον, καὶ καταφρονοῦντες τὸν πλῆθος, ὀρμησάν
ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ τὸν λιμένα, κολύσοντες τὴν ἀπό-
19 βασιν τῶν ὑπεναντίων. ἀμα δὲ τῷ συμμίξας ἱνο-
μένης ἱσχυρᾶς τῆς συμπλοκῆς προσεβοηθοῦν αἰὲ
πλείους τῶν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως. τέλος δὲ πάντες ἐξ-
2 εὐθήσαν εἰς τὸν κίνδυνον. τῶν δὲ Ῥωμαίων οἱ
tῆς νυκτὸς ἀποβάντες εἰς τὸν καὶρὸν τοῦτον συν-
the natural strength of Dimale and the measures they had taken for its defence, there being also a general belief that it was impregnable, decided to attack it first, wishing to strike terror into them. Having given instructions to his officers and erected batteries in several places he began to besiege it. By capturing it in seven days, he at one blow broke the spirit of all the enemy, so that from every city they at once flocked to surrender themselves unconditionally to Rome. Having accepted their submission and imposed suitable conditions on each he sailed to Pharos to attack Demetrius himself. Learning that the city was very strong, that a large force of exceptionally fine troops was assembled within it and that it was excellently furnished with supplies and munitions of war, he was apprehensive that the siege might prove difficult and long. In view of this, therefore, he employed the following impromptu stratagem. Sailing up to the island at night with his whole force he disembarked the greater part of it in certain well-wooded dells, and at daybreak with twenty ships sailed openly against the harbour which lies nearest to the town. Demetrius, seeing the ships and contemptuous of their small number, sallied from the city down to the harbour to prevent the enemy from landing. On his encountering them the struggle was very violent, and more and more troops kept coming out of the town to help, until at length the whole garrison had poured out to take part in the battle. The Roman force which had landed in the night now
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

ἡφαῖν, διὰ τῶν ἀδήλων ποιούμενοι τὴν πορείαν.
3 καὶ καταλαβόμενοι μεταξὺ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τοῦ λιμένος λόφων ἐρυμνὸν διέκλεισαν ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως τοὺς ἐκβεβοηθηκότας. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Δημήτριον, συν-
νοῆσαντες τὸ γεγονός, τοῦ μὲν διακωλύμεν τοὺς ἀποβαίνοντας ἀπέστησαν, συναθροίσαντες δὲ σφάς αὐτοὺς καὶ παρακαλέσαντες ὤρμησαν, κρίναντες ἐκ παρατάξεως διακυμνυνέων πρὸς τοὺς ἐπὶ τὸν λόφον.
5 οἱ δὲ Ρωμαίοι, θεωροῦντες τὴν ἐφοδον τῶν Ἰλλυ-
ριῶν ἑνεργον καὶ συντεταγμένην, ἀντέπεσον ταῖς
6 σπείραις καταπληκτικῶς. ἀμα δὲ τοῖς προειρημέ-
νοις οἱ πεποιημένοι τὴν ἀπόβασιν ἀπὸ τῶν πλοίων, συνορώντες τὸ γυνόμενον, προσέκειντο κατόπιν· καὶ πανταχόθεν προσπίπτοντες θόρυβον καὶ ταραχὴν οὐ
7 μικρὰν ἐν τοῖς Ἰλλυριοῖς κατεσκέυαζον. ἐξ οὐ τῶν
μὲν κατὰ πρόσωπον, τῶν δὲ κατὰ νότου ποιοῦν-
των, τέλος οἱ περὶ τὸν Δημήτριον ἐτράπησαν· καὶ των μὲν αὐτῶν ἐφυγον ὃς πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, οἱ δὲ
8 πλείους ἄνοδια κατὰ τῆς νῆσου διεστάρησαν. ο δὲ
Δημήτριος, ἐχον ἑτοίμως λέμβους πρὸς τὸ συμ-
βαίνον ἐν τινι τῶν ἠρμενίων υφομοιώτατα, ἐπὶ τούτους ἐπούσατο τὴν ἀποχώρησιν. εἰς οὔς ἐμβὰς ἐπιγενομένης τῆς νυκτὸς ἀπέπλευσε, καὶ διεκομίσθη
παραδόξως πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα Φιλίππον, παρ ὧ τὸ
9 λοιπὸν διέτριβε τὸν βίου μέρος, ἀνὴρ θράσος μὲν
καὶ τόλμαν κεκτημένος, ἀλόγισον δὲ ταύτῃ καὶ
10 τελέως ἀκριτον. διὸ καὶ τὴν καταστροφὴν παρα-
πλησίαν αὐτῷ συνεβή γενέσθαι τῇ κατὰ τὸν ὅλον
11 βίον προαιρέσει. καταλαβέσθαι γὰρ ἐγχειρήσος 
μετὰ τῆς Φιλίππου γνώμης τῆς τῶν Μεσσηνίων 
πόλεως ἐκή καὶ παραβόλως, ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ τῆς πράξεως 
καιρῷ διεφθάρῃ· περὶ ὧν ἤμεισ τὰ κατὰ μέρος,
opportunely arrived, having marched by a concealed route, and occupying a steep hill between the city and the harbour, shut off from the town the troops who had sallied out. Demetrius, perceiving what had happened, desisted from opposing the landing and collecting his forces and cheering them on started with the intention of fighting a pitched battle with those on the hill. The Romans, seeing the Illyrians advancing resolutely and in good order, formed their ranks and delivered a terrible charge, while at the same time those who had landed from the ships, seeing what was going on, took the enemy in the rear, so that being attacked on all sides the Illyrians were thrown into much tumult and confusion. At the end, being hard pressed both in front and in the rear, Demetrius' troops turned and fled, some escaping to the city, but the greater number dispersing themselves over the island across country. Demetrius had some boats lying ready for such a contingency at a lonely spot, and retreating there and embarking sailed away at nightfall and managed to cross and reach King Philip, at whose court he spent the rest of his life. He was a man of a bold and venturesome spirit, but with an entire lack of reasoning power and judgement, defects which brought him to an end of a piece with the rest of his life. For having, with the approval of Philip, made a foolhardy and ill-managed attempt to seize Messene, he perished in the action, as I shall narrate
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

12 οταν επὶ τοὺς καιροὺς ἔλθωμεν, διασαφήσωμεν. ὁ δὲ στρατηγὸς τῶν Ῥωμαίων Αἰμίλιος τὴν μὲν Φάρον εὐθέως ἔξ ἐφόδου παραλαβὼν κατέσκαψε, τῆς δὲ λοιπῆς Ἰλλυρίδος ἔγκρατῆς γενόμενος, καὶ πάντα διατάξας κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ προαίρεσιν, μετὰ ταῦτα ληγοῦσις ἡδὲ τῆς θερείας εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐπανήλθε, καὶ τὴν εἰσοδον ἐπούσατο μετὰ θριάμβου καὶ τῆς ἀπάσης εὐδοξίας. ἔδοκει γὰρ οὐ μόνον ἐπιδείξιως, ἔτι δὲ μάλλον ἀνδρωδῶς κεχρήσθαι τοῖς πράγμασιν.

20 Οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαίοι, προσπεπτωκύνας αὐτοῖς ἡδὲ τῆς τῶν Ζακανθαίων ἀλώσεως, οὐ μᾶ Δία περὶ τοῦ πολέμου τότε διαβούλιον ἤγον, καθάπερ ἐννοι τῶν συγγραφέων φασίν, προσκατατάττοντες ἔτι καὶ τοὺς εἰς ἐκάτερα ῥήθεντας λόγους, πάντων ἀτοπώτατον πράγμα ποιούντες. πῶς γὰρ οἶδον τ' ἡν Ῥωμαίους τοὺς ἐνιαυτῷ πρότερον ἐπηγγελκότας πόλεμον Καρχηδονίους, ἐὰν ἐπιβαίνωσί τῆς Ζακανθαίων χώρας, τούτους κατὰ κράτος ἐαλωκυνίας αὐτῆς τῆς πόλεως τότε βουλεύσαθαι συνελθόντας πότερα πολεμητέον

3 ἡ τούναντίον; πῶς δὲ καὶ τίνα τρόπον ἀμα μὲν τὴν στυγνότητα τοῦ συνεδρίου παρεισάγουσι θαυμάσιον, ἀμα δὲ τοὺς υἱόν τοῦ δώδεκ' ἔτων ἀγείν φασίν τοὺς πατέρας εἰς τὸ συνεδρίον, οὗς μετέχοντας τῶν διαβουλιών υύδε τῶν ἀναγκαίων οὐδενὶ προτεισθαί

4 τῶν ἀπορρήτων οὐδέν; ὡν οὔτ' εἰκὼς οὔτ' ἀληθεῖσθαι εἴστι τὸ παράπαν οὐδέν, εἰ μὴ νὴ Δία πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις ἡ τυχη καὶ τούτῳ προσένεμε Ῥωμαίοις, τὸ 5 φρονεῖν αὐτοὺς εὐθέως ἐκ γενετής. πρὸς μὲν οὖν τὰ τοιαῦτα τῶν συγγραμμάτων οἱ γράφει Χαίρεας καὶ Σωσύλος οὐδεν ἂν δεόι πλέον λέγειν: οὐ γὰρ ἱστορίας, ἀλλὰ κουρεσκῆς καὶ πανδημοῦ λαλῆς ἔμοιγε δοκούσι τάξιν ἔχειν καὶ δύναμιν.

48
in detail when we reach that date. Aemilius, the Roman Consul, took Pharos at once by assault and razed it to the ground, and after subduing the rest of Illyria and organizing it as he thought best, returned to Rome late in summer and entered the city in triumph, acclaimed by all, for he seemed to have managed matters not only with ability, but with very high courage.

20. The Romans, when the news of the fall of Saguntum reached them, did not assuredly hold a debate on the question of the war, as some authors allege, even setting down the speeches made on both sides—a most absurd proceeding. For how could the Romans, who a year ago had announced to the Carthaginians that their entering the territory of Saguntum would be regarded as a casus belli, now when the city itself had been taken by assault, assemble to debate whether they should go to war or not? How is it that on the one hand these authors draw a wonderful picture of the gloomy aspect of the Senate and on the other tell us that fathers brought their sons from the age of twelve upwards to the Senate House, and that these boys attended the debate but divulged not a syllable even to any of their near relatives? Nothing in this is the least true or even probable, unless, indeed, Fortune has bestowed on the Romans among other gifts that of being wise from their cradles. No further criticism, indeed, of such works as those of Chaereas and Sosylus a is necessary; they rank in authority, it seems to me, not with history, but with the common gossip of a barber's shop.

a Of Chaereas nothing is known. Sosylus was Hannibal's Greek teacher and accompanied him on his campaign.
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

6 'Ρωμαῖοι δὲ, προσπεσόντος σφίσι τοῦ γεγονότος κατὰ τοὺς Ζακανθαῖους ἀτυχήματος, παραχρῆμα προσβευτὰς ἐλόμενοι κατὰ στοιχῆν ἐξαπέστειλαν
7 εἰς τὴν Καρχηδόνα, δύο προτείνοντες αὐτοῖς, ὅτι τὸ μὲν αἰσχύνην ἀμα καὶ βλάβην ἐδόκει φέρειν δεξαμένοι τοὺς Καρχηδόνιας, τὸ δὲ ἐτερον πραγμάτων καὶ
8 κυνικῶν ἀρχῆν μεγάλων. Ἡ γὰρ τῶν στρατηγῶν Ἀννίβαν καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ συνέδρους [ἐκδότοις διδόναι] 'Ρωμαῖοι ἐκδότεον ἡ προήγησσον τὸν
9 πόλεμον. παραγενομένων ἐς τῶν 'Ρωμαίων, καὶ παρελθόντων εἰς τὸ συνέδριον καὶ διασαφούς ταῦτα, δυσχερῶς ἠκουσς οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι τὴν αἰρε-
10 σιν τῶν προτεινομένων. ὅμως δὲ προστησάμενοι τὸν ἐπιτηδεύσατον ἐξ αὐτῶν ἥραντο περὶ σφῶν
21 δικαιολογεῖσθαι. τὰς μὲν οὖν πρὸς Ἀσδρούμαν ὀμολογίας παρεσώμων, ὡς οὔτε γεγενημένας, οὔτε γεγόνασεν, οὐδὲν οὔσας πρὸς αὐτοὺς διὰ τὸ χωρὶς
2 τῆς σφετέρας πεπράξαθα γνώμης. ἔχρωντο δὲ 'Εκ τῶν 'Ρωμαίων εἰς τὸν παραδείγματι. τὰς γὰρ ἔπι. Λυτατίου γενομένας συνήκασι ἐὰν τὸ πολέμω
2 τῷ περὶ Σικελίας, ταύτας ἐφασαν ἣδη συνωμολογη
2 μένας ὑπὸ Λυτατίου μετὰ ταῦτα τὸν δήμον τῶν
2 Ῥωμαίων ἀκούσθησα διὰ τὸ χωρὶς τῆς αὐτοῦ
2 γενόσθαι γνώμης. ἐπίεζον δὲ καὶ προσπαθηρεῖδοντο
2 παρ᾽ ὅλην τὴν δικαιολογίαν ἐπὶ τὰς τελευταίας συν-
2 θήκας τὰς γεγομένας ἐν τῷ περὶ Σικελίας πολέμω.
4 ἐν αἰσ ὑπὲρ μὲν Ἰβηρίας οὐκ ἐφασαν ὑπάρχειν ἔγ-
4 γραφόν οὐδὲν, περὶ δὲ τοῦ τοῖς ἐκατέρω συμμάχοις
4 τὴν παρ᾽ ἀμφοῖν ἀσφαλείαν εἶναι ῥητῶς κατα-
5 τετάχθαι. Ζακανθαῖους δὲ παρεδείκιναν οὐκ ὄντας
tóte 'Ρωμαίων συμμάχους, καὶ παραγενώσκον
6 πρὸς τὸν πλεονάκις τὰς συνθήκας. 'Ρωμαῖοι δὲ
50
The Romans, on hearing of the calamity that had befallen Saguntum, at once appointed ambassadors and sent them post-haste to Carthage, giving the Carthaginians the option of two alternatives, the one of which, if they accepted it, entailed disgrace and damage, while the other would give rise to extreme trouble and peril. Either they must give up Hannibal and the members of his Council or war would be declared. On the Roman envoys arriving and appearing before the Senate and delivering their message the Carthaginians listened with indignation to this choice of alternatives, but putting up their most able member to speak, they entered upon their justification. 21. They said not a word of the treaty with Hasdrubal, considering it as not existent, or if existent, as not concerning them, since it was made without their approval. Here they quoted the precedent of the Romans themselves, alleging that the treaty made in the war for Sicily under Lutatius, though agreed to by Lutatius, had been repudiated by the Romans as having been made without their approval. In all their plea of justification they founded and insisted on the treaty at the end of the war for Sicily, in which they said there was no mention of Iberia, but it was expressly set down that the allies of each power should be secure from attack by the other. They pointed out that at that time the Saguntines were not the allies of Rome, and to prove their point they read aloud several extracts from the treaty. The Romans
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

toū μὲν δικαιολογεῖσθαι καθάπαξ ἀπεγίωσκον, φάσκοντες ἀκεραίου μὲν ἐτί διαμενουσῆς τῆς τῶν Ζακανθαίων πόλεως ἐπιδέχεσθαι τὰ πράγματα δικαιολογιάν καὶ δυνατὸν εἶναι λόγῳ περὶ τῶν
7 ἀμφισβητουμένων διεξάγειν· ταύτης δὲ παρεσπον-

ημένης ἡ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐκδοτέον εἶναι σφιοί, δ’ οὖ

φανερὸν ἔσται πάσιν ὡς οὐ μετεσχήκασι τῆς ἀδικίας,

ἀλλ’ ἀνευ τῆς αὐτῶν γνώμης πεπράχθαι τοῦτο
8 τούργον, ἡ μὴ βουλομένους τοῦτο ποιεῖν, ὁμολογοῦν-

τας δὲ κοινωνεῖν < τῆς ἀδικίας καὶ συναναδέχεσθαι

τὸν πόλεμον.

Οἱ μὲν> οὖν καθολικῶτερὸν πως ἐχρήσαντο τοῖς
9 λόγοις. ἦμιν δ’ ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι δοκεῖ τὸ μῆ παρα-

λείπειν τοῦτο τὸ μέρος, ἵνα μὴ οἷς καθήκει καὶ διαφέρει τὸ σαφῶς εἰδέναι τὴν ἐν τοῦ-

του ἀκρίβειαν, παραπαίσα τῆς ἀληθείας ἐν τοῖς
10 ἀναγκαιοτάτοις διαβουλίοις, μὴ οἱ φιλομαθοῦντες

περὶ τοῦτων ἀστοχῶσι, συμπλανώμενοι ταῖς ἀγνοίαις

καὶ φιλοτιμίαις τῶν συγγραφέων, ἀλλ’ ἣ τις ὁμολο-

γουμένη θεωρία τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ὑπαρξάντων

dικαίων 'Ῥωμαίων καὶ Καρχηδονίων πρὸς ἀλλη-

λοὺς ἐως εἰς τοὺς καθ’ ἦμᾶς καιροὺς.

22 Γίνονται τογαροῦν συνθήκαι 'Ῥωμαίων καὶ Καρ-

χηδονίως πρῶται κατὰ Λεύκιον 'Ιούνιον Βροῦτον

καὶ Μάρκον Οράτιον, τοὺς πρῶτους κατασταθέντας

ὑπάτους μετὰ τὴν τῶν βασιλέων κατάλυσιν, ὡς

ὡν συνέβη καθιερωθῆναι καὶ τὸ τοῦ Διὸς ιέρον
2 τοῦ Καπετωλίου. ταῦτα δ’ ἐστὶ πρώτερα τῆς Ξέρ-

ξου διαβάσεως εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα τριάκοντ’ ἐτεις λεῖ-

3 πουσι δυεῖν. ἂς καθ’ ὁσον ἢν δυνατὸν ἀκριβέστατα

dιερμηνεύσαντες ἤμεις ὑπογεγράφαμεν. τηλικαύτῃ

γάρ ἡ διαφορὰ γέγονε τῆς διαλέκτου καὶ παρὰ 'Ρω-

52
refused definitely to discuss the matter of justification, saying that while Saguntum still stood unharmed matters admitted of a plea of justification and it was possible to reach a decision on the disputed points by argument, but now that the treaty had been broken by the seizure of the city either they must give up the culprits, which would make it clear to all that they had no share in the wrong, but that it had been done without their approval, or if they refused to do so and thus confessed that they were participators in the misdeed they must accept war.

On this occasion the question was dealt with in more or less general terms, but I think it necessary for myself not to neglect it, so that neither those whose duty and interest it is to be accurately informed about this may deviate from the truth in critical debates, nor students, led astray by the ignorance or partisanship of historians, acquire mistaken notions on the subject, but that there may be some survey generally recognized as accurate of the treaties between Rome and Carthage up to our own time.

22. The first treaty between Rome and Carthage dates from the consulship of Lucius Junius Brutus and Marcus Horatius, the first Consuls after the expulsion of the kings, and the founders of the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. This is twenty-eight years before the crossing of Xerxes to Greece. I give below as accurate a rendering as I can of this treaty, but the ancient Roman language differs so
μαίοις τῆς νῦν πρὸς τὴν ἀρχαίαν ὅστε τοὺς συνετω·
tάτους ἐνια μόλις ἐξ ἐπιστάσεως διευκρινέων. εἰς
δ’ αἱ συνθῆκαι τοιαίδε τυνές· "ἔπι τοίδε φιλίαν
eῖναι Ὑρμαίοις καὶ τοῖς Ὑρμαίον συμμάχοις καὶ
Καρχηδονίοις καὶ τοῖς Καρχηδονίων συμμάχοις·
5 μὴ πλεῖν μακραίς ναυσί· Ὑρμαίοις μηδὲ τοὺς
Ὑρμαίων συμμάχους ἐπέκεινα τοῦ Καλὸν ἀκρωτη-
ρίον, ἔαν μὴ ὑπὸ χειμῶνος ἡ πολέμιον ἀναγκασθῶ-
σαι· ἐὰν δὲ τις βία κατενεχϑῇ, μὴ ἐξέστω αὐτῷ
μηδὲν ἀγοράζειν μὴδὲ λαμβάνειν πλὴν ὁσα πρὸς
7 πλοῖον ἐπισκευὴν ἡ πρὸς ἐπαρά, <ἐν τέντε ἰ> ἡμέραις
ἀποτρέχετω.> τοῖς δὲ κατ’ ἐμπορίαν παραγινομέ-
νοι μηδὲν ἐστω τέλος πλὴν ἐπὶ ἱπποκ. ἡ γραμματεί.
9 ὅσα δ’ ἂν τούτων παρόντων πράθη, δημοσία πίστει
φειλέσθω τῷ ἀποδομένῳ, ὁσα ἂν ἡ ἐν Λιβύῃ ἡ
10 ἐν Σαρδώνι πράθη. ἦν Ὑρμαίων τὶς εἰς Σικελίαν
παραγινηται, ἂς Καρχηδόνιοι ἐπάρχοιν, ἦς ἐστω
11 τὰ Ὑρμαίων πάντα. Καρχηδόνιοι δὲ μὴ ἀδικεῖ-
τωσαν δήμου Ἀρδεατῶν, Ἀντιατῶν, Λαρεντίων,
Κιρκαιτῶν, Ταρρακιτῶν, μηδὲ ἄλλον μηδενα
12 Λατίνων, ὅσοι ἂν ὑπήκουει· ἦν δὲ τινες μὴ ὡς ὑπήκουει,
tῶν πόλεων ἀπεχέσθωσαν· ἂν δὲ λάβωσι·
13 Ὑρμαίοις ἀποδιδότωσαν ἀκέραιοιν, φρούριον μὴ
ἔνοικομείτωσαν ἐν τῇ Λατίνῃ. ἦν ὡς πολέμιοι
14 εἰς τὴν χώραν εἰσέλθωσαν, ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ μὴ ἐννυκτε-
ρενέτωσαν,‘

23 ὅ τό μὲν οὖν Καλὸν ἀκρωτήρίων ἔστι τὸ προκεί-
μενον αὐτῆς τῆς Καρχηδόνοις ὡς πρὸς τὰς ἄρκτους·
2 οὐ καθάπαξ ἐπέκεινα πλεῖν ὡς πρὸς μεσημβρίαν
οὐκ οἶνται δεῖν οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι τοὺς Ὑρμαίοις
μακραίς ναυσὶ διὰ τὸ μὴ βουλέσθαι γινώσκειν αὐ-
tοὺς, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, μήτε τοὺς κατὰ τὴν Βυσσάτων
54.
much from the modern that it can only be partially made out, and that after much application, by the most intelligent men. The treaty is more or less as follows: "There is to be friendship between the Romans and their allies and the Carthaginians and their allies on these terms: The Romans and their allies not to sail with long ships beyond the Fair Promontory unless forced by storm or by enemies: it is forbidden to anyone carried beyond it by force to buy or carry away anything beyond what is required for the repair of his ship or for sacrifice, and he must depart within five days. Men coming to trade may conclude no business except in the presence of a herald or town-clerk, and the price of whatever is sold in the presence of such shall be secured to the vendor by the state, if the sale take place in Libya or Sardinia. If any Roman come to the Carthaginian province in Sicily, he shall enjoy equal rights with others. The Carthaginians shall do no wrong to the peoples of Ardea, Antium, Laurentium, Circeii, Terracina, or any other city of the Latins who are subject to Rome. Touching those Latins who are not subjects, they shall keep their hands off their cities, and if they take any city shall deliver it up to the Romans undamaged. They shall build no fort in the Latin territory. If they enter the land in arms, they shall not pass a night therein."

23. The "Fair Promontory" is that lying in front of Carthage to the North. The Carthaginians forbid the Romans absolutely to sail south of this on its western side in long ships, the reason being, I think, that they did not wish them to become acquainted either with the district round Byssatis or
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

μήτε τοὺς κατὰ τὴν μικρὰν Σύρτιν τόπους, ἡ δὴ
καλούσων Ἐμπόρια, διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν τῆς χώρας. ἔαν
dὲ τις ὡς κειμῶνος ἡ πολεμίων βία κατενεχθεῖς
dὲ τῶν ἀναγκαίων πρὸς ἱερὰ καὶ πρὸς
eπισκεψαν πλοίου, τάτα, πάρεξ δὲ μηδὲν οἴονται
deῖν λαμβάνειν, καὶ κατ’ ἀνάγκην ἐν πένθ’ ἡμέραις
ἀπαλλάττεσθαι τοὺς καθορμισθέντας. εἰς δὲ Καρ-
χιδώνα καὶ πάπαν τὴν ἐπὶ τάδε τοῦ Καλοῦ ἄκρω-
tηρίου τῆς Λιβύης καὶ Σαρδόνα καὶ Σικελίαν, ἢς
ἐπάρχουσι Καρχηδόνοι, κατ’ ἐμπορίαν πλεῖν 'Ῥω-
μαίοις ἔσεστι, καὶ τὸ δίκαιον ὑπισχύονται βεβαι-
ώσειν οἱ Καρχηδόνοι <δημοσία> πίστει. ἐκ δὲ τού-
tων τῶν συνθηκῶν περὶ μὲν Σαρδόνας καὶ Λιβύης
ἐμφαινουσιν ὡς περὶ ἰδίας ποιούμενοι τὸν λόγον·
ὑπὲρ δὲ Σικελίας τάναντα διαστέλλονται ρήτως,
ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν τούτων ποιούμενοι τὰς συνθήκας, ὅσα
τῆς Σικελίας ὑπὸ τὴν Καρχηδόνων πίπτει δυνα-
στείαν. ὅμοιως δὲ καὶ 'Ῥωμαίοι περὶ τῆς Λατίνης
αὐτῆς χώρας ποιοῦνται τὰς συνθήκας, τῆς δὲ λοιπῆς
'Ἰταλίας οὐ μνημονεύοντι, διὰ τὸ μὴ πίπτειν ὑπὸ
tῆς αὐτῶν ἐξουσίαν.

24 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἑτέρας ποιοῦνται συνθήκας, ἐν
αἰς προσπεριελήφασι Καρχηδόνοι Τυρίους καὶ τὸν
'Ιτυκαίων δήμον. πρὸσκειται δὲ καὶ τῷ Καλῷ
ἄκρωτηρίῳ Μαστίᾳ, Ταρσίῃον. ὡν ἐκτὸς ὁδοῖνται
deῖν 'Ῥωμαῖοις μήτε λῆξασθαι μήτε πόλιν κτίζειν.
3 εἰς δὲ τοιαύτες τυπές: "ἐπὶ τοῦδε φιλίαν εἶναι
Ῥωμαῖοις καὶ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις συμμάχοις καὶ
Καρχηδόνων καὶ Τυρίων καὶ 'Ιτυκαίων δήμῳ καὶ
τοῖς τούτων συμμάχοις. τοῦ Καλοῦ ἄκρωτηρίου,
Μαστίας, Ταρσίου, μή λῆξασθαι ἐπέκεινα 'Ῥω-
μαῖοις μηδ' ἐμπορεύεσθαι μηδε πόλιν κτίζειν. ἐὰν
that near the lesser Syrtis, which they call Emporia, owing to their great fertility. If anyone, carried there by a storm or driven by his enemies, requires anything for the purpose of sacrificing to the gods or of repairing his ships, he may have this, but nothing beyond it, and those who touch there must leave within five days. To Carthage itself and all parts of Libya on this side of the Fair Promontory, to Sardinia and the Carthaginian province of Sicily the Romans may come for trading purposes, and the Carthaginian state engages to secure payment of their just debts. The phrasing of this treaty shows that they consider Sardinia and Libya as their own, whereas they distinctly express themselves otherwise about Sicily, mentioning only in the treaty those parts of it which are under Carthaginian rule. Similarly, the Romans include in the treaty Latium alone, making no mention of the rest of Italy as it was not then subject to their authority.

24. At a later date they made another treaty, in 306 B.C. which the Carthaginians include Tyre and Utica, and mention, in addition to the Fair Promontory, Mastia and Tarseum as points beyond which the Romans may not either make marauding expeditions, or trade, or found cities. This treaty is more or less as follows: "There is to be friendship on the following conditions between the Romans and their allies and the Carthaginians, Tyrians, and the people of Utica and their respective allies. The Romans shall not maraud or trade or found a city on the farther side of Fair Promontory, Mastia, and
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

6 andras exetwosan, thn de polin apodidotwosan. Ean
detines Karxhodinon laphwsi twas, pros oux eirhny
men estin eygaruptos 'Rwmaios, mh ypotaptontai
dei autois, mh katabzetwosan eis tous 'Rwmaivos
lmenas. Ean de kathdento epilabhtai o 'Rw-
7 maioi, afiesw. wsauntw de mh o 'Rwmaioi
8 poieittwosan. An ek twos xwras, hs Karxhodinon
eparkouwv, wdoi e fofidia labhy o 'Rwmaioi, meta
toutw toutw ephodwn mh adikeitw mhdena pros
9 oux eirhny kai filia esti 'Karxhodinios. Wsaun-
tw de mh o Karxhodinos poieittw. Ei de, mh
idia metaporeuvsth. Ean de tis touto poiysh,
11 demsoin gynestho to adikyma. En Saridon kai
Labhy mhdeis 'Rwmaivn mh, emporpenstw mh tw
polin ktiytw, ... ei mh eis touto fofidia labeyn
h plotoi epiuskevastai. Ean de cheiwv kateneggia,
12 en penh eimeras apothexestw. En Sikelia, hs
Karxhodinon eparkouw, kai en Karxhodini pantw
kai poieittw kai puleittw osa kai touto politei
13 estin. Wsauntw de kai o Karxhodinos poieittw
en 'Rwmyh.

14 Palin en tauntai tais synyhika tw men kata
Labhyn kai Saridona prosepeteinoun eidiadzyme-
noi kai paseas afairuymi wo tas epibsth 'Rw-
15 maivn, peri de Sikelias tanantia proseidasafoi,
16 peri ths upx autous tattomeneis. Omoios de kai
'Rwmaioi peri ths Latinhs oyn oionta dein tous
Karxhodinious adikein 'Ardeatas, 'Antidatas, Kip-
kaitas, Tarrakintas. Ota d' eisyn ai poleis
Tarseum. If the Carthaginians capture any city in Latium not subject to Rome, they shall keep the valuables and the men, but give up the city. If any Carthaginians take captive any of a people with whom the Romans have a treaty of peace, but who are not subject to Rome, they shall not bring them into Roman harbours, but if one be brought in and a Roman lay hold of him, he shall be set free. The Romans shall not do likewise. If a Roman gets water or provisions from any place over which the Carthaginians rule, he shall not use these provisions to wrong any member of a people with whom the Carthaginians have peace and friendship. The Carthaginians shall not do likewise. If either do so, the aggrieved person shall not take private vengeance, and if he do, his wrongdoing shall be public. No Roman shall trade or found a city in Sardinia and Libya nor remain in a Sardinian or Libyan post longer than is required for taking in provisions or repairing his ship. If he be driven there by stress of weather, he shall depart within five days. In the Carthaginian province of Sicily and at Carthage he may do and sell anything that is permitted to a citizen. A Carthaginian in Rome may do likewise.'

Again in this treaty they lay particular stress on Libya and Sardinia, asserting them to be their own private property and closing all landing-places to the Romans, but of Sicily they distinctly speak contrariwise, mentioning the part of it subject to them. Similarly, the Romans in referring to Latium forbid the Carthaginians to wrong the people of Ardea, Antium, Circeii, and Terracina, the cities that stand

*a i.e. claims him as his slave.*
αἱ περιέχουσαι παρὰ θάλατταν τὴν Λατίνην χώραν, ὑπὲρ ἢς ποιοῦνται τὰς συνθήκας.

25 Ἐτὶ τοιγαροῦν τελευταῖας συνθήκας ποιοῦντα. Ῥωμαιοὶ κατὰ τὴν Πύρρου διάβασιν πρὸ τοῦ συστη- σασθαί τοὺς Καρχηδονίους τὸν περὶ Σικελίας πό- λεμον· ἐν αἷς τὰ μὲν ἄλλα τηροῦσι πάντα κατὰ τὰς ὑπαρχούσας ὁμολογίας, πρόσκειται δὲ τούτοις τὰ ὑπογεγραμμένα. "Εὰν συμμαχίαν ποιῶντα πρὸς Πύρρουν, ἐγγραπτὸν ποιεῖσθωσαν ἀμφότεροι, ὅνα ἐξῆ βοηθεῖν ἄλληλοις ἐν τῇ τῶν πολεμουμένων χώρᾳ· ὁπότεροι δὲ ἃν χρείαν ἐχωσι τῆς βοηθείας, τὰ πλοῖα παρεχέτωσαν Καρχηδόνιοι καὶ εἰς τὴν ὁδὸν καὶ εἰς τὴν ἑφοδων, τὰ δὲ ὁφώνια τοῖς αὐ- τῶν ἐκάτεροι. Καρχηδόνιοι δὲ καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν Ῥωμαιοὶ βοηθεῖτωσαν, ἃν χρεία ἦ· τὰ δὲ πληρω- ματα μῆδεις ἀναγκαζέτω ἐκβαίνειν ἀκουσίως.

6 Τὸν δ̣ ὁρκὸν ὀμνύειν ἔδει τοιοῦτον, ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν πρῶτων συνθηκῶν Καρχηδονίους μὲν τοὺς θεοὺς τοὺς πατρῶς, Ῥωμαιοὺς δὲ Δία λίθον κατὰ τὶ παλαιὸν ἔθος, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων τὸν Ἀρην καὶ τὸν Ἑυνάλιον. ἔστι δὲ τὸ Δία λίθον τοιοῦτον· λαβών εἰς τὴν χειρὰ λίθον δ ποιοῦμενος τὰ ὁρκία περὶ τῶν συνθήκων, ἐπειδὰν ὁμοσθ ἡμοσία πίστει, λέγει τάδε· εὐροκοῦντι μὲν μοι εἰς ἡγαθαί· εἰ δ' ἀλλὰς διανοθείην τῇ πράξῃ, πάντων τῶν ἄλ- λων σωζομένων ἐν ταῖς ἱδίαις πατρίσισ, ἐν τοῖς ἱδίοις νόμοις, ἐπὶ τῶν ἱδίων βίων, ἱερῶν, τάφων, ἐγὼ μόνος ἐκτέσουμι οὕτως ὡς ὁδε λίθος νῦν. καὶ ταῦτ' εἰπὼν βίπτει τὸν λίθον ἐκ τῆς χειρός.

26 Τούτων δὴ τοιούτων ὑπαρχόντων, καὶ τηροῦ- μένων τῶν συνθηκῶν ἐπὶ νῦν ἐν χαλκώμασι παρὰ τὸν Δία τὸν Καπετώλιον ἐν τῷ τῶν ἄγορανόμων.
on the coast of that Latin territory with which the treaty is concerned.

25. A further and final treaty with Carthage was made by the Romans at the time of Pyrrhus' invasion before the Carthaginians had begun the war for Sicily. In this they maintain all the previous agreements and add the following: "If they make an alliance with Pyrrhus, both shall make it an express condition that they may go to the help of each other in whichever country is attacked. No matter which require help, the Carthaginians are to provide the ships for transport and hostilities, but each country shall provide the pay for its own men. The Carthaginians, if necessary, shall come to the help of the Romans by sea too, but no one shall compel the crews to land against their will."

The oaths they had to swear were as follows. In the case of the first treaty the Carthaginians swore by their ancestral gods and the Romans, following an old custom, by Jupiter Lapis, and in the case of this latter treaty by Mars and Quirinus. The oath by Jupiter Lapis is as follows. The man who is swearing to the treaty takes in his hand a stone, and when he has sworn in the name of the state, he says, "If I abide by this my oath may all good be mine, but if I do otherwise in thought or act, let all other men dwell safe in their own countries under their own laws and in possession of their own substance, temples, and tombs, and may I alone be cast forth, even as this stone," and so saying he throws the stone from his hand.

26. The treaties being such, and preserved as they are on bronze tablets beside the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus in the treasury of the Quaestors, who
2 ταμμεώ, τίς οὖκ ἂν εἰκότως θαυμάσεις Φιλίνου του συγγραφέως, οὐ διότι ταῦτ' ἠγνώει. τούτο μὲν γὰρ
οὐ θαυμαστόν, ἐπεὶ καθ’ ἡμᾶς ἔτι καὶ Ἦρωμαίων
καὶ Καρχηδονίων οἱ προσβύτατοι καὶ μάλιστα δο-
3 κόντες περὶ τὰ κοινὰ σπουδάζειν ἠγνώνι. ἀλλὰ
πόθεν ἡ πῶς ἐθάρρησε γράψαι τάναντι τούτοις,
διότι Ἦρωμαίων καὶ Καρχηδονίων ὑπάρχουσι συν-
θήκαι, καθ’ ὡς ἐδει Ἦρωμαίων μὲν ἀπέκεχεθαί Σι-
4 κελίας ἁπάσης, Καρχηδονίους δ’ Ἰταλίας, καὶ διότι
ὑπερέβαινον Ἦρωμαιούς τὰς συνθήκας καὶ τοὺς ὅρκους,
ἐπεὶ ἐποησαντο τὴν πρώτην εἰς Σικελίαν διάβασιν,
μήτε γεγονότος μὴν ὑπάρχοντος παράπαν ἐγγράφον
5 ταιοῦτον μηδενός. ταῦτα γὰρ ἐν τῇ δεύτερᾳ λέγει
βύβλῳ διαρρήδην. περὶ δὲν ἡμεῖς ἐν τῇ παρασκευῇ
τῆς ἱδίας πραγματείας μνημόνες, εἰς τοῦτον ὑπερ-
εθέμεθα τὸν καιρὸν κατὰ μέρος περὶ αὐτῶν ἐξερ-
γάσασθαι διὰ τὸ καὶ πλεῖον διεισέδωσται τῆς ἀλη-
θείας ἐν τούτοις, πιστεύσαντας τῇ Φιλίνῳ γραφῇ.
6 οὐ μὴν ἀλλ’ εἰ κατὰ τούτοις ἐπιλαμβάνεται Ἦρ-
ωμαίων περὶ τῆς εἰς Σικελίαν διαβάσεως, ὁτι καθὸ-
λον Μαμερτίνους προσέλαβον εἰς τὴν φιλίαν καὶ
μετὰ ταῦτα δεομένους ἐβοήθησαν, οὕτως οὐ μόνον
τὴν Μεσοπόλειον πόλιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν Ἦρημών
παρεσπόνδησαν, εἰκότως ἢν δόξεις δυσαρεστεῖν.
7 εἰ δὲ παρὰ τοὺς ὅρκους καὶ τὰς συνθήκας ὑπολαμ-
βάνεις τις αὐτοῦς πεποιήσατι τὴν διάβασιν, ἀγνοεῖ
προφανῶς.
27 Συντελεσθέντος τοῖνυν τοῦ περὶ Σικελίας πολέ-
μου ποιοῦταί συνθήκας ἀλλας, ἐν αἷς τὰ συνέχοντα
2 τῶν ἐγγράπτων ἢν ταῦτα. “ἐκχωρεῖν Καρχηδονίους
καὶ Σικελίας ἁπάσης καὶ τῶν νῆσων ἀπασῶν τῶν
3 κεμένων Ἰταλίας μεταξὺ καὶ Σικελίας. τὴν ἀσφα-
can fail to be surprised at Philinus the historian, not indeed for his ignorance of them, for that is by no means surprising, since still in my time, the most aged among the Romans and Carthaginians and those best versed in public affairs were ignorant of them; but how did he venture and on what authority to state just the opposite, to wit that there was a treaty between Rome and Carthage by which the Romans were obliged to keep away from the whole of Sicily and the Carthaginians from the whole of Italy, and that the Romans broke the treaty and their oath by their first crossing to Sicily? There is, as a fact, no such document at all, nor ever was there; yet in his Second Book he states this in so many words. I mentioned the subject in the introductory part of this work, but deferred until the present occasion the detailed treatment it deserves, in view of the fact that many people, relying on Philinus' work, have false notions on the subject. True, if as regards the crossing of the Romans to Sicily anyone chooses to blame them for having ever consented to receive into their friendship and afterwards to help those Mamertines who seized treacherously not only Messene but Rhegium, he would have good reason for his disapproval, but if he supposes that they crossed contrary to treaty and to their oath he is obviously ignorant of the true facts.

27. At the close of the war for Sicily, then, they made another treaty, the clauses of which run as follows: "The Carthaginians are to evacuate the whole of Sicily and all the islands between Italy and Sicily. The allies of both parties are to be
Λειαν ὑπάρχειν παρ' ἐκατέρων τοῖς ἐκατέρων συμμάχοις. μηδετέρους ἐν ταῖς ἀλλήλων ἐπαρχίαις μηδὲν ἐπιτάττειν μηδ' οἰκοδομεῖν δημοσία μηδὲ ἐξενολογεῖν μηδὲ προσλαμβάνειν εἰς φιλίαιν τοὺς ἀλλήλων συμ-

маχοις. εξενεγκεῖν Καρχηδονίους ἐν ἔτεσι δέκα δισχίλια καὶ διακόσια τάλαντα, παραντίκα δὲ δοῦναι χίλια. τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους χωρίς λύτρων ἀποδοῦναι πάντας Καρχηδονίους τοῖς 'Ῥωμαίοις.'

7 μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πάλιν λήξαντες τοῦ Λιβυκοῦ πολέμου Ἐρωμαίοι Καρχηδονίους πόλεμον ἔξενεγκαντες ἔως δόγματος ἐπισυνθήκας ἐποίησαν τοιαύτας: "ἐκ-χωρεῖν Ἐρωμαίους Σαρδόνος καὶ προσεξενεγκεῖν ἕλλα χίλια καὶ διακόσια τάλαντα," καθάπερ ἔπανω προείπαμεν. ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς προειρημένοις τελευταίᾳ πρὸς Ἀσδρούβαν ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ γίνονται διομολογήσεις, "ἐφ' ὃ μὴ διαβαίνειν Καρχηδονίους ἐπὶ πολέμῳ τὸν Ἰβηρα ποταμὸν." ταῦτά ὑπήρχε τὰ δίκαια Ἐρωμαίοι καὶ Καρχηδονίοις ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἔως εἰς τοὺς κατ᾽ Ἀννίβαν καιροὺς.

28 Ὡσπερ οὖν τὴν εἰς Σικελίαν διάβασιν Ἐρωμαίοιν οὐ παρὰ τοὺς ὅρκους εὐρίσκομεν γεγενημένην, οὕτως ὑπὲρ τοῦ δευτέρου πολέμου, καθ' ὃν ἐποίησαν τὰς περὶ Σαρδόνος συνθήκας, οὔτε πρόφασιν ὁμολογούμενως τοὺς Καρχηδονίους ἧγαν γασμένους παρὰ πάντα τὰ δίκαια διὰ τὸν καρδὸν ἐκχωρήσας μὲν Σαρδόνος, ἐξενεγκεῖν δὲ τὸ προειρημένον πλήθος τῶν κρήματων. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ὑπὸ Ἐρωμαίων περὶ τοῦτων λεγόμενον ἐγκλήμα, διότι τοὺς παρὰ σφῶν πλοῖομένους ἥδικουν κατὰ τὸν Λιβυκὸν πόλεμον, ἐλύθη καθ' οὓς καιροὺς κομματίζειν παρὰ Καρχηδονίων ἀπαντάς τοὺς κατηγμένους ἀντεδωρήσαντο χωρίς.
secure from attack by the other. Neither party is entitled to impose any contribution to construct public buildings, or to enrol soldiers, in the dominions of the other, nor to form alliances with the allies of the other. The Carthaginians are to pay twenty-two hundred talents within ten years, and a sum of a thousand talents at once. The Carthaginians are to give up to the Romans all prisoners free of ransom." Later, at the end of the Libyan War, 238 B.C. after the Romans had actually passed a decree declaring war on Carthage, they added the following clause, as I stated above: "The Carthaginians are to evacuate Sardinia and pay a further sum of twelve hundred talents." The very last of this series of agreements is that made with Hasdrubal in Spain, that "The Carthaginians are not to cross the Ebro in arms." Such is the diplomatic history of the relations between Rome and Carthage up to the time of Hannibal.

28. While therefore we find that the crossing of the Romans to Sicily was not contrary to treaty, for the second war, that in which they made the treaty about Sardinia, it is impossible to discover any reasonable pretext or cause. In this case everyone would agree that the Carthaginians, contrary to all justice, and merely because the occasion permitted it, were forced to evacuate Sardinia and pay the additional sum I mentioned. For from the charge brought by the Romans against them in justification of this, that in the Libyan war they inflicted wrongs on the crews of ships sailing from Rome, they had freed them on the occasion when they had received back from them all their sailors who had been brought into Carthage and in return gave back
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

λύτρων ἐν χάριτι τούς παρὰ σφίσω ὑπάρχοντας ἀιχμαλώτους. ὑπὲρ δὲν ἡμεῖς τὰ κατὰ μέρος ἐν τῇ πρὸ ταύτης βύβλῳ δεδηλώκαμεν.

5 Τούτων δὴ τοιούτων ὑπάρχοντων, λοιπὸν διευκρινήσας καὶ σκέψασθαι περὶ τοῦ κατ᾽ Ἀννίβαν πολέμου ποτέρου αὐτῶν τὴν αὐτίναν ἀναθετέον.

29 Τὰ μὲν οὖν ὑπὸ Καρχηδονίων τότε ῥηθέντα δεδηλώκαμεν, τὰ δ’ ὑπὸ ῾Ρωμαίων λεγόμενα νῦν ἐρούμεν· οἴς τότε μὲν οὐκ ἐχρήσαντο διά τὸν ἐπὶ τῇ Ζακανθαίων ἀπωλεία θυμόν· λέγεται δὲ πολλάκις καὶ ὑπὸ πολλῶν παρ’ αὐτοῖς. πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι τὰς πρὸς ῾Ασδρούβαν γενομένας ὁμολογίας οὐκ ἀθετητέον, καθάπερ οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι λέγειν ἑθάρρουν· οὐ γὰρ προσέκειτο, καθάπερ ἐπὶ τοῦ Λυτατίου.

3 "κύριας εἶναι ταύτας, ἑὰν καὶ τῷ δῆμῳ δόξῃ τῶν ῾Ρωμαίων;" ἀλλ’ αὐτοτελῶς ἐπούσατο τὰς ὁμολογίας ῾Ασδρούβας, ἐν αῖς ἦν, "τὸν Ἰβηρὰ ποταμὸν μὴ διαβαίνειν ἐπὶ πολέμῳ Καρχηδονίους." καὶ μὴν ἐν ταῖς περὶ Σικελίας συνθήκαις ἦν ἐγγραπτὸν, καθάπερ κάκεινοι φασίν, "ὑπάρχειν τοῖς ἁμφοτέρων συμμάχους τὴν παρ’ ἑκατέρων ἁσφάλειαν," οὐκ αὐτοῖς μόνον τοῖς τότε συμμαχοῦσι, καθάπερ ἐποιεῖτο τὴν ἐκδοχὴν οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι. προσέκειτο γὰρ ἂν ὅτι τὸ μὴ προσλαμβάνειν ἑτέρους συμμάχους παρὰ τοὺς ὑπάρχοντας ἢ τὸ μὴ παραλαμβάνεσθαι τοὺς ὑπετρον προσληφθέντας τούτων τῶν συνθηκῶν. οτὲ δὲ τούτων οὐδέτερον ἐγράφη, προφανὲς ἦν ὅτι πᾶσι τοῖς ἑκατέρων συμμάχοις, καὶ τοῖς οὕτωι τότε καὶ τοῖς 66
all their own prisoners as an act of grace and without ransom. Of this I have spoken at length in my previous Book.

Having established these facts it remains for us to consider, after thorough investigation, to which of the two states we should attribute the cause of the Hannibalic war.

29. I have already stated what the Carthaginians alleged, and will now give the reply of the Romans—a reply indeed which they did not make at the time owing to their indignation at the loss of Saguntum, but it has been given on many occasions and by many different people at Rome. In the first place they contend that the treaty with Hasdrubal should not be ignored, as the Carthaginians had the audacity to say; for there was no conditioning clause at the end as in the treaty made by Lutatius: “This treaty shall be valid if the Roman people also agree to it,” but Hasdrubal finally and unconditionally made the agreement in which was the clause, “The Carthaginians shall not cross the Ebro in arms.” Again, in the treaty about Sicily there was, as the Carthaginians admit, the clause: “The allies of either party are to be secure from attack by the other,” and this does not mean “those who were allies at that time,” as the Carthaginians interpret it; for in that case there would have been a further clause to the effect either that neither party should enter into other alliances than their existing ones or that those subsequently received into alliance should not be admitted to the benefits of the treaty. But since neither of these clauses was appended, it is evident that each party undertook that all allies of the other, both those then existing and those sub-
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

μετὰ ταῦτα προσληφθησομένως, τὴν παρ' ἀμφοῖν 7 ἀσφάλειαν ἂεὶ δέον ἦν ύπάρχειν. δ' ὅτι καὶ πάντως ἐν εἰκὸς εἶναι δόξειν. οὔ γάρ δήποτε τοιαύτα ἐμελη- λον ποιήσεσθαι συνθῆκας δι' ὧν ἀφελοῦνται τὴν ἐξουσίαν σφῶν αὐτῶν τοῦ προσλαμβάνειν κατὰ κα- ροὺς, ἀν τινές ἐπιτήδειοι φανῶσιν αὐτοῖς φίλοι καὶ 8 σύμμαχοι, οὐδὲ μὴν προσλαβόντες εἰς τὴν σφιχτέραν πίστιν περιόψεσθαι τούτους ὑπὸ τινῶν ἄδικουμέ- νους· ἀλλ' ἤν ἀμφοτέρων τὸ συνέχον τῆς ἐννοίας τῆς ἐν ταῖς συνθήκαις τῶν μὲν ὑπαρχόντων ἀμφο- τέρως τότε συμμάχων ἀφέξεσθαι καὶ κατὰ μηδένα τρόπον τοὺς ἐτέρους παρὰ τῶν ἐτέρων ἐπιδεξησθαί 9 τινας τούτων εἰς συμμαχίαν, περὶ δὲ τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα προσληφθησομένων αὐτὸ τοῦτο μὴτε ξενολογεῖν μὴτ' ἐπιτάττειν μηδετέρους μηδὲν ἐν ταῖς ἀλλήλων ἐπαρχίαις καὶ συμμαχίαις· ὑπάρχειν τε τὴν ἀσφά- λειαν πάσι τὴν παρ' ἀμφοῖν.

30 Τούτων δὴ τοιούτων ὑπαρχόντων, ὀμολογούμε- νον ἣν κάκεινο διότι Ζακάνθαι πλείστων ἔτεσιν ἦδη πρότερον τῶν κατ' Ἀντίβαν καρπῶν ἐδεδώκει- 2 σαν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν τῶν Ὁρμαίων πίστιν. σημεῖον δὲ τούτο μέγιστον καὶ παρ' αὐτοῖς τοῖς Καρχηδο- νίοις ὀμολογούμενον ὅτι στασίσαστες Ζακάνθαιοι πρὸς σφᾶς οὐ Καρχηδονίοις ἐπέτρεψαν, καὶ περ ἐγγὺς ὄντων αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν ἦδη πραττόν- των, ἀλλὰ Ὁρμαίοις, καὶ διὰ τούτων ἐποίησαντο 3 τὴν κατόρθωσιν τῆς πολιτείας. διὸπερ εἰ μὲν τις τὴν Ζακάνθης ἀπώλειαν αἰτίαν τίθησι τοῦ πολέμου, συγχωρητέον ἀδίκως ἐξεννυχέναι τὸν πόλεμον Καρ- χηδονίους κατὰ τε τὰς ἐπὶ τοῦ Λυκατίου συνθῆκας, καθ' ἀς ἐδει τοῖς ἐκατέρων συμμάχοις τὴν ὕφ' ἑκα-
sequently admitted to alliance, should be secure from attack. This indeed seems a quite reasonable view; for surely they would never have made a treaty by which they deprived themselves of the freedom to admit into alliance from time to time any peoples whose friendship seemed to be of advantage to them, nor, having taken such under their protection, was it to be supposed that they would ignore injuries done to them by certain people. But the chief meaning of the treaty to both parties when they made it was, that they would each leave unmolested the existing allies of the other and in no way admit any of those into their own alliance, whereas, regarding subsequent alliances, to which this clause particularly applies, they undertook not to enlist soldiers or levy contributions in the provinces of each or in countries allied to each, and that all allies of each in general should be secure from attack by the other.

30. This being so, it is an acknowledged fact that the Saguntines, a good many years before the time of Hannibal, placed themselves under the protection of Rome. The surest proof of this, and one accepted by the Carthaginians themselves, is that when a civil disturbance broke out at Saguntum they did not call in the mediation of the Carthaginians, although they were close at hand and already concerning themselves with Spanish matters, but that of the Romans, and with their help set right the affairs of the state. Therefore, if we take the destruction of Saguntum to be the cause of the war we must allow that the Carthaginians were in the wrong in beginning the war, both in view of the treaty of Lutatius, in which it was stipulated that the allies
Τέρων ὑπάρχειν ἁσφάλειαν, κατὰ τε τὰς ἐπ᾽ Ἀσ-
δρούβου, καθ᾽ ἃς οὐκ ἐδει διαβαινεῖν τὸν Ἰβηρα
ποταμῶν ἐπὶ πολέμω καρχηδονίους· εἰ δὲ τὴν Σαρ-
δόνον ἀφαίρεσιν καὶ τὰ σὺν ταύτῃ χρήματα, πάν-
tως ὀμολογητέον εὐλόγως πεπολεμηκέναι τὸν κατ᾽
Ἀννίβαν πόλεμον τοὺς καρχηδονίους· καὶ χὰρ
πεισθέντες ἡμύνοντο σὺν καὶ τὸς βλάψαντας.

31 'Ενιοὶ δὲ τῶν ἀκρίτως τὰ τοιαῦτα θεωμένων ταχὺ
ἀν φήσαιεν ἡμᾶς οὐκ ἀναγκαῖος ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἐξακρι-
βοῦν τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν τοιούτων λόγους. ἐγὼ δ’, εἰ
μὲν τις υπείληπης πρὸς πᾶσαν περίστασιν αὐτάρκης
ὑπάρχειν, καλὴν μὲν, οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον δ’ ἵσως φή-
σαμι’ ἀν εἶναι τὴν τῶν προγεγονότων ἐπιστήμην.

2 εἰ δὲ μηδεὶς ἂν μήτε περὶ τῶν κατ’ ἰδίαν μήτε περὶ
τῶν κοινῶν τομησάς τούτ’ εἰπεῖν ἄνθρωπος ὡν, διὰ
tό, καὶ κατὰ τὸ παρὸν εὐτυχῆ, τὴν γε περὶ τοῦ
μέλλοντος ἐλπίδα μηδὲν ἂν ἐκ τῶν νῦν παρόντων
eὐλόγως βεβαιώσασθαι μηδένα τῶν νοῦν ἐχόντων,

3 οὐ μόνον καλὴν, ἕτε δὲ μᾶλλον ἀναγκαῖον εἰναι
φήμι διὰ ταύτα τὴν τῶν παρεληλυθότων ἐπίγνωσιν.

5 πῶς γὰρ ἂν εἰτ’ αὐτὸς ἀδικούμενος τις τῇ τῆς πατρί-
dος ἀδικουμένης βοήθους εὐροὶ καὶ συμμάχους, εἰτὲ
κτήσασθαι τι καὶ προκατάρξασθαι ὀποιάδ᾿ ὁμοὺς
τοὺς συνεργῆσοντας αὐτῷ παρομήσαι πρὸς τὰς ἐπιβολὰς;

6 πῶς δ’ ἂν εὐδοκούμενοι τοῖς ὑποκειμένους τοὺς
βεβαιώσοντας τὴν αὐτοῦ προαίρεσιν καὶ διαφυλά-
ξοντας τὴν κατάστασιν παροξύναι δικαῖος, εἰ μηδὲν
εἰδείῃ τῆς τῶν προγεγονότων περὶ ἐκάστους ὑπομνή-
70
of each should be secure from attack by the other, and in view of the convention made with Hasdrubal, by which the Carthaginians undertook not to cross the Ebro in arms. If, however, we take the cause of the war to have been the robbery of Sardinia and the tribute then exacted, we must certainly confess that they had good reason for entering on the Hannibalic war, since having yielded only to circumstances, they now availed themselves of circumstances to be avenged on those who had injured them.

31. It might be said by some of these who look on such things without discernment, that these are matters which it was not necessary for me to treat in such detail. My answer is, that if there were any man who considered that he had sufficient force in himself to face any circumstances, I should say perhaps that knowledge of the past was good for him, but not necessary; but if there is no one in this world at least who would venture to speak so of himself either as regards his private fortunes or those of his country—since, even if all is well with him now no man of sense could from his present circumstances have any reasonable confidence that he will be prosperous in the future—I affirm for this reason that such knowledge is not only good but in the highest degree necessary. For how can anyone when wronged himself or when his country is wronged find helpmates and allies; how can he, when desirous of acquiring some possession or initiating some project, stir to action those whose co-operation he wishes; how, finally, if he is content with present conditions, can he rightly stimulate others to establish his own convictions and maintain things as they are, if he knows nothing at all of the
7 seως; πρὸς μὲν γὰρ τὸ παρὸν ἀεὶ πως ἀρμοζόμενοι καὶ συννυποκρίνομενοι τοιαῦτα καὶ λέγουσι καὶ πράττουσι πάντες ὡστε δυσθεώρητον εἶναι τὴν ἐκάστου προσέρεσι καὶ λίαν ἐν πολλοῖς ἐπισκοπεῖσθαι τὴν
8 ἀλήθειαν. τὰ δὲ παρελθόντα τῶν ἑργῶν, ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν πραγμάτων λαμβάνοντα τὴν δοκιμασίαν, ἀληθινῶς ἐμφαίνει τὰς ἐκάστων αἱρέσεις καὶ διαλήψεις, καὶ δηλοὶ παρ’ οἷς μὲν χάριν, εὐεργεσίαν, βοήθειαι ἡμῖν ὑπάρχουσαν, παρ’ οἷς δὲ τάναττα
9 τούτων. ἔξ ὁν καὶ τὸν ἑλεύσοντα καὶ τὸν συνοργούμενον, ἐτὶ δὲ τὸν δικαίωσοντα, πολλάκις κατὶ
10 πολλῶν εὑρείν ἕστην. ἀπερ ἤχει μεγίστας ἐπικουρίας καὶ κοινῇ καὶ κατ’ ἱδίαι πρὸς τὸν ἀνθρώπινον βίον.
11 διὸπερ οὐχ οὕτως ἐστὶ φροντιστεῖν τῆς αὐτῶν τῶν πράξεων ἔξηγήσεως, ὡστε τοῖς γράφουσιν ὡστε τοῖς ἀναγνώσκοι τὰς ἱστορίας, ὡς τῶν πρότερον καὶ
12 τῶν ἁμα καὶ τῶν ἐπιγνωμένων τοῖς ἑργοι. ἱστο-
13 ρίας γὰρ ἐὰν ἀφέλῃ τις τὸ διὰ τὶ καὶ πῶς καὶ τίνος χάριν ἐπράξθη τὸ πραχθὲν καὶ πότερον εὐ-

32 Ἡι καὶ τοὺς ὑπολαμβάνοντας δύσκητον εἶναι καὶ δυσαναγγεῖον τὴν ἑμετέραν πραγματείαν διὰ τὸ πλῆθος καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν βυθῶν ἀγνοεῖν νο-
2 μιστέον. πόσω γὰρ βάζων ἐστὶ καὶ κτίσασθαι καὶ διαναγνώσκι βυθόν τετταράκοντα καθάπερ ἄν εἰ κατὰ μίτον ἐξυφασμένας, καὶ παρακολούθῃσα σαφῶς ταῖς μὲν κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ Σικελίαν καὶ Λιβύην πράξεων ἀπὸ τῶν κατὰ Πύρρου [καὶ Τύμαιον συγ-
γραφέων καὶ καιρῶν ἔξηγήσεως] εἰς τὴν Καρχη-
past history of those he would influence? For all men are given to adapt themselves to the present and assume a character suited to the times, so that from their words and actions it is difficult to judge of the principles of each, and in many cases the truth is quite overcast. But men’s past actions, bringing to bear the test of actual fact, indicate truly the principles and opinions of each, and show us where we may look for gratitude, kindness, and help, and where for the reverse. It is by this means that we shall often and in many circumstances find those who will compassionate our distresses, who will share our anger or join us in being avenged on our enemies, all which is most helpful to life both in public and in private. Therefore both writers and readers of history should not pay so much attention to the actual narrative of events, as to what precedes, what accompanies, and what follows each. For if we take from history the discussion of why, how, and wherefore each thing was done, and whether the result was what we should have reasonably expected, what is left is a clever essay but not a lesson, and while pleasing for the moment of no possible benefit for the future.

32. For this reason I must pronounce those to be much mistaken who think that this my work is difficult to acquire and difficult to read owing to the number and length of the Books it contains. How much easier it is to acquire and peruse forty Books, all as it were connected by one thread, and thus to follow clearly events in Italy, Sicily, and Libya from the time of Pyrrhus to the capture of Carthage, and
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

3 δόνος ἀλωσιν, ταῖς δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἄλλην οἰκουμένην ἀπὸ τῆς Κλεομένους τοῦ Σπαρτιάτου φυγῆς κατὰ τὸ συνεχὲς μέχρι τῆς Ἀχαιῶν καὶ Ῥωμαίων περὶ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ παρατάξεως, ἣ τὰς τῶν κατὰ μέρος γραφόντων συντάξεως ἀναγνώσκειν ἢ κτάσθαι;

4 χωρὶς γὰρ τοῦ πολλαπλασίου αὐτὰς ὑπάρχειν τῶν ἡμετέρων ὑπομνημάτων οὐδὲ καταλαβεῖν ἐξ αὐτῶν βεβαιῶς οὔδεν οἷόν τε τοὺς ἀναγνώσκοντας, πρῶτον μὲν διὰ τὸ τοὺς πλεῖστος

5 μὴ ταύτα περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν γράφειν, εἰτὰ διὰ τὸ τὰς καταλήλους τῶν πράξεων παραλείπειν, ὡς ἐκ παραθέσεως συνθεωρουμένων καὶ συγκρινομένων ἄλλουτέρας ἐκαστα τυγχάνει δοκιμασίας τῆς κατὰ μέρος διαλήψεως, τῶν δὲ κυριωτάτων μηδὲ ψαύειν αὐτοὺς δύνασθαι τὸ παράπτων.

6 ἀκμὴν γὰρ φαμεν ἀναγκαιότατα μέρη τῆς ἱστορίας εἶναι τά τ’ ἐπιγνώμενα τοῖς ἔργοις καὶ τὰ

7 παρεπόμενα καὶ μάλιστα τὰ περὶ τὰς αἰτίας. θεωροῦμεν δὲ τὸν μὲν Ἀντιοχικὸν πόλεμον ἐκ τοῦ Φιλιππικοῦ τὰς ἀφορμὰς εἰληφότα, τὸν δὲ Φιλιππικὸν ἐκ τοῦ κατ’ Ἀννιβαν, τὸν δ’ Ἀννιβιακὸν ἐκ τοῦ περὶ Σικελίαν, τὰ δὲ μεταξὺ τούτων πολλὰς καὶ ποικίλας ἔσχηκτα διαθέσεις, πάσας δὲ συν-

8 νευούσας πρὸς τὴν αὐτὴν ὑπόθεσιν. ταῦτα δὴ πάντα διὰ μὲν τῶν γραφόντων καθόλου δυνατὸν ἐπιγνώναι καὶ μαθεῖν, διὰ δὲ τῶν τοῦ πολέμου αὐτοὺς, οἷον τὸν Περσικὸν ἢ τὸν Φιλιππικὸν, ἀδύ-

9 νατον, εἰ μὴ καὶ τὰς παρατάξεις τις ἀναγνώσκων αὐτὰς ἐξ δὲ ἐκεῖνοι γράφουσιν ὑπολαμβάνει σαφῶς ἐπεγνωκέναι καὶ τὴν τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ σύμπαντος

10 οἰκονομιὰν καὶ διάθεσιν. ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἔστι τούτων οὐδὲν, ἀλλ’ ὅσῳ διαφέρει τὸ μαθεῖν τοῦ μόνον

74
BOOK III. 32. 3–10

those in the rest of the world from the flight of Cleomenes of Sparta on till the battle of the Romans and Achaeans at the Isthmus, than to read or procure the works of those who treat of particular transactions. Apart from their being many times as long as my history, readers cannot gather anything with certainty from them, firstly because most of them give different accounts of the same matter, and next because they omit those contemporary events by a comparative review and estimation of which we can assign its true value to everything much more surely than by judging from particulars; and, finally, because it is out of their power even to touch on what is most essential. For I maintain that far the most essential part of history is the consideration of the remote or immediate consequences of events and especially that of causes. Thus I regard the war with Antiochus as deriving its origin from that with Philip, the latter as resulting from that with Hannibal, and the Hannibalic war as a consequence of that about Sicily, the intermediate events, however many and various their character, all tending to the same purpose. All this can be recognized and understood from a general history, but not at all from the historians of the wars themselves, such as the war with Perseus or that with Philip, unless indeed anyone reading their descriptions of the battles alone conceives that he has acquired an adequate knowledge of the management and nature of the whole war. This, however, is not at all so, and I consider that my history differs to its ad-
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

33 Οἱ δὲ παρὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων πρέσβεις, τὴν γὰρ παρέκβασιν ἐντεῦθεν ἐποιησάμεθα, διακούσαντες τὰ παρὰ τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν εἶπαν, ὁ δὲ πρεσβύτατος αὐτῶν δεῖξας τοῖς ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ τὸν κόλπον, ἐνταῦθα καὶ τὸν πόλεμον αὐτοῖς ἐφή καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην φέρειν· ἐκβαλὼν οὖν, ὅποτερον ἂν κελεύσωσιν ἀπολείψειν. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς τῶν Καρχηδονίων, ὅποτερον αὐτοῖς φαίνεται, τοῦτ' ἐκβάλειν ἐκέλευσε. τοῦ δὲ Ῥωμαίου φήσαντος τὸν πόλεμον ἐκβαλεῖν, ἀνεφώνησαν ἃμα καὶ πλείους τῶν ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου, δέχεσθαι φάσκοντες. οἱ μὲν οὖν πρέσβεις καὶ τὸ συνεδρίον ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐχωρίσθησαν.

5 Ἀννίβας δὲ, παραχειμάζων ἐν Καίνῃ πόλει, πρῶτον μὲν διαφῆκε τοὺς Ἰβηραπ. ἐπὶ τᾶς ἐαυτῶν πόλεις, βουλόμενος ἐτοίμους καὶ προθύμους παρασκευάζειν πρὸς τὸ μέλλον, δεύτερον δ' Ἀσδρούβα μαδελφό διετάξε πῶς δεῖσει τῇ τε τῶν Ἰβηρῶν ἀρχῇ καὶ δυναστεία χρῆσθαι ταῖς τε πρὸς Ῥωμαίους παράσκευασιν, σκευασὶν, ἐὰν αὐτοῦς χωρίζηται που, τρίτον ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀσφαλείας τῶν ἐν Διβύη προνοεῖτο πραγμάτων. πάνυ δ' ἐμπείρως καὶ φρονίμως ἐκλογιζόμενος, ἐκ μὲν Διβύης εἰς Ἰβηρίαν, ἐκ δ' Ἰβηρίας εἰς Διβύην διεβίβαζε στρατιώτας, ἐκδεσμεύων τὴν ἐκατέρων πί-

9 στιν εἰς ἀλλήλους διὰ τῆς τουιάτης οἰκονομίας. ἦσαν δ' οἱ διαβάντες εἰς τὴν Διβύην Θερσίται, Μαστία-

10 νοί, πρὸς δὲ τούτους Ὀρῆτες Ἰβηρεῖς, Ὀλκάδες, οἱ δὲ σύμπαντες ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐπείξεις μὲν χίλιοι διακόσιοι, πεζοὶ δὲ μύριοι τρισχίλιοι ὁκτα-

11 κόσιοι πεντήκοντα, πρὸς δὲ τούτους Βαλιαρεῖς ὁκτα-

76
vantage as much from the works on particular episodes as learning does from listening.

33. I interrupted my narrative to enter on this digression at the point where the Roman ambassadors were at Carthage. After listening to the Carthaginians' statement of their case, they made no other reply but the following. The oldest member of the embassy, pointing to the bosom of his toga, told the Senate that it held both war and peace for them: therefore he would let fall from it and leave with them whichever of the two they bade him. The Carthaginian Suffete bade him let fall whichever the Romans chose, and when the envoy said he would let fall war, many of the senators cried out at once, "We accept it." The ambassadors and the Senate parted on these terms.

Hannibal, who was wintering in New Carthage, in the first place dismissed the Iberians to their own cities hoping thus to make them readily disposed to help in the future; next he instructed his brother Hasdrubal how to manage the government of Spain and prepare to resist the Romans if he himself happened to be absent; in the third place he took precautions for the security of Africa, adopting the very sensible and wise policy of sending soldiers from Africa to Spain, and vice versa. binding by this measure the two provinces to reciprocal loyalty. The troops who crossed to Africa were supplied by the Thersitae, Mastiani, Iberian Oretes and Ólcades, and numbered twelve hundred horse and thirteen thousand eight hundred and fifty foot, besides which there were eight hundred and seventy Balearians, a popular appellation, derived from ballein, "to throw," and
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

donētas, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς χρείας ταύτης συνωνύμως καὶ τὸ ἔθνος αὐτῶν προσαγορεύουσι καὶ τὴν νῆσον.
12 τῶν δὲ προειρημένων τοὺς μὲν πλείους εἰς τὰ Μεταγώνια τῆς Λιβύης, τινὰς δ’ εἰς αὐτὴν Καρχηδόνα
13 κατέταξεν. ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν πόλεων τῶν Μεταγωνιτῶν καλουμένων ἀπέστειλεν ἄλλους εἰς Καρχηδόνα πε-ζοὺς τετρακισχιλίους, ὁμορείας ἔχοντας καὶ βοη-
14 θείας ἀμα τάξιν. ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς Ἱβηρίας ἀπέλυσεν Ἀσδρούβαδα τάδελφῷ πεντήρεις μὲν πεντήκοντα, τε-
τήρεις δὲ δύο καὶ τριήρεις πέντε. τούτων ἔχονσα
πληρώματα πεντήρεις μὲν τριάκοντα δύο, τριήρεις
δὲ πέντε. καὶ μὴν ἱππεῖς Διβυφοινίκων μὲν καὶ
Διβύων τετρακισίους πεντήκοντα, Δεργητῶν δὲ
τριακίσιος, Νομάδων δὲ Μασυλίων καὶ Μασαισι-
λίων καὶ Μακκοῦων καὶ Μαυροσίων τῶν παρὰ τῶν
16 ὦκεανῶν χιλίους ὀκτακισίους, πεζοὺς δὲ Διβύων
μυρίους χιλίους ὀκτακισίους πεντήκοντα, Δυναστι-
νοὺς τριακίσιος, Βαλιαρεῖς πεντακισίους, ἑλέφαν-
tας εἰκοσι καὶ ἑνα.
17 Οὐ χρῆ δὲ θαυμάζειν τὴν ἀκρίβειαν τῆς ἀνα-
γραφῆς, εἰ τοιαύτη κεχρήμεθα περὶ τῶν ὑπ’ Ἀννί-
βου κατ’ Ἱβηρίαν πετραγμένων οία μόλις ἄν
χρήσιτο τις αὐτὸς κεχειρικός τάς κατὰ μέρος πρά-
ξεις, οὐδὲ προκαταγωγός, εἰ πεπονήκαμεν παρα-
πλήσιον τοῖς ἀξιοπίστως ψευδομένοις τῶν συγ-
18 γραφέων. ἢμεῖς γὰρ εὑρόντες ἐπὶ Δακινῶ τῆν
γραφὴν ταύτην ἐν χαλκῷ καὶ κατατεγράμνην ὑπ’
Ἀννίβου, καθ’ οὐς καίρους ἐν τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Ἰτα-
λίαν τόποις ἀνεστρέφετο, πάντως ἐνομίσαμεν αὐτὴν
περὶ γε τῶν τοιούτων ἀξιόπιστον εἶναι· διὸ καὶ κατ-
ακολουθεῖν εἰλόμεθα τῇ γραφῇ ταύτῃ.
34 Ἀννίβας δὲ πάντα προνοηθείς περὶ τῆς ἀσφα-
meaning slingers, given to them owing to their skill with this weapon and extended to their nation and islands. He stationed most of these troops at Metagonia in Libya and some in Carthage itself. From the so-called Metagonian towns he sent four thousand foot to Carthage to serve both as a reinforcement and as hostages. In Spain he left with his brother Hasdrubal fifty quinqueremes, two tetraremes, and five triremes, thirty-two of the quinqueremes and all the triremes being fully manned. He also gave him as cavalry Liby-Phoenicians and Libyans to the number of four hundred and fifty, three hundred Ilergetes and eighteen hundred Numidians drawn from the Masylii, Masaesylili, Maccoei and Maurusi, who dwell by the ocean, and as infantry eleven thousand eight hundred and fifty Libyans, three hundred Ligurians, and five hundred Balearians, as well as twenty-one elephants.

No one need be surprised at the accuracy of the information I give here about Hannibal’s arrangements in Spain, an accuracy which even the actual organizer of the details would have some difficulty in attaining, and I need not be condemned off-hand under the idea that I am acting like those authors who try to make their misstatements plausible. The fact is that I found on the Lacinian promontory a bronze tablet on which Hannibal himself had made out these lists during the time he was in Italy, and thinking this an absolutely first-rate authority, decided to follow the document.

34. Hannibal, after taking all precautions for the
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

λείας τῶν τε κατὰ Λιβύην πραγμάτων καὶ τῶν ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ λυσθέων ἐκαραδόκει καὶ προσεδέχετο τοὺς παρὰ τῶν Κελτῶν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀποστελλομένους. 2 σαφῶς γὰρ ἐξητάκει καὶ τὴν ἀρετήν τῆς ὑπὸ τὰς Ἀλπεῖς καὶ περὶ τὸν Πάδον ποταμὸν χώρας καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν κατοικοῦντων αὐτὴν, ἔτι δὲ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς πολέμους τῶν ἀνδρῶν τόλμαν, καὶ τὸ μέγας τὸν ὑπάρχουσαν δυσμένειαν αὐτοῖς ἐκ τοῦ προγεγονότος πολέμου πρὸς Ῥωμαίους, ὑπὲρ οὕδι ὑπελθόμεν ἡμεῖς ἐν τῇ πρὸ ταύτης βύβλῳ χάριν τοῦ συμπεριφέρεσθαι τοὺς ἐνυγχάνοντας τοῖς νῦν μέλλοντι. 4 λέγεσθαι. διὸπερ εἰχέτο ταύτης τῆς ἐλπίδος, καὶ πὰν ὑπισχενίτο, διαπεμόμενος ἐπιμελῶς πρὸς τοὺς δυνάστας τῶν Κελτῶν καὶ τοὺς ἔπι τάδε καὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐταῖς ταῖς Ἀλπεσίν ἐνοικοῦντας, μόνος ἃν ὑπολαμβάνων ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ συστήσασθαι τὸν πρὸς Ῥωμαῖους πόλεμον, εἰ δυνηθεὶς διαπεράσσας τὰς πρὸ τοῦ δυσχωρίας εἰς τοὺς προειρημένους ἀφικέσθαι τόπους καὶ συνεργοῖς καὶ συμμάχοις χρήσασθαι Κελτῶν τοῖς εἰς τὴν προκειμένην ἐπιβολήν. ἀφικομένων δὲ τῶν ἀγγέλων, καὶ τὴν τε τῶν Κελτῶν βούλησιν καὶ προσδοκίαν ἀπαγγελάντων, τὴν τε τῶν Ἀλπεινῶν ὀρῶν ὑπερβολὴν ἐπίπονον μὲν καὶ δυσχερὴ λίαν, οὐ μὴν ἀδύνατον εἶναι φασκόντων, συνήγε τὰς δυνάμεις ἐκ τῆς παραχεμασίας ὑπὸ τὴν ἡρωινὴν ὤραν. 7 προσπεπτωκότων δὲ προσφάτως αὐτῷ καὶ τῶν ἐκ τῆς Καρχηδόνος, ἐπαρθεὶς τῷ θυμῷ καὶ πιστεύον τῇ τῶν πολιτῶν εὐνοία, παρεκάλει τὰς δυνάμεις φανερῶς ἡδὴ πρὸς τὸν κατὰ Ῥωμαίων πόλεμον, 8 ἐμφανίζων μὲν ἄν τὸν ὑπὸ ἐκθετον αὐτῶν ἐγχειρήσας εἰς τοὺς τῇ στρατοπέδου προεστῶτας, ὑποδεικνύων δὲ τὴν τῆς χώ-
safety of Africa and Spain, was anxiously awaiting the arrival of the messengers he expected from the Celts. He had informed himself accurately about the fertility of the land at the foot of the Alps and near the river Po, the denseness of its population, the bravery of the men in war, and above all their hatred of Rome ever since that former war with the Romans which I described in the preceding Book to enable my readers to follow all I am about to narrate. He therefore cherished high hopes of them, and was careful to send messengers with unlimited promises to the Celtic chiefs both on this side of the Alps and in the mountains themselves, thinking that the only means of carrying the war against the Romans into Italy was, after surmounting, if possible, the difficulties of the route, to reach the above country and employ the Celts as co-operators and confederates in his enterprise. When the messengers arrived and reported that the Celts consented and awaited him, at the same time saying that the crossing of the Alps was very toilsome and difficult, but by no means impossible, he drew out his troops from their winter quarters in the early spring. As the news of what had happened in Carthage had just reached him, his spirits were now high, and trusting in the favourable disposition of the citizens, he now called openly on his men to join him in the war against Rome, impressing upon them the demand of the Romans that he and all his principal officers should be given up to them, and pointing out at the same time the wealth of the country they were
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

9 εὖνοιαν καὶ συμμαχίαν. εὐθύμως δὲ τῶν ὀχλῶν αὐτῶν συνεξισταμένων, ἐπανέσας καὶ παραγγείλας τακτήν ἡμέραν, ἐν ἣ ποιήσεται τὴν ἐξοδον, τότε μὲν διέλυσε τὴν ἐκκλησίαν.

35 Ἐπιτελέσας δὲ τὰ προειρημένα κατὰ τὴν παρα-

ρας ἀρετῆν, εἰς ἣν ἀφίξονται, καὶ τὴν τῶν Κελτῶν

2 ἡμέραν, ἐποίησες καὶ δισχίλιοις. καὶ διαβὰς τὸν Ἰβηρα πο-

2 μυρίων καὶ δισχίλιοις. καὶ διαβὰς τὸν Ἰβηρα πο-

ταμὸν κατεστρέφετο τὸ τε τῶν Ἰλουργητῶν ἔθνος

καὶ Βαργουσίων, ἔτι δὲ τοὺς Αἱρηνοίους καὶ τοὺς

τούς Ἀνδοσίνους, μέχρι τῆς προσαγορευμένης Πυρήνης.

3 ποιησάμενος δὲ πάντας υφ' ἑαυτὸν καὶ τινὰς πό-

λεις κατὰ κράτος ἐλών, ταχέως μὲν καὶ παρ' ἐλ-

πίδα, μετὰ πολλῶν δὲ καὶ μεγάλων ἀγώνων ἐτὶ δὲ

4 πολλῆς καταφθορᾶς ἀνδρῶν, ἡγεμόνα μὲν ἐπὶ πά-

ς τῆς κατέλιπε τῆς ἐπὶ τάδε τοῦ ποταμοῦ χώρας Ἀν-

νωνα, τῶν δὲ Βαργουσίων καὶ δεσπότην μάλιστα

γὰρ τούτοις ἦπιστει διὰ τὴν πρὸς Ῥωμαίοις εὐ-

νοιαν, ἀπεμέρισε δὲ καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως ἦς εἰχε τῷ

μὲν Ἀννων πεζοὺς μυρίων, ἱππεῖς δὲ χιλίους, καὶ

ταῖς ἀποσκευαῖς ἀπέλιπε τούτῳ τῶν αὐτοῦ συνεξορ-

6 μῶντων. εἰς δὲ τὴν οἰκείαν ἀπέλυσε τοὺς ἱσοὺς

τοῖς προειρημένοις, βουλόμενος αὐτοὺς τε τούτους

εὐνοῖς ἀπολίπειν, τοῖς τε λοιποῖς ὑποδεικνύων ἐλ-

πίδα τῆς εἰς οἶκον ἑπανόδου, καὶ τοῖς μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ

μὲν στρατευμένοις, οὓς ἦττον δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἐν οἰκῳ

μένονι τῶν Ἰβηρῶν, ἵνα προβῆμως ἔξορμοις τίν-

τες, ἀν ποτὲ τις ἐπικουρίας χρεία γένηται παρ' αὖ-

7 τῶν. τὴν δὲ λυπήν στρατιάν ἀναλαβὼν εὐξώνων,
bound for and the friendly feelings of the Gauls who would be their allies. When he saw that the soldiers listened gladly and were as eager as himself to be off, he commended their alacrity and after ordering them to be ready on the day fixed for his departure, dismissed the meeting.

35. Having completed the arrangements I mentioned above during the winter and thus assured the security of Africa and Spain, he advanced on the day he had fixed with an army of about ninety thousand foot and twelve thousand horse. Crossing the Ebro, he set about subduing the tribes of the Ilurgetes, Bargusii, Aerenosii, and Andosini as far as the Pyrenees, and having reduced them all and taken some cities by assault, with unexpected rapidity indeed, but after many severe engagements and with great loss, he left Hanno in command of all the country on this side of the river, placing the Bargusii under his absolute rule, as he mistrusted them most, owing to their friendly sentiments toward Rome. He assigned to Hanno out of his own army ten thousand foot and one thousand horse, and he left with him all the heavy baggage of the expeditionary force. He dismissed at the same time an equal number of troops to their homes, with the view of leaving them well disposed to himself and encouraging the hope of a safe return in the rest of the Spaniards, not only those who were serving with him, but those who remained at home, so that if he ever had to call on them for reinforcements, they might all readily respond. With the rest of his force, thus lightened of its impedimenta and
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

πεζοῦς μὲν πεντακισμυρίους, ἵππεῖς δὲ πρὸς ἐννα-κισχιλίους ἦγε διὰ τῶν Πυρηναίων λεγομένων ὄρων ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ Ῥοδανοῦ καλουμένου ποταμοῦ διάβα-
8 συν, ἔχων οὐχ οὖτως πολλὴν δύναμιν ὡς χρησίμην καὶ γεγυμνασμένην διαφέροντως ἐκ τῆς συνεχείας τῶν κατὰ τὴν 'Ἰβηρίαν ἀγώνων.

36 Ἰνα δὲ μὴ τῶν τόπων ἀγνοομένων παντάπασιν ἀσαφῆ γίνεσθαι συμβαίνῃ τὴν διήγησιν, ῥητέον ἂν εἰς πόθεν ὀρμήσας Ἀννίβας καὶ τίνας καὶ πόσους διελθὼν τόπους εἰς ποία μέρη κατήρε τῆς Ἰταλίας.

2 ρητέον δ' οὐκ αὐτὰς τὰς ὀνομασίας τῶν τόπων καὶ ποταμῶν καὶ πόλεων, ὅπερ ἐνιοῦ ποιοῦσι τῶν συγ-

3 γραφέων, ὑπολαμβάνοντες ἐν παντὶ πρὸς γνώσιν καὶ σαφήνειαν αὐτοτελές εἶναι τούτῳ τὸ μέρος. οἷ-

4 μαί δ', ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν γνωρίζομένων τόπων οὐ μικρά, μεγάλα δὲ συμβάλλεσθαι πεποίηκε πρὸς ἀνάμνησιν ἄν τῶν ὀνομάτων παράθεσις. ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ἀγνοομέ-

5 νων εἰς τέλος ὁμοίων ἔχει τὴν δύναμιν ἡ τῶν ὀνο-

μάτων ἐξήγησις ταῖς ἀδιανοήτοις καὶ κρουσματικαῖς λέξεις. τῆς γὰρ διανοίας ἐπ' οὐδὲν ἀπερειδομένης οὐδὲ δυναμένης ἐφαρμόττεν τὸ λεγόμενον ἐπ' οὐ-

6 δὲν γνώριμον, ἀνυπότακτος καὶ κωφῇ γίνεθ' ἡ δι-

7 ἱγνησίς. διόπερ ὑποδεικτέος ἂν εἰς τρόπος, δι' οὐ δυνατὸν ἔσται περὶ τῶν ἀγνοομένων λέγοντας κατὰ ποσὸν εἰς ἀληθινὰ καὶ γνωρίμους ἐννοίας ἁγεων τοὺς ἀκούοντας.

6 Πρώτη μὲν οὖν καὶ μεγίστη γνώσις, ἐτί δὲ κοινῇ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἑστὶν ἡ τοῦ περιέχοντος ἡμᾶς διαίρεσις καὶ τάξις, καθ' ἣν πάντες, ὡν καὶ μικρὸν ὀφελός, ἀνατολάς, δύσεις, μεσημβρίαν, ἀρκτον, 

7 γνωρίζομεν. δευτέρα δὲ, καθ' ἣν ἐκάστη διαφορὰ τῶν προειρημένων τοὺς ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς τόπους ὑποτάτ-
consisting now of fifty thousand foot and about nine thousand horse, he advanced through the Pyrenees towards the crossing of the Rhone, having now an army not so strong in number as serviceable and highly trained owing to the unbroken series of wars in Spain.

36. That my narrative may not be altogether obscure to readers owing to their ignorance of the topography I must explain whence Hannibal started, what countries he traversed, and into what part of Italy he descended. Nor must I simply give the names of countries, rivers, and cities, as some authors do under the idea that this is amply sufficient for a clear knowledge. I am of opinion that as regards known countries the mention of names is of no small assistance in recalling them to our memory, but in the case of unknown lands such citation of names is just of as much value as if they were unintelligible and inarticulate sounds. For the mind here has nothing to lean upon for support and cannot connect the words with anything known to it, so that the narrative is associated with nothing in the readers' mind, and therefore meaningless to him. We must therefore light upon and indicate a method which will make it possible when speaking of unknown places to convey to the reader a more or less real and familiar notion of them.

Now the primary and most general conception and one common to all mankind is the division and ordering of the heavens by which all of us, even those of the meanest capacity, distinguish East, West, South, and North. The next step in knowledge is to classify the parts of the earth under each of these divisions,

---

*Cf. Bk. v. 21. 4.*
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

tontes kai férontes ἀεὶ τῇ διανοίᾳ τὸ λεγόμενον ἐπὶ τί τῶν προειρημένων εἰς γνωρίμους καὶ συνήθεις ἐπινοιάς ἐμπίπτομεν ὑπέρ τῶν ἀγνώστων κἀο-

37 τῶν τόπων. τούτων δὲ περὶ τῆς ὀλης γῆς ὑπο-

37 κειμένων, ἀκόλουθον ἂν εἴη τὸ καὶ περὶ τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς οἰκουμένης ἀνὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον διελομένου

2 εἰς ἐπίστασιν ἀγαγεῖν τοὺς ἀκούοντας. ταύτης δι-

ηρημένης εἰς τρία μέρη καὶ τρεῖς ὀνομασίας, τὸ μὲν ἐν μέρος αὐτῆς Ἀσίαν, τὸ δ' ἔτερον Διβύνην, τὸ δὲ

3 τρίτον Ἑυρώπην προσαγορεύουσι. τὰς δὲ διαφορὰς

tαύτας ὀρίζουσιν ὑ τε Τάναῖς ποταμὸς καὶ Νεῖλος

4 καὶ τὸ καθ' Ἡρακλέους στῆλας στόμα. Νεῖλον μὲν

οὖν καὶ Τανάίδος μεταξὺ τὴν Ἀσίαν κεῖσθαι συμ-

βέθηκε, πίπτειν δὲ τοῦ περιέχοντος ὑπὸ τὸ μεταξὺ

5 διάστημα θερινῶν ἀνατολῶν καὶ μεσημβρίας. ἡ δὲ

Διβύνη κεῖται μὲν μεταξὺ Νεῖλον καὶ στήλῶν Ἡρα-

κλείων, τοῦ δὲ περιέχοντος πέπτωκεν ὑπὸ τε τὴν

μεσημβρίαν καὶ κατὰ τὸ συνεχὲς ὑπὸ τὰς χειμερ-

νὰς δύσεις ἐως τῆς ἱσημερινῆς καταφορᾶς, ἡ πίπτει

6 καθ' Ἡρακλείους στήλας. αὕτη μὲν οὖν αἱ χώραι

καθολικῶτερον θεωροῦμεν τὸν πρὸς τὴν μεση-

μβρίαν τόπον ἐπέχουσι τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς θαλάττης ἀπὸ

7 τῶν ἀνατολῶν ὡς πρὸς τὰς δύσεις. ἡ δ' Ἑυρώπη

tαύτας ἀμφοτέρας ὡς πρὸς τὰς ἄρκτους ἀντιπαρά-

κειται, κατὰ τὸ συνεχὲς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνατολῶν παρ-

8 ἢκουσα μὲν ἀχρι πρὸς τὰς δύσεις, κεῖται δ' αὐτῆς

τὸ μὲν ὀλοσχέρεστον καὶ βαθύτερον μέρος ὑπ' ἡμῶν τὰς ἄρκτους μεταξὺ τοῦ τε Τανάιδος ποτα-

86 μοῦ καὶ τοῦ Νάρβωνος, διού νοῦν ἀπέχει τόπον

8 ὡς πρὸς δύσεις ἀπὸ Μασσαλίας καὶ τῶν τοῦ 'Ρο-

δανοῦ στομάτων, δι' ἰδίᾳ εἰς τὸ Σαρδόνιον πέλαγος

9 ἔξιθεν ὁ προειρημένος ποταμὸς. ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Νάρ-
ever mentally referring each statement to one of them until we arrive at a familiar conception of unknown and unseen regions. This once established as regards the whole earth, it remains for me to lay before my readers the division on the same principle of that portion of the world known to us. This is divided into three parts, each with its name, the one part being called Asia, the second Africa, and the third Europe. Their respective boundaries are the river Don, the Nile, and the straits at the Pillars of Hercules. Asia lies between the Nile and Don and falls under that portion of the heaven lying between the north-east and the south. Africa lies between the Nile and the Pillars of Hercules, and it falls under the portion of the heaven which extends from the south to the south-west and west, as far as the point of the equinoctial sunset, in which latter quarter are the Pillars of Hercules. These two divisions of the earth, then, regarded from a general point of view, occupy the part of it which lies to the south of the Mediterranean, reaching from east to west. Europe lies opposite to them on the north shore of this sea, extending continuously from east to west, its most compact and deepest portion lying due north between the Don and the Narbo, the latter river being not far to the west of Marseilles and of the mouths by which the Rhone discharges itself into the Sardinian Sea. The Celts inhabit the
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

βωνὸς καὶ τὰ περὶ τούτον Κελτοί νέμονται μέχρι τῶν προσαγορευμένων Πυρηναίων ὅρων, ἅ δια-
τείνει κατὰ τὸ συνεχὲς ἀπὸ τῆς καθ’ ἡμᾶς θαλάτ-
10 τῆς ἐως εἰς τὴν ἐκτόσ. τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν μέρος τῆς Ἑυρώπης ἀπὸ τῶν προειρημένων ὅρων τὸ συνάπτον
πρὸς τε τὰς δύσεις καὶ πρὸς Ἰερακλείους στήλας
περιέχεται μὲν ὑπὸ τε τῆς καθ’ ἡμᾶς καὶ τῆς ἐξω
θαλάττης, καλεῖται δὲ τὸ μὲν παρὰ τὴν καθ’ ἡμᾶς
11 παρῆκον ἐως Ἰερακλείων στηλῶν Ἰβηρία, τὸ δὲ
παρὰ τὴν ἐξω καὶ μεγάλην προσαγορευμένην κοινὴν
μὲν ὀνομασίαν οὐκ ἔχει διὰ τὸ προσφάτως κατωπτεῦ-
σθαι, κατοικεῖται δὲ πάν ὑπὸ βαρβάρων ἐθνῶν καὶ
πολυνομρώπων, ὑπὲρ ὃν ἡμεῖς μετὰ ταῦτα τὸν
38 κατὰ μέρος λόγον ἀποδόσομεν. καθάπερ δὲ καὶ τῆς
Ἀσίας καὶ τῆς Λιβύης, καθὸ συνάπτοντος ἀλλήλαις
περὶ τὴν Ἁιδιοπίαν, οὐδὲς ἔχει λέγειν ἀτρεκῶς ἐως
τῶν καθ’ ἡμᾶς καίρων πότερον ἡπειρός ἐστὶ κατὰ
tὸ συνεχὲς τὰ πρὸς τὴν μεσημβρίαν ἡθαλάττη τερι-
2 ἐχεται, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον τὸ μεταξὺ Τανάϊδος καὶ
Νάρβονος εἰς τὰς ἀρκτοὺς ἀνήκον ἄγνωστον ἡμῶν
ἐως τοῦ νῦν ἐστιν, ἐὰν μὴ τι μετὰ ταῦτα πολυ-
3 πραγμονοῦντες ἱστορήσωμεν. τοὺς δὲ λέγοντάς τι
περὶ τούτων ἄλλως ἡ γράφοντας ἄγνοεῖν καὶ μῦ-
θους διατίθεσθαι νομιστέοι.
4 Ταῦτα μὲν ὅπως εἰρήσθω μοι χάριν τοῦ μὴ τε-
λέως ἀνυπότακτον εἶναι τοῖς ἀπείροις τῶν τόπων
τὴν διήγησιν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ γε τὰς ὀλοσχερεῖς δια-
φορὰς συνεπιβάλλειν καὶ φέρειν ἐπὶ τὶ τῇ διανοιὰς
τὸ λεγόμενον, τεκμαιρομένους ἐκ τοῦ περιέχοντος.
5 καθάπερ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς ὅρασεως εἰθίσμεθα συνεπι-
country near the Narbo and beyond it as far as the chain of the Pyrenees which stretches in an unbroken line from the Mediterranean to the Outer Sea. The remaining part of Europe beyond the Pyrenees reaching to its western end and to the Pillars of Hercules is bounded on the one side by the Mediterranean and on the other by the Outer Sea, that portion which is washed by the Mediterranean as far as the Pillars of Hercules being called Iberia, while that part which lies along the Outer or Great Sea has no general name, as it has only recently come under notice, but is all densely inhabited by barbarous tribes of whom I shall speak more particularly on a subsequent occasion. 38. Just as with regard to Asia and Africa where they meet in Aethiopia no one up to the present has been able to say with certainty whether the southern extension of them is continuous land or is bounded by a sea, so that part of Europe which extends to the north between the Don and Narbo is up to now unknown to us, and will remain so unless the curiosity of explorers lead to some discoveries in the future. We must pronounce that those who either by word of mouth or in writing make rash statements about these regions have no knowledge of them, and invent mere fables.

I have said so much in order that my narrative should not be without something to range itself under in the minds of those who are ignorant of the localities, but that they should have some notion at least of the main geographical distinctions, with which they can connect in thought and to which they can refer my statements, calculating the position of places from the quarter of the heaven under which they lie. For as in the case of physical sight we
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

στρέφειν ἀεὶ τὰ πρόσωπα πρὸς τὸ κατὰ τὴν ἐνδει-ξιν ὑποδεικνύμενον, οὔτως καὶ τῇ διανοίᾳ χρη συν- διανεύειν καὶ συρρέειν ἐπὶ τοὺς τόπους ἀεὶ τοὺς διὰ τοῦ λόγου συνεπιδεικνυμένους. ἀφέμενοι δὲ τούτων τρεξόμεθα πρὸς τὸ συνεχὲς τῆς προκειμένης ἡμῶν διηγήσεως.

2 Ἡρακλείους στῆλας. τοῦτο δὲ τὸ μήκὸς ἔστι τῆς παραλίας ύπὲρ τοὺς ἐξακισχιλίους καὶ μυρίους στα- δίους. διαβάντες δὲ τὸν καθ "Ἡρακλείους στῆλας πόρον ὁμοίως ἐκεκρατήκεισαν καὶ τῆς Ἰβηρίας ἀπά- σης ἐως τῆς βακχίας, δὲ πέρας ἐστὶ πρὸς τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς θαλάττῃ τῶν Πυρηναίων ὅρων, ἀ διορίζει

5 τοὺς Ἰβηρας καὶ Κελτοὺς. ἀπέχει δὲ τοῦ καθ "Ἡρακλείους στῆλας στόματος οὔτος δὲ τόπος περὶ ὀκτακισχιλίους σταδίους. ἐπὶ μὲν γὰρ Καυνῆν πό- λιν ἀπὸ στηλῆν εἶναι συμβαίνει τρισχιλίους, θεν ἐποιεῖτο τὴν ὄρμην Ἀνυβάς τὴν εἰς Ἰταλίαν. [τὴν δὲ Καυνῆν πόλιν ἔνωι Νέαν Καρχηδόνα καλοῦσιν.] ἀπὸ δὲ ταύτης εἰσὶν ἐπὶ μὲν τὸν Ἰβηρα ποσαμῶν

7 ἐξακόσιοι στάδιοι πρὸς δισχιλίοις, ἀπὸ δὲ τούτου πάλιν εἰς Ἕμπτοριον χίλιοι σὺν ἐξακοσίοις, <ἀπὸ δ' Ἕμπτοριον πόλεως εἰς Νάρββνα περὶ ἐξακοσίοις,> καὶ μὴν ἐντεῦθεν ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ Ῥοδανοῦ διάβασιν περὶ χιλίους ἐξακοσίους· ταῦτα γὰρ νῦν βεβημά- τισται καὶ σεσημεῖσθαι κατὰ σταδίους ὀκτὼ διὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐπιμελῶς. ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς διαβάσεως τοῦ Ῥοδανοῦ πορευομένου παρ' αὐτὸν τὸν ποσαμὸν ὡς ἐπὶ τὰς πηγὰς ἐως πρὸς τὴν ἀναβολήν τῶν Ἀλπεων 90
are in the habit of turning our faces in the direction of any object pointed out to us, so should we mentally ever turn and shift our glance to each place to which the story calls our attention.

39. Dismissing this matter I will now continue my narrative. At the time of which we are speaking the Carthaginians were masters of all that part of Africa which looks towards the Mediterranean from the Altars of Philænus on the Greater Syrtis as far as the Pillars of Hercules. The length of this coast-line is more than sixteen thousand stades. Crossing the straits at the Pillars of Hercules they had similarly subdued all Iberia as far as the point on the coast of the Mediterranean where the Pyrenees, which separate the Celts from the Iberians, end. This spot is about eight thousand stades distant from the mouth of this sea at the Pillars of Hercules, the distance being three thousand stades from the Pillars to New Carthage, from which place Hannibal started for Italy, two thousand six hundred stades from hence to the Ebro, and from the Ebro to Emporium one thousand six hundred stades. From Emporium to Narbo it is about six hundred stades, and from Narbo to the passage of the Rhone about sixteen hundred, this part of the road having now been carefully measured by the Romans and marked with milestones at every eighth stade. From the passage of the Rhone, following the bank of the river in the direction of its source as far as the foot of the pass across the Alps to Italy, the distance is

* Originally the boundary between Egypt and Cyrene.
10 τὴν εἰς Ἰταλίαν χίλιοι τετρακόσιοι. λοιπαὶ δ' αἱ τῶν Ἀλπεων ύπερβολαί, περὶ χίλιοις διακοσίους· ἀς ύπερβαλὼν ἔμελλεν ἦξεν εἰς τὰ περὶ τὸν Πάδον
11 πεδία τῆς Ἰταλίας. ὡστ' εἶναι τοὺς πάντας ἐκ Καὶ-
νῆς πόλεως σταδίους περὶ ἐννακισχίλιους, οὐς ἔδει
12 διελθεῖν αὐτὸν. τούτων δὲ τῶν τόπων κατὰ μὲν
tὸ μῆκος ἦδη σχεδόν τοὺς ἡμίσεις διελθῆθει, κατὰ
dὲ τὴν δυσχέρειαν τὸ πλέον αὐτῷ μέρος ἀπελεύπετο
τῆς πορείας.
40 Ἀννίβας μὲν οὖν ἐνεχείρει ταῖς διεκβολαίς τῶν
Πυρηναίων ὅρων, κατάφοβος ἄν τοὺς Κελτοὺς διὰ
2 τὰς χυμώτητας τῶν τόπων. Ὡμαιοὶ δὲ κατὰ τοὺς
αὐτοὺς καιροὺς διακοῦσαντες μὲν τῶν ἐξαποσταλέν-
tων εἰς Καρχηδόνα προσβεντών τὰ δεδομένα καὶ
tούς ῥηθέντας λόγους, προσπεσόντος δὲ θάττον ἢ
προσεδόκων Ἀννίβαν διαβεβηκέναι τὸν Ἰβηρα πο-
tαμὸν μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως, προεχειρίσαντο πέμπειν
μετὰ στρατοπέδων Πόλιου μὲν Κορνήλιου εἰς Ἰβη-
ρίαν, Τεβέριον δὲ Σεμπρώνιον εἰς Λιβύην.
3 Ἐν ὅσῳ δ' οὕτω περὶ τὰς καταγραφὰς ἐγίνοντο
τῶν στρατοπέδων καὶ τὴν ἄλλην παρασκευήν,
ἔσπευσαν ἐπὶ τέλος ἀγαγεῖν τά κατὰ τὰς ἀποικίας,
οὐ δὲ πρότερον ἦσαν εἰς Γαλατίαν ἀποστέλλειν προ-
4 κεχειρισμένοι. τὰς μὲν οὖν πόλεις ἑνεργῶς ἑτείχιζον,
tοὺς δὲ οἰκήτορας ἐν ἡμέραις τριάκοντα παρῆγγελιαν
ἐπιτόπους γίνεσθαι, τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὄντας εἰς ἐκάτερον
5 τὴν πόλιν εἰς ἑξακισχίλιους. ὃν τὴν μὲν μίαν ἐκτι-
ζον ἐπὶ τάδε τοῦ Πάδου ποταμοῦ, προσαγορεύσαν-
tες Πλακεντίαν, τὴν δ' ἄλλην ἐπὶ θάτερα, κατονο-
6 μάσαντες Κρεμώνην. ἦδη δὲ τούτων συνωκισμένων,
oῖ Βοῖοι καλούμενοι Γαλάται, πάλαι μὲν οὖν λο-
χώντες τὴν πρὸς Ὡμαιοὺς φιλίαν, οὐκ ἔχοντες δὲ
fourteen hundred stades, and the length of the actual pass which would bring Hannibal down into the plain of the Po, about twelve hundred. So that to arrive there he had, starting from New Carthage, to march about nine thousand stades. Of this, as far as distance goes, he had nearly traversed the half, but if we look to difficulty far the largest part lay before him.

40. While Hannibal was thus attempting to cross the Pyrenees, in great fear of the Celts owing to the natural strength of the passes, the Romans, having received from the envoys they had sent to Carthage an account of the decision arrived at, and the speeches made there, and on news reaching them sooner than they had expected that Hannibal had crossed the Ebro with his army, determined to send, with their legions, the Consuls Publius Cornelius Scipio to Spain and Tiberius Sempronius Longus to Africa.

While occupied in enrolling the legions and making other preparations they were pushing on the project of establishing in Cisalpine Gaul the colonies on which they had decided. They took active steps to fortify the towns, and ordered the colonists, who were about six thousand in number for either city, to be on the spot within thirty days. The one city they founded on this side of the Po, calling it Placentia, the other, which they named Cremona, on the far side. Scarce had both these colonies been established when the Boii Gauls, who had been for long as it were lying in wait to throw off their allegiance to Rome, but had hitherto found no
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

7 τότε καυρόν, μετεωρίζόμενοι καὶ πιστεύοντες ἐκ τῶν διαπεμπομένων τῇ παρουσίᾳ τῶν Καρχηδονίων, ἀπέστησαν ἀπὸ Ῥωμαίων, ἑγκαταληπτόντες τοὺς ὁμή-ρους, οὓς ἐδοσαν ἐκβαίνοντες ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ προγεγονότος, ὑπὲρ οὗ τὴν ἔξηγήσιν ἤμεις ἐν τῇ
8 προτέρα βυβλίω ταύτης ἐποιησάμεθα. παρακαλέ-σαντες δὲ τοὺς Ἰνσομβρασ, καὶ συμφρονήσαντες κατὰ τὴν προγεγενημένην ὅργην, κατέσυραν τὴν κατακεκληρουχημένην χώραν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων, καὶ
touς φεύγοντας συνδιώκαντες εἰς Μοτίνην, ἀποκίαν
9 ὑπάρχουσαν Ῥωμαίων, ἐπολιόρκουν. εἰς οἷς καὶ τρεῖς ἄνδρας τῶν ἐπιφανῶν συνέκλεισαν τοὺς ἐπὶ τὴν διαίρεσιν τῆς χώρας ἀπεσταλμένους. ὅν εἰς μὲν ἦν Γαίος Λυτάτιος καὶ τὴν ὑπατον ἀρχήν εἰληφὼς,
10 οἱ δὲ δύο τὴν ἐξαπέλεκαν. οἰομένων δὲ δεῖν τού-των εἰς λόγους σφίζει συνελθεῖν, ὑπήκουσαν οἱ Βοῖοι. τῶν δὲ ἄνδρῶν ἐξελθόντων, παραπόνδη-σαντες συνέλαβον αὐτούς, ἐλπίσαντες διὰ τοῦτων
11 κομιεῖσθαι τοὺς αὐτῶν ὁμήρους. λεύκιος δὲ Μάλ-λιοσ ἐξαπέλεκεν ὑπάρχων, καὶ προκαθήμενος επὶ τῶν τόπων μετὰ δυνάμεως, ἀκούσας τὸ γεγονός,
12 ἐβοήθει κατὰ σπουδήν. οἱ δὲ Βοῖοι συνέντευαν αὐτοῦ τὴν παρουσίαν, ἐν τοῖς δρυμοῖς ἐτοιμάσαντες ἐνέ-δρας, ἀμα τῷ παρελθέν εἰς τοὺς ὑλώδεις τόπους πανταχόθεν ἀμα προσπεσόντες πολλοὺς ἀπέκτειναν
13 τῶν Ῥωμαίων. οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ τὰς μὲν ἄρχας ώρμη-σαν πρὸς φυγήν· ἔπει δὲ τῶν ὑψηλῶν ἡπαίνο τχω-ρίων, ἐπὶ ποσὸν συνέστησαν οὔτως ὡστε μόλις εὐσχῆμον ποιήσασθαι τὴν ἀποχώρησιν. οἱ δὲ Βοῖοι κατακολουθήσαντες συνέκλεισαν καὶ τούτους
14 εἰς τὴν Τάννητος καλουμένην κώμην. τοῖς δὲ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμη προσπεσόντος ὅτι τὸ τέταρτον στρατόπεδον 94
opportunity, elated now by the messages they received assuring them of the near arrival of the Carthaginians, revolted from Rome, abandoning the hostages they gave at the end of the former war which I described in my last Book. Calling on the Insubres to join them, whose support they easily gained owing to their long-standing rancour against Rome, they overran the lands which the Romans had allotted to their colonies and on the settlers taking to flight, pursued them to Mutina, a Roman colony, and there besieged them. Among those shut up there were three men of high rank who had been sent to carry out the partitionment of the country, Gaius Lutatius, a former Consul, and two former Praetors. On these three requesting a parley with the Boii, the latter consented, but when they came out for the purpose they treacherously made them prisoners, hoping by means of them to get back their own hostages. When the Praetor Lucius Manlius, who with his troops was occupying an advanced position in the neighbourhood, heard of this, he hastened up to give help. The Boii had heard of his approach, and posting ambuscades in a certain forest attacked him from all sides at once as soon as he reached the wooded country, and killed many of the Romans. The remainder at first took to flight, but on getting to higher ground rallied just enough to give their retreat an appearance of order. The Boii following at their heels shut this force too up in the place called Vicus Tannetis.\(^a\) When the news reached Rome that the

\(^a\) Near Parma.
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

περιειλημμένον ὑπὸ τῶν Βοίων πολιορκεῖται κατὰ κράτος, τὰ μὲν τῷ Ποπλίῳ προκεχειρισμένα στρατόπεδα κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐξαπέστελλεν ἐπὶ τὴν τούτων βοήθειαν, ἥγεμόνα συστήσαντες ἐξαπέλεκυν, ἅλλα δὲ συνάγειν καὶ καταγράφειν ἐκ τῶν συμμάχων αὐτῶν παρήγγειλαν.

41 Τὰ μὲν οὖν κατὰ Κελτοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς ἄρχης ἐως εἰς τὴν 'Αννίβου παρουσίαν ἐν τούτοις ἦν καὶ τοι- αὐτὴν εἰλήφει διέξοδον, οἵαν ἐν τε τοῖς πρὸ τοῦ
καὶ νῦν διεληλύθαμεν. οἱ δὲ στρατηγοὶ τῶν Ῥω-μαίων ἐτομασάμενοι τὰ πρὸς τὰς ἱδίας ἐπιβολάς,
ἐξέπλευν ὑπὸ τὴν ὁραίαν ἐπὶ τὰς προκειμένας πρά-
ξεις, Πόπλιος μὲν οὖν εἰς Ἰβηρίαν ἐξήκοντα ναυσί,
Τεβέριος δὲ Σεμπρώνιος εἰς Λιβύην ἐκατὸν ἐξήκον-
τα σκάφεσι πεντηρικοῖς. οἷς οὕτως καταπληκτικῶς
ἐπεβάλετο πολεμεῖν καὶ τοιαύτας ἐποιεῖτο παρα-
σκευὰς ἐν τῷ Λιμυβαίῳ, πάντας καὶ πανταχόθεν
ἀθροίζων, ὡς εὐθέως ἐκ κατάπλου πολιορκήσων
4 αὐτὴν τὴν Καρχηδόνα. Πόπλιος δὲ κομισθεὶς παρὰ
tὴν Δαυστίνην ἢκε πεμπταῖος ἀπὸ Πισών εἰς τοὺς
5 κατὰ Μασσαλίαν τόπους, καὶ καθορισθεὶς πρὸς τὸ
πρῶτον στόμα τοῦ 'Ροδανοῦ, τὸ Μασσαλιστικὸν
6 προσαγορεύμονεν, ἀπεβίβαζε τὰς δυνάμεις, ἀκούων
μὲν ὑπερβάλλειν ἡδή τὰ Πυρηναία τοῦ 'Αννίβαν
ὄρη, πεπεσμένος δὲ ἐτὶ μακρὰν ἀπέχειν αὐτῶν διὰ
τε τὰς δυσχωρίας τῶν τόπων καὶ διὰ τὸ πλῆθος
7 τῶν μεταξὺ κεμένων Κελτῶν. 'Αννίβας δὲ παρα-
δόξως, τοὺς μὲν χρήμασι πείσα τῶν Κελτῶν, τοὺς
dὲ βιασάμενος, ἢκε μετὰ τῶν δυνάμεων, δεξιῶν
ἐχων τὸ Σαρδόνιον πέλαγος, ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ 'Ροδανοῦ
8 διάβασιν. δὲ Πόπλιος, διασαφηθέντος αὐτῶ παρ-
εῦαι τοὺς ὑπεναντίους, τὰ μὲν ἀπιστῶν διὰ τὸ
96
fourth legion was surrounded by the Boii and besieged, they instantly sent off the legions destined for Publius under the command of a Praetor to its assistance, ordering Publius to enrol other legions from the allies.

41. The condition and course of Celtic affairs from the outset up to the arrival of Hannibal were such as I have narrated here and in the previous Book. The two Roman Consuls, having made all preparations for their respective enterprises, set sail early in summer to take in hand the operations determined on, Publius bound for Iberia with sixty ships and Tiberius Sempronius for Africa with a hundred and sixty quinqueremes. With these he threatened such a redoubtable expedition and made such vast preparations at Lilybaeum, collecting all kinds of forces from everywhere, that it seemed as if he expected to sail up to Carthage and at once lay siege to it. Publius, coasting along Liguria, reached the neighbourhood of Marseilles from Pisa in five days, and coming to anchor off the first mouth of the Rhone, known as the Massaliotic mouth, disembarked his forces there, having heard that Hannibal was already crossing the Pyrenees, but convinced that he was still at a distance of many days' march owing to the difficulty of the country and the numbers of Celtic tribes between them. Hannibal, however, who had bribed some of the Celts and forced others to give him passage, unexpectedly appeared with his army at the crossing of the Rhone, having marched with the Sardinian Sea on his right. Publius, when the arrival of the enemy was reported to him, being partly incredulous owing to the
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

táchos tῆς παρουσίας, τὰ δὲ βουλόμενος εἰδέναι τὴν ἀκρίβειαν, αὐτὸς μὲν ἀνελάμβανε τὰς δυνάμεις ἐκ τοῦ πλοῦ, καὶ διευκολύοντο μετὰ τῶν χιλιάρχων ποιοὺς χρηστέον τῶν τόπων καὶ συμμικτέον τοῖς ύπεναντίοις. τριακοσίους δὲ τῶν ἐπεσῶν ἐξαπέστειλε τοὺς ἀνδρῳδεστάτους, συστήσας μετ’ αὐτῶν καθηγεμόνας ἄμα καὶ συναγωνιστὰς Κελτοὺς, οἱ παρὰ τοῖς Μασσαλίωταις ἐτύγχανον μισθοφοροῦντες.

42 Αννίβας δὲ προσμίγας τοῖς περὶ τὸν ποταμὸν τόποις, εὐθέως ἐνεχείρησε ποιεῖσθαι τὴν διάβασιν κατὰ τὴν ἀπλὴν μῦσαν, σχεδὸν ἠμερῶν τεττάρων δὸν αἵρεσιν στρατοπέδω τῆς θαλάττης. καὶ φιλοποιησάμενος παντὶ τρόπῳ τοὺς παροικοῦντας τὸν ποταμὸν ἐξηγόρασε παρ’ αὐτῶν τὰ τε μονοξύλα πλοῖα πάντα καὶ τοὺς λέμβους, ὡντας ἴκανον τῷ πλήθει διὰ τὸ ταῖς ἐκ τῆς θαλάττης ἐμπορίας πολλοὺς χρήσθαι τῶν παροικοῦντων τὸν Ῥοδανόν. ἔτι δὲ τὴν ἀρμόζουσαν ἐυλείαν ἐξέλαβε πρὸς τὴν κατα- σκευὴν τῶν μονοξύλων. εἴπερ δὲν ἔν δυσὶν ἠμέρας πλῆθος ἀναρίθμητον ἐγένετο πορθμείων, ἐκάστου ἑπεδύοντος μὴ προσδείσθαι τοῦ πέλας, ἐν αὐτῷ δὲ ἐξείρων τῆς διαβάσεως ἐλπίδας. κατὰ δὲ τὸν καιρὸν τούτον ἐν τῷ πέραν πλῆθος ἠθροίσθη βαρβά- ρων χάριν τοῦ κωλύσει τὴν τῶν Καρχηδονίων διά- βασιν. εἰς ούς ἀποβλέπουσιν Ἀννίβας καὶ συλλογιζό- μενος ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ὡς οὔτε διαβάσεις μετὰ βίας δυνατὸν εἰς τοσούτων πολεμίων ἐφεστώτων, οὔτ’ εἰπμένειν, μὴ πανταχόθεν προσδέξῃται τοὺς ὑπεναντίους, ἐπιγενομένης τῆς τρίτης νυκτὸς ἐξ- ἀποστέλλει μέρος τι τῆς δυνάμεως, συστήσας καθηγεμόνας ἐγχωρίους, ἐπὶ δὲ πάντων Ἀννίβα τὸν Βοιαμίλκου τοῦ βασιλέως. οἱ ποιησάμενοι τῇ πο-

98
rapidity of their advance and partly desirous of ascertaining the exact truth—while he himself was refreshing his troops after their voyage and consulting with his Tribunes in what place it would be wisest to offer battle to the enemy—sent out three hundred of his bravest cavalry, giving them as guides and supports certain Celts who were in the service of the Massaliots as mercenaries.

42. Hannibal, on reaching the neighbourhood of the river, at once set about attempting to cross it where the stream is single at a distance of about four days' march from the sea. Doing his best to make friends with the inhabitants of the bank, he bought up all their canoes and boats, amounting to a considerable number, since many of the people on the banks of the Rhone engage in maritime traffic. He also got from them the logs suitable for making the canoes, so that in two days he had an innumerable quantity of ferry-boats, every one doing his best to dispense with any assistance and relying on himself for his chance of getting across. In the meantime a large force of barbarians had gathered on the opposite bank to prevent the Carthaginians from crossing. Hannibal observing this and concluding that as things stood it was neither possible to force a crossing in face of such a strong hostile force nor to put it off, lest he should find himself attacked on all sides, sent off on the third night after his arrival a portion of his army, giving them native guides and placing them under the command of Hanno, the son of Bomilcar the Suffete.
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

reìan ἀντίοι τῷ ἑρύματι παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐπὶ διακόσια στάδια, παραγενόμενοι πρὸς τινα τόπον, ἐν ὧν συνέβαινε περὶ τι χωρίον νησίζουν περισχίζει-8 σθαι τὸν ποταμὸν, ἐνταῦθα κατέμεναν. ἦκ δὲ τῆς παρακειμένης υλῆς τὰ μὲν συμπηγνώντες τῶν ξύλων, τὰ δὲ συνδημέουντες, ἐν οἷς χρόνῳ πολλάς ἤρ-μοσαν σχεδίας, ἀρκούσας τῇ χρείᾳ πρὸς τὸ παρόν· ἐφ' αἷς διεκομίσθησαν ἀσφαλῶς οὐδενὸς κωλύοντος. 9 καταλαβόμενοι δὲ τὸπον ἔχουν ἐκείνην μὲν τὴν ἡμέραν ἐμεναν ἀναπαύοντες σφᾶς ἐκ τῆς προγε-γενημένης κακοπαθείας, ἄμα δὲ παρασκευαζόμενοι πρὸς τὴν ἐπιούσαν χρείαν κατὰ τὸ συντεταγμένον. 10 καὶ μήν Ἀνίβας τὸ παραπλήσιον ἐποίει περὶ τὸς 11 μεθ' εαυτοῦ καταλειφθείσας δυνάμεις. μάλιστα δ' αὐτῷ παρεῖ χυστητικὴν ἡ τῶν ἐλεφάντων διάβασις· οὕτω δ' ἦσαν ἐπὶ καὶ τριάκοντα τὸν ἀριθμὸν.

43 Οὐ μήν ἀλλ' ἐπιγενομένης τῆς πέμπτης νυκτὸς οἱ μὲν προδιαβάντες ἐκ τοῦ πέραν ὑπὸ τὴν ἐωθε-νήν προῆγον παρ' αὐτὸν τὸν ποταμὸν ἐπὶ τοὺς 2 ἄντιπερα βαρβάρους, ὅ δ' Ἀνίβας ἐτοίμους ἔχον τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐπείχε τῇ διαβάσει, τοὺς μὲν λέμ-βους πεπληρωκὼς τῶν πελτοφόρων ἀπέπνευ, τὰ δὲ 3 μονόξυλα τῶν εὐκυνητότατων πεζῶν. ἐξον δὲ τὴν μὲν ἐξ ὑπερδεξίου καὶ παρὰ τὸ ἑρύμα τάξιν οἱ λέμ-βοι, τὴν δ' ὑπὸ τούτους τὰ λεπτὰ τῶν ποτῃμείων, ῥὰ τὸ πολὺ τῆς τοῦ ἑρύματος βίας ἀποδεχομένων τῶν λέμβων ἀσφαλεστέρα γίνοιτο τοῖς μονοξύλοις 4 ἡ παρακομηδὴ διὰ τοῦ πόρου. κατὰ δὲ τὰς πρύμνας τῶν λέμβων ἐφέλκειν διενοοῦντο τοὺς ἱπποὺς νέον-τας, τρεῖς ἡμι καὶ τέτταρας τοῖς ἀγωγεύσων ἐνὸς ἀνδρὸς ἐξ ἐκατέρου τοῦ μέρους τῆς πρύμνης οἰακί- 100
Advancing up the bank of the river for two hundred stades they reached a place at which the stream divides, forming an island, and here they stopped. Using the timber they found ready to hand and either nailing or lashing logs together they soon constructed a number of rafts sufficient for their present need, and on these they crossed in safety, meeting with no opposition. Occupying a post of some natural strength they remained there for that day to rest after their exertions and at the same time to prepare for the movement which they had been ordered to execute. Hannibal, moreover, with the part of the army that remained behind with him, was similarly occupied. The question that caused him the greatest embarrassment was how to get the elephants, thirty-seven in number, across.

43. On the fifth night, however, the force which had already crossed began a little before dawn to advance along the opposite bank against the barbarians there, while Hannibal had got his soldiers ready and was waiting till the time for crossing came. He had filled the boats with his light horse and the canoes with his lightest infantry. The large boats were placed highest up stream and the lighter ferry-boats farther down, so that the heavier vessels receiving the chief force of the current the canoes should be less exposed to risk in crossing. They hit on the plan of towing the horses astern of the boats swimming, one man at each side of the stern guiding three or four horses by their leading reins, so that
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

ζοντος, ὡστε πλῆθος ἵκανον ἵππων συνδιακομίζε-5 σθαι κατὰ τὴν πρώτην εὐθέως διάβασιν. οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι, θεωροῦντες τὴν ἐπιβολὴν τῶν ὑπεναν- τίων, ἀτάκτως ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος ἐξεχέοντο καὶ σπο- ράδην, πεπεισμένοι κωλύειν εὐχερῶς τὴν ἀπόβασιν

6 τῶν Καρχηδονίων. 'Αννίβας δ' ἀμα τῷ συνιδεῖν ἐν τῷ πέραν ἑγγύζοντας ἢδη τοὺς παρ' αὐτοῦ στρα- τιώτας, σημεινόντων ἑκεῖνων τὴν παρουσίαν τῷ καπνῷ κατὰ τὸ συντεταγμένον, ἐμβαινεῖν ἄπασιν ἀμα παρῆγγελλε καὶ βιαζότας πρὸς τὸ ρεύμα τοῖς

7 ἐπὶ τῶν πορθμείων τεταγμένοις. ταχύ δὲ τούτου γενομένου, καὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς πλοίοις ἀμιλλωμένων μὲν πρὸς ἀλλήλους μετὰ κραυγῆς, διαγωνιζομένων

8 δὲ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ ποταμοῦ βίαν, τῶν δὲ στρατοπέ- δῶν ἀμφοτέρων ἐξ ἑκατέρου τοῦ μέρους παρὰ τὰ χείλη τοῦ ποταμοῦ παρεστῶτων, καὶ τῶν μὲν ἴδιων συναγωνιώντων καὶ παρακολουθοῦντων μετὰ κραυ- γῆς, τῶν δὲ κατὰ πρόσωπον βαρβάρων παιανιζόν- των καὶ προκαλομένων τὸν κίνδυνον, ἦν τὸ γνώ-

9 μενον ἐκπληκτικῶν καὶ παραστατικῶν ἀγωνίας. ἐν ὡς καιρῷ τῶν βαρβάρων ἀπολελουτῶν τὰς σκηνὰς ἐπιπεσόντες ἄφνω καὶ παραδόξως οἱ πέραν Καρχη- δόνου, τινὲς μὲν αὐτῶν ἐνεπίμπρασαν τὴν στρατο- πεδεῖαν, οἱ δὲ πλείους ὄρθισαν ἐπὶ τοὺς τὴν διά-

10 βασιν τηροῦντας. οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι, παραλόγου τοῦ πράγματος φανέντος αὐτοῖς, οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τὰς σκηνὰς ἐφέροντο βοηθήσοντες, οἱ δ' ἡμύνοντο καὶ διεμά-

11 χοντο πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιτιθεμένους. 'Αννίβας δὲ, κατὰ τὴν πρόθεσιν αὐτῶν συντρεχόντων τῶν πραγμάτων, εὐθέως τοὺς πρῶτους ἀποβαίνοντας συνίστα καὶ

12 παρεκάλει, καὶ συνεπλέκετο τοῖς βαρβάροις. οἱ δὲ Κελτοὶ καὶ διὰ τὴν ἀταξίαν καὶ διὰ τὸ παράδοξον

102
a considerable number were got across at once in the first batch. The barbarians seeing the enemy's project poured out of their camp, scattered and in no order, feeling sure that they would easily prevent the Carthaginians from landing. Hannibal, as soon as he saw that the force he had previously sent across was near at hand on the opposite bank, they having announced their approach by a smoke-signal as arranged, ordered all in charge of the ferry-boats to embark and push up against the current. He was at once obeyed, and now with the men in the boats shouting as they vied with one another in their efforts and struggled to stem the current, with the two armies standing on either bank at the very brink of the river, the Carthaginians following the progress of the boats with loud cheers and sharing in the fearful suspense, and the barbarians yelling their war-cry and challenging to combat, the scene was in the highest degree striking and thrilling. At this moment, the barbarians having deserted their tents, the Carthaginians on the far bank attacked suddenly and unexpectedly, and while some of them set fire to the enemy's encampment, the larger portion fell upon the defenders of the passage. The barbarians, taken quite by surprise, rushed some of them to save their tents, while others defended themselves against their assailants. Hannibal, all falling out favourably as he had purposed, at once marshalled those of his men who were the first to land, and after addressing some words of exhortation to them, led them to meet the barbarians, upon which the Celts, owing to their disordered
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

tou summaionontos tachéws trapéntes órhimasan pros

44 Ὁ δὲ στρατηγὸς τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἁμα τῆς τε
diabásēs kai τῶν ὑπεναντίων κεκρατηκῶς παραν-
tíka μὲν ἐγώντο πρὸς τῇ παρακομίδῃ τῶν πέραν
2 ἀπολειπομένων ἀνδρῶν, πάσας δ' ἐν βραχεῖ χρόνω

diaperaimássas tás dynámēis ēkeínn μὲν τὴν nýkta
3 par' autón tōn potamóu katestratopédeusse, tῆ δ' ἐπαύριον ἄκουν τὸν τῶν 'Ρωμαίων στόλον περὶ
tā stóma ta tō potamou kathwrmísthai, proxeirισά-

mevon pemptakosious tōn Nómadiκῶν ἵππεων ξαπ-
'έστελε κατασκευομένουs ποῦ kai ēstos tuγχάνου-
4 σιν ὄντες kai tī prάttounoi oi polēmou. kατά δὲ
tōn autōn kaiρόν kai prōs tēn tōn ἔλεφαντων διά-
5 bαsion proxeirίσαto tōus ēpītηdέions. autōs δὲ

swnagagōn tās dynámēis eisήγαγε tōus bαsiliκων
tōus perī Mάγυλον· autōi gár ἥκον prōs autōn ēk

tōn perī tōn Pάδουν pēdίoun· kai dī ērmηνεύο tā
6 dēdογμένα par' autōn dīesάfei tōis ὀχλοις. ἦν
dὲ tōn leγoμένωn ἵσχυρότατα prōs thársoς tōn

pολλῶν πρῶτον μὲν ἡ τῆς παρουσίας ἐνάργεια tōn

ἐπισπωμένων kai koinoνήσειν ἐπαγγελλομένωv tōv
7 prōs 'Ρωμαίων polēmou, δεύτερον dē tō tēs ἐp-

aγgalías autōn αξίωσιστον, ὅτι kathηγήσονται dīa

tōpωn toιουτων dī' ἀν ούδενος ἐπιδείμενοι tōv

ἀναγκαίων suντόμωs ἁμα καὶ μετ' ἀσφαλείας ποι-
8 ἡσονται τῆν εἰς Ἰταλίαν pορεῖαν, prōs dē tōutou

ἡ tῆs χώραs γενναιότης, εἰς ἦν ἀφίξονται, kai tō

μέγεθος, ἔτι dē tōv ἀνδρῶν ἡ prοθυμία, μεθ' ὧν

méλλουν ποιεῖσθαι tōvς ἀγώναs prōs tās tōv 'Ρω-

9 μαίων dynámeis. oi mēn oūn Kελτοί tουατά dιa-

10 lexténtes ἀνεχώρησαν. μετὰ dē tōutous eișelθών

104
condition and to their being taken by surprise, soon turned and turned to flight.

44. The Carthaginian general, having thus made himself master of the passage and defeated the enemy, at once occupied himself in fetching over the men who had been left on the other bank, and having in a very short time brought his whole army across encamped for that night beside the river. Next morning, hearing that the Roman fleet was anchored off the mouths of the Rhone, he selected five hundred of his Numidian horse and sent them off to observe the whereabouts and number of the enemy and what they were about. At the same time he set the proper men to the task of bringing the elephants across and then called a meeting of his soldiers and, introducing Magilus and the other chieftains who had come to him from the plain of the Po, made the troops acquainted through a dragoman with what they reported to be the decision of their tribes. What encouraged the soldiers most in their address was firstly the actual and visible presence of those Gauls who were inviting them to Italy and promising to join them in the war against Rome, and secondly the reliance they placed on their promise to guide them by a route which would take them without their being exposed to any privations, rapidly and safely to Italy. In addition to this the Gauls dwelt on the richness and extent of the country they were going to, and the eager spirit of the men by whose side they were about to face the armies of Rome. The Celts, after speaking in this sense, withdrew, and Hannibal
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

αὐτὸς πρώτον μὲν τῶν προγεγενημένων πράξεων ἀνέμνησε τοὺς ὀχλοὺς· ἐν αἷς ἐφη πολλοῖς αὐτοῖς καὶ παραβόλοις ἔργοις καὶ κυνίνους ἐπικεχερηκότας ἐν οὐδενὶ διεσφάλθαι, κατακολούθησαντας τῇ 11 'κείνῳ γνώμῃ καὶ συμβουλίᾳ. τούτοις δ' ἔξης εὐ-θαρσεὶς εἶναι παρεκάλει, θεωροῦντας διότι τὸ μέ-γιστον ἦνυσται τῶν ἔργων, ἐπειδὴ τῆς τε τοῦ ποτα-μοῦ διαβάσεως κεκρατήκασι τῆς τε τῶν συμμάχων 12 εὐνοίας καὶ προθυμίας αὐτόπται γεγόνασι. διόπερ ὤετο δειν περὶ μὲν τῶν κατὰ μέρος ῥαθυμεῖν, ὡς αὐτῷ μελόντων, πειθαρχοῦντας δὲ τοῖς παραγγέλ-μασιν ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς γίνεσθαι καὶ τῶν προγεγο- 13 νότων ἔργων ἀξίους. τοῦ δὲ πλῆθους ἐπισημαινο-μένου καὶ μεγάλην ὁμῆν καὶ προθυμίαν ἐμφαινο-τος, ἐπανέσας αὐτοὺς καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς ὑπὲρ ἀπάντων εὐξάμενος διαφήκε, παραγγείλας θεραπεύειν σφάς καὶ παρασκευάζεσθαι μετὰ σπουδῆς, ὡς εἰς τὴν αὐ-ριον ἀναζυγήσις ἐσομένης.

45 Δυθείσης δὲ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἦκον τῶν Νομάδων 2 τροποπάδην πεφευγότες. συμπεσόντες γὰρ ὦ μακρὰν ἀπὸ τῆς ἱδίας στρατοπεδείας τοῖς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἱππεῦσι τοῖς ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτὴν χρείαν ἐξαπεσταλμένοις ὑπὸ τοῦ Ποπλίου τοιαύτην ἐποίησαντο φιλοτιμίαν ἀμφότεροι κατὰ τὴν συμπλοκὴν ὅστε τῶν Ῥωμαίων καὶ Κελτῶν εἰς ἐκατὸν ἱππεῖς καὶ τετταράκοντα διαφθαρῆναι, τῶν δὲ Νομάδων ὑπὲρ τοὺς διακοσίους.

3 γενομένων δὲ τούτων οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι συνεγγύσαντες κατὰ τὸ δίωγμα τῶν Καρχηδονίων χάρακι καὶ κατοπτεύσαντες, αὕτης ἔξ ὑποστροφῆς ἦπείγοντο, διασαφήσοντες τῷ στρατηγῷ τὴν παρουσίαν τῶν 106
himself now came forward and began by reminding them of their achievements in the past: though, he said, they had undertaken many hazardous enterprises and fought many a battle they had never met with ill success when they followed his plans and counsels. Next he bade them be of good heart considering that the hardest part of their task was now accomplished, since they had forced the passage of the river and had the testimony of their own eyes and ears to the friendly sentiments and readiness to help of their allies. He begged them therefore to be at their ease about details which were his own business, but to obey orders and behave like brave men and in a manner worthy of their own record in the past. When the men applauded him, exhibiting great enthusiasm and ardour, he commended them and, after offering a prayer to the gods on behalf of all, dismissed them, bidding them get everything ready expeditiously as they would start on their march next day.

45. After the assembly had broken up the Numidian scouts who had been sent out to reconnoitre returned, the greater part of the force lost and the remainder in headlong flight. Not far from their own camp they had fallen in with the Roman cavalry sent out by Publius on the same errand, and both forces had shown such heroism in the engagement that the Romans and Celts lost about a hundred and forty horsemen and the Numidians more than two hundred. Afterwards the Romans carried their pursuit close up to the Carthaginian camp, and having surveyed it, turned and hastily rode off to report to the Consul the arrival of the
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

πολεμίων· ἀφικόμενοι δ' εἰς τὴν παρεμβολὴν ἀνήγγειλαν. Πόπλιος δὲ παρανύκτικα τὴν ἀποσκευὴν ἀναθέμενος ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς, ἀνέζευξε παντὶ τῷ στρατεύματι, καὶ προῆγε παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν, σπεύδων συμμισθαί τοῖς ὑπεναντίοις.

Ἀννίβας δὲ τῇ κατὰ πόδας ἡμέρᾳ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀμα τῷ φωτὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐπείς προέθετο πάντας ὡς πρὸς θάλατταν, ἐφεδρείας ἐχοντας τάξιν, τὴν δὲ τῶν πεζῶν ἐκλίνει δύναμιν ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος εἰς πορείαν. αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας ἐξεδέχετο καὶ τοὺς ἀμα τούτοις ἀπολελειμμένους ἀνδρας. ἐγένετο δ' ἡ διακομιδὴ τῶν θηρίων τοιαύτη τις. τίξαντες σχεδίας καὶ πλείους ἀραρτῶς, τοῦτων δύο πρὸς ἀλλήλας τίξαντες βιαῖως ἤρεισαν ἀμφοτέρας εἰς τὴν γῆν κατὰ τὴν ἐμβασιν τοῦ ποταμοῦ, πλάτος ἔχουσα τὸ συναμφότερον ὡς πεντήκοντα πόδας.

ταῦτας δὲ συζευγνύντες ἄλλας ἐκ τῶν ἐκτὸς προσήμονον, προτείνοντες τὴν κατασκευήν τοῦ ζεύγματος εἰς τὸν πόρον. τὴν δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ βεῦματος πλευράν ἥσφαλιζοντο τοῖς ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἐπιγυώνει, εἰς τὰ περὶ τὸ χείλος πεφυκότα τῶν δένδρων ἐνάπτοντες, πρὸς τὸ συμμένει καὶ μὴ παρωθεῖσθαι τὸ ὅλον ἔργον κατ'A τοῦ ποταμοῦ. ποιήσαντες δὲ πρὸς δύο πλέθρα τῷ μήκει τὸ πάν ζεύγμα τῆς προβολῆς, μετὰ ταῦτα δύο πεπηγνύσας σχεδίας διαφερόντως [τὰς μεγίστας] προσεβάλλον ταῖς ἐσχάταις, πρὸς αὐτὰς μὲν βιαῖως δεδεμένας, πρὸς δὲ τὰς ἄλλας οὗτος ὥστε εὐδιακότους αὐτῶν εἶναι τοὺς δεσμοὺς.

ῥύματα δὲ καὶ πλεῖω ταῦτας ἐνήψαν, οἷς ἐμελλόν οἱ λέμβοι ῥυμούλκοντες οὐκ ἔασεν φέρεσθαι κατὰ ποταμὸν, βία δὲ πρὸς τὸν ῥόουν κατέχοντες παρα- κομεῖν καὶ περαιώσειν ἐπὶ τούτων τὰ θηρία. μετὰ 108
enemy, and on reaching their camp did so. Publius at once put his baggage on board the ships and started with his whole army marching up the river bank with the view of encountering the Carthaginians.

Hannibal, on the day after the assembly, advanced his cavalry in the direction of the sea to act as a covering force and then moved his infantry out of the camp and sent them off on their march, while he himself waited for the elephants and the men who had been left with them. The way they got the elephants across was as follows. 46. They built a number of very solid rafts and lashing two of these together fixed them very firmly into the bank of the river, their united width being about fifty feet. To these they attached others on the farther side, prolonging the bridge out into the stream. They secured the side of it which faced the current by cables attached to the trees that grew on the bank, so that the whole structure might remain in place and not be shifted by the current. When they had made the whole bridge or pier of rafts about two hundred feet long they attached to the end of it two particularly compact ones, very firmly fastened to each other, but so connected with the rest that the lashings could easily be cut. They attached to these several towing-lines by which boats were to tow them, not allowing them to be carried down stream, but holding them up against the current, and thus were to convey the elephants which would be in
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

dε ταύτα χοῦν ἐφερον ἐπὶ πάσας πολύν, ἦς ἐπιβάλλοντες ἐξωμοίωσαν, ὁμάλην καὶ σύγχρονοι ποιούντες τῇ διᾷ τῆς χέρσου φερούσῃ πρὸς τὴν διά-

7 βασιν ὅδι. τῶν δὲ θηρίων εὐθυμένων τοῖς 'Ἰνδοῖς μέχρι μὲν πρὸς τὸ ὕγρον ἀεὶ πειθαρχεῖν, εἰς δὲ τὸ ὕδωρ ἐμβαίνειν οὐδαμῶς ἔτι τολμῶντων, ἴγον διὰ τοῦ χῶματος δύο προθέμενοι θηλείας, πειθαρχοῦν-

8 των αὐταῖς τῶν θηρίων. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐπὶ τὰς τελευταίας ἐπέστησαν σχεδίας, διακόψαντες τοὺς δεσμούς, οἶς προσήρθηντο πρὸς τὰς ἄλλας, καὶ τοῖς λέμβοις ἐπισπασάμενοι τὰ ρύματα, ταχέως ἀπέπασαν ἀπὸ τοῦ χῶματος τά τε θηρία καὶ τὰς ὑπ' αὐτοῖς σχε-

9 διὰς. οὗ γενομένου διαταραχθέντα τά ζῷα κατὰ μὲν τὰς ἄρχας ἐστρέφετο καὶ κατὰ πάντα τὸ ποὺν ὑρμα· περιεχόμενα δὲ πανταχόθεν ὑπὸ τοῦ ρέμα-

10 τος ἀπεδειλιὰ καὶ μένειν ἡναγκάζετο κατὰ χώραν. καὶ τοιούτῳ δὴ τρόπῳ προσαρμοζόμενως άεὶ σχε-

11 διῶν δυνεῖν, τὰ πλείστα τῶν θηρίων ἐπὶ τούτων διεκομίσθη, τινὰ δὲ κατὰ μέσον τὸν πόρον ἀπερ-

12 ριζεῖν εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν αὐτὰ διὰ τὸν φόβον· διὸν τοὺς μὲν Ἰνδοὺς ἀπολέσθαι συνέβη πάντας, τοὺς δὲ ἐλέφαντας διασωθῆναι. διὰ γὰρ τὴν δύναμιν καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν προβοσκίδων ἐξαίροντες ταύτας υπὲρ τὸ ὕγρον καὶ διαπνέοντες, ἀμα δ' ἐκφυσώντες πάν τὸ παρεμπίπτον, ἀντέσχον, τὸ πολὺ καθ' ἱδα-

10 τος ὀρθοὶ ποιούμενοι τὴν πορείαν. Περαιωθέντων δὲ τῶν θηρίων, ἀναλαβὼν 'Αν-

2 νίβας τοὺς ἐλέφαντας καὶ τοὺς ἐπείς προῆγε τοὺ-

47 τοὺς ἀπουραγῶν παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν ἀπὸ θαλάττης ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν ἐω, ποιούμενος τὴν πορείαν ὡς εἰς τὴν μεν πηγάς υπὲρ τὸν 'Αδριατικὸν μυχὸν πρὸς τὴν
them across. After this they piled up a quantity of earth on all the line of rafts, until the whole was on the same level and of the same appearance as the path on shore leading to the crossing. The animals were always accustomed to obey their mahouts up to the water, but would never enter it on any account, and they now drove them along over the earth with two females in front, whom they obediently followed. As soon as they set foot on the last rafts the ropes which held these fast to the others were cut, and the boats pulling taut, the towing-lines rapidly tugged away from the pile of earth the elephants and the rafts on which they stood. Hereupon the animals becoming very alarmed at first turned round and ran about in all directions, but as they were shut in on all sides by the stream they finally grew afraid and were compelled to keep quiet. In this manner, by continuing to attach two rafts to the end of the structure, they managed to get most of them over on these, but some were so frightened that they threw themselves into the river when half-way across. The mahouts of these were all drowned, but the elephants were saved, for owing to the power and length of their trunks they kept them above the water and breathed through them, at the same time spouting out any water that got into their mouths and so held out, most of them passing through the water on their feet.

47. After the elephants had been put across, Hannibal, taking them and his cavalry and forming these into a rear-guard, advanced up the river bank away from the sea in an easterly direction as though making for the centre of Europe. The Rhone rises north-west of the head of the Adriatic on the northern
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

έσπέραν νευόσας, ἐν τοῖς ἀποκλίνουσι μέρεσι τῶν Ἀλπεων ως πρὸς τὰς ἄρκτους, ἰδὶ δὲ πρὸς [τὰς] δύσεις χειμερινᾶς, ἐκβάλλει δ’ εἰς τὸ Σαρδῶν πέλαγος. φέρεται δ’ ἐπὶ πολὺ δι’ αὐλώνος, οὐ πρὸς μὲν τὰς ἄρκτους Ἀρδυνεῖ Κελτόι κατοικοῦσι, τὴν δ’ ἀπὸ μεσημβρίας αὐτοῦ πλευρᾶν ὁρίζουσι πᾶσαν αἰ πρὸς ἄρκτον κεκλιμέναι τῶν Ἀλπεων παρώρεια.

4 τὰ δὲ πεδία τὰ περὶ τὸν Πάδουν, ὑπὲρ ὃν ἦμιν εἰρηταὶ διὰ πλεύονων, ἀπὸ τοῦ κατὰ τὸν Ῥοδανῶν αὐλώνοις διαζευγνύοντοι αἱ τῶν προειρημένων ὄρῳν ἀκρώρεια, λαμβάνουσι τὴν ἄρχην ἀπὸ Μασσαλίας.

5 ἐνδω ἐπὶ τὸν τοῦ παντὸς Ἄδριου μυχὸν. ἂς τὸθ ὑπεράρας Ἀννίβας ἀπὸ τῶν κατὰ τὸν Ῥοδανῶν τόπων ἐνέβαλεν εἰς Ἰταλίαν.

6 Ἐναὶ δὲ τῶν γεγραφότων περὶ τῆς ὑπερβολῆς ταύτης, βουλόμενοι τοὺς ἀναγνώσκοντας ἐκπλήττειν τῇ περὶ τῶν προειρημένων τῶν παραδοξολογίας, λανθάνουσι ἐμπίπτοντες εἰς δύο τὰ πάσης ἱστορίας ἀλλοτριώτατα· καὶ γὰρ ἑυδολογεῖν καὶ

7 μαχόμενα γράφειν αὐτοῖς ἀναγκάζονται. ἀμα μὲν γὰρ τὸν Ἀννίβαν ἀμίμητον τινα παρεισάγοντες στρατηγὸν καὶ τόλμη καὶ προνοία τοῦτον ὀμολογοῦσιν ἀποδεικνύοντος ἦμιν ἀλογιστῶτατον, ἄμα δὲ καταστροφῆν οὐ δυνάμενοι λαμβανέαν οὗτος ἑξοδον τοῦ ψεύδους θεοὺς καὶ θεών παιδᾶς εἰς πραγματικὴν ἱστορίαν παρεισάγοντες. ὑποθέμενοι γὰρ τὰς ἐρμηνεύσεις καὶ τραχύτητας τῶν Ἀλπεων ὀρῶν τοιαύτας ὅπερ μὴ οἶδεν ῥπόσος καὶ στρατοπεδεῖ, σὺν δὲ τοῦτος ἐλέφαντας, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ πεζοὺς εὐξίωνος εὐχερῶς ἀν διελθέιν, ὀμοίως δὲ καὶ τὴν ἔρημον τοιαύτην τινὰ περὶ τοὺς τόπους ὑπογράψαντες ἦμιν ὅστ’ εἰ μὴ θεὸς ητος ἄριστος ἀπαν-
BOOK III. 47. 2–9

slope of the Alps, and running in a south-westerly direction, falls into the Sardinian Sea. A great part of its course is through a deep valley, to the north of which lives the Celtic tribe of the Ardyes, while on the south it is bounded for its whole extent by the northern spurs of the Alps. The plain of the Po which I described above at length is separated from the Rhone valley by the lofty main chain of these mountains, which starting from Marseilles extends to the head of the Adriatic. It is this chain which Hannibal now crossed to enter Italy from the Rhone valley.

Some of the writers who have described this passage of the Alps, from the wish to impress their readers by the marvels they recount of these mountains, are betrayed into two vices ever most alien to true history; for they are compelled to make both false statements and statements which contradict each other. While on the one hand introducing Hannibal as a commander of unequalled courage and foresight, they incontestably represent him to us as entirely wanting in prudence, and again, being unable to bring their series of falsehoods to any close or issue they introduce gods and the sons of gods into the sober history of facts. By representing the Alps as being so steep and rugged that not only horses and troops accompanied by elephants, but even active men on foot would have difficulty in passing, and at the same time picturing to us the desolation of the country as being such, that unless
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

τήσας τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἀννίβαν ὑπέδειξε τὰς ὁδοὺς, ἔξαπορίσαντας ἃν καταθηρῆναι πάντας, ὁμολογουμένως ἐκ τούτων εἰς ἐκάτερον τῶν προειρημένων ἀμαρτημάτων ἐμπίπτουσι. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἂν τὸς φανεῖν στρατηγὸς ἀλογιστότερος Ἀννίβου τις καὶ 2 σκαλιστέρος ἡγεμόνων, ὃς τοσούτων ἡγούμενος δυνάμεως καὶ τὰς μεγίστας ἐλπίδας ἔχων ἐν τούτοις τοῦ κατορθώσειν τοῖς ὅλοις, οὕτε τὰς ὁδοὺς οὔτε τόπους, ὡς οὕτωι φασίν, οὕτε ποῦ πορεύεται τὸ 3 παράπαν οὕτε πρὸς τίνας ἐγίνωσκε, τὸ δὲ πέρας οὐδ' εἰ καθόλου [τούναντίον] δυνατοὶς ἐπιβάλλεται πράγμασιν; ἀλλ' ὅπερ οἱ τοῖς ὅλοις ἐπτακικές καὶ κατὰ πάντα τρόπων ἐξαποροῦντες οὐχ ὑπομένουσιν, ὡστ' εἰς ἄπρονοτοις καθίσαντες τόποις μετὰ δυνάμεως, τούτῳ περιτίθεσιν οἱ συγγραφεῖς Ἀννίβα τῷ τὰς μεγίστας ἐλπίδας ἀκεραίους ἔχοντι περὶ τῶν 5 καθ' αὐτὸν πραγμάτων. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὰ περὶ τῆς ἐρημίας, ἐτὶ δ' ἐρευνῶτητος καὶ δυσχωρίας τῶν τῶν ἐκδηλοῦν ποιεῖ τὸ θείον' αὐτῶν. οὐχ ἰστορήσαντες γὰρ ὅτι συμβαίνει τοὺς Κελτοὺς τοὺς παρὰ τὸν Ῥώδανον ποταμὸν οἰκοῦντας οὐχ ἀπαξ οὐδὲ διὰ πρὸ τῆς Ἀννίβου παρουσίας, οὐδὲ μὴν πάλιν, προσφάτως δὲ, μεγάλους στρατοπέδους ὑπερβαίνατα τὰς Ἀλπεῖς παρατετάχθαι μὲν Ῥωμαίοις, συνηγγυνώσθαι δὲ Κελτοῖς τοῖς τὰ περὶ τὸν Πάδον πεδία κατοικοῦσι, καθάπερ ἤμεις ἐν τοῖς πρὸ τούτων ἔδηλω- 7 σαμεν, πρὸς δὲ τούτως οὐκ εἴδοτες ὅτι πλεῖστον ἀνθρώπων φύλον κατ' αὐτὰς οἰκεῖν συμβαίνει τὰς Ἀλπεῖς, ἀλλ' ἀγνοοῦντες ἐκαστα τῶν εἰρημένων ἡρω τινὰ φασιν ἐπιφανείτα συνυποδείξει τὰς ὁδοὺς Ἀλπεῖς. ἐξ ὧν εἰκότως ἐμπίπτουσιν εἰς τὸ παραπλήσιον τοῖς τραγῳδιογράφοις. καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος 8 αὐτοῖς. ἔξ ὧν εἰκότως ἐμπίπτουσιν εἰς τὸ παραπλήσιον τοῖς τραγῳδιογράφοις. καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος 114
some god or hero had met Hannibal and showed him the way, his whole army would have gone astray and perished utterly, they unquestionably fall into both the above vices. 48. For in the first place can we imagine a more imprudent general or a more incompetent leader than Hannibal would have been, if with so large an army under his command and all his hopes of ultimate success resting on it, he did not know the roads and the country, as these writers say, and had absolutely no idea where he was marching or against whom, or in fact if his enterprise were feasible or not? What they would have us believe is that Hannibal, who had met with no check to diminish his high hopes of success, ventured on a course that no general, even after a crushing defeat and utterly at his wits' end, would take, to march, that is, into a country as to which he had no information. Similarly, in what they say about the loneliness, and the extreme steepness and difficulty of the road, the falsehood is manifest. For they never took the trouble to learn that the Celts who live near the Rhone not on one or on two occasions only before Hannibal's arrival but often, and not at any remote date but quite recently, had crossed the Alps with large armies and met the Romans in the field side by side with the Celts who inhabit the plain of the Po (as I narrated in an earlier Book) nor are they aware that there is a considerable population in the Alps themselves; but in entire ignorance of all this they tell us that some hero appeared and showed the road. The natural consequence is that they get into the same difficulties as tragic dramatists all of whom, to bring
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

πάσιν αἱ καταστροφαὶ τῶν δραμάτων προσδέονται θεοῦ καὶ μηχανῆς διὰ τὸ τὰς πρώτας ὑποθέσεις
9 ψευδεῖς καὶ παραλόγους λαμβάνειν, τοὺς τε συγγραφέας ἀνάγκη τὸ παραπλήσιον πάσχειν καὶ ποιεῖν ἡρωᾶς τε καὶ θεοῦς ἐπιφανομένους, ἐπειδὰν τὰς ἀρχὰς ἀπιθάνους καὶ ψευδεῖς ὑποστήσωνται. πῶς γὰρ οἶον τε παραλόγου ἀρχαῖς εὐλογον ἐπιθεῖναι
10 τέλος; ἂννίβας γε μὴν, οὐχ ὡς οὕτω γράφον, λίαν δὲ περὶ ταῦτα πραγματικῶς ἐχρῆτο ταῖς ἐπι-
11 βολαῖς. καὶ γὰρ τὴν τῆς χώρας ἀρετῆν, εἰς ἣν ἐπεβάλετο καθίεναι, καὶ τὴν τῶν ὄχλων ἀλλοτριό-
τητα πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἐξητάκει σαφῶς, εἰς τε τὰς μεταξὺ δυσχωρίας ὁδηγοῖς καὶ καθηγεμόσων ἐγχω-
ρίοις ἐχρῆτο τοῖς τῶν αὐτῶν ἔλπιδων μέλλουσι
12 κοινωνεῖν. ἠμεῖς δὲ περὶ τούτων εὐθαρσῶς ἀπο-
φανομέθα διὰ τὸ περὶ τῶν πράξεων παρ’ αὐτῶν ἡστορηκέναι τῶν παρατετευχότων τοῖς καιροῖς, τοὺς δὲ τόπους κατωπτευκέναι καὶ τῇ διὰ τῶν "Ἀλπεων αὐτοὶ κεχρήσθαι πορεία γνώσεως ἑνεκα καὶ θέας.
49 Οὐ μὴν ἄλλα Πόλλιος μὲν ὁ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὀπταθηγὸς ἡμέραις υστερον τριαὶ τῆς ἀναζυγηῆς τῆς
τῶν Καρχηδονίων παραγενόμενος ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ πο-
tαμοῦ διάβασιν, καὶ καταλαβὼν ὁμοικότας τοὺς ὑπεναντίους, ἐξενίθη μὲν ὡς ἐνδέχεται μάλιστα,
2 πεπεισμένος οὐδέποτ’ ἂν αὐτοὺς τολμήσαι τῇ
ποιῆσαι τὴν εἰς Ἰταλίαν πορείαν, διὰ τὸ πλῆ-
θος καὶ τὴν ἀδεσίαν τῶν κατοικούντων τοὺς τό-
3 ποὺς βαρβάρους. θεωρῶν δὲ τετολμηκότας, αἰθή
ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς ἥπειγετο, καὶ παραγενόμενος ἐνεβίβαζε
4 τὰς δυνάμεις. καὶ τὸν μὲν ἀδελφὸν ἐξέπεμπεν ἐπὶ
τὰς Ἐβραία πράξεις, αὐτὸς δὲ πάλιν ὑποστρέφας

116
their dramas to a close, require a *deus ex machina*, as the data they choose on which to found their plots are false and contrary to reasonable probability. These writers are necessarily in the same strait and invent apparitions of heroes and gods, since the beginnings on which they build are false and improbable; for how is it possible to finish conformably to reason what has been begun in defiance of it? Of course Hannibal did not act as these writers describe, but conducted his plans with sound practical sense. He had ascertained by careful inquiry the richness of the country into which he proposed to descend and the aversion of the people to the Romans, and for the difficulties of the route he employed as guides and pioneers natives of the country, who were about to take part in his adventure. On these points I can speak with some confidence as I have inquired about the circumstances from men present on the occasion and have personally inspected the country and made the passage of the Alps to learn for myself and see.

49. Now the Roman Consul Publius arrived at the crossing of the river three days after the departure of the Carthaginians, and finding the enemy gone was in the highest degree astonished, as he had been convinced that they would never venture to march on Italy by this route owing to the number and unruly character of the native inhabitants. On seeing that they had done so he returned with all speed to his ships and began to embark his forces. Sending his brother to conduct the campaign in Spain, he himself turned back and made sail for
eis Ἡταλίαν ἐποιεῖτο τὸν πλοῦν, σπεύδων κατα-
ταχῆσαι τοὺς ὑπεναντίους διὰ Τυρρηνίας πρὸς τὴν
τῶν Ἀλπεών ὑπερβολὴν.
5 Ἀννίβας δὲ ποιησάμενος εξῆς ἐπὶ τέτταρας
ημέρας τὴν πορείαν ἀπὸ τῆς διαβάσεως ἤκε πρὸς
τὴν καλομείνην Νῆσον, χώραν πολύσχολον καὶ
σιντοφόρον, ἔχουσαν δὲ τὴν προσηγορίαν ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ
6 τοῦ συμπτώματος. ἦ μὲν γὰρ ὁ ‘Ῥοδανός, ἦ δ’
’Ισάρας προσαγορεύομενος, ρέοντες παρ’ ἐκατέραν
τὴν πλευράν, ἀποκορυφούσιν αὐτῆς τὸ σχῆμα κατὰ
7 τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους σύμπτωσιν. ἔστι δὲ παραπλησία
tὸ μεγέθει καὶ τῷ σχῆματι τῷ κατ’ Αἰγυπτοῦ
καλομείνᾳ Δέλτα, πλὴν ἐκείνοις μὲν θάλαττα τὴν
μίαν πλευρὰν καὶ τὰς τῶν ποταμῶν ῥύσεις ἐπιζεύγ-
nυσί, ταύτης δ’ ὁρὴ δυσπρόσοδα καὶ δυσέμβολα καὶ
8 σχεδὸν ὡς ἐπείν ἀπρόσιτα. πρὸς ἧν ἀφικόμενος,
καὶ καταλαβὼν ἐν αὐτῇ δὺ ἀδελφοὺς ὑπέρ τῆς
βασιλείας στασιάζοντας καὶ μετὰ στρατοπέδων
9 ἀντικαθημένους ἀλλήλους, ἐπιστυπώμενον τοῦ πρεσ-
βυτέρου καὶ παρακαλοῦντος εἰς τὸ συμπράξαι καὶ
συμπεριποίησαι τὴν ἁρχήν, [αὐτῷ] ὑπῆκουσε,
προδήλου σχεδὸν υπαρχοῦσης τῆς πρὸς τὸ παρὸν
10 ἑσομένης αὐτῷ χρείας. διὸ καὶ συνεπιθέμενος καὶ
συνεκβαλὼν τῶν ἐτερῶν πολλῆς ἐπικουρίας ἔτυχε
11 παρὰ τοῦ κρατήσαντος· οὐ γὰρ μόνον σίτῳ καὶ
τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐπιτυγχάνεις ἀφθόνως ἔχορηγῆσε τὸ
στρατόπεδον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ὁπλῶν τὰ παλαιὰ καὶ
τὰ πεπονηκότα πάντα διαλλάξας ἐκαίνιοποίησε
12 πᾶσαν τὴν δύναμιν εὐκαίριως, ἔτι δὲ τοὺς πλείστους
ἐσθήτη καὶ πρὸς τοὺς υποδέσει κοσμήσας μεγάλην
εὐχρηστίαν παρέσχετο πρὸς τὰς τῶν ὄρων ὑπερ-
13 βολὰς. τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, εὐλαβῶς διακειμένων
118
Italy with the design of marching rapidly through Etruria and reaching the foot of the pass over the Alps before the enemy.

Hannibal, marching steadily from the crossing-place for four days, reached a place called the "Island," a populous district producing abundance of corn and deriving its name from its situation; for the Rhone and Isère running along each side of it meet at its point. It is similar in size and shape to the Egyptian Delta; only in that case the sea forms the base line uniting the two branches of the Nile, while here the base line is formed by a range of mountains difficult to climb or penetrate, and, one may say, almost inaccessible. On arriving there he found two brothers disputing the crown and posted over against each other with their armies, and on the elder one making overtures to him and begging him to assist in establishing him on the throne, he consented, it being almost a matter of certainty that under present circumstances this would be of great service to him. Having united with him therefore to attack and expel the other, he derived great assistance from the victor; for not only did he furnish the army with plenty of corn and other provisions but he replaced all their old and worn weapons by new ones, thus freshening up the whole force very opportunely. He also supplied most of them with warm clothing and foot-wear, things of the greatest possible service to them in crossing the mountains. But the most important of all was, that the Carthaginians being not at all easy on the
ΔΕΚΑ ΠΟΛΥΒΙΟΥ

πρὸς τὴν διὰ τῶν Ἀλλοβρίγων καλουμένων Γαλατῶν

50 Ἀννίβας δ᾽ ἐν ἡμέραις δέκα πορευθεῖς παρὰ τὸν

ποταμὸν εἰς ὀκτακοσίους σταδίους ἦρξατο τῆς πρὸς

τὰς Ἀλπεῖς ἀναβολῆς, καὶ συνέβη μεγίστοις αὐτὸν

2 περπεσεῖν κινδύνους. ἦσας μὲν γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ἐπιπέ-

δοις ἦσαν, ἀπείχοντο πάντες αὐτῶν ὧν κατὰ μέρος

ἡγεμόνες τῶν Ἀλλοβρίγων, τὰ μὲν τοὺς ἱππεῖς

dεδιότες, τὰ δὲ τοὺς παραπέμποντας βαρβάρους·

3 ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐκεῖνοι μὲν εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν ἀπηλλάγησαν,

οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἀννίβαν ἦρξαντο προάγειν εἰς τὰς

δυσχωρίας, τότε συναθροίζαντες ὧν τῶν Ἀλλοβρί-

γων ἡγεμόνες ἰκανόν τι πλῆθος, προκατελάβοντο

tους εὐκαίρους τόπους, δι᾽ ὧν ἔδει τοὺς περὶ τὸν

4 Ἀννίβαν κατ᾽ ἀνάγκην ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἀναβολήν. εἰ

μὲν όν ἐκρυμάν τὴν ἐπίνοιαν, ὀλοσχερῶς ἄν δι-

ἐφθειραν τὸ στράτευμα τῶν Καρχηδονίων· νῦν δὲ

καταφανεῖς γενόμενοι μεγάλα μὲν καὶ τοὺς περὶ

5 Ἀννίβαν ἐβλαψαν, οὐκ ἐλάττω δ᾽ ἐαυτοὺς. γνών

γὰρ ὁ στρατηγὸς τῶν Καρχηδονίων ὅτι προκατέχον-

σιν οἱ βάρβαροι τοὺς εὐκαίρους τόπους, αὐτὸς μὲν

καταστρατοπεδεύσας πρὸς ταῖς ὑπερβολαις ἐπέμενε,

6 προεπέμψει δὲ τινὰς τῶν καθηγομένων αὐτοῖς Γα-

λατῶν χάριν τοῦ κατασκέψασθαι τὴν τῶν ὑπενα-

7 τίνων ἐπίνοιαν καὶ τὴν ὅλην ὑπόθεσιν. ὃς πραξάν-

των τὸ συνταχθὲν, ἐπιγνοῦσα ὁ στρατηγὸς ὅτι τὰς

μὲν ἡμέρας ἐπιμελῶς παρευτακτοῦσι καὶ τηροῦσι

tους τόπους οἱ πολέμιοι, τὰς δὲ νύκτας εἰς τινὰ

παρακεμένην πόλιν ἀπαλλάττονται, πρὸς ταύτην

tὴν ὑπόθεσιν ἀρμοζόμενος συνεστήσατο πρᾶξιν

120
subject of their passage through the territory of the Allobroges, he protected them in the rear with his own forces and enabled them to reach the foot of the pass in safety.

50. After a ten days' march of eight hundred stades along the bank of the Isère a Hannibal began the ascent of the Alps and now found himself involved in very great difficulties. For as long as they had been in flat country, the various chiefs of the Allobroges had left them alone, being afraid both of the cavalry and of the barbarians who were escorting them. But when the latter had set off on their return home, and Hannibal's troops began to advance into the difficult region, the Allobrogian chieftains got together a considerable force and occupied advantageous positions on the road by which the Carthaginians would be obliged to ascend. Had they only kept their project secret, they would have utterly annihilated the Carthaginian army, but, as it was, it was discovered, and though they inflicted a good deal of damage on Hannibal, they did more injury to themselves; for the Carthaginian general having learnt that the barbarians had seized on these critical positions, encamped himself at the foot of the pass, and remaining there sent on in advance some of his Gaulish guides, to reconnoitre and report on the enemy's plan and the whole situation. His orders were executed, and on learning that the enemy remained most strictly at their post during the day-time but retired at night to a neighbouring township, he adapted his measures to this intelligence

a Polybius says simply "the river."
8 τοιαύτην. ἀναλαβών τὴν δύναμιν προήγεν ἐμφανῶς, καὶ συνεγγύσας ταῖς δυσχωρίαις οὐ μακρὰν
9 τῶν πολεμίων κατεστρατοπέδευσε. τῆς δὲ νυκτὸς ἐπιγενομένης, συντάξας τὰ πυρὰ καὶ εἰς, τὸ μὲν
πλεῖον μέρος τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ κατέλιπε, τοὺς δ’ ἐπιτηδειοτάτους εὐξώνους ποιήσας διήλθε τὰ
στενὰ τὴν νύκτα καὶ κατέσχε τοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων προκαταληφθέντας τόπους, ἀποκεχωρηκότων
τῶν βαρβάρων κατὰ τὴν συνήθειαν εἰς τὴν πόλιν.
51 οὗ συμβάντος καὶ τῆς ἡμέρας ἐπιγενομένης, οἱ βάρβαροι συνθεασάμενοι τὸ γεγονός τὰς μὲν ἀρχὰς
2 ἀπέστησαν τῆς ἐπιβολῆς· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα θεωροῦντες τὸ τῶν ὑποζυγίων πλῆθος καὶ τοὺς ἱππεῖς δυσχερῶς ἐκμηνομένους καὶ μακρῶς τὰς δυσχωρίας, ἐξεκλήθησαν ὑπὸ τοῦ συμβαίνοντος ἐξάπτεσθαι τῆς
3 πορείας. τούτων δὲ γενομένου, καὶ κατὰ πλεῖως μέρη προσπεσόντων τῶν βαρβάρων, οὐχ οὖν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ὡς ὑπὸ τῶν τόπων πολὺς ἐγίνετο φθόρος τῶν Καρχηδονίων, καὶ μάλιστα τῶν ἱππῶν καὶ
4 τῶν ὑποζυγίων. οὕτως γὰρ οὐ μόνον στενῆς καὶ τραχείας τῆς προσβολῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ κρημνώδους, ἀπὸ παντὸς κινήματος καὶ πάσης ταραχῆς ἐφέρετο κατὰ τῶν κρημνῶν ὁμός τοὺς φορτίους πολλὰ τῶν ὑπο-
5 ζυγίων. καὶ μάλιστα τὴν τοιαύτην ταραχὴν ἐποίουν οἱ τραυματιζόμενοι τῶν ἱππων· τούτων γὰρ οἱ μὲν
ἀντίοι συμπίπτοντες τοῖς ὑποζυγίοις, ὅποτε διαπτηθεῖν ἐκ τῆς πληγῆς, οἱ δὲ κατὰ τὴν εἰς τούμπο-
σθεν ὁμὴν ἐξωθοῦντες πᾶν τὸ παραπίπτον εὖ ταῖς
dυσχωρίαις, μεγάλην ἀπειραγξόντο ταραχὴν. εἰς ἅ
6 βλέπων Ἀννίβας, καὶ συλλογιζόμενος ὡς οὔδε τοῖς
dιαφυγοῦσι τοὺς κίνδυνον ἔστι σωτηρία τοῦ σκευο-
φόρου διαφθαρέντος, ἀναλαβὼν τοὺς προκατασχόν·
BOOK III. 50. 8 - 51. 6

and arranged the following plan. He advanced openly with his whole army, and on approaching the difficult points he encamped not far from the enemy. As soon as it was night, he ordered the fires to be lit, and leaving the greater part of his forces there, took the men most fitted for the enterprise, whom he had lightened of their accoutrements, and passing through the narrow part of the road occupied the posts abandoned by the enemy, who had retired as usual to the town. 51. At daylight the enemy observed what had happened and at first desisted from their project, but afterwards on seeing the long string of sumpter-animals and horsemen slowly and with difficulty winding up the narrow path, they were tempted by this to molest their march. On their doing so and attacking at several different points, the Carthaginians suffered great loss chiefly in horses and sumpter-mules, not so much at the hands of the barbarians as owing to the ground. For the road up the pass being not only narrow and uneven but precipitous, the least movement or disturbance caused many of the animals to be pushed over the precipice with their packs. It was chiefly the horses on being wounded which caused the disturbance, some of them, terrified by the pain, turning and meeting the pack-animals and others rushing on ahead and pushing aside in the narrow path everything that came in their way, thus creating a general confusion. Hannibal, on seeing this and reflecting that there would be no chance of safety even for those who escaped from the battle if the pack-train were destroyed, took with him the men.
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

tas tēn vúkta tās úperbolās ὧρμησε παραβοηθή-
7 sow tōs tē pøreía πrolabōusin. òn γενομένου
polloj mēn tōn polēmōn ἀπώλυντο διὰ tō poie-
thai tēn ēfodon ɛ̃ς úperdeξίων tōn 'Anvβαν, ōn
8 élattous dé kai tōn idíōn' ó gar katà tēn pøreíavn
θόρυβος ɛ̃ς ἀμφοῦ ῥυζετο διὰ tēn tōn προειρ-
9 mēnōn krawghn kai sμµπλοκήn. ēpeti dé tōs mēn
pλειστουs tōn 'Alloβρίγωn aπέκτεινε, tōs dé loun-
pous trefhámenos ῥνάγκασε φυγειν eis tēn ēkeiavn,
tōte ἄθ tō mēn 'ti periieioptēmen plēbhos tōn úpo-
ξυγίων kai tōn ἵππων μόλις kai tαλαυπώρωs diñume
tās dυσχωρίαs, autōs dé sυναθροίσαs osous ἡδύ-
nato pλειστουs ek tōu kινδύnou, προσέβαλε pρòs
tēn pòlun, ēs ës ἔποιησαντο tēn ὄρμηn oį pολēmuoi.
10 katalabwōn dé sχεδόν ἔρημον διὰ tō pάntas ἐκκλη-
θήnai pròs tās ωφελείαs, ἐγκρατής ἐγένετο tῆs pό-
lews. ek dé tōtōu polλά sυνέβη tāw tχρησίμωn
12 autō pròs te tō pαrōn kai pròs tō méllon. pαρ-
autīka mēn γαρ ἐκομίσατο pλῆbhos ἵππων kai ὑπο-
ξυγίων kai tōn āma tōtōus ἐαλωκώτων ἀνδρῶν,
eis dé tō méllon ἐσχε μēn kai sītōn kai tρεμμά-
tōw ēpī dnevai kai tριοῶν ἡμέρας εὐπορίαν, tō dé
sυνέχου, φόβον ἐνειργάσατο tōs ēzēs, pròs tō mē
tōlmān autō ῥαδίωs ἐγχειρεῖν μηδένa tōw pαrα-
κεμένωn tās ἀναβολαίς.

52 Tōte mēn oūn autōn pουράςιμènou tēn pαρεμβο-
2 lēn, kai mīan ἐπιμείναs ἧμεραν, ἀδήis ὄρμα. taw
δ' ēzēs méχrwi mēn tīνos ἀσφαλῶs diγγε tēn stra-
tiān. ἦδη dé tētartaiōs ὃν aδῆis eis kινδύνουs
3 pαρεγένετο megálous. oī γαρ pερί tēn dīōdou oī-
kōntes sμμφρονήσαντεs ēpī δόλω sυνήμτωn autō,
who had occupied the heights at night and hastened to render assistance to the head of the marching column. He inflicted great loss on the Allobroges, as he was charging from higher ground, but the loss was equally heavy among his own troops, since the column on the march was thrown into further confusion in both directions at once owing to the shouting and struggling of those taking part in this combat. It was only when he had put the greater part of the Allobroges to the sword and compelled the rest to take to flight and run for their own land, that the remainder of the pack-train and the horses got slowly and with great difficulty over the dangerous part, and he himself rallying as many troops as he could after the fight, attacked the town from which the enemy had issued to make their onslaught. He found it nearly deserted, as all the inhabitants had been tempted out by hope of pillage, and seized on it. This proved of great service to him for the future as well as the present; for not only did he recover a number of pack-animals and horses and the men who had been captured together with them, but he got a supply of corn and cattle amply sufficient for two or three days, and in addition to this he struck such terror into the next tribes that none of those in the neighbourhood of the ascent were likely to venture to molest him.

52. For the present, he encamped here, and after a stay of one day resumed his march. For the following days he conducted the army in safety up to a certain point, but on the fourth day he was again placed in great danger. The natives near the pass conspired together and came out to meet him with treacherous intentions, holding olive-branches
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

θαλλοῦς ἔχοντες καὶ στεφάνους· τοῦτο γὰρ σχεδὸν πάσι τοῖς βαρβάροις ἔστι σύνθημα φιλίας, καθάπερ
tὸ κηρύκειον τοῖς Ἑλλησιν. εὐλαβῶς δὲ διακεί-
μενος πρὸς τὴν τοιαύτην πίστιν Ἀννίβας ἐξήτασε
φιλοτήμως τὴν ἔπινοιαν αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν ὀλην ἐπιβο-
λὴν. τῶν δὲ φασκόντων καλῶς εἰδέναι καὶ τὴν τῆς
πόλεως ἀλώσιν καὶ τὴν τῶν ἐγχειρησάντων αὐτῶν
ἀδικεῖν ἀπόλειαιν, καὶ διασαφοῦντων ὦτι πάρεισι
dia ταῦτα, βουλόμενοι μήτε ποιῆσαι μήτε παθεῖν
μηδὲν δυσχερές, ὑπισχυομένων δὲ καὶ δώσεω εξ
αὐτῶν ὀμηρὰ, πολὺν μὲν χρόνον εὐλαβεῖτο καὶ
διηπότετε τοῖς λεγομένοις, συλλογίζόμενος <δ' ώς
dεξάμενος> μὲν τὰ προτεινόμενα, τάχ' ἀν ἱσως
εὐλαβεστέρους καὶ προστέρους ποιῆσαι τοὺς παρα-
γεγονότας, μὴ προσδεξάμενος δὲ προδήλους ἔξει πο-
λεμίους αὐτοῦς, συγκατένευσε τοῖς λεγομένοις καὶ
συνυπεκρίθη τίθεσθαι φιλίαν πρὸς αὐτοῦς. τῶν δὲ
βαρβάρων τὰ ὀμηρὰ παραδόντων καὶ θρέμμασι χο-
ρηγούντων ἄφθονως, καὶ καθόλου διδόντων σφάς
αὐτοὺς εἰς τὰς χεῖρας ἀπαρατηρήτως, ἐπὶ ποσὸν ἐπί-
στευσαι οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀννίβαν, ὡστε καὶ καθηγε-
μόσιν αὐτοῖς χρῆσθαι πρὸς τὰς ἔξης δυσχωρίας.
8 προπορεομένων δ' αὐτῶν ἐπὶ δυ' ἡμέραις, συναθροι-
σθέντες οἱ προειρημένοι καὶ συνακολουθήσαντες
ἐπιτίθενται, φάραγγα τινα δύσβατον καὶ κρημώδη
53 περαιομένων αὐτῶν. ἐν δ' καρφῷ πάντας ἃν ἄρ-
δὴν ἀπολέσθαι συνέβη τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἀννίβαν, εἰ
μὴ δεδιότες ἀκμὴν ἐπὶ ποσὸν καὶ προορώμενοι τὸ
μέλλον τὰ μὲν σκέυοφόρα καὶ τοὺς ἱππεῖς εἴχον ἐν
τῇ πρωτοπορείᾳ, τοὺς δ' ὄπλιτας ἐπὶ τῆς οὐραγίας.
2 τούτων δ' ἐφεδρεύοντων ἐλαττον συνέβη γενέσθαι
tὸ πάθος· οὕτωι γὰρ ἐστεξαν τὴν ἐπιφορὰν τῶν βαρ-
126
and wreaths, which nearly all the barbarians use as tokens of friendship, just as we Greeks use the herald’s staff. Hannibal, who was a little suspicious of such proffers of alliance, took great pains to ascertain what their project and general motives were. When they told him that they knew all about the capture of the city and the destruction of those who had attempted to do him wrong, and assured him that for this reason they were come to him, as they neither wished to inflict nor to suffer any injury, and on their promising to give him hostages from among themselves, he for long hesitated, distrusting their word. But, reflecting that if he accepted their offers, he might perhaps make them more chary of attacking him and more pacific, but that if he refused, they would certainly be his declared enemies, he finally agreed to their proposals, and feigned to accept their friendship. Upon the barbarians now delivering the hostages and providing him with cattle in abundance, and altogether putting themselves unreservedly into his hands, he trusted in them so far as to employ them as guides for the next difficult part of the road. But after two days’ march these same barbarians collecting and following on the heels of the Carthaginians, attacked them as they were traversing a certain difficult and precipitous gorge. 53. On this occasion Hannibal’s whole army would have been utterly destroyed, had he not still been a little apprehensive and foreseeing such a contingency placed the pack-train and cavalry at the head of the column and the heavy infantry in the rear. As the latter now acted as a covering force, the disaster was less serious, the infantry
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

3 βάρων. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτου συγκυρήσαντος πολύ τι πλήθος καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ τῶν ὑποζυγίων
4 καὶ τῶν ἵππων διεφθάρη. τῶν γὰρ τόπων ὑπερ-
δεξίων ὄντων τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἀντιπαράγοντες οἱ
βάρβαροι ταῖς παρωρείαις, καὶ τοῖς μὲν τὰς πέτρας
ἐπικυλύσαντες, τοὺς δ᾽ ἐκ χειρὸς τοῖς λίθοις τύπτοντες,
5 εἰς ὀλοσχερῆ διατροπὴν καὶ κήδυνον ἤγον, οὗτος
ὡστ' ἀναγκασθῆναι τὸν Ἀννίβαν μετὰ τῆς ἡμισειάς
δυνάμεως νυκτερεύσαι περὶ τι λευκόπετρου ὄχυρον
χωρὶς τῶν ἵππων καὶ τῶν ὑποζυγίων, ἐφεδρεύοντα
τούτους, ἐν̓ φίλη τῇ νυκτὶ ταῦτα μόνες ἐξεμηρύ-
6 σατο τῆς χαράδρας. τῇ δ' ἐπαύριον τῶν πολεμίων
χωρισθέντων, συνάψας τοῖς ἵππεύσαι καὶ τοῖς ὑποζυ-
γίοις προῆγε πρὸς τὰς ὑπερβολὰς τὰς ἀνωτάτω τῶν
'Αλπεων, ὀλοσχερεὶ μὲν οὐδενὶ περιπτῶν ἐτι συ-
στήματι τῶν βαρβάρων, κατὰ μέρη δὲ καὶ κατὰ τό-
7 πους παρενοχλούμενος ὕπτ' αὐτῶν· ὥν οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ
τῆς οὕραγίας, οἱ δ' ἀπὸ τῆς πρωτοπορείας ἀπέσπων
τῶν σκευοφόρων ἑνα, προσπίπτοντες εὐκαίρως.
8 μεγίστην δ' αὐτῷ παρείχετο χρεῖαν τὰ θηρία· καθ' ὁν
γὰρ ἀν τόπον ὑπάρχοι τῆς πορείας ταῦτα, πρὸς
τοῦτο τὸ μέρος οὐκ ἔτολμοι οἱ πολέμιοι προσέναι,
tὸ παράδοξον ἐκπληττόμενοι τῆς τῶν ξών φαντα-
9 σίας. ἔναταῖς δὲ διανύσας εἰς τὰς ὑπερβολὰς αὐτοῦ
κατεστρατοπέδευσε, καὶ δ'' ἡμέρας προσέμενε, βου-
λόμενος ἀμα μὲν ἀναταῦσαι τοὺς διασφαζομένους,
10 ἀμα δὲ προσδέξασθαι τοὺς ἀπολειπομένους. ἐν ὦ
καυρῷ συνέβη πολλοὺς μὲν ἵππους τῶν ἀπεπτομέ-
νων, πολλὰ δ' ὑποζύγια τῶν ἀπερριφότων τὰ φορ-
τία παραδόξως ἀναδραμεῖν τοῖς στίβοις ἐσόμενα
54 καὶ συνάψαι πρὸς τὴν παρεμβολήν. τῆς δὲ χιόνος
128
meeting the brunt of the attack. But in spite of all this a great many men, pack-animals, and horses were lost. For the enemy being on higher ground skirted along the slopes and either by rolling rocks down or by hurling stones from the hand threw the Carthaginians into such extreme peril and confusion that Hannibal was compelled to pass the night with half of his force at a certain place defended by bare rocks and separated from his horses and pack-train, whose advance he waited to cover, until after a whole night’s labour they managed to extricate themselves from the defile. Next day, the enemy having taken their departure, he joined the cavalry and pack-animals and advanced to the summit of the pass, encountering no longer any massed force of barbarians, but molested from time to time and in certain places by some of them who took advantage of the ground to attack him either from the rear or from the front and carry off some of the pack-animals. In these circumstances the elephants were of the greatest service to him; for the enemy never dared to approach that part of the column in which these animals were, being terrified by the strangeness of their appearance. After an ascent of nine days Hannibal reached the summit, and encamping there remained for two days to rest the survivors of his army and wait for stragglers. During this interval a good many of the horses which had broken away in terror and a number of those sumpter-animals which had thrown off their packs returned strangely enough, having followed the track of the march, and came into the camp. 54. As it was now close
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

7 δὴ περὶ τούς ἀκροὺς ἀθροιζομένης διὰ τὸ συνάπτειν τὴν τής Πλειάδος δύσων, θεωρῶν τὰ πλῆθη δυσθύμως διακείμενα καὶ διὰ τὴν προγεγενημένην τα-2 λαιπωρίαν καὶ διὰ τὴν ἑτὶ προσδοκωμένην, ἑπειρ-ράτῳ συναθροίσας παρακαλεῖν, μὲν ἔχων ἀφορμήν εἰς τοῦτο τὴν τής Ἰταλίας ἐνάργειαν. οὕτως γὰρ ὑποπεπτώκει τοῖς προειρημένοις ὅρεσιν ὡστε συν-θεωρουμένων ἄμφοῖν ἀκροπόλεως φαίνεσθαι διὰ-3 θεσιν ἔχειν τὰς Ἀλπεῖς τῆς ὅλης Ἰταλίας. διόπερ ἐνδεικνύμενος αὐτοῖς τὰ περὶ τὸν Πάδον πεδία, καὶ καθόλου τῆς εὐνοίας ὑπομιμητικῶς τῆς τῶν κατοικούντων αὐτὰ Γαλατῶν, ἀμα δὲ καὶ τὸν τῆς Ὀρώμης αὐτῆς τόπον ὑποδεικνύων, ἐπὶ ποσὸν εὐθαρ-4 σεις ἐποίησε τοὺς ἀνθρώπους. τῇ δ' ἔπαυριν ἀνα-ζεύξας ἐνήρχετο τῆς καταβάσεως. ἐν ἡ πολεμίους μὲν οὐκέτι περιέτυχε πλὴν τῶν λάθρα κακοποιούν-των, ὅπο δὲ τῶν τόπων καὶ τῆς χιόνως οὐ πολλῷ λείποντας ἀπέβαλε τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἀνάβασιν φθαρέν-5 των. οὕσης γὰρ στενῆς καὶ κατωφεροῦς τῆς κατα-βάσεως, τῆς δὲ χιόνως ἄδηλον ποιούσης ἐκάστοις τὴν ἐπίβασιν, πάν τὸ παραπεσόν τῆς ὀδοῦ καὶ 6 σφαλέν ἐφέρετο κατὰ τῶν κρημνῶν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ ταύτην μὲν ὑπέφερον τὴν ταλαιπωρίαν, ἀτε συν-7 θεὶς οὕτε ἂδη τοῖς τοιούτοις κακοῖς· ἀμα δὲ τῷ παραγενέσθαι πρὸς τοιοῦτον τόπουν, ὅν οὕτε τοῖς θηρίοις οὕτε τοῖς ὑποξυγίοις δυνατὸν ἦν παρελθεῖν διὰ τὴν στενότητα, σχεδὸν ἐπὶ τρὶ’ ἡμιστάδια τῆς ἀπορρώγους καὶ πρὸ τοῦ μὲν οὕσης, τότε δὲ καὶ μάλ-λον ἐτὶ προσφάτως ἀπερρωγώς, ἐνταῦθα πάλιν ἄθυρ-8 μῆσαι καὶ διατραπῆναι συνεβῆ τὸ πλῆθος. τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον ἐπεβάλετο περιελθεῖν τὰς δυσχωρίας ὧ τῶν Καρχηδονίων στρατηγώς· ἐπιγενομένης δὲ

130
on the setting of the Pleiads snow had already gathered on the summit, and noticing that the men were in bad spirits owing to all they had suffered up to now and expected to suffer he summoned them to a meeting and attempted to cheer them up, relying chiefly for this purpose on the actual view of Italy, which lies so close under these mountains, that when both are viewed together the Alps stand to the whole of Italy in the relation of a citadel to a city. Showing them, therefore, the plain of the Po, and reminding them of the friendly feelings of the Gauls inhabiting it, while at the same time pointing out the situation of Rome itself, he to some extent restored their spirits. Next day he broke up his camp and began the descent. During this he encountered no enemy, except a few skulking marauders, but owing to the difficulties of the ground and the snow his losses were nearly as heavy as on the ascent. The descending path was very narrow and steep, and as both men and beasts could not tell on what they were treading owing to the snow, all that stepped wide of the path or stumbled were dashed down the precipice. This trial, however, they put up with, being by this time familiar with such sufferings, but they at length reached a place where it was impossible for either the elephants or the pack-animals to pass owing to the extreme narrowness of the path, a previous landslip having carried away about one and a half stades of the face of the mountain and a further landslip having recently occurred, and here the soldiers once more became disheartened and discouraged. The Carthaginian general at first thought of avoiding the difficult part by a detour, but as a fresh fall of snow made progress
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

χίόνος καὶ ταῦτην ἀδύνατον ποιοῦσης τὴν πορείαν,
55 ἀπέστη τῆς ἐπιβολῆς. τὸ γὰρ συμβαίνον ἰδιον ἦν καὶ παρηλλαγμένον. ἐπὶ γὰρ τὴν προὔπαρχον τὴν χίόνα καὶ διαμεμενηκυῖαν ἐκ τοῦ πρότερον χειμῶνος ἄρτι τῆς ἐπὶ έτους πεπτωκυίας, ταύτην μὲν εὐδιάκοπτον εἶναι συνέβαινε καὶ διὰ τὸ πρόσφατον οὖναν ἅπαρχει καὶ διὰ τὸ μηδέπω βάθος ἕχειν. ὅποτε δὲ ταῦτα διαπατήσαντες ἐπὶ τὴν ὑποκάτω καὶ συνεστηκυῖαν ἐσπιβαίνει, οὐκέτι διέκοπτον, ἀλλὰ ἐπέπλεον οἷσθάνοντες ἀμφότεροι ἁμα τοῖς ποσί, καθάπερ ἐπὶ τῇ γῇ συμβαίνει τοῖς διὰ τῶν ἀκροπῆλων πορευομένοις. τὸ δὲ συνεξακολουθοῦν
4 τούτοις ἔτι δυσχερέστερον ὑπῆρχεν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀνδρεὶς οὐ δυνάμενοι τὴν κάτω χιόνα διακόπτειν, ὅποτε πεσόντες βουληθεῖν ἢ τοῖς γόνασιν ἢ ταῖς χερσὶ προσεξερεύεσθαι πρὸς τὴν ἤξανάστασιν, τότε καὶ μᾶλλον ἐπέπλεον ἁμα πᾶσι τοῖς ἐρείπισιν, ἐπὶ πολὺ καταφερῶν ὄντων τῶν χωρίων. τὰ δ᾽ ὑποζύγια διέκοπτεν, ὅτε πέσοι, τὴν κάτω χιόνα κατὰ τὴν διανάστασιν, διακόμαντα δ᾽ ἐμενε μετὰ τῶν φορτίων οἶον καταπεπηγότα διὰ τὸ βάρος καὶ διὰ τὸ πήγμα τῆς προὔπαρχούσης χιόνος. οὐθεν ἀποστὰς τῆς τοιαύτης ἐλπίδος ἐστρατοπεδεύσει περὶ τὴν ράχιν, διαμηκάμενος τὴν ἐπι αὐτῆς χιόνα, καὶ μετὰ ταύτα παρασήκας τὰ πλήθη τῶν κρημνῶν ἔξωκο-7 δόμει μετὰ πολλῆς ταλαιπωρίας. τοῖς μὲν οὖν ὑποζυγίοις καὶ τοῖς ἵπποις ἰκανὴν ἐποίησε πάροδον ἐν ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ. διὸ καὶ ταύτα μὲν εὐθέως διαγαγόν καὶ καταστρατοπεδεύσας περὶ τοὺς ἐκφεύγοντας ἂν ἐτὶ τὴν χιόνα τόπους διαφηκε πρὸς τὰς νομᾶς, τοὺς δὲ Νομάδας ἀνὰ μέρος προῆγε πρὸς τὴν οἰκοδομιν, καὶ μόλις ἐν ἡμέρᾳς τρισὶ κακοπάθησας διήγαγε τὰ
132
impossible he had to abandon this project. 55. The state of matters was altogether peculiar and unusual. The new snow which had fallen on the top of the old snow remaining since the previous winter, was itself yielding, both owing to its softness, being a fresh fall, and because it was not yet very deep, but when they had trodden through it and set foot on the congealed snow beneath it, they no longer sunk in it, but slid along it with both feet, as happens to those who walk on ground with a coat of mud on it. But what followed on this was even more trying. As for the men, when, unable to pierce the lower layer of snow, they fell and then tried to help themselves to rise by the support of their knees and hands, they slid along still more rapidly on these, the slope being exceedingly steep. But the animals, when they fell, broke through the lower layer of snow in their efforts to rise, and remained there with their packs as if frozen into it, owing to their weight and the congealed condition of this old snow. Giving up this project, then, Hannibal encamped on the ridge, sweeping it clear of snow, and next set the soldiers to work to build up the path along the cliff, a most toilsome task. In one day he had made a passage sufficiently wide for the pack-train and horses; so he at once took these across and encamping on ground free of snow, sent them out to pasture, and then took the Numidians in relays to work at building up the path, so that with great difficulty in three days he managed to
ΤΗ ΗΙΣΤΟΡΙΕΣ ΟΦ ΠΟΛΥΒΙΟΥ

θηρία. καὶ τάδε συνέβαινε κακῶς ύπὸ τοῦ λιμοῦ δια-
9 τεθείσθαι· τών γὰρ Ἀλπεων τὰ μὲν ἄκρα καὶ τὰ
πρὸς τὰς ὑπερβολὰς ἀνήκοντα τελέως ἀδενδρὰ καὶ
ψιλὰ πάντ᾽ ἔστι δία τὸ συνεχῶς ἐπιμένειν τὴν χιόνα
καὶ θέρους καὶ χειμῶνος, τά δ᾽ ὑπὸ μέσην τὴν παρ-
ώρειαν εξ ἄμφοιν τοῖν μεροῖν ὑλοφόρα καὶ δεν-
δροφόρα καὶ τὸ ὀλὸν οἰκήσιμ' ἔστων.

56 Ἄννιβας δὲ συναθροίζας ὅμοιν πάσαν τὴν δύνα-
μιν κατέβαινε, καὶ τριταῖοι ἀπό τῶν προειρημένων
2 κρημνῶν διανύσας ἦματο τῶν ἐπιπέδων, πολλοὺς
μὲν ἀπολωλεκὼς τῶν στρατιωτῶν ύπὸ τε τῶν πολε-
μίων καὶ τῶν ποταμῶν ἐν τῇ καθόλου πορείᾳ, πολ-
λοὺς δ᾽ ύπὸ τῶν κρημνῶν καὶ τῶν δυσχωριῶν κατὰ
tὰς Ἀλπεις οὗ μόνον ἄθρασ, ἐτὶ δὲ πλείους ἰπποὺς
3 καὶ ὑποζύγια. τέλος δὲ τῇ μὲν πάσαν πορείαν ἐκ
Καυνῆς πόλεως ἐν πέντε μητὶ ποιησάμενος, τὴν δὲ
tῶν Ἀλπεων ὑπερβολὴν ἡμέρας δεκαπέντε, κατήρε
τολμηρῶς εἰς τὰ περὶ τὸν Πάδουν πεδία καὶ τὸ τῶν
4 Ἰνσόμβρων ἔθνος, ἔχων τὸ διασωζόμενον μέρος τῆς
μὲν τῶν Λυβίων δυνάμεως πεζοὺς μυρίους καὶ δια-
χιλίους, τῆς δὲ τῶν Ἰβηρίων εἰς ὀκτακισχιλίως, ἱπ-
πεῖς δὲ τοὺς πάντας οὐ πλείους ἐξακισχιλίως, ὡς
αὐτὸς ἐν τῇ στήλῃ τῇ περὶ τοῦ πλῆθους ἐχώσῃ
τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν εἲς τὰ Λακωνία διασαφεῖ.

5 Κατὰ δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς καιροὺς, ὡς ἐπάνω προεῖπα,
Πόπλιος ἀπολελοιπὼς τὰς δυνάμεις Γναῖτω τάδελφῳ,
καὶ παρακεκληκὼς αὐτὸν ἔχεσθαι τῶν ἐν Ἰβηρία
πραγμάτων καὶ πολεμεῖν ἐρρωμένως Ἀσδρούβα,
6 κατέπλευσε μετ' ὀλίγων αὐτὸς εἰς Πίσας. ποιησά-
μενος δὲ τὴν πορείαν διὰ Τυρρηνίας, καὶ παραλαβὼν
τὰ παρὰ τῶν ἐξαπελέκεων στρατόπεδα τὰ προκαθή-
μενα καὶ προσπολεμοῦντα τοῖς Βοιοῖς, ἦκε πρὸς τὰ
get the elephants across, but in a wretched condition from hunger; for the summits of the Alps—and the parts near the top of the passes are all quite treeless and bare owing to the snow lying there continuously both winter and summer, but the slopes half-way up on both sides are grassy and wooded and on the whole inhabitable.

56. Hannibal having now got all his forces together continued the descent, and in three days’ march from the precipice just described reached flat country. He had lost many of his men by the hands of the enemy in the crossing of rivers and on the march in general, and the precipices and difficulties of the Alps had cost him not only many men, but a far greater number of horses and sumpter-animals. The whole march from New Carthage had taken him five months, and he had spent fifteen days in crossing the Alps, and now, when he thus boldly descended into the plain of the Po and the territory of the Insubres, his surviving forces numbered twelve thousand African and eight thousand Iberian foot, and not more than six thousand horse in all, as he himself states in the inscription on the column at Lacinium relating to the number of his forces.

About the same time, as I stated above, Publius Scipio, leaving his forces with his brother Gnaeus with orders to conduct operations in Spain and vigorously combat Hasdrubal, arrived by sea at Pisa with a small following. Marching through Etruria and taking over from the Praetors the frontier legions which were engaged with the Boii, he reached
57 Ἡμεῖς δ' ἐπειδή καὶ τὴν διήγησιν καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ἀμφοτέρων καὶ τὸν πόλεμον εἰς Ἰταλίαν ἡγάγομεν, πρὸ τοῦ τῶν ἀγώνων ἀρξασθαι βραχέα βουλόμεθα περὶ τῶν ἀμοιβάντων τῇ πραγματείᾳ διελθεῖν. ἦσος γὰρ δὴ τινὲς ἐπιζητήσουσι πῶς πεποιημένοι τὸν πλείστον λόγον ὑπὲρ τῶν κατὰ Λιβύην καὶ κατ' Ἰβηρίαν τόπων οὔτε περὶ τοῦ καθ' Ἡρακλεός στήλας στόματος οὐδὲν ἐπὶ πλείων εἰρήκαμεν οὔτε περὶ τῆς ἕξω φαλάττης καὶ τῶν ἐν ταύτῃ

3 συμβαινόντων ἱδιωμάτων, οὔδὲ μὴν περὶ τῶν Βρεττανικῶν νῆσων καὶ τῆς τοῦ καττιτέρου κατασκευῆς, ἐτί δὲ τῶν ἀργυρείων καὶ χρυσείων τῶν κατ' αὐτὴν Ἰβηρίαν, ὑπὲρ ὃν οἱ συγγραφεῖς ἀμφισβητοῦντες πρὸς ἄλλους τὸν πλείστον διατίθενται λόγον.

4 Ἡμεῖς δ' οὐχὶ νομίζοντες ἀλλότριον εἶναι τούτῳ τῷ μέρος τῆς ἱστορίας διὰ τούτῳ παρελείπομεν, ἀλλὰ πρῶτον μὲν οὐ βουλόμενοι παρ' ἐκαστα διασπῆν τὴν διήγησιν οὕτω ἀποπλανῶν ἀπὸ τῆς πραγματικῆς ὑποθέσεως τοὺς φιληκοσύνων, δεύτερον δὲ κρίνοντες οὐ διερρυμένην οὕτω ἐν παρέγγυῳ ποιῆσασθαι τὴν περὶ αὐτῶν μνήμην, ἀλλὰ κατ' ἰδίαν καὶ τόπον καὶ καιρὸν ἀπονείμαντες τῷ μέρει τούτῳ καὶ ὅσον οὔτε τ' ἐσμὲν τὴν ἀλήθειαν περὶ αὐτῶν ἐξηγήσασθαι. 

5 θέσεως τοὺς φιληκοσύνων, δεύτερον δὲ κρίνοντες οὐ διερρυμένην οὕτω ἐν παρέγγυῳ ποιῆσασθαι τὴν περὶ αὐτῶν μνήμην, ἀλλὰ κατ' ἰδίαν καὶ τόπον καὶ καιρὸν ἀπονείμαντες τῷ μέρει τούτῳ καὶ ὅσον οὔτε τ' ἐσμὲν τὴν ἀλήθειαν περὶ αὐτῶν ἐξηγήσασθαι. 

6 σθαί. διότερ οὔτ' ἐρχόμενοι τοιούτως παραλείπουμεν τούτῳ κατὰ τὸ μέρος δίὰ τὰς προερημένας αἰτίας. 

7 εἰ δὲ τινὲς πάντως ἐπιζητοῦσι κατὰ τόπον καὶ κατὰ μέρος τῶν τοιούτων ἀκούει, ὡσεὶς ἀγνοοῦσι παραπλησίων τι πάσχοντες τοῖς λίχοις τῶν δειπνητῶν.
the plain of the Po, and encamping there, waited for the enemy, being anxious to give him battle.

57. Now that I have brought my narrative and the war and the two generals into Italy, I desire, before entering upon the struggle, to say a few words on what I think proper to my method in this work. Some readers will perhaps ask themselves why, since most of what I have said relates to Africa and Spain, I have not said a word more about the mouth of the Mediterranean at the Pillars of Hercules, or about the Outer Sea and its peculiarities, or about the British Isles and the method of obtaining tin, and the gold and silver mines in Spain itself, all matters concerning which authors dispute with each other at great length. I have omitted these subjects not because I think they are foreign to my history, but in the first place because I did not wish to be constantly interrupting the narrative and distracting readers from the actual subject, and next because I decided not to make scattered and casual allusions to such matters, but assigning the proper place and time to their special treatment to give as true an account of all as is in my power. No one then need be surprised when in the course of my history I reach such localities, if I avoid for the reason here stated any description of them. But if there be any who insist on such descriptions of each place that may be mentioned, they are perhaps unaware that they are much in the case of gourmands at a supper party.
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

8 καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι πάντων ἀπογενόμενοι τῶν παρακειμένων οὔτε κατὰ τὸ παρὸν οὐδενὸς ἀληθινὸς ἀπολαύοντο τῶν βρωμάτων οὔτ' εἰς τὸ μέλλον ωφελιμόν ἐξ αὐτῶν τὴν ἀνάδοσιν καὶ τροφὴν κομίζονται, πάντες τούναντιν, οἳ τε περὶ τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν τὸ παραπλήσιον ποιοῦντες οὔτε τῆς παραυτικῆς διαγωγῆς ἀληθινῶς οὔτε τῆς εἰς τὸ μέλλον ωφελείας στοχαζοῦνται δεόντως.

58 Διότι μὲν οὖν εἰ καὶ τὶ τῶν τῆς ἱστορίας μερῶν ἀλλο, καὶ τοῦτο προσδέι λόγου καὶ διορθώσεως ἀληθινωτέρας, προσφερὲς ἐκ πολλῶν, μάλιστα δ' ἐκ τούτων. σχεδὸν γὰρ πάντων, εἰ δὲ μὴ γε, τῶν πλείστων συγγραφέων πεπειραμένων μὲν ἐξήγεισθαι τὰς ἱδιότητας καὶ θέσεις τῶν περὶ τὰς ἐσχατιὰς τῶν τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς οἰκουμένης, εἰν πολλοῖς δὲ τῶν πλείστων διημαρτηκότων, παραλείπειν μὲν οὐδαμῶς καθήκει, ῥητέον δὲ τι πρὸς αὐτούς οὐκ ἐκ παρέργου καὶ διερρημένως, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἐπιστάσεως,

3 καὶ ῥητέον οὖκ ἐπιτιμῶντας οὐδ' ἐπιπλῆττοντας, ἐπαινοῦντας δὲ μάλλον καὶ διορθουμένους τὴν ἀγνοιαν αὐτῶν, γνώσκοντας ὅτι κακεῖνοι τῶν νῦν καιρῶν ἐπιλαβόμενοι πολλὰ τῶν αὐτοῖς εἰρημένων εἰς διόρθωσιν ἀν καὶ μετάθεσιν ἤγαγον. ἐν μὲν γὰρ τῷ προγεγονότι χρόνῳ σπανίως ἂν εὕροι τις τῶν Ἐλλήνων τοὺς ἐπιμελημένους πολυπραγμονεῖν τὰ κατὰ τὰς ἐσχατιὰς διὰ τὸ τῆς ἐπιβολῆς ἀδύνατον. πολλοὶ μὲν γὰρ ἦσαν οἳ κατὰ θάλασσαν τότε κινοῦντες καὶ δυσεξαιρήθησαν, πολλαπλάσιοι δὲ τούτων οἳ κατὰ γῆν. ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ τις ἡ κατ' ἀνάγκην ἡ κατὰ προαίρεσιν ἐξίκουσ' πρὸς τὰ πέρατα τῆς οἰκουμένης, οὖν οὖτως ἦν τὸ προκείμενον. δυσχερές μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ πλέον τινῶν αὐτόπτην γενέσθαι

138
who taste everything on the table and neither truly enjoy any dish at the moment nor digest any enough to derive beneficial nourishment from it in the future. So those who act in the same way about reading do not properly attain either present entertainment or future benefit.

58. That no part of history requires more circumspection and more correction by the light of truth than this is evident from many considerations and chiefly from the following. While nearly all authors or at least the greater number have attempted to describe the peculiarities and the situation of the countries at the extremities of the known world, most of them are mistaken on many points. We must therefore by no means pass over the subject, but we must say a word to them, and that not casually and by scattered allusions, but giving due attention to it, and in what we say we must not find fault with or rebuke them, but rather be grateful to them and correct them when wrong, knowing as we do that they too, had they the privilege of living at the present day, would correct and modify many of their own statements. In old times, indeed, we find very few Greeks who attempted to inquire into the outlying parts of the world, owing to the practical impossibility of doing so; for the sea had so many perils that it is difficult to enumerate them, and the land ever so many more. Again, even if anyone by his own choice or by the force of circumstances reached the extremity of the world, that did not mean that he was able to accomplish his purpose. For it was a difficult matter to see many things at all closely with one’s own eyes, owing to
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

dià tò touς mèn èkβεβαρβαρώσθαι, touς δ' èrήμους εἶναι τόπους, ètì de χαλεπώτερον τò περι τών ὀρα-
thèntων dià λόγου τì γνῶναι καὶ μαθεῖν dià tò tìs
9 φωνῆς èξηλλαγμένον. èâν de καὶ γνῆ τìs, ètì tòw
pro toû δυσχερέστερον tò tòw èυωρακότων τiνà με-
trów χρῆσθαι τρόπω καὶ καταφρονήσαντα tìs πα-
ραδοξολογίας καὶ τερατείας èαυτοῦ χάρων προτιμή-
sai tìn èνήθειαν καὶ μιθὲν tòw πάρεξ òntων hèwv
59 ἀναγγείλαι. διόπερ οù δυσχεροῦς, ἀλλ' ἀδυνάτου
σχεδὸν ὑπάρχουσις κατὰ γε τòus προγεγονότας και-
ροὺς τῆς ἀλήθους ἱστορίας υπὲρ των προειρήμενων,
οὐκ εἰ τι παρέλθουν οἱ συγγραφεῖς ἡ δηήμαρτον,
2 ἐπιτιμᾶν αὐτοῖς ἄξιον, ἀλλ' ἐφ' οἷον ἔγνωσάν τι
καὶ προεβίβασαν τὴν ἐμπειρίαν τὴν περὶ τούτων ἐν
τοιούτως καιροῖς, ἐπαινεῖν καὶ θαυμάζειν αὐτοὺς
3 δίκαιον. ἐν δὲ τοῖς καθ' ἡμᾶς τῶν μὲν κατά τὴν
'Ασίαν διὰ τὴν 'Αλεξάνδρου δύναστειαν, τῶν δὲ λοι-
πῶν τόπων διὰ τὴν 'Ῥωμαίων ὑπεροχὴν σχεδὸν
4 ἀπάντων πλωτῶν καὶ πορευτῶν γεγονότων, ἀπο-
λελυμένων δὲ καὶ τῶν πρακτικῶν ἄνδρῶν τῆς περὶ
tὰς πολεμικὰς καὶ πολιτικὰς πράξεις φιλοτιμίας, ἐκ
dὲ τούτων πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας ἀφορμὰς εἰληφότων
eἰς τὸ πολυπραγμονεῖν καὶ φιλομαθεῖν περὶ τῶν
5 προειρήμενων, δέν οὖν ἀν εἰὴ καὶ βέλτιον γυνώσκειν
καληθινότερον υπὲρ τῶν πρότερον ἄγνοουμένων.
6 ὅπερ ἥμεις αὐτοὶ τε πειρασόμεθα ποιεῖν, λαβόντες
ἀρμόζοντα τόπον ἐν τῇ πραγματείᾳ τῷ μέρει τούτῳ,
tοὺς τε φιλοπειστοῦντας ὀδοσχερέστερον βουλήσο-
7 μεθα συνεπιστήσαι περὶ τῶν προειρήμενων, ἔπειδη
καὶ τὸ πλεῖον τούτου χάρων ὑπεδεξάμεθα τοὺς κατ-
δύνους [καὶ τὰς κακοπαθείας] τοὺς συμβάντας ἡμῶν
ἐν πλάνῃ τῇ κατὰ Διβύνη καὶ κατ' Ἰβηρίαν, ἐτὶ δὲ
140
some of the countries being utterly barbarous and others quite desolate, and it was still more difficult to get information about the things one did see, owing to the difference of the language. Then, even if anyone did see for himself and observe the facts, it was even still more difficult for him to be moderate in his statements, to scorn all talk of marvels and monsters and, preferring truth for its own sake, to tell us nothing beyond it. 59. As, therefore, it was almost impossible in old times to give a true account of the regions I speak of, we should not find fault with the writers for their omissions or mistakes, but should praise and admire them, considering the times they lived in, for having ascertained something on the subject and advanced our knowledge. But in our own times since, owing to Alexander’s empire in Asia and that of the Romans in other parts of the world, nearly all regions have become approachable by sea or land, since our men of action in Greece are relieved from the ambitions of a military or political career and have therefore ample means for inquiry and study, we ought to be able to arrive at a better knowledge and something more like the truth about lands which were formerly little known. This is what I myself will attempt to do when I find a suitable place in this work for introducing the subject, and I shall then ask those who are curious about such things to give their undivided attention to me, in view of the fact that I underwent the perils of journeys through Africa, Spain, and Gaul, and of voyages on
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

8 χωρας συγ-
9 κυρωναν ταλαταν, ιναι διορθωσαμενοι την των
τρογγυντων άγνοιαν εν τούτων γνώριμα πουη-
σωμεν τοις "Ελλησι και ταιτα τα μέρη της οικου-
μενης.

60 Το μεν ουν πληθος της δυναμεως, οσον εχων
"Αννίβας ένεβαλεν εις "Ιταλίαν, ήδη δεδηλωκαμεν.
2 μετα δε την εισβολην καταστρατοπεδεύσας υπ' αυ-
την την παρώρειαν των "Αλπεων τας μεν άρχας
3 άνελάμβανε τας δυναμεις. ου γαρ μόνον υπό των
αναβάσεων και καταβάσεων, έτι δε τραχυτητων των
κατα τας υπερβολας, δεινως τεταλαιωρηκε το σύμ-
παν αυτω στρατόπεδον, αλλα και τη των επιτηδειων
σπάνει και ταις των σωματων άθεραπευσαις κα-
κως απηλλαττε. πολλοι δε και καθυφεινθ' έαυτους
4 δλοσχερως δια την ένδειαν και συνεχειαν των πό-
νων. ουτε γαρ διακομιζεων εις τοσαυτας μυριαδας
dia τουυτων των δαμνης τα προς την τροφην
οτι τ' ήσαν, α τε και παρεκομιζον αμα τη των
υποξυγιων καταφθορα, και τουτων τα πλειστα συν-
5 απωλυτο. διοπερ ομηρος απο της του 'Ροδανου
διαβασεως, πεζους μεν εις οκτακισχιλιους και τρισ-
μυριους εχων, ιππεις δε πλειους οκτακισχιλιων,
σχεδον που την ημισειαν της δυναμεως, καθαπερ
6 επανω προειπον, εν ταις υπερβολαις διεφθειεν. οι
gε μην σωθεντες και ταις επιφανειαις και τη λοιπη
διαθεσε δια την συνεχεια των προειρημενων πο-
7 νων ολον αποτεθηρωμενου παντες ήσαν. πολλην

142
the seas that lie on the farther side of these countries, mostly for this very purpose of correcting the errors of former writers and making those parts of the world also known to the Greeks.

But now returning to the point at which I digressed from my narrative I shall attempt to describe the battles between the Romans and Carthaginians in Italy.

60. I have already stated the strength of Hannibal's army when he entered Italy. Once arrived there he at first encamped at the very foot of the Alps to refresh his forces. For his men had not only suffered terribly from the toil of ascent and descent of the passes and the roughness of the road but they were also in wretched condition owing to the scarcity of provisions and neglect of their persons, many having fallen into a state of utter despondency from prolonged toil and want of food. For it had been impossible to transport over such ground a plentiful supply of provisions for so many thousand men, and with the loss of the pack-animals the greater part of what they were carrying perished. So that while Hannibal started from the passage of the Rhone with thirty-eight thousand foot and more than eight thousand horse he lost in crossing the passes, as I said above, about half his whole force, while the survivors, owing to the continued hardships they had suffered, had become in their external appearance and general condition more like beasts than men. Hannibal, therefore, made every provision
θύμωμενος πρόνοιαι 'Αννίβας τῆς ἐπιμελείας αὐτῶν ἀνεκτάτο καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς ἁμα καὶ τὰ σῶματα τῶν ἀνδρῶν, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τῶν ἵππων. μετὰ δὲ τάυτα, προσανειληφθείσαι ἦδη τῆς δυνάμεως, τῶν Ταυρίνων, οἱ τυγχάνουσι πρὸς τῇ παρωρεία κατοικοῦντες, στασιάζοντων μὲν πρὸς τοὺς Ἰνσομβρασ, ἀπιστούντων δὲ τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις, τὸ μὲν πρώτον αὐτοὺς εἰς φιλίαν προσκαλεῖτο καὶ συμμαχίαις, ὑπακούσαντων δὲ, περιστρατοπεδέψας τὴν βαρυτάτην πόλυν ἐν τρισὶν ἡμέραις ἐξεπολιόρκησε. κατασφάξας δὲ τοὺς ἑναντιωθέντας αὐτῷ τοιούτων ἐνειργάσατο φόβον τοῖς σύνεγγυς κατοικοῦσι τῶν βαρβάρων ὡστε πάντας ἐκ χειρὸς παραγίνεσθαι, διδόντας αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν πίστιν. τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν πλήθος τῶν τὰ πεδία κατοικοῦντων Κελτῶν ἐσπούδαζε μὲν κοινωνεῖν τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις τῶν πραγμάτων κατὰ τὴν ἔξω ἀρχής ἐπιβολῆν. παρηλλαχότων δὲ τῶν Ρωμαίων στρατοπέδων ἡδη τοὺς πλείστους αὐτῶν καὶ διακεκλεικότων, ἡσυχίαν ἤγος. τινὲς δὲ καὶ συστρατεύειν ἡγαγκάζοντο τοῖς Ρωμαίοις. εἰς τὰ βλέπων Ἀννίβας ἐκρίνει μὴ μέλλειν, ἀλλὰ προάγει εἰς τοὺς προσοθεῖν καὶ πράττειν τι πρὸς τὸ βαρβάροις τοὺς βουλομένους μετέχειν σφίς τῶν αὐτῶν ἐλπίδων.

Προθέμενος δὲ τάυτα, καὶ τὸν Πόλιον ἀκούσας ἤδη διαβεβηκέναι τὸν Πάδον μετὰ τῶν δυνάμεων καὶ σύνεγγυς εἶναι, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἤπιστε τοῖς προσαγγελλόμενοι, ἐνθυμούμενος μὲν ὅτι πρότερον ἡμέρας ὁλίγαις αὐτόν ἀπέλυτε περὶ τὴν τοῦ Ῥοδανοῦ διάβασιν, καὶ συλλογίζομενος τὸν τε πλοῦν τὸν ἀπὸ Μασσαλίας εἰς Τυρρηνίαν ὡς μακρὸς καὶ δυσ-παρακόμιστοι εἰς, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τὴν πορείαν

144
for carefully attending to the men and the horses likewise until they were restored in body and spirit. After this, his forces having now picked up their strength, when the Taurini who live at the foot of the mountains quarrelled with the Insubres and showed no confidence in the Carthaginians, he at first made overtures for their friendship and alliance, but on their rejecting these he encamped round their chief city and reduced it in three days. By massacring those who had been opposed to him he struck such terror into the neighbouring tribes of barbarians that they all came in at once and submitted to him. The remaining Celtic inhabitants of the plain were impatient to join the Carthaginians, as had been their original design, but as the Roman legions had advanced beyond most of them and cut them off, they kept quiet, some even being compelled to serve with the Romans. Hannibal, in view of this, decided not to delay, but to advance and try by some action to encourage those who wished to take part in his enterprise.

61. Such was the purpose he had in view when the news reached him that Publius had already crossed the Po and was quite near at hand. At first he refused to believe it, reflecting that he had left him only a few days previously near the crossing of the Rhone and that the coasting voyage from Marseilles to Etruria was long and difficult, and learning further by inquiry that the road through
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

ιστορῶν τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ Τυρρηνικοῦ πελάγους διὰ τῆς Ἰταλίας μέχρι πρὸς τὰς Ἀλπεῖς ως πολλή καὶ δυσδίδος ὑπάρχει στρατοπέδους. πλεῖόνων δὲ καὶ σαφεστέρως άεὶ προσαγγελλόντων, ἐθαύμαζε καὶ κατεπεπλήκτο τὴν ὅλην ἐπιβολὴν καὶ τὴν πράξεων τοῦ στρατηγοῦ. τὸ δὲ παραπλήσιον συνέβαλεν πάξ-χειν καὶ τὸν Πόσπλιον. τὰς μὲν γὰρ ἄρχας οὐδ’ ἐπιβαλέσθαι τῇ διὰ τῶν Ἀλπεων ἥλπισε πορεία τῶν Ἀννίβαν δυνάμεων ἀλλοφυλοίς· εἰ δὲ καὶ τολμήσω, καταφθαρήσεσθαι προδήλως αὐτὸν ὑπελάμβανεν. διόπερ εὖ τοιούτοις ὡν διαλογισμοῖς, ὡς ἐπυνθανετο καὶ σεσώθαι καὶ πολιορκείν αὐτὸν ἤδη τινὰς πόλεις ἐν Ἰταλία, κατεπεπλήκτο τὴν τόλμαν καὶ τὸ παράβολον τάνδρος. τὸ δ’ αὐτὸ συνέβαλεν καὶ τοῖς ἐν τῇ 'Ρώμῃ πεπονθέναι περὶ τῶν προσπιπτόντων. ἀρτι γὰρ τῆς τελευταίας φήμης καταληγούσης ὑπέρ τῶν Καρχηδονίων ὅτι Ζάκανθαν εἰλήφασι, καὶ πρὸς ταύτην βεβουλευμένων τὴν ἔννοιαν, καὶ τὸν μὲν ἐνα τῶν στρατηγῶν ἐξαπεσταλκότων εἰς τὴν Λιβύην, ὡς αὐτῆν τὴν Καρχηδόνα πολιορκήσοντα, τὸν ἔτερον δ’ εἰς 'Ἰβηρίαν, ὡς πρὸς Ἀννίβαν ἐκεῖ διαπολεμήσοντα, παρὴν ἀγγελία διότι πάρεστιν Ἀννίβας μετὰ δυνάμεως καὶ πολιορκεῖ τινὰς ἤδη πόλεις ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ, διότι καὶ παραδόξου φανέντος αὐτοῖς τοῦ γνωμένου, διαταραχθέντες παραχρῆμα πρὸς τὸν Τεβέριον εἰς τὸ Λιλύβαιον ἐξαπέστελλον, δηλοῦντες μὲν τὴν παρουσίαν τῶν πολεμίων, οἰόμενοι δὲ δεῖν ἄφεμεν τῶν προκειμένων κατὰ σπουδὴν βοηθεῖν τοῖς ἰδίοις πράγμασιν. δ’ ὅ τε Τεβέριος τοὺς μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ στόλου παρατικὰ συναθροίσας ἐξέστησε, παραγγείλας ποιεῖσθαι τὸν πλοῦν ὡς ἐπ’ οἶκοι τάς δὲ πεζικὰς δυνάμεις ἐξώρκισε διὰ τῶν χιλιάρ-
Italy from the Tyrrhenian Sea to the Alps was likewise very long and not suited for the march of troops. But when more messengers continued to arrive bringing the same news in a more definite form, he was struck with amazement at the whole project of the Consul and the way he had carried it out. Publius had very much the same feeling; for at first he had never expected that Hannibal would even attempt to cross the Alps with foreign forces, and if he ventured on it he thought that certain destruction awaited him. So that, his anticipations being such, when he heard that Hannibal was safe and was already besieging towns in Italy he was amazed too at his daring and venturesomeness. In Rome itself the intelligence had much the same effect. The stir created by the last news of the Carthaginians—that they had captured Saguntum—had only just subsided, measures had been taken to meet this situation by sending one Consul to Libya who was to besiege Carthage itself, and the other to Spain to fight, as they thought, with Hannibal there; and now news came that Hannibal was in Italy with his army and already laying siege to some cities. The thing therefore seemed altogether astounding to them, and in great alarm they sent urgent orders to Tiberius at Lilybaeum, informing him of the arrival of the enemy and bidding him abandon his present project and hasten to the help of his own country. Tiberius at once collected the crews of his fleet and dispatched it with orders to make for home. From his soldiers he exacted through the Tribunes an oath that they would all be
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

χων, τάξαις ήμέραν ἐν ἂ δεύσει πάντας ἐν Ἀρμινῳ
11 γενέσθαι κοιναῖος. αὐτὴ δ' ἔστι πόλις παρὰ τὸν
Ἀδριαν ἐπὶ τῷ πέρατι κειμένη τῶν περὶ τὸν Πάδον
12 πεδίων ὡς ἀπὸ μεσημβρίας. πανταχόθεν δὲ τοῦ
κινήματος ἀμα γυνομένου, καὶ τῶν συμβασιόντων
πᾶσι παρὰ δόξαν προσπεπτόντων, ἢν παρ' ἐκάστους
ἐπίστασις υπὲρ τοῦ μέλλοντος οὐκ ἑυκαταφρόνητος.
62 Κατὰ δὲ τὸν καιρὸν τούτου ἡδ' συνεγγύζοντες
ἀλλήλοις Ἀννίβας καὶ Πόπλιος ἐπεβάλοντο παρα-
καλεῖν τὰς ἑαυτῶν δυνάμεις, ἐκάτερος προθέμενος
2 τὰ πρέποντα τοῖς παρόνι καιροῖς. Ἀννίβας μὲν
οὖν διὰ τοιοῦτο τινος ἐνεχείρει τρόπον ποιεῖσθαι
3 τὴν παραίνεσιν. συναγαγὼν γὰρ τὰ πλῆθος παρη-
γαγείν νεανίσκους τῶν αἰχμαλώτων, οὔς εἰλήφει
κακοποιοῦντας τὴν πορείαν ἐν ταῖς περὶ τὰς Ἀλπεῖς
4 δυσχωρίαις. τούτους δὲ κακῶς διετίθετο, παρα-
σκευαζόμενος πρὸς τὸ μέλλον· καὶ γὰρ δεσμοὺς εἶ-
χον βαρεῖς καὶ τῷ λιμῷ συνέσχηντο καὶ ταῖς πλη-
5 γαῖς αὐτῶν τὰ σωματα διεφθαρτό. καθίσας οὖν
τούτου εἰς τὸ μέσον προεθῆκε πανοπλίας Γαλατι-
κάς, οἷας εἰώθασιν οἱ βασιλεῖς αὐτῶν, ἤταν μονο-
μαχεῖν μέλλωσι, κατακοσμεῖσθαι· πρὸς δὲ τούτους
ἐπτέων παρέστησε καὶ σάγους εἰσήγησε πολυτελεῖς.
6 κάπειτα τῶν νεανίσκων ἦρετο τίνες αὐτῶν βού-
λονται διαγωνίσασθαι πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἐφ' ὡς τῶν
μὲν νυκήσαντα τὰ προκείμενα λαμβάνειν ἄθλα, τὸν
δ' ἤττηθέντα τῶν παρόντων ἀπηλλάχθαι κακῶν,
7 τελευτήσαντα τὸν βίον. πάντων δ' ἀναβοσάντων
ἀμα καὶ δηλοῦντων ὅτι βούλονται μονομαχεῖν, κη-
ρώσασθαι προσέταξε, καὶ δύο τοὺς λαχόντας καθ-
οπλισμένους ἐκέλευσε μάχεσθαι πρὸς ἀλλήλους.
8 παραυτίκα μὲν οὖν ἄκουσαντες οἱ νεανίσκοι ταύτα,
at Ariminum on a certain day before bed-time. This is a city on the Adriatic at the southern edge of the plains of the Po. So that as there was great stir and activity all round, and as the news that arrived was what nobody expected, there was on both sides that intense concern for the future which an enemy cannot afford to neglect.

62. Hannibal and Publius were now near each other, and they both thought it proper to address their troops in a manner suitable to the occasion. The device by which Hannibal tried to encourage his men was as follows. Musterling the troops, he brought forward certain young men from among the prisoners he had taken molesting his march in the difficult part of the Alpine pass. He had purposely, with a view to the use he was going to make of them, ill-used them: they wore heavy fetters, they had suffered much from hunger, and their bodies were disfigured by the marks of blows. Placing them in the middle of the meeting he exhibited some Gaulish suits of armour, such as their kings are wont to deck themselves with when about to engage in single combat. In addition to these he placed there some horses and had some rich military cloaks brought in. He then asked the young men which of them were willing to do combat with each other, the prizes exhibited being destined for the victor, while the vanquished would be delivered by death from his present misery. When all shouted out with one voice that they were willing to fight, he ordered them to draw lots, and the two on whom the lot fell to arm themselves and do combat. The young men, the moment they heard this, lifted up their hands
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

cali tas cheirai ezaireontes, euchoi tois theois, stpeu-
dous ekastos autous geneithai twn laxontwn. epeiei
d' edhlaitha ta katasa ton kliron, hasan oi men ei-
lhchatos perichareis, ois d' alloi toutanion. genv-
mevnis de ths makhis oih httton emakarizou oi peri-
leiptomenoi twn aixmalowtwn ton tebnewtata tov ne-
vnikkotos, ws pollawn kai megala kakov ekinei
men apolelumeno, sfais d' autous akimhn upo-
mvenontas. 'hvn de paraplihsia kai peri tous polloous
twn Karxhdonwv h dialhpsiis ek parathseous gar
thevroumenh ths twv aghomewn kai ztwtwv talaip-
pwrias, tonous men hleous, ton de tebnewta pain-
tes emakarizou. 'Anviba dea dia twv proeirhmenwn
thn prokeimenh nh diathewn energasamenos taiz twv
2 dynameswv psxhai, metata tausta proelthwv autous tou-
tou charw ephi paraisagewn tous aiximalwton, in
epi twv allotrichwn sumptwmatwv enarhgos theasam-
mevnoi to sumbaivon bletion upfer twv sfis par-
3 ontwv bouleontai pragmatwv. eis paraplihsion
gar autous agwna kai kairopon thn tykhyn syn-
kekleiekewai kai paraplihsia tois wvn athla pro-
4 tebeikwai. deiv gar th nikan th thnekein th tois
exhrois upocheirwous genvethai zonvai. einai d' ek
men tov nikan athlon ouych ispous kai sagous, alla
to pantwn anthrwwpon genvethai makarwttatos,
5 krathtsanta ths 'Rwmaiwn eudaimoniaw, ek de tov
marchomenois ti paithen diagwniwmwn ews ths
eschaths anapinhs uper ths kallisths elpidos met-
allazai tov bion en cheiron nymw, mnedenos kako
6 labwntas peiravan, tois d' htwmwnois kai dia thn
pros to zhe epithumian upomenui feugewi h kath'
allon tinai trponton elomewo to zhen pantos kake
150
and prayed to the gods, each eager to be himself one of the chosen. When the result was announced, those on whom the lot had fallen were overjoyed and the rest mournful and dejected, and after the combat was over the remaining prisoners congratulated the fallen champion no less than the victor, as having been set free from many and grievous evils which they themselves were left alive to suffer. The sentiment of most of the Carthaginians was identical; for looking on the misery of the other prisoners as they were led away alive, they pitied them on comparing their fate with that of the dead whom they all pronounced to be fortunate. 63. When Hannibal had by this means produced the disposition he desired in the minds of his troops, he rose and told them that he had brought the prisoners before them designedly in order that clearly seeing in the person of others what they might themselves have to suffer, they should thence take better counsel at the present crisis. "Fortune," he said, "has brought you to a like pass, she has shut you in on a like listed field of combat, and the prizes and prospects she offers you are the same. For either you must conquer, or die, or fall alive into the hands of your foes. For you the prize of victory is not to possess horses and cloaks, but to be the most envied of mankind, masters of all the wealth of Rome. The prize of death on the battle-field is to depart from life in the heat of the fight, struggling till your last breath for the noblest of objects and without having learnt to know suffering. But what awaits those of you who are vanquished and for the love of life consent to fly, or who preserve their lives by any other means, is to have every evil and every mis-
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

7 καὶ πάσης ἀτυχίας μετασχεῖν. οὐδένα γὰρ οὕτως ἀλάγιστον οὐδὲ νωθρῶν αὐτῶν ὑπάρχειν, δὲ μιμημο-

νεύων μὲν τοῦ μῆκους τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς διηνυσμένης ἐκ τῶν πατρίδων, μιμημονεύων δὲ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν μεταξὺ πολεμών, εἰδὼς δὲ τὰ μεγέθη τῶν ποταμῶν ὅν διεπέρασεν, ἐλπίζαι ποτὲ ἂν ὦτι φεύ-

8 γων εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν ἀφίξεται. διότερ ὦτει δεῖν αὐτοῖς, ἀποκεκομμένης καθόλου τῆς τουαύτης ἐλπί-

δος, τὴν αὐτὴν διάληψιν ποιεῖσθαι περὶ τῶν καθ’ αὐτοὺς πραγμάτων ήμπερ ἀρτίως ἐποιοῦντο περὶ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων συμπτωμάτων. καθάπερ γὰρ ἐπ’ ἐκείνων τὸν καὶ νικήσαντα καὶ τεθνεῶτα πάντες ἐμακάριον, τοὺς δὲ θὺν αὐτοὺς ἤλεον, οὕτως ὦτε δεῖν καὶ περὶ τῶν καθ’ αὐτοὺς διαλαμβάνειν, καὶ πάντας ἔναϊ πρὸς τοὺς ἀγῶνας, μᾶλλον μὲν νική-

σοντας, ἂν δὲ μὴ τοῦτ’ ἦ δυνατόν, ἀποθανομέ-

νους. τὴν δὲ τοῦ θην ἦττημένους ἐλπίδα κατὰ τὸ συνεξακολουθήσεως. πάντας γὰρ τόσον ἡ κατὰ προσέρεσιν ἡ κατ’ ἀνάγκην τουαύτη προθέσει κεχρη-

μένους οὐδέποτε διευθεύτοισιν τὸν κρατεῖν τῶν ἀντι-

ταξιμένων. ὅταν δὲ δὴ καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις συμ-

βαίη τὴν ἐναντίαν ἐλπίδα ταύτης ὑπάρχειν, ὃ νῦν ἐστὶν περὶ Ῥωμαίον, ὥστε φεύγουσι πρόδηλον εἶναι ἐπὶ τοῖς πλείστοις τῇ σωτηρίᾳ, παρακεμένης αὐτοῖς τῆς οἰκείας, δήλον ὡς ἀνυπόστατος γίνοιτ’ ἂν ἡ τῶν ἀπηλπικότων τόλμα. τῶν δὲ πολλῶν ἀπο-

δεχομένων τὸ τε παράδειγμα καὶ τους λόγους, καὶ λαμβανόντων ὄρμην καὶ παράστασιν οἷς παρακαλῶν ἐσπούδασε, τότε μὲν ἐπαινέσας αὐτοὺς.
fortune for their lot. There is not one of you so dull and unreflecting as to hope to reach his home by flight, when he remembers the length of the road he traversed from his native land, the numbers of the enemies that lie between, and the size of the rivers he crossed. I beg you, therefore, cut off as you are entirely from any such hope, to take the same view of your own situation that you have just expressed regarding that of others. For as you all accounted both the victor and the fallen fortunate and pitied the survivors, so now should you think about yourselves and go all of you to battle resolved to conquer if you can, and if this be impossible, to die. And I implore you not to let the hope of living after defeat enter your minds at all. If you reason and purpose as I urge upon you, it is clear that victory and safety will follow; for none ever who either by necessity or choice formed such a resolve have been deceived in their hope of putting their enemies to flight. And when the enemy have the opposite hope, as is now the case with the Romans, most of them being sure of finding safety in flight as their homes are near at hand, it is evident that the courage of those who despair of safety will carry all before it.” The object-lesson and the speech were well received by the troops, in whom they produced the enthusiasm and self-confidence that the speaker desired, and after commending
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

diafrēke, τῇ δ' ἐπαύριον ἀναζυγήν ἄμα τῷ φωτὶ παρῆγγειλε.

64 Πόπλιος δὲ περὶ τὰς αὐτὰς ἡμέρας τὸν Πάδον
ποταμὸν ἦδη πεπεραιωμένος, τὸν δὲ Τίκυνον κρί-
νων εἰς τοὺμπροσθεν διαβάϊνει, τοῖς μὲν ἐπι-
tηδείοις γεφυροποιεῖν παρῆγγειλε, τὰς δὲ λοιπὰς
2 δυνάμεις συναγαγὼν παρεκάλει. τὰ μὲν οὖν πολλὰ
tῶν λεγομένων ἢν περὶ τοῦ τῆς πατρίδος ἀξιώ-
ματος καὶ τῶν προγονικῶν πράξεων, τὰ δὲ τοῦ
3 παρεστώτως καιροῦ τοιάδε. ἐφ' ἡρὰ δεῖν καὶ μη-
dεμίαν μὲν εἰληφότας πείραν ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος
tῶν ὑπεναντίων, αὐτὸ δὲ τοῦτο γινώσκοντας ὅτι
μέλλοναι πρὸς Καρχηδονίους κινδυνεῖν, ἀναμφι-
4 σβήτητον ἐχειν τὴν τοῦ νικάν ἐλπίδα, καὶ καθόλου
δεινὸν ἠγείεσθαι καὶ παράλογον, εἰ τολμῶσι Καρχη-
dόνοις 'Ῥωμαίοις ἀντοφθαλμεῖν, πολλάκις μὲν ὑπ'
αὐτῶν ἠττημένοι, πολλοὺς δὲ ἐξεννηχότες φόρους,
μὸνον δ' οὐχὶ δουλεύοντες αὐτοῖς ἢδη τοσοῦτοι
5 χρόνους. ὅταν δὲ, χωρὶς τῶν προειρημένων, καὶ τῶν
νῦν παρόντων ἀνδρῶν ἐχωμεν ἐπὶ ποσὸν πείραν
ὅτι [μὸνον] οὐ τολμῶσι κατὰ πρόσωπον ἡδεῖν ἡμᾶς
tίνα χρή διάληψιν ποιεῖσθαι περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος
6 τοὺς ὅρθως λογιζομένους; καὶ μὴν οὔτε τοὺς ἐπιτείς
συμπεσόντας τοῖς παρ' αὐτῶν ἐπιπέδως περὶ τὸν
Ῥοδανὸν ποταμὸν ἀπαλλάξαι καλῶς, ἀλλὰ πολλοὺς
ἀποβαλόντας αὐτῶν φυγεῖν αὐξχρῶς μέχρι τῆς ἴδιας
7 παρεμβολῆς, τὸν τε στρατηγὸν αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν σύμ-
πασαν δύναμιν, ἐπιγνώντας τὴν παρουσίαν τῶν
ἡμετέρων στρατιωτῶν, φυγῇ παραπλησίαν ποιή-
σαθαι τὴν ἀποχώρησιν, καὶ παρὰ τὴν αὐτῶν προ-
αιρεσιν διὰ τὸν φόβον κεχρῆσθαι τῇ διὰ τῶν 'Αλπεων
8 πορεία. παρεῖναι δὲ καὶ νῦν ἐφι τὸν Ἀννίβαν,
154
them he dismissed them, ordering them to be ready to start at daybreak.

64. At about the same date Publius Scipio, who had already crossed the Po and had decided to advance across the Ticinus, ordered those qualified for that task to build a bridge and, summoning a meeting of the rest of his forces, addressed them. Most of what he said related to the exalted position of their country and the achievements of their ancestors; what concerned the present situation was as follows. He said that even if they had had no recent experience of the enemy, the knowledge alone that they were going to fight against Carthaginians should give them unshaken hope of victory. They should regard it as altogether an outrageous and surprising thing that Carthaginians should dare to face Romans, by whom they had been so often beaten, to whom they had paid so much tribute, and whose slaves almost they had been for so many years. "But now," he went on to say, "when apart from this we can judge more or less by our own experience that these actual men here on the spot do not venture to look us in the face, what should our opinion be as to the future, if we estimate chances correctly? Why! not even their cavalry when they met ours near the Rhone came off well, but after losing many of their number fled disgracefully to their own camp, upon which their general and all his forces, as soon as they knew our soldiers were coming, made a retreat more resembling a flight, and contrary to their original intention chose the route through the Alps from pure fear of us. Hannibal has now arrived,"

BOOK III. 63. 14 - 64. 8

VOL. II F 155
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

κατεφθαρκότα μὲν τὸ πλεῖστον μέρος τῆς δυνάμεως, τὸ δὲ περιλειπόμενον ἄδυνατον καὶ δύσχηστον ἔχοντα διὰ τὴν κακουχίαν· ὅμωσὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐπιτων τοὺς μὲν πλείστους ἀπολωλεκότα, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἤχρεωκότα διὰ τὸ μῆκος καὶ τὴν δυσχέρειαν τῆς ὁδοῦ. δι’ ὄν ἐπιδεικνύειν ἐπειράτο διότι μόνον ἐπιφανήναι δεὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις. μάλιστα δ’ ἦξιον βαρρεῶν αὐτοὺς βλέποντας εἰς τὴν αὐτοῦ παρουσίαν· οὐδέποτε γὰρ ἂν ἀπολιπὼν τὸν στόλον καὶ τὰς ἐν Ἰβηρία πράξεις, ἐφ’ ὅς ἀπεστάλη, δεύρο μετὰ τοιαύτης ἐλθεῖν σπουδῆς, εἰ μὴ καὶ λίαν ἐκ τῶν κατὰ λόγον ἐώρα τὴν πράξειν ταύτην ἀναγκαίαν μὲν οὕτων τῇ πατριδί, πρόδηλον δ’ ἐν αὐτῇ τὴν νίκην ὑπάρχουσαν. πάντων δὲ καὶ διὰ τὴν τοῦ λέγοντος πίστιν καὶ διὰ τὴν τῶν λεγομένων ἄλληθειαν ἐκθύμως ἐχόντων πρὸς τὸ κινδυνεύειν, ἀποδεξάμενος αὐτῶν τὴν ὀρμὴν διαφήκε, προσπαρκαλέσας ἐτοίμους εἰναι πρὸς τὸ παραγγελλόμενον.

65 Τῇ δὲ κατὰ πόδας ἡμέρα προῆγον ἀμφότεροι παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐκ τοῦ πρὸς τὰς Ἀλπεῖς μέρους, ἐχοντες εὐώνυμον μὲν οἱ Ρωμαίοι, δεξιῶν δὲ τὸν Ῥόδαν οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι. γνώντες δὲ τῇ δευτέρα διὰ τῶν προνομεύοντων ὅτι σύνεγγυς εἰσιν ἀλλήλων, τὸτε μὲν αὐτοὶ καταστρατοπεδεύσαντες ἔμειναν. τῇ δ’ ἐπαιρύμοι πᾶσαν τὴν ἐπιπον ἀναλαβόντες ἀμφότεροι, Πόπλιος δὲ καὶ τῶν πεζῶν τοὺς ἀκονιστάς, προῆγον διὰ τοῦ πεδίου, σπεῦδοντες κατοπτεῦσαι τὰς ἀλλήλων δυνάμεις. ἀμα δὲ τῷ πλησίαζειν αὐτοῖς καὶ συνιδεῖν τὸν κοινορτὸν ἐξαρώμενον, εὐθέως συνετάττοντο πρὸς μάχην. δ’ μὲν οὖν Πόπλιος, προθέμενος τοὺς ἀκονιστὰς καὶ τοὺς ἀμα τούτοις Γαλατικοὺς ἐπιπέις, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἐν μετα-156.
he said, "but he has lost most of his army and the rest are weak and useless owing to hardship; he has lost most of his horses too, and those he has left he has rendered fit for nothing by the length and difficulty of his march." From all this he tried to convince them that they had only to show themselves to the enemy. He bade them above all be encouraged by his own presence, for never would he have abandoned his fleet and the Spanish expedition on which he was dispatched, and made such haste to reach Italy, had it not been evident to him that he was doing a necessary service to his country and that victory was a matter of certainty. When all the troops, owing to the authority of the speaker, and the truth of what he said, showed themselves most ardent for a battle, he commended their alacrity and dismissed them, bidding them hold themselves in readiness to execute his orders.

65. Next day they both advanced along the Po on the bank nearest the Alps, the Romans having the stream on their left and the Carthaginians on their right. Learning on the following day from their scouts that they were near each other, they both encamped where they were and remained there for the present. But next morning both generals took the whole of their cavalry, and Publius his javelineers also, and advanced through the plain with the object of reconnoitring each other's forces. Upon their approaching each other and seeing the clouds of dust they at once got into order for action. Publius, placing his javelineers and the Gaulish cavalry which was with them in front and the rest
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

6 ὡς τῷ καταστήσας, προῆι βάδην.  ὡς Ἄννίβας τῇ μὲν κεχαλισωμένην ἵππον καὶ πάν τὸ στάσιμον αὐτῆς κατὰ πρόσωπον τάξις ἀπήντα τοῖς πολεμίοις, τοὺς δὲ Νομαδικοὺς ἐπείξει ἀφ’ ἑκατέρου τοῦ κέρα- 

7 τος ἦτοιμάκει πρὸς κύκλωσιν. ἀμφοτέρων δὲ καὶ τῶν ἡγεμόνων καὶ τῶν ἵππεων φιλοτίμως διακει-

μένων πρὸς τὸν κίνδυνον, τουαυτὴν συνεβὴ γενε-

σθαι τὴν πρώτην σύμπτωσιν ὡστε τοὺς ἀκοντιστὰς μὴ φθάσαι τὸ πρῶτον ἐκβαλόντας βέλος, φεύγειν ἃ ἐγκλίνανται εὐθέως διὰ τῶν διαστημάτων ὕπο 

τὰς παρ’ αὐτῶν ἱλας, καταπλαγέντας τὴν ἐπιφορὰν καὶ περιδεεῖς γεγομένους μὴ συμπατηθῶσιν ὑπὸ 

8 τῶν ἐπιφευμομένων ἵππεων. οἱ μὲν οὖν κατὰ πρόσ-

ωπον ἄλληλοις συμπεσόντες ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἐποί-

9 οὐν ἰσορροπον τὸν κίνδυνον. ὁμοί γὰρ ἦν ἑππο-

μαχία καὶ πεζομαχία διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν παρα-

10 καταβαίνοντων ἀνδρῶν ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ μάχῃ. τῶν δὲ Νομάδων κυκλωσάντων καὶ κατόπιν ἐπιπεσόντων, 

οἱ μὲν πεζακοντισταὶ τὸ πρῶτον διαφυγόντες τὴν 

σύμπτωσιν τῶν ἵππεων τὸτε συνεπατήθησαν ὑπὸ 

11 τοῦ πλῆθους καὶ τῆς ἐπιφορᾶς τῶν Νομάδων. οἱ 

dὲ κατὰ πρόσωπον ἐξ ἀρχῆς διαμαχόμενοι πρὸς 

tους Καρχηδονίους, πολλοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν ἀπολολε-

κότες, ἐτὶ δὲ πλείους τῶν Καρχηδονίων διεθδαρ-

κότες, συνεπιθεμένων ἀπ’ οὔρας τῶν Νομάδων, 

ἐτράπησαν, οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ σποράδες, τινὲς δὲ περὶ 

tὸν ἡγεμόνα συστραφέντες.

66 Πόπλιος μὲν οὖν ἀναζεύξας προσήγε διὰ τῶν πε-

δίων ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ Πάδου γέφυραν, σπεύδων φθά-

2 σαὶ διαβιβάσας τὰ στρατόπεδα. θεωρῶν γὰρ τοὺς 

μὲν τόπους ἐπιπέδους ὄντας, τοὺς δὲ ὑπεναντίους 

ἐπικρατοῦντας, αὐτὸν δὲ βαρυνόμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ 

158
behind, advanced slowly. Hannibal, putting his bridled cavalry and all the heavier part of it in front, led them to meet the enemy, having his Numidian horse ready on each wing to execute an outflanking movement. Both of the leaders and their cavalry were so anxious to join battle that at the opening of the action the javelineers had no time to discharge their first volley, but gave way at once and retired through the gaps between the troops of their own cavalry, in terror of the impending charge and fearful of being trodden under foot by the horsemen who were bearing down on them. The cavalry met front to front and for some time maintained an evenly balanced contest, the engagement being both a cavalry and infantry one, owing to the number of men who dismounted during its progress. When, however, the Numidians outflanked the Romans and took them in the rear, the javelineers on foot who had at first escaped from the charge of the cavalry were now ridden down by the numbers and force of the Numidians, while the cavalry, who from the outset had been facing the Carthaginians, after suffering heavy loss and inflicting still greater on the enemy, being now attacked by the Numidians also in the rear, broke into flight, most of them scattering in every direction but a few gathering closely round the Consul.

66. Publius now broke up his camp and advanced through the plain to the bridge of the Po, hastening to get his legions across before it was too late. For since the country was all flat, since the enemy was superior in cavalry, and since he himself was
τραύματος, εἵς ἀσφαλές ἐκρινε δεῖν ἀποκαταστῆσαι
3 τὰς δυνάμεις. Ἀνώβας δὲ μέχρι μὲν τινος ὑπέλαβε
τοῖς πεζικοῖς στρατοπέδοις αὐτοῦ διακωδυνεύων·
συνιδὼν δὲ κεκυκνηκότας ἐκ τῆς παρεμβολῆς, ἔως
μὲν τοῦ πρώτου ποταμοῦ καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ τούτῳ γεφύρ
ρας ἥκολούθει, καταλαβὼν δὲ τὰς μὲν πλείστας
τῶν συνιδῶν ἀνεσπασμένας, τοὺς δὲ φυλάττοντας
τὴν γέφυραν ἐτὶ περὶ τὸν ποταμὸν ὑπολειπομένους,
τούτων μὲν ἐγκρατῆς ἐγένετο, σχεδὸν ἐξακοσίων
5 ὄντων τὸν ἀριθμὸν. τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἄκοινων ἦδη
πολὺ προειληφέναι, μεταβαλόμενος αὐθίς εἰς τάναν-
tία παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐποιεῖτο τὴν πορείαν, σπεύ-
dων ἐπὶ τόπον εὐγεφύρωτον ἀφικέσθαι τοῦ Πάδου.
6 καταλύσας δὲ δευτεραῖος καὶ γεφυρώσας τοῖς πο-
tαμίοις πλοίοις τὴν διάβασιν Ἀσδρούβα μὲν ἐπι-
έταξε διακομίζειν τὸ πλῆθος, αὐτὸς δὲ διαβὰς εὐ-
θέως ἐχρημάτιζε τοῖς παραγεγονόσι προσβενταῖς
7 ἀπὸ τῶν σύνεγγυς τόπων. ἀμα γὰρ τῷ γενέσθαι τὸ
προτέρημα πάντες ἐσπευδὸν οἱ παρακείμενοι Κελτοὶ
kατὰ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχής πρόθεσιν καὶ φίλου γίνεσθαι
καὶ χορηγεῖν καὶ συστρατεύειν τοῖς Καρχηδονίους.
8 ἀποδεξάμενος δὲ τοὺς παρόντας φιλανθρώπως καὶ
κομμοσάμενος τὰς δυνάμεις ἐκ τοῦ πέραν, προῆγε
παρὰ τὸν ποταμόν, τὴν ἐναντίαν ποιούμενος τῇ
πρόσθεν παρόδῳ· κατὰ ροῦν γὰρ ἐποιεῖτο τὴν πο-
ρείαν, σπεύδων συνάβαι τοῖς ὑπεναντίοις. δὲ
9 Πόπλιος, περαιωθείς τὸν Πάδου καὶ στρατοπεδεύ-
sας περὶ πόλιν Πλακεντίαν, ἦτις ἦν ἀποκία 'Ῥω-
μαίων, ἀμα μὲν αὐτὸν ἑθεράπευε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους
160
severely wounded, he decided to place his forces in safety. Hannibal had at first supposed that the Romans would risk an infantry engagement, but on seeing that they had moved out of their camp, followed them as far as the bridge over the first river, but finding most of the planking of it torn up, but the force set to guard it still remaining at their post by the river side, he took them prisoners to the number of about six hundred, and on hearing that the rest of the Romans were far in advance of him he now wheeled round and marched in the opposite direction up the Po with the object of reaching a place where it was easy to bridge it. After two days' march he halted and, constructing a bridge of boats, ordered Hasdrubal to see to the passage of the army and he himself crossing at once gave a hearing to the envoys who had arrived from the districts round. For immediately upon his success, all the neighbouring Celts hastened, as had been their wish from the outset, to make alliance with the Carthaginians, to provide them with supplies and to send them contingents. He received them all courteously, and being now joined by his troops from the opposite bank, he advanced along the Po in the opposite direction to his previous march; for now he marched down stream with the object of encountering the enemy. Meanwhile Publius, having crossed the Po and encamped at Placentia, a Roman colony, where he occupied himself with the cure of himself and the other wounded, and

---

*a i.e. the Ticino. Livy wrongly makes it to be the bridge of boats over the Po. The engagement took place near Victumulae, the modern Vigerano, on the right bank of the Ticino.*
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

traumatías, ἀμα δὲ τὰς δυνάμεις εἰς ἀσφαλεῖς ἀπ-10 ηρείσθαι νομίζων, ὡς τὴν ἡσυχίαν. Ἄννιβας δὲ παραγενόμενος δευτεραῖος ἀπὸ τῆς διαβάσεως ἐγγὺς τῶν πολεμίων, τῇ τρίτῃ παρέταξε τὴν δύναμιν ἐν
11 συνόψει τοῖς ὑπεναντίοις. οὐδενὸς δὲ σφόνων ἀντεξάγοντος, κατεστρατοπέδευσε λαβὼν περὶ πεντήκοντα στάδια τὸ μεταξὺ διάστημα τῶν στρατο-
πέδων.

67 Οἱ δὲ συστρατευόμενοι Κελτοὶ τοῖς Ἄρμαῖοι, θεωροῦντες ἐπικυνδεστέρας τὰς τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἐλπίδας, συνταξάμενοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους, καὶρὸν ἐπετήρουν πρὸς ἐπίθεσιν, μένοντες ἐν ταῖς ἑαυτῶν
2 ἑκαστοὶ σκηναῖς. δειπνοποιησαμένων δὲ καὶ κατα-
κομισθέντων τῶν ἐν τῷ χάρακι, παρελθεῖν ἐάσαν-
tες τὸ πλεῖον μέρος τῆς νυκτὸς καθωπλισμένοι
3 ἐγγὺς τῶν Ἀρμαίων παραστρατοπέδευσαν. καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν ἀπέκτειναν, οὐκ ὀλίγους δὲ κατ-
ετραμάτισαν. τέλος δὲ τὰς κεφαλὰς ἀποτεμόντες
tῶν τεθνεῶτων ἀπέχωρον πρὸς τοὺς Καρχηδο-
νίους, ὄντες πεζοὶ μὲν εἰς δισχύλους, ἐπεῖς δὲ
4 μικρῷ λείποντες διακοσίων. Ἄννιβας δὲ φιλο-
φρόνωσ ἀποδεξάμενος αὐτῶν τὴν παρουσίαν, τοῦτος
μὲν εὐθέως παρακαλέσας καὶ δωρεὰς ἐκάστους τὰς
ἀμορφούσας ἐπαγγελλάμενος ἐξέπεμψεν εἰς τὰς αὐ-
tῶν πόλεις, δηλώσατο μὲν τὰ πεπραγμένα τοῖς
5 πολίταις, παρακαλέσαντας δὲ πρὸς τὴν αὐτοῦ συμ-
μαχίαν. ἦδει γὰρ ὅτι πάντες κατ' ἀνάγκην αὐτῷ
κοινωνήσουσι τῶν πραγμάτων, ἐπιγνώστε τὸ γεγο-
νὸς ἐκ τῶν σφετέρων πολιτῶν παρασπούνδημα κατὰ
6 τῶν Ἀρμαίων. ἀμα δὲ τοῦτος καὶ τῶν Βοιῶν παρα-
γεγονότων, καὶ τοὺς τρεῖς ἄνδρας ἐγχειριζόντων
162
thinking that his forces were now firmly established in a safe position, made no move. But two days after his crossing Hannibal appeared close at hand and next day drew up his army in full view of the enemy. Upon their refusing his challenge, he encamped at a distance of about fifty stades from the Roman position.

67. The Celtic contingents in the Roman army, seeing that the prospects of the Carthaginians were now brighter, had come to an understanding with each other, and while all remaining quiet in their tents were waiting for an opportunity to attack the Romans. All in the entrenched camp had had their supper and retired to rest, and the Celts, letting the greater part of the night go by, armed themselves about the morning watch and fell upon the Romans who were encamped nearest to them. They killed or wounded many, and finally, cutting off the heads of the slain, went over to the Carthaginians, being in number about two thousand foot and rather less than two hundred horse. They were gladly welcomed on their arrival by Hannibal, who at once, after addressing some words of encouragement to them and promising suitable gifts to all, sent them off to their own cities to announce to their countrymen what they had done and urge them to join him. For he was now quite sure that all would take his part on learning of this act of treachery to the Romans on the part of their own countrymen. When at the same time the Boii came to him and delivered up
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

αὐτῶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τὴν διάδοσιν τῆς χώρας ὑπὸ 'Ῥω-
μαίων ἐξαπεσταλμένους, ὅν κατ' ἀρχὰς ἐκυρίευσαν
τοῦ πολέμου, παρασπονδύσαντες, καθάπερ ἐπάνω
7 προείπον, ἀποδεξάμενος Ἀννίβας τὴν εὐνοιαν αὐ-
τῶν, ὑπὲρ μὲν τῆς φιλίας καὶ συμμαχίας ἐδεύτο πρὸς
τοὺς παρόντας πίστεις· τοὺς γε μὴν ἄνδρας αὐτοῖς
ἀπέδωκε, παραγγείλας τηρεῖν, ἵνα παρὰ τούτων
κομίσωνται τοὺς αὐτῶν ὁμήρους κατὰ τὴν εξ ἀρχῆς
πρόθεσιν.

8 Πόπλιος δὲ σχετικάζων ἐπὶ τῷ γεγονότι παρα-
σπονδύματι, καὶ συλλογισάμενος ὅτι πάλαι τῶν Κελ-
τῶν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἄλλοτρίως διακειμένων, τούτων
ἐπιγεγονότων πάντας τοὺς πέριξ Γαλάτας συμβῆσε-
tαι πρὸς τοὺς Καρχηδονίους ἀπονεύειν, ἐγνω δεὶν
9 εὐλαβήθηναι τὸ μέλλον. διόπερ ἐπιγεγομένης τῆς
νυκτὸς ὑπὸ τὴν ἔωθινην ἀναζεύξας, ἐποιεῖτο τὴν
πορείαν ὃς ἐπὶ τὸν Τρεβίαν ποταμὸν καὶ τοὺς τούτων
συνάπτοντας γεωλόφους, πιστεύων τῇ τε τῶν τῶν
68 ὀχυρώτητι καὶ τοῖς παρουκοῦσι τῶν συμμάχων. Ἀν-
νίβας δὲ τὴν ἀναζυγήν αὐτῶν ἐπιγνοὺς, παραντικά
μὲν τοὺς Νομαδικοὺς ἵππεις ἐξαπέστειλε, μετ’ οὗ
πολὺ δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους, τούτως δ’ ἐκ ποδὸς τὴν δύνα-
2 μὲν ἐχὼν αὐτὸς ἐκπετο κατόπιν. οἱ μὲν οὖν Νομά-
δες εἰς ἔρημον τὴν στρατοπεδεῖαν ἐμπεσόντες ταῦ-
3 τὴν ἐνεπίμπρασαν. δ’ δὴ καὶ σφόδρα συνήγεικε
τοῖς 'Ῥωμαίοις, ὡς εἰπέρ οὕτω κατὰ πόδας ἀκολου-
θήσαντες συνήψαν ταῖς ἀποσκευαῖς, πολλοὺς ἄν
αὐτῶν ὑπὸ τῶν ἱππέων ἐν τοῖς ἐπιπέδοις συνέβη
4 διαφθαρῆναι. νῦν δ’ οἱ πλείους ἐφθασαν διαβάντες
τὸν Τρεβίαν ποταμὸν· τῶν δὲ καταλειψθέντων ἐπὶ
tῆς οὐραγίας οἱ μὲν διεφθάρησαν, οἱ δὲ ζῶντες
ἐέλωσαν ὑπὸ τῶν Καρχηδονίων.

164
to him the three Roman officials charged with the partition of their lands, whom, as I mentioned above, they had originally captured by treachery, Hannibal welcomed their friendly advances and made a formal alliance with them through the envoys. He gave the three Romans, however, back to them, advising them to keep them in order through them to get their own hostages back, as had been their original design.

Publius was much concerned at this act of treachery, and taking into consideration that as the Celts had been disaffected for some time, now with this additional incentive all the Gauls round about would go over to the Carthaginians, decided to take precautions for the future. In consequence he broke up his camp that same night a little before daybreak and marched towards the river Trebia and the hills in its neighbourhood, relying on the natural strength of the country and the loyalty of the neighbouring allies. 68. Hannibal, on being apprised of their departure, at once sent off his Numidian horse, and shortly afterwards the rest of his cavalry, and himself with his army followed close behind. The Numidians, finding the camp deserted, stopped to set fire to it, which proved of great advantage to the Romans, for had the cavalry at once followed them up and overtaken the baggage-train they would have suffered great loss in the flat country. As it was, most of them succeeded in crossing the Trebia, but those who were left behind in the extreme rear were either cut to pieces or captured by the Carthaginians.
5 Πόπλιος μὲν οὖν διαβάς τὸν προειρημένον ποταμον ἐστρατοπέδευσε περὶ τοὺς πρώτους λόφους,
6 καὶ περιλαβῶν τάφρω καὶ χάρακι τὴν παρεμβολὴν ἀνέδεχετο μὲν τὸν Τεβέριον καὶ τὰς μετ᾽ ἐκείνου
dυνάμεις· ἔθεραπευε δὲ αὐτὸν ἐπιμελῶς, σπουδάζων, 
i εἰ δύνατο κοινωνήσαι τοῦ μέλλοντος κυνῆνιν.
7 Ἀννίβας δὲ περὶ τετταράκοντα σταδίων ἀποσχών
8 τῶν πολεμίων, αὐτὸν κατεστρατοπέδευσε. τὸ δὲ 
tῶν Κελτῶν πλῆθος τὸ τὰ πεδία κατοικοῦν, συν-
exεστηκός ταῖς τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἐλπίς, δαιμόλως 
μὲν ἔχοργες τὸ στρατόπεδον τοὺς ἐπιτηδείους, ἑτοι-
μον δ’ ἦν παντὸς κοινωνεὶν ἔργῳ καὶ κυνίνιν 
tοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἀννίβαν.
9 Οἱ δ’ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ, προσπεπτωκότων τῶν κατὰ 
tὴν ἱππομαχίαν, ἐξενιζότο μὲν τῷ τὸ συμβεβηκὸς 
eῖναι παρὰ τὴν προσδοκίαν, οὐ μὴν ἡπόρουν γε 
σκήψεων πρὸς τὸ μὴ δοκεῖν αὐτοῖς ἦτταν εἰναὶ τὸ 
10 γεγονός, ἀλλ’ οἱ μὲν ἡτίωντο τὴν τοῦ στρατηγοῦ 
προστειαν, οἱ δὲ τὴν τῶν Κελτῶν ἔθελοκάκησιν, 
stοχαζόμενοι διὰ τῆς τελευταίας ἀποστάσεως.
11 καθόλου δὲ τῶν πεζικῶν στρατοπέδων ἀκεραίων 
ὁντων ἀκεραίος εἶναι διελάμβανον τὰς ὑπὲρ τῶν 
12 ὅλων ἐλπίδας. οθεν καὶ συνάψαντος τοῦ Τεβερίου 
καὶ τῶν μετ᾽ ἐκείνου στρατοπέδων, καὶ διαπορευ-
μένων διὰ τῆς Ῥώμης, εξ ἐπιφανείας ἐδόξαζον 
13 κριθήσεθαί τὴν μάχην. ἀθροισθέντων δὲ τῶν 
stρατιωτῶν κατὰ τὸν ὅρκον εἰς Ἀρίμινον, ἀναλαβῶν 
αὐτοὺς ὁ στρατηγὸς προῆγε, σπεύδων συνάβαι τοῖς 
14 περὶ τὸν Πόπλιον. συμμίζας δὲ καὶ καταστρατοπε-
dεύσας παρ’ αὐτοῖς ταῖς οἰκείαις δυνάμεις, τὸ μὲν 
πλῆθος ἀνελάμβανε τῶν ἀνδρῶν, ὡς ἄν ἐκ Διυλ-
βαίου τετταράκοντα συνεχῶς ἡμέρας πεπεζοπορηκό-
Publius, crossing the Trebia, encamped on the first hills he reached and fortifying his camp with a trench and palisade awaited the arrival of Tiberius and his forces. In the meantime he attended carefully to the treatment of his wound, as he was anxious to be able to take part in the coming battle. Hannibal encamped at a distance of about forty stades from the enemy. The numerous Celtic population of the plain, enthusiastically taking up the cause of the Carthaginians, kept the camp furnished with abundance of provisions and were ready to take their part in any of Hannibal's operations or battles.

When the news of the cavalry engagement reached Rome they were surprised that it had not resulted as they would have expected, but were in no want of pretenses to convince themselves that it was not a defeat, some of them putting it down to the Consul's rashness and some to wilful poltroonery on the part of the Celts, assuming this from their subsequent desertion. But on the whole, as their infantry forces were still unimpaired, their trust in final success was likewise undiminished. So that when Tiberius and his legions arrived and marched through the city, the general opinion was that they had only to show themselves to decide the battle. On the soldiers, as they had pledged themselves by oath, assembling at Ariminum, the Consul put himself at their head and advanced with all speed to join Publius. When he had done so he encamped with his own forces near Scipio's, to refresh his men after their forty days' continuous march from Lilybaeum to Ariminum.
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

tων εἰς Ἀρίμνον· τάς δὲ παρασκευάς ἐποιεῖτο πά-
15 σας ὡς πρὸς μάχην, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπιμελῶς συνήδρευ
tῷ Ποσπλῶ, τὰ μὲν ἦδη γεγονότα πυνθανόμενοσ,
περὶ δὲ τῶν παρόντων συνδιανοούμενοσ.

69 Κατὰ δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς καιροὺς Ἀννίβας πραξι-
κοπήσας πόλιν Κλαστίδιον, ἐνδόντος αὐτῷ τοῦ πε-
pιστευμένου παρὰ 'Ῥωμαίων, ἀνδρὸς Βρεντεσίνου,
2 κατέσχε. γενόμενος δὲ κύριος τῆς φρουρᾶς καὶ τῆς
tοῦ σιτοῦ παραθέσεως, τούτῳ μὲν πρὸς τὸ παρὸν
ἐχρήσατο, τοὺς δὲ παραληφθέντας ἄνδρας ἄβλαβεῖς
3 μεθ' ἕαυτόν προῆγε, δεῖγμα βουλόμενος ἐκφέρειν
τῆς σφετέρας προαίρεσεως πρὸς τὸ μὴ δεδίτας
ἀπελπίζειν τὴν παρ' αὐτοῦ σωτηρίαν τους ὑπὸ
4 τῶν καιρῶν καταλαμβανόμενονσ. τὸν δὲ προδότην
ἐτύμησε μεγαλείως, ἐκκαλέσασθαι σπουδάζων τοὺς
ἐπὶ πραγμάτων ταττομένους πρὸς τάς Καρχηδονίων
ἐλπίδας.

5 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα συνθεωρήσας των Κελ-
tῶν, οἱ καταφύγον μετάξι τοῦ Πάδου καὶ τοῦ Τρεβία
ποταμοῦ, πεποιημένους μὲν καὶ πρὸς αὐτοῦ φιλιᾶν,
διαπεμπομένους δὲ καὶ πρὸς 'Ῥωμαίων, καὶ πεπει-
σέμενους τῷ τοιούτῳ τρόπῳ τὴν παρ' ἀμφοῦν ἀσφα-
6 λειαν αὐτοὺς ὑπάρξειν, ἔξαποστέλλει πεζοὺς μὲν δισ-
χιλίους, ἱππεῖς δὲ Κελτοὺς καὶ Νομάδας εἰς χιλίους,
7 προστάξας ἐπιδραμεῖν αὐτῶν τὴν χώραν. τῶν δὲ
πραξάντων τὸ προσταχθὲν καὶ πολλὴν περιβαλομέ-
νων λείαν, εὐθέως οἱ Κελτοὶ παρῆσαν ἐπὶ τὸν χά-
8 ρακα τῶν 'Ῥωμαίων, δεόμενοι φίλοι βοηθεῖν. Τε-
βέριος δὲ καὶ πάλαι ζητῶν ἀφορμήν τοῦ πράττει
τι, τότε λαβὼν πρόφασιν ἔξαπεστελε τῶν μὲν ἐπ-
πέων τὸ πλείστον μέρος, πεζοὺς δὲ σὺν τούτοις
9 ἀκοντιστάς εἰς χιλίους. σπουδῇ δὲ τούτων προσ-
Meanwhile he made all preparations for a battle and had many close conferences with Scipio, ascertaining the truth about what had occurred, and discussing the present situation with him.

69. At about the same time the town of Clastidium was betrayed to Hannibal by a native of Brundisium, to whom the Romans had entrusted it, the garrison and all the stores of grain falling into his hands. The latter he used for his present needs, but he took the men he had captured with him without doing them any hurt, wishing to make a display of leniency, so that those who were overtaken by adversity should not be terrified and give up hope of their lives being spared by him. He conferred high honours on the traitor, as he was anxious to win over those in positions of authority to the Carthaginian cause.

After this, on observing that some of the Celts who lived between the Trebia and the Po had made alliance with himself, but were negotiating with the Romans also, under the idea that thus they would be safe from both, he dispatched two thousand foot and about a thousand Celtic and Numidian horse with orders to raid their country. On his orders being executed and a large amount of booty secured, the Celts at once came into the Roman camp asking for help. Tiberius had long been on the look-out for some ground justifying an active step and now that he had this pretext sent out the greater part of his cavalry and about a thousand javelineers on foot. Making all dispatch they met the enemy
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

μιξάντων πέραν τοῦ Τρεβία καὶ διαμαχομένων τοῖς πολεμίους ὑπὲρ τῆς λείας, ἔτραπτησαν οἱ Κελτοὶ σὺν τοῖς Νομάσι καὶ τὴν ἀποχώρησιν ἐπὶ τὸν ἑαυτῶν

10 ἐποιοῦντο χάρακα. ταχὺ δὲ συννοήσαντες τὸ γυνόμενον οἱ προκαθήμενοι τῆς τῶν Καρχηδονίων παρεμβολῆς ἐντεῦθεν ταῖς ἐφεδρείαις ἐβοήθουν τοῖς πιεζομένοις· οὐ γενομένου τραπέντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι πάλιν ἐποιοῦντο τὴν ἀπόλυσιν εἰς τὴν ἑαυτῶν παρ-

11 εμβολῆν. Τεβέριος δὲ συνορῶν τὸ γυνόμενον, πάντας ἐπαφῆκε τοὺς ἱπποὺς καὶ τοὺς ἀκοντιστάς. τούτου δὲ συμπεσόντος, αὕτης ἐγκλίναντες οἱ Κελτοὶ πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀσφάλειαν ἀπεχώρουν. ὁ δὲ στρατηγὸς τῶν Καρχηδονίων, ἀπαράσκευος ὥν πρὸς τὸ κρίνειν τὰ ὀλα, καὶ νομίζων δὲν μηδέποτε χωρὶς προβέσεως μηδὲ ἐκ πάσης ἀφορμῆς ποιεῖσθαι τοὺς ὀλοσχερεῖς

13 κυνίτως, ὅπερ εἶναι φατέων ἠγεμόνος ἔργον ἀγαθοῦ, τότε μὲν ἐπέσχε τοὺς παρ᾿ αὐτοῦ συνεγγίσαντας τῷ χάρακι, καὶ στῆναι μὲν ἐκ μεταβολῆς ἦνάγκασε, διάκειν ἐκαὶ καὶ συμπλέκεσθαι τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐκώλυσε, διὰ τῶν ὑπηρετῶν καὶ σαλπιγκτῶν ἀνακαλούμενοι

14 νοσ. οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαίοι βραχὺν ἐπισχόντες χρόνον ἀνέλυσαν, ὅλγους μὲν αὐτῶν ἀποβαλόντες, πλεῖους δὲ τῶν Καρχηδονίων διεθαρκότες.

70 ὁ δὲ Τεβέριος μετεωρίσθεις καὶ περιχαρῆς γενόμενος ἐπὶ τῷ προτερήματι, φιλοτίμως εἶχε πρὸς τὸ

2 τὴν ταχίστην κρίνα τὰ ὀλα. προέκειτο μὲν οὖν αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν ἰδιὰν γυνώμην χρῆσθαι τοῖς παροῦσι, διὰ τὸ τὸν Πόπλιον ἀρρωστεῖν· ὅμως δὲ βουλόμενος προσλαβέσθαι καὶ τὴν τοῦ συνάρχοντος γυνώμην,

3 ἐποιεῖτο λόγους περὶ τούτων πρὸς αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ Πόπλιος τὴν ἑναντίαν εἶχε διάληψιν περὶ τῶν ἑν-

4 εστῶτων· τὰ γὰρ στρατόπεδα χειμασκήσαντα βελ-
beyond the Trebia and on their disputing possession of the booty with them the Celts and Numidians gave way and began to retire on their own camp. Those in command of the advanced posts outside the Carthaginian camp soon understood what had happened and sent out a covering force to support the fugitives, upon which the Romans in their turn were put to flight and fell back on their camp. Tiberius on seeing this ordered out all his remaining cavalry and javelincers, and when these had joined the rest, the Celts again gave way and retreated to a position of safety. The Carthaginian general, as he was not at this time prepared for a general battle, and took the view that a decisive engagement should never be undertaken on any chance pretext and without a definite purpose—as we must pronounce to be the part of a good general—made the men in retreat halt and face about when they approached the camp, but he would not allow them to advance and engage the enemy, calling them back by his officers and buglers. The Romans after waiting for a short time retired after losing a few of their own number, but inflicting a larger loss on the Carthaginians.

70. Tiberius, elated and overjoyed by his success, was all eagerness to bring on a decisive battle as soon as possible. He was, it is true, at liberty to act as he thought best owing to the illness of Scipio, but wishing to have his colleague's opinion he spoke to him on the subject. Scipio's view of the situation was just the opposite. He considered
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

tίω τὰ παρ’ αὐτῶν ὑπελάμβανε γενήσεσθαι, τὴν τε τῶν Κελτῶν ἀθέσιαν οὐκ ἐμμενεῖν ἐν τῇ πίστει, τῶν Καρχηδόνων ἀπραγούντων καὶ τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἀναγκαζομένων ἄγειν, ἀλλὰ καυνοτομήσεων τι πάλιν κατέκειν. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις αὐτὸς ὑγιασθεὶς ἐκ τοῦ τραύματος ἀληθινὴν παρέξεσθαι χρείαν ἠλπίζε τοῖς κοινοῖς πράγμασι. διὸ καὶ τοιούτως χρώμενος λογισμοῖς μένειν ἥξιοῦ τὸν Τεβέριον ἐπὶ τῶν ὑποκεμένων. ὁ δὲ προειρημένος ὑπὲρ μὲν ἕκαστα τούτων ἀληθινῶς λεγόμενα καὶ δεόντως, ὥστε δὲ τῆς φιλοδοξίας ἐλαυνόμενος καὶ καταπιστεύων τοὺς πράγμασι παραλόγως ἐσπευδὴ ἐκρίναι δι’ αὐτοῦ τὰ ὀλά καὶ μήτε τὸν Πόπλιον δύνασθαι παρατυχεῖν τῇ μάχῃ μήτε τοὺς ἐπικαθεστάμενους στρατηγοὺς φθάσαι παραλαβόντας τὴν ἀρχήν. ὦτος γὰρ ἢν ὁ χρόνος. διόστε ὦ τοὺς πραγμάτων καρον ἐκλεγόμενοι, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἰδίον, ἔμελλε τοῦ δεόντος σφαλῆσεσθαι προφανῶς.

9 'Ο δ’ Ἀννίβας, παραπλησίους ἔχων ἐπινοίας Ποπλίως περί τῶν ἑστῶτων, κατὰ τούναντίον ἐσπευδὴ συμβαλεῖν τοῖς πολεμίωσι, θέλουν μὲν πρῶτον ἀκεραίοις ἀποχρήσασθαι ταῖς τῶν Κελτῶν ὀρμαῖς, δεύτερον ἀνασκήτους καὶ νεοσυλλόγους συμβαλείν τοῖς τῶν 'Ῥωμαίων στρατοπέδων, τρίτον ἀδυνατοῦντος ἐτὶ τοῦ Ποπλίου ποιήσασθαι τὸν κίνδυνον, τὸ δὲ μέγιστον πράττειν τι καὶ μὴ προτεσθαί διὰ κενῆς τὸν χρόνον. τῷ γὰρ εἰς ἀλλοτρίαν καθέντι χώραν στρατόπεδα καὶ παραδόξους ἐγχειροῦντι πράγμασιν εἰς τρόπον ἐστὶν οὗτος σωτηρίας, τὸ συνεχῶς καινοποιεῖν αἰὲ τὰς τῶν συμμάχων ἐλπίδας.

12 Ἀννίβας μὲν οὖν, εἰδὼς τὴν ἐσομένην ὁρμήν
that their legions would be all the better for a winter's drilling, and that the notoriously fickle Celts would not remain loyal to the Carthaginians if the latter were kept in forced inaction, but would throw them over in their turn. Besides he hoped himself when his wound was healed to be of some real service in their joint action. On all these grounds therefore he advised Tiberius to let matters remain as they were. Tiberius was quite conscious of the truth and cogency of all these reasons, but, urged on by his ambition and with an unreasonable confidence in his fortune, he was eager to deliver the decisive blow himself and did not wish Publius to be able to be present at the battle, or that the Consuls designate should enter upon office before all was over—it being now nearly the time for this. Since, then, he did not choose the time indicated by circumstances, but his own time, his action was bound to be mistaken.

Hannibal's view of the situation was very much the same as Scipio's; so that he on the other hand was anxious to force a battle on the enemy, wishing in the first place to avail himself of the enthusiasm of the Celts while still fresh, secondly to encounter the Roman legions while still newly-levied and undrilled, thirdly to fight the battle before Scipio had recovered, but most of all to be up and doing and not let the time slip away resultlessly. For when a general has brought his army into a foreign country and is engaged in such a risky enterprise, his only hope of safety lies in constantly keeping alive the hopes of his allies.

Such, then, was the purpose of Hannibal, who
71 τοῦ Τεθερίου, πρὸς τούτοις ἦν. πάλαι δὲ συνεωρακὼς μεταξὺ τῶν στρατοπέδων τόπων, ἐπίπεδον μὲν καὶ ψιλόν, εὐφυὴ δὲ πρὸς ἐνέδραν διὰ τι βείθρον ἔχον ὄφρυν, ἐπὶ δὲ ταύτης ἀκάνθας καὶ βάτους συνεχεῖς ἐπιπεφυκότας, ἐγίνετο πρὸς τῷ στρα- 
2 τηγείῳ τοὺς ὑπεναντίους. ἐμελλε δ' εὐχερῶς λήσεων· οἱ γὰρ Ῥωμαῖοι πρὸς μὲν τους ὑλώδεις τόπους ὑπόπτως εἶχον διὰ τὸ τοὺς Κελτοὺς ἀεὶ τιθέναι τάς ἐνέδρας ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις χωρίοις, τοῖς δ' ἐπι- 
3 πέδοις καὶ ψυλλοῖς ἀπεπίστευον, οὐκ εἰδότες ὅτι καὶ πρὸς τὸ λαθεῖν καὶ πρὸς τὸ μηδὲν παθεῖν τοὺς ἐνεδρέσαντας εὐφυέστεροι τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες τῶν ὑλῳδῶν, διὰ τὸ δύνασθαι μὲν ἐκ πολλοῦ προορᾶν πάντα τοὺς ἐνεδρεύοντας, εἶναι δ' ἐπιπροσθήσεις 
4 ἵκανας ἐν τοῖς πλείστοις τόποις. τὸ γὰρ τυχὼν ἔθρον μετὰ βραχείας ὄφρυος, ποτὲ δὲ κάλαμοι καὶ πτέρεις καὶ τι γένος ἀκανθῶν, οὐ μόνον πεζοὺς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἰππεῖς ἐνίοτε δύναται κρύπτευν, ἕαν βραχέα τις προνοηθῇ τοῦ τὰ μὲν ἐπίστημα τῶν ὀπλῶν ὑππια τιθέναι πρὸς τὴν γῆν, τὰς δὲ περὶ- 
5 κεφαλαίας ὑποτιθέναι τοῖς ὀπλοῖς. πλὴν δ' ἐν τῶν Καρχηδονίων στρατηγὸς κοινολογηθεὶς Μάγωνι τα- 
6 δελφῷ καὶ τοῖς συνεδροῖς περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος ἀγώ- νος, συγκατατημεῖται αὐτῷ πάντων ταῖς ἐπιβο-
7 λαίσις, ἄμα τῷ δεισινουθίσασθαι τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀνακαλεσάμενος Μάγωνα τὸν ἀδελφόν, ὅντα νέον μὲν, ὀρμῆς δὲ πλήρῃ καὶ παιδομαθῆ περὶ τὰ πολε- 
8 μικά, συνέστησε τῶν ἰππέων ἄνδρας ἐκάτον καὶ 
7 πεζοὺς τοὺς ἱσοὺς. ἔτι δὲ τῆς ἔμερας οὔσης εἰς 
8 ὀλοῦ τοῦ στρατοπέδου σημηνάμενος τοὺς εὐρωστο- 
7 τάτους παρηγγέλκει δεισινουθίσαμενος ἥκειν ἐπὶ 
8 τὴν αὐτοῦ σκηνήν. παρακαλέσας δὲ καὶ παραστήσας 174
BOOK III. 71. 1 – 8

knew that Tiberius was sure to be aggressively inclined. 71. He had long ago noticed a place between the two camps, flat indeed and treeless, but well adapted for an ambuscade, as it was traversed by a water-course with steep banks densely overgrown with brambles and other thorny plants, and here he proposed to lay a stratagem to surprise the enemy. It was probable that he would easily elude their vigilance; for the Romans, while very suspicious of thickly-wooded ground, which the Celts usually chose for their ambuscades, were not at all afraid of flat and treeless places, not being aware that they are better adapted than woods for the concealment and security of an ambush, because the men can see all round them for a long distance and have at the same time sufficient cover in most cases. Any water-course with a slight bank and reeds or bracken or some kind of thorny plants can be made use of to conceal not only infantry, but even the dismounted horsemen at times, if a little care be taken to lay shields with conspicuous devices inside uppermost on the ground and hide the helmets under them. The Carthaginian general now consulted with his brother Mago and the rest of the staff about the coming battle, and on their all approving of his plan, after the troops had had their supper, he summoned Mago, who was still quite young, but full of martial enthusiasm and trained from boyhood in the art of war, and put under his command a hundred men from the cavalry and the same number of infantry. During the day he had ordered these men, whom he had marked as the most stout-hearted in his army, to come to his tent after supper. After addressing
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

toutous tin prepoiasan oruhy tin kaiwi, parhyn-
gelle deka tous antrwdestatous ekaston epilexas-
mevou eke toon idioyn taxeov hekein eis tina topou
9 dei tih stratospedeias. ton de praxantw
sto syntachve, toutous men ontas ippeis xilious
kai pezous allous tousous exapostelei nuktos
eis tin evdraia, synthisas othegous kai tadelphia

diataxeimenos peri tou kairoou tin epitodeias. autous
O amia touto phati tous Nomaikous ippeis sunag-
gwv, ontas ferekakous diapherontw, parakelesse
kai tinas dophia epaggeilamenvos tois antragia-
thesasi prosetate peЛАsantas touton evanvtwn
charaki kata spoudh epidiabainw tov potamou
kai prosktrokoboliomenvous kinein tous polemious,
boulomenvous anaristous kai proso melion apara-
skeous labein tous upenantious. tous de loiptous
hgymonas athroias homois parakelesse proso touton
kinivnon, kai pais aristopoiesidh parhgygele
kai peri tin touton opiwv kai toutus ippiwv ginesthai
therapeian.

72 O de Teberios amia touto sunidein evghiovetas tous
Nomaikous ippeis paraphika men auti tin ip-
pou exapostelle, proostasia exhesai kai sumple-
keithai touto polemious. exhse de toutous exepimepe
 toutous pezakontistas eis exakousilioi. ekines de kai
tin loiptin dynamin ek touto charakos, hos ex epi-
neias krihsoemenvous touton olon, epairomevos touto
tepihteis touton andron kai touton gevnonti tin protoraia
3 peri toutous ippeis euymeirimati. osos de tis wra
peri xeiherimavas tropos kai tis hymeras xefetoudous
kai psychas diapherontw, toutos de andron kai touton
ippiwv ochedon hos eipein apantwv anaristowv ek-
them and working up their zeal to the required pitch, he ordered each of them to pick out ten of the bravest men from his own company and to come to a certain place in the camp known to them. They did as they were bidden and in the night he sent out the whole force, which now amounted to a thousand horse and as many foot, to the ambuscade, furnishing them with guides and giving his brother orders about the time to attack. At daybreak he mustered his Numidian horsemen, all men capable of great endurance, whom he ordered, after having addressed them and promised certain gifts to those who distinguished themselves, to ride up to the enemy’s camp, and crossing the river with all speed to draw out the Romans by shooting at them, his wish being to get the enemy to fight him before they had breakfasted or made any preparations. He then collected the other officers and exhorted them likewise to battle, and he ordered the whole army to get their breakfasts and to see to their arms and horses.

72. Tiberius, when he saw the Numidian horse approaching, sent out at first only his cavalry with orders to close with the enemy. He next dispatched about six thousand javelineers on foot and then began to move his whole army out of the camp, thinking that the mere sight of them would decide the issue, so much confidence did his superiority in numbers and the success of his cavalry on the previous day give him. The time of year was about the winter solstice, and the day exceedingly cold and snowy, while the men and horses nearly all left the camp without having had their morning meal.
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

πεπορευμένων, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὅρμη καὶ προθυμία
4 τὸ πλήθος περιήν' ἐπιγεγομένης δὲ τῆς τοῦ Τρεβία
ποταμοῦ διαβάσεως, καὶ προσαναβεβηκότος τῷ ἰεὐ-
ματί διὰ τὸν ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ γενόμενων ἐν τοῖς ὑπὲρ
τὰ στρατόπεδα τόπους ὦμβρον, μόλις ἔως τῶν μα-
5 σθῶν οἱ πεζοὶ βαπτιζόμενοι διέβασον· ἔξ ὧν ἐκακο-
πάθει τὸ στρατόπεδον ὑπὸ τε τοῦ ψῦχους καὶ τῆς
ἐνδείας, ὡς ἀν ἤδη καὶ τῆς ἡμέρας προβαϊνούσης.
6 οἱ δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι, κατὰ σκηνᾶς βεβρωκότες καὶ
πεπωκότες, καὶ τοὺς ἵππους ἴτομακότες, ἥλειφοντο
7 καὶ καθωπλίζοντο περὶ τὰ πυρὰ πάντες. Ἀννίβας
δὲ τὸν καιρὸν ἐπιτήροιν, ἀμα τῷ συνιδεῖν διαβεβη-
κότας τοὺς Ἦρωμαίους τὸν ποταμὸν προβαλόμενος
ἐφεδρεῖαν τοὺς λογχοφόρους καὶ Βαλιαρεῖς, ὄντας
8 εἰς ὀκτακισχύλων, ἔχηγε τὴν ὑδάμων. καὶ προ-
αγαγόν ὡς ὀκτώ στάδια πρὸ τῆς στρατοπεδείας τοὺς
μὲν πεζοὺς ἐπὶ μίαν εὐθείαν παρενεβάλει, περὶ δισ-
μυρίους ὄντας τὸν ἄριθμον, Ἦβηρας καὶ Κελτοῦς
9 καὶ Λίβνας, τοὺς δ' ἵππεῖς διελὼν ἐφ' ἐκάτερον
παρέστησε τὸ κέρας, πλεῖον ὄντας μυρίων σὺν τοῖς
παρὰ τῶν Κελτῶν συμμάχοις, τὰ δὲ θηρία μερίσας
10 πρὸ τῶν κερατῶν, δι' ἀμφοτέρων προεβάλετο. Τε-
βέριος δὲ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν τοὺς μὲν ἵππεῖς
ἀνεκαλεῖτο, θεωρῶν οὐκ ἔχοντας ὁ τι χρῆσονται
τοῖς ὑπεναντίοις διὰ τὸ τοὺς Νομάδας ἀποχωρεῖν μὲν
ἐυχερῶς καὶ σποράδην, ἐπικεῖσθαι δὲ πάλιν ἕκ μετα-
βολὴς τολμηρῶς καὶ θρασέως· τὸ γὰρ τῆς Νομαδι-
11 κῆς μάχης ἵδιον ἐστὶ τούτῳ· τοὺς δὲ πεζοὺς παρεν-
έβαλε κατὰ τὰς εἰθισμένας παρ' αὐτοῖς τάξεις, ὄντας
τοὺς μὲν Ἦρωμαίους εἰς μυρίους ἐξακισχύλους, τοὺς
12 δὲ συμμάχους εἰς δισμυρίους. τὸ γὰρ τέλειον στρα-
τόπεδον παρ' αὐτοῖς πρὸς τὰς ὀλοσχερεῖς ἐπιβολᾶς
178
At first their enthusiasm and eagerness sustained them, but when they had to cross the Trebia, swollen as it was owing to the rain that had fallen during the night higher up the valley than where the armies were, the infantry had great difficulty in crossing, as the water was breast-high. The consequence was that the whole force suffered much from cold and also from hunger, as the day was now advancing. The Carthaginians, on the contrary, who had eaten and drunk in their tents and looked after their horses, were all anointing and arming themselves round their fires. Hannibal, who was waiting for his opportunity, when he saw that the Romans had crossed the river, threw forward as a covering force his pikemen and slingers about eight thousand in number and led out his army. After advancing for about eight stades he drew up his infantry, about twenty thousand in number, and consisting of Spaniards, Celts, and Africans, in a single line, while he divided his cavalry, numbering, together with the Celtic allies, more than ten thousand, and stationed them on each wing, dividing also his elephants and placing them in front of the wings so that his flanks were doubly protected. Tiberius now recalled his cavalry, perceiving that they could not cope with the enemy, as the Numidians easily scattered and retreated, but afterwards wheeled round and attacked with great daring—these being their peculiar tactics. He drew up his infantry in the usual Roman order. They numbered about sixteen thousand Romans and twenty thousand allies, this being the strength of their complete army for decisive operations, when
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

ἐκ τοσοῦτων ἀνδρῶν ἔστιν, ὅταν ὁμοὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους
13 ἐκατέρωσι οἱ καρυὶς συνάγωσι. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τοὺς
ἐπιτείς ἐφ' ἐκατέρων θεὶς τὸ κέρας, ὄντας εἰς τετρα-
kυσχίλιος, ἐπῆκε τοῖς ὑπεναντίοις σοβαρῶς, ἐν τάξει
73 καὶ βάδην ποιοῦμενος τὴν ἔφοδον. ἦδη δὲ σύν-
εγγὺς ὄντων ἄλληλοις, συνεπλέκησαν οἱ προκείμενοι
2 τῶν δυνάμεων εὐξώνοι. τούτῳ δὲ συμβάντος, οἱ
μὲν Ἡρωμαῖοι κατὰ πόλλους τρόπους ἠλαττοῦντο,
tοῖς δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι ὑπερδέξιοι γίνεσθαι συνέβαινε
3 τὴν χρέαν, ἀτε δὴ τῶν μὲν Ἡρωμαίων πεζακωντι-
στῶν κακοπαθοῦντων εξ ὀρθροῦ καὶ προεμένων τὰ
πλείστα βέλη κατὰ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς Νομάδας συμπλο-
kῆν, τῶν δὲ καταλειπομένων βελῶν ἡχρεωμένων
4 αὐτοῖς διὰ τὴν συνέχειαν τῆς νοτίδος. παραπλήσια
dὲ τούτου συνέβαινε καὶ περὶ τοὺς ἐπιτείς γίνεσθαι
5 καὶ περὶ τὸ σύμπαν αὐτοῖς στρατόπεδον. περὶ γε
μὴν τοὺς Καρχηδόνιους ὑπήρχε τάναυτα τούτων·
ἀκμαίοι γὰρ παρατεταγμένοι καὶ νεαλεῖς ἀεὶ πρὸς τὸ
6 δέον εὐχρήστως καὶ προθύμως εἶχον. διόπερ ἀμα
τῷ δεξασθαι διὰ τῶν διαστημάτων τοὺς προκυών-
νεύοντας καὶ συμπεσεῖν τὰ βαρέα τῶν ὄπλων ἄλλη-
λοις, οἱ μὲν ἐπιτείς οἱ τῶν Καρχηδόνιων εὐθέως ἀπ' ἀμφοῖν τοὺς κεράτους ἐπίεζον τοὺς ὑπεναντίους, ὡς
ἀν τῷ πλῆθει πολὺ διαφέροντες καὶ ταῖς ἀκμαίας
αὐτῶν τε καὶ τῶν ἑπτῶν διὰ τὴν προερμήμενην ἀκε-
7 ραίότητα περὶ τὴν ἔξοδον· τοῖς δὲ Ἡρωμαίοις τῶν
ἐππέων ὑποχωρησάντων καὶ ψιλωθέντων τῶν τῆς
φάλαγγος κεράτων, οἱ τε λογχοφόροι τῶν Καρχηδό-
nίων καὶ τὸ τῶν Νομίδων πλῆθος, ὑπεραιροῦτες
tοὺς προτεταγμένους τῶν ἑδίων καὶ πρὸς τὰ κέρατα
προσπέπτοντες τοῖς Ἡρωμαίοις, πολλὰ καὶ κακὰ
dιειργάζοντο καὶ μάχεσθαι τοῖς κατὰ πρόσωπον οὐκ
180
the Consuls chance to be united. Afterwards placing his cavalry, numbering about four thousand, on each wing he advanced on the enemy in imposing style marching in order at a slow step. 73. When they were nearly at close quarters, the light-armed troops in the van of each army began the combat, and here the Romans laboured under many disadvantages, the efficiency of the Carthaginians being much superior, since the Roman javelineers had had a hard time since daybreak, and had spent most of their missiles in the skirmish with the Numidians, while those they had left had been rendered useless by the continued wet weather. The cavalry and the whole army were in much the same state, whereas just the opposite was the case with the Carthaginians, who, standing in their ranks fresh and in first-rate condition, were ready to give efficient support wherever it was required. So when the skirmishers had retired through the gaps in their line and the heavy-armed infantry met, the Carthaginian cavalry at once pressed on both flanks of the enemy, being greatly superior in numbers and in the condition of themselves and their horses, having, as I explained above, started quite fresh. When the Roman cavalry fell back and left the flanks of the infantry exposed, the Carthaginian pike-men and the Numidians in a body, dashing past their own troops that were in front of them, fell on the Romans from both flanks, damaging them severely and preventing them
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

8 εἰών. οἱ δὲ ἐν τοῖς βαρέσιν ὤπλοις, παρ’ ἀμφοῖν τὰς πρώτας ἑχοντες καὶ μέσας τῆς ὁλης παρεμβολῆς τάξεις, ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἐμάχουτο συστάδην, ἐφα- 74 μιλλων ποιούμενοι τὸν κίνδυνον. ἐν δὲ καιρῷ διανα- στάντων τῶν ἐκ τῆς ἐνέδρας Νομάδων, καὶ προσ- πεσόντων ἄφων κατὰ νότου τοῖς ἀγωνιζομένοις περὶ τὰ μέσα, μεγάλην ταραχὴν καὶ δυσχρηστίαν συνέβαινε γίνεσθαι περὶ τὰς τῶν Ῥωμαίων δυνά- 2 μεις. τέλος δὲ ἀμφότερα τὰ κέρατα τῶν περὶ τῶν Τεθέριον πιεζούμενα κατὰ πρόσωπον μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν θηρίων, πέριξ δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὰς ἐκ τῶν πλαγίων ἐπιφανείας ὑπὸ τῶν εὐξώνων, ἐτράπησαν καὶ συνευθυνόντα κατὰ τὸν διωγμὸν πρὸς τὸν 3 ὑποκείμενον ποταμὸν. τούτου δὲ συμβάντος, οἱ κατὰ μέσον τὸν κίνδυνον ταχθέντες τῶν Ῥωμαίων, οἱ μὲν κατόπιν ἐφεστώτες ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκ τῆς ἐνέ- δρας προσπεσόντων ἀπόλλυτό καὶ κακῶς ἐπασχον, 4 οἱ δὲ περὶ τὰς πρώτας χώρας ἐπαναγκασθέντες ἐκράτησαν τῶν Κελτῶν καὶ μέρους τινὸς τῶν Διβών, καὶ πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἀποκτεῖναντες διέκοψαν 5 τὴν τῶν Καρχηδονίων τάξιν. θεωροῦντες δὲ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν ἴδιων κεράτων ἐκκεπεσμένους, τὸ μὲν ἐπιβοηθεῖν τούτους ἢ πάλιν εἰς τὴν ἐαυτῶν ἀπιέναι παρεμβολὴν ἀπέγνωσαν, ύφορώμενοι μὲν τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἰππέων, κυλυόμενοι δὲ διὰ τῶν ποταμῶν καὶ τὴν ἐπιφοράν καὶ συστροφήν τοῦ κατὰ κεφαλὴν 6 ὀμβροῦ. τηροῦντες δὲ τὰς τάξεις ἀθρόοι μετ’ ἀσφαλείας ἀπεχώρησαν εἰς Πλακεντίαν, ὄντες οὐκ 7 ἐλάττους μυρίων. τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν οἱ μὲν πλείστοι περὶ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐφθάρησαν ὑπὸ τε τῶν θηρίων καὶ 8 τῶν ἰππέων, οἱ δὲ διαφυγόντες τῶν πεζῶν καὶ τὸ πλείστον μέρος τῶν ἰππέων, πρὸς τὸ προειρημένον 182
from dealing with the enemy in their front. The heavy-armed troops on both sides, who occupied the advanced centre of the whole formation, maintained for long a hand-to-hand combat with no advantage on either side. 74. But now the Numidians issued from their ambuscade and suddenly attacked the enemy's centre from the rear, upon which the whole Roman army was thrown into the utmost confusion and distress. At length both of Tiberius' wings, hard pressed in front by the elephants and all round their flanks by the light-armed troops, turned and were driven by their pursuers back on the river behind them. After this, while the rear of the Roman centre was suffering heavy loss from the attack of the ambuscade, those in the van, thus forced to advance, defeated the Celts and part of the Africans, and after killing many of them broke through the Carthaginian line. But seeing that both their flanks had been forced off the field, they despaired of giving help there and of returning to their camp, afraid as they were of the very numerous cavalry and hindered by the river and the force and heaviness of the rain which was pouring down on their heads. They kept, however, in close order and retired on Placentia, being not less than ten thousand in number. Of the remainder the greater part were killed near the river by the elephants and cavalry, but the few infantry who escaped and most of the
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

σύστημα ποιούμενοι τήν ἀποχώρησιν, ἀνεκομιζότας ἁμα τούτοις εἰς Πλακεντίαν. τὸ δὲ τῶν Καρχηδονίων στρατόπεδον, ἦς τοῦ ποταμοῦ καταδίωξαν τοὺς πολεμίους, ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ χειμῶνος οὐκέτι δυνάμενον πορρωτέρων προβαίνειν, ἐπανήλθε πάλιν εἰς τὴν παρεμβολήν. καὶ πάντες ἐπὶ μὲν τῇ μάχῃ περιχαρεῖς ἦσαν, ὡς καταρθωκότες· συνέβανε γὰρ ολίγους μὲν τῶν Ἰβηρῶν καὶ Λιβύων, τοὺς δὲ πλείους ἀπολωλέναι τῶν Κελτῶν. ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν ὄμβρων καὶ τῆς ἐπιγυμνώμην κυόνος οὗτος διετίθεντο δεινῶς ὡστε τὰ μὲν θηρία διαφθαρίζειν πλὴν ἑνὸς, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀπόλλυσθαι καὶ τῶν ἐπαν διὰ τὸ ὕψος.

75 Ὁ δὲ Τεבέρης, εἰδὼς μὲν τὰ συμβεβηκότα, βουλόμενος δὲ κατὰ δύναμιν ἐπικρύπτεσθαι τοὺς ἐν τῇ 'Ρώμῃ τὸ γεγονός, ἐπεμψε τοὺς ἀπαγγελοῦντας ὅτι μάχης γενομένης τὴν νίκην αὐτῶν ὁ χειμῶν ἀφελελειότερον. οἱ δὲ Ἡρωμάριος παραυτικὰ μὲν ἐπίστευον τοῖς προσπεττούσι· μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ πυθανόμενοι τοὺς μὲν Καρχηδονίους καὶ τὴν παρεμβολήν τὴν αὐτῶν τηρεῖν καὶ τοὺς Κελτοὺς πάντας ἀπονενεκέναι πρὸς τὴν ἐκείνων φιλίαν, τοὺς δὲ παρ' αὐτῶν ἀπολελοιπότας τὴν παρεμβολήν ἐκ τῆς μάχης ἀνακεχωρηκέναι καὶ συνηθροϊσθαι πάντας εἰς τὰς πόλεις, καὶ χορηγεῖσθαι δὲ τοῖς ἀναγκαίοις ἐκ θαλάττης ἀνὰ τὸν Πάδον ποταμὸν, καὶ λίαν σαφῶς ἐγνωσάν τὰ γεγονότα περὶ τῶν κίνδυνων. διὸ καὶ παραδόξου φαινότος αὐτοῖς τοῦ πράγματος περὶ τὰς λοιπὰς παρασκευὰς διαφερόντως ἐγύνοντο καὶ περὶ φυλακῆς τῶν προκειμένων τόπων, πέμποντες εἰς Σαρδόνα καὶ Σικελίαν στρατόπεδα, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις εἰς Τάραντα προφυλακᾶς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τόπων εἰς τοὺς εὐκαίριους.
cavalry retreated to join the body I just mentioned and with them got safely into Placentia. The Carthaginian army, after pursuing the enemy as far as the river, being unable to advance further owing to the storm, returned to their camp. They were all highly elated at the result of the battle, regarding it as a signal success; for very few Africans and Spaniards had been killed, the chief loss having fallen on the Celts. They suffered so severely, however, from the rain and the snow that followed that all the elephants perished except one, and many men and horses also died of the cold.

75. Tiberius, though well knowing the facts, wished as far as possible to conceal them from those in Rome, and therefore sent messengers to announce that a battle had taken place and that the storm had deprived him of the victory. The Romans at first gave credence to this news, but when shortly afterwards they learnt that the Carthaginians still kept their camp and that all the Celts had gone over to them, but that their own forces had abandoned their camp and retreated from the field and were now all collected in cities, and getting their supplies up from the sea by the river Po, they quite realized what had been the result of the battle. Therefore, although they were much taken by surprise, they adopted all manner of steps to prepare for the war and especially to protect exposed points, dispatching legions to Sardinia and Sicily and sending garrisons to Tarentum and other suitable
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

rous: paroskeúasav dé kai náous éxíkouuta penthées.
5 Γνάιος dé Σερούλιος καὶ Γάιος Φλαμίνιος, οϋπερ ētvxov ὑπατοί τότε καθεσταμένου, συνήγουν τοὺς συμμάχους καὶ κατέγραφον τὰ παρ’ αὐτοῖς στρατό-
8 πεδα. παρῆγον dé καὶ τὰς ἀγορὰς τὰς μὲν εἰς Ἀρίμυνον, τὰς δ’ εῖς Τυρρηνίαν, ὡς ἐπὶ τούτοις
7 ποιησόμενοι τοῖς τόποις τὴν ἔξοδον. ἔσεμφαν
dé καὶ πρὸς Ἴερωνα περὶ βοηθείας, ὡς καὶ πεν-
takosíous αὐτοῖς ἐξαπέστειλε Κρῆτας καὶ χιλίους πελτοφόρους: πάντα dé καὶ πανταχόθεν ἑνεργῶς
8 ἤτοιμαζον. τότε γὰρ εἰςι φοβερῶτατοι Ἶῳμαῖοι
cαι κοινῆ καὶ κατ’ ἰδιαν, ὅταν αὐτοὺς περιστῇ
φόβος ἀλληθῆς.
76 Κατὰ δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς καίρους Γνάιος Κορηῆλιος
ὁ καταλειφθεὶς ὑπὸ τάδελφοῦ Ποπλίου στρατηγὸς
ἐπὶ τῆς ναυτικῆς δυνάμεως, καθάπερ ἔπανω προ-
eiπων, ἄναχθεὶς ἀπὸ τῶν τοῦ Ῥοδανοῦ στομάτων
παντὶ τῷ στόλῳ, προσέσχε τῆς Ἰβηρίας πρὸς τοὺς
2 κατὰ τὸ καλούμενον Ἐμπόριον τόπους. ἀρξάμενος
δ’ ἐντεῦθεν ἀποβάσεις ἐποιεῖτο, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀπει-
θοῦντας ἐπολιόρκησε τῶν τὴν παραλίαν κατοικοῦν-
tων ἐως Ἰβηρίας ποταμοῦ, τοὺς δὲ προσδεχόμενους
ἐφιλανθρώπησε, τὴν ἐνδεχομένην ποιούμενος περὶ
3 αὐτῶν προμήθειαν. ἀσφαλίσαμεν δὲ τοὺς προσ-
κεχωρηκότας τῶν παραθαλαττῶν προῆγε παντὶ τῷ
στρατεύματι, ποιούμενοι τὴν πορείαν εἰς τὴν μεσό-
4 γαιον· πολὺ γὰρ ἧδη καὶ τὸ συμμαχικὸν ἥθροικε
τῶν Ἰβηρίων. ἀμα δὲ προϊὼν ἂς μὲν προσήγετο,
5 τὰς δὲ κατεστρέφοτο τῶν πόλεων. τῶν δὲ Καρχη-
dονίων, ὡς ἔχον ἐπὶ τούτων ἀπελείφη τῶν τόπων
Ἀννων, ἀντιστρατοπεδευσάντων αὐτοῖς περὶ πόλιν
προσαγορευμένην Κίσσαν, συμβαλῶν ὁ Γνάιος ἐκ
186
places, and getting ready also a fleet of sixty quinqueremes. Gnaeus Servilius and Gaius Flaminius, the Consuls designate, were busy mustering the allies and enrolling their own legions, sending depots of supplies at the same time to Ariminum and Etruria which they meant to be their bases in the campaign. They also applied for help to Hiero, who sent them five hundred Cretans and a thousand light infantry, and on all sides they made active preparations. For the Romans both in public and in private are most to be feared when they stand in real danger.

76. During this time Gnaeus Cornelius Scipio, who, as I said, had been left by his brother Publius in command of the naval forces, sailing from the mouths of the Rhone with his whole fleet to the place in Spain called Emporium, and starting from there made a series of landings, reducing by siege the towns on the coast as far as the Ebro, which refused his advances, but bestowing favours on those which accepted them and taking all possible precautions for their safety. After securing all the sea-board places which had submitted to him he advanced with his whole army into the interior, having now got together also a considerable force of Iberian allies. He won over some of the towns on the line of his march and subdued others, and when the Carthaginians who had been left to guard this district under the command of Hanno encamped opposite to him near a city called Cissa, Gnaeus
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

παρατάξεως καὶ νυκήσας τῇ μάχῃ πολλῶν μὲν χρημάτων ἐγένετ' ἐγκρατής, ὡς ἀν ἀπάσης τῆς ἀποσκευῆς τῶν εἰς Ἰταλίαν ὀρμησάντων παρὰ τούτοις ἀπολελειμμένης, πάντας δὲ τοὺς ἐντὸς Ἰβηρίου ποταμοῦ συμμάχους ἐποιήσατο καὶ φίλους, ζωγρία δὲ τὸν τε τῶν Καρχηδονίων στρατηγὸν Ἀννωνα καὶ τὸν τῶν Ἰβηρίων Ἀνδοβάλην ἔλαβε. τούτοις δὲ συνέβαινε τυράννων μὲν εἶναι τῶν κατὰ τὴν μεσόγαιον τόπων, εὑνοῦν δὲ διαφερόντως ἀεὶ ποτὲ Καρχηδονίων τών νόισ. ταχὺ δὲ συνεὶς τὸ γεγονός Ἀσδρούβας, ἢκε παραβοηθῶν διαβὰς τὸν Ἰβηρία ποταμόν. καὶ καταμαθῶν ἀπολελειμμένους τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ στόλου τῶν Ῥωμαίων, βραθὺμως καὶ κατατεθαρρηκότως ἀναστρεφομένους διὰ τὸ προτέρημα τῶν πεζικῶν στρατεύσεως, παραλαβῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐαυτοῦ δυνάμεως πεζοὺς μὲν εἰς ὀκτακισχιλίους (ἐπεῖς δὲ περὶ χιλίους), καὶ καταλαβῶν ἐσκεδασμένους κατὰ τῆς χώρας τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν πλοίων, πολλοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν ἀπέκτεινε, τοὺς δὲ λυποὺς ἴνα γάκασε φυγεῖν ἐπὶ τὰς ναύς. οὐτὸς μὲν οὖν ἀναχωρῆσας, καὶ διαβὰς αὕτης τὸν Ἰβηρία ποταμόν, ἐγίνετο περὶ παρασκευῆς καὶ φυλακῆς τῶν ἐντὸς τοῦ ποταμοῦ τόπων, ποιούμενος τὴν παραχεμασίαν ἐν Καίνη πόλει. δὲ Γνάους συνάψας τῷ στόλῳ, καὶ τοὺς αὐτίους τῶν συμβεβηκότων κατὰ τοὺς παρ' αὐτοῖς ἔθισμοὺς κολάσας, τὸ λυποῦν ἦδη συναγαγὼν ἐπὶ ταύτῳ τῆν τε πεζῆν καὶ τῆν ναυτικὴν στρατιάν ἐν Ταρράκων τὴν παραχεμασίαν ἐποιεῖτο. διαδοὺς δὲ τὴν λείαν ἵσως τοῖς στρατιώταις μεγάλην εὐνοιαν καὶ προθυμίαν ἐνειργάσατο πρὸς τὸ μέλλον.

καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν ἐν τούτοις ἢν ἐνσταμένης δὲ τῆς ἐαρινῆς ὄρας, Γάιος μὲν Φλα-
defeated them in a pitched battle, possessing himself of a large amount of valuable booty—all the heavy baggage of the army that had set out for Italy having been left under their charge—securing the alliance of all the tribes north of the Ebro and taking prisoners the Carthaginian general Hanno and the Iberian general Andobales. The latter was despot of all central Iberia and a strenuous supporter of the Carthaginians. Hasdrubal soon got news of the disaster and crossing the Ebro came to the rescue. Learning that the crews of the Roman ships had been left behind and were off their guard and unduly confident owing to the success of the land forces, he took with him about eight thousand infantry and a thousand cavalry from his own force, and finding the men from the ships scattered over the country, killed a large number of them and compelled the remainder to take refuge on board their vessels. He then retreated, and recrossing the Ebro busied himself with fortifying and garrisoning the places south of the Ebro, passing the winter in New Carthage. Gnaeus, on rejoining the fleet, inflicted the customary penalty on those responsible for what had happened, and now uniting his land and sea forces went into winter quarters at Tarraco. By dividing the booty in equal shares among his soldiers he made them very well disposed to him and ready to do their best in the future.

77. Such was the state of matters in Spain. In 217 B.C. the early spring Gaius Flaminius with his army
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

μίνιος ἀναλαβὼν τὰς αὐτοῦ δυνάμεις προῆγε διὰ Τυρρηνίας, καὶ κατεστρατοπέδευσε πρὸ τῆς τῶν
2 Ἀρρητίνων πόλεως, Γνάιος δὲ Σερούλιος τούμπαλω
ὡς ἐπ’ Ἀρμίνου, ταυτὴ παρατηρήσων τὴν εἰσβολὴν
3 τῶν ὑπεναντίων. ᾿Αννίβας δὲ παραχειμάζων ἐν τῇ
Κελτικῇ τοὺς μὲν Ῥωμαίοις τῶν ἐκ τῆς μάχης αἰχ-
μαλώτων ἐν φυλακῇ συνείχε, τὰ μέτρα τῶν ἐπι-
4 τηδείων διδοὺς, τοὺς δὲ συμμάχους αὐτῶν τὸ μὲν
πρῶτον ἐν τῇ πάσῃ φιλανθρωπίᾳ διεξῆγε, μετὰ δὲ
ταῦτα συναγαγὼν παρεκάλει, φάσκων οὐκ ἔκεινος
ἡκεν πολεμῆσαι, ἀλλὰ Ῥωμαίοις ὑπὲρ ἔκεινοιν.
5 διόπερ ἐφῃ δεῖν αὐτοὺς, ἐὰν ὀρθῶς φρονῶσιν,
6 ἀντέχεσθαι τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν φιλίας. παρείναι γὰρ
πρῶτον μὲν τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἀνακτησόμενοι ᾿Ιταλω-
ταῖς. ὡμοῖως δὲ τὰς πόλεις καὶ τὴν χώραν, ἢν ὑπὸ
Ῥωμαίων ἀπολωλεκότες ἐκαστοί τυγχάνοισι, συν-
7 ανασώσωσιν. ταῦτα δὲ εἰπὼν ἁφῆκε πάντας χωρίς
λύτρων εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν, βουλόμενος ἁμα μὲν προ-
καλεῖσθαι διὰ τοιούτου τρόπου πρὸς αὐτὸν τοὺς
κατοικοῦντας τὴν ᾿Ιταλιάν, ἁμα δὲ ἀπαλλωτρίσον
τῆς πρὸς Ῥωμαίους εὐνοίας, ἔρεθιζεν δὲ τοὺς
δοκοῦντας πόλεσιν ἡ λιμέσιν ἠλαττώσθαι τι διὰ τῆς
Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς.

78 ᾿Εχρήσατο δὲ τῶν καὶ Φωνικικῷ στρατηγήματι
2 τοιοῦτο κατὰ τὴν παραχειμασίαν. ἀγωνιῶν γὰρ
τὴν ἄθεσιν τῶν Κελτῶν καὶ τὰς ἐπιβουλὰς τὰς
περὶ τὸ σώμα διὰ τὸ πρόσφοτον τῆς πρὸς αὐτούς
συστάσεως, κατεσκευάσατο περιθετὸς τρίχας, ἀρμο-
ζοῦσας ταῖς κατὰ τὰς ὀλοσχερεῖς διαφορὰς τῶν ἥλι-
3 κιῶν ἐπιπρεπείας, καὶ ταυταίς ἔχρητο συνεχῶς
μετατιθέμενοι· ὡμοῖως δὲ καὶ τὰς ἔσθητας μετ-
4 ελάμβανε τὰς καθηκούσας αἰε ταῖς περιθεταις. δι’

190
advanced through Etruria and encamped before Arretium, while Gnaeus Servilius advanced as far as Ariminum to watch for the invasion of the enemy from that side. Hannibal, who was wintering in Cisalpine Gaul, kept the Roman prisoners he had taken in the battle in custody, giving them just sufficient to eat, but to the prisoners from the allies he continued to show the greatest kindness, and afterwards called a meeting of them and addressed them, saying that he had not come to make war on them, but on the Romans for their sakes and therefore if they were wise they should embrace his friendship, for he had come first of all to re-establish the liberty of the peoples of Italy and also to help them to recover the cities and territories of which the Romans had deprived them. Having spoken so, he dismissed them all to their homes without ransom, his aim in doing so being both to gain over the inhabitants of Italy to his own cause and to alienate their affections from Rome, provoking at the same time to revolt those who thought their cities or harbours had suffered damage by Roman rule.

78. During this winter he also adopted a truly Punic artifice. Fearing the fickleness of the Celts and possible attempts on his life, owing to his establishment of the friendly relations with them being so very recent, he had a number of wigs made, dyed to suit the appearance of persons differing widely in age, and kept constantly changing them, at the same time also dressing in a style that suited the wig, so that not only those who had seen him
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

οὐ μόνον τοῖς αἰφνιδίως ἰδοὺς δύσγνωστος ἦν ἄλλα καὶ τοῖς ἐν συνθείᾳ γεγονόσι.

5 Θεωρῶν δὲ τοὺς Κελτοὺς δυσχεραίνοντας ἐπὶ τῷ τῶν πόλεμον ἐν τῇ παρ’ αὐτῶν χώρᾳ λαμβάνειν τὴν τροβήν, σπεύδοντας δὲ καὶ μετεώρους οὗτας εἰς τὴν πολεμίαν, προφάσει μὲν διὰ τὴν πρὸς Ὀρυμαίος ὀργῆν, τὸ δὲ πλειὸν διὰ τὰς ωφελείας, ἔκρυε τὴν ταχὺτητιν καὶ αναπαίζουσι καὶ συνεκπληροῦν τὰς τῶν δυνάμεων ὁρμάς. διόπερ ἀμα τῷ τὴν ὄραν μετάβαλλειν, πυθανόμενος τῶν μάλιστα τῆς χώρας δοκοῦντων ἐμπερεί, τὰς μὲν ἄλλας ἐμβολάς τὰς εἰς τὴν πολεμίαν μακρὰς εὐρισκε καὶ προδῆλους τοῖς ὑπεναντίοις, τὴν δὲ διὰ τῶν ἐλῶν εἰς Τυρρηνίαν φέρουσαν, δυσχερῇ μὲν, σύντομον δὲ καὶ παράδοξον

6 φανησομένην τοῖς περὶ τῶν Φλαμίνιον. ἀεὶ δὲ πιὸς οἰκεῖος ὃν τῇ φύσει τοῦτο τοῦ μέρους, ταύτη 8 προέθετο ποιεῖσθαι τὴν πορείαν. διαδοθείσῃ δὲ τῆς φήμης ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ διότι μέλλει διὰ τῶν ἐλῶν ἄγειν αὐτοὺς ὁ στρατηγός, πᾶς τὸς εὐλαβῶς εἰχὲ πρὸς τὴν πορείαν, υφορώμενος βάραθρα καὶ 79 τοὺς λιμνώδεις τῶν τόπων. Ἀνιβάσας δ’ ἐπιμελῶς ἔξητακώς τεναγώδεις καὶ στερεοὺς ὑπάρχοντας τοὺς κατὰ τὴν δίδον τόπους, ἀναζεύξας εἰς μὲν τὴν πρωτοπορειάν ἔθηκε τοὺς Λίβνιας καὶ τοὺς Ἰβηραῖος καὶ πᾶν τὸ χρησίμωτερον μέρος τῆς σφετέρας δυνάμεως, συγκαταμίζας αὐτοῖς τὴν ἀποσκευήν, ἵνα πρὸς 2 τὸ παρὸν εὐπορῶσι τῶν ἐπιτηδείων. πρὸς γὰρ τὸ μέλλον εἰς τέλος ἀφροτίστοις εἰχὲ περὶ παντὸς τοῦ σκευοφόρου, λογιζόμενος ὡς ἐὰν ἄψητη τῆς πολεμίας, ἤπειρθεὶς μὲν ὡς ὁ προσδείρεται τῶν ἀναγκαῖων, κρατῶν δὲ τῶν ὑπαίθρων οὐκ ἀπορήσει τῶν ἐπι-
BOOK III. 78.4 – 79.2

but for a moment, but even his familiars found difficulty in recognizing him.

Observing that the Celts were dissatisfied at the prosecution of the war in their own territory, but were eagerly looking forward to an invasion of that of the enemy, professedly owing to their hatred of the Romans, but as a fact chiefly in hope of booty, he decided to be on the move as soon as possible and satisfy the desire of his troops. As soon, then, as the weather began to change he ascertained by inquiring from those who knew the country best that the other routes for invading the Roman territory were both long and obvious to the enemy, but that the road through the marshes to Etruria was difficult indeed but expeditious and calculated to take Flaminius by surprise. As he was by nature always inclined to such expedients, he decided to march by this road. When the news spread in the camp that the general was going to lead them through marshes, everyone was very reluctant to start, imagining that there would be deep bogs and quagmires. 79. But Hannibal had made careful inquiries, and having ascertained that the water on the ground they would have to pass over was shallow and the bottom solid, broke up his quarters and started, placing in the van the Africans and Spaniards and all the most serviceable portion of his army, intermingling the baggage train with them, so that for the present they might be kept supplied with food. For as regards the future he did not trouble himself about the pack-animals at all, as he calculated that on reaching the enemy’s country he would, if defeated, have no need of provisions, and if he gained command of the open country.
3 τηδεῖοι. ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς προειρημένοις ἑπέθαλε τοὺς
4 Κελτοὺς, ἐπὶ δὲ πάσι τους ἱππεῖς. ἐπιμελητὴν δὲ
5 τῆς οὐραγίας τῶν ἄδελφων ἀπέλιπε Μάγωνα τῶν τε
6 λοιπῶν χαρών καὶ μάλιστα τῆς τῶν Κελτῶν μαλα-
κίας καὶ συγγονίας, ἐν' ἑαυτῷ κακοπαθοῦντες τρέ-
7 πονταὶ πάλιν εἰς τοῦπὶςω, κακὸν διὰ τῶν ἱππεῶν
8 καὶ προσφερόν τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῖς. οἱ μὲν οὖν „Ἰδη-
9 ρεις καὶ Λίθυες δι’ ἀκεραίων τῶν ἑλῶν ποιοῦμενοι
10 τὴν πορείαν μετρῶς κακοπαθοῦντες ἰμιούν, ἀτε καὶ
11 θερέκακοι πάντες ὄντες καὶ συνήθεις ταῖς τοινύσ\'
12 ταλαιπωρίαις. οἱ δὲ Κελτοὶ δυσχερῶς μὲν εἰς τοὺς
13 προσθεῖν προοῦνοι, τεταραγμένων καὶ διαπεπατη-
14 μένων εἰς θάδος τῶν ἑλῶν, ἐπιτόνως δὲ καὶ ταλαι-
15 πώμιος ὑπέμενοι τὴν κακοπάθειαν, ἀπειροῖ πάσης
16 τῆς τοινύστης ὄντες κακουχίας. ἐκκολοντο δὲ πάλιν
17 ἀπονευθὲν εἰς τοῦπὶςω διὰ τοὺς ἐφέστωτας αὐτοῖς
18 ἱππεῖς. πάντες μὲν οὖν ἐκακοπάθουν, καὶ μάλιστα
19 διὰ τὴν ἀγρυπνίαν, ὡς ἄν ἑξῆς ἡμέρας τέτταρας
20 καὶ τρεῖς νίκτας συνεχῶς δι’ ὑδατος ποιοῦμενοι
21 τὴν πορείαν διαφερότως γε μὴν ἐπόνουν καὶ
22 καταδιεύροντι υπέρ τους ἄλλους οἱ Κελτοὶ. τῶν
23 δ’ ὑποξυγίων αὐτοῦ τὰ πλεῖστα πέπτοντα διὰ τοὺς
24 πηλοὺς ἀπώθλητο, μίαν παρεχόμενα χρείαν ἐν τῷ
25 πεσεῖν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις. καθεξόμενοι γὰρ ἐπ’ αὐτῶν
26 καὶ τῶν σκεύων σωρηδὸν υπέρ τὸ ὑγρὸν ὑπερείχον,
27 καὶ τῶν τοιοῦτων τροπὸς βραχῦ μέρος τῆς νυκτὸς
28 ἀπεκοιμώτο. οὐκ ἄλλοι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἱππῶν τὰς
29 ὀπλὰς ἀπέθαλων διὰ τὴν συνέχειαν τῆς διὰ τῶν
30 πηλῶν πορείας. „Ἀντίθετα δὲ μόλις ἐπὶ τοῦ περι-
31 λειψάνως θηρίων διεσώθη μετὰ πολλῆς ταλαιπω-
32 ρίας, ὑπεραλλήλως ων διὰ τὴν θαρύτητα τῆς ἐπενεχθε-
33 σης ὀφθαλμίας αὐτῷ, δι’ ἡν καὶ τέλος ἐστερήθη τῆς
34 194
would be in no want of supplies. Behind the troops I mentioned he placed the Celts and in the extreme rear his cavalry, leaving his brother Mago in charge of the rear-guard. This course he took for various reasons, but chiefly owing to the softness and aversion to labour of the Celts, so that if, owing to the hardships they suffered, they tried to turn back Mago could prevent them by falling on them with his cavalry. The Spaniards and Africans for their part, as the marshes were still firm when they marched over them, got across without suffering seriously, being all inured to fatigue and accustomed to such hardships, but the Celts not only progressed with difficulty, the marshes being now cut up and trodden down to some depth, but were much fatigued and distressed by the severity of the task, being quite unused to suffering of the kind. They were prevented, however, from turning back by the cavalry in their rear. All the army, indeed, suffered much, and chiefly from want of sleep, as they had to march through water for three continuous days and nights, but the Celts were much more worn out and lost more men than the rest. Most of the pack-animals fell and perished in the mud, the only service they rendered being that when they fell the men piled the packs on their bodies and lay upon them, being thus out of the water and enabled to snatch a little sleep during the night. Many of the horses also lost their hooves by the continuous march through the mud. Hannibal himself on the sole remaining elephant got across with much difficulty and suffering, being in great pain from a severe attack of ophthalmia, which finally led to the
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

80 Διαπεράσας δὲ παραδόξως τοὺς ἐλώδεις τόπους, καὶ καταλαβὼν ἐν Τυρρηνίᾳ τὸν Φλαμίνιον στρατοπεδεύοντα πρὸ τῆς τῶν Ἀρρητῶν πόλεως, τότε μὲν αὐτοῦ πρὸς τοὺς ἔλεσι κατεστρατοπέδευσε, βουλόμενος τὴν τε δύναμιν ἀναλαβεῖν καὶ πολυπραγμονῆσαι τὰ περὶ τούτων ὑπεναντίους καὶ τοὺς προ-
3 κεμένους τῶν τόπων. πυθανόμενος δὲ τὴν μὲν χώραν τὴν πρόσθεν πολλὴς γέμεων ωφελείας, τὸν δὲ Φλαμίνιον ὄχλοκόπον μὲν καὶ δημαγωγὸν εἶναι τέλειον, πρὸς ἄληθινῶν δὲ καὶ πολεμικῶν πραγμά-
tων χειρισμὸν οὐκ εὐφυῆ, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις κατα-
4 πεπιστευκέναι τοὺς σφετέρους πράγμασι, συνελογίζετο διότι παραλάξαντος αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐκείνων στρατοπεδείαν καὶ καθέντος εἰς τοὺς ἐμπροσθεν τόπους, τὰ μὲν ἀγωνίων τὸν ἐπιτωθασμὸν τῶν ὄχλων οὐ δυνήσεται περιοράν δημομένην τὴν χώραν, τὰ δὲ κατηγορίως παρέσται προχείρως εἰς πάντα τόπον ἐπόμενος, ὀσοῦτα δὲ αὐτοῦ ποιήσασθαι τὸ προτέρημα καὶ μὴ προσδέξασθαι τὴν παρουσίαν
5 τοῦ τὴν ἰσην ἄρχην ἐχοντος. ἔξ ὁ πολλοῦς αὐτῶν ὑπελάμβανε παραδώσει καίροις πρὸς ἐπίθεσιν. πάντα δὲ ἐμφρόνως ἐλογίζετο ταῦτα καὶ πραγματι-
81 κὼς· οὐ γὰρ εἰκὸς ἄλλως εἶπεῖν, ὡς εἰ τις οἴεται κυριώτερον τι μέρος εἶναι στρατηγίας τοῦ γνώναι τὴν προαιρεσιν καὶ φύσιν τοῦ τῶν ἐναντίων ἡγεμό-
2 νος, ἄγνοει καὶ τετύφωται. καθάπερ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν κατ’ ἄνδρα καὶ ζυγὸν ἀγωνισμάτων δεῖ τὸν μέλλοντα νικῶν συνθεωρεῖν πῶς δυνατὸν ἐφικέσθαι τοῦ σκοποῦ καὶ τὶ γυμνὸν ἡ ποιὸν ἔξοπλον μέρος φαίνεται τῶν
3 ἀνταγωνιστῶν, οὖτως χρῆ καὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν ὅλων
196
loss of one eye as he had no time to stop and apply any treatment to it, the circumstances rendering that impossible.

80. Having thus almost beyond expectation crossed the marshes, and, finding that Flaminius was encamped in Etruria before the city of Arretium, he pitched his camp for the present at the edge of the marshes, with the view of refreshing his forces and getting information about the enemy and about the country in front of him. On learning that this country promised a rich booty, and that Flaminius was a thorough mob-courtier and demagogue, with no talent for the practical conduct of war and exceedingly self-confident withal, he calculated that if he passed by the Roman army and advanced into the country in his front, the Consul would on the one hand never look on while he laid it waste for fear of being jeered at by his soldiery; and on the other hand he would be so grieved that he would be ready to follow anywhere, in his anxiety to gain the coming victory himself without waiting for the arrival of his colleague. From all this he concluded that Flaminius would give him plenty of opportunities of attacking him. 81. And all this reasoning on his part was very wise and sound. For there is no denying that he who thinks that there is anything more essential to a general than the knowledge of his opponent's principles and character, is both ignorant and foolish. For as in combats between man and man and rank and rank, he who means to conquer must observe how best to attain his aim, and what naked or unprotected part of the enemy is visible, so he who is in command must try to
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

προεστώτας σκοπεῖν οὐχ ὅποι τι τοῦ σώματος γνω-μονόν, ἀλλὰ ποῦ τῆς ψυχῆς εὐχείρωτόν τι παραφαί-νεται τοῦ τῶν ἐναντίων ἠγεμόνος. ἔπειδὴ πολλοὶ μὲν διὰ ῥαθυμίαν καὶ τὴν σύμπασαν ἄργιαν οὐ μόνον τὰς κοινὰς πράξεις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἰδίους κατα-

5 προϊόντας βίους ἄρδην. πολλοὶ δὲ διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸν ὅνων ἐπιθυμίαν οὐδ’ ὑπνώσας δύνανται χωρίς ἀλλοιώσεως καὶ μέθης, ἵνα δὲ διὰ τὰς τῶν ἀφρο-

dισίων ὁρμάς καὶ τὴν ἐν τούτοις ἐκπλήξεων οὐ μόνον πόλεις καὶ βίους ἀναστάτους πεποιήκασι, ἀλλὰ καὶ

7 τὸ ζῆν αὐτῶν ἀφήρηται μετ’ αὐσχύνης. καὶ μὴν δειλία καὶ βλακεία κατ’ ἰδίαν μὲν αὐτοῖς ὄνειδος ἐπιφέρει τοῖς ἔχουσιν, περὶ δὲ τῶν ὅλων ἡγε-

μόνα γενομένη κοινῶν ἑστὶ καὶ μέγιστον συμπτω-

8 μάτων. οὐ γὰρ μόνον ἀπράκτους ποιεῖ τοὺς ὑπο-

tαττομένους, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ κυνύνους ἐπιφέρει τοῦς μεγίστους τοῖς πεπιστευκόσι. προπέτειά γε

9 μὴν καὶ θρασύτης καὶ θυμὸς ἄλογος, ἐτι δὲ κενοδοξία καὶ τύφος, εὐχείρωτα μὲν τοῖς ἐχθροῖς, ἐπισφαλε-

στάτα δὲ τοῖς φίλοις. πρὸς γὰρ πᾶσαν ἐπιβουλήν,

10 ἐνέδραν, ἀπάτην ἔτοιμος ο γε τοιούτος. διὸπερ εἰ
tis δύνατο συννοεῖν τὰ περὶ τοὺς πέλας ἀμαρτή-

ματα καὶ τηδὲ που προσέναι τοῖς ὑπενυντίοις, ἡ

μάλιστα καὶ δὴ οὐν εὐχείρωτος ἐσθ’ ὁ προεστῶς
tῶν πολεμίων, τάχιστ’ ἀν τῶν ὅλων κατακρατοῖ.

11 καθάπερ γὰρ νέως ἐὰν ἀφελὶ τις τῶν κυβερνήτης,
tὸ ὅλον αὐτανδρὶ σκάφος ὑποχείριον γίνεται τοῖς

ἐχθροῖς, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἐὰν τὸν προεστῶτα [πόλεμον] δυνάμεως χειρώσηται τις κατὰ τὰς ἐπι-

βολὰς καὶ συλλογισμοὺς, αὐτανδρὶ γίνεται πολ-

λάκις κρατεῖν τῶν ἀντιτατημένων.

12 ὁ δ’ καὶ τότε προϊόδεμος καὶ συλλογισάμενος

198
III. 81.3–12

see in the enemy's general not what part of his body is exposed, but what are the weak spots that can be discovered in his mind. For there are many men who, owing to indolence and general inactivity, bring to utter ruin not only the welfare of the state but their private fortunes as well; while there are many others so fond of wine that they cannot even go to sleep without fuddling themselves with drink; and some, owing to their abandonment to venery and the consequent derangement of their minds, have not only ruined their countries and their fortunes but brought their lives to a shameful end. But cowardice and stupidity are vices which, disgraceful as they are in private to those who have them, are when found in a general the greatest of public calamities. For not only do they render his army inefficient but often expose those who confide in him to the greatest perils. Rashness on the other hand on his part and undue boldness and blind anger, as well as vaingloriousness and conceit, are easy to be taken advantage of by his enemy and are most dangerous to his friends; for such a general is the easy victim of all manner of plots, ambushes, and cheatery. Therefore the leader who will soonest gain a decisive victory, is he who is able to perceive the faults of others, and to choose that manner and means of attacking the enemy which will take full advantage of the weaknesses of their commander. For just as a ship if deprived of its pilot will fall with its whole crew into the hands of the enemy, so the general who is his opponent's master in strategy and reasoning may often capture his whole army.

And in this case too, as Hannibal had correctly
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

'Αννίβας περὶ τῶν ἑναντίων ἡγεμόνος οὐ διεσφάλη τῆς ἐπιβολῆς. ὡς γὰρ θάττων ποιησάμενος ἀναζυγήν ἀπὸ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Φαίσολαν τόπων καὶ μικρὸν ὑπεράρας τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρατοπεδείαν ἐνέβαλεν εἰς τὴν προκειμένην χώραν,

2 εὐθέως μετέωρος ἦν ὁ Φλαμύνιος καὶ θυμὸν πλήρης, δοξάζων ἑαυτόν ὑπὸ τῶν ἑναντίων καταφρονεῖσθαι.

3 μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πορθομένης τῆς χώρας, καὶ πανταχόθεν τοῦ καπνοῦ σημαίνοντος τὴν καταθεραν αὐτῆς, ἐσχετλιάζε, δεινὸν ἡγούμενος τὸ γνώμενον.

4 διὸ καὶ τινῶν οἰόμενων δείν μὴ προχείρως ἐπακολουθεῖν μηδὲ συμπλέκεσθαι τοῖς πολεμίοις, φυλάττεσθαι δὲ καὶ προσέχειν τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἵππεων, μάλιστα δὲ καὶ τὸν ἐτέρων ὑπατόν προσλάβειν καὶ πᾶσιν ἐπὶ ταῦτα τοῖς στρατοπέδοις ὡμοί ποιήσασθαι τὸν

5 κώδυνον, οὐχ οἶον προσεἰχε τοῖς λεγομένοις, ἀλλὰ

6 οὐδ’ ἀνείχετο τῶν ἀποφαινομένων ταῦτα, παρεκάλει δ’ αὐτοὺς ἐν νῷ λαμβάνειν τὶ λέγειν εἰκὸς τοὺς ἐν τῇ πατρίδι τῆς μὲν χώρας καταθειρομένης σχεδὸν ἐως πρὸς αὐτὴν τὴν Ῥώμην, αὐτῶν δὲ κατόπιν τῶν

7 πολεμίων ἐν Τυρρηνίᾳ στρατοπεδεύοντων. τέλος δὲ ταῦτ’ εἰπὼν, ἄναζεύξας προῆκε μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως, οὐ καιρὸν, οὐ τόπον προορώμενος, μόνον δὲ στείῳδων συμπεσεῖν τοῖς πολεμίοις, ὡς προδήλου

8 τῆς νίκης αὐτοῖς ὑπαρχοῦσης· τηλυκοῦτον γὰρ προενεβεβλήκει κατελπισμὸν τοῖς ὀχλοῖς ὡστε πλείους ἐναι τῶν ὑπὸ τὴν φερόντων τοὺς ἐκτὸς παρεπομένους τῆς ὁφθαλμίας χάριν, κομίζοντας ἀλύσεις καὶ πέδας καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν τοιαύτην παρασκευὴν.

9 "Ὁ γε μὴν Ἄννίβας ἄμα μὲν εἰς τοῦμπροσθεν ὡς πρὸς τὴν Ῥώμην προῆκε διὰ τῆς Τυρρηνίας, εὖ-
foreseen and reckoned on the conduct of Flaminius, his plan had the success he expected. 82. For as soon as he left the neighbourhood of Faesulae and advancing a short way beyond the Roman camp invaded the country in front of him, Flaminius swelled with fury and resentment, thinking that the enemy were treating him with contempt. And when very soon they began to lay waste the country, and the smoke rising from all quarters told its tale of destruction, he was still more indignant, regarding this as insufferable. So that when some of his officers gave it as their opinion that he should not instantly pursue and engage the enemy, but remain on his guard and beware of their numerous cavalry, and when they especially urged him to wait until his colleague joined him and to give battle with all their united legions, he not only paid no attention to the advice, but could not listen with patience to those who offered it, begging them to consider what would be said in Rome if, while the country was laid waste almost up to the walls, the army remained encamped in Etruria in the rear of the enemy. Finally, with these words, he broke up his camp, and advanced with his army, utterly regardless of time or place, but bent only on falling in with the enemy, as if victory were a dead certainty. He had even inspired the people with such confident hopes that the soldiery were outnumbered by the rabble that followed him for the sake of the booty, bringing chains, fetters, and other such implements.

Hannibal in the meantime while advancing on Rome through Etruria, with the city of Cortona and
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

άνυμον μὲν πόλιν ἔχων τὴν προσαγορευμένην
Κυρτώνιον καὶ τὰ ταύτης ὄρη, δεξιὰν δὲ τὴν Ταρ-
10 σιμένην καλουμένην λίμνην· ἀμα δὲ προαγὼν
ἐπιτρέπει καὶ κατέθειρε τὴν χώραν, βουλόμενος
11 ἐκκαλέσασθαι τὸν θυμὸν τῶν ὑπεναντίων. ἐπεὶ
dὲ τὸν Φλαμίνιον ἔδη συνάπτοντα καθεώρα, τόπους
dὲ εὐφυεῖς συνεδεώρησε πρὸς τὴν χρείαν, ἐγίνετο
83 πρὸς τὸ διακινδυνεύειν. ὅτες δὲ κατὰ τὴν δίοδον
αὐλῶνος ἐπιπέδου, τούτου δὲ παρὰ μὲν τὰς εἰς
μῆκος πλευρὰς ἐκατέρας βουνοὺς ἔχοντο υψηλοὺς
καὶ συνεχεῖς, παρὰ δὲ τὰς εἰς πλάτος κατὰ μὲν τὴν
ἀντικρύ λόφον ἐπικείμενον ἐρυμύνον καὶ δυσβατὸν,
κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἀπ’ οὐράς λίμνην τελείως στενὴν ἀπο-
λείπουσαν πάροδον ὡς εἰς τὸν αὐλῶνα παρὰ τὴν
2 παραώρειαν, διελθὼν τὸν αὐλῶνα παρὰ τὴν λίμνην,
tὸν μὲν κατὰ πρόσωπον τῆς πορείας λόφον αὐτὸς
κατελάβετο, καὶ τοὺς "Ἰβηρας καὶ τοὺς Λίβνας
3 ἔχων ἐπ’ αὐτοῦ κατεστρατοπέδευσε, τοὺς δὲ Βαλια-
ρεῖς καὶ λογχοφόρους κατὰ τὴν πρωτοπορείαν
ἐκπεριάγων ὑπὸ τοὺς ἐν δεξιὰ βουνοὺς τῶν παρὰ
tὸν αὐλῶνα κεμένων, ἐπὶ πολὺ παρατείνας ὕπ-
4 ἔστελε, τοὺς δὲ ἔππεις καὶ τοὺς Κελτοὺς ὀμοίως
τῶν εὐνωνύμων βουνῶν κύκλῳ περιαγαγὼν παρεξ-
έτεινε συνεχεῖς, ὥστε τοὺς ἔσχάτους εἶναι κατ’
αὐτὴν τὴν εἰσοδὸν τὴν παρὰ τε τὴν λίμνην καὶ τὰς
παρωρείας φέρουσαν εἰς τὸν προερημένον τόπον.
5 Ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἀννίβας, ταῦτα προκατασκευασάμενος
tῆς νυκτὸς καὶ περιελήφως τὸν αὐλῶνα ταῖς ἐν-
6 ἔδραῖς, τὴν ἡσυχίαν εἶχεν. ὃ δὲ Φλαμίνιος εἶπετο
7 κατόπιν, στεύδων συναίμαι [τῶν πολεμίων]. κατ-
estratopedeuωσ δὲ τῇ πρωτεραίᾳ πρὸς αὐτῇ τῇ
λίμνῃ τελείως ὅψε τῆς ὤρας, μετὰ ταῦτα τῆς ἡμέρας
202
its hills on his left and the Thrasymene lake on his right, continued to burn and devastate the country on his way, with the view of provoking the enemy. When he saw Flaminius already approaching him and had also observed a position favourable for his purpose, he made his plans for battle. 83. The road led through a narrow strip of level ground with a range of high hills on each side of it lengthwise. This defile was overlooked in front crosswise by a steep hill difficult to climb, and behind it lay the lake, between which and the hill side the passage giving access to the defile was quite narrow. Hannibal coasting the lake and passing through the defile occupied himself the hill in front, encamping on it with his Spaniards and Africans; his slingers and pikemen he brought round to the front by a detour and stationed them in an extended line under the hills to the right of the defile, and similarly taking his cavalry and the Celts round the hills on the left he placed them in a continuous line under these hills, so that the last of them were just at the entrance to the defile, lying between the hillside and the lake.

Having made all these preparations during the night and thus encompassed the defile with troops waiting in ambush, Hannibal remained quiet. Flaminius was following close on his steps impatient to overtake him. He had encamped the night before at a very late hour close to the lake itself; and next
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

ἐπιγενομένης, εὐθέως ὑπὸ τὴν ἐωθινὴν ἤγε τὴν πρωτοπορείαν παρὰ τὴν λίμνην εἰς τὸν ὑποκείμενον αὐλῶνα, βουλόμενος ἐξάπτεσθαι τῶν πολεμίων.

84 οὖν δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας ὁμιλώδους διαφερόντως, Ἀν-νίβας ἀμα τῷ τὸ πλείστον μέρος τῆς πορείας εἰς τὸν αὐλῶνα προσδέχασθαι καὶ συνάπτειν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἦδη τὴν τῶν ἐναντίων πρωτοπορείαν, ἀποδοῦσα τὰ συνήθημα καὶ διαπεμψάμενος πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τοῖς ἐνέδραις, συνεπεχείρη πανταχόθεν ἀμα τοῖς πολε-2 μῖοις. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Φλαμίνιον παραδόξου γενο-μένης αὐτοῖς τῆς ἐπιφανείας, ἐτὶ δὲ δυσσυνόπτου τῆς κατὰ τὸν ἀέρα περιστάσεως ὑπαρχούσης, καὶ τῶν πολεμίων κατὰ πολλοὺς τόπους ἐξ ὑπερδεξίου καταφερομένων καὶ προσπιπτόντων, οὐχ οἶον παρα-βοηθείν ἐδύναντο πρὸς τὶ τῶν δεομένων οἱ ταξιάρ-χοι καὶ χιλιάρχοι τῶν Ῥωμαίων, ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ συννοή-

3 σαι τὸ γινόμενον. ἀμα γὰρ οἱ μὲν κατὰ πρόσωπον, οἱ δ’ ἀπ’ οὐρᾶς, οἱ δ’ ἐκ τῶν πλαγίων αὐτοῖς προσ-

4 ἐπιπτοῦν, διὸ καὶ συνέβη τοὺς πλείστους ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ τῆς πορείας σχῆματι κατακοπηκαί, μὴ δυναμένους αὐτοῖς βοηθεῖν, ἀλλ’ ὡς ἂν εἰ προδεδομένους ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ προεστῶτος ἀκρισίας. ἐτὶ γὰρ διαβούλευό-

6 μενοί τὶ δεῖ πράττειν ἀπώλυντο παραδόξως. ἐν ὦ καὶ τὸν Φλαμίνιον αὐτὸν δυσχρηστούμενον καὶ περικακοῦντα τοῖς ὅλοις προσπεσόντες τινές τῶν

7 Κελτῶν ἀπέκτειναν. ἔπεσον οὖν τῶν Ῥωμαίων κατὰ τὸν αὐλῶνα σχεδόν εἰς μυρίους καὶ πεντακισχι- λίους, ὡτ’ εἴκεν τοῖς παροῦσιν οὔτε πράττειν οὔδέν δυνάμενοι, τούτῳ δ’ ἐκ τῶν ἑθισμῶν αὐτὸ περὶ πλεί-

8 στον ποιοῦμενοι, τὸ μὴ φεύγειν μηδὲ λείπειν τὰς τάξεις. οἱ δὲ κατὰ πορείαν μεταξὺ τῆς λίμνης καὶ τῆς παρωρείας ἐν τοῖς στενοῖς συγκλεισθέντες αἱ-204
day as soon as it was dawn he led his vanguard along the lake to the above-mentioned defile, with the view of coming in touch with the enemy. 84. It was an unusually misty morning, and Hannibal, as soon as the greater part of the enemy’s column had entered the defile and when the head was already in contact with him, giving the signal for battle and sending notice to those in the ambuscades, attacked the Romans from all sides at the same time. The sudden appearance of the enemy took Flaminius completely by surprise, and as the condition of the atmosphere rendered it very difficult to see, and their foes were charging down on them in so many places from higher ground, the Roman Centurions and Tribunes were not only unable to take any effectual measures to set things right, but could not even understand what was happening. They were charged at one and the same instant from the front, from the rear, and from the flanks, so that most of them were cut to pieces in marching order as they were quite unable to protect themselves, and, as it were, betrayed by their commander’s lack of judgement. For while they were still occupied in considering what was best to do, they were being slaughtered without realizing how. Flaminius himself, who was in the utmost dismay and dejection, was here attacked and slain by certain Celts. So there fell in the valley about fifteen thousand of the Romans, unable either to yield to circumstances, or to achieve anything, but deeming it, as they had been brought up to do, their supreme duty not to fly or quit their ranks. Those again who had been shut in between the hillside and the lake perished
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

σχρῶς, ἐτὶ δὲ μᾶλλον ταλαιπώρως διεφθείροντο. 9 συνωθούμενοι [μὲν] γὰρ εἰς τὴν λίμνην οἱ μὲν διὰ τὴν παράστασιν τῆς διανοίας ὁρμώντες εὑρίσκοντο τὸ νῆχεσθαι σὺν τοῖς ὁπλοῖς ἀπεπνύγοντο, τὸ δὲ πολὺ πλῆθος μέχρι μὲν τοῦ δυνατοῦ προβαίνον εἰς τὴν λίμνην ἔμενε τὰς κεφαλὰς αὐτὰς ὑπὲρ τὸ ὕγρον ὑπερίοσχον.

10 ἐπιγενομένων δὲ τῶν ἱππέων, καὶ προδήλου γενομένης ἀπολείας, ἐξαίροντες τὰς χεῖρας καὶ δεόμενοι ξωγρεῖν καὶ πᾶσαν προϊέμενοι φωνὴν τὸ τελευταῖον οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων, τινὲς δὲ παρακαλέσαντες αὐτῶν διεφθάρησαν. ἐξακούσχησιν δ' ἦσως τῶν κατὰ τὸν αὐλῶνα τός κατὰ πρόσωπων νυκτὸς παραβοηθεῖν μὲν τοῖς ἱδίωσι καὶ περίστασαι τους ὑπεναντίους ἡδυνάτους, διὰ τὸ μηδὲν συνόραν τῶν γυνομένων, καὶ περιεχόμενος πρός τὰ θλαρία 12 παρέχεσθαι χρείαν· ἀεὶ δὲ τὸν πρόσθεν ορεγόμενον, προῆγον πεπεισμένοι συμπεσέοθαί τισιν, ἐώς ἐλαθον ἐκπεσόντες πρὸς τοὺς ὑπερδεξίους τόπους.

13 γενόμενοι δ' ἐπὶ τῶν ἄκρων, καὶ τῆς ὀμίχλης ἡδὴ πεπτωκυίας, συνέντες τὸ γεγονός ἀτύχημα, καὶ ποιεῖν οὐδὲν ὄντες ἐπὶ δυνατοῦ διὰ τὸ τοῖς ὅλοις ἐπικρατεῖν καὶ πάντα προκατέχειν ἡδὴ τοὺς πολεμίους, συστραφέντες ἀπεχώρησαν εἰς τινα κώμην Τύρρηνιν. 14 νίδα. μετὰ δὲ τὴν μάχην ἀποσταλέντος ὑπὸ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ μετὰ τῶν Ἰβηρῶν καὶ λογχοφόρων Μαάρβα καὶ περιστροπεδεύσαντος τὴν κώμην, πουκίλης αὐτοῖς ἀποφήγη περιστώσης, ἀποθέμενοι τὰ ὅτι η ἀπορέσαν αὐτοὺς ὑποσπόνδους, ὥς τευξόμενοι τῆς σωτηρίας.

15 Τὰ μὲν οὖν περὶ τὸν ὅλον κύδνυν τὸν γενόμενον ἐν Τύρρηνίᾳ Ρωμαίοις καὶ Καρχηδώνιοι τούτον ἐπετελέσθη τὸν τρόπον. Ἀννίβας δὲ, πρὸς 206
in a shamefui and still more pitiable manner. For when they were forced into the lake in a mass, some of them quite lost their wits and trying to swim in their armour were drowned, but the greater number, wading into the lake as far as they could, stood there with only their heads out of the water, and when the cavalry approached them, and death stared them in the face, though lifting up their hands and entreatiug to be spared in the most piteous terms, they were finally dispatched either by the horsemen or in some cases by begging their comrades to do them this service. About six thousand of those in the defile, who had defeated the enemy in their front, were unable to render any assistance to their own army or to get to the rear of their adversaries, as they could see nothing of what was happening, although they might have been of very material service. They simply continued to press forward in the belief that they were sure to meet with someone until they found themselves isolated on the high ground and on reaching the crest of the hill, the mist having now broken, they perceived the extent of the disaster, but were no longer able to help, as the enemy were now completely victorious and in occupation of all the ground. They therefore retired in a body to a certain Etruscan village. After the battle, on Maharbal being sent by the general with the Spaniards and pikemen to surround the village, finding themselves beset by a complication of dangers they laid down their arms and surrendered on condition of their lives being spared.

Such was the result of the battle in Etruria between the Romans and Carthaginians. 85. Hannibal, when the prisoners who had surrendered
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

αὐτὸν ἐπαναχθέντων τῶν ὑποσπόνδων, ὅμοιως δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων αἴχμαλώτων, συναγαγὼν πάντας,

2 ὅντας πλείον τῶν μυρίων καὶ πεντακισχιλίων, πρῶτον μὲν διεσάφησεν ὦτι Μαάρβας οὐκ ἔι ἐκή κύριος ἀνευ τῆς αὐτοῦ γνώμης διδοὺς τὴν ἀσφάλειαν τοῖς ὑποσπόνδοις, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα κατηγορίαν ἐποίησατο

3 Ρωμαίων. λήξας δὲ τούτων, ὅσοι μὲν ἦσαν Ρωμαίοι τῶν ἐαλωκότων, διεδωκεν εἰς φυλακήν ἐπὶ τὰ τάγματα, τοὺς δὲ συμμάχους ἀπέλυσε χωρίς λύτρων ἄπαντας εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν, ἐπιφθεγξάμενος τὸν αὐτὸν ὃν καὶ πρόσθεν λόγῳ ὦτι πάρεστι πολεμήσων οὐκ Ἰταλιωταῖς, ἀλλὰ Ρωμαίοις ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἰταλιωτῶν

5 ἐλευθερίας. τὴν δὲ ἐαυτοῦ δύναμιν ἀνελάμβανε, καὶ τῶν νεκρῶν τῶν ἐκ τῆς σφετέρας δυνάμεως τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους ἔθαψεν, ὅντας εἰς τριάκοντα τὸν ἀριθμὸν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ πάντες εἰς χιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους ἔπεσον, ὡν ἦσαν οἱ πλείους Κελτοῖ.

6 ταῦτα δὲ πράξας διενοεῖτο μετὰ τάδελφον καὶ τῶν φίλων ποῦ καὶ πῶς δεῖ ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ὀμήν, εὐθαρ- σῆς ὡν ἦδη περὶ τῶν ὅλων.

7 Εἰς δὲ τὴν Ῥώμην προσπεσόντος ἦδη τοῦ γεγο- νότος ἀτυχήματος, στέλλεσθαι μὲν ἡ ταπεινοῦ τὸ συμβεβηκός οἱ προετότες τοῦ πολιτεύματος ἡδυ- νάτων διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς συμφορᾶς, λέγει δὲ τοὺς πολλοὺς ἕναγκάζοντο τὰ γεγονότα, συναθροί-

8 σαντες τὸν δὴμον εἰς ἐκκλησίαν. διὸπερ ἅμα τῷ τὸν στρατηγὸν εἰπεῖν τοῖς ὁχλοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐμβόλων ὦτι Λειπόμεθα μάχη μεγάλη, τηλικαύτην συνέβη γε- νέσθαι διατροπὴν ὅστε τοῖς παραγενομένοις ἐφ' ἐκα- τέρων τῶν καυρῶν πολλῶν μείζων τότε φανήναι τὸ γεγονός ἢ παρ' αὐτὸν τὸν τῆς μάχης καιρῶν. καὶ

9 τοῦτ' εἰκότως συνέβη. πολλῶν γὰρ χρόνων ἀπειροῦ

208
on terms as well as the others were brought to him, assembled the whole body, more than fifteen thousand in number, and after informing them in the first place that Maharbal had no authority without consulting him to promise the former their safety, launched out into an invective against the Romans, and at the end of it distributed such of the prisoners as were Romans among his troops to keep guard over, and setting all the allies free, sent them to their homes, adding, as on a previous occasion, that he was not come to fight with the Italians, but with the Romans for the freedom of Italy. He now allowed his own troops to rest and paid the last honours to those of the highest rank among the fallen, about thirty in number, his whole loss having been about fifteen hundred, most of them Celts. After this he consulted with his brother and friends as to where and how it was best to deliver his attack, being now quite confident of final success.

On the news of the defeat reaching Rome the chiefs of the state were unable to conceal or soften down the facts, owing to the magnitude of the calamity, and were obliged to summon a meeting of the commons and announce it. When the Praetor therefore from the Rostra said, "We have been defeated in a great battle," it produced such consternation that to those who were present on both occasions the disaster seemed much greater now than during the actual battle. And this was quite natural; for since for many years they had had no
καὶ τοῦ ῥήματος καὶ τοῦ πράγματος ὑπάρχοντες τῆς ὁμολογουμένης ἡττησ οὐ μετρίως οὐδὲ κατὰ σχῆμα τὴν περιπέτειαν ἐφερον. οὐ μὴν ἤ γε σύγκλητος, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τοῦ καθήκοντος ἐμενε λογισμὸν, καὶ διενοεῖτο περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος πῶς καὶ τί πρακτέον ἐκάστοις εἰς.

86 Κατὰ δὲ τοὺς τῆς μάχης καιροὺς Γνάιος Σερούλιος ὁ προκαθήμενος ὑπατος ἐπὶ τῶν κατ' Ἀρίμμον 2 τόπων, οὗτοι δ' εἰσὶν ἐπὶ τῆς παρὰ τὸν Ἀδρίαν πλευρᾶς, οὐ συνάπτει τὰ Γαλατικὰ πεδία πρὸς τὴν ἄλλην 'Ιταλίαν, οὐ μακράν τῆς εἰς θάλατταν ἐκβο- λῆς τῶν τοῦ Πάδου θησάμων, ἀκοὔσας εἰσβεβλη- κότα τὸν 'Αννίβαν εἰς Τυρρηνίαν ἀντιστρατοπεδεύειν τῷ Φλαμνῷ, πάσι μὲν ἐπεβάλετο τοῖς στρατοπέδοις αὐτὸς συνάπτειν: ἀδυνατών δὲ διὰ τὸ τῆς στρατιᾶς βάρος, Γάιον Κεντύμιον κατὰ σπουδὴν δοὺς τετρα- κυσχιλίους ἐπιεῖς προεξαπέστειλε, βουλόμενος, εἰ δέονθ’ οἱ καιροί, πρὸ τῆς αὐτοῦ παρουσίας τούτους κατασχαίν. 'Αννίβας δὲ, μετὰ τὴν μάχην προσ- αγγελθείσης αὐτῷ τῆς τῶν ὑπεναντῶν βοηθείας, ἐξ- αποστέλλει Μαάρβαν, ἐχοντα τοὺς λογχοφόρους καὶ 5 τι μέρους τῶν ἐπτεὼν. οἶ καὶ συμπεσόντες τοῖς περὶ τοῦ Γάιον ἐν αὐτῇ μὲν τῇ πρώτῃ συμπλοκῇ σχεδὸν τοὺς ἡμίσεις αὐτῶν διέφθειραν, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς εἰς τινα λόφον συνδιώξαντες τῇ κατὰ πόδας ἡμέρα 6 πάντας ἔλαβαν ὑποχειρίους. ἐν δὲ τῇ 'Ρώμῃ, τρι- ταῖς οὕσης τῆς κατὰ τὴν μάχην προσαγγελίας, καὶ μάλιστα τότε τοῦ πάθους κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ὡς ἄν εἰ φλεγμαίνοντος, ἐπιγενομένης καὶ ταύτης τῆς περιπετείας, οὐ μόνον τὸ πλῆθος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν σύγ- 7 κλήσαν αὐτῇν συνέβη διατραπήναι. διὸ καὶ παρέντες τὴν κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἀγωγὴν τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ τὴν 210
experience of the word or fact of avowed defeat, they could not bear the reverse with moderation and dignity. This was not, however, the case with the Senate, which remained self-possessed, taking thought for the future as to what should be done by everyone, and how best to do it.

86. At the time of the battle Gnaeus Servilius, the Consul in command in the district of Ariminum (the district that is on the coast of the Adriatic where the plain of Cisalpine Gaul joins the rest of Italy not far from the mouth of the river Po), hearing that Hannibal had invaded Etruria and was encamped opposite Flaminius, formed the project of joining the latter with his whole army, but as this was impossible owing to the weight of his forces he dispatched Gaius Centenius at once in advance, giving him four thousand horse, intending them, if the situation were critical, to press on and arrive before himself. When, after the battle, news reached Hannibal of the approach of these reinforcements, he sent off Maharbal with the pikemen and part of the cavalry. Encountering Gaius, they killed about half of his force in their first attack, and pursuing the others to a hill, made them all prisoners on the following day. Three days after the news of the great battle had reached Rome, and just when throughout the city the sore, so to speak, was most violently inflamed, came the tidings of this fresh disaster, and now not only the populace but the Senate too were thrown into consternation. Abandoning therefore the system of government by
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

αἱρέσιν τῶν ἀρχόντων, μειζόνως ἐπεβάλοντο βουλεύεσθαι περὶ τῶν ἐνεστώτων, νομίζοντες αὐτοκράτορος δεῖσθαι στρατηγοῦ τὰ πράγματα καὶ τοὺς περιστώτας καιροὺς.

8 Ὅνυξας δὲ, κατατεθαρρηκὼς τοῖς ὀλοίς ἡδῆ, τὸ μὲν συνεγγίζειν τῇ Ῥώμη κατὰ τὸ παρόν ἀπεδοκίμασε. τὴν δὲ χώραν ἐπιπορεύοντος ἄδειος ἔπορθει, ποιοῦμενος τὴν πορείαν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀδρίαν. διανύσας τε τὴν τε τῶν Ὀμβρων καλομελνὴν χώραν καὶ τὴν τῶν Πυκέντων ἦκε δεκατοῖος πρὸς τοὺς κατὰ τὸν Ἀδρίαν τόποις, πολλῆς μὲν λείας γεγονὼς ἐγκρατῆς, ὡστε μῆτ' ἀγειν μῆτε φέρειν δύνασθαι τὸ στρατόπεδον τὰς ωφελείας, πολὺ δὲ πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων ἀπεκταγκῶς κατὰ τὴν διόδουν. καθάπερ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς τῶν πόλεων καταλήμεσι, καὶ τότε παράγελμα τι δεδομένον ἢν φονεύειν τοὺς ὑποπίπτοντας τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἡλικίαις. ταῦτα δ' ἐποίει διὰ τὸ προ-87 ὑπάρχον αὐτῷ μῶσος ἐμφυτον πρὸς Ῥωμαίους. ἐν ὧ καιρῷ καταστρατοπεδεύσας παρὰ τὸν Ἀδρίαν ἐν χώρα πρὸς πάντα τὰ γεννήματα διαφεροῦσῃ μεγάλῃ ἔποιεῖτο σπουδὴν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀναλήψεως καὶ θεραπείας τῶν ἄνδρῶν, οὗχ ἤττον δὲ καὶ τῶν ἰπ-

2 πων. ὡς ἀν γὰρ ὑπαίθριον τῆς παραχειμασίας γεγενημένης ἐν τοῖς κατὰ Γαλατίαν τόποις ὑπὸ τε τοῦ ψυχοῦ καὶ τῆς ἀνηλευψίας, ἦτι δὲ τῆς μετὰ ταῦτα διὰ τῶν ἐλῶν πορείας καὶ ταλαιπωρίας, ἐπεγεγόνει σχεδὸν ἄπασι τοῖς ἱπποῖς, ὅμως δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ὁ λεγόμενος λιμόψωρος καὶ τοιαύτη καχεξία.

3 διὸ γενόμενος ἐγκρατῆς χώρας εὐδαίμονος ἐσωματοποίησε μὲν τοὺς ἱπποῖς, ἀνεκτήσατο δὲ τὰ τε σώματα καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν στρατιωτῶν. μετακαθώπισε δὲ τοὺς Δίβνας εἰς τὸν Ῥωμαίον τρόπον.
magistrates elected annually they decided to deal with the present situation more radically, thinking that the state of affairs and the impending peril demanded the appointment of a single general with full powers.

Hannibal, now fully assured of success, dismissed the idea of approaching Rome for the present, but began to ravage the country unmolested, advancing towards the Adriatic. Passing through Umbria and Picenum he reached the coast on the tenth day, having possessed himself of so large an amount of booty that his army could not drive or carry it all off and having killed a number of people on his road. For, as at the capture of cities by assault, the order had been given to put to the sword all adults who fell into their hands, Hannibal acting thus owing to his inveterate hatred of the Romans. 87. He now encamped near the Adriatic in a country abounding in all kinds of produce, and paid great attention to recruiting the health of his men as well as of his horses by proper treatment. In consequence of the cold from which they had suffered while wintering in the open in Gaul, combined with their being unable to get the friction with oil to which they were accustomed, and owing also to the hardships of the subsequent march through the marshes, nearly all the horses as well as the men had been attacked by so-called "hunger-mange" and its evil results. So that, now he was in occupation of such a rich country, he built up his horses and restored the physical and mental condition of his men. He also re-armed the Africans in the Roman fashion with select weapons,
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

4 ἐκλεκτοῖς ὄπλοις, ὡς ἂν γεγονὼς κύριος τοσοῦτων σκύλων. ἐξαπέστειλε δὲ κατὰ θάλατταν ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τούτῳ καὶ τοὺς διασαφήσοντας εἰς τὴν Καρχηδόνα περὶ τῶν γεγονότων· τότε γὰρ πρῶτον ἦσατο θαλάττης, ἀφ' οὗ τὴν εἰσβολὴν ἐπονήσατο τὴν εἰς Ἰταλίαν. ἐὰν οἶς ἀκούσαντες μεγαλείως ἐχάρησαν οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι, καὶ πολλὴν ἐποιοῦντο σπουδήν καὶ πρόνοιαν ὑπὲρ τοῦ κατὰ πάντα τρόπον ἐπικουρεῖν καὶ τοῖς ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ τοῖς ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ πράγμασι.

6 Ῥωμαίοι δὲ δικτάτορα μὲν κατέστησαν Κόιντον Φάβιον, ἄνδρα καὶ φρονήσει διαφέροντα καὶ περυκότα καλῶς. ἦτο γοῦν ἐπεκαλούντο καὶ καθ' ἡμᾶς οἱ ταύτης τῆς οἰκίας Μάξιμοι, τούτο δ' ἐστι μέγιστο, διὰ τὰς ἐκείνου τάνδρος ἐπιτυχίας καὶ πράξεις.

7 ὁ δὲ δικτάτωρ ταύτην ἔχει τὴν διαφορὰν τῶν ὑπάτων· τῶν μὲν γὰρ ὑπάτων ἐκατέρω δώδεκα πελέκεις ἀκολουθοῦσι, τούτῳ δ' εἴκοσι καὶ τέτταρες, κακεῖνοι μὲν ἐν πολλοῖς προσδέονται τῆς συγκλήτου πρὸς τὸ συντελεῖν τὰς ἐπιβολὰς, οὕτος δ' ἐστιν αὐτοκράτωρ στράτηγός, οὗ κατασταθέντος παραχρῆμα διαλύεσθαι συμβαίνει πάσας τὰς ἀρχὰς ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ πλὴν τῶν δημάρχων. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων ἐν ἄλλοις ἀκριβεστέραν ποιησόμεθα τὴν διαστολὴν. ἀμα δὲ τῷ δικτάτορι κατέστησαν ἵππορχήν Μάρκου Μινύκιον. οὕτος δὲ τέτακται μὲν ὑπὸ τὸν αὐτοκράτορα, γίνεται δ' οἶον εἰ διάδοχος τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐν τοῖς ἑκείνου περισσαμοίσι·

9 Ἀνώβας δὲ κατὰ βραχὺ μεταθέσας τὴν παρεμβολὴν ἐνδιέτριβε τῇ παρὰ τῶν Ἀδριαν χώρα, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἵππους ἐκλοῦον τοῖς παλαιοῖς οὕνεις διὰ τὸ πλῆθος ἐξεθεράπευσε τὴν καχεξίαν αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν ψῡραν, παραπλησίως δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούς μὲν 214
being, as he now was, in possession of a very large quantity of captured arms. He also sent at this time messengers to Carthage by sea with the news of what had happened, this being the first time he had come in touch with the sea since he invaded Italy. The news was received with great rejoicing by the Carthaginians, who hastened to take steps to support in every possible manner the two campaigns in Italy and in Spain.

The Romans had appointed as Dictator Quintus Fabius, a man of admirable judgement and great natural gifts, so much so that still in my own day the members of this family bear the name of Maximus, "Greatest," owing to the achievements and success of this man. A dictator differs from the Consuls in these respects, that while each of the Consuls is attended by twelve lictors, the Dictator has twenty-four, and that while the Consuls require in many matters the co-operation of the Senate, the Dictator is a general with absolute powers, all the magistrates in Rome, except the Tribunes, ceasing to hold office on his appointment. However, I will deal with this subject in greater detail later. At the same time they appointed Marcus Minucius Master of the Horse. The Master of the Horse is subordinate to the Dictator but becomes as it were his successor when the Dictator is otherwise occupied.

88. Hannibal now shifting his camp from time to time continued to remain in the country near the Adriatic, and by bathing his horses with old wine, of which there was abundance, he thoroughly set right their mangy condition. In like manner he
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

τραυματισάς ἐξυγίασε, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς εὐέκτας παρεσκεύασε καὶ προθύμους εἰς τὰς ἐπιφερομένας χρείας.  
3 διελθὼν δὲ καὶ καταβδέιρας τὴν τε Πραιτεττιανῆν καὶ τὴν Ἀδριανῆν ἐτὶ δὲ τὴν Μαρρουκίνην καὶ Φρεντανῆν χώραν, ἀφίησε ποιούμενος τὴν πορείαν  
4 εἰς τὴν Ἰαπυγίαν. ἦς διηρημένης εἰς τρεῖς ὁνομασίας, καὶ τῶν μὲν προσαγορευμένων Δαυνίων <τῶν  
5 δὲ Πενεκτίων>, τῶν δὲ Μεσσαπίων, εἰς πρώτην  
6 ἐνέβαλε τὴν Δαυνίαν. ἀρξάμενος δὲ ταύτης ἀπὸ Λουκαρίας, οὐς ἄποικίας Ῥωμαίων, ἔπορθει τὴν  
7 ἐν ὕκαιρῷ καὶ Φάβιος μετὰ τὴν κατάστασιν θύσας τοῖς θεοῖς ἐξώρμησε μετὰ τοῦ συνάρχοντος καὶ τῶν  
8 ἐκ τοῦ καιροῦ καταγραφέντων τεττάρων στρατοπέδων. συμμίξας δὲ ταῖς ἀπ᾽ Ἀρμίνου βοηθούσας  
9 δόνοι, βοηθεῖν ἀεὶ τοῖς υποτίτυποισι καιροῖς, αὐτὸς  
89 Ἁννίβας δὲ συνεῖς τὴν παροικίαν τοῦ Φαβίου, καὶ βουλόμενος εἶ ἐφόδου καταπλῆξασθαι τοὺς  
2 εἰς τὴν ἐαυτοῦ παρεμβολῆν. ó γὰρ Φάβιος δι-
completely cured his wounded, and made the rest of his men sound in body and ready to perform cheerfully the services that would be required of them. After passing through and devastating the territories of Praetutia, Hadriana, Marrucina, and Frentana he marched on towards Iapygia. This province is divided among three peoples, the Daunii, Peucetii and Messapii, and it was the territory of the Daunii that Hannibal first invaded. Starting from Luceria, a Roman colony in this district, he laid waste the surrounding country. He next encamped near Vibo and overran the territory of Argyripa and plundered all Daunia unopposed.

At the same time Fabius on his appointment, after sacrificing to the gods, also took the field with his colleague and the four legions which had been raised for the emergency. Joining near Narnia the army from Ariminum, he relieved Gnaeus the Consul of his command on land and sent him with an escort to Rome with orders to take the steps that circumstances called for should the Carthaginians make any naval movements. Himself with his Master of the Horse taking the whole army under his command, he encamped opposite the Carthaginians near Aecae about six miles from the enemy.

89. When he learnt that Fabius had arrived, Hannibal, wishing to strike such a blow as would effectively cow the enemy, led his forces out and drew them up in order of battle at a short distance from the Roman camp, but after waiting some time, as nobody came out to meet him, he retired again to his own camp. For Fabius, having determined not

* Otherwise Arpi.
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

eγνωστὸς μήτε παραβάλλεσθαι μήτε διακινδυνεύειν, στοχάζεσθαι δὲ πρῶτον καὶ μάλιστα τῆς ἀσφαλείας τῶν ὑποταττομένων, ἔμενε βεβαίως ἐπὶ τῆς διαλή-

ψεις ταύτης. τὰς μὲν οὕν ἀρχὰς κατεφρονεῖτο καὶ παρεῖχε λόγον ὡς ἀποδεδειγμᾶς καὶ κατατεθηγ-

μένος τὸν κόπον, τῷ δὲ χρόνῳ πάντας ἡμάγκασε παρομοιογιάσαι καὶ συγχωρεῖν ὡς οὕτε νουνεχέστε-

ρον οὕτε φρονιμώτερον οὐδένα δυνάτον ἣν χρήσθαι

toῖς τότε περιεστώσι καιροῖς, ταχύ δὲ καὶ τὰ πράγ-

ματα προσεμαρτύρησε τοῖς λογισμοῖς αὐτοῦ. καὶ

toῦτ’ εἰκότως ἐγένετο. τὰς μὲν γὰρ τῶν ὑπεναντίων
dυνάμεις συνέβαινε γεγυμνάσθαι μὲν ἐκ τῆς πρώτης

ηλικίας συνεχῶς ἐν τοῖς πολεμικοῖς, ἤγεμόνι δὲ χρή-

σθαι συντεθραμμένων σφίσι καὶ παιδομαθεῖ περὶ τὰς

ἐν τοῖς ὑπαίθροις χρείας, νενικηκέναι δὲ πολλὰς μὲν

ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ μάχας, διὸς δὲ Ἡρωμαῖοι ἔξης καὶ τοὺς

συμμάχους αὐτῶν, τὸ δὲ μέγιστον ἀπεγνωκότας πάν-

tα μίαν ἔχεων ἐλπίδα τῆς σωτηρίας τῆν ἐν τῷ νικᾷν.

7 περὶ δὲ τὴν τῶν Ἡρωμαίων στρατιῶν τάναντια τού-

8 τοῖς υπήρχε. διὸς ὡσ περὶ τῶν ὄλων κόπουν οὐχ ὁίς τ’ ἤν συγκαταβαίνεων, προδήλου

τῆς ἐλάττωσες ὑπαρχοῦσης: εἰς δὲ τὰ σφέτερα προ-

tερήματα τοῖς λογισμοῖς ἀναχωρήσας ἐν τούτοις

9 διέτριβε καὶ διὰ τούτων ἔχειρίζε τὸν πόλεμον. ἦν

dὲ τὰ προτερήματα Ἡρωμαίων ἀκατάρπτα χορήγια

καὶ χειρῶν πλήθος. διὸς περὶ κατὰ τοὺς ἔξης χρό-

νοὺς ἀντιπαρῆγα τοῖς πολεμίοις ἂν καὶ τοὺς εὐκαί-

ρους προκατελάμβανε τόποις κατὰ τὴν ἐμπειρίαν.

2 ἔχων δὲ κατὰ νώτου τὰς χορηγίας ἀφθόνους, οὐδὲ-

218
to expose himself to any risk or to venture on a battle, but to make the safety of the army under his command his first and chief aim, adhered steadily to this purpose. At first, it is true, he was despised for this, and gave people occasion to say that he was playing the coward and was in deadly fear of an engagement, but as time went on, he forced everyone to confess and acknowledge that it was impossible for anyone to deal with the present situation in a more sensible and prudent manner. Very soon indeed facts testified to the wisdom of his conduct, and this was no wonder. For the enemy’s forces had been trained in actual warfare constantly from their earliest youth, they had a general who had been brought up together with them and was accustomed from childhood to operations in the field, they had won many battles in Spain and had twice in succession beaten the Romans and their allies, and what was most important, they had cast to the winds everything else, and their only hope of safety lay in victory. The circumstances of the Roman army were the exact opposite, and therefore Fabius was not able to meet the enemy in a general battle, as it would evidently result in a reverse, but on due consideration he fell back on those means in which the Romans had the advantage, confined himself to these, and regulated his conduct of the war thereby. These advantages of the Romans lay in inexhaustible supplies of provisions and men. 90. He, therefore, during the period which followed continued to move parallel to the enemy, always occupying in advance the positions which his knowledge of the country told him were the most advantageous. Having always a plentiful store of pro-
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

ποτε τοὺς στρατιώτας ἕφιει προνομεύειν οὐδὲ χωρίζεσθαι καθάπαξ ἐκ τοῦ χάρικος, ἀθηροῦς δὲ ἄεὶ καὶ συνεστραμμένους τηρῶν ἐφηδρεύε τοῖς τόποις καὶ 3 καιροῖς. καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν πολεμίων ἀποσπωμένους ἀπὸ τῆς ἴδιας παρεμβολῆς ἔτι τὰς προνομὰς διὰ τὸ καταφρονεῖν ὑποχειρίους ἐλάμβανε καὶ κατέφθειρε

4 τῷ τοιοῦτῳ τρόπῳ. ταῦτα δὲ ἐποίει, βουλόμενος ἀμα μὲν ἄφ’ ὁρισμένου πλῆθους ἐλαττοῦν ἅπε τοὺς ὑπεναντίους, ἀμά δὲ τὰς τῶν ἴδιων δυνάμεων ψυχὰς προσηθημένας τοῖς ὀλοίς διὰ τῶν κατὰ μέρος προτερημάτων κατὰ βραχὺ σωματοποιεῖν καὶ προσαν-

5 λαμβάνειν. εἰς ὀλοσχερῇ δὲ κρίσιν ἐξ ὁμολόγου 6 συγκαταβαίνειν οὐδαμώς οῖος τ’ ἦν. οὐ μὴν Μάρκῳ γε τῷ συνάρχοντι τούτων οὐδὲν ἤρεσκε. σύμπειφον 6 δὲ τοῖς ὁχλοῖς ποιῶν αὐτῶν τὸν μὲν Φάβιον κατελά-

λει πρὸς πάντας, ὅς ἀγεννῶς χρώμενον τοῖς πράγ-

μασι καὶ νωθρῶς, αὐτὸς δὲ πρόθυμος ἦν παραβάλ-

λεσθαι καὶ διακινδυνεύειν.

7 Οἱ δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι καταφθείραντες τοὺς προει-

ρημένους τόποις ὑπερέβαλον τὸν Ἀπεννῖνον, καὶ 8 κατάραντες εἰς τὴν Σαυνίτην χώραν, οὕδαν εὐδα-

μονα καὶ πολλῶν χρώμων ἀπολέμητον, ἐν τοιαύτῃ 9 περιουσίᾳ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἦσαν ὡστε μὴ τε χρωμε-

νοὺς μήτε καταφθείραντας ἀνύειν δύνασθαι τὰς

8 λείας. κατέδραμον δὲ καὶ τὴν Οὐενεονινάν, 9 τελεσάν, ἀτείχιστον οὕδαν καὶ πολλῆς καὶ παντοδα-

9 πῆς ἀποσκευῆς γέμουσαν. οἱ δὲ Ἄρμαιοι κατόπιν 10 μὲν εἴποντο συνεχῶς, μιᾶς καὶ διειν ἦμερῶν ὁδὸν ἀπέχοντες, ἐγγίζειν γε μὴν καὶ συμπλέκεσθαι τοῖς

πολεμίως οὐχ οἶοι τ’ ἦσαν. διότερ Ἀννίβας, ὁρῶν 10 τὸν Φάβιον φυγομαχοῦντα μὲν προδῆλως, τοῖς δὲ

220
visions in his rear he never allowed his soldiers to forage or to straggle from the camp on any pretext, but keeping them continually massed together watched for such opportunities as time and place afforded. In this manner he continued to take or kill numbers of the enemy, who despising him had strayed far from their own camp in foraging. He acted so in order, on the one hand, to keep on reducing the strictly limited numbers of the enemy, and, on the other, with the view of gradually strengthening and restoring by partial successes the spirits of his own troops, broken as they were by the general reverses. He was, however, not at all disposed to respond to the enemy's challenge and meet him in a set battle. But all this much displeased his colleague Marcus, who, echoing the popular verdict, ran down Fabius to all for his craven and slow conduct of the campaign, while he himself was most eager to risk a battle.

The Carthaginians, after ravaging the country I mentioned, crossed the Apennines and descended into the territory of the Samnites, which was very fertile and had not for long been visited by war, so that they had such abundance of provisions that they could not succeed either in using or in destroying all their booty. They also overran the territory of Beneventum, a Roman colony, and took the city of Telesia, which was unwalled and full of all manner of property. The Romans continued to hang on their rear at a distance of one or two days' march, refusing to approach nearer and engage the enemy. Hannibal, consequently, seeing that Fabius, while obviously wishing to avoid a battle, had no inten-
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

ολοις οὐκ ἐκχωροῦντα τῶν ὑπαίθρων, ἀρμησε τολμηρῶς εἰς τὰ περὶ Καπτῆν πεδία, καὶ τούτων εἰς τὸν προσαγορευόμενον Φάλερνον τόπον, πεπεισμένος δειλῶς θάτερον, Ἦ μάχεσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους ἀναγκάσειν ἣ πάνι δῆλον ποιήσειν ὅτι κρατεῖ τῶν ὄλων καὶ παραχωροῦσι Ρωμαίοι τῶν ὑπαίθρων αὐτοῖς. οὐ γενομένου καταπλαγείσας ἡλπίζε τὰς πόλεις ὀρμήσειν πρὸς τὴν ἀπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἀπόστασιν. εἰς γὰρ τότε δυσὶ μάχαις ἥδη λειλεμμένων αὐτῶν οὐδεμιά πόλις ἀπέστη τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν πρὸς Καρχηδονίους, ἀλλὰ διετήρουν τὴν πίστιν, καίπερ ἐνιαί πάσχουσι κακῶς. ἤς ὃν καὶ παρασημῆναι ἄν τις τὴν καταπληξίαν καὶ καταξίωσιν παρὰ τοῖς συμμάχοις τοῦ Ῥωμαιών πολιτεύματος.

91 Οὗ μὴν ἀλλ' ὁ γ' Ἀννίβας εἰκότως ἐπὶ τούτους κατῆντα τοὺς λογισμοὺς. τὰ γὰρ πεδία τὰ κατὰ Καπτῆν ἐπιφανέστατα μὲν ἐστὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν καὶ διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν καὶ διὰ τὸ κάλλος καὶ διὰ τὸ πρὸς αὐτὴν κεῖσθαι τῇ θαλάττῃ καὶ τοῦτος χρῆσθαι τοῖς ἐμπορίοις, εἰς ὁ σχεδὸν ἐκ πάσχης τῆς οἰκουμένης κατατρέχουσιν οἱ πλέοντες εἰς Ἰταλίαν. περιέχουσι δὲ καὶ τὰς ἐπιφανεστάτας καὶ καλλίστας πόλεις τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐν αὐτοῖς. τὴν μὲν γὰρ παραλίαν αὐτῶν Σενουεσανοὶ καὶ Κυμαῖοι καὶ Δικαιαρχίτας νέμονται, πρὸς δὲ τούτους Νεαπολῖται, τε- 

5 λευταίοι δὲ τὸ τῶν Νουκερίνων έθνος. τῆς δὲ μεσογαίου τὰ μὲν πρὸς τὰς ἄρκτους Καληνοί καὶ Τιανίται κατουκοῦσι, τὰ δὲ πρὸς ἔως καὶ μεσημβρίαν 6 Δαύνιοι καὶ Νωλανοί. κατὰ μέσα δὲ τὰ πεδία κείσθαι συμβαίνει τὴν πασῶν ποτε μακαρωτάτην γε-7 γονυῖαν πόλιν Καπτῆν. ἐπιεικέστατος δὲ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς μυθογράφοις ὁ περὶ τούτων τῶν πεδίων λέγε-
tion of withdrawing altogether from the open country, made a bold dash at Falernum in the plain of Capua, counting with certainty on one of two alternatives: either he would compel the enemy to fight or make it plain to everybody that he was winning and that the Romans were abandoning the country to him. Upon this happening he hoped that the towns would be much impressed and hasten to throw off their allegiance to Rome. For up to now, although the Romans had been beaten in two battles, not a single Italian city had revolted to the Carthaginians, but all remained loyal, although some suffered much. From which one may estimate the awe and respect that the allies felt for the Roman state.

91. Hannibal, however, had sufficient reason for reckoning as he did. The plain round Capua is the most celebrated in all Italy, both for its fertility and beauty, and because it is served by those sea-ports at which voyagers to Italy from nearly all parts of the world land. It also contains the most celebrated and finest cities in Italy. On the coast lie Sinuessa, Cyme, and Dicaearchea, and following on these Naples and finally Nuceria. In the interior we find on the north Cales and Teanum and east and south Caudium a and Nola, while in the very middle of the plain lies Capua, once the wealthiest of cities. The mythical tale concerning this plain,

a The text has Daunii.
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

tai logos. prosoagoreuetai de kai tauta Phlegraiia, kathaper kai etera ton epifanoun pedion. theous ge mihn malista peri touton eikos hrikenai dia to kallos kai thn aretian auton. ama de tois proeipromenos ochra dokei kai dusembola telenos einai ta pedia. taa men ypar thalatt, to de pleion dresi megalous panti kai sunechei periexetai, di an eisbolai treis uparxousi monon ek tis mesogaiou, stenan kai dysbatoi, mia men apo tis Sannitudes, <deuterêa 8' apo tis Latyrias,> h de katalliptos apo touta kata toutos 'Irwinous topou. diostep emel- lou eis tauta kastastropedevantas wssper eis theaton oI Karxhodonoi katalpljzsebain men tw paralwv pantas, ektetheiwein de toutos polemious fhyomachountas, autoi 8' ex omologou fawsebain touton upaidrown krateontes.

224
and other celebrated plains which like it are called Phlegraean, has indeed much semblance of probability; for it was quite natural that they should have been a special cause of strife among the gods owing to their beauty and fertility. Besides the above advantages the whole plain of Capua is strongly protected by nature and difficult of approach, being completely surrounded on one side by the sea and for the greater part by lofty mountain-ranges, through which there are only three passes from the interior, all of them narrow and difficult, one from Samnium, the second from Latium, and the third from the country of the Hirpini. The Carthaginians, then, by quartering themselves in this plain made of it a kind of theatre, in which they were sure to create a deep impression on all by their unexpected appearance, giving a spectacular exhibition of the timidity of their enemy and themselves demonstrating indisputably that they were in command of the country.

92. Such being Hannibal's anticipations, he left Samnium and traversing the pass near the hill called Eribianus encamped beside the river Athyrnus, which approximately cuts this plain in half. Establishing his camp on the side of the river towards Rome he overran and plundered the whole plain unmolested. Fabius, though taken aback by the audacity of this stroke on the part of the enemy, continued all the more to adhere to his deliberate plan. But his colleague Marcus and all the tribunes and centurions in his army, thinking they had caught Hannibal famously, urged him to make all haste to reach the plain and not allow the finest part of

* Otherwise Volturnus.
5 ἔπιφανεστάτην χώραν δημομένην. Φάβιος δὲ μέχρι μὲν τοῦ συνάψαι τοῖς τόποις ἐσπευδε καὶ συνυπεκρίνετο τοῖς προθύμοις καὶ φιλοκινδύνως διακερεβολὸς, ἐγγύσας δὲ τῷ Φαλέρνῳ ταῖς μὲν παρωρείαισ ἐπιφανομενοῖς ἀντιπαρῆγε τοῖς πολεμίοις, ὥστε μὴ δοκεῖν τοῖς αὐτῶν συμμάχοις ἐκχωρεῖν τῶν ὑπαίθριων, εὐλαβομενοῖς τοὺς ὀλοσχερεῖς κυνύνους διὰ τὰς προειρημένας αἰτίας καὶ διὰ τὸ προφανῶς ἐπικορατείν παρὰ πολὺ τοὺς ὑπεναντίους.
8 Ἀνυῖβας δὲ ἐπειδή καταπειράσας τῶν πολεμιῶν καὶ καταφθείρας πάν τὸ πεδίον ἡθρούσε λείας ἀπλετον πλῆθος, ἐγινετο πρὸς ἀναλυγή, βουλομενοὶ μὴ καταφθείρὰς τὴν λείαν, ἀλλ' εἰς τοιοῦτον ἀπερείσασθος τόπον, ἐν ὧν δυνήσηται ποιῆσασθαι καὶ τὴν παραχειμασίαν, ἵνα μὴ μοῦνον κατὰ τὸ παρὸν ἐνωχιᾶν, ἀλλὰ συνεχῶς δαιμίλειαν ἔχῃ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων τὸ στρατόπεδον. Φάβιος δὲ καὶ κατανοῶν αὐτῶ τὴν ἐπιβολὴν, ὅτι προχειρίζεται ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἐπάνοδον ἥπερ ἐποιήσατο καὶ τὴν εἰσοδον, καὶ θεωρῶν τοὺς τόπους στενοὺς ὀντας καὶ καθ' ὑπερβολὴν λὴν εὑφυείς πρὸς ἐπίθεσιν, ἐπὶ αὐτῆς μὲν τῆς διεκβολῆς περὶ τετρακυκλίους ἐπέστησε, παρακαλέσας χρήσασθαι τῇ προθυμίᾳ σὺν καιρῶ μετα τῆς τῶν τόπων εὐφυίας, αὐτὸς δὲ τὸ πολὺ μέρος ἔχων τῆς δυναμεως, ἐπὶ τινα λόφον ὑπερδέθην πρὸ τῶν στενῶν κατεστρατοπέδευσε. παραγενομένων δὲ τῶν Ἄρκηδων, καὶ ποιησαμένων τὴν παρεμβολήν ἐν τοῖς ἐπιπέδοις ὕπ' αὐτὴν τὴν παρώρειαν, τὴν μὲν λείαν αὐτῶν ἠλπίσεν ἀδηρίτως περισσεῖν, ὡς δὲ τὸ πολὺ καὶ τοῖς ὀλίσθεν πέρας ἐπιθήσεσθαι διὰ τὴν τῶν 2 τόπων εὐκαιρίαν. καὶ δὴ περὶ ταῦτα καὶ πρὸς τούτων.
the country to be devastated. Fabius did bestir himself to reach the district, sharing in so far the view of the more eager and venturesome spirits, but when he came in view of the enemy on approaching Falernum, while moving along the hills parallel to them so as not to appear to the allies to be abandoning the open country, he did not bring his army down into the plain, avoiding a general action both for the above-mentioned reasons and because the Carthaginians were obviously much his superiors in cavalry.

Hannibal, having thus done his best to provoke the Romans by laying the whole plain waste, found himself in possession of a huge amount of booty and decided to withdraw, as he wished not to waste the booty, but to secure it in a place suitable for his winter quarters, so that his army should not only fare sumptuously for the present, but continue to have abundance of provisions. Fabius, divining that his plan was to retire by the same pass by which he had entered, and seeing that owing to its narrowness the place was exceedingly favourable for delivering an attack, stationed about four thousand men at the actual pass, bidding them act at the proper time with all spirit, while availing themselves fully of the advantage of the ground. He himself with the greater part of his army encamped on a hill in front of the pass and overlooking it. 93. When the Carthaginians arrived and made their camp on the level ground just under the hill, Fabius thought that at least he would be able to carry away their booty without their disputing it and possibly even to put an end to the whole campaign owing to the great advantage his position gave him. He was in fact
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

tois ἐγίνετο τοῖς διαβουλίοις, διανοούμενος πῇ καὶ
πῶς χρῆσται τοῖς τόποις καὶ τίνες καὶ πόθεν πρῶ-
3 τον ἐγχειρήσουσι τοῖς ὑπεναντίοις. Ἅνωθεν δὲ,
tαῦτα πρὸς τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἥμεραν παρασκευαζόμε-
νων τῶν πολεμίων, συλλογιζόμενος ἐκ τῶν εἰκό-
tων, οὐκ ἔδωκε χρόνον οὐδ᾿ ἀναστροφὴν ταῖς ἑπι-
4 βολαῖς αὐτῶν, ἀνακαλεσάμενος δὲ τὸν ἐπὶ τῶν λει-
tουργῶν τεταγμένον Ἀσδρούβαν παρῆγγειλε λαμ-
pάδας δεσμεύσων εἰς τῆς ξηρᾶς καὶ παντοδαπῆς ἀλης
cατὰ τάχος ὡς πλείστας, καὶ τῶν ἐργατῶν βοῶν
ἐκλέγατ’ ἐκ πάσης τῆς λείας τοὺς εὐρωστοτάτους
5 εἰς διασχίλιοι άθροίσαι πρὸ τῆς παρεμβολῆς. γενο-
μένον δὲ τοῦτον, συναγαγὼν ὑπέδειξε τοῖς λειτου-
gγοῖς ὑπερβολήν τινα μεταξὺ κειμένην τῆς αὐτοῦ
στρατοπεδείας καὶ τῶν στενῶν, δι᾿ ὃν ἐμέλλε ποι-
eῖσαι τὴν πορείαν, πρὸς ἤν ἐκέλευσε προσελαύνειν
τοὺς βοῶν ἑνεργῶς καὶ μετὰ βίας, ὅταν δοθῇ τὸ
6 παράγγελμα, μέχρι συνάψωσι τοῖς ἄκροις. μετὰ δὲ
τούτο δειπνοποιησάμενοι ἀναπαύσθαι καθ᾿ ὄραν
7 παρήγγειλε πάσιν. ἀμα δὲ τῷ κλίναι τὸ τρίτον μέ-
ρος τῆς νυκτὸς εὐθέως ἐξῆγε τοὺς λειτουργοὺς, καὶ
προσδείχα ἐκέλευσε πρὸς τὰ κέρατα τοῖς βουσὶ τὰς
8 λαμπάδας. ταχὺ δὲ τούτο γενομένου διὰ τὸ πλῆ-
θος, ἀνάψει παρῆγγειλε πάσας, καὶ τοὺς μὲν βοῦς
ἐλαύνειν καὶ προσβάλλειν πρὸς τὰς ἀκρωρείας ἐπ-
9 ἐταξε, τοὺς δὲ λογχοφόρους κατόπιν ἐπιστήσας τοῦ-
toῖς ἐως μὲν τινος συνεργεῖν παρεκκελεύτο τοῖς
ἐλαύνουσιν, ὅταν δὲ τὴν πρώτην ἀπὰξ ὀρμήν λάβῃ
tὰ ξώα, παρατρέχοντας παρὰ τὰ πλάγια καὶ συγ-
kρούοντας ἀμα τῶν ὑπερδεξίων ἀντέχεσθαι τοῖς
καὶ προκαταλαμβάνειν τὰς ἀκρωρείας, ἵνα παρα-
βοηθῶσι καὶ συμπλέκωσι τοῖς πολεμίοις, εάν που
228
entirely occupied in considering at what point and how he should avail himself of local conditions, and with what troops he should attack, and from which direction. But while the enemy were making these preparations for next day, Hannibal, conjecturing that they would act so, gave them no time or leisure to develop their plan, but summoning Hasdrubal, who was in command of the Army Service, ordered him to get as many faggots as possible of any kind of dry wood made promptly and to collect in the front of the camp about two thousand of the strongest plough oxen among all the captured stock. When this had been done, he collected the army servants and pointed out to them a rise in the ground between his own camp and the pass through which he was about to march. For this eminence he ordered them to drive the oxen whenever they received the word as furiously as they could till they reached the top. He next ordered all his men to get their supper and retire to rest early. When the third watch of the night was nearly over he led out the army servants and ordered them to bind the fagots to the horns of the oxen. This was soon done as there were plenty of hands, and he now bade them light all the fagots and drive the oxen up to the ridge. Placing his pikemen behind these men, he ordered them to help the drivers up to a certain point, but as soon as the animals were well started on their career, to run along on each side of them and keep them together, making for the higher ground. They were then to occupy the ridge, so that if the enemy advanced to any part of it, they
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

10 synantwosi pros tas uperbolas. kata de ton kai-
ropn tou touton autos analabon prota men ta balea
twn opovn, epi de to toutos tous ippveis, eixhs de
tn leian, epi de pasi tous 'Ibheras kai Kentous,
94 hke pros tasa stena kai tas diekbolas. twyn de Rav-
mawon oi men epi tois stenous filattontes, ama
tw synidein tw phota prosofallonta pros tas uper-
bolas, nomistantes tau ty poieisai tin orhyn ton
'Anviban, apolutontes tas dyschrias parboi-
thon tois akrois. eugyvontes de tois bouxh ypro-
rounyte dia ta phota, meizvon ti tou symbainontos
kai deuvteron anaplastontes kai prosodokontes.
3 epithevomevnon de twv logoxoforwn, ou tois men bera-
cheya pros allhous akroboliasmenon, twv bow
autois emipittonton, emevan diastantes epi twv
akroin amfoterou, kai prosanexh karaadokontes
thn epifaneian ths hymeras, dia to me dynastingai
4 gnwvai to gnomevnon. Fabios de tae men apor-
rumevnon epi tw symbainontai kai kata ton pou-
岍 thn oisismenon dollon elvai, ta de kata thn ex
arxhs upoleuvas ovdamevos krinov enkubenev oude
paraballasthai tois olois, hge thn hovichian epi tw
5 charaki kai prosedeketo thn hymeron. kata de ton
kairon tou ton 'Anviban, prooxhronwton autw thn
pragnatwv kata thn epibollh, thn te dynamin
diekimose dia twv stenov met' asfaleias kai th
leian, leitupotwv touc topouv twv parafylattwv-
twn tas dyschrias. ama de tw phwti synidwv touc
en tois akrois antukadimewn tois logoxoforoi,
epapesteile tinas thon 'Ibheron'. oj kai syyvizevtes
katebhalon men twv 'Rwmmaw from xilwos, rabwos de
touc paro sofwn euzeugvous ekdezamenai katabiasan.
230
might meet and attack him. At the same time he himself with his heavy-armed troops in front, next them his cavalry, next the captured cattle, and finally the Spaniards and Celts, made for the narrow gorge of the pass. 94. The Romans who were guarding the gorge, as soon as they saw the lights advancing up the slope, thinking that Hannibal was pressing on rapidly in that direction, left the narrow part of the pass and advanced to the hill to meet the enemy. But when they got near the oxen they were entirely puzzled by the lights, fancying that they were about to encounter something much more formidable than the reality. When the pike-men came up, both forces skirmished with each other for a short time, and then when the oxen rushed in among them they drew apart and remained on the heights waiting until day should break, not being able to understand what was the matter. Fabius, partly because he was at a loss to know what was occurring, and as Homer says, deeming it to be a trick, and partly because he adhered to his former resolve not to risk or hazard a general engagement, remained quiet in his camp waiting for daylight. Meanwhile Hannibal, whose plan had been entirely successful, brought his army and all his booty safely through the gorge, those who had been guarding the difficult passage having quitted their post. When at daybreak he saw the Romans on the hill drawn up opposite his pikemen, he sent there some Spaniards as a reinforcement. Attacking the Romans they killed about a thousand and easily relieved and brought down their own light infantry.

* Odyssey, x. 232.
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

7 Ἄννυβας μὲν οὖν τοιαύτην ἐκ τοῦ Φαλέρνου ποιησάμενος τὴν ἐξοδον, λοιπὸν ἦδη στρατοπεδεύων ἀσφαλῶς κατεσκέπτετο καὶ προνοεῖτο περὶ τῆς χειμασίας τοῦ καὶ πῶς ποιήσεται, μέγαν φόβον καὶ πολλὴν ἀπορίαν παρεστακὼς ταῖς πόλεσι καὶ τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἀνδρώποις. Φάβιος δὲ κακῶς μὲν ἢκουε παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς, ὡς ἀνάνδρως ἐκ τοιούτων τόπων προεμενός τοὺς ὑπεναντίους, οὐ μὴν ἀφίστατο γε τῆς προθέσεως. καταναγκασθεὶς δὲ μετ᾽ ὁλίγας ἡμέρας ἐπὶ τιναῖς ἀπελθεῖν θυσίας εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην, παρεδωκε τῷ συνάρχοντι τὰ στρατόπεδα, καὶ πολλὰ χωριζόμενος ἐνετείλατο μὴ τοσαῦταν ποιεῖσθαι σπουδὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ βλάψαι τοὺς πολεμίους ἥλικην ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηδὲν αὐτοῦ παθεῖν δεινὸν. ὧν οὐδὲ μικρὸν ἐν νῦν τιθέμενος Μάρκος ἔτι λέγοντος αὐτοῦ ταῦτα πρὸς τῷ παραβάλλεσθαι καὶ τῷ διακυνδυνεύειν ὅλος καὶ πᾶς ἦν.

95 Ἡ ἄλλη τοῦ μὲν οὖν κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν τοιαύτην εἴχε τὴν διάθεσιν. κατὰ δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς καιροὺς ταῖς προειρημέναις πράξεσιν Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ τεταγμένοι ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰβηρίας στρατηγός, κατηρτικῶς ἐν τῇ παραχειμασίᾳ τὰς ὑπὸ τάδελφου καταλειφθέσις τριάκοντα ναῦς, καὶ δέκα προσπεπληρωμένως ἄλλας, ἀρχομένης τῆς θερείας ἀνήχθη τετταράκοντα ναυσὶ καταφράκτοις ἐκ Καυνῆς πόλεως, προχειρισάμενος Ἀμιλκαν

8 τοῦ στόλου ναυαρχον. ἀμα δὲ καὶ τὴν πεζήν ἐκ τῆς παραχειμασίας ἡθουκῶς δύναμιν ἀνέζευξε· καὶ ταῖς μὲν ναυσὶ παρὰ τὴν χέρσον ἐποιεῖτο τὸν πλοῦν, τοῖς δὲ πεζοῖς τὴν πορείαν παρὰ τὸν αἰγαλών, σπεύδων ἀμφοτέραις ἀμα ταῖς δυνάμεσι καταζευγαὶ πρὸς τὸν Ἰβηρα ποταμὸν. Γνῶϊς δὲ τὰς ἐπιβολὰς συλλογιζόμενος τῶν Καρχηδονίων, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον 232
BOOK III. 94. 7 - 95. 4

Hannibal, having thus effected his retirement from Falernum, remained now safely in camp and began to take thought where and how he should establish his winter quarters. He had spread great terror and perplexity through all the cities and peoples of Italy. Fabius, though generally reproached for his craven conduct in letting the enemy escape from such a situation, still did not abandon his policy. But a few days afterwards he was compelled to leave for Rome to perform certain sacrifices and handed over his legions to his Master of the Horse, enjoining on him strictly, in taking leave, not to attach so much importance to damaging the enemy as to avoiding disaster for himself. Marcus, instead of paying any attention to this advice, was, even while Fabius was tendering it, entirely wrapped up in the project of risking a great battle.

95. Such was the position of affairs in Italy. Contemporaneously with these events Hasdrubal, the Carthaginian commander in Spain, after fitting out during the winter the thirty ships his brother had left him, and manning ten others, put out at the beginning of summer from New Carthage with his fleet of forty decked ships, appointing Hamilcar his admiral. At the same time he collected his troops from their winter quarters and took the field. His fleet sailed close to the shore and his army marched along the beach, his object being to halt with both forces near the Ebro. Gnaeus, conjecturing that this was the plan of the Carthaginians, first of all
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

ἐπεβάλετο κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν ἐκ τῆς 5 παραχεμασίας πουείσθαι τὴν ἀπάντησιν. ἀκούων δὲ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν δυνάμεων καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς παρασκευῆς, τὸ μὲν κατὰ γῆν ἀπαντῶν ἀπεδοκιμασε, συμπληρώσας δὲ πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα ναύς, καὶ λαβὼν ἐκ τοῦ πεζικοῦ στρατεύματος τοὺς ἐπιτη- δεισιτάτους ἄνδρας πρὸς τὴν ἑπιβατικὴν χρείαν ἀν- ἥχθη, καὶ κατῆρε δευτεραίος ἐκ Ταρράκωνος εἰς τοὺς 6 περὶ τὸν Ἰβηρα ποταμὸν τόπους. καθορμηθείς δὲ τῶν πολεμίων ἐν ἀποστήματι περὶ τοὺς ὁγδοὶ κοντὰ σταδίους, προσπέστειλε κατασκεφομένας δύο ναύς ταχυπλούσας Μασσαλιτικάς καὶ γὰρ προκαθ- ηγοῦντο καὶ προεκινδύνευον οὕτω καὶ πᾶσαν ἀπο- 7 τόμως σφὶσι παρείχοντο τὴν χρείαν. εὐγενῶς γὰρ, εἰ καὶ τίνες ἔτεροι, κεκουωνήκασι 'Ρωμαίοις πραγ- μάτων καὶ Μασσαλιώται, πολλάκις μὲν καὶ μετὰ ταύτα, μάλιστα δὲ κατὰ τὸν Ἀννιβακὸν πόλεμον. 8 διασαφούντων δὲ τῶν ἐπὶ τὴν κατασκοπὴν ἐκπεμ- φθέντων ὅτι περὶ τὸ στόμα τοῦ ποταμοῦ συμβαί- νει τῶν τῶν ὑπεναντίων ὁμοιῶν στόλων, ἀνήγετο κατὰ σπουδῆν, θουλόμενος ἄφνω προσπέσειν τοῖς 96 πολεμίοις. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἀσδρούβαν, σημηνά- των αὐτοῖς τῶν σκοπῶν ἐκ πολλοῦ τῶν ἑπτάπλοιον τῶν ὑπεναντίων, ἀμα τὰς πεζικάς ἔξεταττον δυνάμεις παρὰ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν, καὶ τοῖς πληρώμασι παρ- 2 ἤγγελλον ἐμβαίνειν εἰς τὰς ναῦς. ἦδη δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἐρωμαίων σύνεγγυς ὄντων, σημηνάντες πολεμικὸν ἀνήγοντο, κρίναντες ναυμαχεῖν. συμβαλόντες δὲ τοῖς πολεμίοις βραχὺν μὲν τινα χρόνον ἀντεπούργοντο τῆς νίκης, μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ πρὸς τὸ κλίνειν 3 ὀρμησαν. ἦ γὰρ ἐφεδρεία τῶν πεζῶν ἡ περὶ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν οὐχ οὕτως αὐτοὺς ὠνισε βάρσος παριστά- 234
designed to quit his winter quarters and meet them both by land and sea, but on learning the strength of their forces and the extensive scale of their preparations he renounced the project of meeting them by land, and manning thirty-five ships and embarking on them as marines the men from his army most suited for this service, appeared off the Ebro two days after sailing from Tarraco. Anchoring at a distance of about eighty stades from the enemy he sent on two swift Massaliot ships to reconnoitre, for these used to head the line both in sailing and in battle, and there was absolutely no service they were not ready to render. Indeed if any people have given generous support to the Romans it is the people of Marseilles both on many subsequent occasions and especially in the Hannibalic War. When the scouts reported that the enemy’s fleet was anchored off the mouth of the river, he weighed anchor and advanced rapidly, wishing to fall upon them suddenly. 96. Hasdrubal, to whom his look-out men had given early notice of the approach of the enemy, drew up his land forces on the beach and ordered his crews to embark. The Romans being now close at hand, he gave the signal for battle, having decided on a naval action. The Carthaginians on meeting the enemy contested the victory only for a short time and then began to give way. For the covering military force on the beach did not benefit them so much by the confidence it inspired as it
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

νουσα πρὸς τὸν κίνδυνον ὡς ἐξελαθεὶς τὴν ἐλπίδα
4 τῆς σωτηρίας ἐτοίμην πάρασκευάζουσα. πλὴν δύο
μὲν αὐτάνδρους νηὰς ἀποβαλόντες, τετάρτων δὲ
tοὺς παρασώ τοὺς ἐπιβάτας, ἐφευγον ἐκκλι-
5 ναντες εἰς γῆν. ἐπικειμένων δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων αὐ-
tοῖς ἐκθύμως, τὰς μὲν ναῦς ἐξέβαλον εἰς τὸν ἀι-
γιαλόν, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἀποπηθήσαντες ἐκ τῶν πλοίων
6 ἐσόζοντο πρὸς τοὺς παρατεταγμένους. οἱ δὲ Ῥω-
μαῖοι τολμηρῶς συνεχόσαντες τῇ γῆ, καὶ τὰ δυνά-
μενα κινεῖσθαι τῶν πλοίων ἀναδημάμενοι, μετὰ χα-
ράς ὑπερβαλλοῦσης ἀπέπλεον, νευκηκότες μὲν εὲ
ἔφοδον τοὺς ὑπεναίτους, κρατοῦντες δὲ τῆς θα-
λάτης, εἰκοσὶ δὲ καὶ πέντε ναῦς ἔχοντες τῶν
πολεμίων.

7 Τὰ μὲν οὖν κατὰ τὴν Ἰθηρίαν ἀπὸ τούτων
ἐπικυνδεστέρας εἰλήφει τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις τὰς ἐλπίδας
8 διὰ τὸ προειρημένον κατόρθωμα. οἱ δὲ Καρχηδό-
νοι, προσπεσόντος αὐτοῖς τοῦ γεγονότος ἐλαττώμα-
tος, παραχρήμα πληρώσαντες ἐξεμφήκοντα νῆὰς
ἐξαπέστειλαν, κρίναντες ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι πρὸς πᾶσας
9 τὰς ἐπιβολὰς ἀντέχεσθαι τῆς θαλάττης. αἱ τὸ μὲν
πρῶτον εἰς Σαριδὸν, ἐκείθεν δὲ πρὸς τοὺς περὶ
Πίσας τόπους τῆς Ἰταλίας προσέβαλον, πεπεισμέ-
νων τῶν ἐπιπλεόντων συμμένων ἐνθάδε τοῖς περὶ
10 τὸν Ἀνιβαν. ταχὺ δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀναχθέντων
ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς Ῥώμης ἔκατον εἰκοσὶ σκά-
φεις πεντηρικοῖς, πυθόμενοι τὸν ἀνάπλουν, ὦν ὦν
μὲν αὐθίς ἀπέπλευσαν εἰς τὴν Σαρδόνα, μετὰ δὲ
11 ταῦτα πάλιν εἰς Καρχηδόνα. Τυάιος δὲ Σεροῦλιος,
ἐχὼν τὸν προειρημένον στόλον, ἔως μὲν τίνος ἐπ-
ηκολούθει τοῖς Καρχηδόνοις, συνάψειν πεπεισμένος,
12 πολὺ δὲ καθυστερῶν ἀπέγνω. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον
236
BOOK III. 96. 3–12

damaged them by ensuring an easy and safe retreat. After losing two ships with all their crews and the oars and marines of four others, they fell back on the shore. On the Romans pursuing them vigorously they ran their ships aground and leaping out of them took refuge with the troops. The Romans very boldly approached the shore, and taking in tow such ships as were in a condition to float, sailed off in high spirits, having beaten the enemy at the first onslaught, established their supremacy at sea and possessed themselves of five and twenty of the enemy’s ships.

Owing to this success the prospects of the Romans in Spain began thenceforth to look brighter. But the Carthaginians, on the news of their defeat, at once manned and dispatched seventy ships, regarding the command of the sea as necessary for all their projects. These ships touched first at Sardinia and then at Pisa in Italy, the commander believing they would meet Hannibal there, but on learning that the Romans had at once put to sea from Rome itself with a hundred and twenty quinqueremes to attack them, they sailed back again to Sardinia and thence to Carthage. Gnaeus Servilius, the commander of this Roman fleet, followed up the Carthaginians for a certain distance, believing he would overtake them, but on being left a long way behind, he gave up the chase. He first of all put in at
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

τῆς Σικελίας Διλυβαίως προσέχει, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα καταπλέυσας τῆς Διβύης ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν Κερκυνητῶν νῆσον, καὶ λαβὼν παρ' αὐτῶν χρήματα τοῦ μῆ πορθήσαι τὴν χώραν, ἀπηλλάγῃ. κατὰ δὲ τὸν ἀναπλουν γενόμενος κύριος νῆσον Κοσσύρου, καὶ φρούραν εἰς τὸ πολισμάτιον εἰσαγαγών, αὕθεις εἰς τὸ Διλυβαίων κατίμηρε. καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν οὕτως μὲν αὐτοῦ συνορμίσας τὸν στόλον μετ' οὐ πολὺν χρόνον αὐτὸς ἀνεκομίσθη πρὸς τὰς πεζικὰς δυνάμεις.

97 Οἳ δ' ἐκ τῆς συγκλήτου, πυθόμενοι τὸ γεγονὸς προτέρημα διὰ τοῦ Γναίου περὶ τὴν ναυμαχίαν, καὶ νομίζοντες χρήσιμον εἶναι, μᾶλλον δ' ἀναγκαῖον, τὸ μὴ προσέθηκα τὰ κατὰ τὴν 'Ἰβηρίαν, ἀλλ' ἐνίστασθαι τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις καὶ τὸν πόλεμον αὐξεῖν, 2 προχειρισμένοι ναῦς εἰκοσὶ καὶ στρατηγῶν ἐπιστήσαντες Πόπλιον Σκιπίωνα κατὰ τὴν ἔξι ἀρχῆς πρόθεσιν, ἐξαπέστελλον μετὰ σπουδῆς πρὸς τὸν ἄδελφον Γναίον, κουῤή πράξουτα μετ' ἐκείνου τὰ 3 κατὰ τὴν 'Ἰβηρίαν. πάνυ γὰρ ἡγομένων μὴ κρατήσαντες Καρχηδόνιοι τῶν τόπων ἐκείνων, καὶ περιποιησάμενοι χορηγίας ἀφθόνους καὶ χείρας, ἀντιποιήσωμεν μὲν τῆς θαλάττης ὀλοσχερέστερον, συνεπίθεοντα δὲ τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν, στρατόπεδα πέμποντες καὶ χρήματα τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἀννίβαν.

4 διόπερ ἐν μεγάλῳ τιθέμενοι καὶ τοῦτον τὸν πόλεμον, ἐξαπέστειλαν τάς τε ναῦς καὶ τὸν Πόπλιον. διὸ καὶ παραγενόμενοι εἰς 'Ἰβηρίαν καὶ συμμίξοις τα- 5 δελφῶ μεγάλην παρεῖχε χρείαν τοῖς κουνοίς πράγμασιν. οὐδέποτε γὰρ πρῶτον θαρρήσαντες δια- βήναι τὸν ''Ἰβηρα ποταμόν, ἀλλ' ἀσμενίζοντες τῇ τῶν ἔπι τάδε φιλία καὶ συμμαχία, τότε διέβησαν καὶ τότε πρῶτον ἐθάρρησαν ἀντιποιεῖσθαι τῶν πε-
Lilybaeum in Sicily and afterwards sailed to the African island of Cercina, which he quitted after receiving from the inhabitants a sum of money on condition of his not laying the country waste. On his return voyage he possessed himself of the island of Cossyrus, and leaving a garrison in the small town returned to Lilybaeum. After laying up his fleet in harbour there, he very shortly went off to join the land forces.

97. The Senate on hearing of Gnaeus Scipio’s success in the naval battle, thinking it advantageous or rather imperative not to neglect the affairs of Spain but to keep up the pressure on the Carthaginians and increase their forces, got ready twenty ships, and placing them, as they had originally decided, under the command of Publius Scipio, dispatched him at once to join his brother Gnaeus and operate in Spain together with him. For they were very apprehensive lest the Carthaginians should master that country, and, collecting abundance of supplies and soldiers, make a more serious effort to regain the command of the sea and thus support the invasion of Italy by sending troops and money to Hannibal. Treating this war, then, also as of great moment they dispatched Publius with his fleet, and on reaching Iberia and joining his brother he rendered great service in their joint operations. For the Romans, who had never before dared to cross the Ebro, but had been content with the friendship and alliance of the peoples on its north bank, now crossed it, and for the first time ventured to aim at acquiring dominion on the other side,
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

...
chance also greatly contributing to advance their prospects in the following manner.

When after overawing the Iberian tribes dwelling near the crossing of the Ebro they reached Saguntum, they encamped at a distance of about five miles from the town near the temple of Venus, choosing a place well situated both as regards security from the enemy and facility for obtaining supplies from the sea, since their fleet was coasting down together with them. 98. Here a remarkable development of events occurred. When Hannibal was starting on his march for Italy he took as hostages from those cities in Iberia on which he did not rely the sons of their principal men, and all these he placed in Saguntum owing to the strength of the place and the loyalty of the officers he left in charge of it. Now there was a certain Iberian named Abilyx, second to none in Iberia in rank and wealth and with the reputation of being more devoted and loyal to the Carthaginians than anyone else. Reviewing the situation and thinking that the prospects of the Romans were now the brightest, he reasoned with himself in a manner thoroughly Spanish and barbarian on the question of betraying the hostages. For, being convinced that if he both rendered the Romans a timely service and gave them proof of his good faith, he would become very influential with them, he formed the scheme of playing the traitor to the Carthaginians and handing over the hostages to the Romans. The Carthaginian general, Bostar, whom Hasdrubal had sent to oppose the Romans if they tried to cross the Ebro, but who
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

θαρρήσας δὲ τούτο ποιεῖν, ἀνακεχωρηκὼς ἐστρατο-
πέδευε τῆς Ζακάνθης ἐν τοῖς πρὸς θάλατταν μέρεις,
τούτων μὲν ἀκακοῦ ὑπα τὸν ἀνδρα καὶ πράων τῇ
6 φύσει, πιστῶς δὲ τὰ πρὸς αὐτὸν διακείμενον, ποι-
eῖται λόγους ὑπὲρ τῶν ὀμήρων πρὸς τὸν Βώστορα,
φάσκων, ἐπειδὴ διαβεβήκασι Ῥωμαίοι τὸν ποταμόν,
οὐκέτι δύνασθαι Καρχηδονίους φόβω συνέχεια τὰ
catat tην '1βηρίαν, προσδείηθαι δὲ τοὺς καιροὺς τῆς
7 τῶν ὑποταττομένων εὐνοίαις· ἕνν οὖν ἦγγυκότων
Ῥωμαίων, καὶ προσκαθεξομένων τῆς Ζακάνθης, καὶ
κυνδυνεύοντος τῆς πόλεως, ἕαν ἐξαγαγῶν τοὺς ὀμή-
ρους ἀποκαταστήσῃ τοῖς γονεύσε καὶ ταῖς πόλεσιν,
ἐκλύσειν μὲν αὐτόν τῶν Ῥωμαίων τὴν φιλοτημίαν,
touto γὰρ αὐτὸ καὶ μάλιστα σπουδάζειν ἐκεῖνος
8 πράξαι, κυριεύοντας τῶν ὀμήρων· ἐκκαλέσθεθαι
dὲ τὴν τῶν Ἰβήρων πάντων πρὸς Καρχηδονίους εὐ-
νοιαν, προδόμοιν τὸ μέλλον καὶ προνοθέντα τῆς
tῶν ὀμήρων ἀσφαλείας. τὴν δὲ χάρων αὐξήσεως ἔφη
πολλαπλασίαν, αὐτὸς γενόμενος χειριστής τοῦ πράγ-
ματος. ἀποκαθιστάνων γὰρ εἰς τὰς πόλεις τοὺς
παιδᾶς οὐ μόνον τὴν παρ’ αὐτῶν εὐνοιαν ἐπιστά-
σθεθαι τῶν γενεσσῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ τῶν πολ-
λῶν, ὑπὸ τὴν ὀφει τιθεὶς διὰ τοῦ συμβαίνοντος τῆς
Καρχηδονίων πρὸς τοὺς συμμάχους αἴρεσιν καὶ με-
9 γαλοψυχίαν. προσδοκαῖν δ’ αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσε καὶ δῶ-
ρων πλῆθος ἵδια παρὰ τῶν τὰ τέκνα κομιζομένων·
παραδόξως γὰρ ἐκάστους ἐγκρατεῖς γινομένους τῶν
ἀναγκαιοτάτων ἠμιλλαν ποιῆσθαι τῆς εἰς τὸν κύ-
ριον τῶν πραγμάτων εὐεργεσίας. παραπλήσια δὲ
tούτω έτερα καὶ πλεῖω πρὸς τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον

242
had not ventured to do so, had now retreated and encamped between Saguntum and the sea. Abilyx, perceiving that he was of a guileless and mild disposition and placed full confidence in himself, approached him on the subject of the hostages, saying that now the Romans had once crossed the river it was no longer possible for the Carthaginians to control the Iberians by fear, but that present circumstances required the goodwill of all the subject peoples. So now, when the Romans had approached and were encamped close to Saguntum and the city was in danger, if he brought the hostages out and restored them to their parents and cities, he would in the first place frustrate the ambitious project of the Romans, who were bent on taking just the same step if they got the hostages into their hands, and further he would elicit the gratitude of all the Iberians to the Carthaginians by thus foreseeing the future and taking thought for the safety of the hostages. This act of grace, he said, would be very much enhanced, if Bostar would let him take the matter in hand personally. For in restoring the children to the cities not only would he gain him the goodwill of their parents but that of the mass of the people, by thus bringing actually before their eyes this evidence of the magnanimous conduct of Carthage toward her allies. He told Bostar also that he could count on numerous presents to himself from those to whom their children were returned; for each and all, on thus unexpectedly receiving back their dearest, would vie with each other in heaping benefits on the author of the measure. By these and more words to the like effect he persuaded
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

dialechtheis 

99 legeoménou. kai tote mén épanthle, tažámenoý hemera, ἢ paréstai metá tōn épitipdeños πρὸς tēn āna-

2 koumídoyn tōn paídon. paraqventheis de nuktoś épi tō tōn Ῥωμαιών stratopedon, kai sumímías tis tōn stratateuoménōn ēkeinou Ἰβήρων, dia toútōn

eisélthe prōs touσ stratēgous. ekloignómenos de diā pléonon tēn éssoménın órmēn kai metáptwsin prōs autōn tōn Ἰβήρων, éan égkrateis génwntai tōn ómērn, ἐπηγγελιάto paradóssein autōs touσ

4 paídas. tōn de perί tōn Póplion ùperbolē pro-
thémwos dezaménavn tēn ēlpiδa kai megálas ὑ-
iouchouménavn dwreás, tōte mēn eis tēn idian ἀπ-

ηλλάγη, suvthémenos ēmēran kai kairov kai tōpon, ēn

5 ὡ δεῖσει touσ ekdeixoménous autōn úpoménein. metā
de taúta paralabwv touσ épitipdeous tōν filwv ἢke prōs tōn Bwostora, kai paradothēntovn autō tōn paídon ek tēs Zakάnthēs, nuktoś pouthaménavn tēn ēxodon, ὥσ thēlωn lathein, paraporeushēs tōn xaraka tōn polewmivn ἢke prōs tōn tetagménavn kairov kai tōpon kai pántas énexeirize touσ õmē-

6 rous touī ēgmòs tōn Ῥωμαιων. oī de perί tōn

Póplion etımhsan te diapherontos tōn Ἀβίλυνα kai

prōs tēn āpokatástasin tōn ómērōn eis tās pa-

trídhas ēkhrízanto touτw, sumptémwnantes touσ épithe-

7 deious. ὡς épiporeuoménov tās poléis kai diā tēs

tōn paídon āpokatástasēsωs tīdeis ὑπὸ tēn ὀἰνων
tēn tōn Ῥωμαιων prōtētta kai megalofyχiān parā
tēn Karchkhonivn ēpisthēan kai barutgheta, kai proso-

parathēseis tēn autōi metάthēsen, pollous Ἰβήρων

8 parwrmhse prōs tēn tōn Ῥωμαιων filían. Bw-
stwv de paideikóteron ἡ kata tēn ἡλικίαν dóxas

244.
Bostar to assent to his proposal. 99. For the present he left to return home, fixing the day on which he would come with his followers to escort the children. At night he went to the Roman camp, and having found some of the Iberians who were serving in the army, gained access through them to the generals. Pointing out at some length how the Iberians if they recovered their hostages would with one impulse go over to the Romans, he undertook to give up the children to them. Publius, to whom the prospect was exceedingly welcome, having promised him a great reward, he now left for his own country, having fixed a day and agreed on the hour and place at which those who were to take over the hostages should await him. After this, taking his most intimate friends with him, he came to Bostar; and on the children being handed over to him from Saguntum, he sallied out from the town by night as if to keep the matter secret, and marching along the enemies' entrenched camp reached the appointed place at the appointed hour and delivered all the hostages to the Roman generals. Publius conferred great honours on Abilyx, and employed him in the restoration of the hostages to their respective countries, sending certain of his friends with him. Going from city to city, and bringing, by the repatriation of the children, the gentleness and magnanimity of the Romans into manifest contrast with the suspiciousness and harshness of the Carthaginians, at the same time exhibiting the example of his own change of sides, he induced many of the Iberians to become allies of Rome. Bostar was judged in thus handing over the hostages.
ΤΟΙΟΥΣ ΤΟΙΣ ΠΟΛΕΜΙΟΙΣ ΟΥΚ ΕΙΣ
ΤΟΥΣ ΤΥΧΟΝΤΑΣ ἙΠΕΤΤΩΚΕΙ ΚΙΝΔΥΝΟΥΣ. ΚΑΙ ΤΟΤΕ ΜΕΝ ᾽ΗΔΗ ΤῲΣ ὌΡΑΣ ΚΑΤΕΠΕΙΓΟΥΣΗΣ ΔΙΕΛΥΝΟΝ ΕΙΣ ΠΑΡΑΧΕΙΜΑΣΙΑΝ ἈΜΦΟΤΕΡΟΙ ΤΑΣ ΔΥΝΑΜΕΙΣ, ΊΚΑΝΟΥ ΤΙΝΟΣ ΕΚ ΤῲΣ ΤΥΧΗΣ ΤΕΓΕΝΟΤΟΣ ΣΥΝΕΡΓΗΜΑΤΟΣ ΤΟΙΣ ὈΡΩΜΑΙΟΙΣ ΤΟΥ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥΣ ΠΑΘΔΑΣ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΑΣ ΕΠΙΚΕΙΜΕΝΑΣ ἘΠΙΒΟΛΑΣ.

ΚΑΙ ΤΑ ΜΕΝ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΗΝ ὊΒΗΡΙΑΝ ΕΝ ΤΟΥΤΟΙΣ ἸΝ. Ο ΔΕ ΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΟΣ ὍΝΝΙΒΑΣ, ΩΘΕΝ ἈΠΕΛΙΠΟΜΕΝ, ΠΥΝΘΑΝΟΜΕΝΟΣ ΠΑΡΑ ΤΩΝ ΚΑΤΑΣΚΩΠΩΝ ΠΛΕΙΣΤΟΝ ὩΠΑΡΧΕΙΝ ΣΩΤΟΝ ΕΝ ΤῲΣ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΝ ΛΟΥΚΑΡΙΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΟ ΚΑΛΟΥΜΕΝΟΝ ΓΕΡΟΥΝΙΟΝ ΧΩΡΑ, ΠΡΟΣ ΔΕ ΤΗΝ ΣΥΝΑΓΩΓΗΝ ΕΥΦΥΩΣ

EXEIN TO ΓΕΡΟΥΝΙΟΝ, ΚΡΙΝΑΣ ΕΚΕΙ ΠΟΙΕΙΣΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΠΑΡΑΧΕΙΜΑΣΙΑΝ, ΠΡΟΗΓΕ ΠΟΙΟΥΜΕΝΟΣ ΤΗΝ ΠΟΡΕΙΑΝ ΠΑΡΑ ΤΟ ΛΙΒΥΡΝΟΝ ὍΡΟΣ ἘΠΙ ΤΟΥΣ ΠΡΟΕΙΡΗΜΕΝΟΥΣ ΤΟΠΟΥΣ.

ἈΦΙΚΟΜΕΝΟΣ ΔΕ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟ ΓΕΡΟΥΝΙΟΝ, ΔΥ ΤῲΣ ΛΟΥΚΑΡΙΑΣ ἈΠΕΧΕΙ ΔΙΑΚΟΣΙΑ ΣΤΑΔΙΑ, ΤΑΣ ΜΕΝ ἈΡΧΑΣ ΔΙΑ ΛΟΓΩΝ ΤΟΥΣ ἘΝΟΙΚΟΥΝΤΑΣ ΕΙΣ ΦΙΛΙΑΝ ΠΡΟΥΚΑΛΕΙΤΟ ΚΑΙ ΠΙΣΤΕΙΣ ΕΘΙΔΟΥ ΤΩΝ ἘΠΑΓΓΕΛΙΩΝ, ΟΥΔΕΝΟΣ ΔΕ ΠΡΟΣΕΧΟΝΤΟΣ,

ΠΟΛΙΟΡΚΕΙΝ ἘΠΕΒΑΛΕΤΟ. ΤΑΧΥ ΔΕ ΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΟΣ ΚΥΡΙΟΣ, ΤΟΥΣ ΜΕΝ ΟΙΚΗΤΟΡΑΣ ΚΑΤΕΦΘΕΙΡΕ, ΤΑΣ ΔΕ ΠΛΕΙΣΤΑΣ ΟΙΚΙΑΣ ἈΚΕΡΑΙΟΥΣ ΔΙΕΦΥΛΑΞΕ ΚΑΙ ΤΑ ΤΕΙΧΗ, ΒΟΥΛΟΜΕΝΟΣ ΣΥΤΟΒΟΛΙΟΙΣ ΧΡΗΣΑΣΘΑΙ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΗΝ ΠΑΡΑΧΕΙΜΑΣΙΑΝ.

ΤΗΝ ΔΕ ΔΥΝΑΜΙΝ ΠΡΟΤῲΣ ΠΟΛΕΩΣ ΠΑΡΕΜΒΑΛΩΝ ὌΧΥΡΩΣΑΤΟ ΤΑΦΡΩ ΚΑΙ ΧΑΡΑΚΗ ΤΗΝ ΣΤΡΑΤΟΠΕΔΕΙΑΝ. ΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΟΣ ΔΕ ΑΠΟ ΤΟΥΤΩΝ, ΤΑ ΜΕΝ ΔΥΟ ΜΕΡΗ ΤῲΣ ΔΥΝΑΜΕΩΝ ἘΠΙ ΤΗΝ ΣΥΤΟΛΟΓΙΑΝ ΕΞΕΠΕΜΠΕ ΠΡΟΣΤΑΞΑΣ ΚΑΘ ΕΚΑΣΤΗΝ ἩΜΕΡΑΝ ΤΑΚΤΟΝ ΑΝΑΦΕΡΕΙΝ ΜΕΤΡΟΝ ἘΚΑΣΤΟΝ ΤΟΙΣ ἸΔΙΟΙΣ ἘΠΙΒΟΛΗΝ ΤΟΥΣ ΤΑΓΜΑΤΟΣ ΤΟΙΣ ΠΡΟΚΕΧΕΙΡΙ

ΣΜΕΝΟΣ ἘΠΙ ΤῲΣ ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΑΝ ΤΑΥΤΗΝ, ΤῲΣ ΔΕ ΤΡΙΤΩ ΜΕΡΕΙ ΤῲΣ ΤΕ ΣΤΡΑΤΟΠΕΔΕΙΑΝ ΕΤΗΡΕΙ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΙΣ ΣΥΤΟΛΟ

ΓΟΥΣΙ ΠΑΡΕΦΗΔΡΕΙΝ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΟΠΟΥΣ. ΟΥΣΗΣ ΔΕ ΤῲΣ ΜΕΝ ΧΩΡΑΣ ΤῲΣ ΠΛΕΙΣΤΗΣ ΕΥΦΟΒΟΔΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΠΕΠΙΔΟΣ, ΤΩΝ ΔΕ 246
to the enemy to have acted more like a child than became his years, and was in serious danger of his life. For the present both sides, as the season was now advanced, broke up their forces for the winter; chance in this matter of the children having materially contributed to assist the projects the Romans had in view.

100. Such was the position of affairs in Spain. Hannibal, whom we left in Italy looking out for winter quarters, learning from his scouts that there was plenty of corn in the country round Luceria and Geronium, and that the best place for collecting supplies was Geronium, decided to winter there and advanced to this district, marching past Mount Libyrnus. On reaching Geronium, which is two hundred stades from Luceria, he at first sent messages to the inhabitants asking for their alliance and offering pledges of the advantages he promised them, but as they paid no attention to them he began the siege. He soon took the city, upon which he put the inhabitants to the sword, but kept the walls and most of the houses uninjured, intending to use them as corn magazines for the winter. He encamped his army before the town, fortifying his camp with a trench and palisade. When he had completed this he sent two divisions of his army out to gather corn, ordering each to bring in each day for its own use the quantity imposed by those in charge of the commissariat. With the remaining third he guarded the camp and covered the foraging parties here and there. As most of the country was flat and easy to overrun, and the foragers were one
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

συναγόντων ὃς ἔπος εἰπεῖν ἀναριθμήτων, ἐτί δὲ τῆς ὠρας ἀκμαζούσης πρὸς τὴν συγκομιδήν, ἀπελευν 
συνέβαινε καθ’ ἐκάστην ἦμέραν ἀθροίζοντα τοῦ 
σίτου τὸ πλῆθος.

101 Μάρκος δὲ παρειληφὼς τὰς δυνάμεις παρὰ Φα-
βίου, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀντιπαρῆγε ταῖς ἀκρωρείαις, 
πεπεισμένος δὲ περὶ τὰς ὑπερβολὰς συμπεσεῖσθαι 
2 ποτὲ τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις. ἀκούσας δὲ τὸ μὲν Γε-
ρούνιον τους περὶ τὸν Ἀννίβαν ἦδη κατέχειν, τὴν 
δὲ χώραν συτολογεῖν, πρὸ δὲ τῆς πόλεως χάρακα 
βεβλημένους στρατοπέδευεν, ἐπιστρέφας ἐκ τῶν 
ἀκρωρείων κατέβαινε κατὰ τὴν ἐπὶ τὰ πεδία κατα-
3 τείνουσαν ῥάχων. ἀφικόμενος δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν ἄκραν, ἢ 
κεῖται μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς Λαρινάτιδος χώρας, προσαγορεύε-
tαι δὲ Καλῆν, κατεστρατοπέδευεν περὶ ταύτην, 
πρόχειρος δὲν ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου συμπλέκεσθαι τοῖς 
πολέμιοις. Ἀννίβας δὲ θεωρῶν ἐγγύζοντας τοὺς 
πολέμιους, τὸ μὲν τρίτον μέρος τῆς δυνάμεως εἶασε 
sυτολογεῖν, τὰ δὲ δύο μέρη λαβὼν καὶ προελθὼν ἀπὸ 
tῆς πόλεως ἑκκαῖδεκα σταδίων πρὸς τοὺς πολέμιους, 
ἐπὶ τινὸς βουνοῦ κατεστρατοπέδευσε, βουλόμενος 
ἀμα μὲν καταπλήξασθαι τοὺς ὑπεναντίους, ἀμα δὲ 
tοῖς συτολογοῦσι τὴν ἀσφάλειαν παρασκευάζειν.

5 μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα γεωλόφου τινὸς ὑπάρχοντος μεταξὺ 
tῶν στρατοπέδων, ὅσ εὐκαίρως καὶ σύνεγγυς ἐπέ-
κειτο τῇ τῶν πολεμίων παρεμβολῇ, τοῦτον ἐτὶ νυκτὸς 
ἐξαποστείλας περὶ δισχίλιος τῶν λογχοφόρων κατε-
6 λάβετο. οὕς ἐπιγενομένης τῆς ἦμέρας συνιδὼν 
Μάρκος ἔξηγε τοὺς εὐξῶνους καὶ προσέβαλε τῷ 
7 λόφῳ. γενομένου δὲ ἀκροβολισμοῦ νεανικοῦ, τέλος 
ἐπεκράτησαν οἱ Ῥωμαίοι, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τὴν ὀλην 
στρατοπεδείαν μετεβίβασαν εἰς τοῦτον τῶν τόπων. 
248
might say infinite in number, and the weather was very favourable for fetching in the grain, an enormous quantity was collected every day.

101. Minucius on taking over the command from Fabius at first followed the Carthaginians along the hills, always expecting to encounter them when attempting to cross. But on hearing that Hannibal had already occupied Geronium, and was foraging in the district, and had established himself in a fortified camp before the city, he turned and descended from the hills by a ridge that slopes down to the town. Arriving at the height in the territory of Larinum called Calena he encamped there, being eager at all hazards to engage the enemy. Hannibal, seeing the approach of the Romans, left the third part of his army to forage, and taking the other two-thirds advanced sixteen stades from the town and encamped on a hill with the view of overawing the enemy and affording protection to the foragers. There was a certain hillock between the two armies, and observing that it lay close to the enemy's camp and commanded it, he sent two thousand of his pikemen in the night to occupy it. Marcus, catching sight of them at daybreak, led out his light-armed troops and attacked the hill. A brisk skirmish took place in which the Romans were victorious, and afterwards they transferred their whole army to this hill.
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

8 ὥς ἅνιβας ἔως μὲν τυχὸς διὰ τὴν ἄντιστρατοπε- 
δεῖαν συνείχε το πλείστον μέρος τῆς δυνάμεως ἐφ' 
9 αὐτόν. πλειόνων δὲ γενομένων ἡμερῶν, ἡναγκάζετο 
τοὺς μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν νομὴν τῶν θρεμμάτων ἀπομερίζειν, 
10 τοὺς δ' ἐπὶ τὴν συτολογίαν, σπουδάζουσι κατὰ τὴν ἐν 
ἀρχῇ πρόθεσιν μῆτε τὴν λείαν καταφθείρα τὸν τε 
σίτων ὡς πλείστον συναγαγεῖν, ἱνα πάντων ἥ 
κατὰ τὴν παραχειμασίαν δαφέλεια τοῖς ἀνδράσι, μὴ 
χείρον 
11 δὲ τοῖς ὑποζυγίοις καὶ τοῖς ἵπποις· εἰχε γὰρ τὰς 
πλείστας ἐλπίδας τῆς αὐτοῦ δυνάμεως ἐν τῷ τῶν 
ἵππεων τάγματι.

102 Καθ’ ὁν δὴ καίρον Μάρκος, συνθεωρῆσας τὸ 
pολὺ μέρος τῶν ὑπεναντίων ἐπὶ τὰς προερημένας 
χρεῖας κατὰ τῆς χώρας σκεδασμόνεν, λαβὼν τὸν 
ἀκμαίοτατον καίρον τῆς ἡμέρας ἐξῆγε τὴν δύναμιν, 
2 καὶ συνεγγύσας τῇ παρεμβολῇ τῶν Καρχηδονίων τὰ 
μὲν βαρέα τῶν ὀπλων ἐξήταξε, τοὺς δὲ ἱππεῖς καὶ 
τοὺς εὐζώνους κατὰ μέρη διελὼν ἐπαφῆκε τοῖς προ-
3 νομεύονσι, παραγγείλας μηδένα ζωγρείν. Ὁ ἅνιβας 
dὲ τούτου συμβάντος εἰς ἀπορίαν ἐνεπεπτώκει με-
γάλν· οὔτε γὰρ ἀντεξάγεν τοῖς παρατεταγμένοις 
ἀξιόχρεως ἢν οὔτε παραβοθήκεν τοῖς ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας 
4 διεσπαρμένοις. τῶν δὲ Ὑμαῖν οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν 
προνομεύοντας ἐξαποσταλέντες πολλοὺς τῶν ἐσκε-
dασμένων ἀπέκτειναν· οἱ δὲ παρατεταγμένοι τέλος 
eἰς τοὺτ' ἤλθον καταφρονῆσεως ὡστε καὶ διαστάν 
tῶν χάρακα καὶ μόνον οὐ πολιορκεῖν τοὺς Καρχη-
5 δονίους. ὥς Ὁ ἅνιβας ἦν μὲν ἐν κακοῖς, ὅμως δὲ 
χειμαξόμενος ἔμενε, τοὺς πελάζοντας ἀποτρίβομενοι 
6 καὶ μόλις διαφυλάττων τὴν παρεμβολὴν, ἔως Ὁ 
αὐτοῖς ἀναλαβὼν τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας συμπεφευ-
gύτας εἰς τὸν χάρακα τὸν περὶ τὸ Γερούνιον, ὄντας 
250
Hannibal for a certain time kept the whole of his forces within the camp owing to the propinquity of the enemy; but after some days he was compelled to tell off a portion to pasture the animals, and send others to forage for corn, as he was anxious, according to his original plan, to avoid loss in the live stock he had captured and to collect as much corn as possible, so that for the whole winter there should be plenty of everything both for his men and also for the horses and pack-animals; for it was on his cavalry above all that he placed reliance.

102. Minucius, remarking that the greater number of the enemy were dispersed over the country on these services, chose the time when the day was at its height to lead out his forces, and on approaching the enemy's camp, drew up his legionaries, and dividing his cavalry and light-armed infantry into several troops sent them out to attack the foragers, with orders to take no prisoners. Hannibal hereupon found himself in a very difficult position, being neither strong enough to march out and meet the enemy nor able to go to the assistance of those of his men who were scattered over the country. The Romans who had been dispatched to attack the foraging parties, killed numbers of them, and finally the troops drawn up in line reached such a pitch of contempt for the enemy that they began to pull down the palisade and very nearly stormed the Carthaginian camp. Hannibal was in sore straits, but notwithstanding the tempest that had thus overtaken him he continued to drive off all assailants and with difficulty to hold his camp, until Hasdrubal, with those who had fled from the country for refuge to the camp before Geronium, about four thousand
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

7 ἔν τετρακισχιλίους, ἢκε παραβοηθῶν. τότε δὲ μικρόν ἀναθαρρήσας ἐπεξήλθε, καὶ βραχὺ πρὸ τῆς στρατοπεδείας παρεμβάλὼν μόλις ἀπεστρέφατο τὸν ἑνεστῶτα κύνδυνον. Μάρκος δὲ πολλοὺς μὲν ἐν τῇ περὶ τὸν χάρακα συμπλοκῇ τῶν πολεμίων ἀποκτεῖνας, ἐτὶ δὲ πλείους ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας διεθαρκώς, τότε μὲν ἐπανήλθε μεγάλας ἐλπίδας ἔχων ὑπὲρ τοῦ μέλικοντος. τῇ δ' ἐπαυριον ἐκλιπόντων τὸν χάρακα τῶν Καρχηδόνων, ἐπέβη καὶ κατελάβετο τὴν ἐκεῖνον παρεμβολήν. ὁ γὰρ Ἀννίβας διαγωνιᾶσας τούς 'Ῥωμαίους μη καταλαβόμενοι νυκτὸς ἐρήμοι διέταν τὸν ἐπὶ τῷ Γερονίῳ χάρακα κύριοι γένωνται τῆς ἀποσκευῆς καὶ τῶν παραθέσεων, ἐκρινεν αὐτὸς ἀναχωρείν καὶ πάλιν ἐκεῖ ποιεῖται τὴν στρατοπεδείαν.

10 ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦτων τῶν καριῶν οἱ μὲν Καρχηδόνων ταῖς προνομαῖς εὐλαβέστερον ἔχοντο καὶ φυλακτικωτέρον, οἱ δὲ 'Ῥωμαίοι τάναντια βαρραλεύστερον καὶ προπετέστερον.

103 Οἱ δ' ἐν τῇ 'Ῥώμῃ, προσπεσόντος σφίσι τοῦ γεγονότος μειζόνως ἡ κατὰ τὴν ἀλήθειαν, περιχαρεῖς ἦσαν διὰ τὸ πρῶτον μὲν ἐκ τῆς προὐπαρχούσης ὑπὲρ τῶν ὅλων δυσελπιστίας οἶον εἰ μεταβολήν τινα πρὸς τὸ βέλτιον αὐτοῖς προφαίνεσθαι, δεύτερον δὲ καὶ διὰ τὸ δοκεῖν τὸν πρὸ τοῦτον χρόνον τὴν ἀπαγιάν καὶ κατάπληξιν τῶν στρατοπέδων μή παρὰ τὴν τῶν δυνάμεων ἀποδειλισμὸν, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τὴν τοῦ προεστῶτος εὐλαβεῖαν γεγονέναι. διὸ καὶ τὸν μὲν Φάβιον ἦτιόντο καὶ κατεμέμφοντο πάντες ὡς ἀτολμῶς χρώμενον τοῖς καριῶις, τὸν δὲ Μάρκον ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἤδει διὰ τὸ συμβεβηκὸς ὥστε τότε γενέσθαι τὸ μηδέποτε γεγονός· αὐτοκράτορα γὰρ κάκεινον κατέστησαν, πεπεισμένοι ταχέως αὐτὸν τέλος ἐπὶ-252
in number, came to succour him. He now regained a little confidence, and sallying from the camp drew up his troops a short distance in front of it and with difficulty averted the impending peril. Minucius, after killing many of the enemy in the engagement at the camp and still more throughout the country, now retired, but with great hopes for the future, and next day, on the Carthaginians evacuating their camp, occupied it himself. For Hannibal, fearful lest the Romans, finding the camp at Geronium deserted at night, should capture his baggage and stores, decided to return and encamp there again. Henceforth the Carthaginians were much more cautious and guarded in foraging, while the Romans on the contrary, foraged with greater confidence and temerity.

103. People in Rome, when an exaggerated account of this success reached the city, were over-joyed, partly because this change for the better relieved their general despondency, and in the next place because they inferred that the former inaction and disheartenment of their army was not the result of any want of courage in the soldiers, but of the excessive caution of the general. All therefore found fault with Fabius, accusing him of not making a bold use of his opportunities, while Marcus's reputation rose so much owing to this event that they took an entirely unprecedented step, investing him like the Dictator with absolute power, in the belief that he would very soon put an end to the
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

θήσειν τὸς πράγμασιν. καὶ δὴ δύο δικτάτορες ἔγε-γόνεισαν ἐπὶ τὰς αὐτὰς πράξεις, ὦ πρότερον οὐδέ-
5 ποτε συνεβεβήκει παρὰ Ἀρωμαίοις. τῷ δὲ Μάρκῳ διασαφθείσης τῆς τε τοῦ πλῆθους εὐνοίας καὶ τῆς παρὰ τοῦ δήμου δεδομένης ἀρχῆς αὐτῷ, διπλασίως παρωρμήθη πρὸς τὸ παραβάλλεσθαι καὶ κατατολμᾶν
6 τῶν πολεμίων. ἤκεὶ δὲ καὶ Φάβιος ἐπὶ τὰς δυνάμεις οὐδὲν ἠλλοιωμένον ὑπὸ τῶν συμβεβηκότων, ἐτι δὲ βεβαιότερον μένων ἐπὶ τῆς εἴ άρχῆς διαλύψεως.
7 θεωρῶν δὲ τὸν Μάρκον ἐκπεφυσημένον καὶ πρὸς πάντ' ἀντιφιλονικόντα καὶ καθόλου πολὺν ὄντα πρὸς τῷ διακινδυνεύουν, αἴρεσιν αὐτῷ προὔτεινον
8 τὴν αὐτοῦ προαίρεσιν. τοῦ δὲ καὶ λίαν ἁσμένως
dεξαμένου τὸν μερισμόν, διελόμενοι τὸ πλῆθος χω-
6ς ἐστρατοπέδευσαν ἀλλήλων, ἀπέχοντες ὡς δώδεκα
104 σταδίους. Ἀνιβάς δὲ τὰ μὲν ἁκούσαν τῶν ἁλισκο-
mένων αἰχμαλώτων, τά δὲ θεωρῶν ἐκ τῶν πραττό-
mένων ὑδει τὴν τε τῶν ἡγεμόνων πρὸς ἀλλήλους
 διελέοισιν καὶ τὴν ὀρμήν καὶ τὴν φιλοδοξίαν τοῦ
2 Μάρκου. διόπερ οὐ καθ' αὐτοῦ, πρὸς αὐτοῦ δὲ
 νομίσας εἶναι τὰ συμβαίνοντα περὶ τοὺς ἐναντίους,
ἐγνέτο περὶ τὸν Μάρκον, σπουδάζων τὴν τόλμαν
αφελέσθαι καὶ προκαταλαβεῖν αὐτοῦ τὴν ὀρμήν.
3 οὕσοις δὲ τινος ὑπεροχῆς μεταξὺ τῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς
tοῦ Μάρκου στρατοπεδείας δυναμένης ἐκατέρους
βλάπτειν, ἐπεβάλετο καταλαβεῖν ταύτην. σαφῶς δὲ
gινώσκων ἐκ τοῦ προγεγονότος κατορθώματος ὃτι
παρέσται βοηθῶν ἐκ χειρὸς πρὸς ταύτην τὴν ἐπι-
4 βολήν, ἐπινοεῖ τι τοιοῦτον. τῶν γὰρ τόπων τῶν
περὶ τὸν λόφον ὑπαρχόντων ψιλῶν μὲν, πολλὰς δὲ
254
war. So two Dictators were actually appointed for the same field of action, a thing which had never before happened at Rome. When Minucius was informed of his popularity at home and the office given him by the people's decree, he grew twice as eager to run risks and take some bold action against the enemy. Fabius now returned to the army wholly unchanged by recent circumstances, and adhering even more firmly than before to his original determination. Observing that Minucius was unduly elated and was jealously opposing him in every way and altogether strongly disposed to risk a battle, he offered for his choice, either that he should be in full command on alternate days, or that he should take half the army and use his own legions in any way he thought fit. Minucius having readily agreed to the division of the army, they divided it and encamped apart at a distance of about twelve stades from each other. 104. Hannibal, partly from what he heard from prisoners and partly from what he saw was going on, was aware of the rivalry of the two generals and of Marcus' impulsiveness and ambition. Considering, then, that the present circumstances of the enemy were not against him but in his favour, he turned his attention to Minucius, being anxious to put a stop to his venturesomeness and anticipate his offensive. There was a small eminence between his own camp and that of Minucius capable of being used against either of them, and this he decided to occupy. Well knowing that owing to his previous achievement Minucius would instantly advance to frustrate this project, he devised the following stratagem. The ground round the hill was treeless.
παντοδαπᾶς ἐχόντων περικλάσεις καὶ κοιλότητας, ἐξέπεμψε τῆς νυκτὸς εἰς τὰς ἐπιτηδειοτάτας ὑποβολὰς ἀνὰ διακοσίους καὶ τριακοσίους, πεντακοσίους μὲν ἵππεῖς, ψυλοῦς δὲ καὶ πεζοὺς τοὺς πάντας εἰς πεντακισχιλίους. ἦν δὲ μὴ πρῶ κατοπτευθώσων ὑπὸ τῶν εἰς τὰς προνομὰς ἐκπορευομένων, ἀμα τῷ διανυγάζεως κατελάμβανε τοῖς εὐξώνοις τὸν λόφον.

6 εἰ δὲ Μάρκος θεωρῶν τὸ γνώμενον, καὶ νομίζον ἐρμαίον εἶναι, παραντίκα μὲν ἐξαπέστειλε τοὺς ψυλοὺς, κελεύσας ἀγωνίζεσθαι καὶ διαμάχεσθαι περὶ τοῦ τόπου, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τοὺς ἵππεῖς. ἔζης δὲ τούτοις κατόπιν αὐτὸς ἤγε συνεχῇ τὰ βαρέα τῶν ὁπλῶν, καθάπερ καὶ πρότερον, ἐκάστων ποιούμενος παραπλήσιον τὸν χειρισμὸν. ἄρτι δὲ τῆς ἠμέρας διαφανοῦσας καὶ πάντων ταῖς τε διανοίασι καὶ τοῖς ὀμμασι περιστασμένων περὶ τοὺς ἐν τῷ γεωλόφῳ κυνυνεύοντας, ἀνύποτοτος ἢν ἢ τῶν ἐνεδρεύοντων ὑποβολῆς. τοῦ δὲ Ἄννιβου συνεχῶς μὲν ἐπαποστέλλοντος τοῖς ἐν τῷ λόφῳ τοὺς βοηθήσοντας, ἐπομένου δὲ κατὰ πόδας αὐτοῦ μετὰ τῶν ἵππεων καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως, ταχέως συνέβη καὶ τοὺς ἵππεῖς συμπέσειν 105 ἄλληλοις. οὐ γενομένου, καὶ πειξομένων τῶν Ῥωμαίων εὐξώνων ὑπὸ τοῦ πλῆθους τῶν ἵππεων, ἀμα μὲν οὗτοι καταφεύγοντες εἰς τὰ βαρέα τῶν ὁπλῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐποίου, ἀμα δὲ τοῦ συνθήματος ἀποδοθέντος τοῖς ἐν ταῖς ἐνέδραις, πανταχόθεν ἐπιφαινομένων καὶ προσπιπτόντων τούτων, οὐκέτι περὶ τοὺς εὐξώνους μόνον, ἀλλὰ περὶ πάν τὸ στράτευμα. 3 ἄλληλοις. οὐ γενομένου, καὶ πειξομένων τῶν Ῥωμαίων εὐξώνων ὑπὸ τοῦ πλῆθους τῶν ἵππεων, ἀμα μὲν οὗτοι καταφεύγοντες εἰς τὰ βαρέα τῶν ὁπλῶν ἀθόρυβον ἐποίου, ἀμα δὲ τοῦ συνθήματος ἀποδοθέντος τοῖς ἐν ταῖς ἐνέδραις, πανταχόθεν ἐπιφαινομένων καὶ προσπιπτόντων τούτων, οὐκέτι περὶ τοὺς εὐξώνους μόνον, ἀλλὰ περὶ πάν τὸ στράτευμα. 4 μέγας κύδυνος συνειστήκει τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις. κατὰ δὲ τὸν καίρον τοῦτον Φάβιος, θεωρῶν τὸ γνώμενον καὶ διαγωνιάσας μὴ σφαλώσι τοῖς ὅλοις, ἔξηγε τὰς δυνάμεις καὶ κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐβοήθει τοῖς κυνή-
but had many irregularities and hollows of every
description in it, and he sent out at night to the
most suitable positions for ambuscade, in bodies of
two or three hundred, five hundred horse and about
five thousand light-armed and other infantry. In
order that they should not be observed in the early
morning by the Romans who were going out to
forage, he occupied the hill with his light-armed
troops as soon as it was daybreak. Minucius, seeing
this and thinking it a favourable chance, sent out
at once his light infantry with orders to engage the
enemy and dispute the position. Afterwards he sent
his cavalry too and next followed in person leading
his legions in close order, as on the former occasion,
operating exactly in the same manner as then.

105. The day was just dawning, and the minds and
eyes of all were engrossed in the battle on the hill, so
that no one suspected that the ambuscade had been
posted. Hannibal kept constantly sending reinforce-
ments to his men on the hill, and when he very
shortly followed himself with his cavalry and the
rest of his force, the cavalry on both sides soon
came into action. Upon this, the Roman light
infantry were forced off the field by the numbers
of the Carthaginian horse, and, falling back on the
legions, threw them into confusion, while at the
same time, on the signal being given to those lying
in ambush, they appeared from all directions and
attacked, upon which not only the Roman light
infantry but their whole army found itself in a most
perilous position. It was now that Fabius, seeing
the state of matters and seriously fearing a total
disaster, came up in haste with his own army to
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

6 νεόνοι. ταχὺ δὲ συνεγγύσαντος αὐτοῦ, πάλιν ἀναθαρρήσαντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, καὶ περὶ λευκότες ἤδη τὴν ὅλην τάξιν, αὐθίς ἄθροιζόμενοι περὶ τὰς σημαίας ἀνεχόμενον καὶ κατέφευγον ὑπὸ τὴν τούτων ἀσφάλειαν, πολλοὺς μὲν ἀπολεικτὸς τῶν εὐξώνων, ἐτὶ δὲ πλείους ἐκ τῶν ταγμάτων καὶ τοὺς ἀρίστους ἄνδρας. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἀννίβαν καταπλαγέντες τὴν ἀκεραιότητα καὶ σύνταξιν τῶν παραβεβηκότων στρατοπεδῶν, ἀπέστησαν τοῦ διωγμοῦ καὶ τῆς μάχης. τοῖς μὲν οὖν παρ᾽ αὐτὸν γενομένοι τὸν κίνδυνον ἢν ἐναργείς ὅτι διὰ μὲν τὴν Μάρκου τόλμαν ἀπόλολε τὰ ὅλα, διὰ δὲ τὴν εὐλαβείαν τοῦ

9 Φαβίου σέσωσται καὶ πρὸ τοῦ καὶ νῦν. τοῖς δ᾽ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμη τότε ἐγένετο φανερὸν ὁμολογουμένως τὶ διαφέρει στρατιωτικῆς προπετείας καὶ κενοδοξίας στρατηγικῆ πρόνοια καὶ λογισμὸς ἐστῶς καὶ νουν-

10 εχῆς. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ᾽ οἱ μὲν Ῥωμαῖοι, διδαχθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν πραγμάτων, καὶ βαλόμενοι χάρακα πάλιν ἕνα πάντες, ἐστρατοπέδευσαν ὁμόσε, καὶ λουπὸν ἦδη Φαβίῳ προσεῖχον τὸν νοῦν καὶ τοῖς ὑπὸ τούτου

11 παραγγελλομένοις. οἱ δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι τὸν μὲν μεταξὺ τότον τοῦ βουνοῦ καὶ τῆς σφετέρας παρεμβολῆς διεστάφρευσαν, περὶ δὲ τὴν κορυφὴν τοῦ καταληφθέντος λόφου χάρακα περιβαλόντες καὶ φυλακὴν ἐπιστῆσαντες λουπὸν ἦδη πρὸς τὴν χειμασίαν ἀσφαλῆς ἦτομάζοντο.

106 Τῆς δὲ τῶν ἀρχαισιῶν ὄρας συνεγγιξό̂σης, εἰλὸντο στρατηγοὺς οἱ Ῥωμαίοι Λεύκιον Αἰμίλιον καὶ Γάιον Τερέντιον. ἦν κατασταθέντων οἱ μὲν δικτάτορες ἀπέθεντο τὴν ἀρχήν, οἱ δὲ προφίροντες ὑπατοι, Γναίως Σερούλιος καὶ Μάρκος Ῥηγοῦλος ο μετὰ τὴν Φλαμνίου τελευτῆν ἐπικατασταθεῖς, 258
assist. On his approach the Romans again plucked up courage, although they had now entirely broken their ranks, and collecting round the standards retreated and took refuge under cover of Fabius' force after losing many of their light-armed troops, but still more of the legionaries and the very best men among them. Hannibal, being afraid of the legions, which, quite fresh and in admirable order, had come to the help of their comrades, abandoned the pursuit and brought the battle to a close. To those who were actually present at the action it was evident that all was lost by the rashness of Minucius, and that now, as on previous occasions, all had been saved by the caution of Fabius. And to those in Rome it became indisputably clear how widely the foresight, good sense, and calm calculation of a general differ from the recklessness and bravado of a mere soldier. The Romans, however, had received a practical lesson, and again fortifying a single camp, joined their forces in it, and in future paid due attention to Fabius and his orders. The Carthaginians dug a trench between the hill and their own camp, and erecting a stockade round the hill, which was now in their hands, and placing a garrison on it, made their preparations henceforth for the winter undisturbed.

106. The time for the consular elections was now 216 B.C. approaching, and the Romans elected Lucius Aemilius Paulus and Gaius Terentius Varro. On their appointment, the Dictators laid down their office, and the Consuls of the previous year, Gnaeus Servilius and Marcus Regulus—who had been appointed after the death of Flaminius—were
τότε προχειρισθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ τὸν Αἴμιλιον ἀντιστράτηγοι, καὶ παραλαβόντες τὴν ἐν τοῖς ὑπαιθροῖς ἔξωσίαν, ἔχειρίζον κατὰ τὴν έαυτῶν γνώμην τὰ κατὰ τὰς δυνάμεις. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Αἴμιλιον, βουλευσάμενοι μετὰ τῆς συγκλήτου, τὸ μὲν ἔλλειπον πλῆθος ἔτι τῶν στρατωτῶν πρὸς τὴν ὀλὴν ἐπίβο-
λήν παραχρήμα καταγράψαντες ἐξαπέστειλαν, τοῖς δὲ περὶ τὸν Γνάιον διεσάφησαν ὀλοσχερὴ μὲν κίν-
δυνον κατὰ μηδένα τρόπον συνίστασθαι, τοὺς δὲ κατὰ μέρος ἀκροβολισμοὺς ὡς ἐνεργοτάτους ποιεῖ-
σθαι καὶ συνεχεστάτους χάριν τοῦ γυμνάζειν καὶ παρασκευάζειν εὐθαρσεῖς τοὺς νέους πρὸς τοὺς ὀλο-
χερεῖς ἄγωνας, τῷ καὶ τὰ πρότερον αὐτοῖς συμ-
πτώματα δοκεῖν οὕχ ἡκιστα γεγονέναι διὰ τὸ νεο-
συλλόγοις καὶ τελέως ἀνασκίτους κεχρήσθαι τοῖς στρατοπέδοις. αὐτοὶ δὲ Λεύκιον μὲν Ποστούμιον,
ἐξαπέλευκν ὅντα στρατηγὸν, στρατόπεδον δόντες εἰς Γαλατίαν ἐξαπέστειλαν, βουλομένου ποιεῖν ἀντι-
περίσπασμα τοῖς Κελτοῖς τοῖς μετ’ Ἀυνίβου στρα-
τευμένοις. πρόνοιαν δ’ ἐποιήσαντο καὶ τῆς ἀνα-
κομιδῆς τοῦ παραχεμάζοντος ἐν τῷ Λυλβαίῳ στό-
λου, διεσεμήθωντο δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ στρατηγοῖς πάντα τὰ κατεπείγοντα πρὸς τὴν χρείαν. οὐτοὶ μὲν οὖν περὶ ταύτα καὶ περὶ τὰς λοιπὰς ἐγώντο παρα-
σκευᾶς ἐπιμελῶς. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Γνάιον, κομμι-
σάμενοι τὰς παρὰ τῶν ὑπάτων ἐντολὰς, πάντα τὰ κατὰ μέρος ἐχειρίζον κατὰ τὴν ἐκείνων γνώμην· διὸ καὶ τὸ πλείω γράφειν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν παρῆσομεν. ὀλο-
σχερεῖς μὲν γὰρ ἡ μνήμης ἀξιον ἀπλῶς οὖθεν ἐπρά-
χθη διὰ τὴν ἐντολὴν καὶ διὰ τὴν τοῦ καιροῦ περὶ-
στασιν, ἀκροβολισμοὶ δὲ μόνον καὶ συμπλοκαί κατὰ μέρος ἐγώνοντο πλείους, ἐν αἷς εὐδοκίμουν οἱ προ-

260
invested with proconsular authority by Aemilius, and taking command in the field directed the operations of their forces as they thought fit. Aemilius after consulting with the Senate at once enrolled the soldiers still wanting to make up the total levy and dispatched them to the front, expressly ordering Servilius on no account to risk a general engagement, but to skirmish vigorously and intermittently so as to train the lads and give them confidence for a general battle; for they thought the chief cause of their late reverses lay in their having employed newly raised and quite untrained levies. The Consuls also gave a legion to the Praetor Lucius Postumius, and sent him to Cisalpine Gaul to create a diversion among those Celts who were serving with Hannibal, they took measures for the return of the fleet that was wintering at Lilybaeum and sent the generals in Spain all the supplies of which they had need. The Consuls and Senate were thus occupied with these and other preparations, and Servilius, on receiving orders from the Consuls, conducted all petty operations as they directed. I shall therefore not make further mention of these, for nothing decisive or noteworthy was done owing to these orders and owing to circumstances, but only numerous skirmishes and minor engagements took place in which the Roman commanders had the
γεώτεροι τῶν 'Ρωμαίων· καὶ γὰρ ἀνδρωδῶς καὶ νου-εξώς ἥδοκουν ἐκαστὰ χειρίζεν.  

107 Τὸν μὲν οὖν χειμώνα καὶ τὴν ἐαρινὴν ὥραν δι-έμειναν ἀντιστρατοπεδεύοντες ἅλληλοι· ἦδη δὲ πα-ραδιόντος τοῦ καρποῦ τὴν ἐκ τῶν ἐπετείων καρ-πῶν χορηγίαν, ἐκίνη τὴν δύναμιν ἐκ τοῦ περὶ τὸ

2 Γερούνιον χάρακος Ἀννίβας. κρίνων δὲ συμφέρει τὸ κατὰ πάντα τρόπον ἀναγκάσαι μάχεσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους, καταλαμβάνει τὴν τῆς Κάννης προσαγο-

3 ρευματήν πόλεως ἄκραν. εἰς γὰρ ταύτην συν-έβαινε τὸν τε σίτον καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς χορηγίας ἄθροι-ζεσθαι τοῖς 'Ρωμαίοις ἐκ τῶν περὶ Κανναίων τόπων· ἐκ δὲ ταύτης ἀεὶ πρὸς τὴν χρείαν ἔπι τὸ στρατό-

4 πεδον παρακομίζεσθαι. τὴν μὲν οὖν πόλιν ἐτὶ πρό-

τερον συνέβαινε κατεσκάφθαι· τῆς παρασκευῆς δὲ καὶ τῆς ἄκρας τότε καταληφθεὶσας, οὐ μικράν συν-

έπεσε ταραχὴν γενέσθαι περὶ τᾶς τῶν 'Ρωμαίων δυ-

5 νάμεις· οὐ γὰρ μόνον διὰ τὰς χορηγίας ἐδυσχρη-

στοῦν· ἐπὶ τῶν κατειλήφθαι τὸν προερημένον τό-

πον, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τὸ κατὰ τὴν πέριξ ἐυφυῶς κεῖ-

6 σθαι χώραν. πέμποντες οὖν εἰς τὴν 'Ρώμην συν-

εχὼς ἐπυθανόντο τί δεὶ ποιεῖν, ὡς εἶν ἐγγίσωσι

τοῖς πολεμίοις, οὐ δυνηθοῦνει φυγομαχεῖν, τῆς

μὲν χώρας καταθειρομένης, τῶν δὲ συμμάχων

7 πάντων μετεώρων οὖντων ταῖς διανοίαις. οἱ δὲ ἐβου-

λεύσαντο μάχεσθαι καὶ συμβάλλειν τοῖς πολεμίοις.

τοῖς μὲν οὖν περὶ τὸν Γναῖον ἐπισχεῖν ἔτι διεσά-

8 φησαν, αὐτοὶ δὲ τοὺς ὑπάτους ἐξαπέστελλον. συν-

έβαινε δὲ πάντας εἰς τὸν Αἰμιλίου ἀποβλέπειν καὶ

πρὸς τοῦτον ἀπερείδεσθαι τὰς πλεῖστας ἐλπίδας

diὰ την ἐκ τοῦ λοιποῦ βίου καλοκαγαθίαν καὶ
diὰ τὸ μικρὸς πρότερον χρόνοις ἀνδρωδῶς ἀμα καὶ

262
advantage, their conduct of the campaign being generally thought to have been both courageous and skilful.

107. All through the winter and spring the two armies remained encamped opposite each other, and it was not until the season was advanced enough for them to get supplies from the year’s crops that Hannibal moved his forces out of the camp near Geronium. Judging that it was in his interest to compel the enemy to fight by every means in his power, he seized on the citadel of a town called Cannae, in which the Romans had collected the corn and other supplies from the country round Canusium, conveying hence to their camp from time to time enough to supply their wants. The city itself had previously been razed, but the capture now of the citadel and stores caused no little commotion in the Roman army; for they were distressed at the fall of the place not only owing to the loss of their supplies, but because it commanded the surrounding district. They continued, therefore, to send constant messages to Rome asking how they should act, stating that if they approached the enemy they would not be able to escape a battle, as the country was being pillaged and the temper of all the allies was uncertain. The Senate decided to give the enemy battle, but they ordered Servilius to wait; and dispatched the Consuls to the front. It was to Aemilius that the eyes of all were directed; and they placed their chiefest hope in him, owing to his general high character, and because a few years
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

συμφερόντως δοκεῖν κεχειρικέναι τὸν πρὸς Ἰλλυ-ρίους πόλεμον. προέθεντο δὲ στρατοπέδους ὁκτὼ διακινδυνεύειν, ὁ πρῶτον ουδέποτ' ἐγεγόνει παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις, ἐκάστου τῶν στρατοπέδων ἔχοντος ἀν-δρας εἰς πεντακισχίλιοι χωρίς τῶν συμμάχων.

10 Ῥωμαίοι γάρ, καθά ποὺ καὶ πρῶτον εἰρήκαμεν, ἀεὶ ποτὲ τέτταρα στρατόπεδα προχειρίζονται. τὸ δὲ στρατόπεδου πεζοῦς μὲν λαμβάνει περὶ τετρακι-

11 σιλίους, ἵππεῖς δὲ διακοσίους. ἔπαν δὲ τις ὀλοσχε-

12 ρεστέρα προφαίνηται χρεία, τοὺς μὲν πεζοὺς ἐν ἐκά-

13 στῳ στρατόπεδῳ ποιοῦσι περὶ πεντακισχίλιος, τοὺς

14 εξαποστέλλουσιν ἐπὶ τὰς πράξεις. καὶ τοὺς μὲν

15 πλεῖστους ἀγώνας δι' ἐνὸς ὑπάτου καὶ δύο στρα-

16 τοπείδων καὶ τοῦ προειρημένου πλήθους τῶν συμ-

20 μάχων κρίνουσι, σπανίως δὲ πᾶσι πρὸς ἐνα καιρὸν

108 Διὸ καὶ παρακαλέσαντες τοὺς περὶ τῶν Αἰμί-

264 λιων, καὶ πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν θέντες τὸ μέγεθος τῶν

εἰς ἐκάστον τὸ μέρος ἀποβησομένων ἐκ τῆς μάχης,

ξαπέστειλαν, ἐντελάμενοι σὺν καιρῷ κρίνειν τὰ

2 ὅλα γενναίως καὶ τῆς πατρίδος ἀξίως. οἱ καὶ παρα-

γενόμενοι πρὸς τὰς δυνάμεις καὶ συναθροίσαντες
tὰ πλήθη τὴν τε τῆς συγκλήτου γνώμην διεσά-

φησαι τοῖς πολλοῖς καὶ παρεκάλουν τὰ πρέποντα
previously he was thought to have conducted the Illyrian war with courage and advantage to the state. They decided to bring eight legions into the field, a thing which had never been done before by the Romans, each legion consisting of about five thousand men apart from the allies. For, as I previously explained, they invariably employ four legions, each numbering about four thousand foot and two hundred horse, but on occasions of exceptional gravity they raise the number of foot in each legion to five thousand and that of the cavalry to three hundred. They make the number of the allied infantry equal to that of the Roman legions, but, as a rule, the allied cavalry are three times as numerous as the Roman. They give each of the Consuls half of the allies and two legions when they dispatch them to the field, and most of their wars are decided by one Consul with two legions and the above number of allies, it being only on rare occasions that they employ all their forces at one time and in one battle. But now they were so alarmed and anxious as to the future that they decided to bring into action not four legions but eight.

108. Therefore after exhorting Aemilius and putting before his eyes the magnitude of the results which in either event the battle would bring about, they dispatched him with orders to decide the issue, when the time came, bravely and worthily of his country. On reaching the army he assembled the soldiers and conveyed to them the decision of the Senate, addressing them in a manner befitting the
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

tois parastwos kairois, eis autopatheias tou Leu-
3 kióni diatitheménon tous logous. òn de tâ pleiosta
tâw logosménwv prós touton teínon tâw noûn, tâw
ýper tâw neostì geoonótwn sumpatymátow. òde
ýar kai têde pou synebaïne diatetrafthai kai
4 prosodeiðthai parainèsewos tous polloûs. diópe-
érato swnystánein òti tâw mên en taïs prosyge-
ménais máxais elattwmátow oûx en oûde dèute-
ron, kai pleiów d' òn eûroî tis aítia, di' a touô-
5 ton autôtòn exèbê tò telos, epì ò de tâw nûn kaiðw
oudeímia leîpetai proðbasis, eân vàndres ñsw, tou
6 mì níkàw tous êxhroûs. tòte mèn ýar ouste toûs
ýgemônas àmfotérous ouðêtote synngynóthai toûs
stratopédoi, ouste taïs dynámesi kekrîðhâi geug-
mwasménais, allâ neoosyllôgos káorátous pantôs
7 deinou: tò te megistôn, epì tósouton ángnoëiðhâi
par' autôtis próteron tâ katal tâs úpenántous
wòste scheidôn mèd' éwukotôas toûs antagwosóstas
paratatpeúthai kai synkatabaînein eîs toûs ðolo-
8 skhereis kydúnous. oi mèn ýar peri tôn Térbhian
potamôn ophalêntes, ék Sikelias tî protéria
parakynhêntes, ãma twî fwtî tî katal pôdas
9 ëmèra paratázantò. toûs de katal Turrhian
ánwosaménous ouç ouîn próteron, all' ouû' òn
autî tî máxh swnideîn exegéneto toûs poleimous
10 diâ tò peri tôn áéra genómênou sùmptuma. ònûn ge
mèn pânta tânantia toûs proeirhmênoûs úpærchei.
109 prótoûn ýar ëmeîs àmfoteroi páresmev ouîmóû
autôi konwsthontes ùmîn twn kydûnous, allà
kai toûs ëk tòu próteron ètous árchoûs ètôi-
mous parakseinakamên prós to ménev kai metêchein
2 twn autôtôn ägônwn. ëmeîs ge mèn ouîmóû ëw-
266
occasion and in words that evidently sprang from his heart. The greater part of his speech was devoted to accounting for the former reverses, for it was particularly the impression created by these that made the men disheartened and in need of encouragement. He attempted therefore to impress upon them, that while not one or two but many causes could be found owing to which the previous battles resulted in defeat, there was at present, if they behaved like men, no reason at all left why they should not be victorious. "For then," he said, "the two Consuls never gave battle with their united armies, nor were the forces they disposed of well trained, but raw levies who had never looked danger in the face. But the most important consideration of all is that our troops were then so ignorant of the enemy that one might almost say they ventured on decisive battles with them without ever having set eyes on them. Those who were worsted at the Trebia had only arrived from Sicily the day before, and at daybreak on the following morning went into action, while those who fought in Etruria not only had not seen their enemies before, but could not even see them in the battle itself owing to the condition of the atmosphere. But now all the circumstances are precisely the opposite of what they were then. 109. For in the first place we, the Consuls, are both present, and are not only about to share your perils ourselves but have given you also the Consuls of last year to stand by you and participate in the struggle. And you your-

a This is not consistent with the statement in Chapter 69.
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

ράκατε τοὺς καθοπλισμοὺς, τὰς τάξεις, τὰ πλήθη τῶν πολεμίων, ἀλλὰ καὶ διαμαχόμενοι μόνον οὐ καθ᾽ ἐκάστην ἥμεραν δεύτερον ἔναντιν ἥδη διατε- 

3 λέιτε. πάντων οὖν τῶν κατὰ μέρος ἐναντίως ἐχόν- 
tων ταῖς προγεγεγενήμεναι μάχαις εἰκὸς καὶ τὸ τέλος 

4 ἐναντίον ἐκβήσεσθαι τοῦ νῦν ἀγώνος. καὶ γὰρ ἀτο- 
pον, μάλλον δ᾽ ὡς εἰπεῖν ἀδύνατον, ἐν μὲν τοῖς 
kατὰ μέρος ἀκροβολισμοῖς ἵσσους πρὸς ἱσσους συμ- 
pίπτοντας τὸ πλείον ἐπικρατεῖν, ὁμοί δὲ πάντας 

5 παραταξαμένους, πλείους δντας ἡ διπλασίους τῶν 

6 υπεναντίων, ἐλαττωθήναι. διόπερ, ὦ ἄνδρες, πάν- 
tων ὑμῖν παρεσκευασμένων πρὸς τὸ νικᾶν, ἐνὸς 

7 προσδείται τὰ πράγματα, τῆς ὑμετέρας βουλήσεως 

8 καὶ προθυμίας, ύπερ ἢς οὐδὲ παρακαλεῖσθαι πλεῖω 

9 πρέπειν ὑμῖν ὑπολαμβάνων. τοῖς μὲν γε μισθοῦ 

10 παρὰ τοιο στρατευομένοις ἢ τοῖς κατὰ συμμαχίαν 

11 ύπερ τῶν πέλας μέλλουσι κινδυνεύειν, οἷς κατ᾽ αὐ- 

12 τὸν τῶν ἀγώνα καιρός ἐστὶ δεινότατος, τὰ δ᾽ ἐκ τῶν 

13 ἀποβαινόντων βραχείαν ἔχει διαφοράν, ἀναγκαῖος 

14 ὅ τῆς παρακλήσεως γίνεται τρόπος: οἷς δὲ, καθά- 

15 περ ὑμῖν νῦν, οὐχ ύπερ ἐτέρων, ἀλλ᾽ ύπερ σφῶν 

16 αὐτῶν καὶ πατρίδος καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ τέκνων ο ἱνδύνος 

17 συνέστηκε, καὶ πολλαπλασίαν τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα 

18 συμβαίνουτα τὴν διαφοράν ἔχει τῶν ἐνεστῶτων ἂεί 

19 κινδύνων, ὑπομνήσεως μόνον, παρακλήσεως δ᾽ οὐ 

20 προσδεί. τίς γὰρ οὐκ ἂν βούλοιτο μάλιστα μὲν 

21 νικᾶν ἀγωνιζόμενος, εἰ δὲ μὴ τούτ᾽ εἰ ἰδυνατόν, 

22 τεθνάναι πρόσθεν μαχόμενος ἢ ζῶν ἐπίδειν τὴν τῶν 

23 προερημένων ὑβριν καὶ καταφθοράν; διόπερ, ὦ 

24 ἄνδρες, χωρὶς τῶν ὑπ᾽ ἐμοῦ λεγομένων, αὐτοὶ λαμ- 

268
selves have not only seen how the enemy are armed, how they dispose their forces, and what is their strength, but for two years now you have been fighting with them nearly every day. As, therefore, all the conditions are now the reverse of those in the battles I spoke of, we may anticipate that the result of the present battle will likewise be the opposite. For it would be a strange or rather indeed impossible thing, that after meeting your enemies on equal terms in so many separate skirmishes and in most cases being victorious, now when you confront them with your united forces and outnumber them by more than two to one you should be beaten. Therefore, my men, every measure having been taken to secure victory for you, one thing alone is wanting, your own zeal and resolution, and as to this it is not, I think, fitting that I should exhort you further. For those who in some countries serve for hire or for those who are about to fight for their neighbours by the terms of an alliance, the moment of greatest peril is during the battle itself, but the result makes little difference to them, and in such a case exhortation is necessary. But those who like you are about to fight not for others, but for yourselves, your country, and your wives and children, and for whom the results that will ensue are of vastly more importance than the present peril, require not to be exhorted to do their duty but only to be reminded of it. For what man is there who would not wish before all things to conquer in the struggle, or if this be not possible, to die fighting rather than witness the outrage and destruction of all that is dearest to him? Therefore, my men, even without these words of mine, fix your
βάνοντες πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν τὴν ἐκ τοῦ λείπεσθαι καὶ τοῦ νικῶν διαφορὰν καὶ τὰ συνεξακολουθοῦντα τοὺς, οὕτως ἐαυτοὺς παραστήσεθε πρὸς τὴν μάχην ὡς τὴς πατρίδος οὐ κινδυνεύοντος νῦν αὐτοῖς τοῖς 10 στρατοπέδοις, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ὅλοις. τί γὰρ ἐτὶ προσθέσεια τοῖς ὑποκειμένοις, ἔαν ἄλλως πως τὰ παρόντα κρεθῆ, περιγενήσεται τῶν ἔχθρων, οὐκ ἔχει. πάσαν γὰρ τὴν αὐτῆς προθυμίαν καὶ δύναμιν εἰς ὑμᾶς ἀπῆρευται, καὶ πάσας τὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχει τῆς σωτηρίας ἐν ὑμῖν. 12 ὃν ὑμεῖς αὐτὴν μὴ διαφεύγητε νῦν, ἀλλ' ἀπόδοτε μὲν τῇ πατρίδι τὰς ἀρμοζούσας χάριτας, φανερὸν δὲ πάσων ἀνθρώπων ποιήσατε διότι καὶ τὰ πρότερον ἐλαττώματα γέγονεν οὐ διὰ τὸ Ῥωμαίους χείρος ἄνδρας εἶναι Καρχηδονίων, ἀλλὰ δι’ ἀπειρίαν τῶν τότε μαχομένων καὶ διὰ τὰς ἐκ τῶν καιρῶν περιστά- 13 σεις. τότε μὲν οὕν ταῦτα καὶ τοιαύτα παρακαλέσας ὁ Δεύκιος διαφῆκε τοὺς πόλλοις.

110 Τῇ δ' ἐπαύριον ἀναζεῦχαντες ἦγον τὴν δύναμιν οὐ τοὺς πολεμίους ἦκουν στρατοπεδεύειν. δευτεραῖοι δ' ἐπιβαλόντες παρενέβαλον, περὶ πεντήκοντα 2 στάδιον ἀποσχόντες τῶν πολεμίων. ὁ μὲν οὖν Δεύκιος, συνθεασάμενος ἐπιπέδους καὶ ψυλοὺς ὄντας τοὺς πέριξ τόπους, οὐκ ἔβη δεῖν συμβάλλειν ἱπποκρατοῦντων τῶν πολεμίων, ἀλλ' ἐπισπάσθαι καὶ προάγει μᾶλλον εἰς τόπους τοιώντος ἐν οἷς τὸ πλέον ἔσται διὰ τῶν πεζικῶν στρατοπέδων ἡ μάχη. 3 τοῦ δὲ Γαίου διὰ τὴν ἀπειρίαν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἑναντίας ὕπαρχοντος γνώμης, ἦν ἀμφισβήτησις καὶ δυσχρηστία περὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας, ὁ πάντων ἔστι σφαλερώ 4 τατον. τῆς δ' ἡγεμονίας τῷ Γαίῳ καθηκούσης εἰς τὴν ἐπιούσιν ἦμέραν διὰ τὸ παρὰ μίαν ἐκ τῶν ἔθισμῶν μεταλαμβάνειν τὴν ἀρχὴν τοὺς ὑπάτους, ἀνα-
eyes on the difference between defeat and victory and on all that must follow upon either, and enter on this battle as if not your country's legions but her existence were at stake. For if the issue of the day be adverse, she has no further resources to overcome her foes; but she has centred all her power and spirit in you, and in you lies her sole hope of safety. Do not cheat her, then, of this hope, but now pay the debt of gratitude you owe to her, and make it clear to all men that our former defeats were not due to the Romans being less brave than the Carthaginians, but to the inexperience of those who fought for us then and to the force of circumstances.” Having addressed the troops in these words Aemilius dismissed them.

110. Next day the Consuls broke up their camp and advanced towards the place where they heard that of the enemy was. Coming in view of them on the second day, they encamped at a distance of about five miles from them. Aemilius, seeing that the district round was flat and treeless, was opposed to attacking the enemy there as they were superior in cavalry, his advice being to lure them on by advancing into a country where the battle would be decided rather by the infantry. As Terentius, owing to his inexperience, was of the contrary opinion, difficulties and disputes arose between the generals, one of the most pernicious things possible. Terentius was in command next day—the two Consuls according to the usual practice commanding on alternate days—and he broke up his camp and
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

στρατοπεδεύσας προῆγε, βουλόμενος ἐγγίσαι τοῖς πολεμίοις, πολλὰ διαμαρτυρομένου καὶ κωλύοντος τοῦ Δευκίου. ὁ δὲ Ἀννίβας ἀναλαβὼν τοὺς ευ-ζώνους καὶ τοὺς ἰππεῖς ἀπῆντα, καὶ προσπεσών ἐτι κατὰ πορείαν οὕσι παραδόξως συνεπλέκετο, καὶ πο-λὺν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐποιεῖτο θόρυβον. οἱ δὲ Ρωμαιοὶ τὴν μὲν πρώτην ἐπιφορὰν ἐδέξαντο, προθέμενοι τινὰς τῶν ἐν τοῖς βαρέσι καθοπλισμοῖς· μετὰ δὲ ταύτα τοὺς ἀκοινοτάς καὶ τοὺς ἰππεῖς ἐπαφέντες ἐπροτε-ρουν κατὰ τὴν ὅλην συμπλοκὴν διὰ τὸ τοῖς μὲν Καρ-χηδονίοις μηδὲν ἐφεδρεύειν ἄξιόλογον, τοῖς δὲ Ρωμαιοῖς ἀναμεμιγμένας τοῖς εὐζώνοις ὑμὸσε κιν-7 δυνεύειν τινὰς σπείρας. τότε μὲν οὖν ἐπιγενομένης νυκτὸς ἐξωρίζθησαν ἀπ’ ἀλλήλων, οὐ κατὰ τὴν ἐλπίδα τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις ἐκβάσης τῆς ἐπιθέσεως·
8 εἰς δὲ τὴν ἐπαύριον ὁ Δευκίος, οὔτε μάχεσθαι κρίνων οὔτε μὴν ἀπάγειν ἀσφαλῶς τὴν στρατιὰν ἐτὶ δυνάμενος, τοῖς μὲν δυσὶ μέρεσι κατεστρατοπέδευσε παρὰ τὸν Αὐφίδον καλούμενον ποταμοῦν, δὲ μόνος διαρρέε τὸν Ἀπεννίνον· τοῦτο δ’ ἔστω ὅρος συνεχές, ὁ διείργει πάσας τὰς κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ῥύσεις, τὰς μὲν εἰς τὸ Τυρρηνικὸν πέλαγος, τὰς δ’ εἰς τὸν Ἀ-δριαν. δ’ οὐ̣ βέοντα συμβάινει τὸν Αὐφίδον τὰς μὲν πηγὰς ἔχειν ἐν τοῖς πρὸς τὸ Τυρρηνικὸν κλίμασι τῆς Ἰταλίας, ποιεῖσθαι δὲ τὴν ἐκβολὴν εἰς τὸν Ἀδριαν ’τὸ δὲ τρίτω πέραν, ἀπὸ διαβάσεως πρὸς τὰς ἀνα-τολάς, ἐβάλετο χάρακα, τῆς μὲν ἰδίας παρεμβολῆς περὶ δέκα σταδίους ἀποσχών, τῆς δὲ τῶν ὑπεναν-τίων μικρῷ πλείου, βουλόμενος διὰ τούτων προ-καθήσασθαι μὲν τῶν ἐκ τῆς πέραν παρεμβολῆς προ-νομεύοντων, ἐπικεῖσθαι δὲ τοῖς παρὰ τῶν Καρχη-δονίων. 272
advanced with the object of approaching the enemy in spite of Aemilius's strong protests and efforts to prevent him. Hannibal met him with his light-armed troops and cavalry and surprising him while still on the march disordered the Romans much. They met, however, the first charge by advancing some of their heavy infantry, and afterwards sending forwards also their javelineers and cavalry got the better in the whole engagement, as the Carthaginians had no considerable covering force, while they themselves had some companies of their legions fighting mixed with the light-armed troops. The fall of night now made them draw off from each other, the attack of the Carthaginians not having had the success they hoped. Next day Aemilius, who neither judged it advisable to fight nor could now withdraw the army in safety, encamped with two-thirds of it on the bank of the river Aufidus. This is the only river which traverses the Apennines, the long chain of mountains separating all the Italian streams, those on one side descending to the Tyrrhenian sea and those on the other to the Adriatic. The Aufidus, however, runs right through these mountains, having its source on the side of Italy turned to the Tyrrhenian Sea and falling into the Adriatic. For the remaining portion of his army he fortified a position on the farther side of the river, to the east of the ford, at a distance of about two miles from his own camp and rather more from that of the enemy, intending thus to cover the foraging parties from his main camp across the river and harass those of the Carthaginians.
111 Ἄννίβας δὲ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν θεωρῶν ὅτι καλεῖ τὰ πράγματα μάχεσθαι καὶ συμβάλλει τοῖς πολεμίως, εὐλαβοῦμενος δὲ μὴ διατέρπαται τὸ πλῆθος έκ τοῦ προγεγονότος ἐλαττώματος, κρίνας προσδείσαι παρακλήσεως τὸν καιρὸν συνῆγε τούς 
2 πολλοὺς. ἀθροισθέντων δὲ, περιβλέψαι κελεύσας πάντας εἰς τοὺς περίξ τόπους, ᾧρετο τὶ μειζὸν εὗρισκεῖν ἁγία ἁγίων κατὰ τοὺς παρόντας ἐδύναντο καιροὺς, δοθείσας αὐτοῖς ἐξουσίας, τὸν παρὰ πολὺ τῶν πολεμίων ἱπποκρατοῦντας ἐν τοιούτους τόπους 
3 διακριθῆναι περὶ τῶν ὅλων. πάντων δὲ τὸ ῥήθην ἐπισημηναμένων διὰ τὴν ἐνάργειαν, Τούτου τοὐγαροῦν, ἐφη, πρῶτον μὲν τοῖς θεοῖς ἔχετε χάριν· ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ ἦμεν συγκατασκευάσοντες τὴν νίκην εἰς 
4 τοιούτους τόπους ἠχαίοι τοὺς ἐχθροὺς. δεύτερον δὲ ἦμεν, ὅτι καὶ μάχεσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους συνήγαγάσαμεν, οὐ γὰρ ἔτι δύνανται τοῦτο διαφυγεῖν, καὶ μάχεσθαι προφανῶς ἐν τοῖς ἡμετέρους προτερήμασι. 
5 τὸ δὲ παρακάλειν ὑμᾶς νῦν διὰ πλειόνων εὐθαρ- 
6 σείς καὶ προσῆμους εἶναι πρὸς τὸν κύδυνον οὐδα-
7 μώς μοι δοκεῖ καθήκειν. ὅτε μὲν γὰρ ἀπείρως διέκεισθε τῆς πρὸς Ὁρμαίον, μάχης, ἔδει τοῦτο ποιεῖν, καὶ μεθ’ ὑποδειγμάτων ἐγώ πρὸς ὑμᾶς πολ-
8 λούς διεθέμην λόγους. ὅτε δὲ κατὰ τὸ συνεχεῖς τρισὶ 
9 μάχαις τηλικάυταις ἐξ ὁμολογουμένου νεικήκατε Ὁρμαίοις, ποῖος ἂν ἔτι λόγος ὑμῖν ἵσχυρότερον 

THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

274
111. Hannibal now seeing that it was imperative for him to give battle and attack the enemy, and careful lest his soldiers might be disheartened by this recent reverse, thought that the occasion demanded some words of exhortation and called a meeting of the men. When they were assembled he bade them all look at the country round, and asked them what greater boon they could in their present circumstances crave from the gods, if they had their choice, than to fight the decisive battle on such ground, greatly superior as they were to the enemy in cavalry. As they could see this for themselves they all applauded and, he continued: "In the first place then thank the gods for this; for it is they who working to aid you to victory have led the enemy on to such ground, and next thank myself for compelling them to fight, a thing they can no longer avoid, and to fight here where the advantages are manifestly ours. I do not think it at all my duty to exhort you at further length to be of good heart and eager for the battle, and this is why. Then, when you had no experience of what a battle with the Romans was, this was necessary, and I often addressed you, giving examples, but now that you have beyond dispute beaten the Romans consecutively in three great battles, what words of mine could confirm your courage more than your own deeds? For by these former battles you have gained possession of the country and all its wealth, even as I promised you, and not a word I spoke but has proved true; and the coming battle will be for the cities and their wealth. Your victory will make
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

κύριοι μὲν ἔσεσθε παραχρῆμα πάσης Ἰταλίας, ἀπαλ-
λαγέντες δὲ τῶν νῦν πόνων, γενόμενοι συμπάθης
ἐγκρατεῖς τῆς Ῥωμαιῶν εὐδαιμονίας, ἤγεμόνες ἄμα
καὶ δεσπόται πάντων γενήσεσθε διὰ ταύτης τῆς
μάχης. διόπερ οὐκέτι λόγων, ἀλλ' ἔργων ἐστίν ἡ
χρεία. θεέν γὰρ βουλομένων ὅσον οὗτοι βεβαιώ-

112 Τῇ δ' ἐχομένη περὶ παρακεκυήν καὶ θεραπεῖαν
παρῆγγειλε γίνεσθαι πάση. τῇ δ' ἐξῆς παρὰ τῶν
ποταμῶν ἐξέτατε τὰ στρατόπεδα, καὶ δὴλος ἤ μά-
χεσθαι σπεύδων τοὺς ὑπεναντίοις. ὦ δὲ Λεύκιος,
δυσαρεστούμενος μὲν τοῖς τόποις, ὅρων δ' ὃτι τα-
χέως ἀναγκασθήσονται μεταστρατοπεδεύειν οἱ Καρ-
χιδόνιοι διὰ τὸν πορισμὸν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων, εἰχε
τὴν ἡσυχίαν, ἀσφαλισάμενος ταῖς ἑθεδρείαις τὰς
παρεμβολάς. Ἀννίβας δὲ χρόνων ἰκανὸν μείναις,
οὔδενός ἀντεξιόντος, τὴν μὲν λοιπὴν δύναμιν
ἀθης εἰς χάρακα κατέστησε, τοὺς δὲ Νομάδας
ἐπαφῆκε τοὺς ὑδρευμένους ἀπὸ τῆς ἑλάττονος
παρεμβολῆς. τῶν δὲ Νομάδων ἔσω πρὸς αὐτὸν
τὸν χάρακα προσπιτῶντοι καὶ διακωλυόντων
τὴν υδρείαν, ὥ τε Γάιος ἐτί μᾶλλον ἐπὶ τοῦτοις
παρωξύνετο, τὰ τοι ἀνθήθη πρὸς τὸν κύδυνον
ὁμῆν εἰχε καὶ δυσχερῶς ἐφερε τὰς ὑπερβέσεις.
5 βαρύτατος γὰρ δὴ πάσιν ἀνθρώποις ὦ τοῦ μέλ-
λεων γίνεται χρόνος· ὅταν δ' ἀπαξ κριθῇ, ὥ τι ἄν
276
you at once masters of all Italy, and through this one battle you will be freed from your present toil, you will possess yourselves of all the vast wealth of Rome, and will be lords and masters of all men and all things. Therefore no more words are wanted, but deeds; for if it be the will of the gods I am confident that I shall fulfil my promises forthwith.” After he had spoken further to this effect, the army applauded him heartily, whereupon he thanked them and acknowledging their spirit dismissed them, and immediately pitched his camp, placing his entrenchments by the same bank of the river with the larger camp of the enemy.

112. Next day he ordered all his troops to look to their persons and their accoutrements, and on the day following he drew up his army along the river with the evident intention of giving battle as soon as possible. Aemilius was not pleased with the ground, and seeing that the Carthaginians would soon have to shift their camp in order to obtain supplies, kept quiet, after securing his two camps by covering forces. Hannibal, after waiting for some time without anyone coming out to meet him, withdrew again the rest of his army into their entrenchments, but sent out the Numidians to intercept the water-bearers from the lesser Roman camp. When the Numidians came up to the actual palisade of the camp and prevented the men from watering, not only was this a further stimulus to Terentius, but the soldiers displayed great eagerness for battle and ill brooked further delay. For nothing is more trying to men in general than prolonged suspense, but when the issue has once been decided we make
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

6 Εἰς δὲ τὴν Ῥώμην προσπεπτωκότος ὅτι παραστρα-
tοπεδεύουσιν ἄλληλοι καὶ συμπλοκαὶ γίνονται τῶν
προκινδυνεύοντων ἀν ἐκάστην ήμέραν, ὅρθῇ καὶ
7 περίφοβος ἦν ἡ πόλις, δεδιότων μὲν τῶν πολλῶν τὸ
μέλλον διὰ τὸ πολλάκις ἤδη προηττήθησαι, προορω-
μένων δὲ καὶ προλαμβανόντων τὰ συμβησόμενα ταῖς
8 εὐνοίαις, ἔδων σφάλλωνται τοῖς ὀλοίς. πάντα δ’ ἦν
τὰ παρ’ αὐτοῖς λόγια πάσι τότε διὰ στόματος, ση-
μείων δὲ καὶ τεράτων πάν μὲν ἱερόν, πᾶσα δ’ ἦν
οἰκία πλήρης, ἐξ ὧν εὐχαί καὶ θυοίαι καὶ θεών
9 ἱκετηρίαι καὶ δεήσεις ἑπείχον τὴν πόλιν. δεινοὶ
gὰρ ἐν ταῖς περιστάσεσι Ῥωμαίοι καὶ θεοὺς ἔξιλα-
σασθαι καὶ θρώπους καὶ μηδὲν ἀπρεπές μηδ’ ἀγεν-
νές ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις καιροῖς ἢγείσθαι τῶν περὶ
tαῦτα συντελομένων.

113 Ὅ δὲ Γάιος ἀμα τῷ παραλαβεῖν τῇ κατὰ πόδας
ἡμέρα τὴν ἀρχὴν, ἀρτι τῇς κατὰ τὸν ἡλιον ἀνατολής
ἐπιφανομένης, ἐκινεῖ τὴν δύναμιν εἰς ἐκατέρας ἀμα
2 τῆς παρεμβολῆς, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐκ τοῦ μείζονος χά-
ρακος διαβιβάζων τὸν ποταμὸν εὐθέως παρενέβαλε,
tοὺς δὲ ἐκ διατέρου συνάπτων τούτους ἑπὶ τὴν αὐτὴν
eυθειὰν ἐξέταττε, λαμβάνων πᾶσι τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν
3 τὴν πρὸς μεσημβρίαν. τοὺς μὲν οὖν τῶν Ῥωμαίων
 ἐπιπείς παρ’ αὐτῶν τὸν ποταμὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ δεξιοῦ κερα-
tος κατέστησε, τοὺς δὲ πεζοὺς συνεχεῖς τούτους ἑπὶ
tῆς αὐτῆς εὐθείας ἐξέτεινε, πυκνοτέρας ἡ πρόσθεν
tὰς σημαίας καθιστάνων, καὶ πολὺν πολλαπλάσιον
4 τὸ βάθος ἐν ταῖς σπέιραις τοῦ μετώπου· τοὺς δὲ
tῶν συμμάχων ἐπιπείς εἰς τὸ λαϊὸν κέρας παρεν-
έβαλε· πάσης δὲ τῆς δυνάμεως προέστησε τοὺς εὐ-
a shift to endure patiently all that men regard as the depth of misery.

When the news reached Rome that the armies were encamped opposite each other and that engagements between the outposts occurred every day, there was the utmost excitement and fear in the city, as most people dreaded the result owing to their frequent previous reverses, and foresaw and anticipated in imagination the consequences of total defeat. All the oracles that had ever been delivered to them were in men’s mouths, every temple and every house was full of signs and prodigies, so that vows, sacrifices, supplicatory processions and litanies pervaded the town. For in seasons of danger the Romans are much given to propitiating both gods and men, and there is nothing at such times in rites of the kind that they regard as unbecoming or beneath their dignity.

113. Next day it was Terentius’ turn to take the command, and just after sunrise he began to move his forces out of both camps. Crossing the river with those from the larger camp he at once put them in order of battle, drawing up those from the other camp next to them in the same line, the whole army facing south. He stationed the Roman cavalry close to the river on the right wing and the foot next to them in the same line, placing the maniples closer together than was formerly the usage and making the depth of each many times exceed its front. The allied horse he drew up on his left wing, and in front of the whole force at some
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

5 ζώνους ἐν ἀποστάσει. ἦσαν δὲ σὺν τοῖς συμμάχοις πεζῶν μὲν εἰς ὅκτω μυριάδας, ἵππεις δὲ μικρῷ
6 πλείους τῶν ἐξακισχιλίων. Ἀννίβας δὲ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν τοὺς μὲν Βαλιαρεῖς καὶ λογχοφόρους
diαβιβάσας τὸν ποταμὸν προεβάλετο τῆς δυνάμεως,
tοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἔξαγαγὼν ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος καὶ πε-
ραιώσας κατὰ διπτοὺς τόπους τὸ βείθρον ἀντετάτ-
7 τετο τοῖς πολεμίοις. ἔτιθει δ' ἐπ' αὐτὸν μὲν τῶν
ποταμῶν, ἐπὶ τῶν εὐσωμών, τοὺς Ἴβηρας καὶ Κελ-
tους ἰππεῖς ἀντίους τοὺς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἰππεύσι,
συνεχεῖς δὲ τούτοις πέζους τοὺς ἠμίσεις τῶν ἐν
toῖς βαρέσι καθοπλισμοῖς Διβύων, ἔξης δὲ τοῖς
eἰρημένοις Ἴβηρας καὶ Κελτοὺς. παρὰ δὲ τούτοις
tὸ λοιπὸν μέρος ἔθηκε τῶν Διβύων, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ
8 δεξιοῦ κέρως ἐπέταξε τοὺς Νομαδικοὺς ἰππεῖς. ἐπει
dὲ πάντ', ἔπι μίαν εὐθείαν ἐξέτευσε, μετὰ ταῦτα
λαβὼν τὰ μέσα τῶν Ἴβηρων καὶ Κελτῶν τάγματα
προῆγε, καὶ τάλλα τούτοις ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ λόγον παρ-
ιστάνε τζυγοῦντα, μηνουδές ποιῶν τὸ κύρτωμα καὶ
9 λεπτύνων τὸ τούτων αὐτῶν σχῆμα, βουλόμενος ἐφ-
εδρείας μὲν τάξιν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τοὺς Διβύας αὐτῶν
ἐχειν, προκειμένου δὲ τοῖς Ἴβηροι καὶ Κελτοὶς.

114 Ἡν δ' ὁ καθοπλισμὸς τῶν μὲν Διβύων Ῥωμαι-
kός, οὐδ' πάντας Ἄννίβας τοῖς ἐκ τῆς προγεγεν-
2 μένης μάχης σκύλους ἐκλέξας κατακεκομήκει· τῶν
d' Ἴβηρων καὶ Κελτῶν ὁ μὲν θυρεὸς ἢν παραπλη-
3 σις, τὰ δὲ ξύφη τὴν ἐναντίαν εἶχε διάθεσιν· τῆς
μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἔλαττον τὸ κέντημα τῆς καταφορᾶς
ἰσχυρὸν πρὸς τὸ βλάπτειν, ἢ δὲ Γαλατικῆ μάχαιρα
μιᾶν εἶχε χρείαν τὴν ἐκ καταφορᾶς, καὶ ταύτην ἔξ
4 ἀποστάσεως. ἐναλλάξ δὲ ταῖς σπείραις αὐτῶν
παρατεταγμένων, καὶ τῶν μὲν Κεγτῶν γυμνῶν, τῶν
280
distance he placed his light-armed troops. The whole army, including the allies, numbered about eighty thousand foot and rather more than six thousand horse. Hannibal at the same time sent his slingers and pikemen over the river and stationed them in front, and leading the rest of his forces out of camp he crossed the stream in two places and drew them up opposite the enemy. On his left close to the river he placed his Spanish and Celtic horse facing the Roman cavalry, next these half his heavy-armed Africans, then the Spanish and Celtic infantry, and after them the other half of the Africans, and finally, on his right wing, his Numidian horse. After thus drawing up his whole army in a straight line, he took the central companies of the Spaniards and Celts and advanced with them, keeping the rest of them in contact with these companies, but gradually falling off, so as to produce a crescent-shaped formation, the line of the flanking companies growing thinner as it was prolonged, his object being to employ the Africans as a reserve force and to begin the action with the Spaniards and Celts.

114. The Africans were armed in the Roman fashion, Hannibal having equipped them with the choicest of the arms captured in the previous battles. The shields of the Spaniards and Celts were very similar, but their swords were entirely different, those of the Spaniards thrusting with as deadly effect as they cut, but the Gaulish sword being only able to slash and requiring a long sweep to do so. As they were drawn up in alternate companies, the Gauls naked and the Spaniards in short tunics bordered with purple, their national dress, they
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

8' Ἴβήρων λινοῖς περιπορφύρους χιτωνίσκους κεκοσμημένων κατὰ τὰ πάτρια, ἔσείσοντας ἀμα καὶ καταπληκτικὴν συνέβανε γίνεσθαι τὴν πρόσοψιν.

5 ἦν δὲ τὸ μὲν τῶν ἵππων πλῆθος τὸ σύμπαν τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις εἰς μυρίους, τὸ δὲ τῶν πεζῶν οὐ πολὺ πλείους τετρακισνύμων σὺν τοῖς Κελτοῖς.

6 εἶχε δὲ τὸ μὲν δεξιόν τῶν Ῥωμαίων Αἰμίλιος, τὸ δ' εὐώνυμον Γάιος, τὰ δὲ μέσα Μάρκος καὶ Γνάιος

7 οἱ τῷ πρῶτον ἦσαν στρατηγοὺντες. τῶν δὲ Καρχηδονίων τὸ μὲν εὐώνυμον Ἀσδρούβαζος εἶχε, τὸ δὲ δεξιόν "Ἀνων: ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς μέσοις αὐτὸς ἦν ᾿Ἀνίβας, ἔχων μεθ’ εαυτοῦ Μάγωνα τὸν ἄδελφον. βλεποῦσις δὲ τῆς μὲν τῶν Ῥωμαίων τάξεως πρὸς μεσμυρίαν, ὡς ἐπάνω προείπα, τῆς δὲ τῶν Καρχηδονίων πρὸς τὰς ἄρκτους, ἐκατέρως ἄβλαβη συνέβανε γίνεσθαι τὴν κατὰ τὸν θῆλον ἀνατολήν.

115 Γενομένης δὲ τῆς συμπλοκῆς τῆς πρώτης ἐκ τῶν προτεταγμένων, τὰς μὲν ἀρχὰς αὐτῶν τῶν εὐζώνων

2 ἐπὶ ἵσον ἦν ὁ κίνδυνος, ἀμα δὲ τῶν τοὺς Ἴβηρας καὶ Κελτοὺς ἐπείεις ἀπὸ τῶν εὐώνυμων πελάσαι τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἑποίουν οὕτως μάχην ἀλήθην καὶ

3 βαρβαρίᾳ. οὐ γὰρ ἦν κατὰ νόμους ἐξ ἀναστροφῆς και μεταβολῆς ὁ κίνδυνος, ἀλλ’ εἰσάπαξ συμπεσόντες ἐμάχοντο συμπλεκόμενοι κατ’ ἄνδρα, παρακατα-

4 βαίνοντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων. ἐπειδὴ δ’ ἕκρατησαν οἱ παρὰ τῶν Καρχηδονίων καὶ τοὺς μὲν πλείστους ἀπέκτειναν ἐν τῇ συμπλοκῇ, πάντων ἐκθύμως καὶ χειραίως διαγωνιζόμενων τῶν Ῥωμαίων, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἠλαυνὸν παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν φονεύοντες καὶ προσφέροντες τὰς χειρὰς ἀπαραίτητως, τότε δὴ τὰ πεζικὰ στρατόπεδα διαδεξάμενα τοὺς εὐζώνους συν-

5 ἐπέσεν ἄλληλοις. ἐπὶ βραχὺ μὲν οὖν τῶν Ἴβήρων 282
presented a strange and impressive appearance. The Carthaginian cavalry numbered about ten thousand, and their infantry, including the Celts, did not much exceed forty thousand. The Roman right wing was under the command of Aemilius, the left under that of Terentius, and the centre under the Consuls of the previous year, Marcus Atilius and Gnaeus Servilius. Hasdrubal commanded the Carthaginian left, Hanno the right, and Hannibal himself with his brother Mago the centre. Since the Roman army, as I said, faced south and the Carthaginians north, they were neither of them inconvenienced by the rising sun.

115. The advanced guards were the first to come into action, and at first when only the light infantry were engaged neither side had the advantage; but when the Spanish and Celtic horse on the left wing came into collision with the Roman cavalry, the struggle that ensued was truly barbaric; for there were none of the normal wheeling evolutions, but having once met they dismounted and fought man to man. The Carthaginians finally got the upper hand, killed most of the enemy in the mellay, all the Romans fighting with desperate bravery, and began to drive the rest along the river, cutting them down mercilessly, and it was now that the heavy infantry on each side took the place of the light-armed troops and met. For a time the Spaniards
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

καὶ τῶν Κελτῶν ἐμενον αἱ τάξεις καὶ διεμάχοντο τοῖς 'Ῥωμαίοις γενναίως· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τῷ βάρει θλιβόμενοι κλίνοντες ὑπεχώρουν εἰς τοῦπισω, λύ-6 σαντες τὸν μηνίσκον. αἱ δὲ τῶν 'Ῥωμαίων σπείραι κατὰ τὴν ἐκθυμίαν ἐπόμεναι τούτους διέκοψαν ρα- δίως τὴν τῶν ὑπεναντίων τάξιν, ἀτε δὴ τῶν μὲν Κελτῶν ἐπὶ λεπτὸν ἐκτεταγμένων, αὐτοὶ δὲ πεπυ- κνωκότες ἀπὸ τῶν κεράτων ἐπὶ τὰ μέσα καὶ τὸν 7 κινδυνεύοντα τόπον οὐ γὰρ ἀμα συνέβαινε τὰ κέ- ρατα καὶ τὰ μέσα συμπίπτευν, ἀλλὰ πρῶτα τὰ μέσα, διὰ τὸ τοὺς Κελτοὺς ἐν μηνοειδεί σχῆματι τεταγ- μένους πολὺ προπεπτωκέναι τῶν κεράτων, ἀτε τοῦ μηνίσκον τὸ κύρτωμα πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐχόντος. 8 πλὴν ἐπόμενοι γε τούτοις οἱ 'Ῥωμαίοι καὶ συντρέ- χοντες ἐπὶ τὰ μέσα καὶ τὸν ἐκκοντα τόπον τῶν πο- λεμίων οὕτως ἐπὶ πολὺ προέπεσον ὥστ' ἐξ ἐκατέρου τοῦ μέρους κατὰ τὰς ἐκ τῶν πλαγίων ἐπιφανείας τοὺς Λίβυας αὐτῶν γενέσθαι τοὺς ἐν τοῖς βαρέσι 9 καθοπλισμοῖς· ὥν οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρατος κλίνοντες ἐπ' ἀσπίδα καὶ τὴν ἐμβολὴν ἐκ δόρατος ποιούμενοι παρίσταντο παρὰ πλευράν τοῖς πολε- 10 μίοις, οἱ δ' ἀπὸ τῶν εὐνώμων ἐπὶ δόρυ ποιού- μενοι τὴν κλίσιν ἐξ ἀσπίδος ἐπιπαρενέβαλλον, αὐ- τοὶ τοῦ πράγματος δὲν ἦν ποιεῖν ὑποδεικνύντος. 11 ἐξ οὖ συνέβη κατὰ τὴν 'Αννίβου πρόνοιᾳ μέσους ἀποληφθῆναι τοὺς 'Ῥωμαίους ὑπὸ τῶν Λιβύων κατὰ 12 τὴν ἐπὶ τοὺς Κελτοὺς παράπτωσιν. οὕτωι μὲν οὖν οὐκέτι φαλαγγηδόν, ἀλλὰ κατ' ἀνδρὰ καὶ κατὰ στεί- ρας στρεφόμενοι πρὸς τοὺς ἐκ τῶν πλαγίων προσ- πεπτωκότας ἐποιοῦντο τὴν μάχην.

116 Λεύκιος δὲ, καίπερ ὃν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρατος καὶ μετασχῆν ἐπὶ τὶ τοῦ τῶν ἱππέων 284
and Celts kept their ranks and struggled bravely with the Romans, but soon, borne down by the weight of the legions, they gave way and fell back, breaking up the crescent. The Roman maniples, pursuing them furiously, easily penetrated the enemy's front, since the Celts were deployed in a thin line while they themselves had crowded up from the wings to the centre where the fighting was going on. For the centres and wings did not come into action simultaneously, but the centres first, as the Celts were drawn up in a crescent and a long way in advance of their wings, the convex face of the crescent being turned towards the enemy. The Romans, however, following up the Celts and pressing on to the centre and that part of the enemy's line which was giving way, progressed so far that they now had the heavy-armed Africans on both of their flanks. Hereupon the Africans on the right wing facing to the left and then beginning from the right charged upon the enemy's flank, while those on the left faced to the right and dressing by the left, did the same, the situation itself indicating to them how to act. The consequence was that, as Hannibal had designed, the Romans, straying too far in pursuit of the Celts, were caught between the two divisions of the enemy, and they now no longer kept their compact formation but turned singly or in companies to deal with the enemy who was falling on their flanks.

116. Aemilius, though he had been on the right wing from the outset and had taken part in the
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

2 ἀγῶνος, ὃς ἐτι τότε διεσώζετο. βουλόμενος δὲ τοῖς κατὰ τὴν παράκλησιν λόγοις ἀκολούθως ἔπαινῃ γίνεσθαι τῶν ἔργων, καὶ θεωρῶν τὸ συνέχον τῆς κατὰ τὸν ἀγώνα κρίσεως ἐν τοῖς πεζικοῖς στρατοπέδους κείμενον, παριππεύοντι ἐπὶ τὰ μέσα τῆς ὀλίγης παρατάξεως ἁμα μὲν αὐτὸς συνεπλέκετο καὶ προσέφερε τὰς χεῖρας τοῖς ὑπεναντίοις, ἁμα δὲ παρεκάλει καὶ παράξενε τοὺς παρ' αὐτοῦ στρατιώτας. τὸ δὲ παραπλήσιον Ἀννίβας ἐποιεῖται καὶ γὰρ οὕτως ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐπὶ τούτοις τοῖς μέρεσιν ἐπέστη τῆς δυνάμεως.

5 Οἱ δὲ Νομάδες ἀπὸ τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρατος προσπίπτοντες τοὺς ὑπεναντίοις ἐπιπεύοντες ἐπὶ τῶν εὐνωύμων τεταγμένοις μέγα μὲν οὐτ' ἐποίουν οὐδὲν οὔτ' ἐπέσχον διὰ τὴν ἰδιότητα τῆς μάχης, ἀπράκτους γε μὴν τοὺς πολεμίους παρεσκευάζον, περισσώντες καὶ πανταχόθεν προσπίπτοντες. ἐπεὶ δ' οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀσδρούθαν, ἀποκτείναντες τοὺς περὶ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐππεῖσιν πλὴν παντελῶς ολίγων, παρεβοήησαν ἀπὸ τῶν εὐνωύμων τοῖς Νομάσι, τότε προϊόδεμεν τῇ ξόδον αὐτῶν οἱ σύμμαχοι τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐππείσιν, ἐκκλίναντες ἀπεχώρουν. εν οἷς καυρῷ πραγματικῶν δοκεῖ ποιήσαι καὶ φρόνιμον ἔργον Ἀσδρούθας· θεωρών γὰρ τοὺς Νομάδας τῷ τέ πλήθει πολλοὺς οὖντας καὶ πρακτικωτάτος καὶ θεωρώντας τοὺς ἀπαξ ἐγκλίνασι, τοὺς μὲν φεύγοντας παρέδωκε τοῖς Νομάσι, πρὸς δὲ τὴν τῶν πεζῶν μάχην ἤγειτο. σπευ-δὼν παραβοηθῆσαι τοῖς Λίβυσι. προσπεσών δὲ τοῖς Ῥωμαῖοις στρατοπέδουις κατὰ νότον, καὶ ποιούμενος ἐκ διαδοχῆς ταῖς ἰλαις ἐμβολὰς ἁμα κατὰ πολλοὺς τόπους, ἐπέρρωσε μὲν τοὺς Λίβυσις, ἐταπείνωσε δὲ καὶ κατέπληξε ταῖς ψυχαῖς τοὺς Ῥωμαίοις. 286
cavalry action, was still safe and sound; but wishing to act up to what he had said in his address to the troops, and to be present himself at the fighting, and seeing that the decision of the battle lay mainly with the legions, he rode along to the centre of the whole line, where he not only threw himself personally into the combat and exchanged blows with the enemy but kept cheering on and exhorting his men. Hannibal, who had been in this part of the field since the commencement of the battle, did likewise.

The Numidians meanwhile on the right wing, attacking the cavalry opposite them on the Roman left, neither gained any great advantage nor suffered any serious loss owing to their peculiar mode of fighting, but they kept the enemy’s cavalry out of action by drawing them off and attacking them from all sides at once. Hasdrubal, having by this time cut up very nearly all the enemy’s cavalry by the river, came up from the left to help the Numidians, and now the Roman allied horse, seeing that they were going to be charged by him, broke and fled. Hasdrubal at this juncture appears to have acted with great skill and prudence; for in view of the fact that the Numidians were very numerous and most efficient and formidable when in pursuit of a flying foe he left them to deal with the Roman cavalry and led his squadrons on to where the infantry were engaged with the object of supporting the Africans. Attacking the Roman legions in the rear and delivering repeated charges at various points all at once, he raised the spirits of the Africans and cowed and dismayed the Romans. It was here that
9 ἐν οἷς καὶ Λεύκιος Αἰμίλιος περιπεσὼν βιαίοις πληγαῖς ἐν χειρῶν νόμω μετήλλαξε τὸν βίον, ἀνὴρ πάντα τὰ δίκαια τῇ πατρίδι κατὰ τὸν λοιπὸν βίον καὶ κατὰ τὸν ἐσχατὸν καίρον, εἰ καὶ τις ἑτερος,
10 ποιήσας. οἱ δὲ Ρωμαῖοι, μέχρι μὲν ἐμάχοντο κατὰ τὰς ἐπιφανείας στρεφόμενοι πρὸς τοὺς κεκυκλωκότας, ἀντείχον· ἀεὶ δὲ τῶν πέριξ ἀπολλυμένων, καὶ κατὰ βραχὺ συγκλείμενοι, τέλος αὐτοῦ πάντες, ἐν οἷς καὶ Μάρκος καὶ Γνάιος, ἐπέσον, οἱ τὸ πρότερον ἐτοι ὑπατοὶ γεγονότες, ἀνδρὲς ἀγαθοὶ καὶ τῆς Ῥώ-
11 μὸς ἄξιοι γενόμενοι κατὰ τὸν κίνδυνον, κατὰ δὲ τῶν τούτων φόνου καὶ τῆς συμπλοκῆς οἱ Νομάδες ἐπόμενοι τοῖς φεύγουσι τῶν ἐπίπεδων τοὺς μὲν πλεί-
12 στοὺς ἀπέκτειναν, τοὺς δὲ κατεκρήμνισαν ἀπὸ τῶν ἱππων. ὅλιγοι δὲ τινες εἰς Οὐενουσίαν διέφυγον, ἐν οἷς ἦν καὶ Γάιος Τερέντιος ὁ τῶν 'Ρωμαίων στρατηγός, ἀνὴρ αἰσχρὰν μὲν τὴν φυγήν, ἀλυσιτελὴ δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν αὐτοῦ τῇ πατρίδι πεποιημένος.

117 Ἡ μὲν οὖν περὶ Κάνναν γενομένη μάχη 'Ρω-
12 μαίων καὶ Καρχηδονίων ἐπετελέσθη τὸν τρόπον τούτον, μάχη γεναιοτάτους ἀνδρας ἔχουσα καὶ τοὺς μυκήσαντας καὶ τοὺς ἤττηθέντας. δήλου δὲ τούτ' ἐγένετ' ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν πραγμάτων. τῶν μὲν γὰρ ἐξακισχιλίων ἱππέων ἐβδομήκοντα μὲν εἰς Οὐενου-
13 σίαν μετὰ Γαίου διέφυγον, περὶ τριακοσίους δὲ τῶν συμμάχων σποράδες εἰς τὰς πόλεις ἐσώθησαν. ἕκ δὲ τῶν πεζῶν μαχόμενοι μὲν ἐάλωσαν εἰς μυρίους, οὐ δ' ἐντὸς ὄντες τῆς μάχης, ἐξ αὐτοῦ δὲ τοῦ κω-
14 νόου τρισχίλιοι μόνον ὅσις εἰς τὰς παρακειμένας πόλεις διέφυγον. οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ πάντες, ὄντες εἰς ἔπτα μυριάδας, ἀπέθανον εὐγενῶς, τῇ μεγίστῃν χρείαν παρεσχημένον τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις εἰς τὸ νικάν

288
Lucius Aemilius fell in the thick of the fight after receiving several dreadful wounds, and of him we may say that if there ever was a man who did his duty by his country both all through his life and in these last times, it was he. The Romans as long as they could turn and present a front on every side to the enemy, held out, but as the outer ranks continued to fall, and the rest were gradually huddled in and surrounded, they finally all were killed where they stood, among them Marcus and Gnaeus, the Consuls of the preceding year, who had borne themselves in the battle like brave men worthy of Rome. While this murderous combat was going on, the Numidians following up the flying cavalry killed most of them and unseated others. A few escaped to Venusia, among them being the Consul Gaius Terentius, who disgraced himself by his flight and in his tenure of office had been most unprofitable to his country.

117. Such was the outcome of the battle at Cannae between the Romans and Carthaginians, a battle in which both the victors and the vanquished displayed conspicuous bravery, as was evinced by the facts. For of the six thousand cavalry, seventy escaped to Venusia with Terentius, and about three hundred of the allied horse reached different cities in scattered groups. Of the infantry about ten thousand were captured fighting but not in the actual battle, while only perhaps three thousand escaped from the field to neighbouring towns. All the rest, numbering about seventy thousand, died bravely. Both on this occasion and on former ones their numerous cavalry had contributed most to the victory of the Cartha-
καὶ τὸτε καὶ πρὸ τοῦ τοῦ τῶν ἵππεων ὄχλοι. καὶ
δὴ λοι ἐγένετο τοῖς ἐπιγυνομένοις ὅτι κρείττον ἔστι
πρὸς τοὺς τῶν πολέμων καρποὺς ἡμῖνεις ἔχειν πε-
ζοὺς, ἵπποκρατεῖν δὲ τοῖς ὀλοίς, μάλλον ἡ πάντα

5 καὶ τὸτε καὶ πρὸ τοῦ τοῦ τῶν ἵππεων ὄχλοι. καὶ
dήλον ἐγένετο τοῖς ἐπιγυνομένοις ὅτι κρείττον ἐστι
πρὸς τοὺς τῶν πολέμων καιροὺς ἡμῖσεις ἔχειν πε-
ζοὺς, ἵπποκρατεῖν δὲ τοῖς ὀλοίς, μάλλον ἡ πάντα

6 πάρσα τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐχόντα διακινδυνεύειν. τῶν
dὲ μετ’ Ἀνυίβου Κέλτων μὲν ἔπεσον εἰς τετρακισχι-
λίους, Ἐβηρεῖς δὲ καὶ Λίβυες εἰς χιλίους καὶ πεντα-
kοσίους, ἵππεῖς δὲ περὶ διακισίους.

7 Οἱ δὲ ζωγράφησαν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐκτός ἐγένοντο
8 τοῦ κινδύνου, καὶ διὰ τουαύτην αἰτίαν. Δεύκιος
ἀπέλυε μυρίους πεζοὺς ἐπὶ τὴς έαυτοῦ παρεμβολῆς,

9 ἐάν δὲ προϊδόμενον τὸ μέλλον ἀπολίπῃ φυλακήν ἀξιό-
χρεων, πρὸς ἐλάττους αὐτοῖς ὅ περὶ τῶν ὀλων γένηται

10 κίνδυνοις. ἐάλωσαν δὲ τοιούτω τινὶ τρόπῳ. κατα-
ληπότοις Ἀνυίβου φυλακὴν ἀρκοῦσαν ἐπὶ τοῦ χάρα-
κος, ἀμα τῷ κατάρξασθαι τὴν μάχην κατὰ τὸ συν-
tαχθὲν ἐπολύρκουν οἱ Ῥωμαίοι προσβάλλοντες τοὺς
ἀπολειμμένους ἐν τῷ τῶν Καρχηδονίων χάρακι.

11 τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον ἀντείχον. ἦδη δ’ αὐτῶν πιεζο-
μένων, ἑπειδή κατὰ πάντα τὰ μέρη τὴν μάχην Ἀν-
υίβας ἔκρινε, καὶ τότε παραβοηθήσας καὶ τρεφάμε-

12 λοιπῶν ἐγκρατῆς ἐγένετο ζωγρία πάντων. ὅμοιως

118 Βραβευθείσης δὲ τῆς μάχης τὸν προειρημένον

290
ginians, and it demonstrated to posterity that in times of war it is better to give battle with half as many infantry as the enemy and an overwhelming force of cavalry than to be in all respects his equal. Of Hannibal’s army there fell about four thousand Celts, fifteen hundred Spaniards and Africans and two hundred cavalry.

The Romans who were made prisoners were not in the battle for the following reason. Lucius had left a force of ten thousand foot in his own camp, in order that, if Hannibal, neglecting his camp, employed his whole army in the field, they might during the battle gain entrance there and capture all the enemy’s baggage: if, on the other hand, Hannibal, guessing this danger, left a strong garrison in the camp, the force opposed to the Romans would be reduced in numbers. The circumstances of their capture were more or less as follows. Hannibal had left an adequate force to guard his camp, and when the battle opened, the Romans, as they had been ordered, delivered an assault on this force. At first they held out, but as they were beginning to be hard pressed, Hannibal, who was now victorious in every part of the field, came to their assistance, and routing the Romans shut them up in their own camp. He killed two thousand of them and afterwards made all the rest prisoners. The Numidians also reduced the various strongholds throughout the country which had given shelter to the flying enemy and brought in the fugitives, consisting of about two thousand horse.

118. The result of the battle being as I have de-
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

τρόπον, ἀκόλουθον εἰλήφει τὰ ολὰ κρίσιν τοῖς ὑπ’
2 ἀμφότερων προσδοκωμένοι. Καρχηδόνιοι μὲν γὰρ
dιὰ τῆς πράξεως ταύτης παραχρῆμα τῆς μὲν λοιπῆς
3 παραλίας σχεδὸν πάσης ἔσαν ἐγκρατεῖς. Ταραντῖνοι
τε γὰρ ευθέως ἐνεχείριζον αὐτούς, Ἀργυριππανοὶ
de καὶ Καμπανῶν τινες ἐκάλουν τὸν Ἀννίβαν, οἳ de
λοιποὶ πάντες ἀπέβλεπον ἥδη τότε πρὸς Καρχηδό-
νίους· μεγάλας δ’ εἶχον ἐλπίδας εἶ ἐφόδου καὶ τῆς
5 Ρώμης αὐτῆς ἔσεσθαι κύριοι· Ῥωμαιοὶ γε μὴν τὴν
Ἰταλικῶν δυναστείαν παραχρῆμα διὰ τὴν ἤτταν
ἀπεγνώκεισαν, ἐν μεγάλοις δὲ φόβοις καὶ κινδύνοις
ἤσαν περὶ τε σφῶν αὐτῶν καὶ περὶ τοῦ τῆς πατρί-
δος ἔδαφους, ὡςον οὕτω προσδοκῶντες ἦσεων αὑτὸν
6 τὸν Ἀννίβαν, καὶ γὰρ ὄσπερ ἑπιμετροῦσης καὶ
συνεπαγωγοῦμένης τοὺς γεγονόσι τῆς τύχης συνέβη
μετ’ ὀλίγοις ἡμέρας, τοῦ φόβου κατέχοντος τὴν
πόλιν, καὶ τὸν εἰς τὴν Γαλατίαν στρατηγὸν ἀπο-
σταλέντ’ εἰς ἐνέδραν ἐμπεσόντα παραδόξως ἀρδῆν
ὑπὸ τῶν Κελτῶν διαφθαρῆι μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως.
7 οὐ μὴν ἦ γε σύγκλητος οὐδὲν ἀπέλειπτο τῶν ἐνδε-
χομένων, ἀλλὰ παρεκάλει μὲν τοὺς πολλοὺς, ἣσφα-
λίζετο δὲ τὰ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν, ἐβούλευετο δὲ περὶ
τῶν ἑνεστὼτων ἀνδρῶν. τοῦτο δ’ ἐγένετο φανε-
8 ῥὸν ἐκ τῶν μετὰ ταύτα συμβάντων· ὀμολογουμένως
γὰρ τῶν Ῥωμαιῶν ἡττηθέντων τότε καὶ παραχωρη-
σάντων τῆς ἐν τοῖς ὀπλοῖς ἀρετῆς, τῇ τοῦ πολιτεύ-
ματος ἰδιοτητὶ καὶ τῷ βουλευεσθαὶ καλῶς οὐ μονὸν
ἀνεκτήσαντο τὴν τῆς Ἰταλίας δυναστείαν, νικήσαν-
tes μετὰ ταύτα Καρχηδονίους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς οἰκου-
μένης ἀπάσης ἐγκρατεῖς ἐγένοντο μετ’ ὀλίγους χρό-
νοις.
9 Διόπερ ἢμεῖς ταύτην μὲν τὴν βυβλοῦ ἐπὶ τούτων
292
scribed, the general consequences that had been antici-
pipated on both sides followed. The Carthaginians
by this action became at once masters of almost all
the rest of the coast, Tarentum immediately surren-
dering, while Argyrippa and some Campanian towns
invited Hannibal to come to them, and the eyes of
all were now turned to the Carthaginians, who had
great hopes of even taking Rome itself at the first
assault. The Romans on their part owing to this
defeat at once abandoned all hope of retaining their
supremacy in Italy, and were in the greatest fear
about their own safety and that of Rome, expecting
Hannibal every moment to appear. It seemed
indeed as if Fortune were taking part against them
in their struggle with adversity and meant to fill
the cup to overflowing; for but a few days after-
wards, while the city was yet panic-stricken, the
commander they had sent to Cisalpine Gaul was
surprised by the Celts in an ambush and he and his
force utterly destroyed. Yet the Senate neglected
no means in its power, but exhorted and encouraged
the populace, strengthened the defences of the city,
and deliberated on the situation with manly coolness.
And subsequent events made this manifest. For
though the Romans were now incontestably beaten
and their military reputation shattered, yet by the
peculiar virtues of their constitution and by wise
counsel they not only recovered their supremacy
in Italy and afterwards defeated the Carthaginians,
but in a few years made themselves masters of the
whole world.

I therefore end this Book at this point, having
τῶν ἔργων καταστρέψομεν, ἃ περιέλαβεν Ἰβηρικῶν καὶ τῶν Ἰταλικῶν ἡ τετταρακοστὴ πρὸς ταῖς ἐκατὸν 11 ὀλυμπιάδι δηλώσαντες. ὡταν δὲ τὰς Ἑλληνικὰς πράξεις τὰς κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ὀλυμπιάδα γενομένας διεξόντες ἐπιστῶμεν τοὺς καιροῖς τούτοις, τὸτ' ἦδη προθέμενοι ψιλῶς τὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς τῆς Ῥωμαίων 12 πολιτείας ποιησόμεθα λόγον, νομίζοντες οὐ μόνον πρὸς τὴν τῆς ἱστορίας σύνταξιν οἰκεῖαν εἶναι τὴν περὶ αὐτῆς ἔξήγησιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὰς τῶν πολι- τευμάτων διορθώσεις καὶ κατασκευὰς μεγάλα συμβάλλεσθαι τοῖς φιλομαθοῦσι καὶ πραγματικοῖς τῶν ἀνδρῶν.
now described the events in Spain and Italy that occurred in the 140th Olympiad. When I have brought down the history of Greece in the same Olympiad to the same date, I shall pause to premise to the rest of the history a separate account of the Roman constitution; for I think that a description of it is not only germane to the whole scheme of my work, but will be of great service to students and practical statesmen for forming or reforming other constitutions.
ΙΣΤΟΡΙΩΝ ΤΕΤΑΡΤΗ

1 Ἔν μὲν τῇ πρὸ ταύτης βύβλῳ τὰς αἰτίας ἐδηλώσαμεν τοῦ δευτέρου συστάντος Ῥωμαίοις καὶ Καρχηδονίοις πολέμου, καὶ τὰ περὶ τῆς εἰσβολῆς

2 τῆς εἰς Ἰταλίαν Ἀννίβου διηλθομεν, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἑξηγησάμεθα τοὺς γενομένους αὐτοῖς ἁγώνας πρὸς ἀλλήλους μέχρι τῆς μάχης τῆς περὶ τὸν Αὐφιδον ποταμὸν καὶ πόλιν Κάνναν γενομένης.

3 νῦν δὲ τὰς Ἑλληνικὰς διεξιμεν πράξεις τὰς κατὰ τούς αὐτοὺς καίρους ἐπιτελεσθείσας τοῖς προερμένοις καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκατοστῆς καὶ τετταρακοστῆς

4 ὀλυμπιάδος, πρότερον ἀναμνήσαντες διὰ βραχέων τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας τῇ πραγματείᾳ τῆς κατασκευῆς ἢν εὖ τῇ δευτέρᾳ βυβλῳ περὶ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἐπουρισμοῦ, καὶ μάλιστα περὶ τοῦ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἔθνους, διὰ τὸ καὶ τοῦτο τὸ πολίτευμα παράδοξον ἐπίδοσιν λαβεῖν εἴς τε τοὺς πρὸ ἡμῶν

5 καὶ καθ’ ἡμᾶς καιροὺς. ἀρξάμενοι γὰρ ἀπὸ Τισαμενοῦ τῶν Ὄρεστος παίδων ἐνός, καὶ φήσαντες αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ μὲν τούτου βασιλεύσ̄μεν κατὰ γένος ἔως εἰς Ὑγινοῦ, μετὰ δὲ ταύτα καλλύστη προαιρέσει χρησαμένους δήμοκρατικῆς πολιτείας τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκ Μακεδονίας βασιλέων

6 διασπασθῆναι κατὰ πόλεις καὶ κώμας, ἔξης δὲ 296
1. In the preceding Book after pointing out the causes of the second war between Rome and Carthage, I described the invasion of Italy by Hannibal, and the engagements which took place between the belligerents up to the battle on the river Aufidus at the town of Cannae. I shall now give an account of the contemporary events in Greece from the 140th Olympiad onwards, after briefly recalling to the minds of my readers the sketch I gave in my second Book of Greek affairs and especially of the growth of the Achaean League, the progress of that state having been surprisingly rapid in my own time and earlier. Beginning their history with Tisamenus, one of Orestes' sons, I stated that they were ruled by kings of his house down to the reign of Ogygus, after which they adopted a most admirable democratical constitution, until for a time their League was dissolved into cities and villages by the kings of Macedon. Next I went on to tell how they subse-

a Chapters 41-71.
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

toutous epebalomeba legew pws authis herxanto
sumphronew kai pote, kai tines authois prwtou
7 synesthsan. toutous de epomewos edhlaowsemu
tini trimw kai poia proairsepsi prosoagomeino tas
poleis epebalontu. Peloponnesious pantas upo
8 twn authen agein onomasiain kai politiain. katho-
likws de peri ths proeirhmeini epibolhs apofh-
vamein, meta tauta tws kata meros ergwn kata
to synexhes epipavanontes eis thn Kleomewn tou
Lakedaimoniwn basilewv ekptwson kathntismen.
9 synkefalarowsmenoi de tas ek ths prokatastaseinh
praxeis ewos ths 'Antigoun kai Seleukou kai Pto-
lemaiou tenntis, epieidh peri tous authous kairous
pantes outoi metaallazan, loipon epignyeilameba
ths authwn pragmatelias arkhin poysiasthai tas
2 eihs tois proeirhmeinou praxeis, kalisth th
stasun upolambavanontes einai tauth th diad to prw-
ton mewn thn 'Aratou suntaixin eti toutous kata-
strefein tous kairous, ois sunaptoontes thn dih-
gnhsin ton akolouthon uper twn 'Ellhnwn apodi-
2 dounai proerhmeba logon, deuterou de diad to kai
tous chrionous ouiws synatrexein tous eihs kai tous
pintontas upo thn hmetepan istorian woste tous
men kath' hmas einai tous de kata tous pateras
hmen, ex ou symbainiei tois men authous hmas para-
egonewn ta de para twn epharakoton akhkoenai.
3 to xar anwterw proslambanein tois chrionous, ws
akoi eihs akoi grafein, oik efaineb' hmin asfa-
leis ehein outhe tas dialhseis outhe tas apofaseis.
4 malista de atop toutwn herzameba twn kairwn dial
to kai thn tuxhe anwai kekaunopoihekwn pantai
ta kata thn oikoumenhn en tois proeirhmeinou
298
quently began to reunite, and which were the first cities to league themselves, and following on this I pointed out in what manner and on what principle they tried to attract other cities and formed the design of uniting all the Peloponnesians in one polity and under one name. After a general survey of this design, I gave a brief but continuous sketch of events in detail up to the dethronement of Cleomenes, king of Sparta. Summarizing, next, the occurrences dealt with in my introductory sketch up to the deaths of Antigonus Doson, Seleucus Ceraunus, and Ptolemy Euergetes, which all took place about the same time, I announced that I would enter on my main history with the events immediately following the above period. 2. This I considered to be the best starting-point, because in the first place, Aratus's book terminates just at this period and I had decided on taking up and carrying on the narrative of Greek affairs from the date at which he leaves off, and secondly because the period following on this date and included in my history coincides with my own and the preceding generation, so that I have been present at some of the events and have the testimony of eyewitnesses for others. It seemed to me indeed that if I comprised events of an earlier date, repeating mere hearsay evidence, I should be safe neither in my estimates nor in my assertions. But my chief reason for beginning at this date, was that Fortune had then so to speak rebuilt the world.
καιροῖς. Φίλιππος μὲν γὰρ ὁ Δημητρίου κατὰ φύσιν νῦός, ἑτὶ παῖς ὄν, ἀρτὶ παρελάμβανε τὴν Μακεδόνων ἀρχὴν. Ἀχαῖος δὲ τῆς ἑπὶ τάδε τοῦ Ταύρου δυναστεύων οὐ μόνον προστασίαν εἶχε βασιλικῆν ἄλλα καὶ δύναμιν. ὁ δὲ Μέγας ἐπικληθεῖσ' Ἀντίοχος μικρὸις ἀνώτερον χρόνοις, τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ Σελεύκου μετηλλαχτός, ἑτὶ κομιδὴ νέος ὄν τὴν ἐν Συρία διεδέδεκτο βασιλείαν. ἀμα δὲ τούτοις Ἀριαράθης παρέλαβε τὴν Καππαδοκῶν ἀρχὴν. ὁ δὲ Φιλοπάτωρ Πτολεμαῖος ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς καιροῖς τῶν κατ' Ἀγγεπτον ἐγενόνει κύριος. Λυκοδρυος δὲ Λακεδαμινῶν μετ' οὐ πολὺ κατεστάθη βασιλεύσ. ἦρημο δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι προσφάτως ἐπὶ τὰς προειρημένας πράξεις στρατηγὸν αὐτῶν Ἀνανίαν. οὔτως δὲ τοιούτης περὶ πάσας τὰς δυναστείας καυσοποιίας οὕσης ἔμελλε πραγμάτων ἔσεσθαι καυσῶν ἀρχῆ: τοῦτο γὰρ δὴ πέφυκε καὶ φιλεὶ συμβαίνει κατὰ φύσιν. ὃ καὶ τότε συνέβη γενέ- σθαι. Ὅρωμαι μὲν γὰρ καὶ Καρχηδόνιοι τὸν προειρημένον ἐνετήσαντο πόλεμον, Ἀντίοχος δὲ καὶ Πτολεμαῖος ἀμα τούτοις τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς Κούλης Συρίας, Ἀχαῖοι δὲ καὶ Φίλιππος τὸν πρὸς Αἰτωλοὺς καὶ Λακεδαμινῶν, οὐ τὰς αἰτίας συνέβη γενέσθαι τοιαύτας.

Αἰτωλοὶ πᾶλαι μὲν δυσχερῶς ἐφερον τὴν εἰρήνην καὶ τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν ὁδίων ὑπαρχόντων δαπάνας ὡς ἄν εἰδισεμένοι μὲν ξῆν ἀπὸ τῶν πέλας, δεόμενοι δὲ πολλῆς χορηγίας διὰ τὴν ἐμφυτὸν ἀλαζονείαν, ἡ δουλεύοντες ἀεὶ πλεονεκτικὸν καὶ θηριώδη ξώσι βίον, οὐδὲν οἰκείον, πάντα δ' ἡγούμενοι πολέμια.
For Philip, son of Demetrius, being still quite a boy, had inherited the throne of Macedonia, Achaeus, the ruler of all Asia on this side of the Taurus, had now not only the state, but the power of a king, Antiochus surnamed "The Great" who was still very young had but a short time previously, on the death of his brother Seleucus, succeeded him in Syria, Ariarathes at the same time had become king of Cappadocia, and Ptolemy Philopator king of Egypt, while not long afterwards began the reign of Lycurgus, king of Sparta. The Carthaginians also had but recently appointed Hannibal to be their general in the campaign I mentioned. Since therefore the personalities of the rulers were everywhere new, it was evident that a new series of events would begin, this being the natural and usual consequence. And such indeed was the case; for the Romans and Carthaginians now entered on the war I mentioned, Antiochus and Ptolemy on that for Coele-Syria, and the Achaean and Philip on that against the Aetolians and Spartans.

3. The causes of the latter were as follows. The Aetolians had for long been dissatisfied with peace and with an outlay limited to their own resources, as they had been accustomed to live on their neighbours, and required abundance of funds, owing to that natural covetousness, enslaved by which they always lead a life of greed and aggression, like beasts of prey, with no ties of friendship but regarding everyone as an enemy. Nevertheless up to now,
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

2 οὐ μὴν ἄλλα τῶν πρὸ τοῦ χρόνου, ἔως Ἀντίγονος
3 ἔξη, δεδομένας Μακεδόνας ἳγον ἱσχύαν. ἔπειδὴ
δὲ ἐκεῖνος μετήλλαξε τὸν βίον παῖδα καταλυτῶν
Φιλίππου, καταφρονήσαντες εξήσων ἀφορμάς καὶ
προφάσεις τῆς εἰς Πελοπόννησον ἐπιπλοκῆς, ἀγό-
μενοι κατὰ τὸ παλαιὸν ἔθος ἐπὶ τὰς ἐκ ταύτης
ἀρπαγάς, ἄμα δὲ καὶ νομίζοντες ἄξιόχρεως εἶναι
4 σφᾶς πρὸς τὸ πολεμεῖν αὐτοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς. ὄντες δὲ
ἐπὶ ταύτης τῆς προθέσεως, βραχέα ταυτομάτου
σφίσι συνεργήσαντος ἐλαβον ἀφορμάς πρὸς τὴν
ἐπιβολὴν τοιαύτας.

5 Δωρίμαχος δὲ Τριχωνεὺς ἦν μὲν ύιὸς Νικο-
στάτου τοῦ παραστονήσαντος τὴν τῶν Παμ-
βοιωτίων πανήγυριν, νέος δὲ ἐν καὶ πλήρης
Αἰτωλικῆς ὀρμῆς καὶ πλεονεξίας ἐξαπεστάλη
6 κατὰ κοινὸν εἰς τὴν τῶν Φιγαλέων πόλιν, ἡτὶς
ἐστι μὲν ἐν Πελοπόννησῳ, κεῖται δὲ πρὸς τοῖς
τῶν Μεσσηνίων ὀροῖς, ἐτύγχανε δὲ τότε συμπολι-
7 τευμενή τοῖς Αἰτωλοῖς, λόγῳ μὲν παραφυλάξων
τὴν τε χώραν καὶ τὴν πόλιν τῶν Φιγαλέων, ἔργῳ
δὲ κατασκόπου τάξιν ἔχων τῶν ἐν Πελοπόννησῳ
8 πραγμάτων. συνδραμόντων δὲ πειρατῶν καὶ παρα-
γενομένων πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν Φιγαλείαν, οὐκ
ἔχων τοῦτος ἀπὸ τοῦ δίκαιων συμπαρασκευάζειν
ὡφελείας διὰ τὸ μέσων ἔτι τότε τῆς κοινῆς εἰρήνης
τοῖς Ἐλλήσ τὴν ὑπ' Ἀντίγονον συντελεσθέσσαν,
9 τέλος ἀπορούμενος ἐπέτρεψε τοῖς πειραταῖς ληφθε-
σθαι τα τῶν Μεσσηνίων θρέμματα, φίλων δὲντών
10 καὶ συμμάχων. τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον ἤδικον τὰ
περὶ τὰς ἑσχατιὰς πούμια, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα προ-
βανούσης τῆς ἀπονοιας ἑνεχείρησαν καὶ τὰς ἐπὶ
tῶν ἀγρῶν οἰκίας ἐκκόπτειν, ἀνυπονοητῶς τὰς
302
as long as Antigonus was alive, they kept quiet owing to their fear of Macedonia, but when that king died leaving Philip still a child to succeed him, they thought they could ignore this king and began to look out for pretexts and grounds for interfering in the affairs of the Peloponnese, giving way to their old habit of looking for pillage from that country and thinking they were a match for the Achaeans now the latter were isolated. Such being their bent and purpose, and chance favouring them in a certain measure, they found the following pretext for putting their design in execution.

Dorimachus of Trichonium was the son of that Nicostratus who broke the solemn truce at the Pamboeotian congress. He was a young man full of the violent and aggressive spirit of the Aetolians and was sent on a public mission to Phigalea, a city in the Peloponnese near the Messenian border and at that time in alliance with the Aetolian League; professedly to guard the city and its territory, but really to act as a spy on Peloponnesian affairs. When a recently formed band of brigands came to join him there, and he could not provide them with any legitimate pretext for plundering, as the general peace in Greece established by Antigonus still continued, he finally, finding himself at a loss, gave them leave to make forays on the cattle of the Messenians who were friends and allies of the Aetolians. At first, then, they only raided the flocks on the border, but later, growing ever more insolent, they took to breaking into the country houses, surprising the unsuspecting inmates by
11 νύκτας ἐπιφανεῖμονηι. τῶν δὲ Μεσσηνίων ἐπὶ
tούτοις ἀγανακτοῦντων καὶ διαπρεσβευομένων πρὸς
tὸν Δωρίμαχον τὰς μὲν ἁρχὰς παρῆκουε, βουλο-
μένος τὰ μὲν ὡφελεῖν τοὺς ὑπ’ αὐτὸν ταττομένους,
tὰ δ’ αὐτὸς ὡφελεῖσθαι μερίτης γινόμενοι τῶν λαμ-
12 βανομένων· πλεοναζούσης δὲ τῆς παρουσίας τῶν
πρεσβευῶν διὰ τὴν συνέχειαν τῶν ἀδικημάτων,
αὐτὸς ἥξειν ἐπὶ τὴν Μεσσήνην ἐφή δικαιολογη-
σώμενοι πρὸς τοὺς ἑγκαλοῦντας τοὺς Αἰτωλοῖς.
13 ἐπειδὴ δὲ παρεγένετο, προσπορευομένων αὐτῷ
τῶν ἡδικημένων τοὺς μὲν διέσυρε χλευάζων, τῶν
dὲ κατανιστατο, τοὺς δ’ ἑξέπληττε λοιδορῶν.

4 �ほど τ’ αὐτοῦ παρεπιδημοῦντος ἐν τῇ Μεσσήνη,
συνεγγίσαντες τῇ πόλει νυκτὸς οἱ πειραται καὶ
προσβαλόντες κλίμακας ἐξέκοψαν τὸ Χυρῶνος
caloúmenon ἔπαυλιον, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἁμυνομένους
ἀπέσταξαν, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς τῶν Οἰκετῶν δῆσαντες
καὶ τὰ κτήνη μετ’ αὐτῶν ἀπῆγαγον. οἱ δὲ τῶν
Μεσσηνίων ἔφοροι πάλαι μὲν ἐπὶ τε τοῖς γυνο-
μένοις καὶ τῇ παρεπιδημίᾳ τοῦ Δωριμάχου διαλ-
γοῦντες, τότε δὲ καὶ προσευπβρίζεσθαι ἠδύνατε,
καὶ τὰ κτήνη μετ’ αὐτῶν εἰς τὰς συναρχίας. ἐν θ’ καιρῷ
Σκύρων, δό ήμὲν ἐφορος τότε τῶν Μεσσηνίων
eυδοκίμει δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὸν ἀλλὸν βίον παρὰ τοῖς
πολίταις, συνεβούλευε μὴ προτέσθαι τὸν Δωρίμαχον
ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, εἰὼν μὴ τὰ μὲν ἀπολωλότα πάντα
tοῖς Μεσσηνίοις ἀποκαταστήσῃ, περὶ δὲ τῶν
τεθνεώτων δωσιδίκους παράσχῃ τοὺς ἡδικηκότας.
4 πάντων δ’ ἐπισημηνυμένων ὡς δίκαια λέγοντος
τοῦ Σκύρωνος, διοργισθεὶς δ’ Δωρίμαχος εὐθέσθε
αὐτοὺς ἐφῆ τελέως ὑπάρχειν, εἰ Δωρίμαχον οἶδον
tῶν προπηλακίζειν, ἀλλ’ οὐ τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Αἰτω-
night. When the Messenians grew indignant at this and sent envoys to Dorimachus to complain, he at first paid no attention, as he wished not only to benefit the men under him but himself also by taking his share of their captures. But when such embassies began to arrive more frequently, owing to the continuance of the outrages, he announced that he would come himself to Messene to plead his cause against those who accused the Aetolians, and on appearing there when the victims approached him, he ridiculed and jeered at some of them, attacked some by recrimination and intimidated others by abusive language.

4. While he was still staying in Messene the banditti approached the city by night, and with the aid of scaling-ladders broke into the farm called Chyron's, where after killing those who offered resistance they bound the rest of the slaves and carried them off together with the cattle. The Messenian Ephors, who had long been annoyed by all that took place and by Dorimachus' stay in the town, thought this was adding insult to injury and summoned him before their college. On this occasion Scyron, then one of the ephors, and otherwise highly esteemed by the citizens, advised them not to let Dorimachus escape from the city, unless he made good all the losses of the Messenians and delivered up to justice those guilty of murder. When all signified their approval of what Scyron said, Dorimachus flew into a passion, and said they were utter simpletons if they thought it was Dorimachus they were now affronting and not the Aetolian
ΤΗΣ ΗΙΣΤΟΡΙΕΩΝ ΟΠΑΙΟΥΣ

λῶν· καὶ καθόλου δευτέρον ἤγειτο τὸ γνώμενον, καὶ κοινῆς αὐτούς ἐπιστροφῆς ἐφ' ἑαυτές, καὶ τὸ ἕκκειν τοὺς καίρους ἀνθρώπος ἀσύρης ἐν τῇ Μεσσήνῃ, τῶν ἐξηρμένων τὸν ἄνδρα κατὰ πάντα τρόπον, ὄνομα Βαβύρτας, ὡς εἰ περιέθηκε τὴν καυσίαν καὶ χλαμύδα τοῦ Δωρίμαχου, μή οἴνον 'τ' εἶναι διαγνώσκειν· ἔπτοσον ἄξωμοίῳ κατὰ τὲ τὴν φωνήν καὶ τάλλα μέρη τοῦ σώματος τῷ προερημένῳ καὶ τούτ' οὐκ ἔλανθαν τὸν Δωρίμαχον.

8 ὅμιλούντος οὖν αὐτοῦ ἀνατάκτικῶς τότε καὶ μάλα ὑπερηφάνως τοῖς Μεσσηνίοις, περιοργισθεὶς ὁ Σκύρων "νομίζεις γὰρ ἡμῖν" ἐφ' "σοὶ μέλεων ἥ της σῆς ἀνατάσεως, Βαβύρτα;" ῥηθέντος δὲ τούτῳ παρατικὰ μὲν ε'ξας ὁ Δωρίμαχος τῇ περιστάσει συνεχώρησε πάντων ἐπιστροφῆν ποίησεθαί τῶν γεγονότων ἀδικημάτων τοῖς Μεσσηνίοις, ἕπανελθὼν δ' εἰς τὴν Αἴτωλίαν οὕτω πικρῶς ἤνεγκε καὶ βαρέως τὸ ῥήθεν ὡς οὐδεμίαν ἄλλην ἔχων εὐλογον πρόφασιν δι' αὐτοῦ τούτῳ τοῖς Μεσσηνίοις ἔξεκασθαι τὸν πόλεμον.

5 Στρατηγὸς μὲν οὖν ὑπῆρχε τῶν Αἴτωλῶν Ἀρίστων· οὕτος δὲ διὰ τυχαί σωματικὰς ἀσθενείας ἀδύνατος ὃν πρὸς πολεμικὴν χρείαν, ἀμα δὲ καὶ συγγενῆς ὑπάρχων Δωρίμαχου καὶ Σκύρως, τρόπον 2 τινὰ παρακεχυρικεῖ τούτῳ τῆς ὀλής ἀρχῆς. ὁ δὲ Δωρίμαχος κατὰ κοινὸν μὲν οὐκ ἐτόλμη παρακαλεῖν τοὺς Αἴτωλος εἰς τὸν κατὰ τῶν Μεσσηνίων πόλεμον διὰ τὸ μηδεμίαν ἐχειν ἄξιαν λόγου πρόφασιν, ἀλλ' ὦμολογουμένως ἐκ παρανομίας καὶ σκώμματος 3 γεγονέαι τὴν ὄρμην· ἀφέμενος δὲ τῆς ἐπινοιας ταύτης ἱδία προετρέπετο τὸν Σκόπαν κοινωνήσας 306
League. He thought the whole affair altogether outrageous, and they would receive such public chastisement for it as would serve them right. There was at this time a certain lewd fellow at Messene, one of those who had in every way renounced his claim to be a man, called Babyrtas. If anyone had dressed this man up in Dorimachus' sun-hat and chlamys it would have been impossible to distinguish the two, so exact was the resemblance both in voice and in person, and of this Dorimachus was perfectly aware. Upon his speaking now in this threatening and overbearing manner, Scyron grew very angry and said, "Do you think we care a fig for you or your threats, Babyrtas?" Upon his saying this Dorimachus, yielding for the moment to circumstances, consented to give satisfaction for all damage inflicted on the Messenians, but on his return to Aetolia he continued to resent this taunt so bitterly, that without having any other plausible pretext he stirred up a war against Messene on account of this alone.

5. The Strategus of the Aetolians at this time was 221 B.C. Ariston. Being himself incapacitated for service in the field by certain bodily infirmities and being related to Dorimachus and Scopas, he had more or less ceded his whole office to the latter. Dorimachus did not venture to exhort the Aetolians by public speeches to make war on Messene, since he really had no valid pretext, but, as every body knew, his animus was due to his own lawless violence and his resentment of a jibe. So he desisted from any such plan, and took to urging on Scopas in private to join
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

τῆς ἐπιβολῆς αὐτῶ τῆς κατὰ τῶν Μεσσηνίων, ὑποδεικνύων μὲν τὴν ἀπὸ Μακεδόνων ἀσφάλειαν διὰ τὴν ἥλικίαν τοῦ προστώτος (οὐ γὰρ εἶχε 4 πλείον ἐτῶν τότε Φίλιππος ἐπτακαίδεκα), παρατηθεὶς δὲ τὴν Λακεδαίμονιν ἀλλοτριότητα πρὸς τοὺς Μεσσηνίους, ἀναμμυνήσκων δὲ τῆς Ἡλείων πρὸς σφάς εὐνοίας καὶ συμμαχίας, ἐξ ὧν ἀσφαλῆ τὴν εἰσβολὴν τὴν εἰς τὴν Μεσσηνίαν ἐσομένην 5 αὐτοῖς ἀπέφαινεν. τὸ δὲ συνέχον τῆς Αἰτωλικῆς προτροπῆς, ὑπὸ τὴν ὅψιν ἐτίθει τὰς ἐσομένας ὀφελείας ἐκ τῆς τῶν Μεσσηνίων χώρας, ὡσις ἀπρονοῦτο καὶ διαμεμενηκύιας ἀκεραίου μόνης τῶν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ κατὰ τὸν Κλεομενικὸν πόλε- 6 μον. ἔπὶ δὲ πᾶσι τούτοις συνίστατο τὴν ἐξακολουθήσισαν εὐνοίαν σφίσι παρὰ τοῦ τῶν Αἰτωλῶν 7 πλῆθους. Ἀχαίοις δ’, ἀν μὲν κωλύσωσι τὴν δίόδον, οὐκ ἔρειν ἐγκλήματα τοῖς ἀμυνομένοις, ἔαν δ’ ἀγάγωσι τὴν ἡσυχίαν, οὐκ ἐμποδιεῖν αὐτοῖς 8 πρὸς τὴν ἐπιβολὴν. πρὸς δὲ Μεσσηνίους προ- φάσεως οὐκ ἀπορήσειν ἐφη. πάλαι γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἄδικειν, Ἀχαίοις καὶ Μακεδόνων ἐπηγγελμένους 9 κοινωνήσω τῆς συμμαχίας. ταῦτα δ’ εἰπὼν καὶ παραπλήσα τούτοις ἑτέρα πρὸς τὴν αὐτήν ὑπόθε- σιν, τοιαύτην ὁρμήν παρεστῆσε τῷ Σκόπᾳ καὶ τοῖς τούτου φίλοις ὡστε οὔτε κοινῆν τῶν Ἀιτωλῶν προσδεξάμενοι σύνοδον οὔτε τοῖς ἀποκλήτοις συμ- μεταδόντες, οὔτε μὴν ἀλλο τῶν καθηκόντων οὐδὲν 10 πράξαντες, κατὰ δὲ τὰς αὐτῶν ὀρμὰς καὶ κρίσεις διαλαβόντες ἀμα Μεσσηνίοις Ἡπειρώταις Ἀχαίοις Ἀκαρνάσι Μακεδόνι πόλεμον ἐξήνεγκαν.

Καὶ κατὰ μὲν θάλατταν παραχρῆμα πειρατᾶς ἐξέπεμψαν, οἱ παρατυχόντες πλοῖοι βασιλικῷ τῶν 308
him in his project against the Messenians, pointing out to him that they were safe as regards Macedonia owing to the youth of its ruler—Philip being now not more than seventeen—calling his attention to the hostility of the Lacedaemonians to the Messenians, and reminding him that Elis was the friend and ally of the Aetolians; from all which facts he deduced that they would be quite safe in invading Messenia. But next—this being the most convincing argument to an Aetolian—he pictured to him the great booty that they would get from Messenia, the country being without warning of invasion and being the only one in Greece that the Cleomenic war had spared. Finally he dwelt on the popularity they themselves would gain in Aetolia. The Achaeans, he said, if they opposed their passage, could not complain if the Aetolians met force by force, but if they kept quiet they would not stand in the way of the project. Against the Messenians they would have no difficulty in finding a grievance, for they had long been inflicting wrong on the Aetolians by promising to ally themselves with the Achaeans and Macedonians. By these arguments and others in the same sense, he made Scopas and his friends so eager for the enterprise that without waiting for the General Assembly of the Aetolians, without taking the Special Council into their confidence, without in fact taking any proper steps, but acting solely as their own passion and their private judgement dictated, they made war all at once on the Messenians, Epirots, Achaeans, Acarnanians, and Macedonians.

6. By sea they immediately sent out privateers, who falling in with a ship of the royal Macedonian
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

ἐκ Μακεδονίας περὶ Κύθηρα τούτο τε εἰς Αἰτωλίαν καταγαγόντες αὐτανδρον, τούς τε ναυκλήρους καὶ τοὺς ἐπιβάτας, σὺν δὲ τούτοις τὴν ναῦν ἀπέδοντο.

2 τῆς δ’ Ἡπείρου τὴν παραλίαν ἐπόρθουν, συνχρώμενοι πρὸς τὴν ἀδικίαν ταῖς τῶν Κεφαλήνων ναυσίν. ἐπεβάλοντο δὲ καὶ τῆς Ἀκαρνανίας Θύριοι καταλαβέσθαι. ἀμα δὲ τούτοις λάθρᾳ διὰ Πελοποννήσου τινὰς πέμψαντες ἐν μέσῃ τῇ τῶν Μεγαλοπολιτῶν χώρα κατέσχον τὸ καλούμενον οἰχύρωμα Κλάριον, ὦ λαβυροπωλεῖον χρησάμενοι διήγον ἐν τούτῳ πρὸς τὰς ἀρπαγάς. οὐ μὴν ἄλλα τότῳ μὲν Τιμόξενος ὁ τῶν Ἀχαίων στρατηγός, παραλαβὼν Ταυρίωνα τὸν ἐπὶ τῶν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ βασιλικῶν πραγμάτων ὑπ’ Ἀντιγόνου καταλελειμμένον, ἐξεπολύρκησε τελέως ἐν ὄλγαις ἡμέραις.

5 ὁ γὰρ βασιλεὺς Ἀντίγονος Κόριθθον μὲν εἰχε κατὰ τὸ τῶν Ἀχαίων συγχώρημα διὰ τοὺς Κλεομενικοὺς καῖροὺς, Ὀρχομενόν δὲ κατὰ κράτος ἔλων οὐκ ἀποκατέστησε τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς ἄλλα σφετερισάμενος κατείχε, βούλωμενος, ὦς γ’ ἐμοι δοκεῖ, μὴ μόνον τῆς εἰσόδου κυριεύειν τῆς εἰς Πελοπόννησον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν μεσόγαιαν αὐτῆς παραφυλάττειν διὰ τῆς ἐν Ὀρχομενῷ φρουρᾶσα καὶ παρασκευῆς. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Δωρίμοχον καὶ Σκόπαν παρατηρήσαντες τὸν καῖρον, ἐν ὦ λοιπὸς ἢν Τιμόξενος μὲν ὀλίγος ἐπὶ χρόνος τῆς ἀρχῆς, Ἀρατος δὲ καθῆστατο μὲν εἰς τὸν ἐναιτὸν τὸν ἐπιόντα στρατηγὸς ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀχαίων, οὕτω δὲ ἐμελλε τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐξειν, συναθροίσαντες πανδημεῖς τοὺς Αἰτωλοὺς ἐπὶ τὸ Ῥύον, καὶ παρασκευασάμενοι πορθμεία καὶ τὰς Κεφαλήνων ἐτοιμάσαντες ναῦς, διεβίβασαν τοὺς ἀνδρας εἰς Πελοπόννησον καὶ προῆγον ἐπὶ τὴν 310
navy near Cythera brought her to Aetolia with all her crew, and there sold the officers, the troops, and the ship herself. Afterwards they pillaged the coast of Epirus, being aided in these outrages by the Cephallenian fleet. They also made an attempt to seize Thyrium in Acarnania. At the same time, sending a small force secretly through the Peloponnese, they occupied the fort called Clarium in the middle of the territory of Megalopolis, and continued to use it as a base for forays and a market for the sale of booty. This place, however, was shortly afterwards besieged and captured in a few days by Timoxenus, the Achaean Strategus, with the aid of Taurion, the officer left by Antigonus in charge of Peloponnesian affairs. I should explain that Antigonus continued to hold Corinth, which the Achaeans had given up to him, to further his purposes in the Cleomenic war, but that after storming Orchomenus he did not restore it to the Achaeans, but annexed and occupied it, wishing, as I think, not only to be master of the entrance into the Peloponnese, but to safeguard his interests in the interior by means of his garrison and arsenal at Orchomenus. Dorimachus and Scopas waited for the time when Timoxenus' year of office had nearly expired, and Aratus, who had been appointed Strategus for the ensuing year by the Achaeans, would not yet be in office, and then, collecting the whole of the Aetolian forces at Rhium and preparing ferry-boats as well as the Cephallenian ships, they conveyed their men over to the Peloponnese and
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

9 Μεσσηνίαν. ποιούμενοι δὲ τὴν πορείαν διὰ τῆς Πατρέων καὶ Φαραιέων καὶ Τριταιέων χώρας ὑπεκρύνοντο μὲν βούλεσθαι μηδὲν ἀδίκημα ποιεῖν
10 εἰς τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς, οὐ δυναμένου ἀπέχεσθαι τῆς χώρας διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὰς ὀφελείας ἀκρασίαν κακοποιοῦντες αὐτὴν καὶ λυμαινόμενοι διήσαν, μέχρι παρεγενήθησαν εἰς τὴν Φιγάλειαν.
11 ποιησάμενοι δὲ τὴν ὁρμήν ἐνετείθεν αἰφνίδίως καὶ βρασέως ἐνέβαλον εἰς τὴν τῶν Μεσσηνίων χώραν, ουτὲ τῆς ὑπαρχούσης αὐτοῖς ἐκ παλαιῶν χρόνων πρὸς τοὺς Μεσσηνίους φιλίας καὶ συμμαχίας οὐδ᾽ ἤντινον ποιησάμενοι πρῶνοιν οὐτὲ τῶν κατὰ
12 κοινῶν ὁρμημένων δικαίων παρ᾽ ἄνθρωποις, ἀπαντά δ᾽ ἐν ἑλάττων θέμενοι τῆς σφετέρας πλεονεξίας ἀδεώς ἐπόρθουν, οὐ τολμῶντων ἐπεξείναι καθόλου τῶν Μεσσηνίων.

7 Οἱ δ᾽ Ἀχαιοί, καθηκούσης αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῶν νόμων συνόδου κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τούτον, ἦκον εἰς Αἴγιον.
2 συνελθόντες δ᾽ εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ τῶν τε Πατρέων καὶ Φαραιέων ἀπολογιζομένων τὰ γεγονότα περὶ τῆς χώρας αὐτῶν ἀδικήματα κατὰ τὴν τῶν Αἰτωλῶν δίοδον, τῶν τε Μεσσηνίων παρόντων κατὰ προσβείαν καὶ δεομένων σφῖσι βοήθειν
3 ἀδικουμένοις καὶ παρασπονδομένοις, διακούσαντες τῶν λεγομένων, καὶ συναγαγόντος μὲν τοῖς Πατρεύσι καὶ Φαραϊδοι συμπάσχοντες δὲ
4 ταῖς τῶν Μεσσηνίων ἀτυχίαις, μάλιστα δὲ νομίζοντες εἶναι δεινὸν εἰ μήτε συγχωρήσαντος τοῖς Αἰτωλοῖς μηδενὸς τῆς δίοδον, μήτε καθάπαξ ἐπιβαλόμενοι παρατείθησαν, κατατόλμησαν ἐπιβήνωσεν στρατόπεδῳ τῆς Ἀχαιῶς παρὰ τὰς συνθήκας,
5 ἐπὶ πάσι τούτοις παραξεύνθεντες ἐψηφίσαντο βοηθείν
began to advance towards Messenia. On their march through the territory of Patrae, Pharae, and Tritaea, they pretended indeed not to wish to inflict any hurt on the Achaeans, but as the men could not keep their hands off the country, owing to their passion for pillaging, they went through it, spoiling and damaging, until they reached Phigalea. Thence by a bold and sudden rush they invaded Messenia, utterly regardless both of their long-existing alliance and friendship with the Messenians and of the established law of nations. Subordinating everything to their own selfish greed, they pillaged the country unmolested, the Messenians not daring to come out at all to attack them.

7. This being the time fixed by law for the meeting of their Federal Assembly, the Achaean deputies gathered at Aegium; and when the assembly met, the members from Patrae and Pharae gave an account of the injuries done to their country during the passage of the Aetolians, while an embassy from Messene arrived begging for help, as they had been treacherously and unjustly attacked. The Achaean listened to these statements, and as they shared the indignation of the people of Patrae and Pharae, and sympathized with the Messenians in their misfortune, but chiefly since they thought it outrageous that the Aetolians without getting leave of passage from anyone and without making the least attempt to justify the action, had ventured to enter Achaea in arms contrary to treaty, they were so exasperated by all these considerations that they voted that help should be given to the Messenians,
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

toις Μεσσηνίοις καὶ συνάγειν τὸν στρατηγὸν τοὺς 'Αχαιοὺς ἐν τοῖς ὄπλοις, δ' ἄν τοῖς συνελθοῦσι
6 Βουλευμένοις δόξῃ, τούτ' εἶναι κύριον. δ' μὲν
οὖν Τιμόζενος ο τότε ἔτι ὑπάρχων στρατηγός,
ὀσον οὐπώ ληγούσης τῆς ἄρχῆς, ἀμα δὲ τοῖς
'Αχαιοὶς ἀπιστῶν διὰ τὸ βαθύμως αὐτοὺς ἐσχηκέ-
ναι κατὰ τὸ παρόν περὶ τὴν ἐν τοῖς ὄπλοις γυμνα-
σίαν, ἀνεδύετο τὴν ἔξοδον καὶ καθόλου τὴν συν-
7 αγωγὴν τῶν ὀχλών· μετὰ γὰρ τὴν Κλεομένου
τοῦ Σπαρτιατῶν βασιλέως ἐκπτωσιν κάμνοντες
μὲν τοῖς προγεγονοῦσι πολέμοις, πιστεύοντες δὲ
tῇ παρούσῃ καταστάσει πάντες ἠλιγφόρησαν Πε-
λοπονήσιοι τῆς περὶ τὰ πολεμικὰ παρασκευής.
8 δ' ὁ Ἀρατὸς σχετιάζων καὶ παροξυσμόνομος ἐπὶ
tῇ τόλμῃ τῶν Αἴτωλῶν θυμικώτερον ἐχρῆτο τοῖς
πράγμασιν, ἀτε καὶ προὔπαρχούσης αὐτοῖς ἀλ-
9 λοτριότητας ἐκ τῶν ἐπάνω χρόνων. διὸ καὶ
συνάγειν ἐπευδέτο τοὺς 'Αχαιοὺς ἐν τοῖς ὄπλοις
10 καὶ συμβαλέων πρόθυμος ἢν τοῖς Αἴτωλοῖς. τέλος
dὲ πένθ' ἡμέρας πρότερον τοῦ καθήκοντος αὐτῶ
χρόνου παραλαβῶν παρὰ τοῦ Τιμόζενον τὴν
δημοσίαν οφραγίδα πρὸς τε τὰς πόλεις ἐγραφε
καὶ συνήγε τοὺς ἐν ταῖς ἡλικίαις μετὰ τῶν ὄπλων
11 εἰς τὴν Μεγάλην πόλιν. ὑπὲρ οὗ δοκεῖ μοι πρέ-
πον εἶναι βραχέα προειπεῖν διὰ τὴν ἰδιότητα τῆς
φύσεως.
8 ὁ Ἀρατὸς γὰρ ἦν τὰ μὲν ἄλλα τέλειος ἀνὴρ εἰς
2 τὸν πραγματικὸν τρόπον· καὶ γὰρ εἰπεῖν καὶ
dιανοηθῆναι καὶ στέξαν τὸ κριθὲν δυνατὸς, καὶ
μὴν ἐνεγκεῖν τὰς πολιτικὰς διαφορὰς πράσις καὶ
φίλους ἐνόθσωσθαι καὶ συμμάχους προσλαβεῖν
3 οὐδενὸς δεύτερος, ἐτὶ δὲ πράξεις ἀπάτας ἐπι-
314
that the Strategus should call a general levy of the Achaeans, and that this levy when it met should have full power to decide on what was to be done. Now Timoxenetus, who was still Strategus, both because his term of office had very nearly expired, and because he had little confidence in the Achaean forces which had latterly much neglected their drilling, shrank from taking the field and even from levying the troops. For the fact is that ever since the fall of King Cleomenes of Sparta all the Peloponnesians, worn out as they were by the previous wars and trusting to the permanency of the present state of tranquillity, had paid no attention at all to preparations for war. But Aratus, incensed and exasperated by the audacity of the Aetolians, entered upon the business with much greater warmth, especially as he had a difference of long standing with that people. He therefore was in a hurry to call the levy of the Achaeans and to take the field against the Aetolians, and at length receiving the public seal from Timoxenetus five days before the proper date of his entering office, wrote to the different cities with orders that all citizens of military age should present themselves in arms at Megalopolis.

Before proceeding I think I should say a few words about Aratus owing to the singularity of his character. He had in general all the qualities that go to make a perfect man of affairs. He was a powerful speaker and a clear thinker and had the faculty of keeping his own counsel. In his power of dealing suavely with political opponents, of attaching friends to himself and forming fresh alliances he was second to none. He also had a
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

βουλάς συντήσασθαι κατά τῶν πολεμίων καὶ ταύτας ἐπὶ τέλος ἀγαγεῖν διὰ τῆς αὐτοῦ κακο-

4 παθείας καὶ τόλμης δεινότατος. ἐναργῇ δὲ τῶν τοιούτων μαρτύρια καὶ πλεῖω μὲν ἐκφανῇ ὅστι

τοῖς ἰστορηκόσι κατὰ μέρος περὶ τῆς Σικυόνος καὶ Μαντινείας καταλήψεως καὶ περὶ τῆς Αἰτω-

λῶν ἐκ τῆς Πελληνέων πόλεως ἑκβολῆς, τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, περὶ τῆς ἐπ’ Ἀκροκόρινθον πράξεως.

5 ὁ δ’ αὐτὸς οὕτως ὅτε τῶν ὑπαίθρων ἀντιποιή-

σασθαι βουληθεῖ, νωθρὸς μὲν ἐν ταῖς ἐπινοιαῖς,

ἀπολμὸς δ’ ἐν ταῖς ἐπιβολαῖς, ἐν δὴ δ’ οὐ μένων

6 τὸ δεινὸν. διὸ καὶ τροπαίων ἐπ’ αὐτὸν βλεπόντων

ἐπλήρωσε τὴν Πελοπόννησον, καὶ τῇ δὲ τῇ τοῖς

7 πολεμίων ἀεὶ ποτ’ ἦν εὐχερῶτος. οὕτως αἱ τῶν

ἀνθρώπων φύσεις οὐ μόνον τοῖς σύμμασιν ἔχουσὶν

τι πολυειδεῖς, ἐτὶ δὲ μᾶλλον ταῖς ψυχαῖς, ὡστε

τὸν αὐτὸν ἄνδρα μὴ μόνον ἐν τοῖς διαφέροντι τῶν

ἐνεργημάτων πρὸς ἀ μὲν εὐφυῶς ἔχειν πρὸς ἀ

dὲ ἐναντίως, ἄλλα καὶ περὶ τινα τῶν ὁμοειδῶν

πολλάκις τὸν αὐτὸν καὶ συνετῶτατον εἶναι καὶ

βραδύτατον, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τολμηρότατον καὶ

8 δειλότατον. οὐ παράδοξα ταύτα γε, συνήθη δὲ

9 καὶ γνώριμα τοῖς βουλομένοις συνεφιστάνειν. τινὲς

μὲν γὰρ ἐν ταῖς κυνηγίαις εἰσὶ τολμηροὶ πρὸς

tὸς τῶν θηρίων συγκαταστάσεις, οἱ δ’ αὐτοὶ

πρὸς ὅπλα καὶ πολεμίους ἀγενεῖς, καὶ τῆς γε

πολεμικῆς χρείας τῆς κατ’ ἄνδρα μὲν καὶ κατ’

ἰδίαι εὐχερεῖς καὶ πρακτικοὶ, κοινῇ δὲ καὶ μετὰ

10 πολεμικῆς [ἐνίων] συντάξεως ἄπρακτοι. Θετα-

λῶν γοῦν ὑππείς κατ’ ἀλην μὲν καὶ φαλαγγηδοῦν

ἀνυπόστατοι, χωρὶς δὲ παρατάξεως πρὸς καιρὸν

316
marvellous gift for devising coups de main, stratagems, and ruses against the enemy, and for executing such with the utmost personal courage and endurance. Of this we have many clear proofs, but the most conspicuous instances are the detailed accounts we possess of his seizure of Sicyon and Mantinea, his expulsion of the Aetolians from Pellene, and first and foremost his surprise of the Acrocorinthus. But this very same man, when he undertook field operations, was slow in conception, timid in performance, and devoid of personal courage. The consequence was that he filled the Peloponnese with trophies commemorating his defeats, and in this respect the enemy could always get the better of him. So true is it that there is something multiform in the nature not only of men's bodies, but of their minds, so that not merely in pursuits of a different class the same man has a talent for some and none for others, but often in the case of such pursuits as are similar the same man may be most intelligent and most dull, or most audacious and most cowardly. Nor is this a paradox, but a fact familiar to careful observers. For instance some men are most bold in facing the charge of savage beasts in the chase but are poltroons when they meet an armed enemy, and again in war itself some are expert and efficient in a single combat, but inefficient when in a body and when standing in the ranks and sharing the risk with their comrades. For example the Thessalian cavalry are irresistible when in squadrons and brigades, but slow and awkward when dispersed and
καὶ τόπων κατ' ἄνδρα κωδυνεύσαι δύσχρηστοι καὶ βραδεῖς. Αἰτωλοὶ δὲ τούτων τάναντία.

11 Κρῆτες δὲ καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν πρὸς μὲν ἐνέδρας καὶ λῃστεῖας καὶ κλοπὰς πολεμίων καὶ νυκτερινὰς ἐπιθέσεις καὶ πάσας τὰς μετὰ δόλου καὶ κατὰ μέρος χρείας ἀνυπόστατοι, πρὸς δὲ τὴν εὖ ὁμολόγου καὶ κατὰ πρὸσωπον φαλαγ-γηδὸν ἠφοδον ἀγεννεῖς καὶ πλάγιοι ταῖς ψυχαῖς. Ἀχαιοὶ δὲ καὶ Μακεδόνες τάναντία τοῦτων.

12 ταῦτα μὲν εἰρήσθω μοι χάριν τού μὴ διαπιστεῖν τοὺς ἀναγνώσκοντας τοὺς λεγομένους, ἕαν ποιν περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐναντίας ἀποφάσεις ποιώμεθα περὶ τὰ παραπλῆσια τῶν ἐπιτηθευμάτων.

9 Ἀθροισθέντων δὲ τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἡλικίαις μετὰ τῶν ὀπλών εἰς τὴν Μεγάλην πόλιν κατὰ δόγμα τῶν Ἀχαίων (ἀπὸ γὰρ τούτων παρεξέβημεν), καὶ τῶν Μεσσηνίων αὕθις ἐπιπορευθέντων ἐπὶ τὸ πλῆθος καὶ δεομένων μὴ περιδεῖν σφάς οὕτω προφανῶς παρασπονδουμένους, βουλομένων δὲ καὶ τῆς κοινῆς συμμαχίας μετασχεῖν καὶ σπευδόν-

3 τῶν ὁμοῦ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐπιγραφῆναι, περὶ μὲν τῆς συμμαχίας οἱ προεστῶτες τῶν Ἀχαίων ἄπελεγον, οὐ φάσκοντες δυνατὸν εἰναι χωρίς Φιλίππου καὶ τῶν συμμάχων οὐδένα προσλαβεῖν (ἐτὶ γὰρ ἐν-ορκος ἔμενε πᾶσιν ἡ γεγενημένη συμμαχία δι' Ἀντιγόνου κατὰ τοὺς Κλεομενικοὺς καίροὺς Ἁ−χαιοῖς Ἡπειρώταίς Φωκεὐσι Μακεδοσί Βωυτοῖς

5 Ἀκαρνανίς Θεταλοίς), ἐξελεύσεσθαι δὲ καὶ βοηθήσεως αὐτοῖς ἐφασαν, ἐὰν ομηρα δῶσιν οἱ παραγεγονότες τοὺς ἑαυτῶν νεἰσι εἰς τὴν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων πόλιν χάριν τοῦ μὴ διαλυθήσεσθαι πρὸς Αἰτωλοὺς χωρίς τῆς τῶν Ἀχαίων βουλήσεως.

318
engaging the enemy single-handed as they chance to encounter them. The Aetolian horse are just the reverse. The Cretans both by land and sea are irresistible in ambuscades, forays, tricks played on the enemy, night attacks, and all petty operations which require fraud, but they are cowardly and down-hearted in the massed face-to-face charge of an open battle. It is just the reverse with the Achaeans and Macedonians. I say this in order that my readers may not refuse to trust my judgement, because in some cases I make contrary pronouncements regarding the conduct of the same men even when engaged in pursuits of a like nature.

9. When the men of military age had assembled in arms at Megalopolis in accordance with the decree of the Achaeans—it was at this point that I digressed from my narrative—and when the Messenians again presented themselves before the people, entreating them not to disregard the flagrant breach of treaty committed against them, and at the same time offering to join the general alliance and begging that they should at once be enrolled among the members, the Achaean magistrates refused the latter request on the ground that they were not empowered to receive additional members without consulting Philip and the rest of the allies. For the alliance was still in force which Antigonus had concluded during the Cleomenic war between the Achaeans, Epirots, Phocians, Macedonians, Boeotians, Acarnaneans, and Thessalians. They, however, agreed to march out to their assistance on condition that the envoys deposited in Sparta their own sons as hostages, to ensure that the Messenians should not come to terms with the Aetolians without the consent of the Achaeans. I
6 ἐστρατοπέδευον δὲ καὶ Λακεδαίμονι, κατὰ τὴν 
συμμαχίαν ἐξεληλυθότες, ἐπὶ τοὺς τῶν Μεγαλο-
πολίτῶν ὅρους, ἐφεδρῶν καὶ θεωρῶν μᾶλλον ἡ
7 συμμάχων ἔχοντες τάξιν. Ἀρατός δὲ τὸν τρόπον 
τοῦτον τὰ πρὸς Μεσσηνίους διαπράξας ἔπεμπτε 
πρὸς τοὺς Αἰτωλοὺς, διασαφῶν τὰ δεδομένα 
καὶ παρακελεύομενος ἐπανάγειν ἐκ τῆς τῶν Μεσ-
σηνίων χώρας καὶ τῆς Ἀχαιῶς μὴ παῦειν· εἰ δὲ 
μὴ, διότι χρήσεται τοῖς ἑπιβαίνονσιν ὡς πολεμίοις.
8 Σκόπας δὲ καὶ Δωρίμαχος ἀκούσαςτε τὰ λεγό-
μενα καὶ γνώμες ἡθούμενοι τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς, 
ἤγοντο συμφέρειν σφίσι τότε τίθεσθαι τοῖς 
9 παραγγελλόμενοις. παραντικά μὲν οὖν ἐξαπέστελ-
λον γραμματοφόρους εἰς τε Κυλλήνην καὶ πρὸς 
Ἀρίστωνα τῶν τῶν Αἰτωλῶν στρατηγόν, ἀξιοῦντες 
κατὰ σπουδὴν αὐτοῖς ἀποστέλλειν τὰ πορθμεῖα 
τῆς Ἡλείας εἰς τὴν Φειάδα καλουμένην νῆσον.
10 αὐτοὶ δὲ μετὰ δύο ἡμέρας ἀνέζευξαν γέμοντες 
τῆς λείας, καὶ προῆγον ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἡλείαν. αἰὲ 
γὰρ ποτε τῆς τῶν Ἡλείων ἀντείχοντο φιλίας 
Αἰτωλοῖ χάριν τοῦ διὰ τούτων ἐπιπλοκᾶς λαμβά-
νευν πρὸς τὰς ἄρπαγὰς τὰς ἐκ Πελοποννήσου καὶ 
ληστείας.
10 Ὁ δ’ Ἀρατός ἐπιμείνας δύο ἡμέρας, καὶ πιστεύ-
σας εὐθὺς ὅτι ποιήσονται τὴν ἔπανοδον καθάπερ 
ὑπεδείκνυσαν, τοὺς μὲν λοιποὺς Ἀχαιοὺς καὶ 
toὺς Λακεδαίμονίους διαφήκε πάντας εἰς τὴν 
2 οἰκείαι, τρισχίλιοι δ’ ἐχὼν πεζοὺς καὶ τριακοσίους 
ὑπεῖς καὶ τοὺς ἁμα τῶ Ταυρίωνοι στρατιώτας 
προῆγε τῆς ἐπὶ Πάτρας, ἀντιπαράγειν τοῖς Αἰτω-
3 λοῖς προαρχόμενοι. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Δωρίμαχον 
πυθανόμενοι τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἀρατον ἀντιπαράγειν
should mention that the Spartans, too, had marched out according to the terms of the alliance, and were encamped on the borders of the territory of Megalopolis, in the position rather of reserves and spectators than of allies. Aratus having thus carried out his intentions regarding the Messenians, sent a message to the Aetolians informing them of the resolutions, and demanding that they should evacuate Messenia and not set foot in Achaea, or he would treat trespassers as enemies. Scopas and Dorimachus, having listened to this message and knowing that the Achaean forces were assembled, thought it best for the time to cede to this demand. They therefore at once sent dispatches to Ariston, the Aetolian Strategus at Cyllene, begging him to send them the transports as soon as possible to the island called Pheias off the coast of Elis. After two days they themselves took their departure loaded with booty and advanced towards Elis; for the Aetolians have always courted the friendship of the Eleans, as through them they could get in touch with the rest of the Peloponnese for purposes of foraying and raiding.

10. Aratus waited two days: and thinking foolishly that the Aetolians would return by the way they had indicated, dismissed to their homes all the rest of the Achaean and Lacedaemonians, and taking with him three thousand foot, three hundred horse, and Taurion’s troops, advanced in the direction of Patrae with the intention of keeping on the flank of the Aetolians. Dorimachus, on learning that Aratus was hanging on his flank and had not broken
αὐτοῖς καὶ συμμένειν, τὰ μὲν διαγωνισάντες μὴ κατὰ τὴν εἰς τὰς ναῦς ἐμβασιν ἐπιθύνται σφίσιν περισσωμένους, τὰ δὲ σπουδάζοντες συγχέα τὸν 4 πόλεμον, τῇ μὲν λείαι ἀπέστειλαν ἐπὶ τὰ πλοῦτα, συστήσαντες τοὺς ἰκανοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἐπιτηδείους πρὸς τὴν διακομιδὴν, προσενειλάμενοι τοῖς ἐκ- πεμπόμενοις ταῦτα πρὸς τὸ Ἦλιον ἀπαντὰν ὡς 5 ἔντειθεν ποιησόμενοι τὴν ἐμβασιν, αὐτοὶ δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐφήδρευον τῇ τῆς λείαις ἐξαποστολῇ περιέποντες, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα προῆγον ἐκ μεταβολῆς 6 ὡς ἐπ᾽ Ὀλυμπίας. ἀκούοντες δὲ τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ταυρίωνα μετὰ τοῦ προειρημένου πλῆθους περὶ τὴν Κλειτορίαν εἶναι, καὶ νομίζοντες οὗδ᾽ ὡς δυνάμεσθαι τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἦλιου διάβασιν ἀνευ κῶν- 7 δύνου ποιῆσασθαι καὶ συμπλοκῆς, ἔκριναν συμ- φέρειν τοῖς σφετέροις πράγμασιν ὡς τάχιστα συμ- μίξαι τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἀρατον ἀκμὴν ὄλγους οὖσι 8 καὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος ἀνυπονυτῆς, ὑπολαβόντες, ἂν μὲν τρέψωντας τούτους, προκαταστάσαντες τὴν χώραν ἀσφαλῆ ποιῆσεσθαι τὴν ἄπὸ τοῦ Ἦλιου διάβασιν, ἐν δὲ μέλλει καὶ βουλεύεται συναθροῖ- 9 ζεσθαι πάλιν τὸ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν πλῆθος, ἂν δὲ καταπλαγεῖτες φυγομαχῶσι καὶ μὴ βούλωνται συμβάλλειν οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀρατον, ἄνευ κυνδύνου ποιῆσεσθαι τὴν ἀπόλυσιν, ὡστον αὐτοῖς δοκή 10 συμφέρειν. οὗτοι μὲν οὖν τοιούτους χρησάμενοι λογομοί προῆγον, καὶ κατεστρατοπέδευσαν περὶ Μεθύδριον τῆς Μεγαλοπολιτίδος. 11 Οἱ δὲ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἠγεμόνες, συνέντες τὴν παρ- ουσίαν τῶν Αἰτωλῶν, οὕτως ἕχοντας τοῖς πράγμασιν ὡσθ᾽ ὑπερβολὴν ἀνοίας μὴ καταλιπεῖν. 2 ἀναστρέψαντες γὰρ ἐκ τῆς Κλειτορίας κατεστρατο-
up all his force, fearful on the one hand lest he should attack them while occupied in embarking and eager also to stir up war, sent his booty off to the ships, under charge of a sufficient force of competent men to superintend the passage, ordering those in charge of the ships to meet him at Rhium where it was his intention to embark, while he himself at first accompanied the booty to protect it during its shipment and afterwards reversed the direction of his march and advanced towards Olympia. There he heard that Taurion with the forces I mentioned above was in the neighbourhood of Cleitor, and judging that, this being so, he would not be able to embark at Rhium in security and without an engagement, he thought it most in his interest to make all haste to encounter Aratus, whose army was still weak and who had no suspicion of his intention. He thought that if he defeated him, he could first ravage the country and then embark safely at Rhium, while Aratus was occupied in taking measures for again mustering the Achaeans, whereas, if Aratus were intimidated and refused a battle, he could safely withdraw whenever he thought fit. Acting therefore on these considerations he advanced and encamped near Methydrium in the territory of Megalopolis.

11. The Achaean commanders, when they became aware of the approach of the Aetolians, mismanaged matters to such an extent that it was impossible for anyone to have acted more stupidly. For, returning from the territory of Cleitor, they encamped near
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

3 πέδευσαν περὶ Καφυᾶς, τῶν δ' Αἰτωλῶν ποιομένων τὴν πορείαν ἀπὸ Μεθυδρίου παρὰ τὴν τῶν Ὀρχο-
μενίων πόλιν ἔξαγοντες τοὺς Ἀχαίους ἐν τῷ τῶν
Καφυέων πεδίῳ παρενεβαλον, πρόβλημα ποιούμε-
νοι τὸν δὲ αὐτοῦ βέοντα ποταμόν. οἱ δ' Αἰτωλοὶ
cαι διὰ τὰς μεταξὺ δυσχωρίας (ἦσαν γὰρ ἐτὶ
πρὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τάφροι καὶ πλείους δύσβατοι)
cαι διὰ τὴν ἐπίφασιν τῆς ἐποιμότητος τῶν Ἀχαίων
πρὸς τὸν κίνδυνον τοῦ μὲν ἐγχειρεῖν τοῖς ὑπεναν-
tίτοις κατὰ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς πρόθεσιν ἄπεδειλίασαν,
5 μετὰ δὲ πολλῆς εὔταξίας ἐποιοῦντο τὴν πορείαν
ὡς ἐπὶ τὰς ὑπερβολὰς ἐπὶ τὸν 'Ολύγυρτον, ἀσμε-
νίζοντες εἰ μὴ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐγχειρεῖν καὶ βιάζοτο
6 κινδυνεύειν. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἀρατον, τῆς μὲν
πρωτοπορείας τῶν Αἰτωλῶν ήδη προσβαινούσης
πρὸς τὰς ὑπερβολὰς, τῶν δὲ ἰππέων οὐραγούσων
diὰ τοῦ πεδίου καὶ συνεγγυζόντων τῷ προσαγο-
ρευμένῳ Πρόποδι τῆς παρωρείας, ἐξαποστέλλουσι
τοὺς ἰππεῖς καὶ τοὺς εὐζώνους, Ἐπίστρατον
ἐπιστήσαντο τὸν Ἀκαρνάνα, καὶ συντάξαντες
ἐξάπτεσθαι τῆς οὐραγίας καὶ καταπεράζειν τῶν
7 πολεμίων. καίτοι γε εἰ μὲν τὴν κινδυνεύειν, οὐ
πρὸς τὴν οὐραγίαν ἔχρην συμπλέκεσθαι διηνυκότων
ήδη τῶν πολεμίων τούς ὁμαλοὺς τόπους, πρὸς
dὲ τὴν πρωτοπορείαν εὐθέως ἐμβαλόντων εἰς τὸ
8 πεδίον οὕτως γὰρ ἂν τὸν ἀγώνα συνέβη γενέσθαι
tὸν ὅλον ἐν τοῖς ἐπιπέδοις καὶ πεδίοις τόποις,
oῦ τοὺς μὲν Αἰτωλοὺς δυσχρηστοτάτους εἶναι
συνέβαινε διὰ τὲ τὸν καθοπλισμὸν καὶ τὴν ὅλην
σύνταξιν, τοὺς δ' Ἀχαῖους εὐχρηστοτάτους καὶ
dυναμικωτάτους διὰ τὰναντία τῶν προειρημένων.
9 νῦν δ' ἀφέμενοι τῶν οἰκείων τόπων καὶ καιρῶν
324
Caphyae, and when the Aetolians began to march from Methydrium past Orchomenus, they led out the Achaean forces and drew them up in the plain of Caphyae, with the river which traverses it in their front. The Aetolians, both owing to the difficulties of the ground between the two armies—for besides the river there were several awkward ditches—and owing to the display of readiness for battle on the part of the Achaens, were afraid of attacking the enemy as they had intended, but marched in admirable order towards the heights by Olygyrtus, thinking themselves lucky if no one attacked them and forced them to fight. But Aratus, when the van of the Aetolians was already beginning to mount the heights, and while their cavalry were protecting their rear and approaching the spot at the foot of the hill called Propous, or Foothill, sent out his cavalry and light-armed infantry under the command of the Acarnanian Epistratus, ordering him to get into touch with the enemy's rear and harass them. Now if he had decided to engage the enemy, he should not have attacked their rear after they had already got over the level ground, but their van the moment they entered the plain; for thus the whole battle would have been on flat ground, where the Aetolians are very inefficient, owing to their accoutrement and general tactics, while the Achaen, owing to their total difference in both these respects, are very capable and strong. But now neglecting to avail themselves of the time and place that suited
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

eis tā τῶν πολεμίων προτερήματα συγκατέβησαν. τοιγαροῦν ἀκόλουθον τὸ τέλος ἐξέβη τοῦ
12 κινδύνου ταῖς ἐπιβολαῖς. έξαπτομένων γὰρ τῶν εὐξώνων τηροῦντες οἱ τῶν Ἀιτωλῶν ἴππεῖς τὴν
tάξιν ἀπεχώρουν εἰς τὴν παρώρειαν, σπεύδοντες
2 συνάψαι τοῖς παρ' αὐτῶν πεζοῖς. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν
'Αρατόν οὔτε κατιδόντες καλῶς τὸ γινόμενον
οὔτ' ἐκλογισάμενοι δεόντως τὸ μετὰ ταῦτα συμβησόμενον, ἀμα τῷ τούς ἱππεῖς ἰδεῖν ὑποχωροῦντας
3 ἐπίπλωσαντες αὐτοὺς φεύγειν, τοὺς μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν
κεράτων θωρακίτας ἐξαπέστειλαν, παραγγείλαν-
tες βοηθεῖν καὶ συνάπτειν τοῖς παρ' αὐτῶν εὐ-
ξώνοις, αὐτοὶ δ' ἐπὶ κέρας κλίναντες τὴν δύναμιν
4 ἤγον μετὰ δρόμου καὶ σπουδῆς. οἱ δὲ τῶν Ἀιτω-
λῶν ἴππεῖς διανύσαντες τὸ πεδίον, ἀμα τῷ συνάψαι
τοῖς πεζοῖς αὐτοὶ μὲν ὑπὸ τὴν παρώρειαν ὑποστεί-
5 λαντε ἐμενον, τοὺς δὲ πεζοὺς ἥθροιζον πρὸς τὰ
πλάγια καὶ παρεκάλουν, ἐτοίμως πρὸς τὴν κραυγὴν
ἀνατρεχόντων καὶ παραβοηθοῦντων αἰε τῶν ἐκ
6 τῆς πορείας. ἐπεὶ δ' ἀξιομάχους ἔπελαβον εἶναι
σφᾶς αὐτοὺς κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος, συστραφέντες
ἐνεβαλον τοῖς προμαχομένοις τῶν Ἀχαϊκῶν ἴπ-
pέων καὶ ψιλῶν· ὄντες δὲ πλείους καὶ ποιούμενοι
τὴν ἔφοδον εξ ὑπερδεξίου πολὺν μὲν χρόνον ἐκιν-
dύνευσαν, τέλος δ' ἐτέρησαν τοὺς συγκαθεστῶτας.
7 εν δὲ τῷ τούτῳ ἐγκλίναντας φεύγειν οἱ παραβο-
θοῦντες θωρακίται κατὰ πορείαν ἀτάκτως ἐπι-
pαραγενόμενοι καὶ σποράδην, οἱ μὲν ἀποροῦντες
ἐπὶ τοῖς γινομένοις, οἱ δὲ συμπίπτοντες ἀντίοις
tοῖς φεύγουσι κατὰ τὴν ἀποχώρησιν, ἀναστρέφειν
8 ἡμαγκάζοντο καὶ τὸ παραπλήσιον ποιεῖν· εξ οὗ
συνέβαιν τοὺς μὲν ἐκ τῆς συγκαταστάσεως
326
them they yielded up every advantage to the enemy. In consequence the result of the battle was what naturally follows on such an opening. 12. For when the light-armed troops got in touch with them, the Aetolian cavalry retired to the foot of the hill in good order with the object of joining their infantry. But Aratus, who had neither observed well what was happening nor calculated properly what would follow, thinking, the moment he saw the cavalry retreating, that they were in flight, sent the cuirassed troops from his wings with orders to join and support his light-armed force, while he himself, forming his men in column, led them on at the double. The Aetolian horse, having traversed the plain, joined their infantry, and while halting there, themselves under the shelter of the hill, began to collect the infantry on their flanks by calling on them, the men on the march giving a ready ear to their shouts and running back and falling in to help. When they thought they were sufficiently strong, they formed up close and fell upon the leading lines of the Achaean horse and light infantry. As they were superior in number, and as they were charging from higher ground, after a somewhat lengthy struggle they at length put their adversaries to flight. When these gave way and ran, the cuirassed men who were hurrying up to help them, and kept arriving in no order and in batches, some of them being at a loss to know what was the matter and others coming into collision with the fugitives, were compelled to turn round and take to flight also. The consequence was that
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

9 δὲ φεύγοντας πλείους δισχιλίων, τοὺς δὲ πράγματα αὐτοῦ διδάσκοντο τοὺς Αἰτωλοὺς ὁ δὲ ἔποιεῖν, εἰποντό κατόπιν ἐπιπολαστικῶς καὶ κατα-

10 κόρως χρώμενοι τῇ κραυγῇ. ποιομένων δὲ τῶν Ἀχαϊκῶν τὴν ἀποχώρησιν πρὸς τὰ βαρέα τῶν ὑπλων ὡς μενόντων ὑπὸ ταῖς ἀσφαλείαις ἐπὶ τῆς ἐξ ἀρχῆς τάξεως, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον εὐσχήμων ἐγένεθ’

11 ἡ φυγὴ καὶ σωτηρίως· συνθεασάμενοι δὲ καὶ τούτους λειτουρτας τὰς τῶν τόπων ἀσφαλείας καὶ μακροὺς ὄντας ἐν πορεία καὶ διαλελυμένους, οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν εὐθέως διαρρέουτες ἀτάκτως ἐποίη-

12 σαντο τὴν ἀποχώρησιν ἐπὶ τὰς παρακεχέμενας πόλεις, οἱ δὲ συμπίπτοντες ἀντίος τοῖς ἐπιφερο-

13 μένοις βαλαγίταις οὐ προσεδόντο τῶν πολεμίων, αὐτοὶ δὲ σφάς αὐτοὺς ἐκπλήττοντες ἣναγκαζον φεύγειν προτροπάδην. ἔχρωντο δὲ τῇ φυγῇ κατὰ τὴν ἀποχώρησιν, ὡς προείπομεν, ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις· οῖ τε γὰρ Ὄρχομενος αἲ τε Καφύα σύνεγγυς οὔσαι πολλοὺς ἄνησαν. μὴ γὰρ τοῦτον συμβάλλοντος ἀπαν-

14 τε ἐκκυνδύνευσαν διαφφαρήσαι παραλόγως. ὧν ἂν ὁ Καφύας γενόμενος κύνδυνος τοῦτον ἀπέβη τὸν τρόπον, οἱ δὲ Μεγαλοπολίται συνέντεις τοὺς Αἰτωλοὺς πέρι τὸ Μεθύδριον ἐστρα-

13 τοπεδυκότας, ἦκον ἀπὸ σάλπιγγος πανδημεί βοη-

2 θοῦσας τῇ κατὰ πόδας ἡμέρα τῆς μάχης, καὶ μεθ’ ὧν ζωντων ἠλπισαν κυνδυνεύσειν πρὸς τοὺς ὑπεναντίους, τοῦτος ἦναγκάζοντο θάπτειν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν τετελευτηκότας. ὁρύζαντες δὲ τάφρον ἐν τῷ τῶν Καφνέων πεδίῳ, καὶ συναθροίσαντες τοὺς νεκρούς, ἐκήδευσαν μετὰ πάσης φιλοτιμίας τοὺς ἦτυχηκότας.

328
while those routed on the field were not above five hundred, the number of those in flight exceeded two thousand. The circumstances of the moment making it clear to the Aetolians what was to be done, they followed on the heel of the enemy with insolent and continued shouts. The retreat of the Achaeans was at first an honourable retirement, as it seemed, to a position of safety, since they imagined they were falling back on their heavy-armed troops whom they supposed to be still strong in their original position. But upon seeing that the latter also had quitted their strong position and were already far off and marching in a straggling line, some of them at once dispersed and fled in disorder to the neighbouring towns, while those who encountered the men of their own phalanx marching in the opposite direction, had no need of the enemy, but threw their comrades as well as themselves into a panic and forced them to headlong flight. They fled, as I said, to the towns, Orchomenus and Caphyae being quite near and affording refuge to many: for if this had not been the case the whole force would have run the risk of a destruction as complete as unexpected.

Such was the issue of the battle at Caphyae. 13. The Megalopolitans, on hearing that the Aetolians were encamped at Methydrium, summoned their whole levy by trumpet and arrived to help the day after the battle, so that they were compelled to bury, slain by the foe, the very men side by side with whom they had expected to stand and meet that foe in battle. Digging a trench in the plain of Caphyae, they collected the bodies and interred the unfortunates with all due honours.
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

4 Οἱ δ' Ἀιτωλοὶ παραδόξως δι' αὐτῶν τῶν ἑπτῶν καὶ τῶν ψευδῶν ποιήσαντες τὸ πρωτέρημα, λοιπὸν ἤγη μετ' ἀσφαλείας διὰ μέσης Πελοποννήσου διήγεσαν. Ἔν ὁ καίρῳ καταπειράσαντες μὲν τῆς Πελληνεσίας πόλεως, κατασύραντες δὲ τὴν Σικυωνίαν χώραν, τέλος κατὰ τὸν ἱσθμὸν ἐποίησαντο τὴν ἀπόλυσιν.

6 Τὴν μὲν οὖν αἰτίαν καὶ τὴν ἀφορμήν ὁ συμμαχικὸς πόλεμος ἐσχεν ἐκ τούτων, τὴν δ' ἀρχὴν ἐκ τούτων καθήκουσαν σύνοδον, πικρῶς διέκειτο καὶ κοινὴ καὶ κατ' ἰδίαν πρὸς τὸν Ἀρατον ὃς τοῦτον ὁμολογούμενος αἰτίαν γεγονότα τοῦ προειρημένου συμπόλεμος. διὸ καὶ τῶν ἀντιπολιτευομένων κατηγοροῦντων αὐτοῦ καὶ φερόντων ἀπολογίσμους ἐναργεῖς, ἔτι μᾶλλον ἡγανάκτει καὶ παρωξύνετο τὸ πλῆθος. ἐδόκει πως πρῶτον ἀμάρτημα προφανὲς εἶναι τὸ μηδέπω τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτῶν καθηκούσης προλαβόντα τῶν ἀλλότριων καίρων ἀναδέχεσθαι τοιαύτας πράξεις ἐν αἷς συνηδεί πολλάκις αὐτῶν διεσφαλέως. δεύτερον δὲ καὶ μείζον ντούτου τὸ διαφείναι τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς ἀκμῆν ἐν μέσῳ Πελοποννήσου τῶν Αἰτωλῶν ὑπαρχοντων, ἄλλως τε καὶ προδιεληφότα διότι σπεύδουσι οἱ περὶ τὸν Σκόπαν καὶ Δωρίμαχον κινεῖν τὰ καθεστώτα καὶ συντα-

3 ἐναντίον τοῦ πόλεμου τρίτον δὲ τὸ συμβαλεῖν τοῖς ὑπεναντίοις οὕτω μετ' ὀλίγων μηδεμίας κατεπευγοῦσης ἀνάγκης, δυνάμενον ἀσφαλῶς εἰς τὰς 380
The Aetolians, having in this remarkable manner won a battle with their cavalry and light infantry alone, continued to advance henceforth in safety through the middle of the Peloponnese. After making an attempt on Pellene during their march and pillaging the territory of Sicyon, they finally withdrew by way of the Isthmus.

Such was the cause and origin of the Social War, its beginning being the resolution passed by all the allies, who assembling at Corinth under the presidency of King Philip, confirmed this measure.\(^a\)

14. A few days afterwards the Achaean Federal Assembly held its regular general meeting, at which both the whole body and the individual members showed themselves very bitterly disposed towards Aratus as having indisputably caused the late disaster, and so when his political opponents accused him, producing clear proofs of his culpability, the Assembly became still more exasperated and embittered against him. For the general opinion was that he had manifestly erred in the first place in usurping his predecessor’s office before the time in order to undertake the sort of enterprise in which to his own knowledge he had often failed. His second and graver error lay in his having disbanded the Achaeans while the Aetolians were still in the very heart of the Peloponnese, especially as he had been previously aware that Scopas and Dorimachus were doing their best to disturb the existing settlement and stir up war. Thirdly, he had engaged the enemy with such a small force, when there was no urgent necessity to do so, as he might

\(^a\) See Chapter 25.
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

6 εἰ τούτο πάντως ἥγειτο συμφέρειν· τελευταίον καὶ μέγιστον τὸ προθέμενον καὶ συμβαλέιν οὕτως εἰκῇ καὶ ἀσκόπτως χρῆσασθαι τοῖς πράγμασιν ὡστε παρέντα τὰ πεδία καὶ τὴν τῶν ὀπλιτῶν χρείαιν δὲ αὐτῶν τῶν εὐξώνων ταῖς παρωρείαις πρὸς Ἀιτωλοὺς ποιῆσασθαι τὸν κίνδυνον, οἷς οὐδὲν ἦν τούτον

7 προμισσαίτερον οὐδὲ οἰκείότερον. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἀμα τῷ προελθόντα τὸν Ἰάρατον ἀναμνῆσαι μὲν τῶν προπεπολεμεμένων καὶ πεπραγμένων πρὸτερον αὐτῶ, φέρειν δ' ἀπολογισμοὺς περὶ τῶν ἐγκαλουμένων ὡς οὐ γέγονεν αἰτίος τῶν συμβεβηκότων, αἰτεῖσθαι δὲ συγγνώμην εἰ καὶ τι παρεώρακε κατὰ τὸν γενόμενον κίνδυνον, οἴεσθαι δὲ δεῖν καὶ καθόλου σκοπεῖσθαι τὰ πράγματα μὴ πικρῶς ἀλλ' ἀνθρωπίνως, οὕτως ταχέως καὶ μεγαλοψύχως μετεμελήθη τὸ πλῆθος ὡστε καὶ τοῖς συνεπιτθεμένοις αὐτῶ τῶν αὐτοπολεμομένων ἐπὶ πολὺ δυσαρεστήσας καὶ περὶ τῶν ἔξῆς πάντα βουλεύεσθαι κατὰ τὴν Ἰαράτου γνώμην.

9 Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν εἰς τὴν προτεραν ἔπεσεν ολυμπιάδα, τὰ δὲ ἔξῆς εἰς τὴν τετταρακοστὴν ἐπὶ ταῖς ἑκατόν.

15 ἦν δὲ τὰ δόξαν πρὸς Ἀχαιοὺς ταῦτα· προσβεβεύειν πρὸς Ἡπείρους Βουωτοὺς Φωκέας Ἀκαρνάνας

2 Φίλιππουν, καὶ διασαφεῖν τὶνα τρόπον Ἀιτωλοὺ παρὰ τὰς συνθῆκας μεθ' ὀπλῶν ἤδη δὲς εἰσβεβληκότες εἶχαν εἰς τὴν Ἀχαϊαν, καὶ παρακαλεῖν αὐτοὺς βοηθεῖν κατὰ τὰς ὁμολογίας, προσδέξασθαι

3 δὲ καὶ τοὺς Μεσσηνίους εἰς τὴν συμμαχίαν· τὸν δὲ στρατηγὸν ἐπιλέξας τῶν Ἀχαιῶν πεζοὺς μὲν

332
have retired safely to the towns close at hand and reassembled the Achaean forces before giving battle. But his fourth and greatest error was, that when he had decided to fight he managed matters so casually and inconsiderately, that neglecting to avail himself of the plain and make a proper use of his hoplites, he elected to fight on the hill, with only his light-armed troops, against Aetolians to whom nothing is more advantageous and familiar than such conditions. Nevertheless, when Aratus rose, and after reminding them of his conduct of affairs and achievements in the past, defended himself against the accusations, maintaining that he was not responsible for what occurred; and when he asked their pardon if he had possibly been guilty of any oversight in the battle, and said he thought that in general it was better to view facts in no spirit of bitterness, but with human charity: he produced such a rapid and generous revulsion of feeling in the Assembly, that they remained for long displeased with those of his political opponents who had joined in the attack on him, and as to the immediate future adopted Aratus' opinion in every matter. This took place in the previous Olympiad; what follows falls in the 140th.

15. The resolution passed by the Achaean was as follows: To send embassies to the Epirots, Boeotians, Phocians, Acarnanians, and to Philip, pointing out how the Aetolians had twice, in direct breach of the treaty, entered Achaea in arms, and begging for assistance according to the terms of their alliance and also for the admission of the Messenians into the confederacy. The Strategus of the Achaean...
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

πεντακισχιλίων ἵππεις δὲ πεντακοσίους, καὶ βοηθεῖν τοῖς Μεσσηνίοις, ἕλθαν ἐπιβάϊνονσιν Αίτωλοι
4 τῆς χώρας αὐτῶν. συντάξασθαι δὲ καὶ πρὸς Λακεδαίμονίους καὶ πρὸς Μεσσηνίους ὅσους δείχσιν
παρ' ἀμφοῖν ὑπάρχειν ἵππεῖς καὶ πεζοῦς πρὸς τὰς κοινὰς χρείας. δοξάτων δὲ τούτων οἱ μὲν Ἀχαιοὶ
φέροντες γενναίοις τὸ γεγονὸς οὔτε τοὺς Μεσσηνίους ἐγκατέλιπον οὔτε τὴν αὐτῶν πρόδεισιν, οἱ
δὲ πρὸς τοὺς συμμάχους καθεσταμένοι τὰς πρε-
6 οβείας ἐπετέλουν, ὥς ἐκ τῆς Ἀχαίας άνδρας ἐπέλεγε κατὰ τὸ δόγμα, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ Μεσσηνίους συνετάττετο
πεζοῦς μὲν παρ' ἐκατέρων ὑπάρχειν διαχιλίους καὶ
πεντακοσίους ἵππεῖς δὲ πεντήκοντα καὶ διακοσίους,
7 ὦστ' εἶναι τὸ πᾶν σύστημα πρὸς τὰς ἐπηγυμονέας
χρείας πεζοῦς μὲν μυρίους ἵππεῖς δὲ χιλίους.
8 οἱ δ' Αἴτωλοὶ, παραγενομένης αὐτοῖς τῆς καθ-
ηκούσης ἐκκλησίας, συνελθόντες ἐβουλεύσαντο
πρὸς τε Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ Μεσσηνίους καὶ τοὺς
ἀλλούς πάντας εἰρήνην ἄγειν, κακοπραγμονοῦντες
καὶ βουλόμενοι φθείρειν καὶ λυμαίνεσθαι τοὺς τῶν
9 Ἀχαιῶν συμμάχους: πρὸς αὐτοὺς δὲ τοὺς Ἀ-
χαιός, εάν μὲν ἀφιστῶσιν τῆς τῶν Μεσσηνίων
συμμαχίας, ἄγειν ἐψηφίσαντο τὴν εἰρήνην, εἰ δὲ
10 μὴ, πολεμεῖν, πράγμα πάντων ἀλογώτατον. ὄντες
γὰρ αὐτοὶ σύμμαχοι καὶ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν καὶ τῶν
Μεσσηνίων, εἰ μὲν οὗτοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους φιλίαν
ἀγοιν καὶ συμμαχίαν, τὸν πόλεμον τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς
ἐπήγγελλον, εἰ δὲ ἔχθραν ἐλούντο πρὸς τοὺς Μεσ-
σηνίους, τὴν εἰρήνην αὐτοῖς ἐποίησιν κατὰ μόνας,
11 ὦστε μηδ' ὑπὸ λόγον πίπτειν τὴν ἀδικίαν αὐτῶν
diὰ τὸ παρηλλαγμένον αὐτῶν τῶν ἐγχειρημάτων.
334
was to levy a force of five thousand foot and five hundred horse, and to go to the assistance of the Messenians, should the Aetolians invade their country. He was further to arrange with Sparta and Messene how many cavalry and infantry each state should contribute for the needs of the League. Having passed this resolution the Achaeans continued to bear their late reverse bravely, and neither abandoned the Messenians nor their own purpose. The ambassadors sent to the allies executed their instructions, and the Strategus enrolled in Achaea the number of men decided on, and arranged with the Lacedaemonians and Messenians that they should each send two thousand five hundred foot and two hundred and fifty horse, so that the whole force available for the coming campaign amounted to ten thousand foot and a thousand horse.

The Aetolians, when the time came for their regular annual Assembly to meet, voted to maintain peace with the Lacedaemonians, Messenians, and all the other states, with the mischievous design of corrupting and spoiling the allies of the Achaeans. As regards the Achaeans themselves they voted to be at peace with them if they abandoned the Messenian alliance, but if this alliance were maintained to go to war with them. Nothing could have been more unreasonable. For they were themselves allies of both the Achaeans and Messenians, and now if these two states remained in alliance with each other they threatened to declare war on the Achaeans, but they offered a separate peace to the Achaeans if they chose to be at enmity with the Messenians. So that no reasonable explanation can be given of their iniquity, so utterly wrong-headed were their designs.
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

16 Οἱ δ' Ἡπειρῶται καὶ Φίλιππος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀκούσαντες τῶν πρέσβεων τοὺς μὲν Μεσσηνίους 16 eis tīn summaxían prosélabon, epí de toîs upó tōn Aītwolôn pepagyménou paraúntika mēn ἡγανάκτηsan, ōu mēn épi pleíon éthaúmasan dia tō μηθὲν παράδοξον tōn eîðisménon de tì pepoı̂neiκέναι tōus 16 Aītwulois. diósper ou' ὤργισθηsan épi pleíon, ἀλλ' ἐψηφίσαστο tīn eîrήnēn áγεων πρὸς αὐτοῦσ' οὕτως ἡ συνεχῆς ἀδικία συγγνώμης τυγχάνει μᾶλλον τῆς σπάνιοι καὶ παράδοξον πονηρίας.

4 Aītwoloi γοῦν τοῦτω τῷ τρόπῳ χρώμενοι καὶ ληστεύοντες συνεχῶς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, καὶ πολέμουσ ἀνεπαγγέλτους φέροντες πολλοὶ, οὐδ' ἀπολογίας ἐτὶ κατηξίου τοὺς ἐγκαλοῦτας, ἀλλ' καὶ προσεχλεύαζον εἰ τις αὐτοῦς εἰς δικαιοδοσίας προκαλοῖτο περὶ τῶν γεγονότων ἡ καὶ νὴ Δία τῶν μελλόντων.

5 οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι προσφάτως μὲν ἥλευθρωμένοι δι' Ἀντιγόνου καὶ διὰ τῆς τῶν Ἀχαιῶν φιλοτιμίας, ὀφειλοντες δὲ Μακεδόνι καὶ Φίλιππω μηδὲν ὑπεναντίον πράττειν, διαπεμψάμενοι λάθρα πρὸς τοὺς Αἴτωλους φιλίαν δι' ἀπορρήτων ἔθεντο καὶ συμμαχίαν.

6 Ἡθὸ δ' ἐπιλελεγμένων τῶν Ἀχαϊῶν συνίσκων καὶ συντεταγμένων ὑπὲρ τῆς βοηθείας τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Μεσσηνίων, Σκερδιλαίδας ὁμοῦ καὶ Δημήτριος ὁ Φάριος ἐπελευσαν ἐκ τῆς Ἰλλυρίδος ἐνενήκοντα λέμβοις ἔξω τοῦ Δίσου παρὰ τῶν πρὸς Ῥωμαίοις συνθήκας. οἱ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον τῆς Πύλως προσμίζαντες καὶ ποιησάμενοι προσβολὰς ἀπέπεσον. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Δημήτριος μὲν ἔχων τοὺς πεντήκοντα τῶν λέμβων οἰκυμησεν ἐπὶ νῆσων, καὶ περιπλέων τυνάς μὲν ἧργυρολόγει.
16. The Epirots and Philip, after listening to the envoys, agreed to receive the Messenians into the alliance. They felt a momentary indignation at the proceedings of the Aetolians, but were not deeply shocked at them, as the Aetolians had not acted in a manner to surprise anyone, but simply as is their habit. Consequently their resentment was of brief duration, and they voted to remain at peace with the Aetolians. So true is it that persistent wrongdoing is more readily pardoned than occasional and startling acts of iniquity. The Aetolians at least, continuing to behave in this manner, constantly pillaging Greece and committing frequent acts of war without declaration, not only never thought it worth the trouble to defend themselves against complaints, but ridiculed anyone who called them to account for their past offences or even for their future designs. As for the Lacedaemonians, though they had been so recently set free through Antigonus, and through the spirited action of the Achaeans, and should not have in any way acted against the Macedonians and Philip, they sent privately to the Aetolians and made a secret alliance with them.

The Achaean levy had been enrolled, and the Lacedaemonians and Messenians had contracted to send their contingents, when Scerdilai̱das, together with Demetrius of Pharos, sailed from Illyria with a fleet of ninety boats and passed Lissus, thus breaking the treaty with Rome. They touched first at Pylos and made some attacks on it which failed. Demetrius now with fifty of the boats started for the islands, and sailing through the Cyclades pillaged or levied
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

9 τινὰς δ' ἐπόρθει τῶν Κυκλάδων, Σκερδιλαίδας δὲ ποιούμενος τὸν πλοῦν ὡς ἐπ' οἴκου προσεῖχε πρὸς Ναύπακτον μετὰ τετταράκοντα λέμβων, πεισθεὶς 'Αμυνᾶ τῷ βασίλει τῶν 'Αθαμάνων, δὲ ἐτύγχανε κηδεστής ὑπάρχων αὐτοῦ, ποιησάμενος δὲ συνθήκας πρὸς Αἰτωλοὺς δι' Ἀγελάου περὶ τοῦ μερισμοῦ τῶν λαβύρων ὑπέσχετο συνεμβαλεῖν ὁμόσε τοῖς Αἰτωλοῖς εἰς τὴν Ἀχαίαν.

10 Συνθέμενοι δὲ ταῦτα πρὸς τὸν Σκερδιλαίδαν οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀγελάον καὶ Δωρίμαχον καὶ Σκόπαν, πραττομένης αὐτοῖς τῆς τῶν Κυναιθέων πόλεως, συναθροίσαντες πανδημεῖ τοὺς Αἰτωλοὺς ἐνέβαλον εἰς τὴν Ἀχαίαν μετὰ τῶν Ἰλλυρίων. Ἀρίστων δ' ὁ τῶν Αἰτωλῶν στρατός, οὗ προσποιούμενος οὔθεν τῶν γνωμένων, ἤγε τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἐπὶ τῆς ὀικείας, φάσκων οὐ πολεμεῖν τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς ἀλλὰ διατηρεῖν τὴν εἰρήνην, εὐθὲς καὶ παιδικὸν πράγμα ποιῶν· δήλον γὰρ ὡς εὐθῆς καὶ μάταιον εἰκὸς φαινοθαι τὸν τουοδοτον, ὅταν ὑπολαμβάνη τοῖς λόγοις ἐπικρύψασθαι τὰς τῶν πραγμάτων ἐναργείας. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Δωρίμαχον διὰ τῆς Ἀχαιατίδος ποιησάμενοι τὴν πορείαν ἦκον ἄφνω πρὸς τὴν Κυναιθαιν. συνεβαίνε δὲ τοὺς Κυναιθεῖς ὄντας Ἀρκάδας ἐκ πολλῶν χρόνων [ἑν] ἀκαταπάυτοι καὶ μεγάλαις συνεσχήσθαι στάσει, καὶ πολλάς μὲν κατ’ ἄλληλων πεποιηθαι σφαγᾶς καὶ φυγᾶς, πρὸς δὲ τούτους ἀρπαγᾶς ὑπαρχόντων, ἔτι δὲ γῆς ἀνάδασμος, τέλος δ' ἐπικρατήσαι τοὺς τὰ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν αἴρουμενος καὶ κατασχεῖν τὴν πόλιν, φυλακὴν ἔχοντας τῶν τειχῶν καὶ στρατηγὸν τῆς πόλεως ἔξ Ἀχαιας. τούτων δ' οὕτως ἑχόντων, οὐγος ἐμπροσθεν χρόνοις τῆς τῶν Αἰτωλῶν παρουσίας διαπεμπομένως 338
blackmail on some of them. Scerdilaïdas on his voyage home touched at Naupactus with his forty boats at the request of Amynas, the king of Athamania, who was his connexion by marriage. Here, having come to terms with the Aetolians through Agelaus about the division of the spoil, he promised to join them in invading Achaea.

Agelaus, Dorimachus, and Scopas were negotiating for the betrayal to them of the city of Cynaetha, and having made this arrangement with Scerdilaïdas, they collected the Aetolian forces en masse and invaded Achaea with the Illyrians. 17. Meanwhile Ariston, the Aetolian Strategus, in pretended ignorance of what was going on, kept quiet in Aetolia, asserting that he was not making war on the Achaeans but keeping the peace; which was most foolish and childish on his part. For it is obvious that a man who thinks he can cloak by words the clear evidence of facts must be regarded as a foolish and futile person. Dorimachus, marching through Achaea, appeared suddenly before Cynaetha. The people of Cynaetha, who are Arcadians, had been for many years vexed by the never-ending and embittered strife of factions; there had been constant massacres, expulsions, robbery of goods, and confiscation of lands by the one party or the other, and now at length the Achaean party had the upper hand and were in possession of the city, the Achaeans furnishing them with a garrison to hold the walls and a military governor of the city. Such was the state of affairs, when a short time before the arrival of the Aetolians, upon the exiles sending frequent
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

νων τῶν φυγάδων πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ δεο-
μένων διαλυθῆναι πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ κατάγειν σφᾶς
7 εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν, πεισθέντες οἱ κατέχοντες τὴν
πόλιν ἐπρέσβευον πρὸς τὸ τῶν Ἀχαίων ἔθνος,
βουλόμενοι μετὰ τῆς ἐκείνων γνώμης ποιεῖσθαι
8 τὰς διαλύσεις. ἑπιχωρησάντων δὲ ἑτοίμως διὰ
τὸ πεπείσθαι σφίσιν ἀμφότεροις εὐνοῆσεν, ἀτε
τῶν μὲν κατεχόντων τὴν πόλιν ἐν τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς
ἐχόντων πάσας τὰς ἐλπίδας, τῶν δὲ καταπορευ-
μένων μελλόντων τυγχάνειν τῆς σωτηρίας διὰ τὴν
9 τῶν Ἀχαιῶν συγκατάθεσιν, οὕτως ἀποστείλαντες
τὴν παραφυλακὴν καὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως
οἱ Κυναιθεῖς διελύσαντο καὶ κατήγαγον τοὺς
φυγάδας, ὡς σχεδὸν εἰς τριακοσίους, λαβόντες
πίστεις τῶν παρ’ ἀνθρώποις νομιζομένων τὰς
10 ἰσχυρότατας. οἱ δὲ κατανοοῦσαντες οὐχ ὡς
αἰτίας ἢ προφάσεως ἐπιγενομένης τοῦ δοκεῖν
ἀλλὰς διαφοραῖς ἀρχὴν αὐτοῖς τῶν γεγενηθαι,
τὸ δὲ ἐναντίων παραχρῆμα κατελθόντες εὐθέως
11 ἐπεβούλευον τῇ πατρίδι καὶ τοῖς σώσαι. καὶ μοι
δοκοῦσι, καθ’ ὅσα καὶ τῶν σφαγίων τοὺς
ὀρκοὺς καὶ τὰς πίστεις ἐδίδοσαν ἀλλήλοις, τότε
μάλιστα διανοεῖσθαι περὶ τῇ ἐς τὸ θεῖον καὶ
12 τοὺς πιστεύουσαντας ἀσκεῖας. ἂμα γαρ τῷ μετα-
σχείν τῆς πολιτείας εὐθέως ἐπεσπῶντο τοὺς Ἀι-
τωλοὺς καὶ τοῦτος ἐπράττον τὴν πόλιν, σπεύδοντες
τοὺς σώσαντας ἂμα καὶ τὴν θρέψασαν ἀρδην ἀπο-
λέσαι.
18 Τῇν δὲ πρᾶξιν τοιᾷδε τῳν τόλμη καὶ τοιούτῳ
2 τρόπῳ συνεστήσαν. πολέμαρχοι τῶν κατελή-
messages to those in the city entreating them to be reconciled and permit them to return home, the party in possession sent envoys to the Achaean League, wishing the reconciliation to be with their consent. The Achaeans readily agreed, as they felt sure that they would thus gain the goodwill of both factions, since those who were masters of the city were entirely devoted to them and the home-coming exiles would owe their safe return to the consent of the League. Accordingly, the Cynaetheans dismissed the garrison and commandant from the city and recalled the exiles, who numbered about three hundred, exacting from them such pledges as are generally regarded among mankind as most binding. But these repatriated citizens, not because they had any cause or pretext subsequent to their readmission for suspecting that other contentions were imminent, but on the contrary from the very moment of their return, set about conspiring against their city and their preservers. I am even inclined to think that at the very instant when they were mutually pledging their faith by solemn oaths over the sacrifice, their minds were full of the impious project of breaking their faith to heaven and to those who trusted in them. For no sooner were they again associated in the government than they began to solicit the Aetolians and offer to betray the city to them, taking the safest and swiftest means of bringing to utter destruction those to whom they owed their safety and the city in whose lap they had been nourished.

18. The coup de main by which they executed their project was as follows. Some among the returned
λυθότων τινες ἐγεγόνευσαν· ταύτην δὲ συμβαίνει
tὴν ἄρχήν κλείειν ὡς πύλας καὶ τὸν μεταξὺ χρόνον
κυριεύειν τῶν κλειδών, ποιεῖσθαι δὲ καὶ τὸ καθ'
3 ἡμέραν τὴν δίαιταν ἐπὶ τῶν πυλώνων. οἱ μὲν οὖν
Αἰτωλοῖ διεσκευασμένοι καὶ τὰς κλίμακας ἐτοίμας
4 ἔχοντες ἐπετῆρον τὸν καιρόν· οἱ δὲ πολεμαρχοῦν-
tες τῶν φυγάδων, κατασφάξαντες τοὺς συνάρχου-
5 τας ἐπὶ τοῦ πυλῶνος, ἀνέωξαν τὴν πύλην. οὐ συμ-
βάντος τινες μὲν τῶν Αἰτωλῶν διὰ ταύτης εἰσ-
ἐπιττον, τινὲς δὲ τὰς κλίμακας προσερείσαντες
ἐβιάσαντο διὰ τούτων καὶ κατελάμβανον τὸ τείχος.
6 οἱ δ' ἐν τῇ πόλει πάντες ἐκπλαγεῖς ὄντες ἐπὶ τοῖς
συντελουμένοις, ἀπόρως καὶ δυσχρήστως εἶχον
πρὸς τὸ συμβαίνον· οὔτε γὰρ πρὸς τοὺς διὰ τῆς
πύλης εἰσπίπτοντας οἷοί τ' ἦσαν βοηθεῖν ἀπερι-
σπάστως διὰ τοὺς πρὸς τὰ τείχη προσβάλλοντας,
οὔδε μὴν τοῖς τείχεσιν ἐπαμώμενοι διὰ τοὺς τῇ πύλη
7 βιαζομένους. οἱ δ' Αἰτωλοὶ διὰ ταύτας τὰς αἰτίας
ταχέως ἐγκρατεῖς γενόμενοι τῇς πόλεως τῶν
ἀδίκων ἐργῶν ἐν τοῖς ἐπραξαν δικαιότατον
πρῶτοις γὰρ τοὺς εἰσαγαγόντας καὶ προδόντας
αὐτοῖς τὴν πόλιν κατασφάξαντες διήρπασαν τοὺς
8 τούτων βίους. ὅμως δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐχρή-
σαντο πᾶσιν. τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον ἐπισκηνώσαντες
ἐπὶ τᾶς οἰκίας ἐξετοιχωρύχησαν μὲν τοὺς βίους,
ἐστρέβλωσαν δὲ πολλοὺς τῶν Κυναθέων, οἷς
ηπίστησαν ἐχεῖν κεκρυμμένον διάφορον ἢ κατα-
σκεύασμα ἢ ἀλλο τῶν πλείονος ἄξιων.
9 Τούτων δὲ τὸν τρόπον λυβηράμενοι τους Κυνα-
θεῖς ἀνεστρατοπέδευσαν, ἀπολιπόντες φυλακὴν τῶν
10 τειχῶν, καὶ προῆγον ὡς ἐπὶ Δούσων· καὶ παρα-
γενόμενοι πρὸς τὸ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερὸν, δ' κείται
exiles held the office of Polemarch. It is the duty of these magistrates to shut the gates: they keep the keys in their custody until the gates are re-opened and by day reside in the gate-houses. The Aetolians then lay in readiness with their scaling-ladders awaiting the moment for attack. The Polemarchs of the party which had been in exile, after murdering their colleagues at one of the gate-houses, opened the gate, upon which some of the Aetolians rushed in through it, while others, planting their ladders against the wall, took forcible possession of the fortifications by this means. All the inhabitants were seized with consternation at this and knew not what course to take in these difficult circumstances. For neither were their hands free to oppose those who were streaming in through the gate, owing to the attack on the walls, nor could they defend the walls properly owing to the forcing of the gate. For these reasons the Aetolians soon made themselves masters of the town, and thereupon, amid all their iniquities, performed one act of exemplary justice. For in the first place they killed and plundered the property of the traitors who had introduced them into the city. All the rest of the citizens were treated in the same way. Finally, they quartered themselves in the houses and thoroughly pillaged all the property, putting to the torture many of the Cynaetheans whom they suspected of having concealed money, plate, or other valuables.

After this cruel treatment of the Cynaetheans, they took their departure, leaving a garrison to guard the walls and advanced towards Lusi. On arriving at the temple of Artemis which lies between Cleitor
μὲν μεταξὺ Κλείτωρος καὶ Κυναίθης, ἄσυλον δὲ νενόμισται παρὰ τοῖς Ἐλλησιοῖς, ἀνετείνοντο διαρ-πάσειν τὰ θρέμματα τῆς θεοῦ καὶ τᾶλλα τὰ περὶ τὸν ναὸν. οἷς δὲ Λουσιάται νουνεχὺς δόντες τινὰ τῶν κατασκευασμάτων τῆς θεοῦ, παρητήσαντο τὴν τῶν Αἰτωλῶν ἄσεβειαν [καὶ] τοῦ μηδὲν πάθειν ἀνήκεστον. οἷς δὲ δεξαμενοί, παραχρήμα ἀναζεύγαντες, προσεστρατοπέδευσαν τῇ τῶν Κλει-τορίων πόλει.

19 Κατὰ δὲ τοὺς καιροὺς τούτους ὁ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν στρατηγὸς Ἀρατὸς ἐξαπέστειλε μὲν πρὸς Φίλιππον παρακαλῶν βοηθεῖν, συνήγε δὲ τοὺς ἐπιλέκτους, μετεπέμπετο δὲ παρὰ Λακε-δαμονίων καὶ Μεσσηνίων τοὺς διατεταγμένους κατὰ τᾶς ὁμολογίας. οἷς δ’ Αἴτωλοι τὸ μὲν πρῶτον παρεκάλουν τοὺς Κλειτόριους ἀποστάντας τῶν Ἀχαιῶν αἱρεῖσθαι τὴν πρὸς αὐτοὺς συμμαχίαν, τῶν δὲ Κλειτόριων ἀπλῶς οὐ προσεμεμένοι τοὺς λόγους προσβολᾶς ἐποιοῦντο, καὶ προσερείδοντες τᾶς κλίμακας τοῖς τείχεσι κατεπείραζον τῆς πόλεως. ἀμυνομένων δὲ γενναίως καὶ τολμηρῶς τῶν ἐνδον εἰξαντες τοῖς πράγμασι ἀνεστρατο-πέδευσαν, καὶ προσαγαγόντες αὖθις ὡς ἐπὶ τῆς Κύναιθαν, ὡς τὰ θρέμματα τῆς θεοῦ περι-

5 σύραντες ἀπήγαγον. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον παρε-δίδοσαν τοῖς Ἡλεῖοι τῆς Κύναιθαν οὐ βουλο-μένων δὲ προσδέξασθαι τῶν Ἡλείων ἐπεβάλοντο μὲν δὲ αὐτῶν κατέχειν τῆν πόλιν, στρατηγὸν ἐπιστήσαντες Εὐριπίδαν, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πάλιν δεῖσαντες ἐκ τῶν προσαγγελλομένων τῆς Ἐκ Μακεδονίας βοήθειαν, ἐμπρήσαντες τῆν πόλιν ἀπηλλάγησαν, καὶ προῆγον αὐτὶς ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ Ῥίον, 344
and Cynaetha, and is regarded as inviolable by the Greeks, they threatened to lift the cattle of the goddess and plunder the other property about the temple. But the people of Lusi very wisely induced them to refrain from their impious purpose and commit no serious outrage by giving them some of the sacred furniture. On receiving this they at once left the place and encamped before Cleitor.

19. Meanwhile Aratus, the Achaean Strategus, had sent to Philip begging for help, was collecting the Achaean levy, and had sent for the contingent which the Messenians and Lacedaemonians had agreed to furnish.

The Aetolians in the first place invited the Cleitorians to abandon their alliance with the Achaeans and form one with themselves. When the Cleitorians absolutely refused to listen to them, they began an assault, and attempted to take the town by escalading. But on meeting with a gallant and determined resistance from the inhabitants they yielded to the force of circumstances, and breaking up their camp advanced again towards Cynaetha, raiding and driving off the sacred cattle in spite of having undertaken not to do so. At first they wished to hand over Cynaetha to the Eleans; but on the latter declining they decided to hold the town themselves, appointing Euripidas commandant. But afterwards, as they were afraid from the intelligence they received of a relief force coming from Macedonia, they burnt the city and withdrew, marching again
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

7 ταύτη κρίνοντες πουεῖσθαι τῇν διάβασιν. ο δὲ Ταυρίων πυθαδόμενος τῇν τῶν Αἰτωλῶν εἰσβολήν καὶ τὰ περὶ τῆν Κύναιθαν πεπραγμένα, θεωρῶν δὲ τὸν Δημήτριον τὸν Φάριον ἀπὸ τῶν νήσων εἰς τὰς Κεγχρέας καταπεπλευκότα, παρεκάλει τούτον βοηθῆσαι τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς καὶ δισθημίζαντα τοὺς λέμβους ἐπιτίθεσθαι τῇ τῶν Αἰτωλῶν διαβάσει.

8 ο δὲ Δημήτριος λυσιτελῆ μὲν οὐκ εὐσχήμονα δὲ πεποιημένος τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν νῆσων ἐπάνοδον διὰ τὸν τῶν Ἐρώδων ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἀνάπλουν, ἀσμείων ὑπηκουσε τῷ Ταυρίῳ, προσδέξαμένου ἐκεῖνον τὴν εἰς τὴν ὑπέρβασιν τῶν λέμβων δαπάνην. οὐτὸς μὲν οὖν ὑπερισθῆσας, καὶ δυσὶ καθυστερῆσας ἡμέρας τῆς τῶν Αἰτωλῶν διαβάσεως, προκατασύρας τινὰς τόπους τῆς παραλίας τῆς τῶν Αἰτωλῶν κατῆχε τὰλιν εἰς τὴν Κόρινθον. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ τὸ μὲν πέμπειν τὰς βοηθείας κατὰ τὴν διάταξιν ἐνεκάκησαν, βραχεῖς δὲ τινὰς παντελῶς ἅπεις καὶ πεζοὺς, στοχαζόμενοι τοῦ δοκεῖν μόνου, ἐξέπεμψαν. Ἀρατος δὲ τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς ἔχων πολιτικῶτερον ἡ στρατηγικῶτερον ὑπὲρ τῶν παρόντων ἐβούλεύσατο. μέχρι γὰρ τοῦτο τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἤγε, προσανέχων καὶ μεμνημένος τῆς προγεγενημένης συμφορᾶς, ἔως ὅτι πάντα διαπραξάμενοι κατὰ τὰς αὐτῶν προαιρέσεις οἱ περὶ τὸν Σκόταν καὶ Δωρίμαχον ἐπανῆλθον εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν, καὶ περὶ διὰ τῶν ποιούμενοι τὰς πορείας εὐεπιθέτων καὶ στενῶν καὶ μόνου σαλπιγκτοὺ δεομένων.

12 τῶν παρόντων ἐβουλεύσατο. μέχρι γὰρ τοῦτο τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἤγε, προσανέχων καὶ μεμνημένος τῆς προγεγενημένης συμφορᾶς, ἔως ὅτι πάντα διαπραξάμενοι κατὰ τὰς αὐτῶν προαιρέσεις οἱ περὶ τὸν Σκόταν καὶ Δωρίμαχον ἐπανῆλθον εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν, καὶ περὶ διὰ τῶν ποιούμενοι τὰς πορείας εὐεπιθέτων καὶ στενῶν καὶ μόνου σαλπιγκτοὺ δεομένων.

13 Κυναίθεις δὲ μεγάλοις ἀτυχήμασιν ὑπ' Αἰτωλῶν καὶ μεγάλαις συμφοραῖς περιπεσόντες ὡμως πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἠδοξαν ἡτυχηκέναι δικαιότατα. 346
to Rhium, whence they had decided to make the crossing. Taurion had learnt of the Aetolian invasion and the fate of Cynaetha; and seeing that Demetrius of Pharos had sailed back from the islands to Cenchreae, begged him to assist the Achaeans, and after conveying his boats across the Isthmus, to fall upon the Aetolians during their crossing. Demetrius, whose return from his expedition to the islands had been much to his advantage indeed, but somewhat ignominious, as the Rhodians were sailing to attack him, lent a ready ear to Taurion, who had engaged to meet the expense of transporting the boats. But having traversed the Isthmus and missed the crossing of the Aetolians by two days, he returned again to Corinth, after raiding some places on the Aetolian coast. The Lacedaemonians had culpably omitted to send the stipulated contingent of men, but dispatched quite an insignificant number of horse and foot to save appearances. But Aratus who had his Achaeans, displayed rather on this occasion the caution of a politician than the courage of a general; for he made no move, fearful of committing himself and mindful of his recent reverse, until Scopas and Dorimachus, having accomplished all they had purposed, returned home, and this although their march had taken them through narrow defiles, most advantageous for an attacking force and where a call of the bugle would have been sufficient.

20. The Cynaetheans, on whom the Aetolians had brought this terrible disaster, were, however, generally esteemed to have deserved their fate more
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

20 ἐπειδὴ δὲ κοινὴ τὸ τῶν Ἄρκαδῶν ἔθνος ἔχει τινὰ παρὰ πᾶσι τοῖς Ἑλλήσσων ἔτη ἀρετῇ φήμην, οὐ μόνων διὰ τὴν ἐν τοῖς ἵθεσι καὶ βίοις φιλοζεύναν καὶ φιλανθρωπίαν, μάλιστα δὲ διὰ τὴν εἰς τὸ θεῖον
2 εὐσέβειαν, ἄξιον βραχὺ διαπορήσαι περὶ τῆς Κυναιθέων ἀγριότητος, πῶς ὄντες ὀμολογομένως Ἄρκαδες τοσοῦτο κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς καύρους διήνεγκαν τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων ὑμότητι καὶ παραπαριζήθησαν.
3 δοκοῦσι δὲ μοι, διότι τὰ καλῶς ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχαίων ἐπινευσμένα καὶ φυσικῶς συντεθεωρημένα περὶ πάντας τοὺς κατοικοῦντας τὴν Ἀρκαδίαν, ταῦτα δὴ πρῶτοι καὶ μόνοι τῶν Ἀρκαδῶν ἐγκατέλιπον.
4 μουσικὴν γὰρ, τὴν γε ἁληθῶς μουσικὴν, πᾶσι μὲν ἄνθρωποι ὀφέλος ἀσκεῖν, Ἀρκάσι δὲ καὶ
5 ἀναγκαίον. οὐ γὰρ ἡγητέων μουσικήν, ὡς Ἐφορός φησιν ἐν τῷ προοίμῳ τῆς ὅλης πραγματείας, οὐδαμῶς ἀρμόζοντα λόγον αὐτῷ ρίψας, ἐπ' ἀπάτη
6 καὶ γοητείᾳ παρεισῆκαί τοῖς ἄνθρωποις· οὐδὲ τοὺς παλαιοὺς Κρητῶν καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων αὐλον καὶ ῥυθμόν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον ἀντὶ σάλπιγγος εἰκῇ
7 νομιστεόν εἰςαγαγεῖν, οὐδὲ τοὺς πρῶτους Ἀρκαδῶν εἰς τὴν ὅλην πολιτείαν τὴν μουσικὴν παραλαβεῖν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ὅστε μὴ μόνον παιῶν οὔσιν ἄλλα καὶ νεανίσκοις γενομένοις ἔως τριάκοντον ἐτῶν κατ' ἀνάγκην σύντροφον ποιεῖν αὐτήν,
8 τάλλα τοῖς βίοις ὄντας αὐστηροτάτους. ταῦτα γὰρ πᾶσιν ἕστα γνώριμα καὶ συνήθη, διότι σχεδὸν παρὰ μόνοις Ἀρκάσι πρῶτον μὲν οὶ παῖδες ἐκ νηπίων ἀδειν ἐθίζονται κατὰ νόμους τοὺς ὕμνοις καὶ παιάνας, οἷς ἐκαστοὶ κατὰ τὰ πάτρια τοὺς
9 ἐπιχωρίους ἥρωας καὶ θεοὺς ὕμνοισι· μετὰ δὲ
than any men ever did. Since the Arcadian nation on the whole has a very high reputation for virtue among the Greeks, due not only to their humane and hospitable character and usages, but especially to their piety to the gods, it is worth while to give a moment's consideration to the question of the savagery of the Cynaetheans, and ask ourselves why, though unquestionably of Arcadian stock, they so far surpassed all other Greeks at this period in cruelty and wickedness. I think the reason was that they were the first and indeed only people in Arcadia to abandon an admirable institution, introduced by their forefathers with a nice regard for the natural conditions under which all the inhabitants of that country live. For the practice of music, I mean real music, is beneficial to all men, but to Arcadians it is a necessity. For we must not suppose, as Ephorus, in the Preface to his History, making a hasty assertion quite unworthy of him, says, that music was introduced by men for the purpose of deception and delusion; we should not think that the ancient Cretans and Lacedaemonians acted at haphazard in substituting the flute and rhythmic movement for the bugle in war, or that the early Arcadians had no good reason for incorporating music in their whole public life to such an extent that not only boys, but young men up to the age of thirty were compelled to study it constantly, although in other matters their lives were most austere. For it is a well-known fact, familiar to all, that it is hardly known except in Arcadia, that in the first place the boys from their earliest childhood are trained to sing in measure the hymns and paeans in which by traditional usage they celebrate the heroes and gods of each particular
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

taúta tous Philoxénon kai Tímódéous nómos mou man-
tháonutes pollh filotémia xoréounous kat' ènauton

tois Diónsiaikois aúltaièis èn tois theátrous, oi

mén paídes tous paidikous ágyonas oi ðe neaníaikoî

tois tôn ándrōn legoméneous. ómowos ge mhn

kai par' òlon tôn bíon tás ágyagas tás èn tais

sunnyíasais oux ouûs poioûntai dia twn èpexe-

ákton akroamáton ðis ði' autôn, ona méros

11 âdein állylous prosstatontes. kai twn mên

allwv mathmátovn árnhènai ði mhn gynwóskew

ouðên aiúskron ñgoûntai, tòn ge mhn àðhîn ou't' ár-

nhènai dúvnantai dia to kath' anagkèn pántas

mánthânei, ouðê ñmolologiûntes ðôptrîbèntai dia

tò twn aiúskrov par' autôi nómiçesai toûto.

12 kai mhn èmbatîria met' aûlou kai táxeous áskoûn-
tes, òti ð' ñrìêsèis èkponoûntes metà koûsè

èpistrophèi kai dápathe kath' ènauton èn tois

theátrous èpideîkunntai tois autôn politais oî

21 néoi. taúta tê moi ðokouin oî pálai paréis-

agayêiv ou truphiès kai periousias xárñ, allá

ðeðroûntes mên tîn èkástovn autourgían kai

sullîbðin to tîn bîwn èpîponon kai skleron,

ðeðroûntes ðe tîn tîn ðìthôn ausþérian, ñtis

autôi parépeita dia tîn tou perie óktonos psuchrô-
tîta kai stugnótita tîn katà to pleióston èn

tois topous uparáchoûsan, òi ñunëÞomoiouûntai pe-

2 fúkamev pàntes ânðrwpoi kath' ånâgev ou ãrâ

ði' állyhn, dia ðe taútìn tîn aútìn katà tâs

éðnikas kai tâs ðlòsçheirîs dianástaseis pleióston

állylwn dianéîromen ñðesì te kai morfaî kai

xómaçew, òti ðe tîn èpíþdenvmaton toûs pleî-
place: later they learn the measures of Philoxenus and Timotheus, and every year in the theatre they compete keenly in choral singing to the accompaniment of professional flute-players, the boys in the contest proper to them and the young men in what is called the men’s contest. And not only this, but through their whole life they entertain themselves at banquets not by listening to hired musicians but by their own efforts, calling for a song from each in turn. Whereas they are not ashamed of denying acquaintance with other studies, in the case of singing it is neither possible for them to deny a knowledge of it because they all are compelled to learn it, nor, if they confess to such knowledge can they excuse themselves, so great a disgrace is this considered in that country. Besides this the young men practise military parades to the music of the flute and perfect themselves in dances and give annual performances in the theatres, all under state supervision and at the public expense. 21. Now all these practices I believe to have been introduced by the men of old time, not as luxuries and superfluities but because they had before their eyes the universal practice of personal manual labour in Arcadia, and in general the toilsomeness and hardship of the men’s lives, as well as the harshness of character resulting from the cold and gloomy atmospheric conditions usually prevailing in these parts—conditions to which all men by their very nature must perforce assimilate themselves; there being no other cause than this why separate nations and peoples dwelling widely apart differ so much from each other in character, feature, and colour as well as in the most of their pursuits. The primitive
3 στοις. Βουλόμενοι δὲ μαλάττειν καὶ κυρνάν τὸ τῆς φύσεως αὐθαδες καὶ σκληρον, τά τε προειρημένα πάντα παρεισήγαγον, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις συνόδους κοινάς καὶ θυσίας πλείστας ὀμοίως ἄνδρας καὶ γυναιξί κατείθυσαν, ἐτὶ δὲ χοροὺς
4 παρθένων ὀμοῦ καὶ παιδῶν, καὶ συλλήβδην πάν ἐμηχανήσαντο, σπεύδοντες τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀτέραμνον διὰ τῆς τῶν ἔθισμῶν κατασκευῆς ἔξημεν καὶ πραύνειν. ἦν Κυναίθεις ὀλυγωρήσαντες εἰς τέλος, καὶ ταύτα πλείστας δεόμενοι τῆς τοιαύτης ἐπικουρίας διὰ τὸ σκληρότατον παρὰ πολὺ τῆς Ἀρκάδιας ἔχειν ἀέρα καὶ τότον, πρὸς αὐτὰς δὲ τὰς ἐν ἀλλήλους παρατριβᾶς καὶ ψυγίσμας ὑμη-
5 σαντες, τέλος ἀπεθηρώθησαν οὕτως ὅστε μηδὲν ὑπὸ γεγονέναι τῶν Ἐλληνῶν πόλεων ἀσεβῆ-
6 ματα μείζωνα καὶ συνεχέστερα. σημεῖον δὲ τῆς Κυναίθεων ἀτυχίας περὶ τούτο τὸ μέρος καὶ τῆς τῶν ἄλλων Ἀρκάδων τοῖς τοιούτοις τῶν ἐπιτη-
7 δεματῶν δυσαρεστήσεως: καθ᾽ οὓς γὰρ καιροὺς τὴν μεγάλην σφαγήν ποιήσαντες Κυναίθεις ἔπρε-
8 σβεύσαν πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους, εἰς ὅσεις ποτὲ Ἀρκαδικὰς εἰσῆλθον κατὰ τὴν ὅδον, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι παραχρῆμα πάντες αὐτοὺς ἐξεκήρυξαν, Μαντινείς δὲ μετὰ τὴν μεταλαγὴν αὐτῶν καὶ καθαρμὸν ἐποίησαντο καὶ σφάγια περιήγευσαν τῆς τε πό-
9 λεως κύκλωι καὶ τῆς χώρας πάσης.
10 Ταύτα μὲν οὖν ἡμῖν εἰρήσθω χάριν τοῦ μη διὰ μίαν πόλιν τὸ κοινὸν ἢθος διαβάλλεσθαι τῶν Ἀρκάδων, ὀμοίως δὲ καὶ τοῦ μη νομίζαντας ἐνίοις τῶν κατοικοῦντων τὴν Ἀρκαδίαν περιουσίας χάριν τὰ κατὰ μουσικὴν ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἀσκεῖσθαι παρ’ αὐτοῖς ὀλυγωρεῖν ἐγχειρῆσαι τούτου τοῦ
Arcadians, therefore, with the view of softening and tempering the stubbornness and harshness of nature, introduced all the practices I mentioned, and in addition accustomed the people, both men and women, to frequent festivals and general sacrifices, and dances of young men and maidens, and in fact resorted to every contrivance to render more gentle and mild, by the influence of the customs they instituted, the extreme hardness of the national character. The Cynaetheans, by entirely neglecting these institutions, though in special need of such influences, as their country is the most rugged and their climate the most inclement in Arcadia, and by devoting themselves exclusively to their local affairs and political rivalries, finally became so savage that in no city of Greece were greater and more constant crimes committed. As an indication of the deplorable condition of the Cynaetheans in this respect and the detestation of the other Arcadians for such practices I may mention the following: at the time when, after the great massacre, the Cynaetheans sent an embassy to Sparta, the other Arcadian cities which they entered on their journey gave them instant notice to depart by cry of herald, but the Mantineans after their departure even made a solemn purification by offering piacular sacrifices and carrying them round their city and all their territory.

I have said so much on this subject firstly in order that the character of the Arcadian nation should not suffer for the crimes of one city, and secondly to deter any other Arcadians from beginning to neglect music under the impression that its extensive practice in Arcadia serves no necessary purpose. I
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

11 μέρους, ἐτὶ δὲ καὶ Κυναθέων ἑνεκα, ἣν ἂν ποτ' αὐτοῖς ὁ θεὸς εὗ δῶ, τραπέντες πρὸς παιδείαν ἠμερώσιν αὐτοὺς, καὶ μᾶλλον ταύτης πρὸς μουσικὴν: οὕτως γὰρ μόνως ἂν λήξαιεν τῆς τότε

12 περὶ αὐτοὺς γενομένης ἀγριότητος. ἦμεῖς δ' ἔπειδή τὰ περὶ Κυναθέων ὑποπίπτοντα δεδηλώκαμεν, αὕτως ἐτὶ τὴν ἑκτροπῆν ἐπάνυμεν.

22 Αἰτωλοὶ μὲν οὖν τοιαῦτα διεργασάμενοι κατὰ τὴν Πελοπόννησον ἦκον εἰς τὴν οὐκείαν ἀσφαλῶς,

2 Φίλιππος δὲ μετὰ δυνάμεως βοηθῶν τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς παρῆν εἰς Κόρινθον, ὑστερήσας δὲ τοῦ καιροῦ ἀπέστειλε βιβλιαφόρους πρὸς πάντας τοὺς συμμάχους, παρακαλών πέμπτες ἐκάστους παρ' αὐτῶν κατὰ σπουδὴν εἰς Κόρινθον τοὺς βουλευσομένους

3 ὑπὲρ τῶν κοινῆ συμφερόντων. αὐτὸς δ' ἀναξενίας ὡς ἐπὶ Τεγέας προῆγε, πυνθανόμενος τοὺς Λακεδαίμονίους εἰς σφαγάς καὶ ταραχᾶς

4 ἐμπεπτυκέναι πρὸς ἀλλήλους. οἱ γὰρ Λακεδαιμόνιοι συνήθεις όντες βασιλεύεσθαι καὶ πάντως τοῖς προεστῶσι πεθαρχεῖν, τότε προσφάτως μὲν ἡλευθερωμένοι δι' Ἀντιγόνου, βασιλεύως δ' οὐχ ὑποάρχοντος παρ' αὐτῶις, ἐστασίαζον πρὸς σφάς, πάντες ὑπολαμβάνοντες ἵσον αὐτοῖς μετεῖνα τῆς

5 πολιτείας. τὰς μὲν οὖν ἄρχας οἱ μὲν δύο τῶν ἐφόρων ἄνθηλον εἶχον τὴν γνώμην, οἱ δὲ τρεῖς ἐκοινώνουν τῶν Ἀιτωλοῖς τῶν πραγμάτων, πεπεισμένοι διὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν τῶν Φίλιππον οὐδέπω διψήσεθαι τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Πελοπόννησον πράγμαις

6 ἐπαρκεῖν. ἐπεὶ δ' οἱ μὲν Αἰτωλοὶ παρὰ τὴν προσδοκίαν αὐτῶν ἐκ Πελοπόννησου ταχεῖαν ἐποιήσαντο τὴν ἐπάνωδον, ο δὲ Φίλιππος ἐκ Μακεδονίας

7 ἐτὶ θάττω τὴν παρουσίαν, ἀπιστοῦντες οἱ τρεῖς
also spoke for the sake of the Cynaetheans themselves, in order that, if Heaven ever grant them better fortune, they may humanize themselves by turning their attention to education and especially to music; for by no other means can they hope to free themselves from that savagery which overtook them at this time. Having now said all that occurred to me on the subject of this people I return to the point whence I digressed.

22. The Aetolians, after these exploits in the Peloponnese, had returned home in safety, when Philip appeared at Corinth with an army to help the Achaean. As he arrived too late for this, he sent couriers to all the allies, begging them to send as soon as possible to Corinth representatives to discuss the measures necessary for the common service. He himself quitting Corinth advanced towards Tegea, as he had heard that intestine disturbances accompanied by massacres had broken out at Sparta. For the Lacedaemonians, who had been accustomed to be ruled by kings and to unconditional obedience to their rulers, now having recently gained their liberty though Antigonus and finding themselves without a king, began to fall into factions, as they all thought they should have an equal share of political power. At first two of the ephors did not pronounce for either side, but the other three threw in their lot with the Aetolians, as they were convinced that owing to his tender age Philip would not yet be able to control Peloponnesian affairs. But when, contrary to their expectation, the Aetolians made a hasty retreat from the Peloponnese, and Philip was even quicker in arriving from Macedonia, the three ephors in question, very suspicious
Ενι των δυσιν Ἀδεμάντω διὰ τὸ συνεδέναι μὲν σφίς πάσας τὰς ἐπίβολας, μὴ λίαν δὲ τοῖς γινο-
μένοις εὐδοκεῖν, ἡγωνίων μὴ συνεγγύσατο τοῦ
βασιλέως πάντα τὰ πραττόμενα πρὸς τὸν Φίλιππον
8 εξηγήσαται. δὴ δὴ συλλαλήσαντες τισὶ τῶν
νέων ἐκήρυττον εἰς τὸ τῆς Χαλκιοίκου τέμενος
μετὰ τῶν ὀπλῶν ἰέναι τοὺς ἐν ταῖς ἡλικίαις ὃς τῶν
9 Μακεδόνων ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν παραγινομένων. ταχὺ
de διὰ τὸ παράδοξον ἀθροισθέντων, δυσαρεστῶν
Ἀδεμάντος τοῖς γινομένοις ἐπειράτο προσπρει-
θεῖς παρακαλεῖν καὶ διδάσκειν διότι πρώην ἔδει
τὰ κηρύγματα ταῦτα καὶ τοὺς ἀθροισμοὺς τοὺς
ἐν τοῖς ὀπλοῖς παραγιγάλλειν, καθ’ ὅν καιρὸν
tοὺς Αἴτωλοὺς πολεμίους ὄντας ἡκούομεν τοῖς
όροις τῆς χώρας ἡμῶν συνεγγύζειν, οὐ νῦν, ὡτε
Μακεδόνας τοὺς εὐεργέτας καὶ σωτήρας πυνθα-
11 νόμεθα πλησιάζειν μετὰ τοῦ βασιλέως. ἐτι δ’
αὐτοῦ ταῦτ’ ἀνακρονομένου, προσπεσόντες οἱ παρα-
κεκλημένοι τῶν νέων τοῦτον τε συνεκέντησαν
καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον Σθενέλαον Ἀλκαμένη Θυέ-
στην Βιωνίδαν, ἐτέρους τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ πλείους.
12 οἱ δὲ περὶ Πολυφόνταν καὶ τινες ἁμα τοῦτοι,
ἐμφρόνως προϊδόμενοι τὸ μέλλον, ἀπεχώρησαν
23 πρὸς τὸν Φίλιππον. ταῦτα δὲ πράξαντες εὐθέως
ἐπέμπον οἱ προεστῶτες ἐφοροὶ τῶν πραγμάτων
τοὺς κατηγορήσαντας πρὸς τὸν Φίλιππον τῶν
ἀνηρμένων καὶ παρακαλέσαντας αὐτὸν ἐπισχεῖν
tὴν παρουσίαν, ἐὼς ἃν ἐκ τοῦ γεγονότος κινήματος
eis τὴν ἀποκατάστασιν ἐλθῇ τὰ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν,
γινώσκειν δὲ διότι πρόκειται διατηρεῖν αὐτοὶς
πάντα τὰ δίκαια καὶ φιλάνθρωπα πρὸς Μακεδόνας.
2 oἱ καὶ συμμίμησαν ἢδη περὶ τὸ Παρθένιον ὄρος
356
of one of the other two, Adeimantus, as he was privy to all their projects and did not highly approve their attitude, were in much fear of his revealing all their designs to the king on his approach. Therefore, after a private conference with some of the younger men, they ordered by proclamation all those of military age to assemble in arms at the temple of Athene of the Brazen House as the Macedonians were advancing on the city. At an order so strange and unexpected all rapidly assembled, upon which Adeimantus, who disapproved of this proceeding, came forward and tried to address the people, pointing out that "These proclamations and orders to assemble in arms should have been made of late when we heard that our enemies the Aetolians were near our frontier, and not now when we learn that the Macedonians, our benefactors and preservers, are approaching with their king." While he was still haranguing in this fashion, those young men who had been appointed to the task by the ephors fell upon him and ran him through as well as Sthenelaus, Alcamenes, Thyestes, Bionidas, and a good many other citizens. Polyphontas, however, and a few with him, foreseeing what was likely to occur, had wisely withdrawn and joined Philip. 23. After these proceedings the ephors now in power at once sent messengers to Philip bringing accusations against their victims, begging him to delay his arrival until the present disturbance had subsided and the town had resumed its normal condition, and informing him that it was their intention to maintain all their obligations to Macedonia and remain friendly. These messengers met the king near Mt. Parthenium and spoke
ὁντι τῷ βασίλει διελέχθησαν ἀκολούθως ταῖς
3 ἐντολαίς. ὁ δὲ διακούσας παρεκάλεσε τοὺς ἡκοντας
κατὰ σπουδὴν ποιήσασθαι τὴν εἰς οἶκον ἐπάνοδον,
καὶ δῆλον τοῖς ἐφόροις ὧτι κατὰ τὸ συνεχὲς
πορεύεις αὐτὸς μὲν ἐν Τεγέα ποιήσεται τὴν
στρατοπεδεῖαν, ἐκεῖνος δὲ οἴεται δεῖν τὴν ταχόστην
ἐκπέμπειν ἄνδρας ἀξιοχρέους τοὺς κοινολογησομένους
νους πρὸς αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐνεστῶτων. ποιησάντων
δὲ τὸ προσταχθὲν τῶν ἀπαντησάντων, διακοῦο-
σαντες τὰ παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως οἱ προεστῶτες
τῶν Λακεδαίμονίων ἐξέπεμψαν ἄνδρας δέκα πρὸς
5 τὸν Φιλίππου· οἱ καὶ πορευόμενες εἰς τὴν Τέγεαν
καὶ παρελθόντες εἰς τὸ τοῦ βασιλέως συνεδρίον,
"Ωμίου προεστῶτος αὐτῶν, κατηγόρησαν μὲν τῶν
περὶ τὸν 'Αδείμαντον ὡς αἰτίων γεγονότων τῆς
κινήσεως, πάντα δὲ ὑποσχόμενος ποιήσειν αὐτὸ
tῷ Φιλίππῳ τὰ κατὰ τὴν συμμαχίαν, καὶ μηδενὸς
ἐν μηδενὶ φανήσεσθαι δεύτεροι κατὰ τὴν πρὸς
αὐτὸν εὔνοιαν τῶν δοκούντων ἀληθινῶν αὐτῷ
7 φίλων ὑπάρχειν. οἱ μὲν οὖν Λακεδαίμονι οὐα τἀτα
καὶ τούτοις παραπλησία διαλεγόμενες μετέστησαν,
οἱ δὲ μετέχοντες τοῦ συνεδρίου διεφέροντο πρὸς
8 ἀλλήλους ταῖς γνώμαις. καὶ τινὲς μὲν εἰδότες
τῆς κακοπραγμοσύνης τῶν ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ, καὶ
πεπιστευκόμενοι τοὺς περὶ τὸν 'Αδείμαντον ἀπολωλέναι
dia τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸς εὔνοιαν τοὺς τε Λακεδαιμο-
nίους ἐπιβεβλῆσαι κοινοπραγεῖν τοῖς Αἰτωλοῖς,
συνεβούλευν τῷ Φιλίππῳ παράδειγμα ποιῆσαι
τοὺς Λακεδαίμονίους, χρησάμενον αὐτοῖς τὸν αὐτὸν
τρόπον ὁντερ' Ἀλέξανδρος ἐχρήσατο Θηβαῖοι
9 εὐθέως παραλαβῶν τὴν ἀρχήν. ἔτεροι δὲ τῶν
πρεσβυτέρων τὴν μὲν τουαύτην ὀργὴν βαρυτέραν
358
according to their instructions. After listening to them, he bade them return home at once, and inform the ephors that for his own part he would continue his march and take up his quarters in Tegea, where he demanded that they should send him as soon as possible some persons of sufficient weight to discuss the present situation with him. The messengers obeyed, and the Lacedaemonian magistrates, on receiving the king's communication, dispatched ten envoys to Philip, the chief of the mission being Omias, who on reaching Tegea and presenting themselves before the king's council, laid the responsibility of the late disturbance on Adeimantus, and engaged themselves to observe faithfully the terms of the alliance with Philip, and be second to none of those who were regarded as his true friends in their devotion to him. So the Lacedaemonians after these and other similar assurances withdrew, upon which there was a difference of opinion among the members of the council. Some knowing the evil disposition of the Spartan government, and convinced that Adeimantus and the others had met their fate owing to their favouring Macedonia, and that the project of the Lacedaemonians was to join the Aetolians, advised Philip to make an example of Sparta, treating it in the same way as Alexander had treated Thebes at the outset of his reign. But some of the older councillors declared that such
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

άπέφανον εἶναι τῶν γεγονότων, ἐπιτιμήσαι δὲ δεῖν τοῖς αὐτίοις, καὶ μεταστησάμενον τούτους ἐγχειρίσαι τὸ πολίτευμα καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς τοῖς 24 αὐτοῦ φίλοις. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ πάνυ, εἰ χρὴ τοῦ βασιλέως λέγειν τὰς τότε γνώμας· οὐ γὰρ εἰκὸς ἐπτακαίδεκαέτη παῖδα περὶ τηλικοῦτων

2 δύνασθαι πραγμάτων διευκρινεῖν. ἀλλ' ἦμιν μὲν καθήκει τοῖς γράφονσι τὰς κυρούσας τὰ διαβούλια γνώμαις ἀνατιθέναι τοῖς προεστῶσι τῶν ὅλων· τοὺς μέντοι γε ἀκούοντας αὐτοὺς χρη συνυπονοεῖν διότι τῶν συνόντων, καὶ μάλιστα τῶν παρακειμένων, εἰκὸς ἐστιν εἶναι τὰς τοιαύτας ὑποθέσεις

3 καὶ διαλήψεις, ὃν Ἀράτω τις ἐπιεικέστατ' ἂν προσάπτω τὴν τότε ῥήθεισαν ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως 4 γνώμην. ὁ γὰρ Φίλιππος τὸ μὲν κατ' ἰδίαν τῶν συμμάχων εἰς αὐτοὺς ἀδικήματα καθήκειν ἐφήσεν αὐτῷ μέχρι λόγου καὶ γραμμάτων διορθοῦν καὶ 5 συνεπισημαίνεσθαι· τὰ δὲ πρὸς τὴν κοινὴν ἀνήκοντα συμμαχίαν, ταῦτ' ἐφ' ὅνα δεῖν κοινῆς ἐπιστροφῆς καὶ διορθώσεως τυγχάνειν ὑπὸ πάντων.

6 Δακεδαιμονίων δὲ μηδὲν εἰς τὴν κοινὴν συμμαχίαν ἐκφανεῖς ἡμαρτηκότων, ἐπαγγελλομένων δὲ πάντα καὶ ποιεῖν τὰ δίκαια πρὸς ἤμας, ού καλῶς ἔχον εἶναι τὸ βουλεύσθαι τι περὶ αὐτῶν ἀπαραίτητον· 7 καὶ γὰρ ἄτοπον τὸν μὲν πατέρα πολεμίων ὄντων κρατήσαντα μηδὲν ποιῆσαι δεινὸν, αὐτὸν δ' ἐφ' οὔτω μικρὰς αἰτίας ἀνήκεστον τι βουλεύσθαι 8 περὶ αὐτῶν. ἐπικυρωθείσης δὲ ταύτης τῆς γνώμης, ὅτι δεῖ παριδεῖν τὸ γεγονός, εὐθέως ὁ βασιλεὺς Πετραῖον τῶν αὐτοῦ φίλων ἀμα τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ὄμιαν ἐξαπέστελλε παρακαλέσοντα τοὺς πολλοὺς ἀντέχεσθαι τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ Μακεδόνας εὐνοίας, 360
vengeance was heavier than the offence deserved. Philip, they said, should punish the guilty parties and, removing them from office, place the government in the hands of his own friends. 24. Finally the king spoke, if indeed we are to suppose that the opinion he delivered was his own; for it is scarcely probable that a boy of seventeen should be able to decide about such grave matters. It is, however, the duty of us writers to attribute to the supreme ruler the expression of opinion which prevailed at his council, while it is open for the reader to suspect that such decisions and the arguments on which they rest are due to his associates and especially to those closest to his person. Among these in the present case Aratus is the one to whom we may most plausibly attribute the opinion delivered by the king. Philip said that, as far as regarded injuries inflicted by the allies on themselves, it was not incumbent on him to go beyond correcting and censuring such either by word of mouth or by letter; but that only injuries inflicted on the whole alliance called for punishment and redress by the joint action of all. As the Lacedaemonians had not committed any manifest offence against the alliance as a whole, and had engaged to meet faithfully all their obligations to himself, it would not be right to treat them with excessive harshness. Considering indeed that his father after conquering them as enemies, had done them no hurt, it would ill become himself to take extreme vengeance on them for such a trifling fault. When the council had voted to act thus and overlook the incident, the king sent Petraeus, one of his friends, together with Omias, to exhort the people in Sparta to remain faithful to their friend-
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

άμα δὲ δώσοντα καὶ ληψόμενον τοὺς ὀρκοὺς περὶ
9 συμμαχίας. αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως ἀνα-
ζεύξας προῆγε πάλιν ὡς ἐπὶ Κορίνθου, καλὸν
δεῖγμα τῆς ἑαυτοῦ προαιρέσεως τοῖς συμμάχοις
ἐκτεθειμένος ἐν τῇ πρὸς τοὺς Λακεδαίμονιοὺς
ἀποφάσει.
25 Καταλαβὼν δὲ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν συμμαχίδων
παραγεγονότας εἰς τὴν Κόρινθον συνήδρευε καὶ
dιελάμβανε μετὰ τούτων τί δεῖ ποιεῖν καὶ πῶς
2 χρήσασθαι τοῖς Αἰτωλοῖς. ἐγκαλοῦντων δὲ Βοιώ-
tῶν μὲν ὅτι συλήσασεν τὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς Ἰτανίας
ἰερὸν εἰρήνης ὑπαρχοῦσης, Φωκέων δὲ διὸτι
στρατεύσαντες ἐπ᾽ Ἀμβρυσον καὶ Δαῦλιον ἐπι-
3 βάλοντο καταλαβέσθαι ταῖς πόλεις, Ἡπειρωτῶν
δὲ καθότι πορθήσαντες αὐτῶν τὴν χώραν, Ἀκαρ-
νάων δὲ παραδεικνύοντων τίνα τρόπον συστησά-
μενοι πράξεων ἐπὶ Θύριον νυκτὸς ἔτι καὶ προσβάλειν
4 τολμήσαντες τῇ πόλει, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις Ἀχαιῶν
ἀπολογιζομένων ὡς καταλάβοντο μὲν τῆς Με-
γαλοπολίτιδος Κλάριον, πορθήσαντες δὲ διεξόντες
τὴν Πατρέων καὶ Φαραιῶν χώραν, διαρράσαν
δὲ Κύναιθαν, συλήσαντες δὲ τὸ τῆς ἐν Δοῦσοις
Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερὸν, πολιορκήσαντες δὲ Κλειτορίους,
ἐπιβουλεύσαντες δὲ κατὰ μὲν θάλατταν Πύλω,
kατὰ δὲ γῆν ἄρτι συνοικιζομένη τῇ Μεγάλῃ πόλει
σπεύδοντες μετὰ τῶν Ἱλλυρίων ἀνάστατον αὐτὴν
5 ποιῆσαι, διακούσαντες τούτων οἱ τῶν συμμάχων
σύνεδροι πάντες ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἐκφέρειν ἐβουλεύ-
6 σαντο τοῖς Αἰτωλοῖς τὸν πόλεμον. προθέμενοι δὲ
tὰς προειρημένας αἰτίας ἐν τῷ δόγματι παρα-
kατεβάλοντο ψήφισμα, προσδιασχυόντες ὁτι συν-
ανασώσουσι τοῖς συμμάχοις εἶ τινα κατέχουσιν
362
ship with himself and the Macedonians and to exchange oaths confirming the alliance. He himself broke up his camp and began to march back to Corinth, having in his decision about the Spartans given the allies an excellent specimen of the policy he meant to pursue.

25. As he found the deputies from the allied cities assembled at Corinth, he held a Council to deliberate on the measures to be taken with regard to the Aetolians. The Boeotians accused the Aetolians of having plundered the temple of Athene Itonia in time of peace, the Phocians of having marched upon Ambrysus and Daulium and attempted to seize both cities, and the Epirots of having pillaged their territory. The Arcadians pointed out how they had organized a coup de main against Thyrium and had gone so far as to attack the city under cover of night. The Achaeans related how they had occupied Clarium in the territory of Megalopolis, and during their passage through Achaea ravaged the country of Patrae and Pharae, how they had sacked Cynaetha and despoiled the temple of Artemis at Lusi, laid siege to Cleitor, and made attempts by sea on Pylos and by land on Megalopolis, which was only just in process of being repopulated, intending to reduce it again to desolation with the help of the Illyrians. The deputies of the allies, after hearing all these complaints, decided unanimously to make war on Aetolia. After reciting the above reasons in the preamble of their decree, they subjoined a declaration that they would recover for the allies any city
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

αὐτῶν Αἰτωλοὶ χώραν ἣ πόλιν, ἀφ' οὗ Δημήτριος

7 οὐ Φιλίππου κατὰ φύσιν πατὴρ μετήλλαξεν παραπλησίως δὲ καὶ τούς ὑπὸ τῶν καιρῶν ἦναγκασμένους ἀκουσίως μετέχειν τῆς Αἰτωλῶν συμπολιτείας, ὥστε πάντας τούτους ἀποκαταστήσουσιν εἰς τὰ πάτρια πολιτεύματα, χώραν ἔχοντας καὶ πόλεις τάς αὐτῶν, ἀφρουρίτους ἀφορολογήτους ἐλευθέρους ὄντας, πολιτείας καὶ νόμοις χρωμένους τοῖς πατρίοις. συνανακομμείσθαι δὲ καὶ τοῖς Ἀμφικτύσσων ἔγραψαν τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὴν περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ἔχουσίαν, ἧν Αἰτωλοὶ παρῆρησαν νῦν, βουλόμενοι τῶν κατὰ τὸ ἱερὸν ἐπικρατεῖν αὐτοῖς.

26 Τοῦτον δὲ τοῦ δόγματος κυρωθέντος κατὰ τὸ πρῶτον ἔτος τῆς ἐκατοστῆς καὶ τετταρακοστῆς ολυμπιάδος ὁ μὲν συμμαχικὸς προσαγορευόμενος πόλεμος ἀρχὴν εἰλήφει δικαίαν καὶ πρέπουσαν

2 τοῖς γεγονόσιν ἀδικήμασιν, οἱ δὲ σύνεδροι παραχρῆμα προσβευτὰς ἐξαπέστελλον πρὸς τοὺς συμμάχους, ἵνα παρὲ ἐκάστοις διὰ τῶν πολλῶν ἐπικυρωθέντος τοῦ δόγματος ἐκφέρωσι πάντες τοῖς Αἰτωλοῖς τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας πόλεμον. ἔπεμψε δὲ καὶ τοῖς Αἰτωλοῖς ἐπιστολὴν οὗ Φιλίππος διασαφῶν, ἵν' εἰ τι λέγειν ἔχουσι δίκαιον ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐγκαλουμένων, ἐτι καὶ νῦν συνελθοῦντες διὰ λόγου ποιῶνται

3 τὴν διεξαγωγήν· εἰ δ' ὑπειλήφασι, διότι χωρίς κοινοῦ δόγματος λεγητοῦσι καὶ πορθοῦσι πάντας, οὐκ ἀμυνεῖσθαι τοὺς ἀδικομένους, ἐὰν δ' ἀμῦνωνται, νομισθήσεσθαι τούτους κατάρχειν τοῖς

4 πολέμου, πάντων αὐτοῦς εὐθηστάτους εἶναι. κομισάμενοι δ' οἱ τῶν Αἰτωλῶν ἄρχοντες τὴν ἐπιστολὴν

364
or land occupied by the Aetolians since the death of Demetrius, father of Philip; and likewise concerning those who had been compelled by circumstances to join the Aetolian League against their will, they pledged themselves that they should be reinstated in their ancient form of government, and should remain in possession of their cities and lands, without garrisons, exempt from tribute, and completely independent, in the enjoyment of their traditional constitution and laws. They also added a clause engaging to recover for the Amphictyonic Council its ancient laws, and its authority over the Delphic temple, of which it had been deprived by the Aetolians, who wished to control the affairs of the temple themselves.

26. This decree was passed in the first year of the 140th Olympiad and the war known as the Social War thus began, a just war and a fitting sequel to the crimes that had been committed. The Congress at once sent envoys to the allies, so that on the confirmation of the decree by the popular Assembly in each state they might all join in the war against the Aetolians. Philip also sent a letter to the Aetolians, informing them that, if they had any just defence against the accusations with which they had been charged, they still had time to meet and arrive at a settlement by conference. If, however, they imagined that because they pillaged and despoiled every part of Greece without any previous declaration of war by their League, the injured parties were not to retaliate, or if they retaliated should be considered to have broken the peace, they were the most simple-minded people in the world. The Aetolian magistrates on the receipt of this letter
ταύτην, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐλπίσαντες οὐχ ἦξεν τὸν Φίλιππον, συνέθεντο βητῆν ἥμεραν ἐν ἡ πρὸς τὸ
6 Ῥίον ἀπαντήσουσι· γνόντες δὲ παραγινόμενον,
ἀπέστειλαν γραμματοφόρον διασαφοῦντες ὡς οὐ
dύνανται πρὸ τῆς τῶν Ἀἰτωλῶν συνόδου δὴ αὐτῶν
7 οὐδὲν ὑπὲρ τῶν διλὼν οἰκονομεῖν. οἱ δ’ Ἀχαιοὶ
συνελθόντες εἰς τὴν καθήκουσαν σύνοδον τὲ
dόγμα πάντες ἐπεκύρωσαν καὶ τὸ λάφυρον ἐπεκή-
8 ρυξαν κατὰ τῶν Ἀἰτωλῶν. προσελθόντος δὲ καὶ
tοῦ βασιλέως πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν ἐν Ἀἰγίῳ καὶ
dιαλεχθέντος δὶα πλείονων, τὰ δηθέντα μετ’ εὐνοιας
ἀπεδέξαντο καὶ τὰ προϋπάρχοντα φιλάνθρωπα
tοῖς προγόνοις ἄνενεώσαντο πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸν
Φίλιππον.
27 Κατὰ δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς καὶροὺς Ἀἰτωλοί, συνάψαντος
tοῦ τῶν ἀρχαίρεσιν χρόνου, στρατηγὸν αὐτῶν
eἰλοντο Σκόπαν, ὃς ἐγεγόνει πάντων τῶν προει-
2 ρημέως ἄδικημάτων αἰτίας. ὑπὲρ δὲν οὐκ οίδα
πῶς χρῆ λέγειν. τὸ γὰρ κοινῷ μὲν δόγματι μὴ
pολεμεῖν, πανδημεὶ δὲ στρατεύοντας ἄγειν καὶ
φέρειν τὰ τῶν πέλας, καὶ κολάζειν μὲν μηθένα
tῶν αἰτίων, στρατηγοὺς δ’ αἴρεισθαι καὶ τιμᾶν
tοὺς προεστῶτας τῶν τοιούτων ἐργῶν, ἐμοὶ μὲν
3 δοκεῖ τῆς πάσης γέμειν κακοπραγμοσύνης· τί
γὰρ ἄν ἄλλο τις τὰς τοιαύτας κακίας ὁνομάσειν;
4 δῆλον δ’ ἐσται τὸ λεγόμενον ἐκ τούτων. Δακε-
δαμόνιοι τὴν Καδμείαιν Φοιβίδου παραπονή-
σαντος τὸν μὲν αὐτὸν ἐξημίωσαν τὴν δὲ φρονάν
οὐκ ἔξηγαγον, ὥσπερ λυμένης τῆς ἄδικας διὰ
τῆς τοῦ πράξαντος βλάβης, παρὸν τὰναντία ποιεῖν·
366
at first, in the hope that Philip would not come, named a day on which they would meet him at Rhium, but on hearing that he was come there sent a courier to inform him that before the General Assembly of the Aetolians met they could take no steps on their own responsibility concerning any matters of state. The Achaeeans, meeting in their regular annual Assembly, unanimously confirmed the decree and made a proclamation authorizing reprisals on the Aetolians. Upon the king's attending the Council at Aegium and addressing them at length, they received his speech favourably and renewed with Philip in person their friendly relations with the kings, his ancestors.

27. Meanwhile, it being the date of their annual election, the Aetolians elected as Strategus that very Scopas who had been the chief cause of all the outrages I have narrated above. I really scarcely find words in which to express myself about this matter. After declaring by a public decree that they were not going to war, to make an expedition in full force and pillage the countries of their neighbours and then, instead of punishing any of the guilty persons, to honour by electing to their chief offices the directors of these proceedings seems to me the very height of villainy; for how can we characterize otherwise such base conduct?—conduct the nature of which the following examples will serve to illustrate. When the Lacedaemonians gained possession of the Cadmea by the treachery of Phoebidas, they punished the guilty general but did not withdraw the garrison, as if the injustice of the act were atoned for by the perpetrator being made to suffer for it, while if they had chosen, they might have done just the reverse, for the Thebans
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

5 τούτο γὰρ διέφερε τοῖς Θηβαίοις. πάλιν ἐκήρυττον ἀφιέντες τὰς πόλεις ἐλευθέρας καὶ αὐτονόμους κατὰ τὴν ἐπ’ Ἀνταλκίδου γενομένην εἰρήνην, τοὺς δ’ ἀρμοστὰς οὐκ ἐξῆγον ἐκ τῶν πόλεων.

6 Μαντυνεῖς φίλους ὄντας καὶ συμμάχους ἀναστάτους ποιήσαντες οὐκ ἐφασαν ἀδικεῖν, ἐκ μιᾶς πόλεως εἰς πλεῖον αὐτούς διουκίσαντες, ἀνοίᾳ μετὰ κακίας . . . τὸ δοκεῖν, ἐάν τις αὐτὸς ἐπιμῆ, μηδὲ τοὺς πέλας ὅραν. ἀμφοτέρους τούνων ὁ ξῆλος οὗτος τῆς πολιτείας αὐτίου κατέστη τῶν μεγίστων συμπτωμάτων· ὅν οὐδαμῶς οὐδαμῆ ξηλωτέον, οὕτε κατ’ ἱδιαν οὕτε κοινῆ, τοὺς ὀρθῶς βουλευομένους.

9 Ὅδε βασιλεὺς Φίλιππος χρηματίσας τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς ἀνέξευξε μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως ἐπὶ Μακεδονίας, σπεύ-

10 δὼν ἐπὶ τὴν παρασκευὴν τῶν πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον, οὐ μόνον τοῖς συμμάχοις ἀλλὰ πάσι τοῖς ὜πλησε διὰ τοῦ προειρημένου ψηφίσματος καλὰς ἐλπίδας ὑποθεκοῦν πράοτητος καὶ μεγαλοψυχίας βασιλικῆς.

28 Ταύτα δ’ ἐπράπτετο κατὰ τοὺς αὐτούς καιροὺς καθ’ οὐς Ἀννίβας, γεγονός ἡδὴ κύριος τῶν ἐντός Ἰβηρος ποταμοῦ πάντων, ἐποιεῖτο τὴν ὅρμην ἐπὶ τὴν Ζακανθαίων πόλιν. εἰ μὲν οὖν τὰς πρώτας ἐπιβολὰς τὰς Ἀννίβου ταῖς Ἐλληνικαῖς πράξεων ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς εὐθέως ἐπιπεπλέχθαι συνεβαινεν, δῆλον ὡς ἐν τῇ προτέρα βύβλῳ περὶ τούτων ἦν ἡμᾶς ἐναλλάξ ἐδει κατὰ παράθεσιν τοῖς Ἰβηρικοῖς πεποίησαν τὴν ἐξήγησιν, ἀκολουθοῦντας τοῖς καιροῖς· επεί δὲ τὰ τε κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν καὶ κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν τὰς μὲν

368
were concerned about the garrison, not about the man. Again by the terms of the peace of Antalcidas the same people proclaimed all Greek cities free and autonomous, but did not withdraw their *harmosts* from them, and again in expelling from their homes the Mantineans, who were their friends and allies, they maintained that they inflicted no wrong on them by transferring them from one city to several. In all this they exhibited their folly as well as their knavery, for they evidently thought that if a man shuts his own eyes his neighbours too are blind. Now to both states, the Aetolians and the Spartans, this unscrupulous policy resulted in the greatest calamities, and it should never be an object of imitation in the public or private life of men who are well advised.

King Philip now having finished his business with the Achaeans left with his army for Macedonia to hasten on the preparations for the war, having given by the above decree not only to the allies, but to all the Greeks a happy prospect of mildness in his rule and of that magnanimity which befits a king.

28. This took place at the same time that Hannibal, after subduing all Iberia south of the Ebro, began his attack on Saguntum. Now had there been any connexion at the outset between Hannibal’s enterprise and the affairs of Greece it is evident that I should have included the latter in the previous Book, and, following the chronology, placed my narrative of them side by side in alternate sections with that of the affairs of Spain. But the fact being that the circumstances of Italy, Greece, and Asia
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

άρχας τῶν πολέμων τούτων ἰδίας εἰλήφει τὰς δὲ συντελεῖας κοινὰς, καὶ τὴν ἐξήγησιν περὶ αὐτῶν ἐκρίναμεν ποιήσασθαι κατ᾿ ἰδίαν, ἐως ἂν ἐπὶ τὸν καιρὸν ἐλθωμεν τούτων ἐν ὦ διαπλάκησαν αἱ προειρημέναι πράξεις ἀλλήλαις καὶ πρὸς ἐν τέλος

4 ἦρξαντο τὴν ἀναφορὰν ἐχειν (οὕτως γὰρ ἦ τε περὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς ἐκάστων ἔσται διήγησις σαφῆς ἢ τε συμπλοκή καταφανῆς, περὶ ἢς ἐν ἀρχαῖς ἐνεδειξάμεθα, παραδείγματες πότε καὶ πῶς καὶ δι᾿ ἄς αἰτίας γέγονεν), λοιπὸν ἦδη κοινὴν ποιήσασθαι

5 περὶ πάντων τὴν ἱστορίαν. ἐγένετο δὲ ἡ συμπλοκή τῶν πράξεων περὶ τὴν τοῦ πολέμου συντελεῖαν κατὰ τὸ τρίτον ἔτος τῆς ἐκατοστῆς καὶ τετταρακοστῆς ὀλυμπιάδος. διὸ καὶ τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα κοινὴ τοῖς καιροῖς ἀκολουθοῦντες ἐξήγησόμεθα, τὰ δὲ

6 πρὸ τοῦ κατ᾿ ἰδίαν, ὡς εἴπα, προσαναμιμήσκοντες μόνον τῶν κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς καιροὺς ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ βύβλῳ δεδηλωμένων, ἵνα μὴ μόνον εὐπαρακολούθητος ἄλλα καὶ καταπληκτικὴ γίνηται τοῖς προσέχουσιν ἡ διήγησις.

29 Φιλίππος δὲ παραχαμάζων ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ κατέγραψε τὰς δυνάμεις πρὸς τὴν μέλλουσαν χρείαν ἐπιμελῶς, ἀμα δὲ τούτως ἕσφαλζετο τὰ πρὸς τοὺς

2 ύπερκειμένους τῆς Μακεδονίας βαρβάρους. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα συνελθὼν πρὸς Σκερδυλαίδαν καὶ τολμήρως δοὺς αὐτὸν εἰς τὰς χεῖρας. διελέγετο περὶ

3 φιλίας καὶ συμμαχίας, καὶ τὰ μὲν ὑπεικονύμενος αὐτῶν συγκατασκευάσεσκε τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἰλλυρίδα πραγmátων, τὰ δὲ κατηγορῶν τῶν Αἰτωλῶν ὄντων εὐκατηγορητῶν, ῥαδίως ἐπεισε συγχωρεῖν

4 τοῖς παρακαλούμενοις. μὴποτε γὰρ οὐδὲν διαφέρει τὰ κατ᾿ ἰδίαν ἄδικῆματα τῶν κοινῶν, ἀλλὰ πλῆθει

370
were such that the beginnings of these wars were particular to each country, while their ends were common to all, I thought it proper to give a separate account of them, until reaching the date when these conflicts came into connexion with each other and began to tend towards one end—both the narratives of the beginnings of each war being thus made more lucid, and a conspicuous place being given to that subsequent interconnexion of all three, which I mentioned at the outset, indicating when, how, and for what reason it came about—and, then upon reaching this point to comprise all three wars in a single narrative. The interconnexion I speak of took place towards the end of the Social War in the third year of the 140th Olympiad. After this date therefore I shall give a general history of events in chronological order; but up to it, as I said, a separate account of each war, merely recapitulating the contemporary occurrences set forth in the previous Book, so that the whole narrative may not only be easy to follow but may make a due impression on my readers.

29. While wintering in Macedonia Philip spent his time in diligently levying troops for the coming campaign, and in securing his frontiers from attack by the barbarians of the interior. In the next place he met Scerdilaidas, fearlessly putting himself in his power, and made him offers of friendship and alliance. By promising on the one hand to aid him in subduing Illyria and on the other hand by bringing accusations against the Aetolians, which was no difficult matter, he easily persuaded him to agree to his proposals. Public crimes, as a fact, differ from private ones only in the extent and quantity of their
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

μόνον καὶ μεγέθει τῶν συμβαινόντων. καὶ γὰρ κατ' ἱδίαν τὸ τῶν βαδιουργῶν καὶ κλεπτῶν φύλον τούτῳ μάλιστα τῷ τρόπῳ σφάλλεται, τῷ μὴ ποιεῖν ἄλληλοις τὰ δίκαια, καὶ συλλήβδην διὰ τὰς 5 εἰς αὐτοὺς ἀθεσίας. ὃ καὶ τότε συνέβη γενέσθαι περὶ τοὺς Αἰτωλοὺς. συνθέμενοι γὰρ τῷ Σκερδι- λαίδα διόσει μέρος τι τῆς λείας, εἰς συνεισβάλη
6 μετ' αὐτῶν εἰς τὴν Ἀχαίαν, πεισθέντος καὶ ποιή- σαντος τοῦτο διαρράσαντες τὴν τῶν Κυναίθεων πόλιν καὶ πολλὰ περιελασάμενοι σῶματα καὶ θρέμματα τὸν Σκερδιλαίδαν οὕδενος μερίτην ἐποίη-
7 σαν τῶν ἁλόντων. διόσπερ ὑποκαθημενὴς ἐκ τούτων αὐτῷ τῆς ὀργῆς, βραχέα προσαναμήνησαν τοῦ Φίλιπποι ταχέως ὑπῆκουσε καὶ συνεθεῖτο μεθέξειν τῆς κοινῆς συμμαχίας, ἑφ' ὦ λαμβάνειν μὲν εἰκοσὶ τάλαντα κατ' εἴναυτόν, πλεῖν δὲ λέμβοις τριάκοντα καὶ πολεμεῖν τοῖς Αἰτωλοῖς κατὰ θάλατταν.

30 'Ο μὲν οὖν Φίλιππος περὶ ταῦτα διέτριβεν, οί δ' ἐξαποστάλλοντες πρέσβεις πρὸς τοὺς συμμάχους ἀφικόμενοι πρῶτον εἰς Ἀκαρναίαν ἐνετύχανον 2 τούτους. οἱ δ' Ἀκαρναῖες τὸ τε δόγμα γνησίως συνεπεκύρωσαν καὶ τὸν ἀπὸ χώρας πόλεμον ἐξ- θνεγκαν τοῖς Αἰτωλοῖς: καίπερ τούτοις, εἰ καὶ των ἐτέρων, δίκαιον ἦν συγγνώμην ἔχειν ὑπερ- τιθεμένους καὶ καταμέλλουντα καὶ καθόλου δεδιόσι
3 τὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ἁστυνειτόνων πόλεμον καὶ διὰ τὸ παρακεῖσθαι μὲν συντερμονοῦντας τῇ τῶν Αἰτωλῶν χώρᾳ, τολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον διὰ τὸ κατ' ἱδίαν εὐχειρώ- τους ὑπάρχειν, τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, διὰ τὸ μικροῖς ἐμπροσθεν χρόνοις πειραν εἰληφέναι τῶν δεινοτάτων 4 διὰ τὴν πρὸς Αἰτωλοὺς ἀπέχθειαν. ἀλλὰ μοι δοκοῦσιν οἱ γνήσιοι τῶν ἁνδρῶν καὶ κοινῇ καὶ κατ' 372
results. In private life also the whole tribe of thieves and swindlers come to grief most frequently by not treating their confederates justly and generally speaking by perfidy towards each other, and this was what happened now to the Aetolians. They had agreed with Scerdilaïdas to give him a part of the spoil if he joined them in their invasion of Achaea, and when he consented and did so and they had sacked Cynaetha, carrying off a large booty of slaves and cattle, they gave him no share at all of their captures. As he had been nursing anger against them for this ever since, it only required a brief mention by Philip of this grievance to make him at once consent and agree to adhere to the general alliance on condition of receiving an annual sum of twenty talents, in consideration of which he was to attack the Aetolians by sea with thirty boats.

30. Philip, then, was thus occupied. Meanwhile the envoys sent to the allies proceeded first to Acarnania and communicated with the people. The Acarnanians acted with perfect straightforwardness, confirming the decree and agreeing to make war on the Aetolians from Acarnania, although they, if any people, might have been excused for deferring and hesitating and generally for dreading a war with a neighbouring state, and this for three reasons: the first being the immediate neighbourhood of Aetolia, the next and more important, their military weakness when isolated, but the gravest of all, the terrible suffering they had recently undergone owing to their hostility to the Aetolians. But really straight and honourable men, both in public and private, value, I think, no
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

id'ian ou'de'pote peri' plle'i'nos ou'thèn poi'esoi'hai toû kath'kountos. òper 'Akarvai'nes en tois plle'isto's kairopoi'ous ou'dènôs twôs 'Ellh'ños h't'non eufî'skontai diatetpèrhekôtai, kaîper òpô mikrais órmò'menoi
dynà'mews. ois ouk ókhn'teôn katâ tâs periostâ'seis
cou'wneîw pragmâttai, sunevste'ôn òde mállo'n, ëi
taâ ev' toûs ètê'rôi twôn 'Ellh'nw'n kai gar id'ia kai
coubâ stá'simoi 'ê'hou'si ti kai fil[e]leú'ðerôn. 'Hpeiv-
rw'tai de èk para baño'seis diakou'santai twôn prè-
o'se'n to òmè dû'ma paraapli'hsi's ës'peku'ro'san,
tôn òde pòl'le'mo'n èk'fè'rei'nu eufî'sis'antai toi's Aîtwloû's,
èpeid'ân kai Filîppios ò basileùs èz'êne'yêgê, tois
de para' twôn Aîtwloû'n presbeu'taîs âpèkri'è'san
òti dè'do'kta toi's 'Hpeirw'tois diathe'rèn pròs
autous thîn eîr'h'nu'n, âgennôs kai poukîlîs xri'me'noi
tois prâgmâsau. âpèstâl'h'san de kai pròs basi-
leâa Ptolemaî'oin presbe'is oi para'kalè'sontai autôs
mî'te xri'mata pè'mpe'n toi's Aît'wloû's mî't' ìll'to
mî'dên xor'hge'n kathà Filîp'pou kai twôn su'mmâ'xawn.

Mesô'mi'ou, dei, di' ou's ò pòl'le'mos thîn âr'h'n ãl'ba',
toûs para'ge'nomè'nois pròs autôs ìpèkri'è'san òti
thîs Frygaleî'sas ke'mè'nhs ë'spî toi's ô'roz au'tô'n kai
tatô'mè'nhs up' Aît'wloû's, ouk în ëpî'dè'zì'ant toû
pòl'le'mon prîn ò taû'th'n âp' Aît'wloû'ns âpòstasô'th'nai

thîn pò'lin. peri' de thîs âpôfâ'se's twû'th's kat-
î'xu'san, ou'dà'mwos eu'dû'koup'tai twôn po'llô'n, [Aî-
twloû'n oî'] èfô'reu'ontes òî'nîs kai Níkîp'pou kai
tûves ètê'ru toi'w o'li'gar'h'kîw'n, âgnoo'dhtai kai
pôlû para'paî'ontai toû dé'notai kâ'ta ge thîn èm'h'n

3 gno'mh'n. ègôw gar fo'berô'n mèn eînai fê'mi toû
pòl'le'mou, ou mî'n ou'th' ge fo'berô'n òs'te pà'n ùpô-
nê'vein xà'rin toû mî' pro'sò'dè'zassai pòl'le'mon, èpèi

374
BOOK IV. 30. 4 - 31. 4

considerations above their duty, and this principle the Acarnanians are found to have maintained on most occasions more firmly than any other people in Greece, although their resources were but slender. No one, then, should hesitate to seek the alliance of this people in a crisis; rather it should be embraced with more eagerness than that of any other Greek people; for both in public and in private they are characterized by steadfastness and love of liberty. The Epirots, on the contrary, after receiving the envoys, while they also confirmed the decree and voted to make war on the Aetolians as soon as King Philip himself took the field, in their reply to the Aetolian embassy stated that they had passed a resolution to maintain peace with them, thus playing a part as ignoble as it was double-faced. Envoys were also sent to King Ptolemy requesting him neither to send funds to the Aetolians, nor to furnish them with any other supplies for use against Philip and the allies.

31. The Messenians, on whose account the war began, replied to the envoys sent to them, that seeing that Phigalea lay on their borders and was subject to the Aetolians, they would not undertake the war until this city had been detached from the Aetolians. This resolution was by no means generally approved, but was forced through by the ephors Oenis and Nicippus and certain other members of the oligarchical party, who in my opinion were much mistaken and took a course which was far from being correct. That war is a terrible thing I agree, but it is not so terrible that we should submit to anything in order to avoid it. For why do we
τί καὶ θρασύνομεν τὴν ἰσημορίαν καὶ παρρησίαν καὶ τὸ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ὄνομα πάντες, εἰ μὴ δὲν ἔσται προοριναίτερον τῆς εἰρήνης; οὐδὲ γὰρ Θηβαίους ἐπανομένει κατὰ τὰ Μηδικά, διότι τῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀποστάντες κινδύνων τὰ Περσῶν εἶλοντο διὰ τὸν φόβον, οὐδὲ Πίνδαρον τὸν συναποφνάμενον αὐτοῖς ἄγειν τὴν ἡσυχίαν διὰ τῶν ποιημάτων,

6 τὸ κοινὸν τις ἀστῶν ἐν εὐδίᾳ τιθεὶς ἑρευνασάτω μεγαλάνορος ἡσυχίας τὸ φαιδρὸν φάος.

7 δόξας γὰρ παραυτίκα πιθανῶς εἰρηκέναι, μετ’ οὐ πολὺ πάντων αἰσθίστην εὐρέθη καὶ βλαβερωτάτην
8 πεποιημένος ἀπόφασιν· εἰρήνη γὰρ μετὰ μὲν τοῦ δικαίου καὶ πρέποντος κάλλιστον ἐστὶ κτῆμα καὶ λυσιτελεστάτον, μετὰ δὲ κακίας ἡ δειλίας ἐπονειδίστοι πάντων αἰσθίστον καὶ βλαβερώτατον.

32 Οἱ δὲ τῶν Μεσσηνίων προεστώτες, ὄντες ὀλιγαρχικοὶ καὶ στοχαζόμενοι τοῦ παραυτίκα κατ’ ἰδίαν λυσιτελοῦσι, φιλοτιμότερον τοῦ δέοντος ἀεὶ δι-
2 ἐκεινό πρὸς τὴν εἰρήνην. διὸ πολλὰς μὲν περι-
στάσεις καὶ καιροὺς ἔχοντες, ἐνίστε δὲ φόβους καὶ κινδύνους διωλίσθανον· ἦθροϊζετο δὲ κατὰ τὴν πρόθεσιν ταῦτην ἀεὶ τὸ κεφάλαιον αὐτοῖς, καὶ μεγίστας ἐποίουν παλαίειν τὴν πατρίδα συμφοραῖς.
3 δοκῶ δὲ ἔγγυε τὴν αἰτίαν εἶναι ταῦτην, ὅτι δύσι γειτυώντες ἔθνησε τοὺς μεγίστους τῶν κατὰ Πελοπόννησον, μᾶλλον δὲ σχεδὸν καὶ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν, λέγω δὲ τῷ τε τῶν Ἀρκάδων καὶ τῷ τῶν Δακώνων, 376
all vaunt our civic equality and liberty of speech and all that we mean by the word freedom, if nothing is more advantageous than peace? We do not indeed praise the Thebans because at the time of the Persian invasion they deserted Greece in the hour of peril and took the side of the Persians from fear, nor do we praise Pindar for confirming them in their resolution to remain inactive by the verses

Establish in calm the common weal,
Ye burghers all, and seek the light of lordly Peace that ever beameth bright. *a

For though at the time this advice seemed plausible it was not long before the decision he recommended proved to be the source of the deepest disaster and disgrace. Peace indeed, with justice and honour is the fairest and most profitable of possessions, but when joined with baseness and disgraceful cowardice, nothing is more infamous and hurtful.

32. The oligarchs who were then in power in Messenia, aiming at their own immediate advantage, were always too warm advocates of peace. Consequently though they often found themselves in critical situations and were sometimes exposed to grave peril, they always managed to slip through without friction. But the sum of the evils caused by this policy of theirs continued to accumulate, and at last their country was forced to struggle with the worst calamities. The cause of this I believe to be, that living as they did on the borders of two of the greatest nations in the Peloponnese or even in Greece, the Arcadians and Laconians, of whom

* Pindar probably meant civic peace and Polybius accuses him unjustly.
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

4 καὶ τοῦ μὲν ἐχθρῶς καὶ ἀκαταλάκτως ἀεὶ ποτε πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἔχοντος ἔξ ὦ καὶ κατέσχον τὴν χώραν, τοῦ δὲ φιλικῶς καὶ κηδεμονικῶς, οὐτε τὴν πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους ἐχθραν εὐγενῶς ἀνελάμβανον
5 οὐτε τὴν πρὸς Ἀρκάδας φιλίαν. λοιπὸν ὦταν μὲν οὗτοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἦ πρὸς ἔτερους πολεμοῦντες ἐν περισπασμοῖς ἦσαν, ἐγίνετο τὸ δὲν αὐτοῖς· ἦγον γὰρ τὴν εἰρήνην ἀεὶ παρευδιαζόμενοι διὰ τὴν
6 τοῦ τόπου παράπτωσιν. ὦταν δ' εὔσχολοι κατερίστατοι Λακεδαιμόνιοι γενηθέντες ἐτράπησαν πρὸς
7 τὸ βλάπτειν αὐτοὺς, οὔτ' αὐτοὶ δὲ αὐτῶν ἀντιφθαλμεῖν ἐδύναντο πρὸς τὸ βάρος τὸ Λακε-
8 δαιμονίων, οὐτε προκατεσκευασμένοι φίλους τοὺς ἀληθινῶς αὐτοῖς πάντα συνυποστησμένους ἦ
dουλεύειν ἥναγκαζοντο τούτοις ἄθροφοροῦντες, ἦ
φεύγοντες τὴν δουλείαν ἀνάστατοι γίνεσθαι, λεί-
pontes τὴν χώραν μετὰ τέκνων καὶ γυναικῶν,
9 ὅπερ ἦδη πλεονάκις αὐτοῖς συνέβη παθεῖν οὐ πάνυ
10 πολλοῖς χρόνοις. εἰ' μὲν οὖν οἶονεὶ συμφύναι τὴν
νῦν ὑπάρχουσαν κατάστασιν Πελοποννησίους, ἦν
μηδενὸς δὲ τῶν λέγεσθαι μελλόντων· εὰν δὲ
ποτε κίνησιν καὶ μετάστασιν σχῆ ταῦτα, μίαν ὁρῶ
Μεσσήνιος καὶ Μεγαλοπολίτας ἐλπίδα τοῦ δύνα-
σθαι νέμεσθαι τὴν αὐτῶν χώραν τοῦ πλείω χρόνον,
ὦν συμφρονήσαντες κατὰ τὴν Ἐπαμινώνδου γυνώ-
μην παντὸς καιροῦ καὶ πράγματος ἐλωνται κοινω-
νεὶν ἀλλήλους ἀληθινῶς.

33 ὁ δὲ λόγος οὗτος ἔχει μὲν ὦσις καὶ διὰ τῶν
2 πάλαι γεγονότων πίστιν. οἱ γὰρ Μεσσήνιοι πρὸς
the latter had been their implacable enemies ever since their first occupation of the country, while the former were their friends and protectors, they were never thoroughly frank and whole-hearted either in their enmity to the Lacedaemonians or in their friendship to the Arcadians. Consequently when the attention of these two peoples was distracted by wars between themselves or against other states, the Messenians were not ill treated, for they enjoyed tranquillity and peace owing to their country lying outside the theatre of war. But whenever the Lacedaemonians, finding themselves again at leisure and undistracted, took to maltreating them, they could neither face the might of Sparta alone, nor had they secured for themselves friends who would be ready to stand by them in all circumstances, and consequently they were compelled either to be the slaves and carriers of the Lacedaemonians, or if they wished to avoid slavery, to break up their homes and abandon their country with their wives and children, a fate which has overtaken them more than once in a comparatively short period of time. Heaven grant that the present tranquillity of the Peloponnese may be firmly established, so that the advice I am about to give may not be required; but should there be a change and a recurrence of disturbances the only hope I see for the Messenians and Megalopolitans of being able to continue in possession of their countries, is for them, as Epaminondas advised, to be of one mind and resolve on whole-hearted co-operation in all circumstances and in all action.

33. This counsel may perhaps find some support from circumstances that took place many years previously. For besides many other things I might
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

άλλοις πολλοῖς καὶ παρὰ τὸν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Δυκαίου βωμὸν ἀνέθεσαν στήλην ἐν τοῖς κατ᾽ Ἀριστομένην καροῖς, καθάπερ καὶ Καλλισθένης φησίν, γράφαντες τὸ γράμμα τούτο:

3 πάντως ὁ χρόνος εὑρεί δίκην ἀδίκω βασιλῆ, εὑρεί δὲ Μεσσήνη σὺν Διὶ τὸν προδότην ῥηδίως. χαλεπῶν δὲ λαθεῖν θεοῦ ἀνδρ' ἐπίορκον. χαίρε, Ζεῦ βασιλεύ, καὶ σάω Ἀρκαδίαν.

4 Ἐπεὶ γὰρ τῆς αὐτῶν ἐστερήθησαν, οἰονεῖ περὶ δευτέρας πατρίδος, ὡς γ' ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, τοῖς θεοῖς εὐχόμενοι σώζειν τὴν Ἀρκαδίαν, τοῦτ ἀνέθεσαν 5 τὸ γράμμα. καὶ τοῦτο εἰκότως ἐποίουν· οὐ γὰρ μόνον αὐτοὺς Ἀρκάδες ὑποδεξάμενοι κατὰ τὴν ἐκπτωσιν τὴν ἐκ τῆς ἱδίας ὑπὸ τὸν Ἀριστομένειον πόλεμον ὁμεσίους ἐπούσαντο καὶ πολίτας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς θυγατέρας ἐφηψάντο τοῖς ἐν ἡλικία διδό-

6 ναι τῶν Μεσσηνίων, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἀναζητήσαντες τὴν Ἀριστοκράτους τοῦ βασιλέως προδοσίαιν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τῇ καλουμένῃ περὶ Τάφρου αὐτὸν τ' ἀνεί-

7 λον καὶ τὸ γένος αὐτοῦ πᾶν ἡφάνισαν. οὐ μὴν ἄλλα καὶ χωρίς τῶν πάλαι τὰ τελευταίᾳ γεγονότα μετὰ τὸν Μεγάλης πόλεως καὶ Μεσσήνης συνοικισμὸν ἐκανὴν ἄν παράσχοι πίστιν τοῖς υφ' ἡμῶν εἰρημέ-

8 νοις. καθ' οὖς γὰρ καροὺς, τῆς περὶ Μαντίνειαιν μάχης τῶν Ἐλλήνων ἀμφιδήριτον ἐχούσης τὴν νίκην διὰ τὸν Ἐπαμινώνδου θάνατον, ἐκώλουν Δακεδαμόνοι μετέχειν τῶν σπουδῶν Μεσσηνίοις, ἀκμὴν σφητερίζόμενοι ταῖς ἐλπίσι τὴν Μεσσηνίαν,

9 ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο διέσπευσαν Μεγαλοπολίται καὶ πάντες οἱ κοινωνοῦντες Ἀρκάδων τῆς αὐτῶν συμμαχίας 380
BOOK IV. 33. 2-9

mention, the Messenians set up in the time of Aristomenes, as Callisthenes tells us, a pillar beside the altar of Zeus Lycaeus bearing the inscription:

Time faileth ne'er to find the unjust and bring
A righteous doom on an unrighteous king.
Messene now, with ease, for Zeus did speed,
Found out the traitor. Yea, 'tis hard indeed
For the forsworn to hide him from God's eye.
All hail, O Zeus, the king; save Arcady.

It was, as a fact, after they had lost their own country that they dedicated this inscription praying the gods to save Arcadia as if it were a second fatherland to them. And in this they were quite justified; for the Arcadians not only received them on their expulsion from Messenia in the Aristo-
menean War, taking them to their homes and making them citizens, but passed a resolution to give their daughters in marriage to those Messenians who were of proper age. In addition to this, after holding an inquiry into the treachery of the king Aristocrates in the battle of the Trench, they put him and his whole family to death." But, apart from these remote events, my assertion derives sufficient support from the circumstances that followed the recent foundation of the cities of Megalopolis and Messene. For at the time when, after the battle of Mantinea, the result of which was doubtful owing to the death of Epaminondas, the Spartans refused to allow the Messenians to participate in the truce, as they still hoped to re-
annex Messenia, the Megalopolitans and all the Arcadians in alliance with them were so active in

" For details see the account of the second Messenian war in Pausanias iv. 14-24.

381
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

ώστε Μεσσηνίους μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν συμμάχων προσ-
δέχθηναι καὶ μετασχεῖν τῶν ὄρκων καὶ διαλύσεων,
Λακεδαίμονιος δὲ μόνους ἐκσπόνδους γενέσθαι
10 τῶν Ἑλλήνων. ἀ τίς οὖν ἃν τῶν ἑπιγνωμένων ἐν
νῷ τιθέμενοι νομίσεις καλῶς εἰρήσθαι τὰ μικρῷ
πρῶτερον υφ’ ἡμῶν δεδηλωμένα;

11 Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν εἰρήσθω μοι χάριν Ἀρκάδων καὶ
Μεσσηνίων, ἵνα μιμημονεύσοντες τῶν συμβεβηκότων
αὐτοῖς περὶ τὰς πατρίδας ἄτυχημάτων ὑπὸ Λακε-
δαίμονιών ἀληθινῶς ἀντέχωνται τῆς πρὸς αὐτοὺς
12 εὐνοίας καὶ πίστεως, καὶ μήτε φόβον υφορώμενοι
μήτ’ εἰρήνης ἐπιθυμοῦντες ἐγκαταλείποις ἄλλη-
λοὺς ἐν ταῖς ὀλοσχερέσι περιστάσεσι.

34 Λακεδαίμονιοι δὲ τῶν εἰθισμένων ἐποίησάν τι
(τοῦτο γὰρ συνεχές ἦν τοῖς προειρημένοις) τέλος
γὰρ τοῦς παρὰ τῶν συμμάχων πρέσβεις ἀναποκρίτους
ἀπέστειλαν. οὐτως ἐξηπόρησαν ὑπὸ τῆς ἄληξιας
2 καὶ κακίας τῆς αὐτῶν. καὶ μοι δοκεῖ τοῦτ’ ἄληθὲς
εἶναι, διότι πολλάκις τολμᾶν περιπτών εἰς ἄνοιαν
3 καὶ τὸ μηδὲν κατατάτην εἰσθεν. οὐ μὴν ἄλλα μετὰ
tαῦτα, κατασταθέντων ἐφόρων ἄλλων, οἱ κινήσαν-
tες ἐξ ἀρχῆς τὰ πράγματα καὶ γενόμενοι τῆς
προειρημένης σφαγῆς αἰτιοὶ διεπέμποντο πρὸς
4 τοὺς Αἰτωλούς, ἐπιστώμενοι προσβευτήν. τῶν
dὲ καὶ μᾶλ’ ἀσμένως ὑπακοοῦσάντων ἴκε μετ’
ὄλγον προσβευῶν εἰς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα Μαχατᾶς.
5 καὶ παραντικὰ προσήχῃ τοῖς ἑφόροις . . . οἴομε-
nοι δὲν τῷ τῇ Μαχατῇ δίδοσθαι τὴν ἥθῳν ἐπὶ
tοὺς πολλοὺς, καὶ βασιλέας καθιστάναι κατὰ τὰ
382
their efforts, that the Messenians were received by the allies and included in the general treaty of peace, while the Lacedaemonians alone among the Greeks were excluded from it. Anyone in the future who takes this into consideration will agree that the opinion I advanced a little above is correct. I have spoken at such length on the subject for the sake of the Arcadians and Messenians, in order that, bearing in mind the misfortunes that have befallen their countries at the hands of the Lacedaemonians, they may adhere in the spirit as well as in the letter to their alliance and neither from fear of consequences or from a desire for peace desert each other in critical times.

34. To continue my account of the reception of the envoys, the Lacedaemonians acted in the manner usual with them, dismissing the envoys without making any reply at all; so utterly incapable were they of arriving at a decision owing to the absurdity and viciousness of their late policy. Indeed it seems to me very true the saying that excessive daring ends in mere senselessness and nothingness. Subsequently, however, on the appointment of new ephors, the original movers of the sedition and authors of the massacre I described above sent messengers to the Aetolians inviting them to negotiate. The Aetolians were quite happy to agree to this, and shortly afterwards Machatas arrived in Sparta as their envoy and at once presented himself before the ephors [accompanied by members of the party which had invited him who] demanded that they should grant Machatas access to the general assembly and appoint kings in accordance with the ancient constitution, for
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

πάτρια, καὶ μὴ περιορᾶν τὸν πλείω χρόνον παρὰ τοὺς νόμους καταλελυμένην τὴν τῶν Ἡρακλείδῶν
6 ἀρχῆν. οὐ δὲ ἐφοροὶ δυσαρεστοῦμενοι μὲν τοῖς ἀλοις πράγμασιν, οὐ δυνάμενοι δὲ πρὸς τὴν ὀρμὴν ἀντιφθαλμεῖν ἀλλὰ δεδιότες τὴν τῶν νέων συστροφῆν, περὶ μὲν τῶν βασιλέων ἐφασαν μετὰ ταῦτα βουλεύσεσθαι, τῷ δὲ Μαχατᾶ συνεχώρησαν δώσειν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. συναχθέντος δὲ τοῦ πλῆθους παρελθὼν ὁ Μαχατᾶς παρεκάλει διὰ πλειόνων αὐτοὺς αἱρεῖσθαι τὴν πρὸς Αἰτωλοὺς συμμαχίαν, εἰκῆ μὲν καὶ θρασέως κατηγορῶν Μακεδόνων, ἀλὸγως δὲ
7 καὶ ψευδῶς ἐγκωμιάζων τοὺς Αἰτωλοὺς. μεταστάντος δὲ τούτου πολλῆς ἀμφισβητήσεως ἐτύγχανε τὸ πράγμα: τινὲς μὲν γὰρ συνηγόρουν τοὺς Αἰτωλοὺς καὶ συντίθεσθαι πρὸς αὐτοὺς παρῆσιν τὴν συμμαχίαν, ἐννοίοι δὲ τούτους ἀντέλεγον. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων τινὲς ἐπιστήσαντες τὸ πλῆθος ἐπὶ τε τὰς Ἀντιγόνου καὶ Μακεδόνων εὐεργεσίας ἐπὶ τε τὰς διὰ Ἰαρίζενου καὶ Τιμαίου βλάβας, ὅτε στρατεύσαντες Αἰτωλοὶ πανδημεῖ κατέφθειραν μὲν αὐτῶν τὴν χώραν, ἐξηνδραποδίσαντο δὲ τὰς περιοίκους, ἐπεβούλευσαν δὲ τῇ Σπάρτῃ μετὰ δόλου καὶ βίας τοὺς φυγάδας ἐπ
8 ἀγαγόντες, ἐπὶ ἄλλης ἐγένοντο γνώμης, καὶ τέλος ἐπεισήθησαν τηρεῖν τὴν πρὸς Φίλιππον καὶ Μακε-
9 δόνας συμμαχίαν. γενομένων δὲ τούτων ὁ μὲν Μαχατᾶς ἀπρακτὸς ἐπαινήσει πάλιν εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν, ἀγαγόντες εἰς τὴν αἰτίαν, καὶ τέλος ἐπεισήθησαν τηρεῖν τὴν πρὸς Φίλιππον καὶ Μακε-
11 δόνας συμμαχίαν. γενομένων δὲ τούτων ὁ μὲν Μαχατᾶς ἀπρακτὸς ἐπαινήσει πάλιν εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν, ἣν ὁ ἀρχὴς αἰτίας ἐγένοντο τῆς κινήσεως, οὐδαμῶς εἰς δυνάμενοι τοῖς παροίκοις, αὐτὸς ἐπεβάλοντο πράγμα ποιεῖν πάντων ἀσεβέστατων, τζ φθείραντες τινὰς τῶν νέων. κατὰ γὰρ τινὰ θυσίαν
they must no longer permit the royal house of the Heraclidae to be dethroned in defiance of law. The ephors, who were displeased by the whole proceeding, but were incapable of boldly confronting the party of violence as they were intimidated by the mob of young men, said that they would take time to decide about re-establishing the kings, but agreed to allow Machatas to address a meeting of the commons. On the people assembling, Machatas came forward and in a speech of some length exhorted them to declare for alliance with the Aetolians, bringing random and audacious accusations against the Macedonians and praising the Aetolians in terms as absurd as they were false. On his withdrawal an animated discussion took place, some speaking on behalf of the Aetolians and advising the conclusion of an alliance with them, while other speakers took the opposite view. However when some of the elder citizens reminded the people of the benefits conferred on them by Antigonus and the Macedonians and of the injuries they had received at the hands of Charixenus and Timaeus —when the Aetolians invading Laconia in full force devastated the country, enslaved the villages of the Perioeci and formed a plot to capture Sparta, combining fraud and force to reinstate the exiles—the people were brought round to another opinion, and finally persuaded to maintain their alliance with Philip and the Macedonians. Hereupon Machatas returned home without effecting his purpose; (35) but the original authors of the sedition had no mind to give way and again resolved to commit a most impious crime, having debauched for this purpose some of the younger men. At a certain sacrifice of ancient
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

πάτριον ἐδει τοὺς μὲν ἐν ταῖς ἡλικίαις μετὰ τῶν ὀπλῶν πομπεύειν ἐπὶ τὸν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς Χαλκιοίκου νεῶν, τοὺς δ᾽ ἑφόρους συντελεῖν τὰ περὶ τὴν θυσίαν, αὐτοῦ περὶ τὸ τέμενος διατριβοῦτας. ἐν τούτῳ τῷ καιρῷ τῶν πομπευόντων ἐν τοῖς ὀπλοῖς τινὶς τῶν νεανίσκων ἀφνὸς προσπεσόντες θύουσι τοῖς ἑφόροις ἀπέσφαξαν αὐτούς. καίτοι πάσι τοῖς καταφυγοῦσι τὴν ἀσφάλειαν παρεσκευάζε τὸ ἱερὸν, κἂν θανάτου τις ἡ κατακεκριμένος· τότε δὲ διὰ τὴν ἁμοτητα τῶν τολμώντων εἰς τούτη ἡλθε καταφρονήσεως ὡστε περὶ τὸν βωμὸν καὶ τὴν τράπεζαν τῆς θεοῦ κατασφαγῆναι τοὺς ἑφόρους ἀπαντας. ἔξης δὲ τούτῳ τάκκολουθὼν τῇ προθέσει ποιοῦντες ἀνέιλον μὲν τοὺς περὶ Γυρίδαν τῶν γερόντων, ἐφυγάδευσαν δὲ τοὺς ἀντεπόντας τοῖς Αἰτωλοῖς, εἴλοντο δ᾽ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἑφόρους, συνέθεντο δὲ πρὸς τοὺς Αἰτωλοὺς τὴν συμμαχίαν. ἐποίουν δὲ ταῦτα, καὶ τὴν τε πρὸς Ἀχαιοὺς ἀπέχθειαν καὶ τὴν πρὸς Μακεδόνας ἀχαριστίαν καὶ καθόλου τὴν πρὸς πάντας ἀλογίαν ὑπέμενον, οὐχ ἡκιστα διὰ Κλεομένη καὶ τὴν πρὸς ἐκείνου εὐνοιαν, ἔπελπίζοντες αἱ καὶ προσδοκίαν ἔχοντες τῆς ἐκείνου παρουσία άμα καὶ σωτηρίας. οὕτως οἱ δυνάμενοι τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐπιδεξίως ὀμιλεῖν τοῖς συμπεριφερομένοις οὐ μόνον παρόντες ἄλλα καὶ μακραν ἀφεστῶτες ἐγκαταλείπουσι τινα καὶ λίαν ἵσχυρά τῆς πρὸς αὐτοὺς εὐνοίας αἰθύγματα. οἱ γε, χώρις τῶν ἄλλων, καὶ τότε, πολυτευόμενοι κατὰ τὰ πάτρια σχέδου ἢ ἁδεί τρεῖς ἐναυτοὺς μετὰ τὴν Κλεομένους ἐκπτωσιν, οὐδ’ ἐπενόησαν οὐδέποτε βασιλεῖς καταστήσαι τῆς Σπάρτης· άμα δὲ τῷ τὴν φήμην ἀφικέσθαι περὶ τῆς Κλεομένους τελευτῆς 386
institution the citizens of military age had to form a procession in arms and march to the temple of Athene of the Brazen House, while the ephors remained in the sanctuary to perform the sacrificial rites. Certain of the young men who took part in the procession chose the moment when the ephors were sacrificing for suddenly attacking and slaying them. It must be remembered that the holy place secured the safety of anyone who took sanctuary in it, even if he were condemned to death; and yet its sanctity was held in such slight esteem by those who had the heart to do this savage deed, that all the ephors were butchered at the very altar and table of the goddess. Continuing to pursue their purpose, they next killed Gyridas, one of the elders, expelled those who had spoken against the Aetolians, chose new ephors from their own faction and concluded the alliance with the Aetolians. Their chief motive for all these proceedings and for exhibiting enmity to the Achaeans, ingratitude to Macedonia, and a general lack of consideration in their conduct to all mankind, was their attachment to Cleomenes, to whose safe return they were always looking forward with confidence. So true is it that men who have the faculty of tactfully treating those about them do not only arouse devotion to their persons when present, but even when far away keep the spark of loyalty bright and alive in the hearts of their adherents. These men, apart from other considerations, had now during the three years they had passed under their old constitution since the dethronement of Cleomenes never thought of appointing new kings of Sparta; but the moment the report of his death reached them they at once
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

euthēws òrhmēsan epī toō basileis kathistánai tā te
10 plēthē kai toō tōn ēfōron ἀρχεῖον. kai katē-
stήsan oi' konwnoníntes ēfōroī tīs aïrésews toōs
stasiōntas, oi' kai tēn prōs Aitwloûs synthémênov
symmakhían, upēr òn toō ērti lógon ἐpoinēsmēn,
tōn mēν ãn ymîmovs kai kathêkontos, Ἀγησίπολον,
ǒnta mēν paiða tēn ħlukían, yîn dē 'Aγησιπόλοδοs
11 toû Kleombrótou. tōn dē suvēbaune bēbasileu-
kénav, kath' òus kairopûs ēzēpesse Leewnîðhûs ēk tīs
άρχhîs, dia tō katal yennon ὑπάρχειν ēγγυτά tīs
12 oîkías taûtēs. epîtropōn dē toû paiðos eîlounto
Kleomēn, Kleombrótou mēn yîn 'Aγησιπόλοδοs
13 dē aðelhōn. àπo dē tīs ēttēras oîkías óntωn ēk
tīs Ἰππομέδontos thugatrōs 'Aρχhîdâmou dune̓n
pайдwν, òs ēn yîs Ë̄udamídou, zôntos dē kai
'Ιππομέδontos àkmēn, òs ēn yîs 'Aγhsîlâou toû
Ë̄udamídou, kai ētērōn dē plēiônwn àπo tīs
oîkías ὑπαρχόντων, àpwtērōw mēn tōn prōerhmēnôn
prosēkontwn dē katal yenovs, tōtous mēn āpantas
14 ὑpereîdôn, Ë̄ukoûrōn dē basileía kātēstήsan,
oû tōn prōgōnwn ou̓deis ētei̓xhe tīs prōsg-
horíās. òs dōûs ēkástw tōn ēfōrōn tάlantw
'Hrekλéous àpōgonos kai basileûs ēgegonê tīs
15 Ἰπποπαρτής. oûtos èwva pantaçhê tâ katal gêgonv.
tōγαρoûn oû paiðes pайдwν, ãlalways prōtô tēs
ânovias àpétisâv tōûs músthous oî katastήsâvtes.
16 'O dē Mαχατάς puthmēnov tâ gegovnôta perî tōûs
Lakedaimoníovs ἤke pálw ὑποστρέψαv eîs tîn
Ιπποπαρτῆν, kai pαrēkâleî tōûs ēfōrōus kai tōûs
basileâs ēzënevgei̓n tōîs 'Akhais tōn pôlemon.
36 μόνωs gâr ãn oûtwv ἐφη lêûsai tîn tîn Lakedaι-
monîn fîloûneîkían tōû ēk pantôs trôpou dia-
388
urged the people and the ephors to create kings. The ephors belonging to the faction of disorder whom I mentioned above, the same who had con-
cluded the alliance with the Aetolians, hereupon made a choice which was legal and proper in the case of the one king, Agesipolis, still a minor, but the son of Agesipolis son of Cleombrotus who had suc-
ceeded to the throne on the deposition of Leonidas as being the next in blood of that house. They appointed to be the boy's guardian Cleomenes, the son of Cleombrotus and brother of Agesipolis. But as for the other house, notwithstanding that Archi-
damus, the son of Eudamidas, had left two sons born to him by the daughter of Hippomedon and that Hippomedon, who was the son of Agesilaus and grandson of Eudamidas, was still alive, there being also other members of the house more distant than these, but of the blood royal, they passed over all these and nominated as king Lycurgus, none of whose ancestors had borne this title, but he by giving each of the ephors a talent became a descendant of Heracles and king of Sparta, so cheap everywhere had distinctions become. But it happened in consequence that not their children's children, but the very men who made the appoint-
ment were the first to suffer for their folly.

36. When Machatas heard what had happened in Sparta, he returned there and urged the ephors and kings to make war on the Achaeans, for that he said was the only means of putting a stop to the factious policy of those Lacedaemonians who wished by any and every means to break the alliance with
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

κοπτόντων τὴν πρὸς Αἰτωλοὺς συμμαχίαν, τὴν τε τῶν ἐν Αἰτωλία τὰ παραπλήσια τούτοις πραττόντων.
3 πεισθέντων δὲ τῶν ἐφόρων καὶ τῶν βασιλέων ὁ μὲν Μαχατᾶς ἐπανῆλθε συντετελεσμένος τὴν πρόθεσιν
dιὰ τὴν ἄγνοιαν τῶν συμπραττόντων, δὲ δὲ Λυκοῦρ-
γος ἀναλαβὼν τοὺς στρατιώτας καὶ τινὰς τῶν πολιτικῶν ἐνεβαλεν εἰς τὴν Ἅργειαν, ἀφυλάκτως
dιακειμένων εἰς τέλος τῶν Ἅργειῶν διὰ τὴν
5 προουπάρχουσαν κατάστασιν. καὶ Πολύχναν μὲν
cαὶ Πρασίας καὶ Λεύκας καὶ Κύφαντα προσπέσων
ἀφινω κατέσχεν, Πλυμπέσι δὲ καὶ Ζάρακι προσ-
pεσῶν ἀπέπεσε. τούτου δὲ ταῦτα πράξαντος
ἐπεκήρυξαν τὸ λάφυρον οἱ Λακεδαμονίου κατὰ
tῶν Ἀχαιῶν. ἔπεισαν δὲ καὶ τοὺς Ἡλείους οἱ
περὶ τὸν Μαχατᾶν, παραπλήσια λέγοντες ἀπερ καὶ
πρὸς τοὺς Λακεδαμονίους, ἐξενεγκεῖν τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς
tὸν πόλεμον.
7 Παραδόξως δὲ καὶ κατὰ νοῦν τοῖς Αἰτωλοῖς
tῶν πραγμάτων προκεχωρηκότων οὕτωι μὲν εὐ-
θαρσῶς ἐνέβαινον εἰς τὸν πόλεμον, οἱ δὲ Ἀχαιοὶ
8 τάναντια. Φίλιππος μὲν γάρ, ἕφ᾽ ὃ τὰς ἐλπίδας
eἰχον, ἀκμὴν ἐγώντο περὶ παρασκευήν, Ἡπειρώται
d᾽ ἐμελλόν πολεμεῖν, Μεσσήνιοι δ᾽ ἡσυχίαν εἰχον,
9 Αἰτωλοὶ δὲ, προσειληφότες τὴν Ἡλείων καὶ
Λακεδαμονίων ἄγνοιαν, πανταχοῦν περιείχον αὐ-
37 τοὺς τῷ πολέμῳ. Ἀράτω μὲν οὖν συνέβαινε κατὰ
tὸν καιρὸν τούτον ἡδὴ λήγειν τὴν ἀρχήν, Ἀρατὸ
δὲ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ καθεσταμένον ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν
2 παραλαμβάνει τὴν στρατηγίαν. Αἰτωλῶν δὲ ἐ−
στρατήγει Σκόπας, ὁ δὲ χρόνος αὐτῷ τῆς ἀρχῆς
μάλιστα τότε πῶς διήρητο· τὰς γὰρ ἁρχαιοσκέις
Αἰτωλοὶ μὲν ἐποίουν μετὰ τὴν φθινοπωρινὴν
890
the Aetolians and of those in Aetolia who were working for the same end. Upon the ephors and kings consenting, Machatas returned, having accomplished his purpose owing to the blindness of those who supported him. Lycurgus now, taking the regular army and some others of the citizens, invaded Argolis, the Argives being quite off their guard owing to the prevailing tranquillity. By a sudden assault he seized Polichna, Prasiae, Leucae, and Cyphanta, but was repulsed in his attack on Glympes and Zarax. After these achievements of the king the Lacedaemonians proclaimed the right of reprisal against the Achaeans. Machatas also persuaded the Eleans by the same arguments that he had used at Sparta to make war on the Achaeans.

Owing to their cause having thus prospered beyond their expectations the Aetolians entered on the war with confidence. But it was quite the opposite with the Achaeans; for Philip, in whom they chiefly trusted, had not completed his preparations, the Epirots were putting off the commencement of hostilities, the Messenians were entirely inactive, and the Aetolians, supported by the mistaken policy of Elis and Sparta, had enclosed them in a circle of war. 37. Aratus' term of office was now expiring, and his son Aratus who had been elected in his place was on the point of succeeding him as strategus. Scopas was still the Aetolian strategus, his term of office being now about half through; for the Aetolians hold their elections after the autumn equinox, but the Achaeans in
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

100

λισμερίαν εὐθέως, ἦν ἔνεκεν τὰ τὰς ἁρχὰς. Ἀννίβας μὲν γὰρ ἐνεχείρη κατὰ τοὺς καίρους τούτους Ζάκανθαν πολιορκεῖν, ῾Ρωμαίοι δὲ Λεύκιον Ἀμίλιον εἰς τὴν Ἡλλούρίδα μετὰ δυνάμεως ἐξαπέστελλον ἐπὶ Δημήτριον τὸν Φάριον. ὑπὲρ δὲν ἔν τῇ προτέρᾳ
5 βύβλω δεδηλώκαμεν. Ἀντίοχος δὲ, Πτολεμαῖδα καὶ Τύρον παραδόντος αὐτῷ Θεόδοτον, τοῖς κατὰ Κοίλην Συρίαν ἐγκεφαλεῖ ἐπιβάλλετο. Πτολεμαῖος δὲ περὶ παρασκευὴν ἐγίνετο τοῦ πρὸς Ἀντίοχον
6 πολέμου. Λυκοὺργος δ’ ἀπὸ τῶν ὁμοίων βουλό- μενος ἔρχεσθαι Κλεομένει, τὸ τῶν Μεγαλοπολιτῶν Ἀθηναίου ἐπολιόρκησε προσεστρατοπεδεύκως. Ἀ- χαιοὶ δὲ μισθοφόρους ἐπιπέδοι καὶ πεζοὺς ᾨδρουζὸν
7 εἰς τὸν περεστῶτα πόλεμον. Φίλιππος δ’ ἐκ Μακε- σαγίας ἐκώνει μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως, ἔχων Μακεδόνων φαλαγγίτας μὲν μυρίους πελταστὰς δὲ πεντακεφα- λίους, ἀμα δὲ τούτοις ἐπιπέδες ἀκτακοσίους.
8 Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἀπαντᾷ ἦν ἐν τοιούταις ἐπιβολαῖς καὶ παρασκευαῖς: κατὰ δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς καίρους ἔξ- ἴηγεν καὶ Ρόδιος Βυζαντίους πόλεμον διὰ τινάς τοιαύ- τας αἰτίας. Βυζάντιοι κατὰ μὲν θάλατταν ἐνκαί- ρωτάταιν οἰκοῦσι τόπον καὶ πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν καὶ πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν πάντη τῶν ἐν τῇ καθ’ ἡμὰς οἰκουμένη, κατὰ δὲ γῆν πρὸς ἀμφότερα πάντων ἀφυέστατον.
38 κατὰ μὲν γὰρ θάλατταν οὔτως ἐπικεντατω στόματι τοῦ Πόντου κυρίως ὥστε μήτ’ ἐσπλέγαε μήτ’ ἐκπλεύσαι δυνατὸν εἶναι . . τῶν ἐμπόρων χωρίς
3 τῆς ἐκείνων βουλήσεως. ἔχοντος δὲ τοῦ Πόντου
392
early summer at about the time of the rising of the Pleiads. The date at which the younger Aratus 219 B.C. assumed office, summer being then well advanced, marked the commencement of activity in all quarters. As I narrated in the previous Book, Hannibal at this date was opening the siege of Saguntum and the Romans were dispatching Lucius Aemilius to Illyria against Demetrius of Pharos. Simultaneously Antiochus, Ptolemais and Tyre having been surrendered to him by Theodotus, was about to invade Coele-Syria, Ptolemy was preparing for the war against Antiochus, Lycurgus, wishing to rival Cleomenes at the outset of his campaign, had encamped before the Athenaeum in the territory of Megalopolis and was investing it, the Achaeans were collecting mercenaries both horse and foot for the war which threatened them, and finally Philip was moving out of Macedonia with his forces consisting of ten thousand heavy-armed infantry, five thousand peltasts, and eight hundred horse, all the above being Macedonians.

Such were the projects and preparations on all sides, and at the same time the Rhodians went to war with the Byzantines for the following reasons. 38. The site of Byzantium is as regards the sea more favourable to security and prosperity than that of any other city in the world known to us, but as regards the land it is most disadvantageous in both respects. For, as concerning the sea, it completely blocks the mouth of the Pontus in such a manner that no one can sail in or out without the consent of the Byzantines. So that they have complete
Γενικά τῶν πρὸς τὸν βιόν εὐχρήστων τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις πάντων εἰσὶ τούτων κύριοι Βυζάντιοι.

4 πρὸς μὲν γὰρ τὰς ἀναγκαίας τὸν βιόν χρείας τὰ τε θρέμματα καὶ τὸ τῶν εἰς τὰς δουλείας ἀγομένων σωμάτων πλῆθος οἱ κατὰ τὸν Πόντον ἡμῖν τόποι παρασκευάζουσι δαμιλέστατον καὶ χρησιμώτατον ὁμολογουμένως, πρὸς δὲ περιουσίαν μὲλὶ κηρὸν

5 τάριχος ἀφθόνως ἡμῖν χορηγοῦσιν. δέχονται γε μὴν τῶν ἐν τοῖς παρ’ ἡμῖν τόποις περιττεύοντον ἔλαιον καὶ πάν οἶνον γένος. σιτίῳ δ’ ἀμείβονται, ποτὲ μὲν εὐκάριως διδόντες ποτὲ δὲ λαμβάνοντες.

6 πάντων δὴ τούτων ἡ κωλύεσθαι δεόν ἂν ὅλοσχερὸς τοὺς Ἐλλήνας ἡ τελέως ἀλυσιτελή γίνεσθαι σφίσι τὴν ἀλλαγὴν αὐτῶν, Βυζαντίων ἦτοι βουλομένων ἑθελοκακεῖν καὶ συνδυάζειν ποτὲ μὲν Γαλάταις τοτὲ δὲ πλείονα Θρακῶν, ἡ τὸ παράπαν μὴ κατοικίησον τόπους διὰ τε γὰρ τὴν στενότητα τοῦ πόρου καὶ τὸ παρακείμενον πλῆθος τῶν βαρβάρων ἀπλοὺς ἢν ἡμῖν ἂν ὁμολογουμένως ὁ Πόντος.

8 μέγιστα μὲν οὖν ἰσως αὐτοῖς ἐκεῖνοι περιγίνεται λυσιτελὴ πρὸς τοὺς βίους διὰ τὰς τῶν τόπων τὰ ἱδιότητας ἀπὸ τὸ μὲν περιττεύον παρ’ αὐτοῖς ἐξαγωγῆς, τὸ δὲ λειπὼν εἰσαγωγῆς ἐτοίμου τυγχάνει καὶ λυσιτελοῦς ἃνευ πάσης κακοπαθείας καὶ κινδύνον τολμᾶ γε μὴν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις εὐχρηστα δι’ ἐκείνους, ὑστερήκαμεν, ἀπαντᾷ. διὸ καὶ κοινῷ τινε τὸς ἑνεργεῖται πάντων ὑπάρχοντες ἐκότως ἀν οὐ μόνον χάριτος ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπικουρίας κοινῆς τυγχάνοιεν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἐλλήνων κατὰ τὰς ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων περιστάσεις.

11 Ἐπεὶ δὲ παρὰ τοῖς πλείστοις ἀγνοεῖσθαι συνεβαίνει
control over the supply of all those many products furnished by the Pontus which men in general require in their daily life. For as regards necessities it is an undisputed fact that the most plentiful supplies and best qualities of cattle and slaves reach us from the countries lying round the Pontus, while among luxuries the same countries furnish us with abundance of honey, wax, and preserved fish, while of the superfluous produce of our countries they take olive-oil and every kind of wine. As for corn there is a give-and-take, they sometimes supplying us when we require it and sometimes importing it from us. The Greeks, then, would entirely lose all this commerce or it would be quite unprofitable to them, if the Byzantines were disposed to be deliberately unfriendly to them, and had made common cause formerly with the Gauls and more especially at present with the Thracians, or if they had abandoned the place altogether. For, owing to the narrowness of the strait and the numbers of the barbarians on its banks, it would evidently be impossible for our ships to sail into the Pontus. Though perhaps the Byzantines themselves are the people who derive most financial benefit from the situation of their town, since they can readily export all their superfluous produce and import whatever they require on advantageous terms and without any danger or hardship, yet, as I said, they are of great service to other peoples. Therefore, as being the common benefactors of all, they naturally not only should meet with gratitude from the Greeks, but with general support when they are exposed to peril from the barbarians.

Now since the majority of people are unacquainted
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

τὴν ἰδιότητα καὶ τὴν εὐφυΐαν τοῦ τόπου διὰ τὸ μικρὸν ἔξω κείσαθα τῶν ἐπισκοπομένων μερῶν τῆς οἰκου-

12 μένης, βουλόμεθα δὲ πάντες εἰδέναι τὰ τοιαῦτα, καὶ μάλιστα μὲν αὐτόπται γίνεσθαι τῶν ἐχόντων παρηλλαγμένων τι καὶ διαφέρον τόπων, εἰ δὲ μὴ τούτῳ δυνατόν, ἐννοιας γε καὶ τύπους ἔχειν ἐν

13 αὐτοῖς ὃς ἐγγυστα τῆς ἀληθείας, βητεόν ἃν εἰη τί το συμβαίνον ἔστι καὶ τί τὸ ποιοῦν τὴν τηλικαύτην καὶ τοιαύτην εὐπορίαν τῆς προειρημένης πόλεως.

39 Ὅ δὴ καλούμενος Πόντος ἔχει τὴν μὲν περίμε-

τρον ἐγγυστα τῶν διαμυρίων καὶ διαχιλίων σταδίων, στόματα δὲ διυττο κατὰ διάμετρον ἀλλήλους κείμενα, τὸ μὲν ἐκ τῆς Προποντίδος τὸ δὲ ἐκ τῆς Μαιώτιδος λίμνης, ἦτις αὐτὴ καθ’ αὐτὴν ὄκτακισχίλιων ἔχει

2 σταδίων τὴν περιγραφήν. εἰς δὲ τὰ προειρημένα κοιλώματα πολλῶν μὲν καὶ μεγάλων ποταμῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας ἐκβαλλόντων, ἔτι δὲ μειζόνων καὶ πλειόνων ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης, συμβαίνει τὴν μὲν Μαιώτιν ἀναπληρουμένην ὑπὸ τούτων ρεῖν εἰς τὸν Πόντον διὰ τοῦ στόματος, τὸν δὲ Πόντον εἰς τὴν

3 Προποντίδα. καλεῖται δὲ τὸ μὲν τῆς Μαιώτιδος στόμα Κιμμερικὸς Βόσπορος, δ’ τὸ μὲν πλάτος ἔχει περὶ τριάκοντα στάδια τὸ δὲ μῆκος ἐξήκοντα,

4 πάν δ’ ἐστὶν ἀλιτενεῖς. τὸ δὲ τοῦ Πόντου παρα-

πλησίως ὄνομαζεται μὲν Βόσπορος Θράκιος, ἔστι δὲ τὸ μὲν μῆκος ἐφ’ ἐκατόν καὶ ἐκοσί στάδια, τὸ δὲ πλάτος οὐ πάντη ταυτόν. ἀρχεῖ δὲ τοῦ στό-

5 ματος ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς Προποντίδος τὸ κατὰ Καλ-

χρόνα διάστημα καὶ Βυζάντιον, δ’ δεκατετάρων

6 ἐστὶ σταδίων, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Πόντου τὸ καλούμενον 'Ιερόν, ἐφ’ οὐ τοῦ ποιεῖ κατὰ τὴν ἐκ Κόλυμβων ἀνακομιδῆν 'Ιάσονα θύσαι πρῶτον τοῖς δώδεκα

396
with the peculiar advantages of this site, as it lies somewhat outside those parts of the world which are generally visited, and as we all wish to have information about such matters, if possible visiting personally places so peculiar and interesting, but if this be out of our power, acquiring impressions and ideas of them as near the truth as possible, I had better state the facts of the case and explain what is the cause of the singular prosperity of this city.

39. The sea known as the Pontus is very nearly twenty-two thousand stades in circumference and has two mouths exactly opposite each other, one communicating with the Propontis and the other with the Palus Maeotis, which itself has a circumference of eight thousand stades. As many large rivers from Asia and still more numerous and larger ones from Europe fall into these two basins, the Maeotis being thus replenished flows into the Pontus and the Pontus into the Propontis. The mouth of the Palus Maeotis is called the Cimmerian Bosporus; it is thirty stades in width and sixty in length and is all of no great depth. The mouth of the Pontus is similarly called the Thracian Bosporus and is a hundred and twenty stades long and not of the same width throughout. From the side of the Propontis its beginning is the passage between Calchedon and Byzantium which is fourteen stades in width. On the side of the Pontus it begins at the so-called Holy Place, where they say that Jason on his voyage back from Colchis first sacrificed to the twelve gods.
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

θεοίς· δ ἂν τίνι πρὸς τὴν Ἕλληνικὴν ὑποκαταστάσειν, ἀπέχει δὲ τὴς Ἑλληνικῆς ἀπὸ δύο διάκοπτα στάδια πρὸς τὸ κατανυκτῆρον; 7 κἂν μὲν ἐξ ὑπαρχοῦσας ἐκρύσεως δέον, ἢ ἂν ἀναπαύσατο παλαιὰ τῶν ὑπαρχοῦσιν, ἡ τῶν πολλῶν εἰσπληθῶν ῥεμάτων ἀνάγυρθον ἀγγείων ὀρνισμένων; 8 πλείον καὶ πλείον γίνεται τὸ ὑγρόν, δ ἐμπεμβατικώς μὲν ὑπαρχοῦσα ἐκρύσεως δέον ἢ ἄν ἀναπαύσατο παλαιὰ τῶν ὑπαρχοῦσιν, δ’ ἐκρύσεως ἀνάγκη τὸ προσγυμνόμενον καὶ πλεονάζον ὑπερπίπτον ἀπορρεῖν καὶ φέρεσθαι συνεχῶς διὰ τῶν ὑπαρχοῦσων; 9 στομάτων· δευτέρα δὲ, καθ’ ἢν, πολὺ καὶ παντοδαπὸν χοῦν εἰσφέροντος εἰς τὰ προειρημένα κοιλώματα τῶν ποταμῶν κατὰ τὰς τῶν ὄμβρων ἐπιτάσεις, ἐκπειρόμενον τὸ ὑγρόν ὑπὸ τῶν συνισταμένων ἐγχωμάτων δὲ προσαναβαίνει καὶ φερεται κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον διὰ τῶν ὑπαρχοῦσων 10 ἐκρύσεως· τῆς δ’ ἐγχώσεως καὶ τῆς ἐπιρρύσεως ἀδιαπαύστου καὶ συνεχοῦς γνομένης ἐκ τῶν ποταμῶν, καὶ τὴν ἀπόρρυσυν ἀδιαπαύστου καὶ συνεχῆ γίνεσθαι διὰ τῶν στομάτων ἀναγκαίον. 11 Αἱ μὲν οὖν ἀληθείς αἰτία τοῦ ὑπαρχοῦσας δέον, οὐκ ἔστιν ἐμπεμβατικῶς ἀναπαύσατο τῶν ποταμῶν, ἀλλ’ ἐκ τῆς κατὰ φύσιν 40 θεωρίας, ἃς ἀκριβεστέραν εὑρεῖν οὐ πάντων ἀργῶν ὑπὸ δ’ ἐπὶ τῶν τόπων ἐπεστημέν, οὐδὲν ἀφετέον ἄργων οὐδ’ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ φάσει καὶ ἀκριβεστέον ποιεῖν εἰσώθησι τῶν συγγραφέων, ἀποδεικτικῇ δὲ μάλλον τῇ διηγήσει χρηστοῖς, οὐκ ἂν μηδὲν ἀπορροῦν ἀπολείπωμεν τῶν ζητομένων τοῖς φιληκόοις. 398
This lies in Asia and is about twelve stades distant from the opposite point in Thrace the temple of Sarapis. There are two causes of the constant flow from the Palus Maeotis and the Pontus, one, at once evident to all, being that where many streams fall into basins of limited circumference the water constantly increases and, if there were no outlets, would continue to mount higher and occupy a larger area of the basin. In the case, however, of there being outlets the surplus water runs off by these channels. The second cause is that as the rivers carry down into these basins after heavy rains quantities of all kinds of alluvial matter, the water in the seas is forcibly displaced by the banks thus formed and continues to mount and flow out in like manner through the existing outlets. As the influx and deposit of alluvium by the rivers is constant, the outflow through the mouths must likewise be constant.

The true reasons then of the current flowing from the Pontus are these, depending as they do not on the reports of traders but on reasoning from the facts of nature, a more accurate method than which it is not easy to find. 40. But since our attention is now fixed on this subject, I must leave no point unelaborated and barely stated, as is the habit of most writers, but must rather give a description of the facts supported by proofs, so that no doubts may be left in the reader's mind. For this is the
2 τούτο γάρ ἤδιόν ἐστι τῶν νῦν καὶρῶν, ἐν οἷς πάντων πλωτῶν καὶ πορευτῶν γεγονότων οὐκ ἂν ἔτι πρέπον εὑρέ σας καὶ μνημονεύουσα χρῆσθαι

3 μάρτυς περὶ τῶν ἁγνουσμένων, ὅπερ οἱ πρὸ ἡμῶν πεπονήκασι περὶ τῶν πλείστων, ἀπίστους ἀμφισβητουμένων παρεχόμενοι βεβαιωτάς κατὰ τὸν Ηράκλειτον, πειρατέον δὲ δὴ αὐτῆς τῆς ιστορίας ἱκανὴν παριστάναι πίστιν τοῖς ἀκούονσιν.

4 Φαμέν δὴ χώνυμος μὲν καὶ πάλαι καὶ νῦν τὸν Πόντον, χρόνῳ γε μὴν ὀλοσχερῶς ἐγχωσθήσεσθαι τὴν τε Μαιῶτιν καὶ τούτον, μενοῦσης γε δὴ τῆς αὐτῆς τάξεως περὶ τῶν τόπων, καὶ τῶν αὐτῶν τῆς ἐγχώσεως ἐνεργοῦντων κατὰ τὸ συνεχές.

5 ὅταν γὰρ δὲ μὲν χρόνος ἀπειρος ἦ, τὰ δὲ κοιλώματα πάντη πάντως ὑρισμένα, δήλον ὡς, κἂν τὸ τυχὸν

6 εἰσφέρηται, πληρωθῆσονται τῷ χρόνῳ. κατὰ φύσιν γὰρ τὸ πεπερασμένον ἐν ἀπειρῷ χρόνῳ συνεχῶς γινόμενον ἢ φθειρόμενον, κἂν κατ᾽ ἐλάχιστον γίνεται (τοῦτο γὰρ νοεῖσθω νῦν), ἀνάγκη τελειωθῆναι

7 κατὰ τὴν πρόθεσιν. ὅταν δὲ μὴ τὸ τυχὸν ἀλλὰ καὶ λίις πολὺς τις εἰσφέρηται χοῦς, φανερὸν ὡς οὐ ποτὲ ταχέως δὲ συμβίβασται γενέσθαι τὸ νῦν δὴ

8 λεγόμενον ὅπτ᾽ ἡμῶν. δὲ δὴ καὶ φαίνεται γινόμενον. τὴν μὲν οὖν Μαιῶτιν ἄδη κεχώσθωσί συμβάνει· τὸ γὰρ τοῦ πλείστον αὐτῆς μέρος ἐν ἔπτα καὶ πεντε ὀργιαίς ἐστιν, διὸ καὶ πλεῖν αὐτὴν οὐκέτι δίνανται νανάι μεγάλαις χωρὶς καθηγεμόνοις.

9 οὐσά τ᾽ ἐξ ἀρχῆς θάλαττα σύρρους τῷ Πόντῳ, καθάπερ οἱ παλαιοὶ συμφωνοῦσι, νῦν ἔστι λίμνη γλυκεία, τῆς μὲν θαλάττης ἐκπεπεισμένης ὑπὸ τῶν ἐγχωμάτων, τῆς δὲ τῶν ποταμῶν εἰσβολῆς.
characteristic of the present age, in which, all parts of the world being accessible by land or sea, it is no longer proper to cite the testimony of poets and mythographers regarding matters of which we are ignorant, "offering," as Heraclitus says, "untrustworthy sureties for disputed facts," but we should aim at laying before our readers a narrative resting on its own credit.

I say then that the silting up of the Pontus has gone on from time immemorial and still continues, and that in course of time both this sea and the Palus Maeotis will be entirely filled, if the existing local conditions remain the same and the causes of the alluvial deposit continue to act. For time being infinite, and the area of these basins being certainly limited, it is evident that even if the accretions were quite insignificant, the seas will be filled up in time; for by the law of nature if a finite quantity continually grows or decreases in infinite time, even if the increase or decrease be infinitesimal—for this is what I now assume—it stands to reason that the process must finally be completed. But when, as in this case, the increase is no small one, but a very large quantity of soil is being deposited, it is evident that what I state will not happen at some remote date, but very shortly. And it is indeed visibly happening. As for the Palus Maeotis it is already silted up, the greater part of it varying in depth between five and seven fathoms, so that large ships can no longer navigate it without a pilot. And while it was once, as all ancient authorities agree, a sea continuous with the Pontus, it is now a fresh-water lake, the salt water having being forced out by the deposits and the inflow from the rivers prevailing.
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

10 ἐπικρατοῦσης. ἔσται δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν Πόντων παραπλήσιων, καὶ γίνεται νῦν ἂλλʼ οὐ λίαν τοῖς πολλοῖς ἔστι καταφανὲς διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ κοιλώματος. τοῖς μέντοι γε βραχέα συνεπιστή- σασι καὶ νῦν ἐστὶ δὴλον τὸ γνώμενον. τοῦ γὰρ Ἰστροῦ πλείοσι στόμασιν ἀπὸ τῆς Εὐρώπης εἰς τὸν Πόντον εἰσβάλλοντος, συμβαίνει πρὸς τοῦτον σχεδὸν ἐπὶ χίλια στάδια συνεστάναι ταῦταν ἥμερας ὑρόμον ἀπέχουσαν τῆς γῆς [ἤρις νῦν συνέτηκεν]

41 ἑκ τῆς τοῦτο στόμασιν εἰσφερομένης ὦλυος. ἐφʼ ἐν ἐπὶ πελάγιοι τρέχοντες οἱ πλέοντες τὸν Πόντον λανθάνουσιν ἐποκέλλοντες νυκτὸς ἐπὶ τοὺς τόπους.
3 καλοῦσι δὲ αὐτοὺς οἱ ναυτικοὶ Στήθη. τοῦ δὲ μὴ παρʼ αὐτὴν συνίστασθαι τὴν γῆν ἂλλʼ ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ προωθεῖσθαι τὸν χοῦν ταύτην νομιστέον

4 εἶναι τὴν αἰτίαν. ἐφʼ ὅσον μὲν γὰρ αἱ ρύσεις τῶν ποταμῶν διὰ τὴν βίαν τῆς φορᾶς ἐπικρατοῦσι καὶ διωθοῦνται τὴν θάλασσαν, ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ πάντα τὰ φερόμενα τοῖς βεύμασι ἀνάγκη προωθεῖσθαι καὶ μὴ λαμβάνειν μονὴν μηδὲ στάσιν

5 ἀπλώς. ὅταν δὲ διὰ τὸ βάθος ἦδη καὶ πλῆθος τῆς θαλάσσης ἐκλύηται τὰ βεύματα, τὸ τείκος ἦδη κατά φύσιν φερόμενον κἀκεῖνον μονὴν καὶ στάσιν λαμ- βάνειν τὸν χοῦν. διʼ ᾧ δὴ τῶν μὲν λάβρων καὶ μεγάλων ποταμῶν τὰ μὲν χώματα μακρὰν συνίστα- ται τὰ δὲ παρὰ τὴν χέρσον ἐστὶν ἀγχιβαθητή, τῶν δὲ ἐλλάττων καὶ πρῶς βεύμων παρʼ αὐτὰς τάς

6 εἰσβολάς οἱ θίνες συνίστανται. μάλιστα δὲ ἐκδηλῶν γίνεται τοῦτο κατὰ τὰς τῶν ὄμβρων ἐπιφοράς· καὶ γὰρ τὰ τυχόντα τότε τῶν βεύμων, ἐπειδὰν ἐπικρατήσωσι τοῦ κύματος κατὰ τὴν εἰσβολῆν, προωθοῦσι τὸν χοῦν εἰς θάλασσαν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον

402
Some day it will be the same with the Pontus; in fact the thing is actually taking place, and although not very generally noticed owing to the large size of the basin, it is apparent to anyone who gives some slight attention to the matter. 41. For the Danube flowing from Europe and falling into the Pontus by several mouths, a bank formed of the matter discharged from these mouths and reaching out to sea for a day's journey, stretches for about a hundred miles opposite them, and ships navigating the Pontus, while still far out at sea, often at night when sailing unwarily run aground on certain parts of this belt, which are known to sailors as "The Paps." The reason why the deposit is not formed close to the land but is projected so far we must consider to be as follows. As far as the currents of the rivers prevail owing to their strength and force a way through the sea, the earth and all other matter carried down by the stream must continue to be pushed forward and not suffered to rest or subside at all; but when owing to the increasing depth and volume of the sea the rivers lose their force, then of course the earth sinks by its natural weight and settles. This is why in the case of large and swift rivers the deposits are formed at a distance, the sea near the coast being deep, but in that of small and sluggish streams the sand-banks are close to their mouths. This becomes especially evident during heavy rains; for then insignificant streams when they have overpowered the surge at their mouths push forward their mud out to sea for a
ΤΗΣ ΠΟΛΥΒΙΟΥ ΧΩΡΟΣ

8 τή βία τῶν ἐμπιστόντων ἐπιμάχων τῷ δὲ μεγέθει τῆς προειρημένης ταυτίας καὶ καθόλου τῷ πλήθει τῶν εἰσαφερομένων λίθων καὶ ξύλων καὶ γῆς ὑπὸ τῶν ποταμῶν οὐδαμῶς ἀπιστητέον, εὐθεῖες γάρ, 
9 θεωροῦνται ὑπὸ τὴν ὁμή τὸν τυχόντα χειμάρρον ἐν βραχεὶ χρόνῳ πολλάκις ἐκχαραδρούντα μὲν καὶ διακόπτοντα τόπους ἡλιβάτους, φέροντα δὲ πᾶν γένος ὕλης καὶ γῆς καὶ λίθων, ἐπιχώσεις δὲ ποιοῦμεν τηλικαύτας ὡστ᾽ ἀλλοιοῦν ἐνίοτε καὶ μηδὲ γυνώσκειν ἐν βραχεὶ χρόνῳ τοὺς αὐτοὺς τόπους.

42 εὖ δὲ οὐκ εἰκός θαυμάζει τῶς οἱ τηλικοῦτοι καὶ τοιούτου ποταμοὶ συνεχῶς ρέουντες ἀπεργάζονται τι τῶν προειρημένων καὶ τέλος ἐκπληροῦσι τὸν

2 Πόντον. οὐ γὰρ εἰκός ἀλλ᾽ ἀναγκαίον γενέσθαι τούτῳ γε προφαίνεται κατὰ τὸν ὅρθον λόγον.

3 σημεῖον δὲ τοῦ μέλλοντος· ὅσα γὰρ ἔστι νῦν ἡ Μαιώτις γλυκυτέρα τῆς Ποντικῆς θαλάττης, οὕτως θεωρεῖται διαφέρουσα προφανῶς ἡ Ποντικῆ τῆς

4 καθ᾽ ἡμᾶς. εὖ δὲν δήλον ὡς, ὅταν δὲ χρόνοις ἐν ὧν πεσπληρώθαι συμβαίνει τὴν Μαιώτιν, τούτον λάβῃ τὸν λόγον πρὸς τὸν χρόνον ὅν ἔχει τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ κοιλώματος πρὸς τὸ κοίλωμα, τότε συμβήσεται καὶ τὸν Πόντον τεναγώδη καὶ γλυκὸν καὶ λιμνώδη

5 γενέσθαι παραπλησίως τῇ Μαιώτιδι λίμνη. καὶ θάττων δὲ τούτων ὑποληπτέων, ὅσῳ μείζους καὶ πλείους εἰσὶν αἱ ρύσεις τῶν εἰς τοῦτον ἐκπιστόντων ποταμῶν.

6 Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἠμῖν εἰρήθωσιν πρὸς τους ἀπίστους διακειμένους, εἰ δὲ χώνυσθαι νῦν καὶ χωσθήσεσθαι ποτε συμβήσεται τὸν Πόντον, καὶ λίμνη καὶ τέναγος

7 ἔσται τὸ τηλικοῦτον πέλαγος. ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον 404
distance exactly proportionate to the force of their currents. We must not at all refuse to believe in the extent of the bank at the mouth of the Danube and in the quantity of stones, timber, and earth carried down by the rivers in general. It would be folly to do so when we often see with our own eyes an insignificant torrent scooping out a bed and forcing its way through high ground, carrying down every kind of wood, stones, and earth and forming such vast deposits that the spot may in a short space of time be so changed in aspect as to be unrecognizable. 42. We should not therefore be surprised if such great rivers flowing continuously produce some such effect as I have stated, and finally fill up the Pontus; we must indeed anticipate this not as a probability but as a certainty if we reason rightly. The following is an indication of what may be expected. The Palus Maeotis is at present less salt than the Pontus, and we find that the Pontus correspondingly is decidedly less salt than the Mediterranean. From which it is evident that when a period has elapsed which stands to the time it takes to fill up the Palus Maeotis in the same proportion as the cubic capacity of the larger basin to that of the smaller, the Pontus will become, like the Palus Maeotis, a shallow fresh-water lake. We must indeed anticipate this result still earlier, since the rivers that fall into the Pontus are larger and more numerous.

What I have said may suffice to satisfy the doubts of those who are unwilling to believe that the Pontus is filling up and will be filled up, and that so large a sea will be converted into a shallow lake. But I speak especially in view
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

eirήσθω καὶ τῆς τῶν πλοῖορμένων ψευδολογίας καὶ τερατείας χάρων, ὅπερ μὴ παντὶ τῷ λεγομένῳ προσκεκχημέναι παιδικῶς ἀναγκαζόμεθα διὰ τὴν ἀπειρίαν, ἔχοντες δ’ ἵνα τῆς ἀληθείας ἐπὶ ποσὸν εἴς αὐτῶν ἐπικρίνειν δυνάμεθα τὸ λεγόμενον ὑπὸ των ἀληθῶς τούναντίου. ἔπει δὲ τὸ συνεχές τῆς εὐκαιρίας τῶν Βυζαντίων ἐπάνιμεν.

43 Τοῦ δὲ στόματος τοῦ τον Πόντον καὶ τῆν Προ-ποντίδα συναίτοντος ὄντος ἐκατόν εἰκοσι σταδίων τὸ μῆκος, καθάπερ ἁρτίως ἐπίπου, καὶ τοῦ μὲν Ἰεροῦ τὸ πρὸς τὸν Πόντον πέρας ὀρίζοντος, τοῦ δὲ κατὰ Βυζάντιον διαστήματος τὸ πρὸς τὴν Προ-ποντίδα, μεταξὺ τούτων ἐστὶν Ἑρμαιῶν τῆς Εὐ-ρώπης ἐπὶ προοιής τινος ἀκρωτηριαζοῦσης ἐν τῷ στόματι κείμενον, ὡς τῆς μὲν Ἀσίας ἀπέχει περὶ πέντε στάδια, κατὰ τὸν στενώτατον δὲ τὸν ἐπάρχει τοῦ παντὸς στόματος. ἦ γὰρ Δαρείου ζεύγαι φασὶ τὸν πόρον, καθ’ ὁ πόρον ἐποιεῖτο τὴν ἐπὶ Σκύθας διαβασίν. κατὰ μὲν δὴ τὸν ἄλλον τὸν παραπλῆσιός ἐστὶν ἡ φορὰ τοῦ ῥεμάτος διὰ τὴν ὀμιοῦσα τῶν παρ’ ἐκάτερον τὸ μέρος τῷ στόματι παρηκόντων τόπων. ἔπαιν δὲ εἰς τὸ τῆς Εὐρώπης Ἑρμαιῶν, ἡ στενώτατον ἐφαμεν εἰναι, φερόμενος ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου καὶ συγκλείομενος ὁ ρόης βίᾳ προσπέσῃ, τότε δὴ τραπεῖς ὑπερ ἀπὸ πληγῆς ἐμπίπτει τοῖς ἀντί-5 περας τῆς Ἀσίας τόποις. ἐκεῖθεν δὲ πάλιν, οἷον ἐξ ὑποστροφῆς, τὴν ἀνταπόδοσιν ποιεῖται πρὸς τὰ περὶ τὰς Ἐστίας ἀκρὰ καλούμενα τῆς Εὐρώπης. 6 δὴν αὖθις ὀρμήσας προσπίπτει πρὸς τὴν βοῦν καλομένην, ὥς ἐστὶ τῆς Ἀσίας τόπος, ἐφ’ ὁν ἐπιστήνατι φασὶ πρῶτον οἱ μῦθοι τῆν Ἰω περαιω-
of the falsehoods and sensational tales of seafarers, so that we may not be obliged owing to ignorance to listen greedily like children to anything that is told us, but having now some traces of the truth in our minds may be more or less able to form an independent judgement as to the truth or falsehood of the reports made by this or that person.

43. I must now resume my account of the specially favourable situation of Byzantium. The channel connecting the Pontus and the Propontis being a hundred and twenty stades in length, as I just said, the Holy Place marking its termination towards the Pontus and the strait of Byzantium that towards the Propontis, half way between these on the European side stands the Hermaeum on a promontory running out into the channel at a distance of about five stades from Asia and situated at the narrowest part of the whole. It is here, they say, that Darius bridged the straits when he crossed to attack the Scythians. Now the force of the current from the Pontus has been so far uniform owing to the similarity of the country on each bank of the channel, but when it reaches the Hermaeum on the European side, which is, as I said, the narrowest point, this current from the Pontus being confined and sweeping strongly against the headland, rebounds as if from a blow, and dashes against the opposite coast of Asia. It now again recoils from this coast and is carried against the promontory on the European bank known as the Hearths, from which its force is once more deflected to the place on the Asiatic bank called the Cow, where legend says that Io first
ΤΗΣ ΒΟΩ ἐπ', αὐτὸ φέρεται τὸ Βυζάντιον, περισχοιθείς δὲ περὶ τὴν πόλιν βραχὺ μὲν εἰς τὸν κόλπον αὐτοῦ διορίζει τὸν καλούμενον Κέρας, τὸ δὲ πλεῖον πάλιν ἀπονεύει. διευτονεῖ μὲν οὖν οὐκέτι δύναται πρὸς τὴν ἀντίπερας χώραν, ἐφ' ἂς ἐστὶ Καλχηδών· πλεονάκις γὰρ τὴν ἀνταπόδοσιν πεποιημένος καὶ τοῦ πόρου πλάτος ἔχοντος ἡδὴ περὶ τούτον τὸν τόπον ἐκλυόμενος ὁ Ῥώης οὐκέτι βραχείας πρὸς ὃξειάν γωνίαν ποιεῖται τάς ἀνακλάσεις ἐπὶ τὴν περαίαν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον πρὸς ἀμβλείαν, διόπερ ἀπολιπτῶν τὴν τῶν Καλχηδονίων πόλιν φέρεται διὰ πόρου. καὶ τὸ ποιοῦν τήν μὲν τῶν Βυζαντίων πόλιν εὐκαίροτάτην τὴν δὲ τῶν Καλχηδονίων τάναντια, τοῦτ' ἐστὶ τὸ νῦν ὄφημα εἰρημένον, καίπερ ἀπὸ τῆς ὀψεως ὄμοιας ἀμφοτέραις δοκούσης εἶναι τῆς θέσεως πρὸς τὴν 2 εὐκαιρίαν. ἀλλ' ὅμως εἰς τὴν μὲν βουληθέντα καταπλεῦσ' ὑπ' ῥάδιον, πρὸς ἥν δὲ, καὶ καὶ βούλῃ, φέρει κατ' ἀνάγκην ὁ Ῥώης, καθάπερ ἀρτίως εἰπο- 3 μεν. σημείων δὲ τούτου· ἐκ Καλχηδόνος γὰρ οἱ βουλόμενοι διαίρενες εἰς Βυζάντιον οὐ δύνανται πλεῖω κατ' εὐθείαν διὰ τὸν μεταξὺ Ῥῴον, ἀλλὰ παράγουσιν ἐπὶ τε τὴν Βοῦν καὶ τὴν καλούμενην 4 Χρυσόπολιν, ἄγων Αθηναίοι τότε κατασχόντες Ἀλκιβιάδου γνώμη, παραγωγίζειν ἐπεβάλοντο πρῶτον τοὺς εἰς Πόντον πλέοντας, τὸ δ' ἐμπροσθεν ἀφίασι κατὰ Ῥῴον, ὃς φέρονται κατ' ἀνάγκην πρὸς τὸ 5 Βυζάντιον. ὅμως δὲ τούτοις καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὸν ἐπὶ θάτερα πλοῦν ἐστὶ τῆς Βυζαντίων πόλεως. 6 ἀν τε γὰρ ἀφ' Ἐλλησπόντου τρέχῃ τις τοῖς νότοις ἂν τ' ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἐλλήσποντον ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου τοῖς
found a footing after crossing. Finally the current runs rapidly from the Cow to Byzantium itself, and dividing into two near the city, sends off its smaller branch into the gulf known as the Horn, while the larger branch is again deflected. It has however, no longer sufficient force to reach the coast opposite, on which stands Calchedon; for as it has now several times crossed and recrossed the channel, which here is already of considerable width, the current has now become feebler, and ceases to make short rebounds to the opposite coast at an acute angle, but is rather deflected at an obtuse angle. It therefore fails to reach Calchedon and flows out through the strait. 44. What therefore makes the situation of Byzantium so favourable and that of Calchedon the reverse is the fact here stated. To look at them indeed you would say they were equally well placed, but nevertheless it is not easy to reach Calchedon by sea, if one wishes, while to Byzantium the current carries one whether one wishes or not, as I just said. Evidence of this is that those who wish to cross from Calchedon to Byzantium cannot sail in a straight course owing to the current between, but steer obliquely for the Cow and the place called Chrysopolis—which the Athenians once occupied by the advice of Alcibiades and used it when they first attempted to levy toll on vessels bound for the Pontus—and from hence commit themselves to the current which perforce carries them to Byzantium. The approaches by sea to Byzantium from the other side are equally favourable. For those sailing with a south wind from the Hellespont, or from the Pontus to the
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

étpisois, para mèn tìn Eúrwptin ék tìs Buvantiwv pòleis órhos áma d' eúparaqómmatos èstw ó ploús èpì tìs Prppontídos stevà kat' "Aðvudon kai Sìstón, kákeiðhein ósauntìs pálin èpì tò Bv-7 tìsántion, àpò dè Kàlchidóvos para tìn 'Asiàv tànantìa toútois dià tò kolpàdò tòn paráploùn ùpárchwv kai pròteìneiv polû tìn tòn Kùzikhynâv
8 xwran. ἂφ' 'Ellhspónton vár fērómenvon eîs Kàlchidóna chrìsoathai tìpar para tìn Eúrwptin plêv, kápênta svnegglîizonta toîs kata Buvántion tòtopis kàmptwv kai pròstrêchew pròs tìn Kàlch-êdonâ dià tòn ròv kai tà pròeirímeména dvûxhères.

9 òmôiws dè pálwv èkplêononta pròstrêchev evthéous tì Thrákhe telews àðuñaton dià te tòn metaxû ròv kai dià te tòus ànémouvs ékâterous àntipíptewv
10 pròs àmphotéras tás èptibolás, èpethîrper eùságei mèn eîs tòn Pònton vótos èxâgei dè bòrèas, kai toûtois ànâgky chrìsothai pròs èkàterov tòn drómou toîs ànémouvs.

11 Tà mèn oûn tìn kata thàlattan evkairiân poioûnta Buvántiois taût' èstìn, tà dè tìn kata gîn àkairiân

45 tà melânta rðhòsèsthai. tìs gàr Thrákhe kúklw periechouvs autów tìn χwran ouûwos òsw' èk thalâttthès eîs thàlattan kathìkew aìdivn èxousi
2 pôlemov kai dvûxhè pròs toûtovs. ouûte gàr paraaskuvasâmenoi kai kràtchácos autów elisâpaç àpotrîpasaî tòn pôlemov oîoi t' eîsì dià tò plêthos
3 kai tòn òkllwv kai tòn dûnastwv' èâv [te] gàr èvòs perigènontai, trecís èpetháìnovon èpì tìn 4 toûtoùn χwran 'álloi barûteroi dûnástai. kai
Hellespont with the Etesian winds, find the course from Byzantium along the European coast to the commencement of the narrows at Sestus and Abydus a straight and easy one, and so is the return voyage to Byzantium. But the voyage from Calchedon along the Asiatic coast is the reverse of this, because one must follow the shores of a deep gulf, and the headland formed by the territory of Cyzicus runs out to a great distance. Nor can ships sailing from the Hellespont to Calchedon easily coast along Europe and then on approaching Byzantium turn and make for Calchedon, as the current and the circumstances mentioned above make it difficult. And similarly it is quite impossible for a ship leaving Calchedon to make the coast of Thrace at once owing to the current between, and owing to the wind. Both the south and north winds are adverse to both the attempts, since the south wind will carry one towards the Pontus and the north wind away from it, and these are the winds one must avail oneself of for the voyage from Calchedon to Hellespont or for the voyage back.

Such are the causes of the favourable position of Byzantium as regards the sea; its disadvantages on the land side being as follows. 45. As Thrace encompasses their territory so effectually as to extend from one sea to the other, they are engaged in perpetual and most difficult warfare with its inhabitants. They cannot on the one hand rid themselves of the war once for all by a carefully prepared attack resulting in victory, owing to the great number of the chieftains and their followers. For if they get the better of one, three other more powerful chieftains are sure to invade their territory.
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

μὴν οὖδ’ εἰξάντες καὶ συγκαταβάντες εἰς φόρους καὶ συνθήκας οὐδὲν ποιοῦσι πλέον· ἂν γὰρ ἐνὶ πρώνται τι, πενταπλασίους δι’ αὐτὸ τοῦτο πολεμὶς εὐρίσκουσι. διόπερ ἀδίψω συνέχονται καὶ δυσχερεὶς πολέμῳ· τι γὰρ ἐπισφαλέστερον ἀστυγεῖ-6 τονος καὶ βαρβάρου πολέμου; τί δεινότερον; οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τούτους τὸ παράπαν κακοῖς παλαίοντες κατὰ γῆν, χωρίς τῶν ἄλλων τῶν παρεπομένων τῷ πολέμῳ κακῶν, ὑπομένους τινα καὶ τιμωρίαν

7 Ταντάλειον κατὰ τὸν ποιητήν. ἔχοντες γὰρ χώραν γεναιοτάτην, ὅταν διαπονῆσωσι ταῦτην καὶ γέννηται τὸ τῶν καρπῶν πλῆθος τῶν κάλλει διαφέρον, κάπετα παραγενθέντες οἱ βάρβαροι τοὺς μὲν καταφθείρωσι τοὺς δὲ συναθροίσαντες ἀποφέρωσι,

8 τότε δή, χωρίς τῶν ἔργων καὶ τῆς δαπάνης, καὶ τὴν καταφθορὰν θεώμενοι διὰ τὸ κάλλος τῶν καρπῶν σχετλιάζοντι καὶ βαρέως φέρουσι τὸ συμβαίνου.

9 'Ἀλλ' ὅμως τὸν μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν Ἐορκῶν πόλεμον κατὰ τὴν συνήθειαν ἀναφέροντες ἐμενον ἐπὶ τῶν 10 ἔξις ἁρχῆς δικαίων πρὸς τοὺς Ἐλλήνας, προσεπιγενομένων δὲ Γαλατῶν αὐτοῖς τῶν περὶ Κομοντόριον

46 εἰς πᾶν ἕλθον περιστάσεως. οὕτω δέ ἐκινήσαν μὲν ἀμα τοῖς περὶ Βρέννων ἐκ τῆς οἰκείας, διαφυγόντες δὲ τὸν περὶ Δελφοὺς κίνδυνον καὶ παραγενόμενοι πρὸς τὸν Ἐλλησποντον εἰς μὲν τὴν Ἀσίαν οὐκ ἐπεραιώθησαν, αὐτοῦ δὲ κατέμεναν διὰ τὸ φιλοχωρῆσαι τοῖς περὶ τὸ Βυζάντιον τόποις. 2 οὗ καὶ κρατήσαντες τῶν Ἐορκῶν, καὶ κατασκευα-
Nor are they at all better off if they give way and agree to terms and the payment of tribute; for the very fact of their making concessions to one chief raises against them enemies many times more numerous. So that they are, as I said, involved in a warfare both perpetual and most difficult; for what can be more full of peril, what more terrible than a war with near neighbours who are at the same time barbarians? Nay, such being in general the adverse circumstances against which they have to struggle on land, they have in addition to the other evils attendant on war to suffer too something like the torments of Tantalus that Homer describes; for, owners as they are of a most fertile country, when they have carefully cultivated it and a superb harvest is the result, and when the barbarians now appear and destroy part of the crops, collecting and carrying off the rest, then indeed, apart from their lost toil and expense, the very beauty of the harvest when they witness its destruction adds to their indignation and distress.

In spite of all, however, they continued to bear the burden to which they had grown accustomed of the war with the Thracians, without departing from their ancient engagements to the Greek states. But when they were attacked also by the Gauls under Comontorius, they found themselves in very grave danger. 46. These Gauls had quitted their homes together with Brennus and his Gauls, and after escaping from the disaster at Delphi reached the Hellespont, where instead of crossing to Asia, they remained on the spot, as they took a fancy to the country near Byzantium. Here when they had conquered the Thracians and had established
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

σάμενοι βασιλείουν τὴν Τύλιν, εἰς ὀλοσχερὴ κίνδυνον

3 ἢγον τοὺς Βυζαντίους. κατὰ μὲν οὖν τὰς ἀρχὰς ἐν ταῖς ἐφόδοις αὐτῶν, ταῖς κατὰ Κομοντόριον τὸν πρῶτον βασιλεύσαντα, δῶρα διετέλουν οἱ Βυζαντίοι διδόντες ἀνὰ τρισχιλίους καὶ πεντακισχιλίους, ποτὲ δὲ καὶ μυρίους χρυσοὺς, ἐφ’ ὧ μὴ καταφθείρειν

4 τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν. τέλος δ’ ἤναγκασθήσαν ὅγδοι· κοντα τάλαντα συγχωρῆσαι φόρον τελείν κατ’ ἐναυτὸν ἑως εἰς Καύαρον, ἐφ’ οὗ κατελύθη μὲν ἡ βασιλεία, τὸ δὲ γένος αὐτῶν ἐξεφθάρη πάν ὑπὸ

5 Ὄρακῶν ἐκ μεταβολῆς ἐπικρατηθέν. ἐν οἷς καροῖς ὑπὸ τῶν φόρων πιεζούμενοι τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὑπερσβευν πρὸς τοὺς Ἑλλήνας, δεόμενοι σφίσι βοήθειν καὶ συγχωρήσειν εἰς τοὺς περιστώτας καρόις.

6 τῶν δὲ πλείστων παρολιγωροῦντων ἐνεχείρησαν ἀπαναγκασθέντες παραγωγιάζειν τοὺς εἰς τὸν

47 Πόντον πλέοντας. μεγάλης δὲ γενομένης τῆς ἀλυστελείας καὶ δυσχρηστίας πᾶσιν ἐκ τοῦ τέλος πράττεν τοὺς Βυζαντίους τῶν ἐξαγομένων ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου, δεινόν ἤγοντο, καὶ πάντες ἐνεκάλουν οἱ πλοίζομενοι τοῖς Ὀδυσσείδαι διὰ τὸ δοκεῖν τούτοις 2 προεστάναι τῶν κατὰ θάλατταν. ἐξ οὗ συνέβη φύναι τὸν πόλεμον υπὲρ οὗ νῦν ἡμεῖς ἱστορεῖν μέλλομεν.

3 Οἱ γὰρ Ὀδυσσεΐδαι συνεξεγερθέντες ἀμα μὲν διὰ τὴν σφετέραν βλάβην ἀμα δὲ καὶ διὰ τῆς τὸν πέλας ἐλάττωσιν, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον παραλαβόντες τοὺς συμμάχους ἐπρέσβευν πρὸς τοὺς Βυζαντίους, ἀξιοῦντες καταλύσεως αὐτῶν τὸ παραγώγων· 4 οὐκ ἐντρεπομένων δὲ τοῖς ὀλοίς, ἀλλὰ πεπεισμένων δίκαια λέγειν ἐκ τῆς ἀντικαταστάσεως τῆς γενομένης παρ’ αὐτοῖς τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἐκατόδωρον καὶ 414
their capital at Tylis, they placed the Byzantines in extreme danger. At first, during the inroads made under Comontorius the first king, the Byzantines continued to pay on each occasion three thousand, five thousand, and sometimes even ten thousand gold pieces to save their territory from being laid waste, and finally they were compelled to consent to pay an annual tribute of eighty talents down to the reign of Cavarus, during which the kingdom came to an end and the whole tribe were in their turn conquered by the Thracians and annihilated. It was in these times that, being hard pressed by the tribute, they at first sent embassies to the Greeks imploring them to help them and contribute to relieve them in their distress and danger. But when most states paid no attention to their solicitations they were driven by sheer necessity to begin exacting duties from vessels trading with the Pontus.

47. When general inconvenience and loss of profit was caused by the Byzantines levying duties on exports from the Pontus, all the traders were aggrieved and brought their complaint before the Rhodians who were considered the supreme authority in maritime matters. This was the origin of the war the history of which I am about to tell.

For the Rhodians, roused to action by the loss they suffered themselves and the detriment to neighbouring states, at first together with their allies sent an embassy to Byzantium demanding the abolition of the duty. The Byzantines were not disposed to make any concession, being convinced of the justice of their cause by the terms in which Hecatodorus and Olympiodorus, their chief magis-
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

Ολυμπιώδωρος πρὸς τοὺς τῶν Ροδίων πρεσβευτὰς
5 (οὗτοι γὰρ τὸτε προέστασαν τοῖς τῶν Βυζαντίων πολιτεύματος), τότε μὲν ἀπηλλάγησαν οἱ Ρόδιοι
6 περάναντες οὐδέν, ἐπανελθόντες δὲ τὸν πόλεμον ἐψηφίσαντο τοῖς Βυζαντίοις διὰ τὰς προειρημένας
7 αἰτίας. καὶ παραντίκα πρεσβευτὰς ἐξαπέστελλον
πρὸς Προσιάν παρακαλοῦντες καὶ τοῦτον εἰς τὸν πόλεμον. ἦδεσαν γὰρ τὸν Προσίαν παρα-
48 τριβόμενον ἐκ τινῶν πρὸς τοὺς Βυζαντίους. τὸ
dὲ παραπλήσιον ἐποίοιν καὶ Βυζαντίους. πρὸς τε
gὰρ Ἀτταλοῦ καὶ πρὸς Ἀχαίον ἐπέμπουν πρέσβειος,
2 δεόμενοι σφίσι βοηθεῖν. δὲ μὲν οὖν Ἀτταλος ἦν
πρόθυμος, εἰ σὰρξ δὲ βραχείαν τότε ῥοτὴν ὡς ἄν υπ᾿
Ἀχαιοῦ συνεληλαμένος εἰς τὴν πατρίδα ἀρχὴν·
3 δὲ Ἀχαίος κρατῶν μὲν τῆς ἐπὶ τάδε τοῦ Ταύρου,
βασιλέα δὲ προσφάτως αὐτὸν ἀναδεδειχώς ἐπηγ-
4 γέλλετο βοηθήσειν, ὑπάρχων δὲ ἐπὶ ταύτης τῆς
προαιρέσεως τοὺς μὲν Βυζαντίους μεγάλην ἐλπίδα
παρεσκεύαζε, τοῖς δὲ Ῥοδίους καὶ Προσίαν τὰ-
5 ναντία κατάπληξεν. Ἀχαῖος γὰρ ἦν μὲν Ἀντιό-
χου συγγενής τοῦ παρεληφτός τῆς ἐν Συρίᾳ
βασιλείαν, ἐγκράτης δὲ ἐγένετο τῆς προειρημένης
6 δυναστείας διὰ τινὰς τοιαύτας αἰτίας. Σελεύκου
μεταλλάξαντος τῶν βιῶν, δὲ ἦν Ἀντιόχου τοῦ
προειρημένου πατήρ, διαδεξαμένου δὲ τῆς βασιλείας
Σελεύκου πρεσβυτάτου τῶν νεῶν, ἀμα τοῦτο διὰ
τὴν οἰκείωτητα συνυπερέβαλε τὸν Ταύρον δυσὶ
μάλιστα τῶς ἐτεσὶ προτέρου τῶν νῦν λεγομένων
7 καυρῶν. Σελευκος γὰρ ὁ νέος ὡς βάττον παρέλαβε
τὴν βασιλείαν, πυθανόμενος Ἀτταλοῦ πᾶσαν
EEDED R UML 416
trates at the time, replied to the Rhodian envoys. The Rhodians therefore took their departure without having accomplished anything, and on their return war was declared by Rhodes on Byzantium for the reasons above stated. They at once sent envoys to Prusias pressing him to take part in the war, for they knew that for various reasons he was offended with the Byzantines. 48. The Byzantines took similar measures, sending envoys asking for help to Attalus and Achaeus. Attalus was heartily disposed to help, but his support at this time was of very little weight, as he had been confined within the limits of his ancestral dominions by Achaeus. But Achaeus, who was now master of all the country on this side of the Taurus and had recently assumed the royal title, promised his aid, and his decision to do so greatly raised the hopes of the Byzantines, while on the contrary, it alarmed Prusias and the Rhodians. Achaeus was a relative of that Antiochus who had just succeeded to the throne of Syria and had acquired the dominion I stated by the following means. When on the death of Seleucus, father of this Antiochus, his eldest son Seleucus succeeded him, Achaeus in his quality of a kinsman accompanied the king on his expedition across the Taurus about two years before the time I am speaking of. For the young Seleucus, immediately on ascending the throne, having learnt that Attalus had appropriated all his dominions on this side Taurus hastened there to defend his interests. He crossed
8 ροις πράγμασιν, ὑπερβαλὼν δὲ μεγάλη δυνάμει τὸν Ταύρον, καὶ δολοφονηθεὶς ὑπὸ τε Ἀπατουρίου τοῦ Γαλάτου καὶ Νικάνορος, μετῆλλαξε τὸν βιόν.

9 Ἀχαῖος δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἀναγκαίοτητα τὸν φόνον αὐτοῦ μετῆλθε παραχρῆμα, τοὺς περὶ τὸν Νικάνορα καὶ τὸν Ἀπατουρίου ἀποκτείνας, τῶν τε δυνάμεων καὶ τῶν ολίων πραγμάτων φρονύμως καὶ μεγαλ-

10 ψύχως προεστῇ. τῶν γὰρ καιρῶν παρόντων αὐτῶ καὶ τῆς τῶν όχλων ὀρμῆς συνεργούσης εἰς τὸ διάδημα περιθέσατι, τούτῳ μὲν οὐ προείλετο ποιήσαι, τηρῶν δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν Ἀντιόχω τῷ νεωτέρῳ τῶν υἱῶν, ἐνεργῶς ἐπιπορευόμενος ἀνεκτάτο τὴν ἐπὶ τάδε τοῦ Ταύρου πάσαν. τῶν δὲ πραγμάτων αὐτῶ παραδόξως εὐροοῦντων, ἐπεὶ τὸν μὲν Ἀτταλον εἰς αὐτὸ τὸ Πέργαμον συνέκλεισε τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν πάντων ἡ ἐγκρατής, ἐπαρθεὶς τοῖς εὐτυχήμασι παρὰ πόδας ἐξώκειλε, καὶ διάδημα περιθέμενος καὶ βασιλέα προσαγορεύσας αὐτὸν βαρύτατος ἢ τότε καὶ φοβερῶτατος τῶν ἐπὶ τάδε τοῦ Ταύρου βασιλέως καὶ δυναστῶν ὦ καὶ μάλιστα τότε Βυζάντιοι πιστεύσαντες ἀνεδέξαντο τὸν πρὸς τοὺς Ῥόδιους καὶ Προούσιαν πόλεμον.

49 Ὅ δὲ Προούσιας ἐνεκάλει μὲν πρότερον τοῖς Βυζάντιοις ὅτι ὑψίσταμένων τινὰς εἰκόνας αὐτοῦ ταύτας οὐχ ἀνετίθεσαν ἀλλ' εἰς ἐπισυμμόν καὶ λήθην ἅγωιν, δυσηρέστει δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ πάσαν προσενέγκασθαι φιλονεικίαν εἰς τὸ διαλύσαι τὴν Ἀχαίον πρὸς Ἀτταλον ἐχθραν καὶ τὸν πόλεμον, νομίζων κατὰ πόλλος τρόποις ἀλυσιτελὴ τοῖς αὐτοῦ πράγμασιν ὑπάρχειν τὴν ἑκείνων φιλίαν.

3 ἡρέθιζε δ' αὐτὸν καὶ τὸ δοκεῖν Βυζάντιοι πρὸς μὲν Ἀτταλον εἰς τοὺς τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἁγώνας τοὺς.
the Taurus at the head of a great army, but perished assassinated by the Gaul Apaturius and Nicanor. Achaeus, as his kinsman, at once avenged his murder by putting Nicanor and Apaturius to death, and taking the command of the army and the direction of affairs in his hands, conducted both with prudence and magnanimity. For though the opportunity was favourable and he was eagerly urged by the troops to assume the diadem, he decided not to do so, and holding the throne for the younger brother Antiochus, advanced energetically and recovered the whole of the country on this side of Taurus. But when he met with a success that surpassed his expectations, having shut up Attalus in Pergamus itself and made himself master of all the rest of the country he was so elated by his good fortune that in a very short space of time he swerved clean away from rectitude, and having assumed the diadem and styled himself king he was at this moment the most imposing and formidable of all the kings and potentates on this side Taurus. This was the man on whom the Byzantines most relied when they undertook the war against Rhodes and Prusias.

49. One of Prusias's grievances against the Byzantines was that after having voted certain statues of him they had never erected them, but had neglected and finally forgotten the matter. He was likewise displeased with them for having employed every effort to reconcile Achaeus with Attalus and put an end to the war between them, thinking that a friendship between these two princes was in many ways prejudicial to his own interests. He was also irritated because it was said that the Byzantines had sent to Attalus representatives to take part in the
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

συνθύσονται ἐξαπεσταλκέναι, πρὸς αὐτὸν δ’ εἰς
4 τὰ Σωτηρία μηδένα πεπομφέναι. διόπερ ἐκ πάντων
tούτων ὑποικουρομένης παρ’ αὐτῷ τῆς ὀργῆς
ἀσμενὸς ἐπελάβετο τῆς τῶν Ῥωδίων προφάσεως,
kαὶ συγκαταθέμενος τοῖς προσβευταῖς ἐκείνους
μὲν ὦτοι δεῖν κατὰ θάλατταν πολεμεῖν, αὐτὸς δὲ
κατὰ γῆν οὐκ ἐλάττω βλάφειν ἔδοξε τοὺς ὑπεναν-
tίους.
5 ο’ μὲν οὖν Ῥωδίων πρὸς Βυζαντίους πόλεμος
50 διὰ ταύτα καὶ τοιαύτην ἔλαβε τῆν ἀρχήν· οἱ δὲ
Βυζαντίου τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐρρωμένων ἐπολέμουν,
pεπεισμένου τὸν μὲν Ἀχαίων σφίσι βοηθεῖν, αὐτοὶ
dὲ τὸν Τιβότην ἐκ τῆς Μακεδονίας ἐπαγαγόντες
ἀντιπεριστήσεωι Προσφία φόβους καὶ κυωνίους,
2 δὲ κατὰ τὴν προειρήμενην ὀρμήν πολεμῶν παρ-
eἰλετοὶ μὲν αὐτῶν τὸ καλούμενον ἐπὶ τοῦ στόματος
3 Ἰερόν, ὁ Βυζαντίων μικροίς ἀνώτερον χρόνοις
μεγάλων ὑνησάμενοι χρημάτων ἐσφετερίσαντο διὰ
tὴν εὐκαιρίαν τοῦ τόπου, βουλόμενοι μηδεμίαν
ἀφορμῆς μηδενὶ καταλιπέιν μήτε κατὰ τῶν εἰς
tὸν Πόντον πλεοντῶν ἐμπόρων μήτε περὶ τοὺς
dούλους καὶ τὰς ἐς αὐτῆς τῆς θαλάττης ἑργασίας,
4 παρείλετο δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀσίας χώραν, ἢν
cατείχον Βυζαντίων τῆς Μυσίας πολλοὺς ἢδη
5 χρόνον. οἱ δὲ Ῥώδιων πληρώσαντες ναῦς ἐξ, ἀμα
δὲ ταύτας παρὰ τῶν συμμάχων προσλαβόντες
tέσσαρας, καὶ ναύαρχον προχειρισάμενον Ἐπιφαντον,
6 ἐπέλευν ἐφ’ Ἑλλησπόντου δέκα ναυσίν. καὶ ταῖς
μὲν λοιπάς ὀρμώντες περὶ Σηστοῦ ἐκώλυν τοὺς
πλέοντας εἰς τὸν Πόντον, μιὰ δ’ ἐκπλεύσας ὁ
ναύαρχος κατεπέφραζε τῶν Βυζαντίων, εἰ πως ἢδη
7 μεταμέλουντο καταπεπληγμένοι τὸν πόλεμον. τῶν
BOOK IV. 49. 3–50. 7

sacrifice held at the festival of Athene, whereas they had sent none to himself when he celebrated the Soteria. Therefore as he continued to nurse resentment for all these offences, he gladly availed himself of the pretext offered by the Rhodians and came to an agreement with their envoys demanding that they should undertake to carry on the war by sea, while he himself hoped to be able to damage the enemy no less severely on land.

Such were the causes and such was the beginning of the war between Rhodes and Byzantium. 50. The Byzantines at first fought with great vigour, being confident that Achaeus would come to help them and trusting by bringing Tiboetes from Macedonia to throw Prusias in his turn into alarm and peril. For Prusias having begun the war with the feelings I have indicated had taken the place called “The Holy Place” on the Bosporus, which a few years previously they had acquired by purchase for a large sum, owing to its favourable situation, as they did not wish to leave anyone any base from which to attack traders with the Pontus or interfere with the slave-trade or the fishing. He had also seized their Asiatic territory, a part of Mysia which had long been in their possession. The Rhodians, manning six ships and getting four others from the allies, appointed Xenophantus admiral and sailed for the Hellespont with the ten ships. Anchoring the rest off Sestos to prevent the passage of vessels bound for the Pontus, the admiral left in one to find out if the Byzantines were already sufficiently alarmed at the war to have changed their minds.
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

δ' οὐ προσεχόντων ἀπέπλευσε καὶ παραλαβὼν τὰς λυπὰς ναῦς ἀπήρε πάσαις εἰς τὴν Ἦρωδον. οἱ δὲ Βυζάντιοι πρὸς τὸν Ἀχαιῶν ἐπεμπὸν ἀξιούντες βοηθεῖν, ἔπὶ τε τὸν Τιβούτην ἐξαπέστελλον τοὺς ἄξωνας αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς Μακεδονίας· ἐδόκει γὰρ οὐχ ἦττον ἢ Βιθυνῶν ἄρχῃ Τιβούτη καθήκειν ἡ Προσία διὰ τὸ πατρὸς ἀδελφὸν αὐτὸν ὑπάρχειν τῷ Προσίᾳ.

οἱ δὲ Ἦρωδοι θεωροῦντες τὴν τῶν Βυζάντων ὑπόστασιν, πραγματικῶς διενοθήσαν πρὸς τὸ καθικέσθαι τῆς προθέσεως. ὅρωντες γὰρ τὸ συν-έχον τοῖς Βυζάντιοις τῆς ὑπομονῆς τοῦ πολέμου κέμενον ἐν ταῖς κατὰ τὸν Ἀχαιῶν ἐλπίσιν, θεωροῦν-τες δὲ τὸν πατέρα τὸν Ἀχαῖοι κατεχόμενον ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ, τόν δὲ Ἀχαιῶν περὶ πλείστου ποιού-μενον τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς σωτηρίαν, ἐπεβάλλοντο πρεσβεύειν πρὸς τὸν Πτολεμαῖον καὶ παρατείνοντο τὸν Ἀνδρόμαχον, καὶ πρότερον μὲν ἐκ παρέργου τοῦτο πεποιηκότες, τότε δ' ἀληθῶς σπεύδοντες ὑπὲρ τοῦ πράγματος, ἵνα προσενεγκάμενοι πρὸς τὸν Ἀχαιῶν τὴν χάριν ταῦτην ὑπόχρεων αὐτὸν ποιῆσονται πρὸς πᾶν τὸ παρακαλοῦμενον. ὁ δὲ Πτολεμαῖος παραγενομένων τῶν πρεσβευὼν ἐβούλευτο μὲν παρακατέχειν τὸν Ἀνδρόμαχον, ἐλπίζων αὐτῷ χρήσεθαι πρὸς καυρὸν διὰ τὸ τά τε πρὸς τὸν Ἁντίωρα ἀκριτα μένειν αὐτῷ, καὶ τὸ τὸν Ἀχαῖον ἀναδειχότα προσφάτως αὐτὸν βασιλέα πραγμάτων ἐπήιναι κύριον ἱκανῶν τινῶν· ἢ γὰρ Ἀνδρόμαχος Ἀχαιῶν μὲν πατήρ, ἀδελφὸς δὲ Λαδίκης τῆς Σελεύκου γυναικὸς. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ προσκλίνων τοῖς Ἀρωδίοις ὁ Πτολεμαῖος κατὰ τὴν ὠλὴν αἴρεσιν, καὶ πάντα σπεύδων χαρίζεσθαι, συνεχώρησε καὶ παρ-έδωκε τὸν Ἀνδρόμαχον αὐτοῖς ἀποκομίζειν ὡς τὸν 422
But as they paid no attention to his overtures, he sailed away and picking up the rest of his ships, left for Rhodes with the whole squadron. The Byzantines kept on sending to Achaeus, demanding succour, and sent a mission to bring Tiboetes from Macedonia; for Tiboetes was considered to have just as good a claim to the throne of Bithynia as Prusias, as he was his uncle on the father's side. The Rhodians seeing that the Byzantines stood firm, thought of a plan for attaining their purpose likely to prove very efficient. 51. For observing that the chief cause of the Byzantines' resolute endurance of the war lay in their hopes of support from Achaeus, and knowing that Achaeus' father was a prisoner at Alexandria and that Achaeus above all things desired his deliverance, they decided to send an embassy to Ptolemy begging him to give up Andromachus. They had indeed previously made this request without insisting much on it, but now they pressed it most seriously, in order that by doing this favour to Achaeus they might put him under such an obligation that he would do all they demanded. Ptolemy, on the arrival of the embassy, deliberated as to retaining Andromachus, whom he hoped to make use of at the proper time, considering that his differences with Antiochus had not yet been decided, and that Achaeus, who had just proclaimed himself king, could exercise a decisive influence in certain important matters; for Andromachus was Achaeus' father and brother of Laodice the wife of Seleucus. But nevertheless, as his sympathies in general were with the Rhodians and he was anxious to do them any favour, he yielded and gave up Andromachus
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

6 νίὸν. οἱ δ' ἐπιτελεσάμενοι τοῦτο, καὶ προσεπιμετρήσαντες τοῖς περὶ τὸν 'Αχαϊον τιμᾶς τινας, παρείλαντο τὴν ὀλοσχερεστάτην ἐλπίδα τῶν Βυζαν-
7 τίων. συνεκύρησε δὲ τι καὶ ἐτερον τοῖς Βυζαντίοις ἄτοπον' ὁ γὰρ Τιβοίτης καταγόμενος ἐκ τῆς Μακεδονίας ἔσφηλε τὰς ἐπιβολὰς αὐτῶν, μετ-
8 αλλάξας τὸν βίον. οὐ συμβάντος οἱ μὲν Βυζάντιοι ταῖς ὀρμαῖς ἀνέπεσον, ὁ δὲ Προυσίας ἐπιρρωσθεῖς ταῖς πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἐλπίζον ἀμα μὲν αὐτὸς ἀπὸ τῶν κατ᾽ Ἀσίαν μερῶν ἐπολέμει καὶ προσέκειτο τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐνεργῶς, ἀμα δὲ τοὺς Θράκας μυσθωσάμενος οὐκ εἰα τὰς πύλας ἐξείναι τοὺς Βυζαντίους ἀπὸ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Εὐρώπην μερῶν.
9 οἱ δὲ Βυζάντιοι τῶν σφετέρων ἐλπίδων ἐφευσμένοι, τῷ πολέμῳ πιονύντες πανταχόθεν, ἐξαγωγῆν
52 περείβλεπον εὐσχήμονα τῶν πραγμάτων. Κανάροι ν δὲ τοῦ τῶν Γαλατῶν βασιλέως παραγενομένου πρὸς τὸ Βυζάντιον καὶ σπουδάζοντος διαλύσαι τὸν πόλεμον καὶ διεχοντος τὰς χείρας φιλοτίμως, συνεχώρησαν τοῖς παρακαλουμένοις ὁ τε Προυσίας
2 οἱ τε Βυζάντιοι. πυθόμενοι δ' οἱ 'Ροδίου τὴν τε τοῦ Κανάρου σπουδὴν καὶ τὴν ἐντροπὴν τοῦ Προυσίου, σπουδάζοντες δὲ καὶ τὴν αὐτῶν πρόθεσιν ἐπὶ τέλος ἀγαγεῖν, προσβεβην μὲν Ἀριδίκην προεχερίσαντο πρὸς τοὺς Βυζαντίους, Πολεμοκλῆ
δὲ τρεῖς ἔχοντα τριήρεις ὄμοι συναπέστειλαν,
3 βουλόμενοι, τὸ δὲ λεγόμενον, καὶ τὸ δόρυ καὶ τὸ κηρύκειον ἀμα πέμπει τοὺς Βυζαντίους. 4 ἐπιφανέντων δὲ τούτων ἐγένοντο διαλύσεις ἐπὶ Κώθωνος τοῦ Καλλιγείτονος ἐρομνημονοῦντος ἐν
5 τῷ Βυζαντίῳ, πρὸς μὲν 'Ροδίους ἀπλαί, Βυζαντίους μὲν μηδένα πράττειν τὸ διαγώγιον τῶν εἰς τὸν
424
to them to conduct back to his son. Having accomplished this and in addition conferred certain honours on Achaeus they deprived the Byzantines of their most important source of hope. At the same time the Byzantines met with another mischance; for Tiboetes on his way from Macedonia foiled their hopes by his death, upon which the Byzantines relaxed their efforts, while Prusias, fortified in his expectations of success in the war, at one and the same time was himself attacking the enemy from Asia with his whole energy, and on the European side, by hiring the services of the Thracians, prevented the Byzantines from venturing out of their gates. The Byzantines, all their hopes being now defeated, were suffering on all sides from the war and began to look about for an honourable solution of the questions at issue. 52. Accordingly when Cavarus, the Gallic king, came to Byzantium and did his best to put an end to the war, intervening heartily to part the combatants, both Prusias and the Byzantines yielded to his exhortations. The Rhodians, on hearing of Cavarus’s efforts and Prusias’s compliance and being anxious to effect their purpose at once, appointed Aridices as envoy to Byzantium and at the same time dispatched Polemocles with three triremes, wishing, as we say, to send the Byzantines the spear and the herald’s staff at once.\* Upon their appearance treaties were made in the year of Cothon, son of Calligeiton, hieromnemon\*\* in Byzantium, that with the Rhodians being simple and as follows: “The Byzantines engage not to levy toll on ships bound

* That is, war and peace; the iron hand in the velvet glove.
\*\* The eponymous annual magistrate.
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

Πόντον πλεόντων, 'Ροδίους δὲ καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους τούτου γενομένου τὴν εἰρήνην ἀγεν πρὸς Βυζαν-
τίους, πρὸς δὲ Προυσίαν τοιαίδε τινές, εἶναι Πρου-
σία καὶ Βυζαντίους εἰρήνην καὶ φιλίαν εἰς τὸν ἀπαντὰ χρόνον, μὴ στρατευέως δὲ μητὲ Βυζαντίους ἐπὶ Προυσίαν τρόπω μηδὲν μητὲ Προυσίαν ἐπὶ
7 Βυζαντίους, ἀποδοῦναι δὲ Προυσίαν Βυζαντίους τὰς τε χώρας καὶ τὰ φρούρια καὶ τοὺς λαοὺς καὶ τὰ πολεμικὰ σώματα χωρίς λύτρων, πρὸς δὲ τούτους τὰ πλοία τὰ κατ᾽ ἀρχὰς ληφθέντα τοῦ πολέμου καὶ τὰ βέλη τὰ καταληφθέντ᾽ εἰ τοῖς ἐρυμασὶν, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐξιλα καὶ τὴν λυθίαν καὶ τὸν κέραμον τὸν ἐκ τοῦ Ἰεροῦ χωρίου (ὁ γὰρ
8 Προυσίας, ἀγωνιῶν τὴν τοῦ Τιβούτου κάθοδον, πάντα καθελε τὰ δοκοῦντα τῶν φρουρίων εὐ-
9 καίρως πρὸς τι σείσθαι). ἐπαναγκάσαι δὲ Προυσίαν καὶ ὅσα τινὲς τῶν Βιθυνίων εἰχον ἐκ τῆς Μυσίας χώρας τῆς ύπὸ Βυζαντίους ταπτομένης ἀποδοῦναι τοῖς γεωργοῖς.
10 Ὁ μὲν οὖν 'Ροδίους καὶ Προυσία πρὸς Βυζαντίους συστάσ πόλεμος τοιαύτας ἐλαβὲ τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ
53 τὸ τέλος: κατὰ δὲ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον Κυνωσίων πρεσβεύσαντες πρὸς 'Ροδίους ἔπεισαν τὰς τε μετὰ Πολεμοκλέους ναῦς καὶ τρία τῶν ἀφράκτων προσ-
2 κατασπάσαντας αὐτοῖς ἀποστέλλαι. γενομένου δὲ τούτου καὶ τῶν πλοίων ἀφικομένων εἰς τὴν Κρήτην, καὶ ἐχόντων ὑποψίαν τῶν Ἐλευθερναίων ὅτι τὸν πολίτην αὐτῶν Τιμαρχον οἱ περὶ τὸν Πολεμοκλῆς χαριζόμενου τοῖς Κυνωσίοις ἀνηρίκασι, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ῥύσια κατηγγειλαν τοῖς 'Ροδίους, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πόλεμον ἐξήνεγκαν.
3 Περιέπεσον δὲ καὶ Λύττωι βραχὺ πρὸ τοῦτων τῶν 426
for the Pontus, and on this condition the Rhodians
and their allies shall be at peace with the Byzantines."
The terms they made with Prusias were these:
"There is to be peace and friendship for all time
between Prusias and the Byzantines and in no
manner are the Byzantines to make war on Prusias
or Prusias on the Byzantines. Prusias is to give up
to the Byzantines the lands, the fortresses, the people,
and the slaves taken from the enemy free from
ransom, and in addition the ships taken at the outset
of the war, the missiles captured in the forts;
likewise the timbers, building stones, and tiles taken
from the Holy Place"—for Prusias, dreading the
return of Tiboetes, had destroyed all strong places
that seemed favourably situated for any hostile
design—"Prusias is to compel any Bithynians
occupying lands in that part of Mysia subject to
Byzantium to give these up to the farmers."

53. Such was the beginning and such the end of
the war of Prusias and the Rhodians with Byzantium.
At about the same time the Cnossians sent an
embassy to the Rhodians and persuaded them to
send the squadron under Polemocles to them with
three undecked vessels in addition. Upon this, when
the fleet arrived in Crete, the people of Eleuthernae,
conceiving a suspicion that Polemocles to please the
Cnossians had killed Timarchus one of their citizens,
first of all proclaimed reprisals against the Rhodians
and next made open war on them.

A little before this the people of Lyttus had met
καὶ ρων ἀνηκέστω συμφορᾶ. καθόλου γὰρ τὰ κατὰ τὴν σύμπασαν Κρήτην ὑπῆρχεν ἐν τοιαύτῃ τῷ τότε
καταστάσει. Κυνώσσοισι συμφρονήσαντες Γορτυνίοις
πᾶσαν ἐπούσαντο τὴν Κρήτην ὑφ' αὐτούς πλὴν τῆς
Λυττίων πόλεως, μόνης δὲ ταύτης ἀπειθοῦσης
ἐπεβάλοντο πολεμεῖν, σπεύδοντες αὐτὴν εἰς τέλος
ἀνάστατον ποιῆσαι καὶ παραδείγματος καὶ φόβου
χάριν τῶν ἄλλων Κρηταῖων. τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον
ἐπολέμουν πάντες οἱ Κρηταῖοι τοῖς Λυττίοις·
ἐγγενομένης δὲ φιλοτιμίας ἐκ τῶν τυχόντων,
ὅπερ ἔθος ἐστὶ Κρητῆν, ἐστασίασαν πρὸς τοὺς
ｧλλοὺς, καὶ Πολυρρήνιοι μὲν καὶ Κερέται καὶ
Λαππαῖοι πρὸς δὲ τούτους Ὄρμοι μετ’ Ἀρκάδων
ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἀποστάντες τῆς τῶν Κυνώσσων φυλίας
ἐγνωσαν τοῖς Λυττίοις συμμαχεῖν, τῶν δὲ Γορτυνίων
οἱ μὲν πρεσβύτατοι τὰ τῶν Κυνώσσων οἱ δὲ
νεώτεροι τὰ τῶν Λυττίων αἱροῦμενοι διεστάσασαν
ἐπρὸς ἄλληλους. οἱ δὲ Κυνώσσοι, παραδόξου γεγο-
νότος αὐτοῖς τοῦ περὶ τοὺς συμμάχους κυνήματος,
ἐπιστῶνται χιλίους ἕξι Αἰτωλίας ἄνδρας κατὰ
συμμαχίαν. οὐ γενομένου παρατίκα τῶν Γορτυ-
νίων οἱ πρεσβύτεροι καταλαμβανόμενοι τὴν ἄκραν
eἰσάγονται τοὺς τὰ Κυνώσσους καὶ τοὺς Αἰτωλούς,
kαὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐξέβαλον τοὺς δ’ ἀπέκτειναν τῶν νέων,
54 τὴν δὲ πόλιν ἑνεχείρουν τοῖς Κυνώσσοις. κατὰ
dὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς καιροὺς Λυττίων ἐξωδεικτῶν εἰς
tὴν πολεμίαν πανδημεί, συννοήσαντες οἱ Κυνώσσοι
tὸ γεγονός καταλαμβάνοντα τὴν Λύττων ἔρημον
οὐσαν τῶν βοηθησόντων· καὶ τὰ μὲν τέκνα καὶ
τὰς γυναῖκας εἰς Κυνώσσον ἀπέτεμψαν, τὴν δὲ
pόλιν ἐμπρήσαντες καὶ κατασκάψαντες καὶ ἱωβη-
3 σάμενοι κατὰ πάντα τρόπον ἐπανήλθον. οἱ δὲ
428
with an irremediable disaster. The general condition of affairs in Crete had been as follows. The Cnossians in alliance with the Gortynians had subjected the whole of Crete with the exception of Lyttus. This being the only city that refused obedience, they undertook a war against it with the object of its final extermination as an example and terror to the rest of Crete. At first all the Cretans took part in the war against Lyttus, but jealousy having sprung up from some trifling cause, as is common with the Cretans, some separated from the rest, the people of Polyrhrenia, Ceraeae, Lappa, Horium, and Arcadia a unanimously abandoning the alliance with Cnossus and deciding to take the part of Lyttus, while Gortyna was in a state of civil war, the elder citizens taking the part of Cnossus and the younger that of Lyttus. The Cnossians, whom these disturbances among their allies took by surprise, obtained the assistance of a thousand Aetolians in virtue of their alliance, and once these had arrived the elder Gortynians, seizing the citadel and introducing the Cnossians and Aetolians, exiled or put to death the younger men and delivered the city to the Cnossians. 54. At about the same time the Lyttians having left with their whole force for an expedition into the enemy's country, the Cnossians getting word of it seized on Lyttus which was left without defenders, and having sent off the women and children to Cnossus, and burnt, demolished, and in every way they could wrecked the town, returned

a The town in Crete of that name.
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

Δύττιοι παραγενόμενοι πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐξοδείας, καὶ συνθεασάμενοι τὸ συμβεβηκός, οὕτως περιπαθεῖς ἐγένοντο ταῖς ψυχαῖς ὥστε μηδὲ εἰσελθένη μηδένα τολμήσαι τῶν παρόντων εἰς τὴν πατρίδα: πάντες δὲ περιπορευόμενες αὐτὴν κύκλῳ, καὶ πολλάκις ἀνοιμῶξαντες καὶ κατολοφυράμενοι τὴν τε τῆς πατρίδος καὶ τὴν αὐτῶν τύχην, αὕθες ἐξ ἀναστροφῆς ἐπανήλθον εἰς τὴν τῶν Δαππαίων πόλιν. πιλανθρώπως δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ μετὰ πάσης προθυμίας τῶν Δαππαίων ὑποδεξαμένων, οὕτως μὲν ἀντὶ πολιτῶν ἀπόλιθες ἐν ἡμέρα μιᾷ καὶ ἐξένοι γεγονότες ἐπολέμουν πρὸς τοὺς Κνωσσίους ἀμα 6 τοῖς συμμάχοις, Δύττος δ' ἡ Δακεδαιμονίων μὲν ἀποικὸς οὐδα καὶ συγγενής, ἀρχαιότατη δὲ τῶν κατὰ Κρήτην πόλεων, ἀνδρας δ' ὀμολογουμένως ἀρίστους αἰε τρέφουσα Κρηταιέων, οὕτως ἄρδην καὶ παραλόγως ἀνηρπάθη.

55 Πολυρρήνου δὲ καὶ Δαππαίου καὶ πάντες οἱ τούτων σύμμαχοι, θεωροῦντες τοὺς Κνωσσίους ἀντεχομένους τῆς τῶν Αἰτωλῶν συμμαχίας, τοὺς δ' Αἰτωλοὺς ἀρώντες πολεμίους ὄντας τῷ τε βασιλεῖ Φιλίππῳ καὶ τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς, πέμπουσι πρέσβεις πρὸς τέ τον βασιλέα καὶ τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς περὶ βοη- 2 θείας καὶ συμμαχίας. οἱ δ' Ἀχαιοὶ καὶ Φιλ- ἱππος εἴς τε τὴν κοίνην συμμαχίαν αὐτοὺς προσ- εδέξαντο καὶ βοήθειαν ἐξαπέστειλαν, Ἰλλυρίως μὲν τετρακόσιος, ὃν ἦγείτο Πλάτωρ, Ἀχαιοὶ δὲ 3 διακόσιος, Φωκέας ἔκατον, οἰ καὶ παραγενόμενοι μεγάλην ἐπούσαντ' ἐπίδοσιν τοῖς Πολυρρήνιοις 4 καὶ τοῖς τούτων συμμάχοις. πάνυ γὰρ ἐν βραχεί χρόνῳ τειχήρεις καταστήσαντες τοὺς τ' Ἐλευθερ- ναίους καὶ Κυδωνιάτας ἔτι δὲ τοὺς Ἀπτεράίους 430
home. When the Lyttians came back to their city from the expedition and saw what had happened, they were so much affected that none of them had the heart even to enter his native town, but one and all after marching round it and many times bewailing and lamenting the fate of their country and themselves, turned their backs on it and retired to Lappa. The Lappaeans received them with the utmost kindness and cordiality; and thus having become in one day cityless aliens instead of citizens they went on fighting against Cnossus with the other allies. Thus was Lyttus, a colony of the Spartans and allied to them by blood, the most ancient city in Crete, and ever, as all acknowledged, the breeding-place of her bravest men, utterly and unexpectedly made away with.

55. The Polyrhrenians, Lappaeans, and all their allies seeing that the Cnossians clung to the alliance of the Aetolians who were the enemies of King Philip and the Achaeans, sent envoys to the king and to the League requesting their assistance and alliance. The Achaeans and Philip hereupon received them into the general confederacy and sent them as support four hundred Illyrians under the command of Plator, two hundred Achaeans and one hundred Phocians. The arrival of this force was of the greatest advantage to the Polyrhrenians and their allies; for in a very short space of time they shut the Eleuthernians, Cydoniats, and Apteraeans
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

5 ἡνάγκασαν ἀποστάντας τῆς τῶν Κνωσοίων συμμαχίας κοινωνήσαι σφίζοι τῶν αὐτῶν ἐλπίδων. τούτων δὲ γενομένων ἐξαπέστειλαν Πολυφρήνιοι μὲν καὶ μετὰ τούτων οἱ σύμμαχοι Φιλίππῳ καὶ τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς πεντακοσίους Κρήτας, Κνώσσοι δὲ μικρῷ πρῶτον ἐξαπεστάλκεισαν χιλίους τοῖς Αἰτωλοῖς· οἱ καὶ συνεπολέμουν ἀμφότεροι τὸν ἑνεστῶτα πόλεμον. κατελάβοντο δὲ καὶ τὸν λιμένα τῶν Φαιστίων οἱ τῶν Γόρτυνίων φυγάδες, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὸν αὐτῶν τῶν Γόρτυνίων παραβόλως διακατείχον, καὶ προσεπολέμουν ἐκ τούτων ὅρμῳ μενοὶ τῶν τόπων τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει.

56 Τὰ μὲν οὖν κατὰ τὴν Κρήτην ἐν τούτοις ἤν τοῖς καὶ τοῖς καρφώσαντον καὶ Μιθριδάτης ἐξήγερσε Σινωπέοις πόλεμον, καὶ τοῖς οἷον ἀρχῇ τότε καὶ πρόφασις ἐγένετο τῆς ἐπὶ τὸ τέλος ἀχθείσης ἁτυχίας Σινωπέων. εἰς δὲ τὸν πόλεμον τοῦτον προσβεσάντων αὐτῶν πρὸς Ῥοδίους καὶ παρακλούντων βοηθεῖν, ἔδοξε τοῖς Ῥοδίοις προχειρίσσοντες τρεῖς ἄνδρας, καὶ δοῦναι τούτους δραχμῶν δεκατέταρας μυρίάδας, τοὺς δὲ λαβόντας παρασκευάσαι τὰ πρὸς τὴν χρείαν ἐπιτίθειναι τοῖς Σινωπέοις.

3 οἱ δὲ κατασταθάντες ἠτοίμασαν οὖν κεράμια μύρια, τριχὸς εἰργασμένης τάλαντα τριακόσια, νεῦρων εἰργασμένων ἑκατὸν τάλαντα, πανοπλίας χιλίας, χρυσοῦς ἐπισήμους τρισχιλίους, ἔτι δὲ 4 λιθοφόρους τέταρας καὶ τοὺς ἄφετας τούτους. καὶ λαβόντες οἱ τῶν Σινωπέων πρέσβεις ἐπανήλθον. ἢσαν γὰρ οἱ Σινωπεῖς ἐν ἀγωνία μὴ πολιορκεῖν σφᾶς ὁ Μιθριδάτης ἐγχειρήσῃ καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν· διὸ καὶ τὰς παρασκευὰς πρὸς τούτο τὸ μέρος ἐποιοῦντο πάσας. ἢ δὲ Σινώπη 432
inside their walls and compelled them to desert the alliance of Cnossus and share their fortunes. After this success the Polyrhrhenians and their allies sent to Philip and the Achaeans five hundred Cretans, while the Cnossians had a little earlier sent a thousand to the Aetolians and both these Cretan forces continued to take part in the present war. The Gortynian exiles seized on the harbour of Phaestus and even audaciously continued to hold that of Gortyna itself, and from both these positions made war on those in the city.

56. Such was the state of affairs in Crete. At the same period Mithridates too went to war with Sinope, and this proved as it were the beginning and first occasion of the misfortunes which finally befell this city. The Sinopeans sent an embassy to Rhodes begging for assistance towards this war and the Rhodians passed a decree to appoint three commissioners and to place in their hands a sum of 140,000 drachmae on receiving which they were to supply the requirements of the Sinopeans. The commissioners got ready ten thousand jars of wine, three hundred talents of prepared hair, a hundred talents of prepared bow-string, a thousand complete suits of armour, three thousand gold pieces, and four catapults with their artillerymen, on receiving which the Sinopean envoys returned home. These things were sent because the Sinopeans were in great dread of Mithridates undertaking the siege of the city by land and sea, and they therefore were making all their preparations with this view. Sinope lies
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

κεῖται μὲν ἐν τοῖς δεξιοῖς μέρεσι τοῦ Πόντου παρὰ τὸν εἰς Φᾶσιν πλοῦν, οὐκείται δὲ ἐπὶ τινος χερσονήσου πρωτευούσης εἰς τὸ πέλαγος, ἧς τὸν μὲν αὐχένα τὸν συνάπτοντα πρὸς τὴν Ἀσίαν, ὡς ἐστὶν οὐ πλεῖον δυνεῖν σταδίων, ἡ πόλις ἐπικειμένη

6 διακλείει κυρίως: τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν τῆς χερσονήσου πρόκειται μὲν εἰς τὸ πέλαγος, ἐστὶ δὲ ἐπιπεδοῦν καὶ πανεύφοδον ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν, κύκλῳ δὲ ἐκ θαλάττης ἀπότομον καὶ δυσπροσόρμιστον καὶ παντελῶς

7 ὀλίγας ἔχων προσβάσεις, δυσπέρ ἀγωνιώντες οἱ Σινωπεῖς μὴ ποτὲ κατὰ τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀσίας πλευρᾶν ὁ Μιθριδάτης συντησάμενος ἔργα, καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἀπέναντι ταύτης ὁμοίως ποιησάμενος ἀπόβασιν κατὰ θάλατταν εἰς τοὺς ὁμαλοὺς καὶ τοὺς ὑπερκείμενους τῆς πόλεως τόπους, ἐγχειρήσῃ πολυρκεῖν

8 αὐτοὺς, ἐπεβάλοντο τῆς χερσονήσου κύκλῳ τὸ νησίζων ὁχυροῦν, ἀποσταυροῦντες καὶ περιχαρακοῦντες τὰς ἐκ θαλάττης προσβάσεις, ἀμα δὲ καὶ βέλη καὶ στρατιώτας τιθέντες ἐπὶ τοὺς εὐκαίρους

9 τῶν τόπων: ἐστὶ γὰρ τὸ πάν μέγεθος αὐτῆς οὐ πολύ, τελέως δὲ εὐκατακράτητον καὶ μέτριον.

57 Καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ Σινώπης ἐν τούτοις ἢν, ὁ δὲ βασιλεὸς Φίλιππος ἀναζεύξας ἐκ Μακεδονίας μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως (ἐν γὰρ ταύταις ταῖς ἐπιβολαῖς ἀπελίπαμεν ἄρτι τὸν συμμαχικὸν πόλεμον) ὠρμησεν ἐπὶ Θετταλίας καὶ τῆς Ἡπείρου, σπεύδων ταύτη

2 ποιῆσαι τὴν εἰσβολὴν τὴν εἰς Αἰτωλίαν. Ἄλεξάνδρος δὲ καὶ Δωρίμαχος κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τούτου ἔχοντες πράξει κατὰ τῆς τῶν Αἰγειρατῶν πόλεως, ἀθροίσαντες τῶν Αἰτωλῶν περὶ χιλίους καὶ διακοσίους εἰς Οἰάνθειαν τῆς Αἰτωλίας, ἥ κεῖται καταντικρῆ τῆς προειρημένης πόλεως, καὶ πορθμεῖα.
on the southern shore of the Pontus on the route
to the Phasis and is situated on a peninsula running
out to the open sea. The neck of this peninsula
connecting it with Asia is not more than two stades
in width and is absolutely closed by the city which
is situated upon it; the rest of the peninsula runs
out to the open sea and is flat and affords an easy
approach to the town, but on its sea face it is very
steep, difficult to anchor off, and with very few
approaches from the sea. The Sinopeans were
fearful lest Mithridates should lay siege to them by
throwing up works on the side of the city next Asia,
while at the same time effecting a disembarkation
on the opposite side and occupying the flat ground
overlooking the city; and consequently they busied
themselves with strengthening all round that part
of the peninsula which was washed by the sea,
blocking up the approaches from the sea by means
of stakes and stockades and placing soldiers and
stores of missiles at suitable spots, the whole penin-
sula being of no great size but quite easily defensible
by a moderate force.

57. Such was the situation at Sinope. But King
Philip starting from Macedonia with his army—for
it was here that I interrupted my account of opera-
tions in the Social War—marched on Thessaly and
Epirus with the view of invading Aetolia from thence.
Alexander and Dorimachus at this time having
formed a project for surprising Aegeira, had collected
about twelve hundred Aetolians at Oeantheia in
Aetolia, which is situated just opposite Aegeira, and
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

toûtois ἐτοιμάσαντες, πλοῦν ἐτήρουν πρὸς τὴν
3 ἐπιβολὴν. τῶν γὰρ ἴτομομηλικῶτων τις ἐξ Αἰτω-
λίας, καὶ πλεῖω χρόνον διατετριφῶς παρὰ τοῖς
Αἰγειράταις καὶ συντεθεωρηκὼς τοὺς φυλάττοντας
τὸν ἀπ' Αἰγίου πυλῶνα μεθυσκομένους καὶ βαθύμως
dieξάγοντας τὰ κατὰ τὴν φυλακήν, πλεονάκις
παραβαλλόμενος καὶ διαβαίνων πρὸς τοὺς περὶ
Δωρίμαχον ἐξεκέκλητο πρὸς τὴν πράξειν αὐτοὺς ἀτε
λίαν οἰκείους ὄντας τῶν τοιούτων ἐγχειρημάτων.
4 ἦ δὲ τῶν Αἰγειράτων πόλεως ἔκτισται μὲν τῆς
Πελοποννήσου κατὰ τὸν Κορυνθιακὸν κόλπον μεταξὺ
τῆς Αἰγινῶν καὶ Σικυωνίων πόλεως, κεῖται δ' ἐπὶ
λόφων ἐρυμνῶν καὶ δυσβάτων, νεεῖ δὲ τῇ θέσει
πρὸς τὸν Παρνασσόν καὶ ταῦτα τὰ μέρη τῆς
ἀντίπερα χώρας, ἀπέχει δὲ τῆς θαλάττης ὡς ἐπτὰ
5 στάδια. παραπεσόντος δὲ πλοῦ τοῖς περὶ τὸν
Δωρίμαχον ἀνήχθησαν, καὶ καθορμίζονται νυκτὸς
ἐτὶ πρὸς τὸν παρὰ τὴν πόλιν καταρρέοντα ποταμῶν.
6 οἵ μὲν οὖν περὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ Λυκᾶνον,
όμα δὲ τούτοις Ἀρχίδαμον τὸν Πανταλέοντος
υἱόν, ἔχοντες περὶ αὐτοὺς τὸ πλῆθος τῶν Αἰτωλῶν
προσέβαινον πρὸς τὴν πόλιν κατὰ τὴν ἀπ' Αἰγίου
7 φέρουσαν ὁδὸν. ὁ δ' αὐτόμολος ἔχον εἰκοσὶ
τοὺς ἐπιτηδειοτάτους, διανύσας ταῖς ἀνοδίαις τοὺς
κρημνοὺς βάττον τῶν ἄλλων διὰ τὴν ἐμπειρίαν,
καὶ διαδύο διὰ τῶν ὑδρο τοίον, ἐτὸς κομμημένους
8 κατέλαβε τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ πυλῶνος. κατασφάξας δ' αὐτοὺς
ἀκμὴν ἐν ταῖς κοίταις ὄντας, καὶ διακόψας
τοῖς πελέκεσι τοὺς μοχλοὺς, ἀνέψξε τοῖς Αἰτωλοῖς
tas πύλας. οἵ δὲ παρεισπεσόντες λαμπρῶς ἀπερι-
νοῦτος ἐχρήσαντο τοῖς πράγμασιν. δ' καὶ παραι-
των ἐγένετο τοῖς μὲν Αἰγειράταις τῆς σωτηρίας,
436
having provided transports for this force were waiting for favourable weather to cross and make the attack. For a certain Aetolian deserter, who had spent some time at Aegaeira and had noticed that the guards of the Aegium gate were constantly drunk and neglectful of their watch, had several times at some risk crossed over to Dorimachus and urged him to make the attempt, well knowing that such an enterprise was quite in his line. Aegaeira is situated in the Peloponnese on the gulf of Corinth between Aegium and Sicyon and is built on steep hills difficult of access, looking towards Parnassus and that part of the opposite coast, its distance from the sea being about seven stades. The weather being now favourable, Dorimachus set sail and anchored while it was still night at the mouth of the river which flows by the town. Then those with Alexander and Dorimachus and with them Archidamus the son of Pantaleon, now took the main body of the Aetolians and approached the city by the road leading from Aegium. The deserter with twenty picked men, leaving the path and mounting the precipice quicker than the others as he knew the ground, got in through an aqueduct and found the guard of the gate still asleep. Having killed them before they could rise from their beds and cut through the bolts with axes, he opened the gates to the Aetolians. They dashed brilliantly into the city, but afterwards conducted matters with such an entire lack of caution that finally the Aegeiratans were saved and they themselves destroyed.
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

11 tois δ' Αιτωλοῖς τῆς ἀπωλείας. ὑπολαμβάνοντες γὰρ τοῦτο τέλος εἶναι τοῦ κατασχεῖν ἄλλοτρίαν πόλιν, τὸ γενέσθαι τῶν πυλῶννων ἐντὸς, τούτον τὸν τρόπον ἐγρώντο τοῖς πράγμασι. διὸ καὶ βραχὺν παντελῶς χρόνον ἄθροίου συμμείναντες περὶ τὴν ἀγοράν, λοιπὸν ἐκπαθεῖς ὄντες πρὸς τὰς ὦφελείας διέρρευν, καὶ παρευσπίπτοντες εἰς τὰς οἰκίας

2 διήρταζον τοὺς βίους ἦδη φωτὸς ὄντος. οἱ δ' Αἰγειράται, τὸν πράγματος αὐτοῖς ἀνελπίσσον καὶ παραδόξου τελέως συμβεβηκότος, οῖς μὲν ἐπέστησαν οἱ πολέμοι κατὰ τὰς οἰκίας, ἐκπλαγεῖς καὶ περί- φοβοι γενόμενοι πάντες ἐτρέποντο πρὸς φυγὴν ἐξω τῆς πόλεως ὡς ἦδη βεβαιῶς αὐτῆς κεκρατημένης

3 ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων, ὅσοι δὲ τῆς κραυγῆς ἄκούοντες εἰς ἀκέραιοι τῶν οἰκίων ἐξεβοήθουσι, πάντες εἰς τὴν ἀκραν συνέτρεχον. οὕτωι μὲν οὖν ἀεὶ πλείους ἐγίνοντο καὶ θαρασσεῖτο, τὸ δὲ τῶν Αἰτωλῶν σύστρεμμα τοῦναττόν ἔλαττον καὶ ταραχωδέστερον

5 διὰ τὰς προειρημένας αἰτίας. οὐ μὴν ἄλλα συν- ορώντες οἱ περὶ τὸν Δωρίμαχον ἦδη τὸν περιεστῶτα κίνδυνον αὐτοὺς, συστραφέοντες ὡρμήσαν ἐπὶ τοὺς κατέχοντας τὴν ἀκραν, ὑπολαμβάνοντες τῇ θρασύ- τητι καὶ τόλμῃ καταπληξάμενοι τρέψασθαι τοὺς

6 ἠθροισμένους ἐπὶ τὴν βοήθειαν. οἱ δ' Αἰγειράται παρακαλέσαντες σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἥμυνοντο καὶ συν-

7 επλέκοντο τοῖς Αἰτωλοῖς γενναίως. οὕτως δὲ τῆς ἀκρας ἀτείχότου καὶ τῆς συμπλοκῆς ἐκ χειρός καὶ κατ' ἄνδρα γυνωμένης, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἢν ἄγων οἶνον εἰκός, ἀτε τῶν μὲν ὑπὲρ πατρίδος καὶ τέκνων τῶν δ' ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας ἀγωνιζομένων, τέλος γε μὴν ἐτράπτησαν οἱ παρευσπεπτωκότες τῶν Αἰτωλῶν.

8 οἱ δ' Αἰγειράται λαβόντες ἀφορμὴν ἐγκλιματος 438
For considering that the occupation of a foreign city is finished when one is once within the gates, they acted on this principle, (58) so that, after keeping together for only quite a short time in the neighbourhood of the market-place, their passion for plunder caused them to disperse, and, breaking into the houses, they began to plunder the property, it being now daylight. The people of Aegeira had been entirely taken by surprise, and now those whose houses had been attacked by the enemy were all in the utmost state of terror and consternation, and fled out of the town in which they supposed the enemy to be already securely established. Those, however, who came to assist on hearing the shouting and whose houses were still intact, all ran to the citadel. Here they gradually increased in numbers and gained courage, while the collected force of the Aetolians on the contrary became ever smaller and more disordered for the reasons above-mentioned. But Dorimachus, seeing now the danger that menaced them, got his men together and attacked the occupants of the citadel, thinking that by this bold and vigorous effort he would intimidate and put to flight those who had gathered to defend the city. But the Aegiratans, cheering each other on, resisted and met the Aetolian attack most gallantly. The citadel was unwalled, and the combat was a hand-to-hand one between man and man, so that at first there was a struggle as desperate as one would expect when the one side is fighting for their country and children and the other for their lives, but at the end the Aetolian invaders were put to flight. The pursuit of the enemy by the Aegiratans, who took advantage of their higher
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

ένεργώς ἐπέκειντο καὶ καταπληκτικῶς τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἦς οὖν συνέβη τοὺς πλείστους τῶν Αἰτωλῶν διὰ τὴν πτοίαν αὐτοῦς ὑφ' αὐτῶν φεύγοντας ἐν ταῖς πύλαις συμπαθηθήναι. οὐ μὲν οὖν Ἀλέξανδρος ἐν χειρῶν νόμῳ κατ' αὐτὸν ἐπέσε τὸν κίνδυνον, οὐ δὲ Ἀρχίδαμος ἐν τῷ περὶ τὰς πύλας οὐδεὶς καὶ πνιγμῷ διεθάρη. τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν πλήθος τῶν Αἰτωλῶν τὸ μὲν συνεπατήθη, τὸ δὲ κατὰ τῶν κρημνῶν φεύγον ταῖς ἀνοδίαις ἐξετραχῆλισθη. τὸ δὲ καὶ διασωθὲν αὐτῶν μέρος πρὸς τὰς ναῖς, ἔρριφος τὰ ὀπλα παναίσχυντο ἀμα δ' ἀνελπίστως ἐπονήσατο τὸν ἀπόπλουν.

12 Αἰγείρᾶται μὲν οὖν διὰ τὴν ὀλίγωριαν ἀποβαλοντες τὴν πατρίδα, διὰ τὴν εὐρυχίαν καὶ γεναιότητα πάλιν ἔσωσαν παραδόξως: κατὰ δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς καιροὺς Εὐριπίδας, ὥς ἂν ἀπεσταλμένος ὑπὸ τῶν Αἰτωλῶν στρατηγὸς τοῖς Ἡλείοις, καταδραμὼν τὴν Δυμαίων καὶ Φαραιέων ἔτη δὲ τὴν τῶν Τριταίων χώραν, καὶ περιελασμένος λέιας πλῆθος ἤκανον, ἐποιεῖτο τὴν ἀποχώρησιν ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἡλείαν. οὐ δὲ Μίκκος ὁ Δυμαῖος, ὅσπερ ἐτύγχανε κατ' εἰκείνους τοὺς καιροὺς ὑποστράτηγος ὧν τῶν Ἀχαίων, ἐκβοηθήσας πανδημεί τοὺς τε Δυμαίους καὶ Φαραιεῖς ἄμα δὲ καὶ Τριταίες ἔχων,

3 πρὸσεκέπτω τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀπαλλαττομένοις. ἐνεργότερον δ', . . . ἐμπεσὼν εἰς ἐνεδραν ἐσφάλη καὶ πολλοὺς ἀπέβαλε τῶν ἄνδρων τετταράκοντα μὲν γὰρ ἐπεσον, ἐάλωσαν δὲ περὶ διακοσίων τῶν πεζῶν.

4 οὐ μὲν οὖν Εὐριπίδας ποιήσας τούτῳ τὸ προτέρημα, καὶ μετεωρισθεὶς ἐπὶ τῷ γεγονότι, μετ' ὀλίγας ἡμέρας αὐτὶς ἐξελθὼν κατέλαβε παρὰ τὸν Ἀραξον φρούριον τῶν Δυμαίων εὐκαιρὸν τῷ καλούμενον 440
position, was so vigorous and formidable, that most of the Aetolians owing to the state of panic they were in trampled each other to death in the gate. Alexander fell fighting in the actual engagement and Archidamus perished in the suffocating crush at the gate. The rest of the Aetolians were either trampled to death there or were dashed to pieces in their attempt to escape down the cliffs where there was no path. The survivors who reached the ships after throwing away their shields managed, beyond hope and with the stigma of this disgrace, to sail away. Thus did the Aegiratans lose their city by their negligence, and recover it again beyond hope by their courage and valour.

59. About the same time Euripidas, whom the Aetolians had sent to the Eleans to command their forces, after an inroad on the territory of Dyme, Pharae, and Tritaea, in which he had collected a considerable amount of booty, was on his way back to Elis. But Miccus of Dyme, who was at this time the sub-strategus of the Achaeans, taking with him the complete levies of Dyme, Pharae, and Tritaea, marched out and attacked the enemy as they were retiring. Pressing on too vigorously he fell into an ambush and was defeated with considerable loss, forty of his infantry being killed and about two hundred taken prisoners. Euripidas, elated by this success, made another expedition a few days afterwards and took a fort of the Dymaeans called "The Wall," favourably situated near the Araxus and
Τείχος, δ' φασιν οί μύθοι το παλαιών Ἦρακλέα πολεμοῦντα τοῖς Ἡλείοις ἐποικοδομήσαι, βουλό-μενον ὄρμητηρίῳ χρῆσαι τούτω κατ' αὐτῶν. οἱ δὲ Δυμαίοι καὶ Φαραιεῖς καὶ Τριταίεις ἦλαττῳμένοι μὲν περὶ τὴν βοήθειαν, δεδοτες δὲ τὸ μέλλον ἐκ τῆς τοῦ φρουρίου καταλήψεως, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐπεμπὸν ἀγγέλους πρὸς τὸν στρατηγὸν τῶν Ἀχαίων, ἰδηλοῦντες τὰ γεγονότα καὶ δεόμενοι φήσι βοήθειν, μετὰ δὲ ταύτα προσβεντὰς ἐξαπέστελλον τοὺς περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἀξιώσοντας. δ' δ' Ἀρατος οὔτε τὸ ἔνεικὸν ἐδύνατο συντήσασθαι διὰ τὸ κατὰ τὸν Κλεομενικὸν πόλεμον ἐλλειπούτεναι τυνὰ τῶν ὁμονύμων τους Ἀχαιόν τοῖς μισθοφόροις, καθὸλου τε ταῖς ἐπιθελαίις καὶ συλλήβδην πάσι τοῖς τοῦ πολέμου πράγμασιν ἀτόλμως ἑχρῆτο καὶ νωθρῶς. διόπερ δὲ τε Λυκούργος εἶλε τὸ τῶν Μεγαλοπολιτῶν Ἀθηναίον, δ' τ' Εὔριπιδας ἔξῆς τοῖς εἰρημένοις Γόρτυναν τῆς Τελφούσιας. οἱ τε Δυμαίοι καὶ Φαραιεῖς καὶ Τριταίεις, δυσελπιστήσαντες ἐπὶ ταῖς τοῦ στρατηγοῦ βοηθείαις, συνεφρόνησαν ἄλληλοις εἰς τὸ τὰς μὲν κοινὰς εἰσφορὰς τοῖς Ἀχαιόις μὴ τελείν, ἰδία δὲ συντήσασθαι μισθοφόροις, πεζοὺς μὲν τριακοσίους ἔπεις δὲ πεντήκοντα, καὶ διὰ τούτων ἀσφαλίζεσθαι τὴν χώραν. τούτῳ δὲ πράξαντες ὑπὲρ μὲν τῶν καθ' αὐτοὺς πραγμάτων ἐνδεχομένως ἐδοξαὶ βεβουλεύθαι, περὶ δὲ τῶν κοινῶν τάναντια· πονηρὰς γὰρ ἐφόδιον καὶ πρόφασες τοῖς βουλομένοις διαλύειν τὸ ἔθνος ἐδοκοῦν ἁρχηγοὶ καὶ καθηγεμόνες γεγονέναι. ταύτῃ δὲ τῆς πράξεως τὸ μὲν πλείστων τῆς αἰτίας ἐπὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν ἄν τις ἀναφέροι δικαίως τὸν ὀλγωροῦντα καὶ καταμέλλοντα καὶ προϊέμενον ἄεὶ τοὺς δεομένους.

442
BOOK IV. 59. 5-60. 7

fabled to have been built long ago by Heracles when he was making war on the Eleans to use as a place of arms against them. 60. The Dymaeans, Pharaeans, and Tritaeans, thus worsted in their attack on the invaders and afraid of what might happen owing to the occupation of the fort, at first dispatched messengers to the strategus of the Achaeans informing him of what had occurred and begging for help, and subsequently sent a formal embassy with the same request. Aratus could not get a foreign force together, as after the Cleomenic War the Achaeans had not paid their mercenaries in full, and in general he exhibited a great lack of daring and energy in his plans and his whole conduct of the war. So that Lycurgus took the Athenaeum in the territory of Megalopolis, and Euripidas, in addition to his previous successes, captured Gortyna in the territory of Telphusa. Hereupon the peoples of Dyme, Pharae, and Tritaea, despairing of help from the strategus, came to an agreement with each other to refuse to pay their contributions to the Achaean League and to collect a private mercenary force of three hundred foot and fifty horse with which to secure the safety of their lands. In acting thus they were thought to have taken a proper course as regards their own affairs, but the reverse of this as regards the League; for they thus became the initiators and establishers of an evil precedent and pretext of which anyone who wished to dissolve the League could avail himself. It is true that the greater part of the blame for this action of theirs rested on the Strategus, guilty as he was of habitual negligence, delay, and inattention to
8 πᾶς γὰρ ὁ κινδυνεύων, ἐως μὲν ἂν τινος ἐλπίδος ἀντέχῃται παρὰ τῶν οἰκείων καὶ συμμάχων, προσανέχει φιλεῖ ταύτας, ὅταν δὲ δυσχρήστων ἀπογυνῶ, τότε ἰδή βοηθεῖν ἄναγκαζεται αὐτῷ κατὰ δύναμιν. διὸ καὶ Τριταεύσι καὶ Φαραιέσι καὶ Δυμαίοις, ὁτι μὲν ἰδίᾳ συνεστήσαντο μισθοφόρους καταμέλλοντο τοῦ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἰγμάνων, οὐκ ἐγκλητέον, ὦτι δὲ τὰς εἰς τὸ κοινὸν εἰσφορὰς ἀπειπάν, μεμψιμοιρητέον. ἐχρῆν γὰρ τὴν μὲν ἰδίαν χρείαν μὴ παραλυτεῖ, εὐκαιροῦτάς γε δὴ καὶ δυναμένους, τὰ δὲ πρὸς τὴν κοινὴν πολιτείαν δίκαια συντηρεῖν, ἀλλὰς τε δὴ καὶ κομιδῆς ὑπαρχούσης ἀδιαπτῶτον κατὰ τοὺς κοινοὺς νόμους, τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, γεγονότας ἀρχηγοὺς τοῦ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν συστήματος.

61 Τὰ μὲν οὖν κατὰ Πελοπόννησον ἐν τούτοις ἤν, ὡς δὲ βασιλεὺς Φίλιππος διελθὼν τὴν Θεσσαλίαν 2 παρῆν εἰς Ὄπειρον. ἀναλαβὼν δὲ τοὺς Ὄπειρώτας άμα τοῖς Μακεδόνι πανδημεῖ καὶ τοὺς εἰς Ἀχαῖας συνεντηκότας σφενδονήτας τριακοσίων, ἔτι δὲ τοὺς παρὰ Πολυρρήνιον ἀπεσταλμένους Κρῆτας πεντακοσίους, προῆγε, καὶ διελθὼν τὴν Ὅπειρον 3 παρῆν εἰς τὴν τῶν Ἀμβρακωτῶν χώραν. εἰ μὲν οὖν εξ ἐφόδου κατὰ τὸ συνεχῆς ἐνέβαλεν εἰς τὴν μεσόγαιαν τὴν Ἀλτωλίας, ἀφεν καὶ παραδόξως ἐπιτεσσάρους δυνάμει βαρεία τοῖς ὀλοῖς πράγμασιν 4 ἐπιτεθεῖκε τέλος· ὅτι δὲ πεισθεὶς τοῖς Ὄπειρώταις πρῶτον ἐκπολιορκήσαι τῶν Ἀμβρακῶν, ἔδωκε τοῖς Ἀλτωλιοῖς ἀναστροφὴν εἰς τὸ καὶ στήναι καὶ προνοηθῆναι τι καὶ παρασκευάσασθαι πρὸς τὸ μέλλον. 5 οἱ γὰρ Ὅπειρώται τὸ σφέτερον ἄναγκαιότερον τυ- θέμενοι τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν συμμάχων, καὶ μεγάλως 444
requests. For everyone in the hour of danger, as long as he keeps up any hope of assistance from his allies and friends, repose his confidence on this, but when he abandons it in his distress he is forced to do all in his power to help himself. We should therefore not find fault with the Tritaeans, Pharaeans, and Dymaeans for hiring a private force when the Head of their confederacy delayed to take action, but they must be blamed for refusing to pay their contribution to the League. While duly considering their own interests, especially as they could well afford to do so, they should have observed their engagements to the League; especially as according to the common laws they were perfectly assured of recovery; and above all considering they were the actual founders of the Confederacy.

61. Such was the state of affairs in the Peloponnese. Meanwhile King Philip, after passing through Thessaly, had arrived in Epirus. Uniting with his Macedonians the complete levy of the Epirots, three hundred slingers who had joined him from Achaea and five hundred Cretans sent by the Polyrhrhenians, he advanced and passing through Epirus reached Ambracia. Had he only not turned aside but advanced rapidly into the interior of Aetolia, he would by thus suddenly and unexpectedly invading with so formidable a force have put an end to the whole war. But as it was, letting himself be persuaded by the Epirots to take Ambracus in the first place, he gave the Aetolians leisure to collect themselves, to take precautionary measures and to make preparations for the future. For the Epirots, setting their own particular advantage above that of the
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

σπουδάζοντες υφ’ αυτούς ποιήσασθαι τὸν Ἀμβρακον, ἑδειότο τοῦ Φιλίππου ποιήσασθαι πολιορκίαν
6 περὶ τὸ χωρίον καὶ τοῦτο πρότερον ἐξελείν, περὶ πλείστον ποιούμενοι τὸ κομίσασθαι τὴν Ἀμβρακίαν
παρὰ τῶν Αἰτωλῶν, τοῦτο δὲ γενέσθαι μόνως ἂν ἐλπίζοντες, εἰ τοῦ προειρημένου τόπου κυριεύσαντες
7 ἐπικαθίσαιεν τῇ πόλει. ὁ γὰρ Ἀμβρακός ἐστὶ μὲν χωρίον εὐδακτισκομένον καὶ προτειχίσμασι καὶ τείχει, κεῖται δ’ ἐν λίμναις, μίαν ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας
στεινὴν καὶ χωστὴν ἔχων πρόσοδον, ἐπίκειται δ’ εὐκαίρως τῇ τε χώρᾳ τῶν Ἀμβρακιωτῶν καὶ τῇ
πόλει.
8 Φιλίππος μὲν οὖν πεισθεὶς Ἡπειρώτας, καὶ καταστρατοπέδευσας περὶ τὸν Ἀμβρακον, ἐγένετο
62 περὶ τὴν παρασκευὴν τῶν πρὸς τὴν πολιορκίαν.
62 Σκόπας δὲ κατὰ τὰ καίρια τοῦτον ἀναλαβῶν τοὺς
Αἰτωλοὺς πανδημεῖ, καὶ ποιησάμενος τὴν πορείαν
diὰ Θεσπαλίας, ἐνέβαλεν εἰς Μακεδονίαν, καὶ τὸν
tε σῖτον ἐπιπορευόμενος τὸν κατὰ τὴν Πιερίαν
ἐφθείρε, καὶ λείας περιβαλόμενος πλῆθος ἐπανῆγε,
2 ποιούμενοι τὴν πορείαν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ Δίων. ἐκλιπτόντων
δὲ τῶν κατουκοῦντων τὸν τόπον, εἰσελθὼς τὰ τείχη
κατέσκαψε καὶ τὰς οἰκίας καὶ τὸ γυμνάσιον, πρὸς
dὲ τούτοις ἐνέπρησε τὰς στοάς τὰς περὶ τὸ τέμενος,
καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ διέφθειρε τῶν ἀναθημάτων, ὥσα πρὸς
cόσμον ἢ χρείαν ὑπήρχε τοῖς εἰς τὰς πανηγύρεις
συμπορευομένοις· ἀνέτρεψε δὲ καὶ τὰς εἰκόνας
3 τῶν βασιλέων ἀπάσας. οὕτος μὲν οὖν εὐθέως
κατὰ τὴν ἐνστασιν τὸν πολέμου καὶ τὴν πρώτην
πράξιν οὐ μόνον τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἄλλα καὶ τοῖς
4 θεοίς πόλεμον ἐξεννοχῶς ἐπανῆγε, καὶ παραγενό-
μενος εἰς Αἰτωλίαν οὐχ ὡς ἡσθηκὼς ἄλλ’ ὡς
446
allies and exceedingly eager to get Ambracus into their possession, implored Philip to besiege and capture this place in the first instance. They regarded it as of the highest importance to recover Ambracia from the Aetolians, and the only way they hoped to do so was by making themselves masters of this place and laying siege to the city of Ambracia from it. For Ambracus is a place strongly fortified by outworks and a wall and lies in a lake with only one narrow approach from the town, and it is so situated as to command effectually both the country and the town.

62. Philip, then, acting as the Epirots wished and encamping before Ambracus, began to make preparations for its siege. But while he was thus employed, Scopas raised a general levy of the Aetolians and marching through Thessaly invaded Macedonia, where he destroyed the crops in Pieria and after collecting a quantity of booty, turned back and marched towards Dium. On its inhabitants deserting this place he entered it and demolished the walls, houses, and gymnasium, burning also the colonnade round the sanctuary and destroying all the other monuments of piety which served for adornment or for the convenience of those who frequented the festival. He also threw down all the royal statues. Having thus at the very outset of the war and by his first action made war not only on men but on the gods, he now returned, and on reaching Aetolia, just as if he had not been guilty
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

διγάθος ἀνὴρ εἰς τὰ κοινὰ πράγματα γεγονός ἐτιμᾶτο καὶ περιεβλέπετο, πληρεῖς ἐλπίδων κενῶν καὶ φρονήματος ἀλόγου πεποιηκώς τοὺς Ἀιτωλοὺς.

5 ἦσον γὰρ ἐκ τούτων διάληψιν ὡς τῆς μὲν Ἀιτωλίας οὐδ' ἐγγίζειν τολμήσοντος οὐδενός, αὐτοὶ δὲ πορθήσοντες ἄδεως οὐ μόνον τὴν Πελοπόννησον, καθάπερ ἔθος ἦν αὐτοῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν Θετταλίαν καὶ τὴν

63 Μακεδονίαν. Φίλιππος δὲ τὰ περὶ τὴν Μακεδονίαν ἀκούσας, καὶ παραχρῆμα τῆς Ἡπειρωτῶν ἀγνοίας καὶ φιλονεικίας τάπιχειρα κεκομισμένοις, ἐπολιόρκει 2 τὸν Ἀμβρακον. χρησάμενος δὲ τοῖς τε χώμασιν ἐνεργός καὶ τῇ λοιπῇ παρασκευῇ ταχέως καταπλήξατο τοὺς ἐνότας, καὶ παρέλαβε τὸ χωρίον

3 έν ἡμέραις τετταράκοντα ταῖς πάσαις. ἀφεῖς δὲ τοὺς φυλάττοντας ὑποστόνδους, ἀντα τε πεντακόσιος Ἀιτωλῶν, τὴν μὲν τῶν Ἡπειρωτῶν ἐπιθυμίαιν ἐπλήρωσε παραδοῦς τὸν Ἀμβρακον,

4 αὐτὸς δ' ἀναλαβὼν τὴν δύναμιν προῆγε παρά Χαράδραν, στεύδων διαβήνη τὸν Ἀμβρακικὸν καλούμενον κόλπον, οὗ στενώτατον ἔστι, κατὰ τὸ

5 τῶν Ἀκαρνάνων ἱερὸν καλούμενον Ἀκτιον. δ' γὰρ προειρημένος κόλπος ἐκπίπτει μὲν ἐκ τοῦ Σικελικοῦ πελάγους μεταξὺ τῆς Ἡπείρου καὶ

6 τῆς Ἀκαρνανίας στενῶ παντελῶς στόματι (λείπει γὰρ τῶν πέντε σταδίων), προβαίνων δ' εἰς τὴν μεσόγαιαν κατὰ μὲν τὸ πλάτος ἐφ' ἐκατὸν στάδια κεῖται, κατὰ δὲ τὸ μῆκος ἀπὸ τοῦ πελάγους προπίπτει περὶ τριακοσία στάδια. διορίζει δὲ τὴν Ἡπείρου καὶ τὴν Ἀκαρνανίαν, ἐχῶν τὴν μὲν Ἡπείρου ἀπὸ τῶν ἄρκτων τὴν δ' Ἀκαρνανίαν

7 ἀπὸ μεσημβρίας. περαιώσας δὲ κατὰ τὸ προειρημένον στόμα τὴν δύναμιν, καὶ διελθὼν τὴν 448
of an impious outrage, but had done a great public service, he was universally honoured and admired, having succeeded in filling the Aetolians with empty hopes and foolish arrogance. For henceforth they had the notion that no one would ever dare even to approach Aetolia, but that they themselves might pillage unhindered not only the Peloponnese, as had been their constant practice, but Thessaly and Macedonia also. 63. Philip received the news from Macedonia, and having thus at once reaped the fruits of the folly and selfishness of the Epirots, began to besiege Ambracus. Pushing on his earthworks and other operations energetically he soon intimidated the defenders and in forty days captured the place. Letting the garrison, consisting of five hundred Aetolians, depart on terms, he satisfied the desire of the Epirots by handing over Ambracus to them, and himself advanced with his army by way of Charadra, with the object of crossing the gulf of Ambracia at its narrowest point by the Acarnanian temple called Actium. For this gulf is an inlet of the Sicilian sea between Epirus and Acarnania, entered by a quite narrow mouth, less than five stades across, but as it advances into the interior it expands to a width of a hundred stades and it reaches inland to a distance of three hundred stades from the sea. It divides Epirus from Acarnania, Epirus lying north of it and Acarnania south. After taking his army across at its mouth and passing through
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

'Ακαρνανίαν, ἥκε τῆς Αἰτωλίας πρὸς τὴν καλουμένην πόλιν Φοίηνα, συμπαρειλήψος 'Ακαρνάνων
8 πεζοὺς διυχλίους ἔπεισ ἔδει διακοσίους. περιστρατοπεδεύσας δὲ τὴν προειρημένην πόλιν, καὶ προσβολὰς ἐνεργοὺς καὶ καταπληκτικὰς ἐπὶ δύο ἡμέρας ποιησάμενος, παρέλαβε καθ' ὁμολογίαν,
ἀφεὶς υποσπόνδους τοὺς ἐνόντας τῶν Αἰτωλῶν.
9 τῆς δ' ἐπιούσῃς νυκτός, ὡς ἔτι μενούσης ἀναλώτου τῆς πόλεως, ἦκον βοηθοῦντες πεντακόσιοι τῶν Αἰτωλῶν: ὄν τὴν παρουσίαν προαισθανόμενοι ὁ βασιλεύς,
καθεῖς ἐπὶ τινὰς τόπους εὑκάριους ἐνέδρας, τοὺς μὲν πλείους αὐτῶν ἀπέκτεινε τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ὑποχειρίους ἔλαβε πλὴν τελεῖς ὀλίγων.
10 μετὰ δὲ ταύτα συμμετρήσας εἰς τριάκονθ' ἡμέρας
tῆς δύναμιν ἐκ τοῦ περικαταληφθέντος σύντο (πολὺ
gαρ πλήθος ἐν ταῖς Φοίηνας εὐρέθη συνηθρουσμένον)
προῆκε ποιούμενος τὴν πορείαν εἰς τὴν Στρατικήν.
11 ἀποσχῶν δὲ τῆς πόλεως περὶ δέκα στάδια κατε-
στρατοπέδευσε περὶ τὸν Ἀχελώον ποταμόν, ὅρμω-
μενος δ' ἐντεῦθεν ἀδεῶς ἐπόρθει τὴν χώραν, οὕδενος
ἐπεξεύρει τολμώντος τῶν ὑπεναντίων.

64 Οἱ δ' Ἦλεον κατὰ τοὺς καιροὺς τούτους πιε-νομεν τῷ πολέμῳ, τὸν δὲ βασιλέα πυρβανόμενοι
δύναμιν, εὖν, πέμποντο προσβεβίες ἀξιούντες βοη-
2 θείν: οἱ καὶ συμμίξαντες ἐτι περὶ Στράτου ὄντι
τῷ Φιλίππῳ τὰ τε λοιπὰ διελέγοντο κατὰ τὰς
ἐντολὰς, καὶ τὰς ὕφελειας ὑποδιεικύντες τῷ στρα-
tοπεδῶ τὰς ἐκ τῆς πολεμίας ἐπειδὴν αὐτῶν διαβάντα
3 τὸ Ἦλεον ἐμβάλειν εἰς τὴν Ἦλειαν. ὃν δ' ἤδε
διακούσας τοὺς μὲν πρεσβευτὰς παρακάτιος,
φήμας βουλεύσεθαι περὶ τῶν παρακαλομένων,
αὐτὸς δ' ἀναζεύξας προῆγε, ποιούμενος τὴν πορείαν
450
Acarnania Philip reached the Aetolian city called Phoetiae, having been reinforced by two thousand Acarnanian foot and two hundred horse. He encamped before this city and delivered for two days a series of assaults so vigorous and formidable that the Aetolian garrison surrendered upon conditions and were dismissed unhurt. During the following night a force of five hundred Aetolians arrived to help under the impression that the city still held out. The king got word of their approach and, placing an ambuscade in a favourable spot, killed the greater number of them and took all the rest prisoners, except a very few. After this, having distributed enough of the captured corn to his troops to last thirty days—a large quantity having been found stored at Phoetiae—he advanced, marching on the territory of Stratus. Stopping at a distance of ten stades from the town he encamped by the river Achelous, and making forays from there, laid waste the country unopposed, none of the enemy venturing to come out to attack him.

64. The Achaeans at this time, finding themselves hard pressed by the war and learning that the king was close at hand, sent envoys asking for help. Encountering the king while still before Stratus they delivered the message with which they had been charged, and pointing out to him the large booty that his army would take in the enemy's country, tried to persuade him to cross at Rhium and invade Elis. The king after listening to them kept the envoys with him, saying he would give their request consideration, and breaking up his camp advanced in the direction of Metropolis and
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

4 ώς ἐπὶ Μητροπόλεως καὶ Κωνώπης. οἱ δ’ Ἀιτωλοὶ τὴν μὲν ἀκραν τῆς Μητροπόλεως κατεῖχον, τὴν δὲ πόλιν ἐξέλιπον. ὁ δὲ Φίλιππος ἐμπρήσας τὴν Μητρόπολιν προῆλε κατὰ τὸ συνεχὲς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐπικυρίαν. τῶν δ’ Ἀιτωλῶν ἱππεῖς ἀδροισθέντων καὶ τολμησάντων ἀποντάν πρὸς τὴν τοῦ ποταμοῦ διάβασιν, ἡ κεῖται πρὸ τῆς πόλεως εἰκοσι στάδια διέχουσα, καὶ πεπεισμένων ἡ κωλύσει τελείως ἡ κακοποιήσει πολλὰ τοὺς Μακεδόνας περὶ τὴν ἔκβασιν, συννόησας αὐτῶν τὴν ἐπιβολὴν ὁ βασιλεὺς παρήγγειλε τοῖς πελτασταῖς πρῶτοις ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν καὶ ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἔκβασιν ἀδρόους κατὰ τάγμα συνηπικότας. τῶν δὲ πεθαρχοῦντων, ἀμα τῷ τὴν πρώτην διαβῆναι σημαίαν βραχέα ταύτης καταπειράσαντες οἱ τῶν Ἀιτωλῶν ἱππεῖς, ἐν τῷ ταύτῃ τε μεῖναν συνασπίσασαν καὶ τὴν δευτέραν καὶ τρίτην διαβαινοῦσας συμφράττει τοῖς ὁπλοῖς πρὸς τὴν ύφεστώσαν, ἀπραγούντες καὶ δυσχρήστως ἀπαλλάττοντες ἀπεχώρουν πρὸς τὴν πόλιν. καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἦδη τὸ μὲν τῶν Ἀιτωλῶν φρόνημα συμμεφευγός εἰς τὰς πόλεις ὤγε τὴν ἡσυχίαν, δὲ Φίλιππος ἐπιδιαβάς τῷ στρατεύματι, καὶ πορθήσας ἄδεως καὶ ταύτην τὴν χώραν ἤκεν εἰς τὴν Ἰθωρίαν· τούτῳ δ’ ἐστὶ χωρίον δ’ κεῖται μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς παρόδου κυρίως, ὁχυρώτητι δὲ φυσικῇ καὶ 10 χειροποιητῷ διαφέρει. συνεγγύοντος δ’ αὐτοῦ καταπλαγεῖτες οἱ φυλάττοντες ἐξελίπον τὸν τόπον· ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς κυριεύσας τοῦ τόπου εἰς ἔδαφος καθελε. παραπεσόως δὲ καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς πύργους τοὺς κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἐπέταξε τοῖς προνοοῦσι καταφέρειν. διελθὼν δὲ τὰ στενὰ τὸ λοιπὸν ἦδη βάδην καὶ πραεῖαν ἐποιεῖτο τὴν πορείαν, 452
Conope. The Aetolians held to the citadel of Metro-
polis, abandoning the town, which the king burnt and then continued his advance on Conope. When a body of Aetolian cavalry ventured to meet him, at the ford of the river which runs in front of the town at a distance of about twenty stades from it, trusting either to prevent his passage entirely or to inflict considerable damage on the Macedonians as they were crossing, the king, perceiving their design, ordered his peltasts to enter the river first and land on the other bank in close order shield to shield and company by company. His orders were obeyed, and as soon as the first company had passed, the Aetolian cavalry, after a feeble attack on it, finding that it stood firm with shields interlocked and that the second and third companies as they landed closed up with it, were unable to effect anything, and seeing that they were getting into difficulties made off for the town; and henceforth the Aetolians, with all their haughty spirit, kept quiet within the shelter of their walls. Philip crossed with his army, and having pillaged this country too unopposed, advanced on Ithoria. This is a place absolutely commanding the road through the pass and of singular natural and artificial strength; but on his approach the garrison were terror-stricken and abandoned it. The king on obtaining possession of it razed it to the ground, and ordered his advanced guards to demolish likewise the other small forts in the country. 65. Having passed through the defile he continued to advance slowly and quietly, giving his troops leisure
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

ἀναστροφὴν διδοὺς τῇ δυνάμει πρὸς τὰς ἀπὸ τῆς

2 χώρας ὤφελείας. γέμοντος δὲ τοῦ στρατοπέδου

πάντων τῶν ἐπιτηδείων, ἤκε πρὸς τοὺς Οἰνιάδας.

3 καταστρατοπεδεύσας δὲ πρὸς τὸ Παιάνιον τοῦτο

πρῶτον έξελεύν ἐκρίνε· ποιησάμενος δὲ προσβολάς

συνεχεῖς εἴλεν αὐτὸ κατὰ κράτος, πόλιν κατὰ μὲν

τὸν περίβολον οὐ μεγάλην (ἐλάττων γὰρ ἢν ἐπὶ τὰ

σταδίων), κατὰ δὲ τὴν σύμπασαν κατασκευὴν

οἰκιῶν καὶ τείχῶν καὶ πύργων οὐδ’ ὀποῖας ἦττω.

4 ταύτης δὲ τὸ μὲν τείχος κατέσκαψε πάν εἰς ἔδαφος,

τὰς δ’ οἰκήσεις διαλύνν τὰ ξύλα καὶ τὸν κέραμον

eἰς σχεδίας καθήμορσε τῷ ποταμῷ μετὰ πολλῆς

5 φιλοτιμίας εἰς τοὺς Οἰνιάδας. οἱ δ’ Αἰτωλοὶ τὸ

μὲν πρῶτον ἐπεβάλοντο διατηρεῖν τὴν ἄκραν τὴν

ἐν τοῖς Οἰνιάδαις, ἀσφαλισάμενοι τείχες καὶ τῇ

λοιπῇ κατασκευῇ· συνεγκλίζοντος δὲ τοῦ Φιλίππου

6 καταπλαγέντες έξεχώρησαν. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς παρα-

λαβὼν καὶ ταύτην τὴν πόλιν, εξ αὐτῆς προελθὼν

καταστρατοπεδεύσει τῆς Καλυδωνίας πρὸς τῷ χωρίῳ

ὁχυρόν, ὁ καλεῖται μὲν Ἔλαος ἕσφαλονται δὲ

τείχες καὶ ταῖς λοιπαῖς παρασκευαῖς διαφερόντως,

'Αττάλου τὴν περὶ αὐτὸ κατασκευῆν ἀναδεξαμένου

7 τοῖς Αἰτωλοῖς. γενόμενοι δὲ καὶ τοῦτον κύριο

κατὰ κράτος οἱ Μακεδόνες, καὶ πᾶσαν κατασύραντες

8 τὴν Καλυδωνίαν, ἥκον πάλιν εἰς τοὺς Οἰνιάδας. ὁ

δὲ Φιλίππος συνθεσάμενος τὴν εὐκαρίαν τοῦ

tόπου πρὸς τε τάλλα καὶ μάλιστα πρὸς τὰς εἰς

Πελοπόννησον διαβάσεις, ἐπεβάλετο τειχίζειν τὴν

9 πόλιν. τοὺς γὰρ Οἰνιάδας κείσθαι συμβαίνει παρὰ

θάλατταν, ἐπὶ τῷ πέρατι τῆς Ἀκαρνανίας τῷ

πρὸς Αἰτωλοὺς συνάπτοντι, περὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ

10 Κορινθιακοῦ κόλπου. τῆς δὲ Πελοπόννησου τέτα-

454
to pillage the country, and when he reached Oeniadae his army was abundantly furnished with provisions of every kind. Encamping before Paeonium he determined to capture this city in the first place and after several assaults took it by storm. It is a town of no great size, being less than seven stades in circumference, but inferior to none in the fine construction of its houses, walls, and towers. Philip razed the wall to the ground, and taking down the houses made the timbers and tiles into rafts and sent down the stones on them with the greatest care to Oeniadae. The Aetolians at first determined to hold the citadel of Oeniadae, feeling themselves safe behind walls furnished with all other defences, but on Philip's approach took fright and retired. The king, taking possession of this town too, advanced from it and encamped before a strong place in the territory of Calydon called Elaus admirably fortified by walls and other defences, Attalus having undertaken for the Aetolians the expense of construction. The Macedonians assaulted and took this place also and after laying waste the whole territory of Calydon returned to Oeniadae. But Philip, observing the natural advantages of the spot both in other respects and as a point from which to cross to the Peloponnese, conceived the plan of fortifying the town. Oeniadae lies at the extreme border of Acarnania on the coast of Aetolia, just at the entrance of the Corinthian Gulf. The part of the Peloponnese facing it is the coast
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

καὶ μὲν ἡ πόλις καταντικρύ τῆς παραλίας τῆς τῶν Δυμαίων, ἐγγυστὰ δ’ αὐτῆς ὑπάρχει τοῖς κατὰ τὸν "Αραξὸν τόποις. ἀπέχει γὰρ οὐ πλεῖον ἐκατὸν 11 σταδίων. εἰς δ’ βλέπασ τὴν τε ἀκραν καθ’ αὐτὴν ἡσαφέστατο, καὶ τῷ λιμένι καὶ τοῖς νεωρίοις ομοὶ τεῖχος περιβαλὼν ἐνεχείρει συνάψαι πρὸς τὴν ἀκραν, χρώμενος πρὸς τὴν οἰκονομίαν ταῖς ἐκ τοῦ Παιανίου παρασκευαῖς.

66 Ἡτὶ δὲ περὶ ταῦτα γνωμένου τού βασιλέως παρῆν ἐκ Μακεδονίας ἄγγελος διασαφῶν ὅτι συμβαίνει τοὺς Δαρδανεῖς, ὑπονεοκότας τὴν εἰς Πελοπόννησον αὐτοῦ στρατείαν, ἀθροίζουν δυνάμεις καὶ παρασκευὴν ποιεῖσθαι μεγάλην, κεκρι-κότας ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν Μακεδονίαν. ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα, καὶ νομίζας ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι βοηθεῖν κατὰ τάχος τῆς Μακεδονίας, τοὺς μὲν παρὰ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν πρῶτες ἀπέστειλε, δοὺς ἀπόκρισιν ὧτι τοῖς προσ-ηγγελμένοις ἑπαρκέσασι οὐδὲν προοργιαίτερον ποιή-σεται μετὰ ταῦτα τοῦ βοηθεῖν σφίζει κατὰ δύναμιν, 3 αὐτὸς δ’ ἀναζεῦξας μετὰ σπουδῆς ἐποιεῖτο τὴν ἐπάνοδον ἢπερ καὶ τὴν παρουσίαν ἐπεποίητο.

4 μέλλοντος δὲ αὐτοῦ διαβαίνειν τῶν Ἄμβρακικῶν κόλπον ἐξ Ἀκαρνανίας εἰς Ἡπειροῦν παρῆν ἐφ’ ἐνὸς λέμβου Δημήτριος ὁ Φάριος, ἐκπεπτωκὼς ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἐκ τῆς Ἰλλυρίδος. ὑπὲρ ὅν ἐν τοῖς πρὸ τούτων ἡμῶν δεδήλωται. τοῦτον μὲν οὖν Φίλιππος ἀποδεξάμενος φιλανθρώπως ἐκέλευσε πλεῖν ὡς ἐπὶ Κόρινθον κάκειθεν ἥκειν διὰ Θετταλίας εἰς Μακεδονίαν, αὐτὸς δὲ διαβὰς εἰς τὴν "Ἡπειροῦν 5 πρὸ τούτων ἡμῶν δεδήλωται. τοῦτον μὲν οὖν Ἡπειροῦν προῆγε κατὰ τὸ συνεχὲς εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν. παραγενομένου δ’ αὐτοῦ τῆς Μακεδονίας εἰς Πέλλαν, ἀκούσαντες οἱ Δαρδάνοι παρὰ Θρακῶν τινῶν αὐτομόλων 456
territory of Dyme, the nearest point being the promontory of Araxus which is not more than a hundred stades distant. Looking to these facts Philip fortified the citadel separately and surrounding the harbour and dockyards with a wall he intended to connect them with the citadel, using the building material he had brought down from Paeonium for the work.

66. But while the king was still thus engaged, a post arrived from Macedonia informing him that the Dardani, understanding that he contemplated a campaign in the Peloponnese, were collecting forces and making great preparations with the intention of invading Macedonia. On hearing this, he thought it necessary to hasten back to the help of Macedonia, and now dismissing the Achaean envoys with the reply that when he had done what was called for by the intelligence he had received he would make it his first object to assist them as far as was within his power, he broke up his camp and returned home with all speed by the same route as that by which he had come. As he was about to cross the Gulf of Ambracia from Acarnania to Epirus, Demetrius of Pharus appeared in a single frigate, having been driven by the Romans from Illyria, as I narrated in a previous Book. Philip received him kindly and bade him sail for Corinth and from thence make his way to Macedonia through Thessaly, while he himself crossed to Epirus and continued his advance. When he reached Pella in Macedonia, the Dardani, hearing of his arrival from some Thracian deserters,
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

τὴν παρουσίαν τοῦ Φίλιππον, καταπλαγέντες παραχήμα διέλυσαν τὴν στρατείαν, καὶ περὶ ἡδὴ σύνεγγυς
7 ὄντες τῆς Μακεδονίας. Φίλιππος δὲ πυθόμενος τὴν τῶν Δαρδανέων μετάνοιαν τοὺς μὲν Μακεδόνας
dιαφήκε πάντας ἐπὶ τὴν τῆς ὀπόρας συγκομιδήν, αὐτὸς δὲ πορευθεὶς εἰς Θεσσαλίαν τὸ λουπὸν μέρος
tοῦ θέρους ἐν Λαρίσῃ διήγει.
8 Κατὰ δὲ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον Αἰμίλιος ἐκ τῆς Ἰλλυρίδος εἰσῆγε λαμπρῶς εἰς τὴν 'Ῥώμην τὸν
θρήμαβον, Ἀννίβας δὲ Ζάκανθαν ἡρηκώς κατὰ κράτος διέλυσε τὰς δυνάμεις εἰς παραχειμασίαν,
9 Ἦρωμαῖοι δὲ, προσπεσοῦσας αὐτοῖς τῆς Ζάκανθαίων ἀλώσεως, πρεσβευτὰς ἔσεμπτα ἐξαιτῆσοντας Ἀν-
νίβαν παρὰ Καρκηδονίων, ἀμα δὲ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον
παρεσκευάζοντο, καταστήσαντες ὑπάτους Πόσπλιον
10 Κορνήλιοι καὶ Τιβέριοι Σεμπρόνιοι. ὑπὲρ δὲν 
ἡμεῖς τὰ μὲν κατὰ μέρος ἐν τῇ προτέρα βύβλῳ
dεδηλώκαμεν· νῦν δὲ ἀναμνήσεως χάριν αὐτὰ προ-
νεγκάμεθα κατὰ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐπαγγελλάν, ἵνα
gνωσκηται τὰ κατάλληλα τῶν πραγμάτων.
11 Καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἔτος ἐλήγε τῆς ὑποκειμένης
67 ὀλυμπιάδος, παρὰ δὲ τοῖς Αἰτωλοῖς ἦδη τῶν
ἀρχαιστῶν καθηκόντων στρατηγὸς ἱέθη Δωρί-
μαχος, δὲ παραυτίκα τὴν ἀρχήν παραλαβὼν καὶ
tοὺς Αἰτωλοὺς ἀθροίσας μετὰ τῶν ὀπλῶν ἐνεβάλεν
eἰς τοὺς ἄνω τόπους τῆς Ἡπείρου καὶ τὴν χώραν
2 ἕδημον, θυμικότερον χρώμενος τῇ καταφθορᾷ· τὸ
γὰρ πλείον ὦ τῆς σφετέρας ωφελείας ἀλλὰ τῆς
tῶν Ἡπειρωτῶν βλάβης χάριν ἐκατον συνετέλει.
3 παραγενόμενος δὲ πρὸς τὸ περὶ Δωδώνῃν ἱερὸν
tὰς τε στοὰς ἐνέπρησε καὶ πολλὰ τῶν ἀναθημάτων
dιεφθείρε, κατέσκαψε δὲ καὶ τὴν ἱερὰν οἰκίαν,
took fright and at once dismissed their army, although they were now close to Macedonia. Philip, on learning that the Dardani had abandoned their project, sent home all his Macedonians to gather in the harvest and returning to Thessaly spent the rest of the summer at Larisa.

It was at this same time that Aemilius, on his return from Illyria, celebrated a splendid triumph in Rome, that Hannibal after taking Saguntum by assault dismissed his army to winter quarters, that the Romans on hearing of the fall of Saguntum sent ambassadors to Carthage demanding that Hannibal should be given up to them, and at the same time began to prepare for war after electing as Consuls Publius Cornelius Scipio and Tiberius Sempronius Longus. All these matters I have dealt with in detail in my previous Book, and now merely recall them to my readers in pursuance of my original plan that they may know what events were contemporaneous.

67. And so the first year of this Olympiad was drawing to its close. It was now the date for the elections in Aetolia, and Dorimachus was chosen strategus. As soon as he entered on office he summoned the Aetolians to arms and invading upper Epirus laid the country waste, carrying out the work of destruction in a thoroughly vindictive spirit; for the measures he took were all not so much meant to secure booty for himself as to inflict damage on the Epirotes. On reaching the temple of Dodona he burnt the porticoes, destroyed many of the votive offerings and demolished the sacred building, so that
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

4 ὡστε μήτ' εἰρήνης ὅρον μήτε πολέμου πρὸς Αἰτωλοὺς ὑπάρχειν, ἀλλ' ἐν ἀμφοτέραις ταῖς περιστάσεσι παρὰ τὰ κοινὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἔθη καὶ νόμιμα χρῆσθαι ταῖς ἐπιβολαῖς.

5 Οὕτως μὲν οὖν ταῦτα καὶ τοιαῦτα διαπραξάμενος ἐπανήγγειν αὖθις εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν· τοῦ δὲ χειμώνος ἔτι προβαίνοντος, καὶ πάντων ἀπηλπικῶτων τὴν παρουσίαν τοῦ Φιλίππου διὰ τὸν καιρόν, ἀναλαβὼν ὁ βασιλεὺς χαλκάσπιδας μὲν τρισχιλίους πελταστὰς δὲ δισχιλίους καὶ Κρήτης τριακοσίους, πρὸς δὲ τούτους ἵππεις τοὺς περί τὴν αὐλήν εἰς τετρακοσίους,

6 προῆγεν ἀπὸ Δαρίστῃ καὶ διαβιβάσας τούτους ἐκ Θεσσαλίας εἰς Εὔβοιαν κάκειθεν εἰς Κῦνον ἤκε διὰ τῆς Βουτίας καὶ Μεγαρίδος εἰς Κόρινθον περὶ τροπὰς χειμερινὰς, ἐνεργὸν καὶ λαθραῖαν πεποιημένος τὴν παρουσίαν οὕτως ὡστε μηδένα Πελο-

8 ποννησίων ὑπονόησαι τὸ γεγονός. κλείσας δὲ τὰς πύλας τοῦ Κορίνθου καὶ διαλαβὼν τὰς ὄδους φυλακαῖς, τῇ κατὰ πόδας Ἄρατον μὲν τὸν πρεσβύτερον ὡς αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ Σικυώνος μετεπέμπτε ποταμῷ καί πρὸς τὰς πόλεις ἔξαπεστέλλεν, ἐν οἷς διεσάφει πότε καὶ ποῦ δεχέσει συναντῶν πάντας ἐν τοῖς ὀπλοῖς.

9 ταῦτα δ' οἰκονομήσας ἀνέζευξε, καὶ προελθὼν κατεστρατοπέδευσε τῆς Φλισσίας περὶ τὸ Διοσκοῦ-

68 κατὰ δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς καιροὺς Εὐρυπίδας, ἐχὼν Ἡλείων δύο λόχους μετὰ τῶν πειρατῶν καὶ μισθοφόρων, ὥστε εἰναὶ τοὺς πάντας εἰς δισχιλίους καὶ διακοσίους, ἀμα δὲ τούτους ἵππεις ἐκατόν, ὀρμήσας ἐκ Ψωφίδο, ἐποιεῖτο τῷ πορείαν διὰ τῆς Φευκής καὶ Στυμφαλίας, οὐδὲν μὲν εἴδως τῶν κατὰ τὸν Φιλίππου, θουλόμενος δὲ κατασύραι τὴν
we may say that for the Aetolians no restrictions exist either in peace or war, but that in both circumstances they pursue their designs in defiance of the common usages and principles of mankind.

Dorimachus after this and similar exploits returned home. As the winter was now advanced, everyone had given up any hope of Philip's reappearance owing to the season, but suddenly the king taking with him three thousand of his brazen-shielded hoplites, two thousand peltasts, three hundred Cretans, and about four hundred of his horse guards, started from Larisa. Transporting this force from Thessaly to Euboea and thence to Cynus, he passed through Boeotia and Megaris and reached Corinth about the winter solstice, having marched with such expedition and secrecy that no one in the Peloponnese was aware of what had happened. Shutting the gates of Corinth and posting patrols in the streets, he sent next day to Sicyon for the elder Aratus, at the same time dispatching letters to the strategus of the Achaeans and to the different cities informing them at what date and place he required them all to meet him in arms. After making these arrangements he left Corinth, and advancing encamped near the temple of the Dioscuri in the territory of Phlius.

68. Just at this time Euripidas with two companies of Eleans together with his freebooters and mercenaries, so that his whole force of infantry numbered about two thousand two hundred, and with a hundred horsemen, had left Psophis and was marching through the territories of Pheneus and Stymphalus, knowing nothing of Philip's arrival, but bent on laying waste
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

2 τῶν Σικυωνίων χώραν. τῆς δὲ νυκτὸς τῆς αὐτῆς ἐν ἦ συνέβαινε στρατοπεδεύειν τὸν Φιλίππον περὶ τὸ Διοσκούριον, παρηλλαχὼς τὴν στρατοπεδείαν τοῦ βασιλέως περὶ τὴν ἐσωθικὴν ἐμβάλλειν οἶος τ' ἥν εἰς τὴν Σικυωνίαν. τῶν δὲ παρὰ τοῦ Φιλίππου Κρητῶν τινὲς ἀπολελοιπότες τὰς τάξεις καὶ διυχεύοντες περὶ τὰς προνομείας ἐμπίπτοντοι εἰς τοὺς περὶ τὸν Εὐριπίδαν. οὕς ἀνακρίνας καὶ συνεἰς τὴν παρουσίαν τῶν Μακεδόνων ὁ προειρημένος, οὐδενὶ ποιήσας φανερῶν οὐδὲν τῶν προσπεπτυκότων, ἀναλαβὼν τὴν γύναικαν εἰς ὑποστροφῆς αὐθίς ἀνέλυε τὴν αὐτὴν ὅδον ἐν ἦπερ ἤκεν, βουλό-5 μενος, ἀμα δὲ καὶ κατελπίζων καταταχήσεων τοὺς Μακεδόνας διεκβαλῶν τὴν Στυμφαλίαν καὶ συνάψας ταῖς ὑπερκειμέναις δυσχωρίαις. ὁ δὲ βασιλέως οὐδὲν εἴδος τῶν περὶ τοὺς ὑπεναντίους, κατὰ δὲ τὴν αὐτοῦ πρόθεσιν ἀναζεύξας τὴν ἐσωθικὴν προ-ηγε, κρίνων ποιεῖσθαι τὴν πορείαν παρ' αὐτὸν 7 τὸν Στυμφαλὸν ὡς ἐπὶ τὰς Καρυᾶς ἐνθάδε γὰρ ἐγεγράφει τοῖς Ἑλλήνες συναθροίζοντας μετὰ τῶν ὁπλων. τῆς δὲ πρωτοτορείας τῶν Μακεδόνων ἐπι-βαλούσης ἐπὶ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τὴν περὶ τὸ καλοῦμενον Αἰτελαυρον, ἦ πρόκειται τῆς τῶν Στυμφαλίων πόλεως περὶ δέκα στάδια, ἀμα συνεκύρησε καὶ τὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων πρωτοτορείαν συμπεσεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν. ὁ μὲν οὖν Εὐριπίδας συννοήσας τὸ γεγονός ἐκ τῶν προσηγγελμένων, παραλαβὼν μεθ' ἐαυτοῦ τινας τῶν ἰππέων καὶ διαδρας τὸν ἐνεστῶτα καιρὸν ἐποιεῖτο τὴν ἀποχώρησιν εἰς τὴν Ψωφίδα 3 ταῖς ἀνοδίαις· τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν πλῆθος τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐγ-καταλελειμμένον ὑπὸ τοῦ προεστῶτος καὶ γεγονός ἐκπλαγές ἐπὶ τῷ συμβεβηκότι κατὰ πορείαν ἔμενε, 462
the district round Sicyon. On the very night on which Philip was encamped near the temple of the Dioscuri, he passed close by the king's camp in the early morning and was just about to invade the territory of Sicyon. But some of Philip's Cretans, who had left their ranks and were prowling about in search of plunder, fell in with Euripidas' force. He questioned them, and on learning of the arrival of the Macedonians, without revealing the news to a soul, he led his force back by the road along which he had come, with the wish and hope of getting a start of the Macedonians and thus passing through the territory of Stymphalus and gaining the difficult highland country above it. The king, quite ignorant also of the enemy's vicinity and simply in pursuance of his plan, broke up his camp early in the morning and advanced, intending to march past Stymphalus itself in the direction of Caphyae; for it was there that he had written to the Achaeans to assemble in arms. 69. As the advanced guard of the Macedonians was coming over the hill near the place called Apelaurus, about ten stades before you come to Stymphalus, it so happened that the advanced guard of the Eleans converged on the pass also. Euripidas, who understood what had happened from the intelligence he had previously received, took a few horsemen with him and escaping from the danger retreated across country to Psophis. The rest of the Eleans, thus deserted by their commander and thoroughly alarmed by what had occurred, remained in marching order at a loss what to do or
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

διαπορούμενον τι δεῖ ποιεῖν καὶ πὴ τρέπεσθαι.
4 τὸ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτον αὐτῶν οἱ προεστῶτες ὑπελάμβανον τῶν Ἀχαιῶν αὐτῶν τινας συνεπιβεβηκέναι. καὶ μάλιστ' ἦπάτων αὐτοὺς οἱ χαλκάσπιδες.
5 Μεγαλοπολίτας γὰρ εἶναι τούτους ἔδοξαζον διὰ τὸ τοιούτου ὅπλους κεχρῆσθαι τοὺς προερημένους ἐν τῷ περὶ Σελλασίαν πρὸς Κλεομένη κινήνως, καθοπλίσαντος Ἀντιγόνου τοῦ βασιλέως πρὸς τὴν
6 παροῦσαν χρείαν. διὸπερ ἀπεχώροιν τηρῶντες τὰς τάξεις πρὸς τινας ὑπερδεξίους τόπους, οὐκ ἀπελπίζοντες τὴν σωτηρίαν. ἀμα δὲ τῶν προσάγοντας αὐτοῖς τοὺς Μακεδόνας σύνεγγυς γενέσθαι λαβόντες ἐννοιαν τοῦ κατ' ἀλήθειαν ὄντος, πάντες
7 ὤρμησαν πρὸς φυγὴν ρίψαντες τὰ ὀπλα. ὥγριεῖ
8 οὐ πλείους τῶν ἑκατῶν. οὗ δὲ Φίλιππος τὰ τε σκόλα καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους εἰς Κόρινθον ἀποπέμψας
9 εἶχετο τῶν προκειμένων. τοὺς δὲ Πελοποννησίους πάσι παράδοξον ἐφανὴ τὸ γεγονὸς; ἀμα γὰρ ἦκουν τὴν παροῦσιαν καὶ τὴν νίκην τοῦ βασιλέως.
10 ἤπνομενοι δὲ τὴν πορείαν διὰ τῆς Ἀρκαδίας, καὶ πολλὰς ἀναδεξάμενοι χιόνας καὶ ταλαιπωρίας ἐν ταῖς περὶ τῶν Ὀλύμπωτον ὑπερβολαῖς, τῇ τρίτῃ
11 τῶν ἡμερῶν κατήρ τυκτωρ εἰς Καφύας. θεραπεύσας δὲ τὴν δύναμιν ἐπὶ δυὸ ἡμέρας ἐνταῦθα, καὶ προσαναλαβὼν Ἀρατόν τὸν νεώτερον καὶ τοὺς ἀμα τούτων συνθροισμένους τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, ὅστ' εἶναι τὴν ὄλην δύναμιν εἰς τοὺς μυρίους, προῆγε διὰ τῆς Κλειτορίας ὡς ἐπὶ Ψωφίδος, συναθροίζων ἐκ τῶν πόλεων ὃν διεπορεύετο βῆλη καὶ κλίμακας.

464
what direction to take. At first, I must explain, their officers thought it was an Achaean force which had come to oppose them, taken in chiefly by the brazen-shielded hoplites whom they supposed to be Megalopolitans, as the contingent from there had carried such shields in the battle at Sellasia against Cleomenes, King Antigonus having thus armed them for the occasion. They therefore kept their ranks and began to retire to some higher ground, not despairing of safety. But as soon as the Macedonians advancing on them drew close, they realized the truth and all took to flight throwing away their shields. About twelve hundred of them were made prisoners and the remainder perished, either at the hands of the Macedonians or by falling down the precipices, only about a hundred escaping. Philip, sending the prisoners and captured arms back to Corinth, continued his march. This event exceeding-ingly astonished all the Peloponnesians, who heard at one and the same time of the king’s arrival and of his victory.

70. Marching through Arcadia and encountering heavy snowstorms and many hardships in crossing the pass of Mount Olygyrtus, he reached Caphyae in the night of the third day. Having rested his troops here for two days and being joined by the younger Aratus and the Achaeans he had collected, so that his whole force was now about ten thousand strong, he advanced on Psophis through the territory of Cleitor, collecting missiles and ladders from the towns he passed through. Psophis is an undisputably
3 ἡ δὲ Ψωφίς ἔστι μὲν ὁμολογούμενον καὶ παλαιὸν Ἀρκάδων κτίσμα τῆς Ἀζανίδος, κείταί δὲ τῆς μὲν συμπάσης Πελοποννήσου κατὰ τὴν μεσόγαιον, αυτὴς δὲ τῆς Ἀρκαδίας ἐπὶ τοὺς πρὸς δυσμᾶς πέραςιν, συνάπτουσα τοῖς περὶ τὰς ἐσχατιὰς κατοικοῦσι τῶν προσεπερίων Ἀχαιῶν ἐπίκειται δ’ εὐφώς τῇ τῶν Ἡλείων χώρα, μεθ’ ὁ γεινέβαινε.

5 τότε πολιτεύεσθαι αὐτὴν. πρὸς ἦν Φίλιππος τριταῖος ἐκ τῶν Καφυῶν διανύσας κατεστρατοπέδευεν περὶ τοὺς ἀπέναντι τῆς πόλεως ὑπερκειμένους βουνοὺς, ἀφ’ ὧν ἦν κατοπτεύειν τὴν τε πόλιν ὅλην ἀσφαλῶς καὶ τοὺς πέρικε αὐτῆς τόπους.

6 συνθεωρῶν δὲ τὴν χυρότητα τῆς Ψωφίδος δ’ βασιλεὺς ἠπορεῖτο τῇ χρή ποιεῖν. τὴν γὰρ ἄφ’ ἐσπέρας πλευρὰν αὐτῆς καταφέρεται λάβρος χειμάρρους ποταμός, ὅσ κατὰ τὸ πλείστον μέρος τοῦ χειμώνος ἀβατός ἐστώ, ποιεῖ δὲ καὶ τὸ παράπαν ἐξυράν καὶ δυσπρόσδοχον τὴν πόλιν διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ κοιλώματος, δ’ κατὰ βραχὺ τῷ χρόνῳ κατείρησε καὶ φιλοτιμοῦν τῆς τε φερόμενοι εἰς ὑπερδεξίων τόπων. παρὰ δὲ τὴν ἀπ’ ὅνος πλευρὰν ἔχει τὸν Ἐρύμανθον, μέγαν καὶ λάβρον ποταμόν, ὑπὲρ οὗ πολὺς καὶ ὑπὸ πολλῶν χειλώματος, δ’ κατὰ βραχὺ τῷ χρόνῳ κατείρησε καὶ φιλοτιμοῦν τῆς τε φερόμενοι εἰς ὑπερδεξίων τόπων. παρὰ δὲ τὴν ἀπ’ ὅνος πλευρὰν ἔχει τὸν Ἐρύμανθον, μέγαν καὶ λάβρον ποταμόν, ὑπὲρ οὗ πολὺς καὶ ὑπὸ πολλῶν χειλώματος, δ’ κατὰ βραχὺ τῷ χρόνῳ κατείρησε καὶ φιλοτιμοῦν τῆς τε φερόμενοι εἰς ὑπερδεξίων τόπων. παρὰ δὲ τὴν ἀπ’ ὅνος πλευρὰν ἔχει τὸν Ἐρύμανθον, μέγαν καὶ λάβρον ποταμόν, ὑπὲρ οὗ πολὺς καὶ ὑπὸ πολλῶν χειλώματος, δ’ κατὰ βραχὺ τῷ χρόνῳ κατείρησε καὶ φιλοτιμοῦν τῆς τε φερόμενοι εἰς ὑπερδεξίων τόπων.
Arcadian foundation of great antiquity in the district of Azanis lying in the interior of the Peloponnese taken as a whole, but on the western borders of Arcadia itself and coterminous with the up-country of western Achaea. It commands with great advantage the territory of the Eleans, with whom it was then politically united. Philip, reaching it in three days from Caphyae, encamped on the hills opposite, from which one can securely view the whole town and its environs. When he observed the great strength of Psophis, the king was at a loss what to do; for on its western side there descends a violent torrent, impassable for the greater part of the winter, and rendering the city very strongly protected and difficult of approach on this side, owing to the depth of the bed it has gradually formed for itself, descending as it does from a height. On the eastern side of the town flows the Erymanthus, a large and rapid stream of which many fables are told by various authors. The torrent falls into the Erymanthus to the south of the city, so that three faces of the city are surrounded and protected by the rivers in the manner I have described. On the fourth or northern side rises a steep hill protected by walls, serving very efficiently as a natural citadel. The town has also walls of unusual size and admirable construction, and besides all these advantages it had just received a reinforce-
'Hleiwv eiσπεπτυκέναι, καὶ τὸν Εὐρυπίδαν ἐκ τῆς φυγῆς διασησωσμένον ὑπάρχειν ἐν αὐτῇ.

71 Ταύτ’ οὖν πάντα συνορῶν καὶ συλλογιζόμενοι ὁ Φίλιππος τὰ μὲν ἀφίστατο τοῖς λογισμοῖς τοῦ βιάζοντα καὶ πολιορκεῖν τὴν πόλιν, τὰ δὲ προ-

2 θύμως εἶχε, τὴν εὑκαιρίαν ὅρων τοῦ τόπου· καθ’ ὅσον γὰρ ἐπέκειτο τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς τὸτε καὶ τοῖς Ἀρκάσι καὶ πολεμητήριον ὑπήρχε τοῖς Ἡλείων ἀσφαλές, κατὰ τοσοῦτον πάλιν κρατήθεν ἐμελλε νῦν μὲν Ἀρκάδων προκεῖσθαι κατὰ δὲ τῶν Ἡλείων ἀρματήριον ὑπάρξειν τοῖς συμμάχοις εὐκαιρον.

3 διόπερ ἐπὶ τούτῳ τὸ μέρος ὀρμήσας τῇ γνώμῃ παρῆγγελλε τοῖς Μακεδόσιν ἀμα τῷ φωτὶ πάσιν ἀριστοποιεῖσθαι καὶ διεσκευασμένοις ἑτοίμους ὑπ’ ἀρχεῖν. μετὰ δὲ ταύτα διαβὰς τὴν κατὰ τὸν Ἐρύ-

4 μανθὸν γέφυραν, οὐδὲνος ἐμποδῶν στάντος διὰ τὸ παράδοξον τῆς ἐπιβολῆς, ἦκε πρὸς αὐτὴν τὴν πόλιν ἐνεργῶς καὶ καταπληκτικῶς. οἱ δὲ κατὰ τὸν Εὐρυπίδαν καὶ πάντες οἱ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν δυσπό-

5 ροὺν ἐπὶ τοῖς συμβαίνουσι τῷ πεπείθοντει μήτ’ ἄν ἐξ ἐφόδου τολμῆσαι τοὺς πολεμίους προσβαλεῖν καὶ βιαζόταν πρὸς οὕτως ὠχυράν πόλιν μήτ’ χρόνον ἀν συστήσασθαι πολιορκίαν διὰ τὴν τοῦ καρφὶ περίστασιν. ἀμα δὲ ταύτα λογιζόμενοι διηπίστουν ἀλλήλοις, δεδιότες μὴ πράξειν ὁ Φίλιππος εἰη διὰ τῶν ἐνδον συνεσταμένος κατὰ τῆς πόλεως.

6 ἔπει δ’ οὐδὲν ἐώρων τοιοῦτον ἐξ αὐτῶν γινόμενον, ἀφίμηνοι οἱ μὲν πλείους ἐπὶ τὰ τείχη βοηθῆσοντες, οἱ δὲ μισθοφόροι τῶν Ἡλείων κατὰ τίνα πύλην υπερδέξοντες ἐξήλθον ὡς ἐπιθησόμενοι τοῖς πο-

8 λεμίοις. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς διατάξας κατὰ τρεῖς τόπους τοὺς προσοίσοντας τῷ τείχει τὰς κλίμακας,
ment of Eleans, and Euripidas was present having taken refuge there after his flight.

71. Philip observing and reflecting on all this, was on the one hand deterred by his judgement from any attempt to carry the town by force or besiege it, but was again strongly disposed thereto when he considered the advantages of its situation. For just as it was now a menace to Achaea and Arcadia and a secure place of arms for the Eleans, so, if it were taken, it would be a bulwark defending Arcadia and an excellent base of operations for the allies against Elis. These considerations finally prevailed, and he gave orders to the Macedonians to get all of them their breakfasts at daybreak and then prepare for action and hold themselves in readiness. This having been done, he crossed the bridge over the Erymanthus, no one opposing him owing to the unexpectedness of the movement, and unhesitatingly marched on the town in formidable array. Euripidas and all in the town were wholly taken aback by this, as they had been convinced that the enemy would neither venture to attempt to assault by storm such a strong city, nor would open a lengthy siege at this disadvantageous season of the year. In this very conviction they now began to entertain suspicions of each other, fearing lest Philip had arranged with some of those inside the city for its betrayal. But when they saw no signs of any such project among themselves, the greater number of them ran to the walls to help, while the mercenaries of the Eleans issued from one of the gates higher up the hill to attack the enemy. The king ordered the bearers of the scaling-ladders to set them up at three separate
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

καὶ τούτοις ὀμοίως μερίσας τοὺς ἄλλους Μακεδόνας, μετὰ ταῦτα διὰ τῶν σαλπιγκτῶν ἀποδοὺς ἐκάστοις τὸ σύνθημα πανταχόθεν ἀμα τὴν προσβολὴν ἐποιεῖτο τὸ τοῖς τείχεσι. τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον ἡμύνοντο γενναῖος οἱ κατέχοντες τὴν πόλιν, καὶ πολλοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν κλιμάκων ἀπέρριπτον ἐπεὶ δ’ ἦ τε χορηγία τῶν βελῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν πρὸς τὴν χρείαν ἐπιτη-
δείων ἐνέλειπεν ὡς ἄν ἐκ τοῦ καιροῦ τῆς παρασκευῆς
γεγενημένης, οἱ τε Μακεδόνες οἵ κατεπλήττοντο τὸ γνώμενον, ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ βιβέντος ἀπὸ τῶν
cλιμάκων χώραν ὁ κατόπιν ἄμελλήτως ἐπέβαινεν.

σε ἐπικείμενοι καὶ προσφέροντες τὰς χεῖρας
sυνεισέπεσον διὰ τῆς πύλης· ἐξ οὗ συνέβη παντα-
χόθεν ἀμα καταληφθῆναι τὴν πόλιν. οἱ μὲν οὖν
Ψωφίδιοι μετὰ τέκνων καὶ γυναικῶν ἀπεχώρησαν
eἰς τὴν ἄκραν, ἀμα δὲ τούτοις οἱ περὶ τὸν Εὐριπίδαν,
ὀμοίως δὲ καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν πλῆθος τῶν διασωζόμενων.

τὸ Μακεδόνες εἰσπεσόντες τὴν μὲν ἐνδομενίαν
ἀπασαν ἐκ τῶν οἰκίας παραχρῆμα διήρπαν, μετὰ
dὲ ταῦτα ταῖς οἰκίαις ἐπισκηνώσαντες κατείχον
tὴν πόλιν. οἱ δὲ συμπεφευγότες εἰς τὴν ἄκροπολιν,
οὐδεμιᾶς φόνοι παρασκευῆς ὑπαρχοῦσης, προορώ-
μενοι τὸ μέλλον ἐγγυωσαν ἐγχειρίζειν σφᾶς αὐτοῦς
tοῦ Φιλίππων. πέμψαντες οὖν κήρυκα πρὸς τὸν
βασιλέα, καὶ λαβόντες συγχώρημα περὶ προσβείας,
εξαπέστελαν τοὺς ἀρχοντας καὶ μετὰ τούτων
spots, and similarly dividing the rest of his Macedonians into three bodies, gave the signal by the sound of trumpet and attacked the wall simultaneously from every side. At first the holders of the city offered a stout resistance and threw down many of the assailants from the ladders, but when their supply of missiles and other requisites began to fall short—their preparations having been made on the spur of the moment—and the Macedonians were showing no signs of fear, the place of each man thrown off the ladder being instantly taken by the man next behind him, the defenders at length turned their backs and all fled to the citadel, while of the king's forces the Macedonians mounted the walls, and the Cretans, attacking the mercenaries who had sallied from the upper gate, forced them to fly in disorder, throwing away their shields. Pressing close on their heels and cutting them down, they entered the gate together with them, and thus the city was taken from every side at once. The Psophidians with their wives and children retreated to the citadel together with Euripidas' force and the rest of the fugitives, (72) and the Macedonians, breaking into the houses, pillaged them at once of all their contents and afterwards lodged in them and took regular possession of the town. The fugitives in the citadel, as they were not prepared for a siege, decided to anticipate matters by surrendering to Philip. They therefore sent a herald to the king; and on obtaining a safe-conduct for an embassy dispatched the magistrates accompanied by Euripidas on this
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

Εὐρυπίδαν· οἱ καὶ ποιησάμενοι σπονδὰς ἐλαβον
tὴν ἀσφάλειαν τοῖς συμπεθευγόσιν ὁμοὶ ξένοις
4 καὶ πολίταις. οὐτοὶ μὲν οὖν αὐτὶς ἐπανήλθον
ὃθεν ὁμιλῆσαν, ἔχοντες παράγγελμα μένειν κατὰ
χώραν ἐως ἄν ἡ δύναμις ἀναζεύξῃ, μὴ τινες ἀπειθή-
5 σαντες τῶν στρατιωτῶν διαρπάσωσιν αὐτοὺς. οὐ
dὲ βασιλεὺς ἐπιγενομένης χιόνος ἤναγκάσθη μένειν
ἐπὶ τὸ ποταν τινὰς ἡμέρας, ἐν αἷς συναγαγὼν τοὺς
παρόντας τῶν Ἀχαιῶν πρῶτον μὲν τὴν ὀχυρώτητα
καὶ τὴν εὐκαιρίαν ἐπεδείκνυε τῆς πόλεως πρὸς τὸν
6 ἐνεστῶτα πόλεμον, ἀπελογίσατο δὲ καὶ τὴν αἴρεσιν
καὶ τὴν εὐνοιαν ἢν ἔχοι πρὸς τὸ ἔθνος, ἐπὶ δὲ πᾶσιν
ἐφι καὶ νῦν παραχωρεῖν καὶ διδόναι τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς
τὴν πόλιν· προκεῖσθαι γὰρ αὐτῷ τὰ δυνατὰ χαρί-
7 ζέσθαι καὶ μηθὲν ἐλλείπειν προθυμίας. ἐφ’ οἷς
εὐχαριστούντων αὐτῷ τῶν τε περί τοῦ Ἀρατον καὶ
τῶν πολλῶν, διαλύσας τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ὁ μὲν Φίλιππος
μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως ἀναζεύξας ἐπὶ Λασώνος
8 ἐποιεῖτο τὴν πορείαν, οἱ δὲ Ψωφίδιοι καταβάντες
ἐκ τῆς ἀκρας ἐκομίσαντο τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὰς οἰκήσεις
ἐκαστοῦ τὰς αὐτῶν, οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Εὐρυπίδαν ἀπήλθον
9 εἰς τὸν Κόρινθον κάκεθεν εἰς Αἰτωλίαν. τῶν
δ’ Ἀχαϊκῶν ἀρχόντων οἱ παρόντες ἐπὶ μὲν τὴν
ἀκραν ἐπέστησαν μετὰ φυλακῆς ἰκανῆς Πρόλαιον
Σικυώνιον, ἐπὶ δὲ τὴν πόλιν Πυθίαν Πεληνέα.
10 Καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ Ψωφίδα τοῦτον ἐπετελέσθη
73 τὸν τρόπον· οἱ δὲ παραφυλάττοντες τὸν Λασιώνα
tῶν Ἡλείων συνέντες τὴν παρουσίαν τῶν Μακεδό-
νων, πεπυσμένοι δὲ καὶ τὰ γεγονότα περὶ τὴν
2 Ψωφίδα, παραχρῆμα τὴν πόλιν ἐξέλισσον. οὐ δὲ
βασιλεὺς ὡς θάττον ἦκε, ἀλλ’ ὁ μὲν ἐξ ἐφόδου
παρέλαβεν, συναύξων δὲ τὴν πρόθεσιν ἦν εἰρή
472
mission, who made terms with the king, securing the lives and liberties of all the fugitives both natives and foreigners. They then returned whence they came with orders for all to remain where they were until the departure of the army, lest any of the soldiery might disobey orders and plunder them. The king, owing to a snow-fall, was obliged to remain here for several days, in the course of which he called a meeting of the Achaeans present, and first of all pointing out to them the strength of the town and its excellent situation for the purposes of the present war, and next protesting his affection and esteem for their state, finally told them that he now handed over the city to the Achaeans as a free gift, it being his purpose to favour them by all means in his power and never fail to consult their interests. Aratus and the Achaean troops having expressed their thanks to him for this, Philip dismissed the meeting and departed with his army, marching towards Lasion. Hereupon, the Psophidians coming down from the citadel, their city and houses were restored to them, and Euripidas went away to Corinth and thence back to Aetolia. The Achaean magistrates present put Prolaus of Sicyon in command of the citadel with an adequate garrison and Pythias of Pellene in command of the town.

73. So ended the incident of Psophis. The Elean garrison of Lasion, hearing of the approach of the Macedonians and learning what had befallen Psophis, at once abandoned the town. The king took the city immediately on his arrival and, as a further testimony of his generous intentions towards the
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

πρὸς τὸ ἑθνός, παρέδωκε καὶ τὸν Δασιώνα τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς. ὅμως δὲ καὶ τὴν Στράτον ἐκλιπόντων τῶν Ἡλείων ἀποκατέστησε τοῖς Τελφούσιοις.

3 ταῦτα δὲ διαπραξάμενοι ἦκε πεμπταῖος εἰς Ὀλυμπίαν. θύσας δὲ τῷ θεῷ καὶ τοὺς ἤγεμόνας ἐστιάσας, ἁμα δὲ καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν προσαναπαύσας δύναμιν ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἥμερας, μετὰ ταῦτα πάλιν ἀνεῖξεν· καὶ προελθὼν εἰς τὴν Ἡλείαν τὰς μὲν προνομὰς ἐπαφῆκε κατὰ τῆς χώρας, αὐτὸς δὲ καταστρατοπέδευσε περὶ τὸ καλοῦμενον Ἀρτεμίσιον.

5 προσδεξάμενος δὲ ἐνταῦθα τὴν λείαν μετέβη πάλιν ἐπὶ τὸ Διοσκούριον.

Ἀνθυμένης δὲ τῆς χώρας πολὺ μὲν ἢν τὸ τῶν ἁλισκομένων πλῆθος, ἐτὶ δὲ πλέον τὸ συμφεῦγον εἰς τὰς παρακεμένας κώμας καὶ τοὺς ἐρυμνοὺς τῶν τόπων. συμβαίνει γὰρ τὴν τῶν Ἡλείων χώραν διαφερόντως οἰκείοντος καὶ γέμεων σωμάτων καὶ κατασκευῆς παρὰ τὴν Ἀλλην Πελοπόννησον. ἔνιοι γὰρ αὐτῶν οὕτως στέργοντο τὸν ἐπὶ τῶν ἁγρῶν ἔχοντο καὶ τρεῖς γενεάς, ἔχοντας ικανὰς οὐσίας, μὴ παραβεβληκάναι τὸ παράπαντα εἰς ἀλλάν. τοῦτο δὲ γίνεται διὰ τὸ μεγάλην ποιεῖσθαι σπουδὴν καὶ πρόνοιαν τοὺς πολιτευομένους τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας κατοικοῦντων, ἢν τὸ τε δίκαιον αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τὸν διεξάγοντα καὶ τῶν πρὸς βιωτικὰς χρείας ἡμῶν ἐλλείψῃ. δοκοῦσι δὲ μοι πάντα ταῦτα καὶ διὰ τὸ πλῆθος μὲν τῆς χώρας τὸ παλαίων ἐπινοῆσαι καὶ νομοθετῆσαι, τὸ δὲ πλεῖστον διὰ τὸν ὑπάρχοντά ποτε παρ’ αὐτοῖς ἥραν βίον, ὅτε λαβόντες παρὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων συγχώρησά διὰ τὸν ἀγώνα τῶν Ὀλυμπίων ἥραν καὶ ἀπόρβητον ὕκουν τὴν Ἡλείαν, ἀπεριοί παντὸς ὄντες δεινοὶ καὶ πάσης πολεμικῆς 474.
League, gave up Lasion also to the Achaeans. He likewise restored to the Telphusians the town of Stratus, which had been evacuated by the Eleans, and after completing these arrangements reached Olympia five days later, where he sacrificed to the god and entertained his captains, and, having given all his army a three days' rest, again moved on. Advancing into Elis he sent out foraging parties to scour the country, and himself encamped at the place called the Artemisium, where he waited for the booty and then went on to the Dioscurium.

When the country was plundered, the number of captives was great, and still more numerous were those who escaped to the neighbouring villages and strong places. For Elis is much more thickly inhabited and more full of slaves and farm stock than any other part of the Peloponnese. Some of the Eleans in fact are so fond of country life, that though men of substance, they have not for two or three generations shown their faces in the law-courts, and this because those who occupy themselves with politics show the greatest concern for their fellow-citizens in the country and see that justice is done to them on the spot, and that they are plentifully furnished with all the necessaries of life. As it seems to me, they have adopted such a system from old time and legislated accordingly in a measure because of the large extent of their territory, but chiefly owing to the sacrosanct life they formerly led, having, ever since the Greeks conferred immunity on them owing to the Olympian games, dwelt in a country which was holy and safe from pillage, with no experience of danger and entirely unmenaced
74 περιστάσεως. μετά δὲ ταύτα διὰ τὴν Ἀρκάδων ἀμφισβήτησιν περὶ Δασιώνος καὶ τῆς Πισάτιδος πάσης ἀναγκασθέντες ἔπαμένει τῇ χώρᾳ καὶ
2 μεταλαβεῖν τὰς ἄγωγας τῶν βίων, οὐκέτι περὶ τοῦ πάλιν ἀνακτήσασθαι παρὰ τῶν Ἐλλήνων τὴν παλαιὰν καὶ πάτριον ἀσυλίαν οὐδὲ τὴν τυχόν πεμβολίαν ἔσχον, ἀλλ' ἐμειναν ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτῶν, οὐκ ὅρθως κατὰ γε τὴν ἐμῆν περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος ποιοῦν.
3 μὲνοι πρόνοιαν· εἰ γὰρ, ής πάντες εὐχόμεθα τοῖς θεοῖς τυχεῖν, καὶ πάν ύπομένομεν ἰμείροντες αὐτῆς μετασχείν, καὶ μόνον τοῦτο τῶν νομίζομένων ἀγαθῶν ἀμφισβήτητον ἐστὶν παρ' ἄνθρωποι, λέγω δὴ τὴν εἰρήνην, ταύτην δυνάμενον τινες μετὰ τοῦ δικαίου καὶ καθήκοντος παρὰ τῶν Ἐλλήνων εἰς πάντα τὸν χρόνον ἀδήριτον κτάσθαι παρολιγώροσιν ἢ προουργαίτερον τι ποιοῦντα τούτον, πῶς
4 οὐκ ἄν ὀμολογομένως ἀγνοεῖν δόξαιε; νη Δί', ἀλλ' ἱσως εὐπιθετοι τοῖς πολεμεῖν καὶ παρασπονδεῖν προθεμένοις ἐκ τῆς τουαίτης ἀγωγῆς
5 γίνονται τῶν βίων. ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνο μὲν σπάνιον, κἀν ποτε γένηται, δυνάμενον κοινῆς ὑπὸ τῶν Ἐλλήνων τυγχάνειν ἐπικουρίας· πρὸς δὲ τὰς κατὰ μέρος ἄδικαις ὑπογεγομένης τοῖς βίοις χορηγίαις, ὅπερ εἰκὸς ὑπάρξειν πάντα χρόνον ἐν εἰρήνῃ διάγονον, δήλον ὡς οὐκ ἂν ἤπόρησαν ἕξον καὶ μισθοφόρων
6 τῶν κατὰ τόπους ἢ καρποὺς παρεφεδρεύοντων. νῦν δὲ τὸ σπάνιον καὶ παράδοξον δεδομένη, ἐν συνεχέσι πολέμους καὶ καταφθοράς τὴν τε χώραν ἔσχουσι καὶ τοὺς βίους.
7 Ταύτα μὲν οὖν ἢμῖν τῆς Ἡλείων ὑπομνήσεως εἰρήσθοι χάριν, ἑπειδὴ τὰ τῶν καιρῶν οὐδέποτε πρότερον εὐφυεστέραν διάθεσιν ἔσχηκε τῆς νῦν
8 Ταύτα μὲν οὖν ἢμῖν τῆς Ἡλείων ὑπομνήσεως εἰρήσθοι χάριν, ἑπειδὴ τὰ τῶν καιρῶν οὐδέποτε πρότερον εὐφυεστέραν διάθεσιν ἔσχηκε τῆς νῦν
by war. 74. But later, when, owing to the Arcadians disputing their possession of Lasion and all the territory of Pisa, they were compelled to defend their country and change their mode of life, they never afterwards showed the least concern to recover from the Greeks their ancient heritage of inviolability, but remained as they now were, acting wrongly in my judgement in thus neglecting their future interests. Peace is a blessing for which we all pray to the gods; we submit to every suffering from the desire to attain it, and it is the only one of the so-called good things in life to which no man refuses this title. If then there be any people which, while able by right and with all honour to obtain from the Greeks perpetual and undisputed peace, neglect this object or esteem any other of greater importance, everyone would surely agree that they are much in the wrong. Perhaps indeed they might plead that such a manner of life exposes them to the attack of neighbours bent on war and regardless of treaties. But this is a thing not likely to happen often and claiming if it does occur the aid of all the Greeks; while to secure themselves against any local and temporary damage, amidst a plentiful supply of wealth, such as will probably be theirs if they enjoy constant peace, they will be in no want of foreign mercenary soldiers to protect them at the place and time required. But now simply from fear of rare and improbable perils they expose their country and their properties to constant war and devastation. Let this be taken as said to remind the Eleans of the duty they owe themselves; since a more favourable opportunity never offered itself than the present for
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

πρὸς τὸ παρὰ πάντων ὁμολογουμένην κτήσασθαι τὴν ἀσυλίαν· τὴν δὲ χώραν, καθάπερ ἐπάνω προ-εἶπον, ἐτι τῆς παλαιᾶς συνηθείας οἶδαι αἰθυγμάτων 75 ἐμμενόντων οἶκοις διαφερόντως Ἰλεῖοι. διὸ καὶ κατὰ τὴν Φιλίππου παρουσίαν ἄπλητον μὲν ἢν τὸ τῶν ἀλικοκέμων πλῆθος, ἐτι δὲ πλεῖον τὸ τῶν 2 συμπεφευγότων. πλείστη δ’ ἀποσκευή καὶ πλεῖστος ὄχλος ἥθροίσθη σωμάτων καὶ θρεμμάτων εἰς τὸ χωρίον δ’ καλοῦσι Θαλάμας, διὰ τὸ τὴν τε χώραν τὴν πέριξ αὐτοῦ στενῆν εἶναι καὶ δυσέμβολον τό 3 τε χωρίον ἀπραγμάτευτον καὶ δυσπρόσοδον. ἄκουόν 4 δ’ ὁ βασιλεὺς τὸ πλῆθος τῶν συμπεφευγότων εἰς τὸν προειρημένον τόπον, καὶ κρίνας μηδὲν ἀβασάνυστον μηδ’ ἀπέραντον ἀπολυπεῖν, τοῖς μὲν μισθοφόροις προκατελάβετο τοὺς ἐπὶ τῆς εἰσοβολῆς εὐ-φυώς κειμένους τόπους, αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν ἀποσκευὴν καταλιπὼν ἐν τῷ χάρακι καὶ τὸ πλεῖον μέρος τῆς δυνάμεως, ἀναλαβὼν τοὺς πέλταστὰς καὶ τοὺς εὐξώνους προῆγε διὰ τῶν στενῶν, οὐδενὸς δὲ κωλύοντος 5 ἤκε πρὸς τὸ χωρίον. καταπλαγέντων δὲ τῶν συμπεφευγότων τὴν ἐφοδὼν ἄτε δὴ πρὸς πᾶσαν πολεμικὴν χρείαν ἀπείρως καὶ ἀπαρασκευὸς διακεμένων, ἀμα δὲ καὶ συνδεδραμηκότος ὄχλου 6 συρφετῶν, ταχέως παρέδοσαν αὐτούς· ἐν οἷς ἤσαν καὶ μισθοφόροι διακόσιοι μυγάδες, οἷς ἤκεν 7 ἔχων Ἀμφίδαμος ὁ στρατηγὸς τῶν Ἰλείων. ὁ δὲ Φιλίππος κυριεύσας ἀποσκευής τε πολλῆς καὶ σωμάτων πλείονων ἦ πεντακισχιλίων, πρὸς δὲ τούτους τῆς τετράποδος λείας ἀναρίθμητον ἐξελασάμενος πλῆθος, τότε μὲν ἔπανῆλθε πρὸς χάρακα, 8 μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τῆς δυνάμεως ὑπεργεμονοῦσας αὐτῷ παντοδαπῆς ὑφελείας βαρὺς ὦν καὶ δύσχρηστος

478
recovering by universal consent their immunity from pillage.

But, as I said above, since some sparks of their old habits are still alive, Elis is an exceedingly populous country; (75) and therefore, upon Philip's entering it, the number of captives was enormous, and the fugitives were still more numerous. A quantity of property and a vast crowd of slaves and cattle were collected at a place they call Thalamae or The Recess, because the approaches to it are narrow and difficult and the place itself secluded and not easily entered. The king, hearing of the numbers of fugitives who had taken refuge in this place and deciding to leave nothing unattempted or half-accomplished, occupied with his mercenaries such spots as commanded the approach, and himself, leaving his baggage and the greater part of his forces in the camp, advanced through the defile with his peltasts and light-armed infantry. He reached the place without encountering any opposition, and the fugitives, thrown into great dismay by the attack, as they had no knowledge of military matters and had made no preparations, and as it was a mixed rabble which had collected in the place, soon surrendered, among them being two hundred mercenaries of various nationalities brought there by Amphidamus the Elean Strategus. Philip, having captured a large amount of movable property, and more than five thousand persons, and having also driven off vast numbers of cattle, now returned to his camp, and shortly, as his army was loaded with booty of every variety and had become unwieldy
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

ἀνεχὼρει διὰ ταύτα, καὶ κατέξευξε πάλιν εἰς τὴν Ὁλυμπίαν.

76 'Ἀπελλῆς δὲ, ὅς ἦν μὲν εἰς τῶν ὑπ’ Ἀντιγόνου καταλειψθέντων ἐπιτρόπων τοῦ παιδός, πλεῖστον δὲ ἐτύχχανε τότε δυνάμενος παρὰ τῷ βασιλεῖ, βουληθεὶς τὸ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἐθνὸς ἀγαγεῖν εἰς παραπλησίαν διάδεσθαι τῇ Θεσπᾶλῳ ἐπεβάλετο πράγμα

2 ποιεῖν μοχθηρόν. Θεσπάλοι γὰρ ἐδόκουν μὲν κατὰ νόμους πολιτεύειν καὶ πολὺ διαφέρειν Μακεδόνων, διέφερον δ’ οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ πᾶν ὦμοίως ἔπαιχον Μακεδόσι καὶ πᾶν ἐποίουν τὸ προσταττόμενον τοῖς βασιλικοῖς. διὸ καὶ πρὸς ταύτῃν ἀρμοζόμενος τὴν ὑπόθεσιν ἀ προειρημένοις ἐπεβάλετο κατα-

4 πειράζειν τῶν συστρατευμένων. τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον ἐπέτρεψε τοῖς Μακεδόσι ἐκβαλεῖν ἐκ τῶν σταθμῶν ἀεὶ τοὺς προκατέχοντας τῶν Ἀχαιῶν καταλύσεις, ὦμοίως δὲ καὶ τὴν λείαν ἀφαιρεῦσθαι.

5 μετὰ δὲ ταύτα τὰς χείρας προσέφερε διὰ τῶν ὑπηρετῶν ἐπὶ ταῖς τυχούσαις αἰτίαις, τοὺς δὲ συναγαγανακτοῦντας ἡ προσβοηθοῦντας τοῖς μαστιγομένοις παρὼν αὐτὸς εἰς τὴν ἄλυσιν ἀπῆγε, 6 πεπεισμένοις διὰ τοῦ τοιοῦτον τρόπου τὸ κατὰ βραχυ λήσειν εἰς συνήθειαν ἀγαγὼν τοῦ μηδέν, ἡ ἡγείσθαι δεινῶν, ὁ ποτ’ ἂν πάσχῃ τις ὕπο

7 τοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ ταύτα μικροῖς χρόνοις πρότερον μετ’ Ἀντιγόνου συνεστρατευμένοις, καὶ τεθεαμένος τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς ὅτι παντὸς δεινοῦ λαβεῖν πείραν ὑπέμειναι ἐφ’ ὃ μὴ ποιεῖν Κλεομένει τὸ προστατε-

8 τόμενον. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ συστραφέντων τινῶν Ἀχαϊκῶν νεανίσκων καὶ προσελθόντων τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἀρατον καὶ διασαφούστων τῆν Ἀπελλοῦ βουλήσεων, ήκον ἐπὶ τὸν Φίλιππον οἰ περὶ τὸν Ἀρατον, 

480
and useless in the field, he for this reason retired and again encamped at Olympia.

76. One of the guardians of the young Philip left by Antigonus was Apelles, who had at this time very great influence with the king. He now entered on the base project of reducing the Achaeans to a position similar to that of the Thessalians. For the Thessalians, though supposed to be governed constitutionally and much more liberally than the Macedonians, were as a fact treated in just the same way and obeyed all the orders of the king’s ministers. Apelles, therefore, in furtherance of this design began to test the temper of the Achaean contingent. He began by allowing the Macedonians to eject from their quarters such Achaeans as had secured billets, and also to appropriate their share of the booty. He next began to inflict personal chastisement on Achaeans by the hands of his subordinates for quite trivial reasons, and himself carried off to bondage anyone who protested against the floggings or attempted to help the victims, being persuaded that by these means he would gradually and imperceptibly accustom them to submit without remonstrance to any treatment the king chose to inflict on them—and this in spite of the fact that he had shortly before made the campaign with Antigonus, and seen how the Achaeans were ready to face any danger rather than obey the behests of Cleomenes. Some of the young Achaeans, however, met together, and coming before Aratus, pointed out the design that Apelles was pursuing, whereupon Aratus approached

481
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

κρίναντες ἐν ἄρχαις περὶ τῶν τοιούτων διϊστασθαι 9 καὶ μὴ καταμέλλειν. ἐντυχόντων δ' αὐτῶν τῷ βασιλεὶ περὶ τούτων, διακούσας ὁ Φίλιππος τὰ γεγονότα τοὺς μὲν νεανίσκους παρεκάλει θαρρεῖν ὡς οὐδενὸς αὐτοῖς ἔτι συμβησσομένου τοιουτοῦ, τῷ δ' Ἀπελλῆ παρῆγγειλε μηδὲν ἐπιτάττειν τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς χωρίς τῆς τοῦ στρατηγοῦ γνώμης.

77 Φίλιππος μὲν οὖν κατὰ τὴν ὁμιλίαν τὴν πρὸς τοὺς ἐν ὑπαύθροις συνδιατρίβοντας καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἐν τοῖς πολεμικοῖς πράξει καὶ τόλμαν οὐ μόνον παρὰ τοῖς στρατευμένοις ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς 2 λοιποῖς πᾶσι Πελοπονησίωσι εὐδοκίμε. βασιλέα γὰρ πλείσων ἀφορμαῖς ἐκ φύσεως κεχορηγημένον πρὸς πραγμάτων κατάκτησιν οὐκ εὐμαρέσ εὔρεῖν· 3 καὶ γὰρ ἀγχίνου καὶ μνήμη καὶ χάρις ἐπῆν αὐτῷ διαφέρουσα, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἐπίφασις βασιλικὴ καὶ δύναμις, τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, πράξει καὶ τόλμα 4 πολεμικῆ. καὶ τὶ δὴ ποτ' ἤν τὸ ταῦτα πάντα καταγωνισάμενον καὶ ποιήσαν ἐκ βασιλέως εὐφυοῦς τύραννον ἄγριον, οὐκ εὐχέρες διὰ βραχέων δηλώσα. διὸ καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων σκέπτεσθαι καὶ διαπορεῖν ἄλλος ἀρμόσει καίρος μᾶλλον τοῦ νῦν ἐνεστῶτος· 5 ὁ δὲ Φίλιππος ἐκ τῆς Ὁλυμπίας ἀναζεύξας τὴν ἐπὶ Φαραίαν παρὴν εἰς Τέλφουσαν κάκειθεν εἰς Ὑραίαν. καὶ τὴν μὲν λείαν ἑλαφροπώλε, τὴν δὲ γέφυραν ἐπεσκευάζε τὴν κατὰ τόν Ἀλφείον, βουλόμενος ταύτῃ ποιήσασθαι τὴν εἰς τὴν Τριφυλίαν 6 εἰσβολήν. κατὰ δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς καιροὺς Δωρίμαχος ὁ τῶν Αἰτωλῶν στρατηγός, δεομένων τῶν Ἡλείων σφίσθι βοηθεῖν πορθομένοις, ἔξακοσίους Αἰτωλοὺς 7 καὶ στρατηγοῦν Φιλλίδαν αὐτοῖς ἐξέπεμψεν· ὅς παραγενόμενος εἰς τὴν Ἡλείαν, καὶ παραλαβῶν 482
Philip, judging it better in such a matter to express his disapproval at the outset and without delay. He laid the matter before the king, who, when made aware of the circumstances, bade the young men lay aside all fear, since nothing of the kind would occur again, and ordered Apelles to issue no orders to the Achaicans without consulting their strategus.

77. Philip, then, both by his behaviour to those with whom he was associated in the camp and by his ability and daring in the field, was winning a high reputation not only among those serving with him but among all the rest of the Peloponnesians. For it would be difficult to find a prince more richly endowed by nature with the qualities requisite for the attainment of power. He possessed a quick intelligence, a retentive memory, and great personal charm, as well as the presence and authority that becomes a king, and above all ability and courage as a general. What indeed it was that defeated all these advantages, and turned a king of such good natural parts into a savage tyrant, is not easy to explain in a few words, and therefore the examination and discussion of the matter must be left for a more suitable occasion than the present.

Setting out from Olympia by the road leading to Pharaea, Philip reached first Telphusa and thence Heraea. Here he held a sale of the booty and repaired the bridge over the Alpheus, intending to invade Triphylia by this road. At about the same time Dorimachus, the Aetolian strategus, on the Eleans requesting him to come to the aid of their country which was being ravaged, dispatched six hundred Aetolians under the command of Phillidas. On reaching Elis, he took over the Elean mercen-


THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

tous mi sostoforous tov 'Hleiwv óntas eis pevtaiko-
sious kai politikous xilious, ãma ðe toutous tous 8
Tarantívous, hke boðwv eis ðn Tríphulian, ð
tis mèn proostigorias téteuche táutis ðpò Tríphulou
tov 'Arkádos paídoiwv ènov, keita ðe tìs Pelopon-
nhson para ðalattan metaxì tìs 'Hleiwv kai
Mesochnwv xóras, tétrapta ðe eis ð to Ðivkón
pélagos, èsxhateúousa tìs 'Arkadías ðs pró
9 keiméria ðs ðusies, ñchei ð' ën autì th peleis
táutas, Samikon Lépréon 'Ysianan Túpanéas

10 Púrgon Aípion Bálaka Stulágnvnon Frídavn. òvn
ôlìouos xhíous próteron èpikrathtsautes 'Hleioi
proseláboito kai tìn tòv 'Alífeiréon póliv,
ódhv eì ðrhìs ùp' 'Arkadían kai Mégálnh póliv,
Ludíado ðou Megalopolitou kata tìn turañiða
pròs tina ìdias práxeis álalagh ðóntos touì

78 'Hleioi. plîn ð ge Ðillídás touì mèn 'Hleioi
eis Lépréon touì ðe mi sostoforous eis 'Alífeira tó
aposteilas, autòs ðe tous Aitwloûs èxwn ën
2 Túpanéas èkaraðdkei to sumbhsísìmenov. ð de
basteiws apothëmenos tìn àpostkeüh kai diabàs
ð' geðhra tòv 'Alífeiowv potamòv, ðs ðeì para' autìì
tìn tòv 'Hraveiìwv póliv, ñke pròs tìn 'Alífeira

3 ñ keita ðen èli lófotou khrmiwdoùs pantaçràven,
èkontos pleioi ñ déka stádìnwn pròsbása, ñchei ð'
ákran ën autìì tì kurofì ðou sómpantos lófou
kai xalcoûn 'Athnàs ándriaánta kàlllei kai megeðeì
4 diaféronta, ðù tìn mèn aitìnì, ðpò poías prosthèsews
ñ xorhìa ëlabè tìn arkhì tìs kataoskeühì,
àmfóbetaísaì súmbaínei kai para touìs èyxhuroìs
(oúte gárh pòthein oúte tìs ànéthkev eýrísketai
5 travóns), tó méntoi ge tìs tèxhìs àpotelèsmà

484
aries, about five hundred in number, and one thousand citizen soldiers, as well as the Tarentines, and came to help Triphylia. This district derives its name from Triphylus, one of the sons of Arcas, and lies on the coast of the Peloponnese between Elis and Messenia, facing the Libyan Sea and forming the extreme south-west portion of Arcadia. It contains the following towns: Samicum, Lepreum, Hypana, Typaneae, Pyrgus, Aepium, Bolax, Stylangium, and Phrixa, all of which the Eleans had annexed, adding to them Alipheira which had originally belonged to Arcadia proper, but had been given to the Eleans during his tyranny by Lydiades of Megalopolis in return for certain private services they rendered him.

78. Phillidas now sent the Eleans to Lepreum and the mercenaries to Alipheira, and remained himself with his Aetolians in Typaneae to see what would happen. The king, after ridding himself of his heavy baggage, crossed by the bridge the Alpheus which runs past Heraea and arrived at Alipheira. This city lies on a hill defended on all sides by precipices, the ascent of which is more than ten stades. It has a citadel on the summit of the whole hill and a bronze statue of Athena, remarkable for its size and beauty. The origin of this statue—from what motive and at whose expense it was made—is a subject of dispute among the natives themselves, as there is nothing to show definitely who dedicated it and why; but all agree as to the

* A particular kind of light mercenary cavalry were so called, whether they came from Tarentum or not.
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

συμφωνεῖται παρὰ πάσι δὶστὶ τῶν μεγαλομερεστάτων καὶ τεχνικώτάτων ἔργων ἔστιν, Ἐκατοδώρου καὶ Σωστράτου κατεσκευάτων.

6 Οὐ μὴν ἅλλον ἐπιγενομένης ᾔμερας αἰθοίου καὶ λαμπρᾶς διατάξεως ὑπὸ τὴν ἐωθικὴν ὅ βασιλεὺς κατὰ πλείους τόπους τοὺς τε τάς κλίμακας φέροντας καὶ 7 τὰς τῶν μισοδοφόρων ἐφεδρείας πρὸ τοῦτων, ἔπει δὲ τοῖς προερημένοις τοὺς Μακεδόνας διηρημένους κατόπιν ἐκάστοις ἐπιστήσας, ἀμα τῷ τὸν ἤλιον ἐπιβάλλειν πάσι προσέταξε προσβαίνειν πρὸς τὸν 8 λόφον. ποιοῦντων δὲ τὸ παραγγελθὲν εἰκόνως καὶ καταπληκτικῶς τῶν Μακεδόνων, συνέβαινε τοὺς Ἀλιφειρεῖς πρὸς τούτοις ὅρμαν ἀεὶ καὶ συντρέ- 9 χεῖν τοὺς τόποις οίς μάλιστα τοὺς Μακεδόνας εὔρων προσπελάζοντας. κατὰ δὲ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον αὐτὸν ὅ βασιλεὺς ἔχων τοὺς ἐπιτηδειοτάτους διὰ των κρημνῶν ἔλαβε πρὸς τὸ τῆς ἄκρας 10 προάστειον ἀναβάς. ἀποδοθέντος δὲ τοῦ συνθή- 11 ματος, πάντες ἀμα προσερέποντες τὰς κλίμακας κατεπέραζον τῆς πόλεως. πρῶτος μὲν οὖν ὁ βασιλεὺς κατέσχε τὸ προάστειον τῆς ἄκρας, ἐφημὸν καταλαβὼν τοῦτο τὸ ἐμπυπραμένου προ- 12 ιδόμενου τὸ μέλλον οὐ τοῖς τείχεσιν ἐπαμύνοντες, καὶ περιδειῆς γενόμενοι μὴ τῆς ἄκρας προκαταληφθεῖσας στερηθῶσι καὶ τῆς τελευταίας ἐλπίδος, ἀρµησαν ἀπολύοντες τὰ τείχη φεύγειν πρὸς τὴν 13 ἄκροπολιν. οἱ δὲ Μακεδόνες γενόμενοι τοῦτον παραχρῆμα καὶ τῶν τείχῶν καὶ τῆς πόλεως ἐκ- 14 ῥίουσιν. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα διαπρεσβευσαμένων τῶν ἐκ τῆς ἄκρας πρὸς τὸν Φίλιππον, δοὺς τὴν ἀσφάλειαν παρέλαβε καὶ ταύτην καθ᾽ ὀμολογίαν.

79 Συντελευθέντων δὲ τούτων καταπλαγεῖς γε-
excellence of the workmanship, it being one of the most magnificent and artistic statues in existence, the work of Hecatodorus and Sostratus.

The next day broke bright and cloudless, and at early dawn the king distributed at various points the ladder-bearers supported by the mercenaries in front, and dividing his Macedonians placed a body of them in the rear of each party. As soon as the sun was visible, he ordered them all to advance on the hill, and the Macedonians, executing his orders with great alacrity and in formidable style, the Alipheirians kept always running to whatever spots they saw the Macedonians approaching. But the king meanwhile with a picked force managed by climbing some precipitous rocks to reach unperceived the suburb of the citadel. The signal was now given and all at one and the same time planted the ladders against the walls and began the assault of the town. The king was the first to enter, taking the suburb of the citadel, which he found unoccupied, and when this suburb was in flames, the defenders of the walls, seeing what was likely to happen and in dread lest with the fall of the citadel they should find their last hope gone, left the walls and rushed to take refuge within it. Upon this the Macedonians at once captured the walls and the town; and afterwards the garrison of the citadel sent commissioners to Philip and, on his promising to spare their lives, they surrendered it to him by treaty.

79. All the people of Triphylia were much alarmed
γονότες πάντες οἱ κατὰ τὴν Τριφυλίαν ἐβουλεύοντο
2 περὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν ἰδίων πατρίδων. ὁ δὲ Φιλλίδας ἐκλίπων τὰς Τυπανέας, προσδιαρπάσας τινὰς τῶν οἰκίων, ἀπεχώρησεν εἰς τὸ Λέπτρεον.
3 ταῦτα γὰρ ἐπίχειρα τότε τοὺς Αἰτωλῶν ἐγίνετο συμμάχοις, τὸ μὴ μόνον ἐν τοῖς ἀναγκαστάτοις καυροῖς ἐγκαταλείπεσθαι προφανῶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ διαρραγέντας ἦ προδοθέντας τούτοις περιπέτειων ὑπὸ τῶν συμμάχων ἃ τοῖς κρατηθεῖσιν ὑπὸ τῶν
4 πολεμίων ὀφείλεται πάσχειν. οὐ δὲ Τυπανεάται παρέδωσαν τῷ Φιλίππῳ τὴν πόλιν. τούτοις δὲ τὸ παραπλήσιον ἐποίησαν οἱ τῆν Ἰπαναν κατοι-
5 κοῦντες. ἀμὴ δὲ τούτως Φιαλεῖς, ἀκούοντες τὰ περὶ τὴν Τριφυλίαν καὶ δυσαρεστουμένου τῇ τῶν Αἰτωλῶν συμμαχία, κατέλαβον μετὰ τῶν ὀπλῶν
6 τὸν περὶ τὸ πολεμάρχιον τόπον. οὐ δὲ τῶν Αἰτωλῶν πειραταί, διατρίβοντες ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ πόλει διὰ τὰς ἐκ τῆς Μεσσηνίας ὀφελείας, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον οἷον τῇ ἦσαν ἐγχειρεῖν καὶ κατατολμᾶν τῶν Φιαλέων,
7 ὅρωντες δὲ τοὺς πολίτας ὀμοθυμαδὸν ἄθροιζο-
μένους πρὸς τὴν βοήθειαν ἀπέστησαν τῆς ἐπιβολῆς, σπειράμενοι δὲ καὶ λαβόντες τὰς αὐτῶν ἀποσκευὰς
8 ἀπῆλθον ἐκ τῆς πόλεως. οὐ δὲ Φιαλεῖς διαπρε-
ṣευσάμενοι πρὸς τὸν Φιλίππον ἐνεχείρισαν σφᾶς αὐτοὺς καὶ τὴν πόλιν.
80 ὃς δὲ τούτων πραττομένων οἱ Λεπτεᾶται καταλαβόμενοι τόπον τινὰ τῆς πόλεως ἦξιον ἐκχωρεῖν τῆς άκρας καὶ τῆς πόλεως τοὺς Ὑλείους καὶ τοὺς Αἰτωλοὺς, ὀμοίως δὲ καὶ τοὺς παρὰ Λακεδαίμονίων. ἦκε γὰρ καὶ παρ’ ἐκείνων αὐτοῖς
βοήθεια. τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον οἱ περὶ τὸν Φιλλίδαν οὐ προσείχον, ἀλλ’ ἔμενον ὡς καταπληξόμενοι
488
by this achievement of Philip and began to consider how best to save themselves and their own cities. Phillidas now returned to Lepreum, evacuating Typaneae after plundering some of the houses. For this was the reward that the allies of the Aetolians used then to receive; not only to be barefacedly deserted in the hour of need, but to be plundered or betrayed and suffer at the hands of their allies the treatment that the vanquished may expect from their enemies. The people of Typaneae now gave up their city to Philip and those of Hypana followed their example. At the same time the Phigalians, hearing the news from Triphylia and ill-pleased with the Aetolian alliance, rose in arms and seized on the ground round the Polemarch's office. The Aetolian freebooters, who had quartered themselves in the city for the purpose of plundering Messenia, were at first disposed to put a bold face on it and attack the Phigalians, but when the citizens came flocking with one accord to the rescue, they desisted from their project, and came to terms, leaving the city with their possessions, upon which the Phigalians sent deputies to Philip and delivered themselves and the town into his hands.

80. While these transactions were in progress, the people of Lepreum, seizing on a certain position in the city, demanded the evacuation of the citadel and city by the Eleans, Aetolians, and Lacedemonians (for a reinforcement had come from Sparta also). Phillidas at first paid no heed to the request but remained where he was, thinking to overawe
ΤΟΥΣ ΕΝ Τῇ ΠΟΛΕΙ· ΤΟΥ ΔΕ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΕΙΣ ΜΕΝ ΤΗΝ ΦΙΛΑΛΕΙΑΝ ΤΑΥΡΙΩΝΑ ΜΕΤΑ ΣΤΡΑΤΙΩΤΩΝ ΕΞΑΠΟ-
ΣΤΕΙΛΑΝΤΟΣ, ΑΥΤΟΥ ΔΕ ΠΡΟΑΓΟΝΤΟΣ ΕΙΣ ΤΟ ΔΕΥΤΕΡΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΣΥΝΕΓΓΥΛΟΝΤΟΣ ΉΔΗ ΤῴΣ ΠΟΛΕΙ, ΣΥΝΕΝΤΕΣ ΟΙ ΠΕΡῚ
ΤΟΝ ΦΙΛΛΙΔΑΝ ΕΤΑΠΕΝΩΘΕΝΑΝ, ΟΙ ΔΕ ΔΕΥΤΕΡΑΤΑΙ
ΠΡΟΣΕΠΕΡΡΩΘΕΝΑΝ ΤΑΪΣ ΟΡΜΑΙΣ. ΚΑΛΌΝ ΓΆΡ ΓΗ
ΤΟΤΟ ΔΕΥΤΕΡΑΤΑΙΣ ΕΡΓΟΝ ΠΕΡΙΚΡΑΤΑΙ, ΤΟ ΧΙΛΙΩΝ
ΜΕΝ ΕΓΔΟΝ ὩΝΤΩΝ ἩΛΕΙΩΝ, ΧΙΛΙΩΝ ΔΕ ΣΩΝ ΤΟΪΣ
ΠΕΙΡΑΤΑΙΣ ΑΙΤΩΛΩΝ, ΠΕΝΤΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ ΔΕ ΜΙΣΘΟΦΟΡΩΝ,
ΔΙΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ ΔΕ ΛΑΚΕΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΩΝ, ΠΡΟΣ ΔΕ ΤΟΥΤΟΙΣ
ΤΗΣ ΆΚΡΑΣ ΚΑΤΕΧΟΜΕΝΗΣ, ὍΜΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΠΟΥΗΣΑΣΘΑΙ ΤΗΣ
ΕΑΥΤΩΝ ΠΑΤΡΙΔΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΜΗ ΠΡΟΕΘΑΙ ΤΑΣ ΣΦΕΤΕΡΑΣ
ΕΛΠΙΔΑΣ. Ο ΔΕ ΦΙΛΛΙΔΑΣ ΟΡΩΝ ΤΟΥΣ ΔΕΥΤΕΡΑΤΟΣ
ΑΝΔΡΩΔΩΣ ΨΥΣΤΑΜΕΝΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥΣ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΑΣ
ΕΥΚΡΑΤΕΝΑΣ, ΞΕΧΩΡΗΣΕ ΤΗΣ ΠΟΛΕΩΣ ΑΜΑ ΤΟΪΣ
ἩΛΕΙΟΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΙΣ ΠΑΡΑ ΤΩΝ ΛΑΚΕΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΩΝ. ΟΙ
ΜΕΝ ΟΥΝ ΠΑΡΑ ΤΩΝ ΣΠΑΡΤΙΑΤΩΝ ΚΡΗΤΕΣ ΔΙΑ ΤΗΣ
ΜΕΣΟΣΗΝΙΑΣ ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΟΙΚΕΙΑΝ ἘΠΑΝΗΛΘΟΝ, ΟΙ ΔΕ ΠΕΡῚ
ΤΟΝ ΦΙΛΛΙΔΑΝ ἘΠΟΙΟΥΝΤΟ ΤΗΝ ἈΠΟΛΟΥΝΩΝ ὩΣ ΕΠῚΤΟ
ΣΑΜΙΚΟΝ. ΤΟ ΔΕ ΤΩΝ ΔΕΥΤΕΡΑΤΩΝ ΠΛΗΘΟΣ ΕΥΚΡΑΤΕΣ
ΓΕΓΟΝΟΣ ΤΗΣ ΠΑΤΡΙΔΟΣ ΕΞΑΠΕΣΤΕΛΛΕ ΠΡΕΣΒΕΥΤΑΣ,
ΕΥΚΕΙΡΙΖΟΝ ΤῴΣ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΩΝ ΤῴΣ ΠΟΛΙΩΝ. Ο ΔΕ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ
ΑΚΟΥΣΑ ΤΑ ΓΕΓΟΝΟΤΑ ΤῴΝ ΜΕΝ ΛΟΙΤΗΝ ΔΥΝΑΜΙΝ ΕΙΣ
ΤΟ ΔΕΥΤΕΡΟΝ ἈΠΕΣΤΕΙΛΕ, ΤΟΥΣ ΔΕ ΠΕΛΤΑΣΤΑΣ ΚΑΙ
ΤΟΥΣ ΕΥΖΩΝΟΥΣ ΑΝΑΛΑΒΩΝ ἩΓΕΙΤΟ, ΣΥΝΑΘΑΙ ΣΠΕΥΔΩΝ
ΤΟΙΣ ΠΕΡῚ ΤΟΝ ΦΙΛΛΙΔΑΝ. ΚΑΤΑΛΑΒΩΝ ΔΕ ΤῴΣ ΜΕΝ
ἈΠΟΣΚΕΥΗΣ ΕΥΚΡΑΤΗΣ ΕΓΕΝΕΤΟ ΠΑΣΗΣ, ΟΙ ΔΕ ΠΕΡ∙
ΤΟΝ ΦΙΛΛΙΔΑΝ ΚΑΤΕΤΑΧΘΕΝΑΝ ΕΙΣ ΤΟ ΣΑΜΙΚΟΝ ΠΑΡΑ-
PΕΣΟΝΤΕΣ. ΠΡΟΣΕΠΡΑΤΟΠΕΔΕΥΣΑΣ ΔΕ ΤῴΣ ΧΩΡΙΩΝ,
ΚΑΙ ΤῴΝ ΛΟΙΤΗΝ ἘΠΙΣΠΑΣΑΜΕΝΟΣ ΕΙΚ ΤΟΥ ΔΕΥΤΕΡΟΥ
ΔΥΝΑΜΙΝ, ἘΜΦΑΣΙΝ ἘΠΟΙΕΙ ΤΟΙΣ ΕΓΔΟΝ ὩΣ ΠΟΛΙΟΡΚΗ-
ΣΩΝ ΤῴΣ ΧΩΡΙΩΝ. ΟΙ ΔΕ ΑΙΤΩΛΟΙ ΜΕΤΑ ΤΩΝ ἩΛΕΙΩΝ
490
the citizens. But when the king, having sent Taurion with some troops to Phigalia, advanced in person to Lepreum and was approaching the town, Phillidas on hearing of it lost his assurance, while the people of the town were strengthened in their resolution. It was indeed a fine action on the part of the Lepreates, with no less than a thousand Eleans, a thousand Aetolians counting the freebooters, five hundred mercenaries and two hundred Lacedaemonians within the walls and with the citadel occupied, yet to strive to vindicate their country’s freedom and not abandon hope. Phillidas, when he saw that the Lepreatans were gallantly holding out and that the Macedonians were approaching, quitted the city accompanied by the Eleans and the Lacedaemonian contingent. Those Cretans whom the Spartans had sent returned home by way of Messenia, while Phillidas retired in the direction of Samicum. The people of Lepreum being now masters of their city, sent envoys to Philip placing it in his hands. The king, on hearing of what had taken place, sent the rest of his forces to Lepreum, but placing himself at the head of his peltasts and light infantry, started in the hope of encountering Phillidas. He came up with him and captured all his baggage-train, but Phillidas and his men succeeded in throwing themselves into Samicum in time. Encamping before this place and fetching up the rest of his forces from Lepreum, Philip gave those within the impression of being about to besiege them. The Aetolians and Eleans had nothing
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

οὐδὲν ἔχοντες ἐτοιμον πρὸς πολιορκίαν πλὴν χερῶν, καταπλαγέντες τὴν περίστασιν ἐλάλουν 12 περὶ ἀσφαλείας πρὸς τὸν Φίλιππον. λαβόντες δὲ συγχώρημα μετὰ τῶν ὀπλῶν ποιήσασθαι τὴν ἀπόλυσιν, οὕτωι μὲν ὤρμησαν εἰς τὴν Ἡλείαν· οὐ δὲ βασιλεὺς τοῦ μὲν Σαμικοῦ παρατάκτικα κύριος 13 ἐγένετο, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, παραγενομένων πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων μεθ’ ἱκετηρίας, παρέλαβε Φρίξαν Στυλάγγιον Λεῖπιον Βώλακα Πύργον Ἑπι- 14 τάλιον. ταῦτα δὲ διαπραξάμενος ἐπανήλθε πάλιν εἰς τὸ Λέσπειον, πᾶσαι ύπ’ ἐαυτόν πεποιημένοι 15 τὴν Τριφυλίαν ἐν ἡμέραις ἔξ. παρακαλέσας δὲ τοὺς Λεσπεράτας τὰ πρέποντα τῷ καίρῳ, καὶ φυλακῇ εἰσαγαγῶν εἰς τὴν ἀκραν, ἀνέζευξε μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως ἐφ’ Ἡραίας, ἀπολυσάμεν ἐπιμελητὴν 16 τῆς Τριφυλίας Λάδικον τὸν Ἀκαρναία. παρα- γενόμενος δ’ εἰς τὴν προειρημένην πόλιν τὴν μὲν λείαν διένεμε πᾶσαν, τὴν δ’ ἀποσκευὴν ἀνα- λαβὼν ἐκ τῆς Ἡραίας ἥλθε μέσου χειμώνος εἰς Μεγάλην πόλιν.

81 Κατὰ δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς καύρως Φίλιππος ἐπράττε τὰ κατὰ τὴν Τριφυλίαν, καὶ Χείλων ὁ Λακεδαι- μόνιος ὑπολαμβάνων αὐτῷ καθήκεν κατὰ γένος τῆς βασιλείας, καὶ βαρέως φέρων τὴν γεγενημένην ὑπεροψίαν περὶ αὐτὸν ἐκ τῶν ἐφόρων ἐν τῇ κατὰ τὸν Λυκοῦργον κρίσει περὶ τῆς βασιλείας, κινεῖν 2 ἐπεβάλετο τὰ καθεστῶτα. νομίσας δὲ, εἰ τὴν ὀδὸν τὴν αὐτὴν ἔλθοι Κλεομένει καὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς ὑποδείξασθαι τὴν ἔλπίδα τῆς κληρουχίας καὶ τῶν ἀναδασμῶν, ταχέως ἐπακολουθήσει αὐτῷ τὸ 3 πλῆθος, ὀρμήσας πρὸς τὴν πράξιν. συμφρονήσας δὲ περὶ τούτων πρὸς τοὺς φίλους, καὶ λαβὼν
wherewith to meet a siege but their numbers only, and alarmed by the prospect began to treat with Philip for their lives and liberties. On receiving permission to withdraw with their arms they marched off for Elis; and the king thus at once became master of Samicum, and afterwards, when representatives of the other towns came begging for grace, he took possession of Phrixa, Stylangium, Aepium, Bolax, Pyrgus, and Epitalium, and after these achievements returned again to Lepreum, having in the space of six days subdued the whole of Triphylia. After addressing the Lepreates in a manner suitable to the occasion, and placing a garrison in the citadel, he left with his army for Heraea, leaving Ladicus the Acarnanian in charge of Triphylia. On his arrival at Heraea he divided all the booty, and picking up here his heavy baggage reached Megalopolis in mid-winter.

81. At the same time that Philip was operating in Triphylia, Cheilon, the Lacedaemonian, considering that he was the lawful heir to the throne and deeply resenting having been passed over by the ephors when they selected Lycurgus as king, resolved to bring about a revolution. Thinking that if he followed in Cleomenes' footsteps and held out to the multitude the hope of allotments and redivision of the land, he would soon have the masses behind him, he set to work on his design. Having come to an understanding with his friends on this subject
κοινωνοῦσ τῆς τόλμης εἰς διακοσίους τὸ πλῆθος,
4 ἐγίνετο πρὸς τῷ συντελεῖν τὴν ἐπίνοιαν. θεωρῶν
δὲ μέγιστον ἐμπόδιον ὑπάρχον αὐτῷ πρὸς τὴν
ἐπιβολὴν τὸν Λυκοῦργον καὶ τοὺς ἔφορους τοὺς
περιθέντας ἐκεῖνῳ τὴν βασιλείαν, ὰρμήσε πρῶτον
5 ἐπὶ τούτους. τοὺς μὲν οὖν ἔφορους δειπνοῦντας
καταλαβὼν πάντας αὐτοῦ κατέσφαξε, τῆς τύχης
τῆν ἀρμόζουσαν αὐτοῖς ἐπιθέσεις δίκην· καὶ γὰρ
ὑφ’ οὐ καὶ ύπέρ οὐ ταύτ’ ἐπαθον, δικαίως αὐτοὺς
6 ἀν τις φήσεις πεποιθέναι. ὃ δὲ Χείλων τὰ κατὰ
tούτους συντελεσάμενος παρῆν ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ
Λυκοῦργου, καὶ κατέλαβε μὲν ἔνδον, οὐ μὴν
7 ἐδυνήθη γ’ ἐγκρατῆς αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι. διὰ γὰρ
τῶν οἰκετῶν καὶ γειτόνων ἐκκλαπεῖς καὶ διαδρᾶς
ἐλάθει αὐτόν. οὗτος μὲν οὖν ἀνεχώρησε ταῖς
ἀνοδίαις εἰς τὴν ἐν τῇ Τριτόλει προσαγορευομένην
8 Πελλήνην. ὃ δὲ Χείλων ἀπεσφαλμένος τοῦ κυ-
ριωτάτου πρὸς τὴν ἐπιβολὴν ἄθυμως διέκειτο,
9 πρᾶττεν δ’ οὕμως ἡγαγάζετο τὸ συνεχές. διόπερ
εἰς τὴν ἄγοραν εἰσβαλὼν τοῖς μὲν ἐχθροῖς προσ-
έφερε τὰς χεῖρας, τοὺς δ’ οἰκείους καὶ φίλους
παρεκάλει, τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς ὑπεδείκνυε τὰς ἀρτι
10 ῥήθεισας ἐλπίδας. οὐδενὸς δὲ προσέχοντος αὐτῷ,
tάναντια δὲ συστρεφομένων ἐπ’ αὐτὸν τῶν ἀνθρώ-
πων, συννοῆσα τὸ γινόμενον ἀπεχώρει λαθραίως,
kαὶ διελθὼν τὴν χώραν ἥκε μόνος εἰς τὴν Ἀχαίαν
11 ἐκπεπτωκῶς. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαμόνιοι, δείσαντες τὴν
tοῦ Φιλίππου παρούσιαν, τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας
ἀπεσκεύαζον καὶ τὸ τῶν Μεγαλοπολιτῶν Ἀθη-
ναίου κατασκάφαντες ἐξέλιπον.
12 Λακεδαμόνιοι μὲν οὖν ἀπὸ τῆς Λυκοῦργου
νομοθεσίας καλλίστη χρησάμενοι πολιτεία καὶ
494
and secured the co-operation of about two hundred in the venture, he entered on the execution of the project. Perceiving that the greatest hindrance to the success of his plot lay in Lycurgus and the ephors who had set him on the throne, he directed his attack first on them. Falling on the ephors while they were at supper he slew them all on the spot, chance thus visiting them with the fitting penalty for their crime. For when we consider the person at whose hands and the person for whose sake they suffered death we must confess that they met with their deserts. Cheilon, after thus disposing of the ephors, hastened to the house of Lycurgus, where he found the king, but failed to get possession of his person; for he was smuggled out by some servants and neighbours, and got away unperceived, escaping afterwards across country to Pellene in the Tripolis. Cheilon, thus baulked of his most important object, had now little heart for his enterprise, but still was forced to continue its pursuit. He therefore advanced into the agora, cutting down his enemies, calling upon his relatives and friends to join him, and tempting the rest of the people by those hopes and promises I just spoke of. But as no one listened to him, but on the contrary a hostile crowd collected, as soon as he perceived how matters stood, he left Sparta secretly, and passing through Laconia arrived in Achaea, alone and an exile. The Lacedaemonians, now dreading the arrival of Philip, brought in all property from the country and evacuated the Athenaeum in the territory of Megalopolis after razing it to the ground.

Thus the Lacedaemonians who ever since the legislation of Lycurgus had enjoyed the best form
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

meγίστην ἔχοντες δύναμιν ἐως τῆς ἐν Δεῦκτρος
μάχης, αὐτὴς ἐπὶ τὰναντία τραπείσης αὐτοῖς τῆς
tύχης, καὶ τοῦμπαλιν ἐπὶ τὸ χείρον ᾗ καὶ μᾶλλον
tῆς πολιτείας αὐτῶν προβαίνουσης, τέλος πλείστων
μὲν πόλων καὶ στάσεων ἐμφυλίων πείραν εἶχον,
πλείστοι δ' ἐπάλαισαν ἀναδάσμοις καὶ φυγαῖς,
πικροτάτης δὲ δουλείας πείραν ἔλαβον ἑώς τῆς
Νάβιδος τυραννίδος, οἷο τὸ πρὸν οὐδὲ τοῦνομα
dυνηθέντες ἀνασχέσθαι μαδίως αὐτῆς. τὰ μὲν
οὖν πάλαι καὶ τὰ πλεῖων περὶ Δακεδαίμονίων εἰς
ἐκάτερον μέρος ὑπὸ πολλῶν εὑρηταί τάδε, ἐναρ-
γέστατα δ' ἐστὶν ἄφ' οὗ Κλεομένης ὀλοσχέρως
κατέλυσε τὸ πάτριον πολίτευμα. νῦν δ' ύψ'
ἡμῶν ῥηθήσεται κατὰ τοὺς ἀρμόζοντας αἰεὶ καὶ

82 ὦ δὲ Φίλιππος ἀναζεύξας ἐκ τῆς Μεγάλης
πόλεως καὶ πορευθεὶς διὰ Τεγέας παρῆν εἰς
"Αργος, κακεῖ τὸ λοιπὸν μέρος τοῦ χειμῶνος
dιέτριβε, κατὰ τὴν λοιπὴν ἀναστροφὴν καὶ κατὰ
tὰς πράξεις τεθαυμασμένος ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡλικίας ἐν
ταῖς προειρημέναις στρατεύσεις. οδ' ἀπελλῆς
οὖν ὡς ἔληγε τῆς ἐπιβολῆς, ἀλλ' οἰός τ' ἔν ἁγεῖν
ὑπὸ τὸν ξυγόν τὸν κατὰ βραχὺ τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς.

3 ὦ ρώμων δὲ τῇ τουαὐτῇ προθέσει τοὺς περὶ τὸν "Αρατον
ἐμποδὸν ἵσταμένους καὶ τὸν Φίλιππον αὐτοῖς
προσέχοντα, καὶ μᾶλλον τῷ πρεσβυτέρῳ διὰ τῇ
πρὸς "Ἀντίγονον σύστασιν καὶ διὰ τὸ πλείστον
ἐν τοῖς Ἀχαῖοῖς ἱσχύειν, καὶ μάλιστα διὰ τὴν
ἐπιδεξιότητα καὶ νουνέχειαν τάνδρος, περὶ τοῦτος
ἐπεβάλετο γίνεσθαι καὶ κακοπραγμονεῖν τοὐδὲ
τῶν τρόπων. ἐξεκέλεων τοὺς ἀντυπολεμομένους
tοῖς περὶ τὸν "Αρατον, τίνες εἰςίν, ἐκάστους ἐκ
tῶν πόλεων ἐπεσπάσατο, καὶ λαμβάνων εἰς τὰς

496
of government and had the greatest power until the battle of Leuctra, when chance henceforth turned against them, and their system of government instead of improving began to go rapidly from bad to worse, finally had more experience than any other people of civic trouble and discord. No other nation was so harassed by banishment of citizens and confiscations of property, none had to submit to more cruel servitude culminating in the tyranny of Nabis, although formerly they could not even bear to hear the word "tyrant" mentioned. However, the ancient history of Sparta and the subsequent history of her elevation and decline has been narrated by many. The progress of the latter is most conspicuous since the entire subversion of the ancient constitution by Cleomenes; and I shall continue to speak of it whenever the occasion offers.

82. Leaving Megalopolis and passing through Tegea, Philip arrived at Argos, where he spent the rest of the winter, having won in this campaign universal admiration for a correctness of conduct and a brilliancy of achievement beyond his years. Apelles, however, had by no means given up his project, but was bent on gradually bringing the Achaeans under the yoke. Seeing that the elder and younger Aratus stood in the way of this design and that Philip paid great regard to them, especially to the elder owing to his former friendship with Antigonus and his great influence with the Achaeans, but still more owing to his talent and discernment, he formed a plan of damaging their credit in the following manner. Inquiring first of all the names of Aratus' political opponents in each city, he sent for them, and when he made their acquaintance
χείρας ἐψυχαγώγει καὶ παρεκάλει πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ
5 φιλίαν, συνίστανε δὲ καὶ τῷ Φίλιππῳ, προσεπι-
δεικνύον αὐτῷ παρ’ ἕκαστον ὡς ἐὰν μὲν ἆρατῳ
προσέχῃ, χρῆσεται τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς κατὰ τὴν ἐγ-
γραπτὸν συμμαχίαν, ἐὰν δ’ αὐτῷ πείθηται καὶ
τοιούτους προσλαμβάνῃ φίλους, χρῆσεται πάσιν
6 Πελοποννησίους κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ βουλήσαν. περὶ
tε τῶν ἀρχαιρεσίων εὔθυς ἐστούδαζε, βουλόμενος
tούτων τινὶ περιποίησαι τὴν στρατηγίαν, τοὺς δὲ
7 περὶ τὸν “Ἀρατον ἐκβαλεῖν ἐκ τῆς ὑποθέσεως. δι’
δὴ καὶ πείθει Φίλιππον παραγενέσθαι πρὸς τᾶς
τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἀρχαιρεσίας εἰς Ἀἰγίνων ὡς εἰς τὴν
8 Ἡλείαν ἀμα ποιούμενον τὴν πορείαν. πεισθέντος
δ’ αὐτῶ τοῦ βασιλέως, παρὼν αὐτῶς ἐπὶ τοῦ καίροῦ,
καὶ τοὺς μὲν παρακαλῶν οἷς δ’ ἀνατενόμενος,
μόλις μὲν ἤμυσε, κατεκράτησε δ’ ὀὖν ὡμὸς τοῦ
γενέσθαι στρατηγὸν Ἑπίρρατον Φαραῖα, τὸν δὲ
Τιμόξενον ἐκπεσεῖν τῶν ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ τὸν “Ἀρατον
εἰσαγόμενον.
83 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἀναζεύξας ὁ βασιλεὺς, καὶ ποιησά-
μενος τὴν πορείαν διὰ Πατρῶν καὶ Δύμης, ἦκε
πρὸς τὸ φρούριον ὁ καλεῖται μὲν Τείχος, πρὸκειται
δὲ τῆς Δυμαιῶν χώρας· κατέσχον δ’ αὐτὸ μικρῶς
ἐμπροσθὲν χρόνοις, καθάπερ ἀνώτερον ἐπον, οἱ
2 περὶ τὸν Εὐρυπίδαν. σπεύδων δὴ τοῦτο κατὰ
πάντα τρόπον ἀνακομίσασθαι τοῖς Δυμαιοῖς προσ-
3 εστρατοπέδευσε μετὰ πάσης δυνάμεως, κατα-
πλαγέντες δ’ οἱ φυλάττοντες τῶν Ἡλείων παρ-
έδοσαν τὸ φρούριον τῷ Φιλίππῳ, χωρίον οὐ
4 μέγα μὲν ἡσφαλισμένον δὲ διαφερόντως· τὴν μὲν
γὰρ περίμετρον ἐίχεν οὐ πλείω τριῶν ἡμισταδίων,
tὸ δ’ ύψος τοῦ τείχους οὐδ’ ἀπὸ τριάκοντα πήχεων
498
began to cajole them and solicit their friendship. He also presented them to Philip pointing out to him in the case of each that if he gave ear to Aratus he must deal with the Achaeans according to the letter of the treaty of alliance; "but" he would say, "if you listen to me and secure the friendship of such men as this, you will be able to treat all the Peloponnesians exactly as you wish." He at once began to occupy himself with the approaching election, wishing to procure the office of strategus for one of these men and oust Aratus and his son from affairs. With this object he persuaded Philip to be present at Aegium for the Achaean elections, under the pretence that it was a station on his march to Elis. The king having consented to this, Apelles himself came for the occasion, and partly by solicitations partly by threats contrived, with difficulty it is true, to bring in as strategus Eperatus of Pharae. Timoxenus, the candidate nominated by Aratus, being defeated.

83. After this the king left Aegium and marching through Patrae and Dyme came to a fort called "The Wall," which defends the territory of Dyme, but which, as I said above, had been a short time before seized by Euripidas. Being anxious at all hazards to recover this place for Dyme, he encamped before it with his whole army. The Elean garrison in dismay surrendered the fort, which, though not a large place, was admirably fortified. Its circumference did not exceed one and a half stades, but the wall was nowhere less than thirty cubits in height.
5 ἔλαττον. παραδούς δὲ τούτο τοῖς Δυμαίοις ἐπήει πορθὼν τὴν τῶν Ἡλείων χώραν· φθείρας δὲ ταύτην, καὶ πολλὴν περιβαλόμενος λείαν, ἐπανῆλθε μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως εἰς τὴν Δύμην.

84 'Ὁ δὲ 'Απελλῆς δοκῶν ἦνυκέναι τι τῆς προθέσεως τῷ δι' αὐτοῦ καθεστάσθαι τὸν τῶν Ἀχαιῶν στρατηγόν, αὕτης ἐνεχείρη τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἅρατον, βουλόμενος εἰς τέλος ἀποστάσατο τὸν Φιλίππου ἀπὸ τῆς πρὸς αὐτοὺς φιλίας. ἐπεβάλετο δὲ τὴν διαβολὴν πλάττειν διὰ τοιαῦτης τινὸς ἐπινοίας.

2 Αμφίδαμος οὖ τῶν Ἡλείων στρατηγός, ἐν ταῖς Θαλάμαις ἁλῶς ᾣμα τοῖς συμπεθενύωσι, καθάπερ ἀνώτερον ἦμιν ἐρρήθη περὶ τούτων, ὡς ἤκε μετὰ τῶν ἀλλων αἰχμαλώτων ἀγόμενος εἰς Ὀλυμπίαν, ἔσπευσε διὰ τινῶν εἰς λόγους ἐλθεῖν τῷ βασιλεί, τυχῶν δὲ τούτου διελέγετο, φάσκων εἰναι δυνατὸς ἐπαγαγέσθαι τοὺς Ἡλείους εἰς τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν φιλίαν καὶ συμμαχίαν. δὲ τὸν Φιλίππος πεισθεὶς

4 ἐξαπέστειλε τὸν Ἀμφίδαμον χωρὶς λύτρων, κελεύ- σας ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι τοῖς Ἡλείοις, εἶναι ἔλωνται τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν φιλίαν, ὅτι τὰ μὲν αἰχμάλωτα πάντα χωρὶς λύτρων ἀποδώσει, τῇ δὲ χώρᾳ τὴν ἀσφαλείαν αὐτὸς ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν ἐκτὸς παρα-

5 σκευάσει, πρὸς δὲ τοῦτοι αὐτοὺς ἐλευθέρους ἀφρούρητους ἀφορολογήτους, χρωμένους τοῖς ἱδίοις

6 πολιτεύμασι, διατηρήσει. οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἡλείοι διακούσαντες τούτων οὐδὲν προσέχον, καὶ περὶ ἐπισταστικῶν καὶ μεγάλων εἰναι δοκούντων τῶν

7 προτεινομένων· δὲ Ἁπελλῆς ἐκ τούτου τοῦ πράγματος πλάσας τὴν διαβολὴν προσήγγεικε τῷ Φιλίππῳ, φάσκων τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἅρατον οὖκ εἰλικρινὴ τὴν φιλίαν ἀγεών πρὸς Μακεδόνας οὐδ'
Handing it over to the Dymeans he advanced, laying waste the territory of Elis. After pillaging it and collecting a quantity of booty he returned with his army to Dyme.

84. Apelles, thinking that he had succeeded so far in his plan, by the election of the Achaean strategus through his influence, renewed his attack on Aratus with the view of entirely alienating Philip from him. He devised the following plan for trumping up a false accusation against him. Amphidamus, the Elean strategus, had been captured at Thalamae together with the other fugitives, as I above narrated, and when he was brought to Olympia with the rest of the prisoners begged urgently through certain persons for an interview with Philip, and on this being granted, he discoursed at some length stating that it was in his power to gain over the Eleans to the king's side and persuade them to enter into alliance with him. Philip, believing this, sent back Amphidamus without ransom, biding him promise the Eleans that if they joined him he would return all captured men and animals without ransom, would assure the future safety of the country from any outside attack, and would maintain the Eleans in freedom without garrison or tribute and in the enjoyment of their own form of government. Attractive and generous as these offers seemed, the Eleans refused to listen to them, and Apelles, founding his false accusation on this circumstance, brought it before Philip, telling him that Aratus was not sincere in his friendship for the
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

8 ἀλληλιῶν εὐνοεῖν αὐτῷ· καὶ γὰρ νῦν τῆς Ἡλείων ἀλλοτριώτητος τούτους αἰτίους γεγονέναι. καθ' ὁν γὰρ καίρον Ἀμφίδαμον ἔξ Ὑλυμπίας εἰς Ἡλιων ἀπέστειλεν, τούτους ἔφη κατ' ἰδίαν λαβόντας ἐπιτρύπαί τὸν ἀνθρωπον, καὶ λέγει ὅτι κατ' οὐδένα τρόπον συμφέρει τοῖς Πελοποννησίοις τὸ

9 γενέσθαι Φιλίππων Ἡλείων κύριον· καὶ διὰ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίαν πάνθ' ύπεριδόντας τὰ προτεινόμενα τοὺς Ἡλείους διατηρεῖν μὲν τὴν πρὸς Αἰτωλοὺς φιλίαν, ὑπομένειν δὲ τὸν πρὸς Μακεδόνας πόλεμον.

85 τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον Φιλίππων δεξαμενὸς τοὺς λόγους καλεῖν ἐκέλευε τοὺς περὶ τὸν ἂρατον καὶ

2 λέγεις ἐναντίον ἐκεῖνων ταῦτα τὸν Ἀπελλήνι. τῶν δὲ παραγενομένων ἔλεγε τὰ προερημένα τολμηρῶς καὶ καταπληκτικῶς ὃ Ἀπελλής, καὶ τι προσεπείπε τοιοῦτον ἐτι σιωπῶντος τοῦ βασιλέως·

3 "ἐπείπερ οὖτως ἀχαρίστους ὑμᾶς ὃ βασιλεὺς, ἂρατε, καὶ λίαν ἀγνώμονας εὑρίσκει, κρίνει συναγεγραμμένα τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς καὶ περὶ τούτων ἀπολογισμοὺς ποιησάμενος ἀπαλλάττεσθαι πάλιν εἰς

4 Μακεδονίαν." ὃ δὲ προσβύτερος ἂρατος ὑπολαβὼν καθόλου μὲν ἡξίου τὸν Φιλίππον μηδενὶ τῶν λεγομένων ὃς ἐν αὐτῷ ἀκρίτως μηδέποτε πι

5 στείρων, ὅταν δὲ κατὰ τινὸς τῶν φίλων καὶ συμμάχων προσπέση τις αὐτῷ λόγος, τὸν ἀκριβέστερον ἔλεγχον ποιεῖσθαι πρὶν ἡ δέξασθαι τὴν διαβολὴν· καὶ γὰρ βασιλικὸν εἶναι τὸ τοιοῦτο καὶ πρὸς πᾶν

6 συμφέρον. διὸ καὶ νῦν ἡξίου περὶ τῶν ὑπ' Ἀπελλοῦ λεγομένων καλεῖν τοὺς ἀκροκοτὰς, ἔγειν εἰς τὸ μέσον τὸν εἰρηκότα πρὸς αὐτὸν, μηδὲν παραλιπεῖν τῶν δυνατῶν εἰς τὸ γνώναι τὴν ἀλήθειαν, πρὶν ἡ πρὸς τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς ἀνακαλύπτειν τι τούτων.

502
Macedonians or really attached to the king; for it was to him on the present occasion that the coldness of the Eleans was due: for he had when Amphidamus was sent from Olympia to Elis taken him apart and set him against the project, saying that it was by no means in the interest of the Peloponnesians that Philip should become master of Elis; this was why the Eleans had ignored all the king’s offers and remaining faithful to their alliance with the Aetolians, chosen to persist in the war against the Macedonians. 85. On receiving this report, Philip first ordered Apelles to summon Aratus and say the same thing in his presence, and when Aratus arrived, Apelles repeated his accusation in a confident and threatening manner, adding, before the king had spoken, some such words as these: “Since, Aratus, the king finds you to be so ungrateful and to have shown so little consideration for him he has decided to call a meeting of the Achaeans and after laying this matter before them to return to Macedonia.” Hereupon the elder Aratus, interrupting him, exhorted Philip to make it a general principle never to give credence to reports rashly or without duly weighing the evidence; and especially when it was a friend or ally against whom he heard anything said, to examine most closely into the accusation, before accepting it. This he said was conduct becoming a king and in every way to his interest. Therefore he begged him now as regarded Apelles’ allegation to summon those who had heard the words attributed to him spoken, to demand the attendance of Apelles’ informant, and to take every possible means of getting at the truth before making any public statement to the Achaeans. 86. Upon the
86 τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως εὐαρεστήσαντος τοῖς λεγομένοις, καὶ φήσαντος οὐκ ὁλυγωρήσειν ἀλλ’ ἔξετάσειν, 2 τότε μὲν διελύθησαν, ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἐξής ἡμέραις οὐ μὲν Ἀπελλῆς οὕδεμίαν ἀπόδεξιν προσήγα τοῖς εἰρημένοις, τοῖς δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἀρατὸν ἐγένετο τι 3 συγκύρημα τοιοῦτον. οἱ γὰρ Ἡλείοι, καθα’ ὅν καρόν ὁ Φίλιππος αὐτῶν ἐπόρθει τὴν χῶραν, ὑποπτεύσαντες τὸν Ἀμφιδαμὸν ἐπεβάλοντο συλλα- 4 βεῖν καὶ δήσαντες εἰς τὴν Αἴτωλίαν ἐκπέμπειν. ὦ δὲ προαιροθέμενος αὐτῶν τὴν ἐπίνοιαν ἀπεχώρησε τὰς μὲν ἀρχὰς εἰς Ὀλυμπίαν, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πνυθανόμενος τὸν Φίλιππον ἐν τῇ Δύμη περὶ τὴν περὶ τῶν λαβύρων οἰκονομιᾶν διατρίβειν, ἐσπευσε πρὸς 5 τοῦτον διαπεσεῖν. οθὲν οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀρατὸν, ἀειούσαντες τὸν Ἀμφιδαμὸν ἐκ τῆς Ἡλίδος ἐκπεπτωκότα парείναι, γενόμενοι περιχαρεῖς διὰ τοῦ μηδὲν αὐτοῖς συνείδειν, προσελθόντες ἠφινὼ 6 δεῖν τὸν βασιλέα καλεῖν τὸν Ἀμφιδαμὸν· καὶ γὰρ εἰδέναι περὶ τῶν κατηγορουμένων ἐκείνων βέλτιστα πρὸς ὅν ἔρρηθη, καὶ δηλώσειν τὴν ἀληθείαν, πεφευγότα μὲν εἰς οἶκον διὰ τὸν Φίλιππον, τὸς δ’ ἐλπίδας ἔχοντα τῆς σωτηρίας κατὰ τὸ παρὸν ἐν 7 ἐκείνῳ. πεισθέις δὲ τοῖς λεγομένοις ὁ βασιλεὺς, καὶ μεταπεμψάμενος τὸν Ἀμφιδαμὸν, ἔβερε τὴν 8 διαβολὴν οὕσαν ψευδὴ. διὸ καὶ τὸν μὲν Ἀρατὸν ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς ἡμέρας ἀεί καὶ μᾶλλον ἀπεδέχετο καὶ κατηξίου, πρὸς δὲ τὸν Ἀπελλῆν λοξότερον εἴχε· τῇ γε μὴν ὀλοσχερεῖ προκατεχόμενος ἀπο- δοχῇ πολλὰ παρορὰν ἡγαίκαζε τῶν ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ γινόμενων.

87 ὡ δ’ Ἀπελλῆς οὐδαμῶς ἀφίστατο τῆς προβέσεως, ἀλλ’ ἀμα μὲν τὸν Ταυρίωνα τὸν ἐπὶ τῶν ἐν Πελο- 504
king’s consenting to this and engaging not to neglect the matter, but to make inquiries, they separated. During the days that followed Apelles produced no proof of his assertions, and now a happy accident, most helpful to Aratus, occurred. The Eleans, at the time when Philip was ravaging their country, conceived suspicions of Amphidamus and formed the design of arresting him and sending him in chains to Aetolia. But, getting intelligence of their project, he first fled to Olympia and then, when he heard that Philip was in Dyme engaged in dealing with the booty, he hastened to escape to him there. Aratus, in consequence, when he heard that Amphidamus had fled from Elis and arrived, was exceedingly joyful, as he had nothing on his conscience, and coming to the king, demanded that Amphidamus should be summoned: “For the man,” he said, “who knew best about the accusation was he to whom he was said to have spoken the words, and Amphidamus would be sure to tell the truth, as he had been exiled from his home for Philip’s sake and depended on him now for his safety.” On the king’s consenting and sending for Amphidamus, he found the charge to be false, and henceforward he continued to like and esteem Aratus more and more, while becoming a little suspicious of Apelles. Prepossessed, however, as he was by his long prejudice in favour of this minister, he could not but overlook many of his errors.

87. Apelles, however, by no means desisted from his design, but in the first place began to traduce Taurion, who had been entrusted with the super-
THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

2 πονήσω τεταγμένον διεβαλλεν, οὐ ψέγων ἀλλ' ἐπαυνὼν καὶ φάσκων ἐπιτίθεουν αὐτὸν εἶναι μετὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐν τοῖς ὑπαίθροις συνδιατρίβειν, βουλόμενος ἔτερον ἐπισταθήναι δι' αὐτοῦ τοῖς ἐν
3 Πελοπονήσῳ πράγμασι. καὶ νῦς γὰρ ἐπὶ τις οὕτως εὐρήται τρόπος διαβολῆς, τὸ μὴ ψέγοντας ἀλλ' ἐπαυνοῦτας λυμαίνεσθαι τοὺς πέλας· εὐρήται δὲ μάλιστα καὶ πρῶτον τοιαύτη κακεντρέχεια καὶ βασκανία καὶ δόλος ἐκ τῶν περὶ τὰς αὐλὰς διατριβοῦντας καὶ τῆς τούτων πρὸς ἄλληλος ζηλοτυπίας
4 καὶ πλεονεξίας. ὀμοίως δὲ καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς θεραπείας τεταγμένον 'Αλέξανδρον, ὅτε λάβοι καρόν, διεδακνεν, βουλόμενος καὶ τὴν περὶ τὸ σῶμα φυλακὴν τοῦ βασιλέως δι' αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι καὶ καθόλου κυνήγαι τὴν ὑπ' 'Αντιγόνον καταλείφθηνεν διάταξιν. 'Αντίγονος γὰρ καλῶς μὲν ξών προέστη τῆς τε βασιλείας καὶ τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ, καλῶς δὲ τὸν βίον μεταλλάττων προενοίηθη πρὸς
7 τὸ μέλλον περὶ πάντων τῶν πραγμάτων. ἀπολιτῶν γὰρ διαθήκην ἔγραψε Μακεδόνων ὑπὲρ τῶν διωκημένων· ὀμοίως δὲ καὶ περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος διέταξε, πῶς καὶ διὰ τῶν ἑκαστα δεήσει χειρίζεσθαι, βουλόμενος μηδεμίαν ἀφορμὴν καταλιπεῖν τοῖς περὶ τὴν αὐλὴν πρὸς ἄλληλος φιλοτυπίας καὶ
8 στάσεως. ἐν οἷς τῶν τότε συνοπταθειμένων αὐτὸς μὲν 'Απελλής ἐν τοῖς ἐπιτρόποις ἀπελεύθη, Λεόντιος δ' ἐπὶ τῶν πελταστῶν, Μεγαλέας δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ γραμματείου, Ταυρίων δ' ἐπὶ τῶν κατὰ Πελοπόννησον, 'Αλέξανδρος δ' ἐπὶ τῆς θεραπείας.
9 τὸν μὲν οὖν Λεόντιον καὶ Μεγαλέαν ὑφ' αὐτοῦ εἶχεν ὀλοσχερῶς, τὸν δ' 'Αλέξανδρον καὶ Ταυρίωνα μεταστησάμενος ἀπὸ τῆς χρείας ἔσπευδε καὶ
506
vision of Peloponnesian affairs, not indeed by finding fault with him, but by praising him and saying that he was a most proper person to be attached to the king’s person in the camp, his object being to get some one else appointed by his influence to this post. This is indeed a new kind of calumny, to damage the fortunes of one’s neighbours not by blame but by praise, and this variety of malice, envy, and trickery is especially and primarily the invention of courtiers to serve their mutual jealousies and ambitions. He also, whenever he had an opportunity, used to traduce Alexander, the Captain of the Body-guard, wishing to be himself charged with the protection of the king’s person, and generally to subvert all the arrangements established by the testament of Antigonus. For not only was Antigonus during his lifetime a good ruler and an excellent guardian of his son, but on his death, he made admirable dispositions for the future regarding everything. In his will he gave to his people an account of his administration, and left orders how and by whom each matter was to be managed with the view of leaving no pretext for rivalries and quarrels among the courtiers. Of those officers who were on Antigonus’ staff at the time Apelles was left one of the king’s guardians, Leontius was made Captain of the Peltasts, Megaleas Secretary in Chief, Taurion High Commissioner for the Peloponnese, and Alexander Captain of the Body-guard. Apelles had Leontius and Megaleas entirely at his disposal, and his purpose was to remove Alexander and Taurion
ταύτα καὶ τάλλα πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ καὶ διὰ τῶν 10 ἰδίων φίλων χειρίζεσθαι. δ' ἂν καὶ ῥαδίως ἂν ἐπετέλεσέ 
μὴ παρασκευάσας ἀνταγωνιστήν Ἀρατον αὐτῷ. 
νῦν δὲ ταχέως πείραν ἔλαβε τῆς σφετέρας ἀφρο-
11 σύνης καὶ πλεονεξίας. δ' γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐπεβάλετο 
πράξαι κατὰ τῶν πέλας, τούτ' ἔπαθε καὶ λίαν ἐν 
12 πάνω βραχεὶ χρόνῳ. πῶς δὲ καὶ τίνι τρόπῳ τούτῳ 
συνέβη γενέσθαι, κατὰ μὲν τὸ παρὸν ὑπερθησόμεθα, 
καὶ καταστρέψομεν τὴν βυβλίον ταύτην, ἐν δὲ τοῖς 
ἐξής πειρασόμεθα σαφῶς ὑπὲρ ἐκάστων ἐξαι-
13 γέλλειν. Φίλιππος δὲ τὰ προειρημένα διαταξά-
μενος ἐπανηλθεν εἰς Ἀργος κἀνταῦθα τὴν παραχει-
μασίαν ἔποιει μετὰ τῶν φίλων, τὰς δὲ δυνάμεις 
ἀπέλυσεν εἰς Μακεδονίαν.
from their posts and direct these and all other matters through himself and his friends. And he would easily have accomplished this, had he not invited the opposition of Aratus; but as it was he was soon to experience the consequence of his folly and greed of power; for what he had plotted to bring upon his colleagues, he had to suffer himself within a very short space of time. As to how and by what means this happened, I shall defer speaking for the present and bring this Book to a close; but in subsequent ones I shall try to give a clear account of the whole matter, Philip, after making the arrangements I mentioned, returned to Argos and there spent the remainder of the winter with his friends, dismissing his troops to Macedonia.

End of Book IV
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INDEX</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abilyx, iii. 98. 2; 99. 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abydos, iv. 44. 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acarnanies, iv, 5. 10; 9. 4; 15. 1; 25. 3; 30. 2; 63. 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acarnania, iv. 6. 2; 30. 1; 63. 6; 65. 9; 66. 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acaea, iv. 7. 4; 9. 7; 15. 2; 15. 6; 16. 10; 17. 3; 29. 6; 61. 2; 81. 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Achaean, iii. 3. 3; 5. 6; 32. 3; iv. 1. 4; 5. 7; 6. 10; 7; 8. 12; 9. 1; 10; 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Actium, iv. 63. 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adimantus, iv. 22. 7; 23. 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adriatic sea, iii. 47. 2; 61. 11; 86; 88. 1; 110. 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aecae, iii. 88. 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aegaean mare, iii. 2. 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aegira, iv. 57. 2; 59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aegium, iv. 7. 1; 26. 8; 57. 3; 82. 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aegyptus iii. 2. 8; 3. 8; iv 2. 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L. Aemilius Paulus, iii. 16. 7; 19. 12; 106. 1; 107. 8;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>108. 1; 109. 13; 110. 8; 112. 2; 114. 6; 116. 1; 117. 8; 119. 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aepium, iv. 77. 9; 80. 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aerenosii, iii. 35. 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aethiopia, iii. 38. 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aetoli, iii. 2. 3; 3. 3; 6. 5; 7. 1; 11. 1; iv. 2. 11; 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. 6; 6. 8; 7; 8. 4; 9. 5; 11; 12; 13; 14; 15; 16; 17. 12; 18; 19; 25; 26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29; 30; 34. 3; 34. 7; 35; 36; 53. 9; 55. 1; 58; 62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4; 61. 3; 67. 1; 77. 6; 78. 1; 79; 80; 84. 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aetolia, iv. 4. 9; 36. 2; 53. 8; 57. 2; 61. 3; 62. 4; 64; 72. 9; 86. 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Afri, iii. 33. 15; 56. 4; 72. 9. 7; 4; 79. 1; 83. 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>87. 3; 113. 7; 115. 8; 116. 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africa, iii. 3. 1; 8. 2; 22. 10; 23. 4; 24. 11; 32. 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33. 7; 35. 1; 37. 2; 38. 1; 39. 2; 41. 2; 57. 2; 59. 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61. 8; 96. 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agelaus Naupactius, iv. 16. 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agesilaus, rex Lacedaemoniorum, iii. 6. 11; iv. 35. 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agesipolis, iv. 85. 10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INDEX

Agesipolis, father of above, iv. 35. 10
Alcamenes, iv. 22. 11
Alcibiades, iv. 44. 4
Alexander, the Aetolian, iv. 57. 2; 58. 9
Alexander the Great, iii. 6. 4; 6. 14; 59. 3; iv. 23. 9
Alexander, Captain of the king's bodyguard, iv. 87. 5; 87. 8
Alexandria, in Egypt, iv. 51. 1
Aliphera, iv. 77. 10; 78. 1
Allobroges, iii. 49. 13; 50. 2; 51. 9
Alps, iii. 34. 2; 39. 9; 47. 2; 48. 6; 49. 53. 6; 54. 2; 55. 9; 56. 60. 2; 61. 3; 62. 3; 64. 7
Alpheus, iv. 77. 5; 78. 2
Althaea, iii. 13. 5
Ambraecus, iv. 61. 3; 63. 1
Ambrus, iv. 25. 2
Amphidamus, iv. 75. 6; 84; 86. 3
Amynas, iv. 16. 9
Andosini, iii. 35. 2
Andromachus, iv. 51. 1
Antalcidas, iv. 27. 5
Antium, iii. 22. 11; 24. 16
Antigonus Doson, iv. 1. 9; 6. 4; 9. 4; 16. 5; 22. 4; 34. 9; 69. 6; 76. 1; 82. 3; 87. 6
Antigonus Gonatas, iv. 3. 3
Antiochus the Great, iii. 2. 4; 3. 3; 3. 8; 6. 4; 7. 1; 11 1; 12. 1; 32. 7; iv. 2. 7; 37. 5; 48. 5; 51. 3
Apaturius, iv. 48. 8
Apelaurus, iv. 69. 1

Apelles, iv. 76. 1; 82. 2; 84. 1; 85; 86; 87
Apennines, mountains, iii. 90. 7; 110. 9
Apteraei, iv. 55. 4
Aratus of Sicyon, the elder, iv. 2. 1; 6. 7; 7. 8; 8. 1; 9. 7; 10; 12. 2; 14. 1; 19. 1; 19. 12; 24. 3; 67. 8; 76. 8; 82. 3; 84. 1; 85; 86; 87. 10
Aratus the younger, iv. 37. 1; 60. 2; 70. 2; 72. 7
Araxus, iv. 59. 4; 65. 10
Arbucala, iii. 14. 1
Arcadia, iv. 20. 3; 21. 5; 33. 3; 70. 1; 77. 8; 77. 10
Arcadians, iv. 17. 4; 20. 1; 21. 7; 32. 3; 33. 5; 33. 11; 53. 6; 70. 3; 71; 74. 1
Arcas, iv. 77. 8
Archidamus, son of Eumenes, iv. 35. 13
Archidamus, son of Panteleo, iv. 57. 7; 58. 9
Ardea, iii. 22. 11; 24. 16
Ardyes, iii. 47. 3
Argives, iv. 36. 4
Argos, iv. 82. 1; 87. 13
Aridices, iv. 52. 2
Ariminum, iii. 61. 10; 68. 13; 75. 6; 77. 2; 86. 1; 88. 7
Arirathes, iii. 3. 6; 5. 2; iv. 2. 8
Aristocrates, iv. 33. 6
Aristomenes, iv. 33. 2
Ariston, iv. 5. 1; 9. 9; 17. 1
Arpi (Argyripa), iii. 88. 6
Arretium, iii. 77. 1; 80. 1
INDEX

84. 6 ; 85. 5 ; 93. 10 ; 106. 6 ; 113. 7 ; 116. 2 ; 118. 6
Celtiberia, iii. 5. 1 ; 17. 2
Cenchreae, iv. 19. 7
C. Centenius, iii. 86. 3
Cephalenians, iii. 3. 6 ; iv. 6. 2 ; 6. 8
Ceraea, iv. 53. 6
Ceras (Képas), iv. 43. 7
Cercina, iii. 96. 12
Chaereas, iii. 20. 5
Charadra, iv. 63. 4
Charixenus, iv. 34. 9
Chilon, iv. 81
Chrysopolis, iv. 44. 3
Cissa, iii. 76. 5
Clarium, iv. 6. 4 ; 25. 4
Clastidium, iii. 69. 1
Cleombrotus, father of Agesipolis, iv. 35. 10
Cleomenes, iii. 16. 3 ; 32. 3 ; iv. 1. 8 ; 7. 7 ; 35. 6 ; 37. 6 ; 69. 5 ; 76. 7 ; 81. 2 ; 81. 14
Clitor, iv. 10. 6 ; 11. 2 ; 18. 10 ; 25. 4 ; 70. 2
Cnossus, iv. 53 ; 55. 4
Colesyria, iii. 1. 1 ; 2. 4 ; 2. 8 ; iv. 2. 11 ; 37. 5
Comontorius, iv. 45. 10 ; 46. 3
Conope, iv. 64. 3
Corinth, iv. 6. 5 ; 19. 9 ; 22. 2 ; 24. 9 ; 66. 5 ; 67. 7 ; 69. 8 ; 72. 9
Corinth, gulf of, iv. 57. 5 ; 65. 9
Corinthians, iv. 13. 7
Cn. Cornelius Scipio, iii. 56. 5 ; 76. 1 ; 76. 5 ; 95. 4 ; 97. 2
P. Cornelius Scipio, cos., iii. 40. 2 ; 41. 45. 2 ; 49. 1 ;

56. 5 ; 61. 1 ; 62. 1 ; 64. 1 ; 65. 3 ; 66. 1 ; 66. 9 ; 67. 8 ; 68. 5 ; 68. 13 ; 70. 76. 1 ; 88. 8 ; 97. 2 ; 99. 4 ; iv. 66. 9
Cortona, iii. 82. 9
Cossyryus, iii. 96. 13
Cothon, iv. 52. 4
Cremona, iii. 40. 5
Cretans, iii. 75. 7 ; iv. 8. 11 ; 20. 6 ; 55. 5 ; 61. 3 ; 67. 6 ; 68. 3 ; 71. 11
Crete, iv. 53. 1 ; 54. 6 ; 56. 1 ; 80. 6
Cuma, Cyme, iii. 91. 4
Cyclades, islands, iii. 16. 3 ; iv. 16. 9
Cyllene, iv. 9. 9
Cynaetha, iv. 16. 9
Cynaethensea, iv. 17. 9
Cyphanta, iv. 36. 5
Cythera, iv. 6. 1
Cyzicus, iv. 44. 7

DARDANIANS, iv. 66. 1
Darius Hystaspis, iv. 43. 2
Daulium, iv. 25. 2
Daunia, iii. 88. 4 ; 91. 5
Delphi, iv. 46. 1
Delta, Egyptian, iii. 49. 6
Demetrias, iii. 6. 4 ; 7. 3
Demetrius, son of Antigonus Gonatas, iv. 25. 6
Demetrius of Pharos, iii. 16. 2 ; 16. 5 ; 18. 1 ; 19 ; iv. 16. 6 ; 19. 7 ; 37. 4 ; 66. 4
Demetrius Soter, iii. 5. 8
Dicaearchus, iii. 91. 4

514
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INDEX</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dimalus, or Dimale, iii. 18. 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dioscurium, iv. 67. 9; 68. 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>73. 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dium, iv. 62. 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dodona, iv. 67. 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dorimachus, iv. 3. 5; 4; 6. 5; 9. 8; 10. 3; 14. 4; 16. 11; 19. 12;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57. 2; 67. 1; 77. 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dyma, Dyme, iv. 59. 1; 65. 10; 83. 1; 86. 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ebro, river, cf. Iber</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elaus, iv. 65. 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elea (Ἡλέα), iv. 9. 9; 73. 4; 77. 7; 80; 82. 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eleans, iv. 5. 4; 19. 5; 36. 6; 59. 1; 68. 1; 69. 1; 70. 4; 71. 3;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74. 8; 77. 6; 80; 83. 3; 84; 86. 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eleuthernaei, iv. 53. 2; 55. 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elis, town, iv. 59. 1; 64. 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emperatus, iv. 82. 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emporia, iii. 23. 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emporium, iii. 39. 7; 76. 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Ἐυνάλως = Quirinus, iii. 25. 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Epaminondas, iv. 32. 10; 33. 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ephorus, iv. 20. 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Epirotes, iv. 5. 10; 9. 4; 15. 1; 16. 1; 25. 3; 30. 6; 36. 7; 61. 2;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63. 1; 67. 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Epirus, iv. 6. 1; 57. 1; 61. 1; 63. 5; 66. 4; 67. 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Epistrasus, iv. 11. 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Epitapheion, iv. 80. 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eribanus, mountain, iii. 92. 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Erymanthus, iv. 70. 8; 71. 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eryx, town, iii. 9. 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Etruria, iii. 49. 4; 56. 6; 61. 2; 75. 6; 77. 1; 78. 6; 80. 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1; 82. 6; 84. 15; 86. 3; 108. 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Etruscan, or Tyrrenian, or Tuscan sea, iii. 61. 3; 110. 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Euboea, iv. 67. 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eudamidas, iv. 35. 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eumenes, iii. 3. 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Euripides, iv. 19. 6; 59. 1; 60. 3; 68. 1; 69. 2; 70. 11; 71. 5; 72;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>83. 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Europe, iii. 3. 4; 37. 2; 47. 1; iv. 39. 2; 41. 1; 43. 2; 44. 6; 51. 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Euxine, see Pontus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q. Fabius Maximus, iii. 87. 6; 88. 7; 89; 90; 92. 3; 94. 4; 101. 1;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>103. 3; 105. 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q. Fabius Pictor, iii. 8. 1; 9. 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fair Promontory, see p. 520</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Faesulae (Fiesole), iii. 82. 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Falerminus, mountain and territory, iii. 90. 11; 92. 6; 94. 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. Flaminius, tribune, iii. 75. 5; 77. 1; 78. 6; 80. 1; 82. 2; 83. 6;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84. 2; 86. 3; 106. 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fosse, iv. 33. 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frentani, territory of, iii. 88. 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Galatia (Gallia Cisalpina), iii. 106. 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gaul, iii. 40. 3; 59. 7; 87. 2; 118. 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gauls, iii. 3. 5; 16. 2; 50. 6; 54. 3; 67. 8; iv. 38. 6; 45. 10; 52. 1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

515
INDEX

Geranium, iii. 100. 1; 102. 6; 107. 1
Glympes, iv. 36. 5
Gortyn in Arcadia, iv. 60. 3
Gortyn in Crete, iv. 53. 4; 55. 6
Greece, iii. 3. 1; 3. 4; 5. 6; 6. 11; 22. 3; 16. 4; iv. 28. 3
Greeks, iii. 2. 3; 5. 4; 6. 9; 52. 3; 58. 5; 59. 8; iv. 2. 1; 3. 8; 18. 10; 20. 1; 27. 10; 30. 4; 31. 5; 33. 8; 38. 6; 45. 10; 46. 5; 73. 10; 74
Gyridas, iv. 35. 5

HADRIANUS AGER, iii. 88. 3
Hamilcar Barca, iii. 9. 6; 10; 13. 3; 14. 10
Hamilcar, Carthaginian General in Spain, iii. 95. 2
Hannibal, son of Hamilcar Barca, iii. 6. 1; 8. 5; 9. 6; 11. 1; 12. 3; 13. 4; 14. 5; 15; 16; 17; 20. 8; 30. 4; 33. 5; 34; 35; 36; 39. 6; 40. 1; 41. 1; 42; 43; 45; 5; 47; 48; 50; 51; 52; 53; 56. 1; 60. 1; 61. 5; 61. 8; 62. 1; 63; 64. 8; 65. 6; 66. 3; 67; 68; 70. 9; 72; 77. 3; 79. 1; 79. 12; 81. 12; 82. 9; 83. 5; 84; 85. 1; 86. 3; 88. 1; 90. 10; 92; 93; 94; 96; 97; 98; 100. 1; 101; 102; 111; 113; 117; iv. 2. 9; 28. 1; 37. 4; 66. 8
Hanno, son of Bomilcar, iii. 42. 6; 114. 7

Hanno, Commander in Spain, iii. 35. 4; 76. 5
Hasdrubal, son-in law of Hamilcar Barca, iii. 8. 1; 12. 3; 13. 3; 15. 5; 21. 1; 27. 9; 29. 2; 30. 3
Hasdrubal, brother of Hannibal, iii. 33. 6; 33. 14; 56. 6; 76. 8; 95. 2; 96. 1; 98. 5
Hasdrubal, iii. 66. 6; 93. 4
Hasdrubal, iii. 102. 6; 114. 7; 116. 6
Hectodorus, iv. 47. 4; 78. 5
Hellespont, iv. 44. 6; 46. 1; 50. 5
Heracleidae, iv. 34. 5
Heracitus, iv. 40. 3
Heraea, iv. 77. 5; 78. 2; 80. 15
Hercules, Column of, iii. 37. 3; 39. 2; 57. 2
Hestiae, iv. 43. 5
Hier, iii. 2. 6; 75. 7
Hieron (τό), iv. 50. 2
Hippomedon, iv. 35. 13
Hirpini, iii. 91. 9
M. Horatius, cos., iii. 22. 1
Hypana, iv. 77. 9; 79. 4

IAPYGIA, iii. 88. 3
Iason, iv. 39. 6
Iber (Ebro), river, iii. 6. 2; 14. 9; 15. 5; 20. 9; 29. 3; 30. 2; 35. 2; 39. 6; 40. 2; 76. 2; 76. 6; 95. 3; 97. 5
Ilergetes, iii. 35. 2
Illyria, iii. 10. 1; 16. 3; 18. 3; 19. 12; iv. 16. 6; 29. 3; 55. 2; 66. 8
INDEX

Illyrians, iii. 16. 4; 19. 5; iv. 16. 11; 25. 4; 37. 4; 66. 4
Indibilis (Ἀδωνάδης), iii. 76. 6
Insubres, iii. 40. 8; 56. 4; 60. 8
Insula, iii. 49. 5
Io, iv. 43. 6
Isère, iii. 49. 6
Ister (Danube), iv. 40. 1
Isthmus of Corinth, iii. 32. 3
Italians, iii. 2. 6; 77. 6; 85. 4; 118. 5
Italy, iii. 2. 2; 15. 13; 16. 4; 27. 1; 32. 2; 34. 5; 35; 39. 6; 44. 8; 47. 5; 49. 2; 54. 2; 57. 1; 59. 9; 61. 3; 76. 5; 77. 7; 87. 4; 90. 13; 94. 7; 96. 9; 97. 2; 110. 9; 111. 9; iv. 28. 3
Ithoria, iv. 64. 9
L. Junius Brutus, cos., iii. 22. 1

LACEDAEMON, iv. 34. 4
Lacedaemonians, iii. 5. 6; 6. 11; iv. 2. 9; 5. 4; 9. 5; 10; 15. 4; 19. 1; 19. 9; 20. 6; 21. 8; 22. 3; 23. 4; 24. 6; 27. 4; 32. 4; 33. 8; 34. 1; 36. 1; 54. 6; 80. 1; 81. 11
Lachinum, iii. 33. 18; 56. 4
Laconians, iv. 32. 3
Lacus, iv. 80. 15
Laodice, wife of Seleucus II (Callinicus), iv. 51. 4
Lappaeans, iv. 53. 6; 54. 4; 55. 1
Larinum, iii. 101. 3
Larisa, iv. 66. 7; 67. 6
Lasion, iv. 72. 7; 74. 1
Latins, iii. 22. 11

Latium, iii. 23. 6; 24. 16; 91. 9
Laurentines, iii. 22. 11
Leonidas, iv. 35. 11
Leontius, iv. 87. 8
Lepreum, iv. 77. 9; 78. 1; 79. 2; 80. 1
Lergetes, iii. 33. 15
Leucae, in Peloponnesus, iv. 36. 5
Leuctra, iv. 81. 13
Liburnus, mountain, iii. 100. 2
Liby-phoenicians, iii. 33. 15
Ligurians, iii. 33. 16
Lillybaeum, town, iii. 41. 2; 61. 9; 68. 14; 96. 12; 106. 7
Lissus, iii. 16. 3; iv. 16. 6
Lucaria, iii. 88 5; 100. 1
Lusi or Lusa, iv. 18. 9; 25. 4
C. Lutatius Catulus, cos., iii. 20. 2; 29. 2; 30. 3; 40. 8
Lycurgus, iv. 2. 9; 35. 14; 36. 4; 37. 5; 60. 3; 81
Lydius, iv. 77. 10
Lyttus, iv. 53; 54

MACCOEI, iii. 33. 15
Macedonia, iii. 3. 8; iv. 1. 5; 19. 6; 22. 6; 27. 9; 29. 1; 37. 8; 50. 1; 51. 7; 57. 1; 62. 1; 66. 1; 85. 3; 87. 13
Macedonians, iii. 1. 9; 5. 6; 6. 12; 16. 3; iv. 2. 5; 5. 3; 8. 12; 9. 4; 16. 5; 19. 1; 22. 8; 24. 8; 34; 35. 6; 61. 1; 63. 1; 64. 5; 65. 7; 68. 4; 69. 6; 71; 73. 1; 517
INDEX

76; 78. 7; 80. 5; 84. 7; 87. 7
Machatas, iv. 34. 4; 36. 1; 36. 6
Maeoticus lacus, iv. 39; 40; 43. 3
Magilus, iii. 44. 5
Mago, Hannibal’s brother, iii. 71. 5; 79. 4; 114. 7
Maharbal, iii. 84. 14; 85. 2; 86. 4
Mamertini, iii. 26. 6
L. Manlius, iii. 40. 11
Mantinea, iv. 8. 4; 33. 8
Mantinaeans, iv. 21. 9; 27. 6
Marrucina, iii. 88. 3
Mars, iii. 26. 5
Masaesyli, iii. 33. 15
Massilia, iii. 37. 8; 47. 4; 61. 2
Massilienses, iii. 41. 9; 95. 7
Massinissa, iii. 5. 1
Mastia, iii. 24. 2
Mastiani, iii. 33. 9
Masylii, iii. 33. 15
Megaleas, iv. 87. 8
Megalopolis, iv. 7. 11; 9. 1; 10. 10; 13. 1; 25. 4; 33. 7; 69. 4; 77. 10; 80. 16; 82. 1
Megalopolitani, iv. 6. 3; 9. 6; 63. 10; 33. 9; 37. 6; 60. 3; 81. 11
Megaris, iv. 67. 7
Messapii, iii. 88. 4
Messene, iii. 19. 11; 26. 6; iv. 3. 12; 4; 33. 3; 33. 7; 79. 6; 80. 6
Messenians, iv. 3. 6; 6; 7; 9. 2; 9. 7; 15. 2; 31. 1; 32. 1; 32. 10; 33. 1; 33. 8; 36. 8; 77. 8
Metagonia (râ), iii. 33. 12
Methydrium, iv. 10. 10; 13. 1
Metropolis, iv. 64. 3
Miccus, iv. 59. 2
M. Minucius, iii. 87. 9; 89. 6; 92. 4; 94. 10; 101. 1; 102; 103. 3; 104; 105
Mithradates, iv. 56. 1
Mutina, iii. 40. 8
Mysia, iv. 50. 4; 52. 9
NARBO, iii. 37. 8; 38. 2; 39. 8
Narnia, iii. 88. 8
Naupactus, iv. 16. 9
Neapolis, iii. 91. 4
Nicanor, iv. 48. 8
Nicippus, iv. 31. 2
Nicostras, iv. 3. 5
Nesus, iii. 37. 3
Nola, iii. 91. 5
Nucrini, iii. 91. 5
Numidians, iii. 33.15; 44. 3; 45. 1; 55. 8; 65. 10; 68. 2; 69. 6; 69. 9; 72. 10; 73.. 3; 74; 112. 3; 116; 117. 12
Oeanthia, iv. 57. 2
Oeniadae, iv. 65. 2
Oenis, iv. 31. 2
Ogygus, iv. 1. 5
Olcades, iii. 13. 5; 14. 3; 33. 9
Olygyrtus, iv. 11. 5; 70. 1
Olympia, iv. 10. 5; 73. 3; 75. 8; 77. 5; 84. 2; 86. 4
Olympiodorus, iv. 47. 4
Omius, iv. 23. 5; 24. 8
Orchomenus, iv. 6. 5; 11. 3; 12. 13
Oretes, iii. 33. 10
Orophernes, iii. 5. 2
Olynthus, iv. 28. 3
Paphlagonia, iv. 32. 9
Parnassus, iv. 30. 3
Perusia, iii. 86. 4
Persis, iv. 40. 4
Pharnaces, iii. 51. 9
Pharsalus, iv. 28. 3
Phocis, iv. 28. 3
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INDEX</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Padus, iii. 34. 2; 39. 10; 40. 5; 44. 5; 47. 4; 48. 6; 54. 3; 56. 3; 56. 6; 61. 1; 61. 11; 64. 1; 66. 1; 66. 5; 69. 5; 75. 3; 86. 3 Paeanium, iv. 65. 2; 65. 11 Pantaleo, iv. 57. 7 Parnassus, iv. 57. 5 Parthenius, iv. 23. 2 Patrae, iv. 6. 9; 10. 2; 25. 4; 83. 1 Pella, in Macedonia, iv. 66. 6 Pellene, in Achaea, iv. 8. 4; 13. 5 Pellene, in Laconia, iv. 81. 7 Peloponnesians, iii. 3. 7; iv. 1. 7; 7. 7; 32. 9; 67. 7; 69. 9; 77. 1; 82. 6; 84. 8 Peloponnesus, iv. 3. 3; 5. 5; 6. 3; 6. 8; 8. 6; 9. 10; 13. 4; 14. 4; 22. 1; 32. 3; 57. 5; 61. 1; 64. 5; 65. 8; 66. 1; 70. 3; 73. 6; 77. 8; 87. 1 Pergamum, iv. 48. 11 Persians, iii. 6; iv. 31. 5 Petraeus, iv. 24. 8 Peucetians, iii. 88. 4 Phaestus, iv. 55. 6 Pharae, Achaeian town, iv. 6. 9; 25. 4; 59. 1; 77. 5 Pharnaces, iii. 3. 6 Pharos, town, iii. 18. 2; 18. 7; 19. 12 Phasis, iv. 56. 5 Pheias, iv. 9. 9 Pheneus, iv. 68. 1 Phialia, Phigalia, iv. 3. 5; 6. 10; 31. 1; 79. 5; 80. 3 Philaenus, altar of, iii. 39. 2 Philunus, iii. 26. 2; 26. 5 Philip, son of Amyntas, iii. 2. 3; 2. 8; 3. 2; 6. 5 Philip, son of Demetrius, father of Perseus, iv. 2. 5; 5. 4; 9. 3; 13. 7; 15. 1; 16. 1; 19. 1; 22. 1; 23. 23; 24. 4; 26. 3; 27. 9; 29. 1; 30. 1; 34. 10; 36. 7; 37. 7; 55. 1; 57. 1; 61. 1; 63. 1; 64. 2; 65. 5; 66. 5; 67. 6; 68. 1; 69. 8; 70. 5; 71; 72. 2; 75. 1; 76; 77; 78. 13; 80; 81. 1; 81. 11; 82. 1; 83. 3; 84. 1; 85; 86. 3; 87. 13 Phoelis, iv. 77. 7; 78. 1; 79. 2; 80. 2 Philoxenus, iv. 20. 9 Phlegraean plain, iii. 91. 7 Phlius, iv. 67. 9 Phocis, iv. 9. 4; 15. 1; 25. 2; 55. 3 Phoebeides, iv. 27. 4 Phoenicia, iii. 2. 8 Phoetia, iv. 63. 7 Phrixia, iv. 77. 9; 80. 13 Picenum, iii. 86. 9 Pieria, iv. 62.1 Pindar, iv. 31. 5 Pisa, iii. 56. 6; 96. 9; iv. 74. 1 Placentia, iii. 40. 5; 66. 9; 74. 8 Plator, iv. 55. 2 Polemocles, iv. 52. 2; 53. 1 Polichna, iv. 36. 4 Polyphontas, iv. 22. 12 Polyrrhenians, iv. 53. 6; 55. 1; 61. 1 Pontus (Euxine), ii. 2. 6; iv. 38. 2; 39; 40; 41; 42; 43. 1; 44. 4; 46. 6; 50. 3; 52. 5; 56. 5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INDEX

L. Postumius Albinus, praetor, iii. 106. 6
Praetutianus, iii. 88. 3
Praisae, iv. 36. 5
Prolaus, iv. 72. 9
Propontis, iv. 39. 1; 43. 1; 44. 6
Propus, iv. 11. 6
Prusias, iii. 2. 4; 3. 6; 5. 2; iv. 47. 7; 48. 4; 48. 13; 50; 51; 52
Psophis, iv. 68. 1; 69. 2; 70. 2; 70. 7; 71. 13; 72. 8; 73. 1
Ptolemy Euergetes, iv. 1. 9;
Ptolemy Philopater, iii. 2. 4; 2. 8; iv. 2. 8; 30. 8; 37. 5; 51. 1
Ptolemais, iv. 37. 5
Pyrenees, mountains, iii. 35. 2; 35. 7; 37. 9; 39. 4; 40. 1; 41. 6
Pyrgus, iv. 77. 9; 80. 13
Pyrrhus, iii. 25. 1; 32. 2
Pythias, iv. 72. 9

RhiUum, promontory, iv. 10. 4; 19. 6; 64. 2
Rhone, river, iii. 35. 7; 37. 8; 39. 8; 41. 5; 42. 2; 47. 2; 48. 6; 49. 5; 60. 5; 61. 2; 64. 6; 76. 1
Rhodes, iv. 50. 8
Rhodians, iii. 2. 5; 3. 2; 3. 7; iv. 19. 8; 37. 8; 47; 48; 50; 52. 2; 53; 56
Romans, iii. 2. 1; 3. 1; 4. 2; 4. 12; 5. 1; 6. 1; 8. 6; 9. 6; 10; 11; 15; 16; 17; 18; 20; 21; 23; 24; 25; 29; 34; 40; 44; 45; 48; 59. 3; 59. 9; 60. 12; 63.

5; 63. 13; 65. 1; 66. 9; 67; 69; 71; 72; 73; 74; 76; 77; 84; 85; 89; 90; 94; 95. 7; 96-98; 99; 107; 110; 115; 116; 117; iv. 1; 16. 6; 37. 4; 66. 4
Rome, iii. 2. 2; 15. 1; 16. 6; 19. 12; 24. 13; 40. 13; 54. 3; 61. 6; 68. 9; 68. 13; 75. 1; 82. 6; 85. 7; 86. 6; 87. 8; 88. 8; 92. 2; 94. 9; 96. 10; 103. 1; 105. 9; 107. 6; 112. 6; 118. 4

Saguntines, iii. 8. 1; 8. 7; 14. 9; 15. 1; 16. 5; 21. 5; 29. 1; 30. 1; 37. 4; iv. 66. 9
Saguntum, iii. 6. 1; 17. 1; 20. 1; 30. 3; 61. 8; 97. 6; 98; 99; 5; iv. 28. 1
Salmantica, iii. 14. 1
Samicum, iv. 77. 9; 80. 6
Samnites, iii. 90. 7
Samnium, iii. 91. 9
Samos, iii. 2. 8
Sardinia, iii. 10. 3; 13. 1; 15. 27. 8; 30. 4; 75. 4; 96. 9; 10; 22. 10; 23. 4; 24. 11; 24; 25; 29; 34; 40; 44; 45; 48; 59. 3; 59. 9; 60. 12; 63.
Sardinian sea, iii. 37. 8; 41. 7; 47. 2
Scedilaidas, iv. 16. 6; 16. 9; 16. 11; 29
Sciron, iv. 4. 3
Scopas, iv. 5. 1; 5. 9; 6. 5; 9. 8; 14. 4; 16. 11; 19. 12; 27. 1; 37. 1; 62. 1
Scythians, iv. 43. 2
Seleucus Callinicus, iv. 51. 5
Seleucus Ceraunus, iv. 1. 9; 2. 7; 48. 6
Sellasia, iv. 69. 5
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INDEX</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>T. Sempronius Longus, cos., iii. 40. 2; 41. 2; 61. 9; 68. 6; 68. 12; 69. 8; 70; 72. 1; 72. 10; 74. 2; 75. 1; iv. 66. 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cn. Servilius Geminus, cos., iii. 75. 5; 77. 2; 86. 1; 96. 11; 97. 1; 106. 2; 107. 7; 114. 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sestus, iv. 44. 6; 50. 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sicilians, iii. 2. 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sicilian sea, iv. 63. 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sicily, iii. 3. 1; 9. 7; 13. 1; 20. 2; 22. 10; 23. 4; 24. 12; 25. 1; 26. 4; 29. 4; 32. 2; 75. 4; 96. 12; 108. 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sicyon, iv. 8. 4; 57. 5; 67; 8; 63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sinope, iv. 56. 1; 57. 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sinusessa, iii. 91. 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sostratus, sculptor, iv. 78. 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sosylius, iii. 20. 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sparta, iv. 22. 8; 34. 9; 35. 8; 36. 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sthenelalus, iv. 22. 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stratus, iv. 63. 10; 64. 2; 73. 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stylangium, iv. 77. 9; 80. 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stympalus, iv. 68. 1; 68. 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Syrtis maior, iii. 23. 2; 39. 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TAGUS, river, iii. 14. 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tanais, river Don, iii. 37. 3; 38. 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tannetis, iii. 40. 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tarentines, iii. 118. 3; iv. 77. 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tarentum, iii. 75. 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tarseum, iii. 24. 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taurini, iii. 60. 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taurion, iv. 6. 4; 10. 2; 10. 6; 19. 7; 80. 3; 87. 1; 87. 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taurus, mountain, iii. 3. 4; iv. 2. 7; 48. 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teanitae, iii. 91. 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Telgea, iv. 22. 3; 23. 3; 82. 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Telphusa, iv. 73. 3; 77. 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. Terentius Varro, cos., iii. 106. 1; 110; 112. 4; 114. 6; 116. 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terracina, iii. 22. 11; 24. 16; 76. 12; 95. 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thalemae, iv. 75. 2; 84. 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thebans, iv. 23. 9; 27. 5; 31. 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theodotus Actolus, iv. 37. 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thersitae, iii. 33. 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thessalians, iv. 9. 4; 76. 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thessaly, iv. 57. 1; 61. 1; 62. 1; 66. 5; 67. 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thrace, iv. 39. 6; 44. 9; 45. 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thraciens, iv. 38. 6; 45. 9; 46. 2; 46. 4; 51. 8; 66. 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thyestes, iv. 22. 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thyreum, Thurium, iv. 6. 3; 25. 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tiboetes, iv. 50. 1; 51; 52. 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tichos, iv. 59. 5; 83. 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ticino, river, iii. 64. 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Timaeus, Aetolian general, iv. 34. 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Timaeus, historian, iii. 32. 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Timarchus, iv. 53. 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Timotheus, iv. 20. 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Timoxenus, iv. 6. 4; 7. 6; 82. 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tisamenus, iv. 1. 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trasimene, lake, iii. 82. 9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

521
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INDEX</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Trebia</strong>, iii. 67. 9; 68. 4; 69. 5; 72. 4; 108. 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Triphylla</strong>, iv. 77. 5; 79. 1; 80. 15; 81. 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Triphylos</strong>, iv. 77. 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Tripolis</strong>, iv. 81. 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Tritaea</strong>, <strong>Trittea</strong>, iv. 6. 9; 59. 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Tula</strong>, <strong>Tulis</strong>, iv. 46. 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Tympanae</strong>, iv. 77. 9; 78. 1; 79. 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Tyre</strong>, iii. 24. 1; iv. 37. 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>UMBRIANS</strong>, iii. 86. 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Utica</strong>, iii. 24. 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>VACCÆI</strong>, iii. 5. 1; 14. 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Venusia</strong>, iii. 116. 14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Vibonium</strong>, iii. 88. 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>XENOPHANTES</strong>, iv. 50. 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Xenophon</strong>, iii. 6. 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ZABAX</strong>, iv. 36. 5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
THE LOEB CLASSICAL LIBRARY

VOLUMES ALREADY PUBLISHED

LATIN AUTHORS

Ammianus Marcellinus. Translated by J. C. Rolfe. 3 Vols.
Bede. J. E. King. 2 Vols.
Caesar: Civil Wars. A. G. Peskett.
Celsus: De Medicina. W. G. Spencer. 3 Vols.
[Cicero]: Ad Herennium. H. Caplan.
Cicero: De Finibus. H. Rackham.
Cicero: De Inventione, etc. H. M. Hubbell.
THE LOEB CLASSICAL LIBRARY

CICERO: DE NATURA DEORUM AND ACADEMICA. H. Rackham.
CICERO: DE OFFICIIS. Walter Miller.
CICERO: DE REPUBLICA and DE LEGIBUS; SOMNIUM SCIPIONIS. Clinton W. Keyes.
CICERO: IN CATILINAM, PRO MURENA, PRO SULLA, PRO FLACCO. C. Macdonald.
CICERO: LETTERS TO ATTICUS. E. O. Winstedt. 3 Vols.
CICERO: LETTERS TO HIS FRIENDS. W. Glynn Williams, M. Cary, M. Henderson, 4 Vols.
CICERO: PHILIPPICS. W. C. A. Ker.
CICERO: PRO ARCHIA, POST REDITUM, DE DOMO, DE HARUSPICUM RESPONSIS, PRO PLANcio. N. H. Watts.
CICERO: PRO CAECINA, PRO LEGE MANILIA, PRO CLUENTIO, PRO RABIRIO. H. Grose Hodge.
CICERO: PRO MILONE, IN PISONEM, PRO SCARVO, PRO FONTEIO, PRO RABIRIO POSTUMO, PRO MARCELLO, PRO LIGARIO, PRO REGE DEIOTARO. N. H. Watts.
CICERO: PRO QUINCTIO, PRO ROSTCIO AMERINO, PRO ROSTCIO COMOEDO, CONTRA RULLUM. J. H. Freese.
CICERO: PRO SESTIO, IN VATINIUM. R. Gardner.
[CICERO]: RHETORICA AD HERENNIUM. H. Caplan.
CICERO: TUSCULAN DISPUTATIONS. J. E. King.
CLAUDIAN. M. Platnauer. 2 Vols.
COLUMELLA: DE RE RUSTICA, DE ARBORIBUS. H. B. Ash, E. S. Forster and E. Heffner. 3 Vols.
CURTIUS, Q.: HISTORY OF ALEXANDER. J. C. Rolfe. 2 Vols.
FLORUS. E. S. Forster; and CORNELIUS NEPOS. J. C. Rolfe.
FRONTINUS: STRATAGEMS AND AQUEDUCTS. C. E. Bennett and M. B. McElwain.
FRONTO: CORRESPONDENCE. C. R. Haines. 2 Vols.
GELLIUS. J. C. Rolfe. 3 Vols.
HORACE: ODES AND EPODES. C. E. Bennett.
HORACE: SATIRES, EPISTLES, ARS POETICA. H. R. Fairclough.
JEROME: SELECT LETTERS. F. A. Wright.
JUVENAL AND PERSIUS. G. G. Ramsay.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Editor(s)</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lucan</td>
<td>J. D. Duff</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lucretius</td>
<td>W. H. D. Rouse, Revised by M. F. Smith</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manilius Astronomica</td>
<td>G. P. Goold</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Martial</td>
<td>W. C. A. Ker</td>
<td>2 Vols.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ovid: The Art of Love and Other Poems</td>
<td>J. H. Mosley, Revised by G. P. Goold</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ovid: Fasti</td>
<td>Sir James G. Frazer</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ovid: Heroides and Amores</td>
<td>Grant Showerman, Revised by G. P. Goold</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ovid: Metamorphoses</td>
<td>F. J. Miller, Vol. 1 revised by G. P. Goold</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ovid: Tristia and Ex Ponto</td>
<td>A. L. Wheeler</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Persius</td>
<td>Cf. Juvenal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Petronius</td>
<td>M. Heseltine; Seneca: Apocolocyntosis</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phaedrus and Babrius (Greek)</td>
<td>B. E. Perry</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plautus</td>
<td>Paul Nixon, 5 Vols.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pliny: Letters, Panegyricus</td>
<td>Betty Radice, 2 Vols.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pliny: Natural History</td>
<td>Vols. I-V, Vols. I-VIII</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pliny: Natural History</td>
<td>H. Rackham, Vols. VI-VIII</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Persius</td>
<td>X. D. E. Eichholz</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Propertius</td>
<td>H. E. Butler</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prudentius</td>
<td>H. J. Thomson, 2 Vols.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quintilian</td>
<td>H. E. Butler, 4 Vols.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remains of Old Latin</td>
<td>E. H. Warmington, 4 Vols.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sallust</td>
<td>J. C. Rolfe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Statutes History Augustae</td>
<td>D. Magie, 3 Vols.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seneca the Elder: Controversiae, Suasoriae</td>
<td>M. Winterbottom, 2 Vols.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seneca: Apocolocyntosis</td>
<td>Cf. Petronius</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seneca: Epistulæ Morales</td>
<td>R. M. Gummere, 3 Vols.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seneca: Tragedies</td>
<td>F. J. Miller, 2 Vols.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
THE LOEB CLASSICAL LIBRARY

SIDONIUS: POEMS AND LETTERS. W. B. Anderson. 2 Vols.
SILIUS ITALICUS. J. D. Duff. 2 Vols.
STATIUS. J. H. Mozley. 2 Vols.
SUETONIUS. J. C. Rolfe. 2 Vols.
VALERIUS FLACCUS. J. H. Mozley.
VARRO: DE LINGUA LATINA. R. G. Kent. 2 Vols.
VELLEIUS PATERCULUS AND RES GESTAE AUGUSTI. F. W. Shipley.
VIRGIL. H. R. Fairclough. 2 Vols.
VITRUVIUS: DE ARCHITECTURA. F. Granger. 2 Vols.

GREEK AUTHORS

ACHILLES TATIUS. S. Gaselee.
AELIAN: ON THE NATURE OF ANIMALS. A. F. Scholfield. 3 Vols.
AENEAS TACTICUS, ASCLEPIODOTUS AND ONASANDER. The Illinois Greek Club.
AESCHYNES. C. D. Adams.
AESCHYLUS. H. Weir Smyth. 2 Vols.
ANDOCIDES, ANTIPHON. Cf. MINOR ATTIC ORATORS.
APOLLODORUS. Sir James G. Frazer. 2 Vols.
APOLLONIUS RHODIUS. R. C. Seaton.
THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS. Kirsopp Lake. 2 Vols.
APPIAN: ROMAN HISTORY. Horace White. 4 Vols.
ARATUS. Cf. CALLIMACHUS.
ARISTIDES: ORATIONS. C. A. Behr. Vol. I.
ARISTOPHANES. Benjamin Bickley Rogers. 3 Vols. Verse trans.
ARISTOTLE: ART OF RHETORIC. J. H. Freese.
ARISTOTLE: ATHENIAN CONSTITUTION, EUDEMIAN ETHICS, VICES AND VIRTUES. H. Rackham.
ARISTOTLE: GENERATION OF ANIMALS. A. L. Peck.
THE LOEB CLASSICAL LIBRARY


ARISTOTLE: METAPHYSICS. H. Tredennick. 2 Vols.

ARISTOTLE: METEOROLOGICA. H. D. P. Lee.


ARISTOTLE: NICOMACHEAN ETHICS. H. Rackham.


ARISTOTLE: ON THE HEAVENS. W. K. C. Guthrie.

ARISTOTLE: ON THE SOUL, PARVA NATURALIA. ON BREATH. W. S. Hett.

ARISTOTLE: CATEGORIES. ON INTERPRETATION, PRIOR ANALYTICS. H. P. Cooke; and H. Tredennick.

ARISTOTLE: POSTERIOR ANALYTICS TOPICS. H. Tredennick and E. S. Forster.

ARISTOTLE: SOPHISTICAL REFUTATIONS. COMING-TO-BE AND PASSING-AWAY. E. S. Forster; ON THE COSMOS. D. J. Furley.

ARISTOTLE: PARTS OF ANIMALS. A. L. Peck; MOTION AND PROGRESSION OF ANIMALS. E. S. Forster.


ARISTOTLE: POETICS and LONGINUS. W. Hamilton Fyfe; DEMETRIUS ON STYLE. W. Rhys Roberts.

ARISTOTLE: POLITICS. H. Rackham.

ARISTOTLE: PROBLEMS. W. S. Hett. 2 Vols.

ARISTOTLE: RHETORICA AD ALEXANDRUM. H. Rackham. (With PROBLEMS, Vol. II.)


ATHENAEUS: DEIPNOSOPHISTAE. C. B. Gulick. 7 Vols.

BABRIUS AND PHAEDRUS (Latin). B. E. Perry.

ST. BASIL: LETTERS. R. J. Deferrari. 4 Vols.


CALLIMACHUS: HYMNS AND EPIGRAMS, AND LYCOPHRON. A. W. Mair; ARATUS. G. R. Mair.

CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA. Rev. G. W. Butterworth.
THE LOEB CLASSICAL LIBRARY

COLLUTHUS. Cf. Oppian.
DAPHNIS AND CHLOE. Thornley’s Translation revised by J. M. Edmonds; and PARThENIUS. S. Gaselee.
DEMOSTHENES III: MEIDIAS, ANDROTION, ARISTOCRATES, TIMOCRATES, ARISTOGEITON. I and II. J. H. Vince.
DEMOSTHENES IV-VI: PRIVATE ORATIONS AND IN NEAERAM. A. T. Murray.
DEMOSTHENES VII: FUNERAL SPEECH, ERCOTIC ESSAY, EXORDIA AND LETTERS. N. W. and N. J. DeWitt.
Dio Cassius: Roman History. E. Cary. 9 Vols.
Dionysius of Halicarnassus: Roman Antiquities. Spelman’s translation revised by E. Cary. 7 Vols.
Epictetus. W. A. Oldfather. 2 Vols.
The Greek Anthology. W. R. Paton. 5 Vols.
The Greek Elegy and Iambus with the Anacreontea. J. M. Edmonds. 2 Vols.
The Greek Bucolic Poets (Theocritus, Bion, Moschus). J. M. Edmonds.
Greek Mathematical Works. Ivor Thomas. 2 Vols.
Herodian: C. R. Whittaker. 2 Vols.
Herodotus. A. D. Godley. 4 Vols.
THE LOEB CLASSICAL LIBRARY

ISAECUS. E. S. Forster.
ISOCRATES. George Norlin and LaRue Van Hook. 3 Vols.
JULIAN. Wilmer Cave Wright. 3 Vols.
LYCOPHRON. Cf. Callimachus.
LYRA GRAECA. J. M. Edmonds. 3 Vols.
LYSIA. W. R. M. Lamb.
MANETHO. W. G. Waddell; PTOLEMY: TETRABIBLOS. F. E. Robbins.
MARCUS AURELIUS. C. R. Haines.
MENANDER. F. G. Allinson.
OPPIAN, Colluthus, Tryphiodorus. A. W. Mair.
PARTHENIUS. Cf. Daphnis and Chloe.
PHILOSTRATUS: The Life of Apollonius of Tyana. F. C. Conybeare. 2 Vols.
PHILOSTRATUS: Imagines; Callistratus: Descriptions. A. Fairbanks.
PHILOSTRATUS AND EUNAPIUS: Lives of the Sophists. Wilmer Cave Wright.
THE LOEB CLASSICAL LIBRARY

PINDAR. Sir J. E. Sandys.


PLATO: Cratylus, Parmenides, Greater Hippias, Lesser Hippias. H. N. Fowler.


PLATO: Theaetetus and Sophist. H. N. Fowler.


POLYBIUS. W. R. Paton. 6 Vols.


STRABO: Geography. Horace L. Jones. 8 Vols.

THEOPHRASTUS: Characters. J. M. Edmonds; Herodes, etc. A. D. Knox.


THEOPHRASTUS: Enquiry into Plants. Sir Arthur Hort, Bart. 2 Vols.

THUCYDIDES. C. F. Smith. 4 Vols.

TRYPHIODORUS. Cf. Oppian.

XENOPHON: Cyropaedia. Walter Miller. 2 Vols.
Xenophon: Hellenica, Anabasis. C. L. Brownson. 3 Vols.
Other Greek Historians in the Loeb Series

HERODOTUS
THUCYDIDES
XENOPHON
DIODORUS
ARRIAN
APPIAN
DIO CASSIUS
JOSEPHUS
PLUTARCH
PROCOPius